JAPAN AND EUROPE IN GLOBAL COMMUNICATION

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PREFACE

In the age of globalization, the role of international communication between Japan and Europe gains more importance for mutual understanding and synergy effects on sustainable development. This book *Japan and Europe in Global Communication* aims to discuss how global communication has influenced the relations between Japan and Europe and has brought to its change/development; how democracy and culture influence this relation in the global communication age; what the differences/similarities between Japanese and European societies are; how Japan recognised in Europe is.

The topics contributing to this book especially focus on such disciplines as philosophy, economics, politics, language and culture. The book has the following objectives: to learn about the relationship between Japan and Europe in the context of global communication; to know the differences/similarities between Japanese and European societies; to understand how democracy and culture influence social policy and governance; to share the knowledge on the recognition, reception or representation of Japan in several domains in Europe and how Japanese language education incorporating cultural education could be promoted in Europe in the global era.

This book consists of 5 chapters.

- (1) Japan and Europe in Global Communication from Philosophical Point of View.
- (2) Global Communication and Policy Changes.
- (3) Social Wealth and Democracy Development.
- (4) Japanese Language and Culture Education Possibilities in European Multicultural Environment.
- (5) Mutual Assimilation of Japanese and European Traditional Features in Pop-Culture.

Chapter 1, entitled Japan and Europe in Global Communication from Philosophical Point of View includes two special contributions. The first article written by Algis Mickūnas discusses *Awareness and Communication*. In this paper, the awareness of immediate phenomena is explicated by comparing major Japanese philosophers with the leading Western thinkers on the subject of "experience". In this paper, the issue of "unmediated

awareness" will be explicated by comparing Japanese and Western efforts to reach such awareness.

Second special contribution argues on *Global Communication Law and Good Faith: The Interplay between Europe and Japan* by Joseph J. Pilotta. This paper explores the influence of European law on Japan, the lex mercatoria as communication media in the sense of Niklas Luhmann's prominent phenomenological base system theory. Good faith has moved from the background of economic contracts to the foreground and is subjected to "the rules of law" of EU harmonization. Finally, this paper addresses recovering the origins of good faith within the interplay of Europe and Japan's globalized economic relationship.

Zilvinas Svigaris discusses also the question of *Search for Fundamentals* of *Intercultural Dialogue: Hisamatsu and Heidegger.* The author compares the philosophical work of the Japanese philosopher Hoseki Shin'ichi Hisamatsu and that of Martin Heidegger. This comparison reveals possibilities for a fruitful intercultural dialogue between those thinkers. Mutual interest between Heidegger and the Japanese philosophers is not a coincidence. This paper discusses the links between these at first sight geographically and culturally distant traditions, and shows that both sides were trying to create a meaningful dialogue between the Eastern and the Western philosophical tradition.

In Chapter 2, Global Communication and Policy Changes, Michito Tsuruoka argues in *Europe, Japan and Asia in a Changing World: Eight Myths*, on the eight myths, which are often heard and appear to be widely believed, but, fortunately, more or less misguided in the context primarily driven by the rise of Asia and the deepening trade and economic relations as the level of interest in Asia in Europe seems to be increasing in the past decade and the European perceptions of Asia seem to be changing rapidly.

In the paper entitled *The EU-Japan Joint Customs Cooperation* Danutė Adomavičiūtė analyses the influence of customs on the protection of public interest and social as well as economic development in order to reveal the customs activities managing the international flow of goods, customs contribution ensuring the increased security of goods supply network, and the important contribution of the World Customs Organization (WCO) to global security and trade facilitation, by way of comparative analysis of

the Authorised Economic Operator (AEO) models used for the business enterprise activity assessment in the European Union and Japan.

In her paper *Distributive Strategies Used by Lithuanian Students in Interpersonal Horizontal Conflicts* Gražina Čiuladienė argues on the characteristics of the expression of conflicting behaviour of young Lithuanians (students) through the report invoking the data of a student conflict resolution skills survey, which involved 138 students from Mykolas Romeris University and was carried out in the years 2012-2013. The task of the survey was to reveal the tendencies in the manifestation of conflicts between students and their peers (horizontal conflicts), in order to understand crosscultural differences in conflict management style.

Laura Rimšaitė discusses on the *Japanese Compensation System for Nuclear Damage and Evolution of International Liability Regime* in order to analyse Japan's nuclear damage compensation system with a distinction as to the international nuclear liability framework and incentive to improve global legislative regulation.

In Chapter 3 Social Wealth and Democracy Development, Akihiro Matoba presented the *Possibility of a New Democracy Formation of a New Civil Society in Japan after the shock of 11 March 2011*. He overviewed the historical context of the modern state of Japan. Matoba gave significant reasons for the future trends of Japanese development. He observed the relations between Japan and Europe and specifically with Lithuania referring to the essential role of policy makers in building communication within openness and democracy framework.

Eugenija Martinaitytė presents the paper *Economic Convergence vs. Cultural Convergence* to provide an overview of the concergence processes in EU in 1996-2014, by expressing some doubts as to the fact that economies are in sufficient convergence as divergence between the richest people in the world and the very poorest increases, despite the broad convergence of average incomes. In the first part of this article, the convergence trends related to the key classical theory of economic growth. The second part of the article is dedicated to the growing importance of cultural industries in developing cultural convergence.

The last paper of this chapter, *Is social wealth possible without democratic development? The Lithuanian case* presented by Nikolajus Markevi**č**ius

stresses that social welfare is based on the optimal combination of available resources and provision of social services. The political forces do not meet the social equality needs, democratic development takes place mainly on the horizontal level and democracy progress fails to ensure social wealth growth.

In Chapter 4 entitled Japanese Language and Cultural Education Possibilities in European Multicultural Environment entails 4 discussions. Haiku and the Japanese Language: How to Come to Terms with the Shortest Literary Form in the World, a special contribution, is argued by Yoshihiko Ikegami. The paper addresses the paradox of haiku poetry, which is so short and yet can be so functional at the same time. The paper proceeds to show that the functionality of haiku is supported by the characteristic stance of Japanese speakers in their daily use of language as a means of communication, namely ready empathy, 'reader-responsibility' (Hinds, 1987: active self-involvement in interpretive work on the part of the reader) and the 'subject-object merger' type of construal.

Vilhelmina Vaičiūnienė and Daiva Užpalienė discuss on *Erasmus Mundus: Promotion of Multilingual Competence and Intercultural Dialogue in Academic Settings.* The authors talk about the research conducted in 2013 aimed at analysing the multilingual competence of incoming exchange students, problems encountered in the study process and intercultural dialogue at Mykolas Romeris University with the help of an interview consisting of 10 open-ended questions administered to 26 incoming Erasmus Students of 2011/12 who came to study at MRU.

In her article *On the Development of Japanese Studies at Vilnius University* Dalia Švambarytė discusses the problem of putting theory into practice on the empirical basis of finding a new balance between traditional and modern teaching methods in the process of restructuring the Japanese Studies section as part of the Asian studies programme at Vilnius University.

In her paper on *Bridging the Gaps through Intercultural Encounters* Magdalena Ciubancan presents the case of two remote cultures – the Japanese and the Romanian ones – coming into contact in the field of language and culture education, by analysing two particular instances where Romanian students created a framework of mutual cultural understanding: a sketch presented at the annual student festival at the

Japanese Department of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University in Bucharest and a study meeting on *senryū*, held in 2012 in Bucharest.

Chapter 5 Mutual Assimilation of Japanese and European Traditional Features in Pop-Culture includes the following contributions.

A Social Capital Angel 3.0 Appearing in the Network Post Pop-Culture Phenomenon: Hatsune Miku is written by Naoya Ito. Through the phenomenon of Hatsune Miku, singing synthesising technology application, Vocaloid, developed by CRYPTON FURURE MEDIA in Japan, which inspired not only song creation but also different categories of creation, such as songwriting, drawing illustration, video-editing, producing etc. and evolved in their works collaboratively in a creative community, the author describes value creation process of collective intelligence in the community and analyses it from the point of social capital, bridging and bounding functions. This paper focuses on social capital as a key to creativity to examine if internet collective intelligence can produce creative objects.

Yoshiko Ikeda argues on *Moga (Modern Girls) in Japanese Popular Films of the 1920s and 1930s: Modernisation and Japanese Women.* The author examines the function of *moga* through interpretations of 1920s and 1930s Japanese films depicting these "modern girls", who in the 1920s-1930s Japan refer to young women dressed in western style with short hair, very often wearing hats; they were at the same time very often viewed negatively, and as a tool to encourage women to acquire a sense of individual autonomy in a modern society.

Kyoko Koma discusses on *Globalisation or Orientalism? Japanese Aestheticism seen through French influenced Japanese Fashion*. The author examines how the identity of Japanese women has been constructed through the reception of Japanese fashion as represented in French media from the end of the nineteenth century to the present and how the identity of French women is represented in Japanese media through the discourse analysis to examine her hypothesis: the image of Japanese women, and even Japan itself, would always be constructed in global communication as exoticism, for which the key words are immaturity and incomprehensibility in France.

In Haruki Murakami's "Kafka on the Shore" Ecocritical Reading, Lora Tamošiūnienė argues this novel's aspects which reveals an intricate construct of a dialogical relationship between the human and the animal world – internal and external interactions between the cats, crows and forming or reforming individuals, in order to plays with social and biological identities as well as with the essence and the limits of humanity with key term of Ecocriticism.



We are pleased to publish the first commemorative scientific book concerning the relations of Japan and Europe after the establishment of the Asian Centre of Mykolas Romeris University in April 2013, the main purpose of which is to promote mutual understanding and relation development between Asia, in particular Japan and Europe by means of intellectual, cultural and human exchanges. We expect that this book will be our first step to promote a new stage of mutual understanding and international exchange between Japan, Lithuania and Europe in several domains for Lithuanian/European/Japanese scholars, the academic society, practitioners after the 20th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Japan in 2011.

We are thankful for the kind financial support of the Japan Foundation, and kind support of the Embassy of Japan in Lithuania, H.E. Ambassador Kazuko Shiraishi, who have supported the activities of Mykolas Romeris University Asian Centre from the moment of preparation of its foundation through educational and cultural collaboration and donation of the Japanese books for research and education. We also express our gratitude to Japanese, American, European (including Lithuanian) colleagues for their significant contribution and participation in the work of the scientific committee and organisational support of Mykolas Romeris University's Internatinal Relation Office.

Kyoko Koma Head of the Asian Centre Mykolas Romeris University

Chapter 1

JAPAN AND EUROPE IN GLOBAL COMMUNICATION FROM PHILOSOPHICAL POINT OF VIEW

AWARENESS AND COMMUNICATION

Algis Mickunas Ohio University

ABSTRACT

Phenomenology and Zen form a logic of place as both, the logic of reality and self-consciousness. The way to understand this is to note that "self consciousness" is not its own origin; the origin is the world as a standpoint from which consciousness reflects to become self conscious. Thus when the world becomes conscious, we become self-conscious, and when we become self conscious, the world becomes self conscious. This means that whatever we call "reality" is actually phenomena of our consciousness as direct experience. The world that one sees is the very seeing – without any obstructions or mediations. The essay explicates this "logic" where Western Phenomenology and Japanese philosophy have a common ground for communication.

Keywords: Direct awareness, Buddhism, Zen, Phenomenology, Emptiness, Becoming, Presence.

INTRODUCTION

One of the major concerns of the intellectual history of Japan for at least 150 years was and is westernization and modernization. It would not be too exaggerated to say that in the post-Meiji Japan (since 1868) Japanese struggled with these notions. Regarding the world in terms "East vs. West" became a question in almost all areas of life. Japanese became reflectively aware of their "non-western" ways: political establishment was concerned to construct a modern nation state, the education reformers had to construct "traditional" and modern-scientific curricula, men and women were faced with the questions of dress and appearance and artists had to cope with Western styles. During my stay in Japan in early 1950s, I have witnessed these transformations: movie theatres had large advertisements of Japanese cowboys, smoking Marlboro and Camel cigarettes, clubs with nothing but American music - till the film "The Seven samurai" made a Japanese statement. Even today, what we know of Japan is through mass media that communicates numerous images of Godzilas, Japanese tourists, cameras, Japanese products, sumo wrestlers, baseball players, New Year's Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, communalism and individualism, Samurai, ninjas, great karate masters, meditation for health and sexual enhancement, and even hints at Haiku – all flashed across global media, with rare hints at "Japanese religions" among which there are various brands of Shinto and Zen, ancestor worship and Japanese inscrutable "mind".

But what is the issue in communication, specifically with respect to the quest that is offered by Japanese and Western thinkers? Communication scholars, linguists, culturologists, the major philosophical trends in the West during the twentieth century were keen to point out that our understanding of the world is inevitably mediated, and in the final analysis, constructed by language. In the background of such claims there are vast philosophical debates concerning "the medium" which allows us to understand the universe. Thus it is proposed that at base "reality is inaccessible" and what is available are variously constructed "representations". This would mean that if we want to communicate with Japan, we must learn the ways that they represent reality and even us and, in turn, the way we represent such reality and the Japanese. It is all too obvious where such prejudgments have led. To avoid such prejudgments, we shall explicate the ways Western phenomenology and Japanese Zen avoid any mediation and disclose direct awareness.

COMMUNICATING WITH THE WEST

By opening discussions with the West, Japanese discovered that the question of the "subject" is of paramount importance. This question leads directly to the nature of awareness without any metaphysical or ontological admixtures, such as why are there things rather than nothing, or what is the basic reality, or, for that matter, how do we know things? The depth and affinity to Western philosophies appear precisely in the search for "pure awareness". This initiates a mutual interest whose broadest search is the domain called "transcendental awareness" which does not coincide with Western shallow modern empiricism and rationalism. In this sense, phenomenological critique of modern Western philosophical trends became a point of critique of the West by Japanese. In short, phenomenology opened a depth of awareness that defied all sorts of psychological, metaphysical, ontological interpretations, and thus demanded a much broader, richer

awareness that was open to humanity. Just as many philosophical concepts, "awareness", *keiken*, was introduced into Japanese vocabulary only in the nineteenth century, even if it became one of the most preeminent terms in Japanese philosophical discourses. Obviously, there is not yet any certainty what is awareness as transcendental, although it forms a background which forces Japanese thinkers to raise a question concerning the contributions of Japanese philosophy; the latter, according to various Japanese thinkers, cannot simply become a commentary on Western texts.¹

Meanwhile, regarded from the side of the West, Buddhism and its branch Zen Buddhism could be treated as "foreign" and difficult to understand. These doubts have serious grounds, since even the best scholars in the West are in disagreement concerning the way of Zen Buddhism. This is not surprising for number of reasons. First, it is a problem of translation from one culture's language into another; it is universally admitted that every translation is inevitably an interpretation if not "trans-creation" of one culture's language and understanding into another culture's context. Second, Japanese language assigns many meanings to the same thing, such as "individual", preventing an easy correlation between languages. Third, Zen Buddhism resists any Western logic, founded on either/or linguistic rule. Fourth, Zen Buddhism's usage of various paradoxical statements is totally unacceptable to Western philosophies, specifically the current ones that are adhering to strict logical rules. Thus the encounter between the West and Japan had to find – on both sides – a common understanding in the middle of which should appear more general questions in philosophy and experience.²

Phenomenology and Zen regard intuition to be equal to "direct" awareness, and not some mystical vision about reality beyond all awareness. Zen and phenomenology demand intuition, direct seeing. As will be disclosed subsequently, not only phenomenology, but also the finest Zen philosophers emphasize direct awareness as the basis for all other levels of understanding. It is also inadequate to claim that direct awareness, intuition, is subjective,

Haven T. Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Mohanty J. N. Reason and Tradition in Indian Thought. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 185.

without raising the question concerning the awareness that discloses this subject. Buddha (and Zen Buddhists) asked, and phenomenology has spent decades analyzing, what sort of awareness is required to disclose what comprises subjective seeing? Without such awareness there would be dogmatic claims that are postulated without their final legitimation in experience. Moreover, what awareness is required to see the difference between subjective and objective domains? Such awareness consists of its own phenomena that cannot be located either subjectively or objectively. Yet, these phenomena cannot be left without being present, even if they cannot be accessed objectively or subjectively. Zen and phenomenology would agree that these phenomena are lived directly, prior to any reflection, and thus can be experienced - and are experienced - everywhere, every time, and by anyone intuitively. Of course, this is a radical claim, but any philosophy that does not push the limits of all metaphysics, ontologies, epistemologies and explanations, is inadequate. In this sense, both phenomenology and Zen are "dramatically" radical, not even yielding to the temptations to accept the fundamental phenomena of awareness as some sort of reality, being, transcendence, mystical union with Buddha, things, divinities, and a blissful life in some Nirvana.3

At the outset it is necessary to avoid all sorts of misunderstandings, specifically with respect to categorizations. The introduction of such terms as "unconscious" or the "true ego" in contrast with the common conceptions of "ego", are to be avoided, since none of such aspects appear as awareness – even if they present themselves to awareness. Any meditating disengagement from anything does not imply a sinking into unconscious state. We are told by major and most profound masters of Zen that the gaining of experience, at its most basic level, is the most intense, the clearest, transparent, unobstructed by any images and theoretical categories, and indeed by anything, any subject or ego, and, ultimately, it is cosmic. This is why no specific cultural semiotic system of signifying, pointing to, is adequate; and this is why there is an advice that we can pick any image of any culture, as an aid to disclose awareness, but not as the truth. We can even say that any image, proclamation or ritual is acceptable as an access

Nishida K. Intuition and Reflection in Self Consciousness (Viglielmo Valdo tr.). Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.

to primary awareness. In this sense, the latter is not some unconscious state, but a pre-personal, a directly lived awareness, that can be aware of anything, but not identical with anything – what it lives "passively" before any question of ego or self, is the closest and most remote, and one major way of accessing this domain is by understanding one of the commonly used terms "impermanence." In the practice of Zen one may achieve a lived awareness – living passively a total calmness in order to become completely open to impermanence.

It is essential to emphasize that Zen extols experience over metaphysical speculation and thus cannot be placed within any comfortable category. It is not a religion, not a system of thought, and refuses to commit itself to a specific position, even if it uses the terminology of Mahayana Buddhism. It does not offer any creed or any images to worship, even if it has temples and monasteries replete with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. What is important is a very precise understanding of Zen experience and its paradoxical communication as reflective consciousness. We must be clear about the concrete radicalism of Zen, specifically in the presence of numerous speculative quests. The required Zen experience will present us with seeming riddles because we tend to look for some verbal image to fill the request to name Zen experience. The temptation is obvious and the verbal images are numerous. Thus we immediately propose such "comparative" aspects as "emptiness" or "nothingness" and, following current metaphysical speculations, shift our attention to these aspects as some "ground" into which and out of which things come and disappear. Thus, all things come from emptiness and return to emptiness, emerge from nothing and vanish into nothing.4

Zen masters are not convinced—after all we have images of emptiness in paintings, on stages, we have psychodramas about nothing in existentialisms, nihilisms, and even à la Sartre, in negative statements. As Sartre suggests, we have no trouble of saying "I see nothing there." In the presence of such numerous images, ranging from metaphysical noumena and its manifestations as phenomena, the various images of being and non-being, the plurality of dualisms, and the quests to "merge" with the origin, sink into emptiness or dissolve into nothingness, we are still at the

⁴ Streng Frederick J. Empriness: A Study in Religious Meaning. New York: Abington Press, 1967.

mercy of the Zen master's laughter or a stick across our back. How then are we to understand such experience? This question is the more important, since even in Japan there is a strong admixture of Western "life after life" in the "pure land" imagery, and Zen practice as a means to something-relaxation, better health, winning karate competitions, and the images of the latter dominate the Western understanding of Zen, from movies through exercise clubs and golf. Yet it is still required to understand Zen for the sake of Zen as experience—without adding any salvific oil, or health benefits.

The point is clear: even great commentators and some masters fail to avoid the temptation of means and purpose images, the so called "instrumental reason." Sometimes Zen masters engage in such reason when speaking of Zen as going "beyond" dualisms of matter-spirit, or mind-body, and reaching the "unity of all things." The problem appears in some westernized versions, offered by well-meaning masters, where one is told that one must believe in "whatever", Buddha, God, the master, and the belief is a matter of spiritual choice, allowing one to enter a spiritual quest.⁵ We have just been advised to go "beyond" dualisms and here we arespiritual. At this juncture there is a realization that for Zen, Buddha or god are not what one seeks, because the very seeking, as a journey, a practice, wants to reach what one already is, and thus realizes that the sought object, Buddha, is not a bringer of salvation, some sort of deliverance to a blissfulpsychological state of consciousness, but another way of saying that we access the cosmos-not Buddha or god, not unity of all things, but an awareness that is not aware of itself, that is nowhere and at no time, and hence everywhere and at all times.

THE ENCOUNTERS

Be that as it may, the interest in Zen occurred in a much broader context: an interest in phenomenology and its raising of the question of "consciousness". This became apparent from the numerous manuscripts and articles in the West, comparing transcendental phenomenology and its method of "bracketing" of ontological and metaphysical prejudgments

⁵ Deshimaru T. Questions to a Zen Master. New York: Arkana, 1985.

with Zen and even Yoga practice. All one has to do is survey the journal *Philosophy East and West*, to be convinced of phenomenology's conjunction with Eastern thought about consciousness. There are parallels, if not direct identities, between Eastern thought and Husserl's phenomenological method. The simple issue, in this context, is whether the West can achieve a state of awareness free from ontological commitments, that is, not asking questions such as "what is reality" but adhering to direct awareness and its description. In Japan, there was a recognition of transcendental phenomenology as not being essentially Western. It became obvious that there were similar ways of transcendental thinking in Samkhaya, Advaita Vedanta and Yogacara in ancient India, or even in modern India, for example, with persons such as Bhattacharyya, who has developed a phenomenological philosophy independently of the West. The same occurred in Japan, with thinkers such as Tetsujiro Inoue, who presented a strong critique of the residua of "things in themselves" behind phenomena, in Kant's transcendental philosophy.6

This relationship was expressed at the highest level by one of Japan's preeminent philosophers, Kitaro Nishida after the First World War. He responded to Husserl's transcendental quest after Husserl's thought was introduced in Japan. Just like Heidegger in the West, Nishida was also significantly influenced by Husserl. It can be claimed, without overstating the case that just as Husserl's quest, Nishida's also went through constant radicalization in an effort to reach the level of primary awareness. As is the case with all philosophical quests, Nishida was not completely satisfied with Husserl's promise to disclose the transcendental ground of Being. For Nishida Husserl's disclosure of such consciousness was still at the "representational" level, leaving unanswered the problem of grasping the direct and immediate activity of awareness by reflection and yet, paradoxically, before reflection. While communicating in 1927with his student who was studying with Husserl, Nishida suggested that phenomenology has not yet completed the task of disclosing what consciousness is. The precise problem, as understood by Nishida, is this: consciousness for phenomenology is still something possessed by the self, while neglecting to recognize that the self is consciousness. This realization

⁶ Mohanty, *Ibid*.

sent Nishida to abandon, what was known as "subjective idealism", in search of the originary "intention" of transcendental phenomenology, found in the tradition of Zen Buddhism. The dialectics of reflection was replaced by "contradictory identity" or the "logic of the place of nothingness." Thus a premier Japanese thinker was led through phenomenology to discover the latter's deeper roots in Zen Buddhism.

This discovery was not without consequences; it helped Western $scholars \, to \, reread \, phenomenology \, in \, a \, different \, light-away \, from \, the \, narrow$ Western terminologies such as "transcendental idealism" or "immanence and transcendence" and away from the reading of phenomenology by deconstructivists or historical hermeneuticists. By questioning the terminology of Western phenomenology, Nishida (and other Japanese thinkers, such as Hiroshi Kojima) opened a domain of awareness that comprised a ground for mutual fascination between phenomenology and Zen. The domain is constantly implied by metaphoric hints such as "the vision that sees both the subject and the object," or "the passive-prereflective and lived awareness" prior to its mediation by reflection, language, culture, and various explanations. The best indication of the difficulties involved is the fact that in this text we are not using the overused term "consciousness." Such a term has so many traditional, metaphysical, and even religious meanings, that it immediately shifts our attention to layers of interpretation without any possibility of strict or essential delimitation of the "phenomenon consciousness." Thus this is the reason for the choice of a more neutral term, "awareness" that does not have the heavy load of irrelevant meanings7.

Nishida is pushing phenomenology toward Zen, wherein pure awareness is an intuitive fact that cannot be found either on the side of the subject or the object, and thus the Zen awareness is not "personal". Thus, there is no need to demonstrate that the self or the ego is conscious or that there must be others who are conscious. In his later years Nishida equated pure awareness with human daily experience, since the latter has not yet been tampered with any sort of "empiricism" or "sense phenomena" as the "basic" awareness. There is no indication that while "watching" a

Nishida K. An Inquiry into the Good. (Masao Abe & Christopher Ives, trsl.). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

colorful leaf in an autumn wind, there is an ego who is watching and that the watching is "sensory." To say that it is "sensory" is to introduce an overlay of distinctions: sensory in contrast to mental, physical, biological, and an entire tradition of division into various "senses" and even the "super-sensible." Barring such distinctions, Nishida unfolded the notion of "Place", a first indication of "self-consciousness" (jikaku), as a nexus of intuition and reflection. As pure awareness, self reflection does not have an ego. Rather, it is an activity that can center itself in various ways, but the centering "on something" can be anything, including an ego. Thus the "self" is neither individual awareness nor some transcendent ultimate subject, but an "anonymous" event which, when approached reflectively, does not appear as an object, but becomes the reflecting-anonymous awareness. This awareness is, for Nishida, bodily and body cannot be understood from inside or outside, and thus is neither subject nor object, since it is at the same time acting and being acted upon. It is a paradoxical, reflecting body that too is part of Zen awareness. After all, to speak of "place" as empty, where action occurs, is impossible without a body.8

Adhering to his Buddhist context, Nishida did not accept the notion of "reality" as some sort of overcoming of contradictions in a form of historical progress. Contradiction is inherent in reality, in "suchness." In this sense, there is no attainment of final identity; rather, the logic of absolute nothingness accepts a paradoxical logic of the contradictory identity of opposites. Just as life-death are "the same" so too are nothingness and being. Obviously, the place of absolute nothingness does not mean an abolition of all differences, and in turn it is not an establishment of self-identity, and still it is the place wherein the contradictory self-identity of subject and object arise; how can such nothingness be understood as "universal." After all, Nishida's quest is to disclose a domain of awareness that is equal to the Western awareness of Being, and this domain is "nothing" as a universal "place" for Western Being. The difficulty in understanding Nishida's philosophy and his argument for Zen awareness rests on the problem of a finite subject in the face of nothingness. Once there is a subject facing something, such as nothingness, then the latter becomes an object and

Mickunas A. Self Identity and its Disruption // The New Yearbook for Phenomenology and Phenomenological Philosophy. Seattle: Noesis Press 2002.

cannot be authentic nothingness. The requirement for Nishida–as well as for phenomenology–is to explicate the origination of the subject and the world of objects that the subject encounters. Thus, nothingness, as that which grounds subject and objects, cannot be in opposition to, or faced by any subject, regardless how vast the subject might be–such as an infinite divinity. In this sense, the subject and nothingness form a contradictory self-identity: any affirmation of nothingness as the origination of the subject must be immediately denied. For Zen, the question is as follows: if Buddha is nothing, then this designation is to be rejected, since Buddha would be placed in opposition to himself. This means that the subject is related to nothingness in an inverse correspondence. How so? As long as there is a subject that sees, then there is a direct correspondence to the seen, but the inverse correspondence is seeing without a seer, doing without a doer. This leads to the notion of "place" (basho).

Nishida claims that with the disclosure of what place is, he has grasped the essence of his philosophical efforts and reached Zen awareness: seeing without a seer-an intuitive awareness that does not require any presence of a subject. Yet it is important to note, that Nishida is completely logical to realize that the very recognition of intuition requires reflection, and a synthesis of both at a common level. This level is "self-awakening" and the awareness of "place" becomes a central focus of his thinking. But it is not possible to make a leap of faith from reflection to the positing of place, since for Zen-as well as for phenomenology-every claim, even the one about reflection, must be grounded in awareness. It is essential to move very cautiously to disclose what is always and already present, but not to intimate any subjectivation or objectivation. At the very outset of his encounter with the West, and specifically phenomenology, Nishida regarded pure experience to be true reality, and thus the phenomenon of consciousness is the only reality. This consciousness cannot be identified with any kind of objectivity, since it is a phenomenon co-present with any objectivity, but not identical with it. In this sense it is pure experience that, as lived directly, is the true reality. This implies that in pure experience thinking, willing and feeling are not divided; all are one activity without any opposition; rather, it is one selfsufficient event, wherein there is no subject that sees nor seen as an object.

⁹ Nishida, *Ibid*.

Here, true reality is present without reflective and thinking mediation. It is similar to being swept up by music, by a sound of an oriental bell, forgetting ourselves as listeners-in fact forgetting to listen, not raising questions as to the origin, nature, or thinking explanations of this sound-being awareness that is this sound, that is the true reality as pure experience. This is to say, pure experience seems to require a subject, but the subject, in this context, is prior to being posited by reflective thought as "intentional" i.e. a subject who is aware of something. At this level, Nishida wants to distance himself from a specific understanding of phenomenology that was prevalent even among westerners-all awareness is "intentional" and the latter can be investigated and accessed anywhere and anytime "objectively." In his analyses of the "remaining problem of consciousness" Nishida argues that phenomenologyand Western philosophy in general-considered consciousness as that which has become an object for consciousness, instead of the unmediated awareness that is present as it is lived. As lived, unmediated awareness is equal to the experienced phenomena; as itself, consciousness appears as the place of absolute nothingness.

Meanwhile, is there such a phenomenon as "emptiness" present in phenomenology that is coextensive with "transcendental subjectivity"? It is well known that awareness is "intentional" to wit, it is awareness of something. To see is to see something, to hear something, touch taste something, wherein all efforts of awareness are to be as much as possible in touch with being. To use other words, awareness "means" something, signifies a thing, a problem a theory, an artwork, and in signifying the question arises whether all that awareness signifies is "fulfilled." If someone states that "tomorrow I shall visit my friend" he signifies, or intends to see the friend. But that intention may not be fulfilled, it might remain "empty." In brief, awareness signifies a field of temporal possibilities most of which might not be "realized" and thus remain empty. All the historical researches of the past are empty intentions, since it is in principle impossible for anyone to return to some historical period and talk to the persons described in texts-the texts signify historical events, but the awareness of such events cannot be fulfilled-it will remain empty-even if the significations make sense. Every experienced thing is encompassed by a horizon of possibilities that are never fully or at times only partially fulfilled. Looking at a tree, it is possible to go around it and see the other side, but

it is possible, in principle to see all the sides in detail. Moreover, the tree is in a field, the field is in an open region, the region is on a continent, etc., and this "openness" is empty, since in a pure perceptual sense one cannot access all the possible significations and their fulfillment in experience. ¹⁰ It is the contact with Zen that opened this emptiness for phenomenology, specifically when intentionality was taken for granted as "oriented" toward some object, entity, theme or a question. The assumption was that awareness, when methodologically purified from all prejudgments, will give us things as they are. But the realization that awareness is always open to more that is never fulfillable concretely, did not gain significant concern; Zen made that concern visible. Thus emptiness is a condition for any awareness of being, even if such a condition cannot be accounted for ontologically or metaphysically, since both are also premised on emptiness which they might fulfill only partially.

The reader will surmise, by now, that the question of showing or not showing images has been answered by Zen philosophy, delimited by Nishida's awareness of basho, place. The numerous images, statues, icons do not depict beings or great masters, or Buddha, but are disclosures of a "place of emptiness" as awareness that anyone can inhabit. Thus, there is no statement made, such as "follow Buddha" or "spread the word", and these images do not say "look at Buddha," but rather disclose yourself as an empty place for things to appear directly to a living and engaged awareness. While at social and even psychological levels there may be a wish to celebrate and love a master, at the level of Zen awareness such social and psychological levels vanish, and in their place the awareness phenomenon – emptiness – makes its presence. The entire monastic life, for those who choose to enter it, is also a manifestation of such emptiness - but not as some pure blank, a tabula rasa, on which empirical things leave their impressions which, then, mechanically form a sequence of associations of "ideas." Of course, there are teachers who insist on instruction about how to understand the active awareness which is lived passively, i.e. which is not attended to by our daily habits of linguistically and conceptually deployed worlds.¹¹

Bruzina, R. Edmund Husserl and Eugen Fink: Beginnings and Ends in Phenomenology. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, p. 473.

¹¹ Suzuki, D. T. Zen and Japanese Culture. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1993.

One such teacher is Dogen (1200-53) who is both the founder of the Soto School in Japan and one of the most popular Japanese Zen masters of all time. He emphasizes the importance of following the instruction of a teacher in the practice of Buddha's teaching. According to him, the practice of Buddha's teaching is always done by receiving the essential instructions of a matter, not by following your own ideal. In fact, Buddha's teaching cannot be attained by having ideas or not having ideas. Moreover, according to him, a true teacher must abandon his self-views and emotional feelings in such a way that practice and understanding are in mutual accord. According to Dogen, to practice Zen is to drop off one's body and one's mind. This would be the equivalent of saying that to learn the Buddha's way is to learn one's self. To learn one's self is to forget one's self. To forget one's self is to be confirmed by all things. To be confirmed by all things is to affect the dropping off of one's own body-and-mind and the mind-and-body of others as well. It is notable that Dogen extols situated and undivided activity, in which one's self and things are unified, and one is free from not only one's mind but also one's body. Yet the term "unified" is somewhat troubling, since it lends awareness a metaphysical status, or at least a reality status such that it can unify with something. This unity is expressed in a metaphor of life as a journey in a boat: when one rides in a boat, one's body, mind and the environment are, altogether, the function of the boat. The entire earth and the entire sky are the function of the boat. Thus life is nothing but you; you are nothing but life. Of course, he corrects this ontological claim and proposes that at the heart of Zen is genjokoan, (the presence of things as they are), and he equates such an awareness as equivalent to the self. This is enlightenment and equally forgetting of enlightenment. Here, the way with Buddha (butsudo), means that the following of Buddha is forgetting of Buddha and oneself, since any adherence to Buddha is an obstruction to the presence of the phenomena of the world. Dogen's understanding stems from the Buddhist notion of anatman, no self and hence no ego, and "no thinking." This is not some sort of nihilistic nothingness but an authentication of awareness-not in the teachings of Buddha, or demands of a master but in the understanding of oneself without a self. Obviously, by discovering such awareness, any Zen activity is no different from Buddha's, not as an imitation of Buddha, but

as a realization of the domain wherein all phenomena appear as they are. This is "primordial enlightenment" (*hongaku*), as the primordially present phenomena. This awareness is, as a given, also a primordial koan.¹²

Two Zen monks were walking in the mountains when they came to a river, where they found a lovely woman who asked them to help her cross the river because the river was deep and the current swift. The first monk refused, saying that the purity of monastic life and the rules did not allow monks to have any bodily contact with a female. Meanwhile the other monk did not even utter a word; he picked her up, carried her across the river, put her down on the river bank and continued his journey with his friend right behind him. Having traveled for an hour, the first monk spoke up, saying that his friend should not have picked up the woman, since the monastic rules are specific on that subject matter. The second monk stopped in amazement and said to his friend: you certainly must be very tired, because as soon as we crossed the river I put her down, but poor you, you have been carrying her all this time. This example reveals the no-thought and no-mind aspects of Zen. The monk who carried her across the river did not think about her, her beauty, did not wonder where she was going. He put her on his back, carried her across the river and "flowed" away, while the other monk was constantly and for a long time permanently obsessed with her, with his "purity" and with the monastic rules. He was attached and his thoughts and actions did not come one after the other and disappear. While not in zazen meditative position, the second monk was and continued to be in Zen awareness; he brought nothing to the chancy encounter of the woman and left her with nothing, while the first monk was attached to the person as a woman and himself as a monk.

This example involves the other two aspects: no-form and non-abiding. For the monk who carried the woman across the river she was not substantivated into an object of his attention, given a form as someone interesting, and so on; he spontaneously and "without a thought" lifted her on his back and continued across the river. Thus he was also non-abiding, since he was navigating the fast flowing river and changed with every step. He was carrying her "passively" and was "passively engaged in following, not his thoughts "about" the river, but navigating and flowing with the currents

¹² Dogen: Dogen Studies. William R. LaFleur, ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985.

of the river. This passivity is no-mind, although it is spontaneously engaged in awareness and a task at hand. This is not all that can be said about the non-abiding, since it requires a disclosure of its being "lived" at the most primordial level of experience, even if it becomes exemplified differently in different civilizations. The same thing goes for the "presence" of anything that, even if not attended, not deliberately maintained and repeated as an object of concern—as was the case with the monk who carried the young lady way past the river—is still a present something that abides.

It is the inevitable presence of images and language, pervaded by metaphysics, ontology, and epistemology, that shift our awareness toward things, objects, subjects, beings, eternal minds, temporal and spatial events and their locations, and lead us to search for Buddha, divinities, focal points, the sun, the ultimate, as the sources of everything, and ourselves as beyond an identifiable ego. We have the Bodhisattvas, the various natural objects as kami, the journeys from one place to another in search of a master who would tell us "something," and even a pure land-Zen/Shinto with images of new salvation in some "other place"-with the ultimate source, with Buddha himself. We always end up thrown back to the awareness that we live, an awareness without a place or time, without eternity- since eternity is equally a transcendental image filled by various exemplars of Bodhisattvas, heavens, endless bliss, a being with others of our traditionand all to no avail, except that we already live an awareness in the context of which all the images play out their destinies. We must be careful even with such multi-layered terms as context, and replace it with "anonymous background" that "shadows" every entity, from kami through Buddha, Mohammad, Jesus, Shiva, Zeus, Artemis, Athene, Mary, and allows them to assume wondrous dimensions. It is also imperative to suggest that such a "background" does not transcend anything, as if it were the being of all beings, the ultimate source of everything, but it allows the positions for all images of Being and beings to play out their roles of transcendence and one-sided dependence.

ALL AND NOTHING

Bluntly speaking, we are confronted by an awareness that escapes any ontology, metaphysics, and epistemology and yet it is an active

awareness disclosing all phenomena and noumena without exhibiting any position, any direction, or any meaning; as if it were an orientation toward something, a wish for something, and even a refusal of orientation or desire. In this sense, all notions of "telos," including even those that have propelled the ultimate articulation of phenomenological awareness, will not do. Indeed, even the presumed "unity" of one's experience and life are to be avoided, since they are presumptions of a focus, a position, and resultantly of ontology and temporalization. After all, unity presumes a conjunction and flowing of all into one, and hence of a temporal direction and a point of convergence. Moreover, the suggestion that throughout our lives we have numerous egos, while underlying them there is an awareness that can recognize such egos and thus is more than any of them, does not mean that this "more" is some sort of a "broader self." As we already saw in the last chapter, for Zen no such ontological posturing, such as the "true self," is necessary. Thus, we can even question the "infinite task" of self knowledge, announced by Husserl, as a mere purpose and not identical with the awareness that allows this purpose to be accessible without becoming definitory of awareness.

The multitude of life worlds—and thus their relativity—with their inner signitive connections, disclose impermanence. There is no ground that would offer them permanence. This is to say, they come and vanish; even if they become historical, they offer no necessary continuity—the continuity is an ontological importation of a directional time. In brief, life worlds are present as impermanence. Gadamer, here, proposes his philosophical hermeneutics to deflect any notion of "ahistorical" awareness.¹³

And this is where care must be exercised: Mahayana Buddhism, and its Zen followers, offers an ontological depiction of all things as changing, as becoming, as in flux, as impermanent. While this ontological claim is validated by selected phenomena, presented by philosophical arguments, scientific "proofs," and the inevitable death of every human being, none of these aspects can be identical with awareness. The latter is what discloses and makes present these ontological claims, but in itself it has no ontological characteristics. In this sense through all life worlds there appears a lived phenomenon, the upsurgent awareness, that is their constitutive

¹³ Gadamer, H. G. Wahrheit und Methode. Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1972.

background, and in such a way that it allows a member of each life world to disclaim exclusivity; my life world is one among others, and thus there is more in awareness than my own "home world." But this "more" requires an awareness that allows the more to appear: there would be nothing more unless my world and theirs are disclosed by awareness as impermanent. Life worlds, and even their modes of time awareness, have a tacitly constituted background of "impermanence awareness." If one were to institute a life world that is onto-metaphysical, retaining its constancy in space, time and movement, its time would be understood as one trace among others of impermanence. It is important to note that impermanence, as a shading of active awareness, does not exhibit any discrete moments and cannot be regarded as an intentionality of awareness to be partially fulfilled by any specific life world with its time structure. At this juncture, the latter ceases to be a clue pointing back to its transcendental constitution, and becomes a trace of impermanence. No signitive, intentional distance, such as "I am looking at something," is yet exhibited.

To read the portents of this trace is to intimate the "more" in traces of impermanence, and hence the other life worlds that are different as equivalent traces. The traces are not *in* flux with temporal directions and thus positional enactments. This intimation may be regarded from the side of a life world as a clue to its transcendental constitution. If a life world defies signifying awareness, then it cannot point to any specific signification or the sum of them, since it is "more" and encompasses all objectivities and their constitutive acts. The very recognition of a given life world as a clue makes it a transparent trace prior to its being an identity. Living the primordial impermanence, one traces the impermanence of one's life world without lending it any temporalizing, and thus ontologizing, parameters. It is equally to be understood that no signitively partial fulfillment can occur at this level of awareness. In this sense, the anthropological designations of a life world as a multilayered crisscrossing of symbolic designs and their implied meaning horizons turn out to be inadequate.

The "atemporal" awareness does not "move" from point to point, and the various phenomena that are presenting themselves and are concretized, are present to the meditating focus and can be regarded as a bouquet that does not move from here to there or now to then, but displays itself and in so doing displays the meditating focus. What is equally available is the other aspect that would comprise a totally empty awareness which is "excluded" from the one that appears as permanence and a focus on the concretion of permanent phenomena. It was noted, but not thematized that the permanent focus is also an opening to the co-presence of flow; the focus and the phenomena which it contemplates and concretizes, appeared on the background of flow: the "drifting leaf" that the focus maintains, or the other phenomena to which the focus attaches, are also in flux. The latter, just attended to, shifts to become the background on which the fluttering, the gusts of wind and the raindrops are concretized as "becoming." Of course, the primary trace of the flowing background is concretized as becoming, constant change without a predictable anything. All is "chance" and the universe is on the verge of chaos. In this case, permanence has not disappeared, but is the *basho*, the "empty place" of all that moves, changes, becomes.

While Zazen meditation is one way for Zen to explicate the primary lived awareness, daily life is no different and offers the same awareness that is ever present. For example, I am waiting, but not attending to the lived permanence wherein nothing is changing - empty waiting. In the waiting there appear unchanged, "permanent" features. These give themselves as enduring. They announce themselves as unchanged, as unchangeable, as all there is. I look at my watch as if to find some break in the permanence, I am looking for some sign, some portent of change. It is still five past the hour. Even the second hand does not seem to have moved. But it moves. This shift in position I take as a sign of a 'break" in permanence, although basically it is truly one of permanence. This is not a break at all, but merely a facet as yet unnoticed by me of what is for all time: the shift in position of the hand comes when it "has to," neither before nor later. Moreover, within the example of waiting, all the change of place of the second hand does is to underscore that "nothing has changed," that "I am waiting," and that the emptiness of waiting has been concretized in a permanent temporal sequence, appearing through the phenomenon of a particular lifeworldthe watch. This is admittedly a lame example, because it is extremely difficult to convey with the tools of our culture the stiffling living presence of empty permanence. Flow appears then as illusory-all its signs are signs

of what is equally empty, unreal. While the hands of the watch "move," they reveal the lived awareness as empty permanence, while the empty flow is immediately rejected by the primal traces of time appearing in through the phenomenon of the watch as an "unlived" place of the permanent.

The outcome of lived awareness as permanence may shift spontaneously to the primary trace and can become interpreted as "real time" wherein the hands on the watch mark the stable time of some ontologies, such that the second hand marks the seconds "one after another" wherein the "previous second" is no longer and the "coming one" is not yet, and only the "present moment" is given. This is a "reflectively" specific introduction of a modern Western life world into the lived awareness of sequential time, and thus of a subject that connects the present moment to the previous moment "in memory" and the coming moment "in expectation". All the debates concerning "transcendental subjectivity" rest on this reflective insertion of "reality" into the immediately lived awareness. No doubt, numerous variants follow from this "reality" as a trace of lived permanence. One can speak here of "repetition" such that each moment the "second" hand of the watch "repeats" the same temporal interval, or allows the entire astronomical system to be regarded as having started "at this point" and then having moved in a sequence of "billions" of years, and the system shall move in precisely calculated sequence into the future, or even "looking for" and "finding" patterns in "chaos."

What is apparent in a simple example of direct lived awareness as permanence, such as "waiting," can also appear through an entire life world—such as that of the modern West. From the discipline of civilizational studies it can be said that permanence is so new a cultural phenomenon for Western humanity (perhaps two or three hundred years old, at most) that there is no easy believable referent for it. Yet some variants of lived permanence, and its emptiness at the cultural level, can be disclosed—and done so in a seemingly "contradictory" manner. At one surface level, called "the modern reality," there is a global complaint that the dynamics of the West, its endless transformation of cultures, ethnic identities, even human self definition as an "unfinished creature," is totally destructive of stability, in fact verging on anarchy. One mode of this "dynamism" is the progress that pervades all areas of the modern life world. But progress must be "without

death," must be constant as a succession of improvements, creating novelties, and hence, creating a psychology of desire for constant novelties-all indices that at the level of passively lived awareness there is a total permanence, an empty permanence, that is "marked" by every novelty that is "inadequate" that requires new novelties, new excitements as phenomena indicating that "nothing is happening," that one rushes from a place where one is bored to tears to another place where one is bored to death. Thus all the novelties, the pop-cultural as whatever is "latest," be it "tune" or "style" or "lover" or "mannerism," including the latest popular pornography to advertise beer, sports, cars, all marking events one after the other, faster and faster, declaring that nothing is happening. The novelty is permanent, disclosing the lived awareness as permanence. One variant of this permanent novelty is permanent consumerism, allowing numerous "critical intellectuals" to make vast careers from this movement which began in the Nineteenth Centuryincluding the latest intellectual writing about postmodern consumerism. They did not solve any issues but became part of the surface phenomenon of consumerism. They consume each other's empty moralizing rhetoric about the "emptiness" of modern consumerism; one more marker in the parade of empty permanence. In brief, filling that emptiness with speeches, with their noisy crowds, and thus forgetting the very silent awareness that calls for a break in the clamor. The logic of place is both, the logic of reality and self consciousness. The way to understand this is to note that "self consciousness" is not its own origin; the origin is the world as a standpoint from which consciousness reflects to become self conscious. Thus when the world becomes conscious, we become self-conscious, and when we become self conscious, the world becomes self conscious. This means that whatever we call "reality" are actually phenomena of our consciousness as direct experience. To speak aesthetically, the world draws itself through Sesshu, and Sesshu draws himself through the world. To say this otherwise, the world that one sees is the very seeing - without any obstructions or mediations. Sesshu's self consciousness is the world that is conscious through Sesshu's drawing. Self-consciousness of Sesshu and self-consciousness of world is the sole activity of the world.¹⁴ But what are the phenomena that compose

Tanaka I. Japanese Ink Painting: Shubun to Sesshu. Bruce Darling, tr. New York: Weather-hill, 1972.

the immediacy "in awareness", prior to things, to any positing of "reality" or even Being? In daily encounters we are in the presence of "things", at least in linguistic form – even if such things may be "living" or even "thinking". There are flowers, tables, stars, kings, divinities and their mothers, and we speak of them as "the flower is..." or "the earth is..." etc. All such things seem to offer a density, resistance, requiring a subject that senses their resistance. But what is it that we encounter in a flower? Not the flower, but "blooming, bright red under the flood of golden day, which are not substantial facts but phenomena. The latter have no weight, no position or time. The phenomena are what the artist traces, what "moves" the artist or a thinker, and do not refer to or represent anything else. To speak in other terms, phenomena are not "predicates" or characteristics of anything. Phenomena simply surge forth, like the nameless "sunset" radiance - ephemeral and yet the very cradle of any concretion into something. Just to say "the sky is blue" is to concretize the blue into a predicate of something which is not even there. The blue is the sky, as ephemeral as the radiance of "the evening". Not attached to anything called "the evening", the radiance surges and continues through the artists brush strokes, painting itself as its self reflective consciousness, just as much as the consciousness of the artist. The upsurging as a "flow" does not have any temporal positions, as would things. But to get to these phenomena we must drop the verbal masks that mask emptiness.

This suggests, what was already disclosed by Zen, that no images or words from any lived world can adequately access this awareness. In this non-positional, atopical, atemporal upsurgence what can manifest itself if I let my words elude me, if I refuse the effort required to subjugate them under the unity of my I– or my time and its moment to moment awareness–I put myself out of all life worlds. If I practice upon myself an exclusion of my individual I, put myself in parentheses, reduce myself to no particular anything, I shall no longer be coordinated nor composed. If I let my words, images and sensations elude me, each dangling in between permanence and flow, each exhibiting its own aura, and none of them succeeding in subsuming the varied presence of each of the others under its design. If I let my words drift away timelessly, without attempting to keep this or that one as a container in which to pour, day after day or all at once, what energy I have, then I no longer participate in any life world,

am no longer attracted or repulsed by any word, image or sensation. Am I not beyond life or death, in a timeless realm in which even the initial refusal to participate in impermanence or to hold onto some image–an ego, a divinity, Bodhisattva–ceases to be a demand; there appears simply an upsurgence that initiates "open awareness" that allows all events to play out their cosmic destinies, while itself being without any position or direction: a cosmic awareness.¹⁵

Cosmic awareness opens as a dislocated time, shifting eternities from one unrecollected image to another unrecollected image, since neither this awareness nor the images have any time-space positions; they are cosmic wanderers having no destinies, apart from tracing their own cosmic drift without leaving any traces. I let my words, images and sensations elude me, each in turn absorbing their dissipating energy. We encounter a participation in non-participation. And either some image offers itself for attachment and thus comprises again some semblance of succession, of meanings that point one to the other composing some unity, or I reach the point of no return-and if I pass the point of no return, becoming then unable to compose any sense, ceasing to participate in non-participation, I become incapable of either one. I have reached, then, the point of no return. It is thus in all meditation as cosmic awareness. Each of us, within the specificity of her particular life world, is constantly "in danger" of becoming this cosmic openness. Non-positional, dissolving each successive effort at self-unity, drowning, slowly drowning, dreaming myself a self and awake, I become aware of the enormous surge of cosmos gushing through the sentient wound that once was a permanent I, permeated with sounds, smells, touches, feelings, all rushing into presence without me. Sentient, then, enormously sentient, with the raw intensity of the animal or the newly born, and like them unprotected by any kind of life world images, names, words devised to give things, myself, images, divinities, kami their recognizable features or to provide for my security in a known world. Here one finds the naked, open cosmic awareness that continuously explodes what is left of the individual me, the overwhelming awareness of the presence of this world passing through me such as it is, distending

Tanaka I. Japanese Ink Painting: Shubun to Sesshu. Bruce Darling, tr. New York: Weather-hill, 1972.

me into time and space until the vacuous membrane I am no longer able to name becomes shreds. I'll have reached, then, the deeper recesses of cosmic awareness: all and nothing, not even an I, all or nothing, here and nowhere, now, yet at no time in particular, if I let my words elude me.

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Special Contribution (keynote speech)

GLOBAL COMMUNICATION LAW AND GOOD FAITH: THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN EUROPE AND JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

Globalized communication has not only brought with it a homogenization of social cultural order, but also fragmentation. Fragmentation has been referred to as cleavages or more prominently, functional differentiation or poly-contextualization. These cleavages or fragmentation demand a way for "binding associations" which in principle are the province of law. Yet, in a global society with varieties of capitalism, social cultural and civilizational differences is there a universal that binds? At this time, the notion of "lex mercatoria" is serving as a mechanism. Yet it is neither a law nor a non-law. This paradoxical situation lends itself to investigation of the communication practice of "good faith," a foundational premise of lex mercatoria. Good faith appears as a commonality through the historical differences and interplay of the Confucian legacy in both Japan and Europe. Good faith may serve as a dialogical practice mediating and resolving conflicts in several different arenas. It also can serve as a communication model for others.

Keywords: Recursive, Reentry, Morphogenesis, Harmonization, Regimes, Confucian, Samurai, Japan, European Union (EU), Law.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization, particularly economic globalization, has produced the invisible system of signs we call global networks. One such global network we call the internet. Within this context, we will address law, as a system of communication with its network of contracts, financial arrangements and the like as a system of communication. The texts of law are only one form of communication influencing behavior within the social world.

Within the world of globalization, the zeal for stability and security has motivated the EU in the quest for harmonization. Harmonization is a code for the rule of law, the Western structure of law, in order to standardize other systems within and outside of the EU In other terminology, it is called convergence.

Theories of the transfer of legal structure with its expectations and valuations, etc. are often viewed as parts replacement or transplant. Both seem to be a very appropriate metaphor but hardly how transfer works in theory or practice, given the topic of the Conference of my paper, the interplay of Europe and Japan regarding their "getting together" requires a "give and take" relationship. In order to understand this give and take we will look at the *lex mercatoria* and what is said to be the soul of lex mercatoria: *good faith*.

I will first explore the "influence of European law on Japan; second, the lex mercatoria as communication media in the sense of Niklas Luhmann's prominent phenomenological base system theory. Good faith has moved from the background of economic contracts to the foreground and is subjected to "the rules of law" of EU harmonization. Third, this paper will address recovering the origins of good faith within the interplay of Europe and Japan's globalized economic relationship.

1. LESSONS FROM JAPANESE LEGAL HISTORY

The Japanese model of Western-style law adoption provides great insights, because the more probable outcome is the emergence of some hybrid legal system through application of Western-style law in China. This new legal system will no doubt be distinctly Chinese in character with only some aspects of Western-style legal form and flavor.

In the Japanese legal system, contractual relationships between Japanese companies are much more informal and very general as compared to contractual relationships between Japanese companies and foreign companies. Japanese companies do not tend to consult lawyers in the negotiation and preparation of domestic contracts. The Japanese Government plays a very active role in major contract negotiations involving Japanese enterprises with each other and with foreign enterprises. Directions and guidance are provided by the government bureaucracy. Disputes between domestic enterprises are resolved through negotiation or mediation rather than in the courtroom. This dispute settlement preference is a legacy of the Confucian legal tradition from China.

Some of the similarities are superficial; in Japan, during the last years of the nineteenth century, the tension between advocates of a capitalist

society and advocates of an absolutist state was marked. Still, in format as well as in the pervasiveness of the cultural traditions Japan is a civil law country in which most legal subjects are covered by codes or statutes. The Japanese definition of a code (*hoten*) is an enacted law which covers the basic law in a specific legal situation.

Major legal codification in Japan took place in the late 1880s and 1890s. Prior to that time, Japan underwent several transitions. During the third and fourth centuries, social life and hierarchy were under a strong religious (Shinto) influence. Confucianism was added to this Shinto religious tradition in the fifth century and provided a strict hierarchical social order serving political purposes. Buddhism arrived in the sixth century and its doctrines also served existing political purposes. Law could not be distinguished from social rules and there was no foreign influence. Power was concentrated in the government of the emperor and powerful clans. By the beginning of the seventh century, Japan had a state organization of a centralized type along the lines of the Chinese model and all the Chinese political institutions were transplanted to Japanese soil.

In the seventh century, the Japanese government promulgated several legal codes which were modeled on Chinese legal codes and incorporated Confucian doctrine and values. The language used in these Japanese codes was Chinese. These codes focused on administrative law, criminal law, and Confucian ideals governing social life. Power was concentrated in the imperial government and Japanese law was non-judicial and non-procedural as it emphasized administrative practice for governing society. By the ninth century, there was a weakening in the central government with a corresponding rise in the power of a military class-clan society structure. By the twelfth century, the military class gained political control of the imperial government and the emperor reigned in name only. This military government established a feudalistic society dominated by clans.

This period of feudalism in Japan was dominated by the <u>bushi</u> (samurai). The moral rules of conduct governing the *bushi* were found in the *bushido* (code of chivalry). Although basically a customary system of rules, there was some written law associated with bushido. The system of morality founded by bushido is grounded in Confucianism and Buddhism.

The older legal codes based on Chinese law were never formally abrogated, but with the growth of feudalism, their influence declined outside the domain of the imperial court.

Feudalism reached its peak during the Tokugawa period of Japanese history and lasted from roughly 1603 until 1868. Japan isolated itself from the rest of the world, particularly the Western world. Confucianism was adopted as the official ideology and provided the moral ideals on which the hierarchical social relationships of Japanese feudalism were founded. Customary law supported the existing social order and legislation dealt with matters concerning the support of the feudal regimes. This legislation normally took the form of directives to feudal lords (*daimyos*) or existing judicial authorities. Japanese laws, for the most part, were a means of constraint or enforcement used by government authorities to achieve government purposes and to maintain a strict code of social behavior and relationships among the Japanese people. An independent judicially created system for dispute resolution between private parties whose legitimate interests had been injured existed, but rights of individuals were not well respected and people were expected to obey.

Following the Tokugawa period, a time of transition known as the Meiji era (1868-1912) began. Political power was returned to the emperor and Japan struggled to maintain an independent state in the face of Western pressure to open itself to foreign influences and interests. Japan was forced to restructure its legal system to facilitate modernization of social and political organization in Japanese society and to enable it to participate in the international economic marketplace and political arena. In the Japanese frame of reference, there was simply not enough time to allow the law to spontaneously change to satisfy the demands and needs of an emerging industrial society striving to modernize itself. Japanese leaders looked to Europe for a model on which to base their new legal system. The civil law codes offered more practical advantages for a country seeking a Chinese Confucianism set out to resolve the basic conflict between the need (deduced from historical experience) for a hierarchical society and the need to mitigate the injustices inherent in such an unequal order. In Japan the unequal relationship was made acceptable by appeal neither to religion nor to any rational theory of Staatskraft, but to claim of inherent benevolence starting place than a common law system which placed so much reliance on the natural evolution of case law.

European legal codes were predicated on a "society in which every individual is presumed free and equal with everyone else ... and where loyal relationships are created by the exercise of an individual's free will." The new Japanese legal system was not meant to interfere with or to alter the actual life and morality of the Japanese people. "Even the most progressive Japanese] intellectuals toward the end of the Edo period expressed this idea, and their motto was 'western techniques, Oriental morality."

The end of the Tokugawa period signaled the beginning of the modern era of law in Japan. Unlike the prior law which had its origin in China, this new law was a hybrid of Western law. However, this does not mean that early Japanese law and Confucianism has no place in the interpretation and study of the modern Japanese legal system. Culture and social habits followed for hundreds of years are deeply rooted in the lives of Japanese people. There may be a marked difference between the modern and the old law at the level of (written) state law, but at the level of living (practice and interpretation) law there was no break in continuity. The latter evolved spontaneously and with a passive awareness. Historical continuity was interrupted in the conscious yet continues its latency, and this latent factor plays an important role in the social life of the Japanese people today.

The resulting merger of European and Japanese was <u>not</u> a mirror image of a traditional European-style civil legal system but the "natural" product of Japanese tradition and morality after "customary" or "living" law had caught up and merged with the written or "book" law. Given a moral, social, economic, cultural, and historical background different from that of Europe, the Japanese found themselves applying European legal rules and principles to factual situations and settings which were nonexistent in Europe. Rather, Japanese law has an ensemble Confucian, Shinto and Samurai code of Honor and Chivalry. Westernization produced rapidly changing circumstances in Japanese society for which even customary law had no solutions. Hence, the newly created Constitution and Civil Code formed a foundation for a legal system which merged European legal theory with Japanese culture and morality (Confucianism) to begin the evolution of a unique Japanese rule of law. The divergence of living law

from book law is a phenomenon not confined to Japan. It exists not only in codified, civil-law countries such as France and Germany, but also in common-law countries such as the United States.

This evolutionary process of merging book law with living law was further complicated by World War II, after which a new Constitution and common law principles were introduced to and imposed on Japan. It is quite natural that these rules and principles were interpreted by Japanese jurists according to civil law theories and principles. Once again, book law was forced to merge with **living** law and the resulting product is a unique Japanese rule of law. At this stage it appears the transfer of "law" is onesided - no real give and take. In fact, Japanese law is an incorporation not only of European law, but over 70 countries are incorporate in the law and codes. In order to move to understanding the interplay between Europe and Japan we have to look at dynamic essentiality of *lex mercatoria* and its present circumstances.

2. LEX MERCATORIA: THE STRUCTURE OF INTERPLAY

Globalization processes imply the self-deconstruction of the hierarchy of legal norms. Thus, legal pluralism is no longer only an issue for legal sociology, but becomes a challenge for legal practice itself. Traditionally, rulemaking by 'private regimes' has been subjugated under the hierarchical frame of the national constitution. When this frame breaks, then the new frame of legal institutions can only be hierarchical. The origin of global non-state law as a sequence of recursive legal operations is an 'as if', not only a founding myth as a self-observation of law, rather the legal fiction of concrete past operations. This fiction, however, depends on social conditions outside legal institutions, on a historical configuration in which it is sufficiently plausible to assume that in earlier times, too, legal rules were applied.

Lex mercatoria should be allowed to break the traditional frames of international private law. Should the national court recognize lex mercatoria's 'private justice' as a new positive law with transnational validity? Could such an ambiguous normative phenomenon which is 'between and beyond' the laws of the nation states and at the same time 'between and beyond' law and society be applied by arbitration bodies according to the rules of the law of conflicts? Does it contain distinct rules

and principles of its own? However the judges decide about lex mercatoria, it means breaking frames. Either the rigid frames of private international law are breaking transnational phenomena into a shattered multitude of national laws, or the dynamics of the global market are breaking the narrow frames of national law and push for the recognition of a global law without the State.

Obviously, 'frame' in this context means something different from its traditional sense of separating an image from the world. Frame in the sense of parergon is more than a simple static boundary between two legal orders or between law and non-law. Instead, frame as the paradox of a *cloture ouvrante* is the transitory and processual, oscillating zone of the in-between; between the internal and external, between the proper and its other, foreign (improper); it becomes the zone where translation (in its narrowest and its widest sense) takes place: parergon as the place which gives a place for the tran/creation (differs from translation).

To be more concrete, the case of lex mercatoria would involve:

- a multinational enterprise striking a huge investment contract with a developing country, and
- if the parties to the contract cannot agree on the applicable law, and
- the enterprise fears the interventionist tendencies of the host-country law while the host government cannot accept the neo-liberal framework of the multinational home country, and
- after several years of investment, the government of the developing country asks for an adaptation of the contract to the conditions of the world market which have drastically changed in the meantime, and
- invokes the principle of unequal bargaining power as an expression of 'ordre public,' and
- the arbitrators come up with a bold decision.

They apply neither the law of the home country, nor that of the host country, but the lex mercatoria. In addition, they discover that this lex mercatoria contains a far-reaching standing and provides for mandatory rules of public order.

In its very general frame as a 'play of differences', is a recursive process of transforming and substituting differences. Law as a game is in line with several parallel movements that attempt to construct a post-structuralist concept of law. What these movements have in common is to overcome the limitations of law as a static rule system which is so dominant in analytical jurisprudence, pure theory of law, and in institutionalism. In this respect law as 'game' converges with law as 'discourse', law as 'discipline', law as différance, law as 'champ' and law as 'autopoietic system." Problems which are central to all of them: indeterminacy, recursivity, reflexivity, self-reference and – above all – paradoxes. Legal autopoiesis, law as game and other forms of post-structuralist legal theory have several things in common: the linguistic turn away from positivist sociology of law, the dissolution of social and legal realities into discursivity, fragmentation and closure of multiple discourses, the non-foundational character of legal reasoning, the decentering of the legal subject, the eclectic exploitation of diverse traditions in legal thought, the preference for difference, différance and différends over unity, and most important, the foundation of law on paradoxes, antinomies and tautologies. But here the controversies begin.

Deconstructivism is obviously satisfied to deconstruct legal doctrine by provoking and horrifying the scholarly community with antinomies and paradoxes. Legal autopoiesis poses the somewhat sobering question: After the deconstruction, what? On the one hand, they do not share the deconstructivist gesture and want to overcome sheer destructive critique by a constructive attitude.

Let us follow the directions of 'morphogenesis', a conceptual construct which has been proposed in the context of paradox. "Re-entry" might be (one of) the new more complex representations of the world we are looking for. In an abstract formulation, "re-entry" means the reappearance of a distinction in one of the sides of the distinction itself. In the language of Spencer-Brown (1972), what separates morphogenesis and dialectics would amount to the following. Whenever we make an 'observation' we create a double phenomenon, we draw a 'distinction' of two sides and make an 'indication' of one of them. This fundamental operation of observation as distinction and as indication is concealing a paradox. For resolute acceptance of this paradox, legal players deal with it via the 'simultaneous presence' of and 'oscillation' between the two poles. Spencer-Brown would describe their thinking as either continuously 'crossing' between the two sides of the distinction or 'cancelling' the form itself. Obviously, these are non-productive moves.

"Re-entry" is something more complex. The original distinction has created a form with two sides. Now, the distinction between the two sides makes a 're-entry' into one of these two sides; it reappears in itself. The distinction itself enters after the indication of one of its sides. Then it is no longer the old distinction. It is the presentation of the distinction within one of its poles. It is the 'internalization' of the external/internal distinction. A system makes self-referential use of the distinction between self-reference and hetero-reference. The frame reappears in the picture, the boundary becomes part of the territory. This internal reconstruction of an external distinction might be one among the possible increases of complexity described in the concept of morphogenesis. It does not resolve the paradox in the simple sense of denying it, nor does it playfully accept the infinite oscillations of paradox between the positive and negative value. Rather, "re-entry" transforms and maintains the paradox by reformulating its contradictions as a distinction within a distinction.

Back to lex mercatoria. Law or not law – that is the question! According to the traditional doctrine of legal sources, lex mercatoria, no doubt, is non-law. It may be anything, professional norms, social rules, customs, usages, contractual obligations, intra-organizational or inter-organizational agreements, and arbitration awards - but not law. The distinction between law/non-law is based on a hierarchy of legal rules where the higher rules legitimate the lower ones. Normative phenomena outside of this hierarchy are not law, just facts. The highest rule in our times is, after the decline of natural law, the constitution of the nation state which refers to democratic political legislation as the ultimate legitimation of legal validity. In spite of recurrent doubts, judicial adjudication is seen as subordinated to legislation. And, in spite of even stronger recurrent doubts, contractual rule-making as well as intra-organizational rule-production is either seen as non-law or as delegated law-making which needs recognition by the official legal order. Rule-making by 'private governments' is thus subjugated under the hierarchical frame of the national constitution which represents the historical unity of law and state.

However, globalization breaks this frame. The recurrent doubts can no longer be silenced; they explode in the case of lex mercatoria and other practices of 'private' global norm-production. Lex mercatoria, the transnational law of economic transactions, is not the only case of global law without the state. It is not only the economy, but various sectors of world society that are developing a global law of their own. And they do so - as Giddens has put it - in 'relative insulation' from the state, from official international politics and international public law. In the first place, internal legal regimes of multinational enterprises are a strong candidate for global law without the state (a similar combination of globalization and informality can be found in labor law; in the lex *laboris internationalis*, enterprises and labor unions as private actors are dominant law-makers. Technical standardization and professional self-regulation have developed tendencies toward world-wide coordination with minimal intervention of official international politics. Human rights discourse has become globalized and is pressing for its own law, not only from a source other than the states but against the states themselves. In the world of telecommunications we experience the Internet struggling for its own global legal regime. Similarly, in the field of ecology, there are tendencies towards legal globalization in relative insulation from State.

Due to their a-national global character, all these legal regimes cannot be rooted in a national legal order. Ergo: no law. But what is the difference between a national contractual regime and an international one that would justify to call the first one law, the second one a mere fact? Re-enter the paradox which had been successfully suppressed in the case of national contracts and organizations.

Let's try 're-entry'. The distinction law/non-law or legal/non-legal (not to be confounded with the legal code legal/illegal!) re-enters law. This is possible only if the traditional doctrine of sources of law is reframed. Let me attempt a brief sketch of how this re-framing of legal source doctrine might look. When the frame of rule-hierarchy with constitutionally legitimated political legislation at its top breaks under the pressures of globalization, then the new frame which replaces the old frame of hierarchy can only be hierarchical: it uses the distinction between center/periphery of legal norm-production. It decenters political law-making, moves it away from its privileged place at the top of the norm-hierarchy and puts it on an equal footing with other types of social law-making. In the center of the legal system are the courts with their judicial rule-making, while political

legislation moves to the periphery, yet still inside the legal system. The distinction center/periphery, to be sure, does not recreate a hierarchy in the sense that courts now are more important than political legislation. With this distinction, the oscillation is supplemented by re-entry. With center versus periphery the law repeats, reconstructs in itself the internal/external distinction of law and politics. Legislation loses its centrality as the top of the hierarchy; it becomes peripheral, but retains the status of norm-production internal to the legal system. It is legal rule production in structural coupling with politics.

This re-entry allows for a generalization, an expansion of the distinction law/politics into the distinction law/other social fields. The replacement of frames, from hierarchy to center/periphery, allows us to recognize other types of social rule production as law production, but only under the condition that they are produced in the periphery of the legal system in structural coupling with external social processes of rule-formation. Here we find – parallel to political legislation – many forms of rule-making by 'private governments' which in reality have a highly 'public' character: technical standardization, professional rule production, human rights, intra-organizational regulation, and contracting. And here our judge will identify his lex mercatoria, no longer oscillating between law and non-law, but clearly as positive law which however – and here lurks the paradox – has its origins in its close structural coupling with non-legal rule production.

Would this not amount to a de-legitimation of law? If we decenter political legislation – which is democratic, – and send it to the periphery of law on a par with lex mercatoria, intra-organizational rules and technical standardization, are we not betraying the idea that any law has to be democratically legitimated if we are supposed to obey? Let me turn this argument around. If we abandon the practice to obscure the law-making in all kinds of 'private governments' and bring to light that what they are doing is producing positive law which we unwillingly volunteer to obey, then we ask, more urgently than before: What is this 'private legal regime's' democratic legitimation? Rather, we are provoked to look for new forms of democratic legitimation of private government that would bring economic, technical and professional action under public scrutiny and control. That

seems to me the liberating move that the paradox of global law without the state has actually provoked: an expansion of constitutionalism into private law production which would take into account that "private" governments are "public" governments. And the potentially fruitful analogy to traditional political democracy might lie in the rudimentary consensual elements in contract, organization and other extra-legal norm-producing mechanisms. Is a "democratization" of these rudimentary consensual elements feasible?

Thus, the answer to the judge's question regarding the legal nature of lex mercatoria is unambiguously positive, in spite of its paradoxical character. Lex mercatoria is positive law. This is true not only from a sociological or anthropological perspective of legal pluralism but it should also be accepted from the official standpoint of legal doctrine. Underlying is the assumption that after globalization has broken the old frame of the rule hierarchy, a reframing of the legal sources doctrine as a heterarchy of peripheral norm-production will have to take place.

In fact, the legal system "contains" always the non-system, and a legal system "contains" elements of different systems. Lex mercatoria is law that simultaneously contains society. It contains legal as well as non-legal actions and rules.

No doubt, lex mercatoria and other postmodern legal forms create a paradoxical situation since they break the old frame of law, i.e. the stable relation between legislation and adjudication on a national scale. To insist again and again on this point is the great merit of law-as-a-game theory. But we need to ask the question a second time: Does it make a productive use of the paradox. With their formula of 'relative autonomy', they suggest a strange compromise which is something like a 'half-closure' of the law. And regarding the exchange between law and society, they make another strange compromise which allows law and society to 'contain' elements of each other. It is these two strange compromises that undermine their position and ultimately block the "morphogenesis."

The difference can be explained in the words of Lyotard in his postmodern notion of language games The *différend* is Lyotard's irreconcilable cleavage between language games, means that one language game does not and cannot 'exchange' elements with another one. A language game can only be provoked to 'link up' with a sentence that makes part of the other language game. No

exchange takes place; rather, it is a re-enactment' of differences leading out of the oscillations. Re-enactment is neither translation nor trans-substantiation of the old element, but an independent reaction to something else by which the game creates a new element. It can never do justice to the other language game; it is bound to be a tort. Thus, a language game never "contains" elements of another game, but only its own elements that 'link up' to elements of the other game. The metaphor of "productive misunderstanding" is a way to describe how different language games relate to each other. Again we feel the absent presence of the paradox. Hermeneutically, the 'mis' describes the innovation, while the 'understanding' tells us that it builds on another meaning rather than out of thin air.

Such a constructive distortion, such a *différend*, takes place in the case of lex mercatoria. The structures of global economic transactions are essentially non-legal: they build on factual chances of action and create new chances of action or of trust in future changes of chances. In ongoing business relations it is wise to keep the lawyers out. They will distort business realities. Why? Not only do they replace the search for profit by the *quaestio juris*. Not only do they replace the cost–benefit calculus by the maxim of treating similar cases alike. Worse, they misread factual chances of action as legal 'property', and they misunderstand mutual trust in future behaviors contractually binding 'obligations', as 'rights' and 'duties'. And if their rigid and formalist claims and counter-claims are re-read in the ongoing transaction, they will destroy precarious trust relations. The difference between economic chances of action and legal

The law acts 'as if' it had been founded at a certain point in time. In this myth of foundation the external foundation of law is reconstructed internally. Morphogenesis can begin to take its course. A founding myth is an observation: the law describes itself with imagery about how it was founded. The founding myths of lex mercatoria might be, for example, the modern renaissance of its origin in medieval merchant law. Or it could be a legislative act as a 'droit corporatif' by the (obviously fictitious) corporation of merchants. But in relation to the hard-core operation of lex mercatoria, self-observing founding myths seem somewhat superstructural. They tell us nothing about the question when recursive operations of a legal system begin and under which conditions they might 'take off'.

The beginning is in the middle! Recursive operations cannot begin ex nihilo; they can only refer to something that does already exist. They cannot refer to something outside of their chain of recursions, it must be something within this chain to which they refer. And if this 'something' does not exist they have to invent it! Law as a system of recursive legal operations can only refer to past legal operations. The solution again is an 'as if', but not the fiction of a founding myth as a self-observation, rather the fiction of previous concrete legal decisions as the basis for recursive operations. This 'as if' solution takes a detour, supplementing a lack. The lack of identity of a non-state law needs to be supplemented by the participation of an external social in the internal legal:

It is only the assumption of a (deficiency) as a loss which makes it possible that an original perfection – as unity – can be presupposed, which can be replaced later on. Thus, the (metaphysical logic of the) 'original' identity can be perfectly reconstituted. This fiction, however, depends on outside conditions. There must be enough non-legal meaning material which law can misunderstand as legal. There must be a historical 'situation in which it is sufficiently plausible to assume that also in former times legal rules have been applied. A commercial practice has evolved under the chaotic conditions of the global market, or, should one say, the practice has been imposed by the stronger economic interests. This practice is "transformed" into law whenever it is pretended that the expectations have a legal character to which legal decision-making can refer. An international contract has been struck outside the frame of national contract law. The strange fiction is that its expectations are law. Organizational patterns and routines have evolved within a multinational organization and the fiction is created that these rules 'are' labor law. An enterprising inhabitant of cyberspace delineates a limited chunk, asks money for access, and pretends to have created property. Arbitrators pretend in commercial disputes that old arbitration cases which have been decided according to equity 'are' precedents for them, and begin to distinguish and to overrule. This is a historical situation where lex mercatoria creates its recursivity based on fictitious precedents.

These are the external conditions for the take-off. To repeat, there must be sediments of social communication that can be used by the false

memory syndrome of the law. Under the demanding influence of conflicts that press for resolution, the law searches for precedents and falsifies the sediments. No doubt these sediments exist, but the law gives them meaning as 'legal' precedents.

There are internal conditions for the take-off as well. Even if there is enough meaningful material for the legal recursions to refer to, still those recursions need to free themselves from the inhibitions of the paradox of a 'self-validating contract'. How can we agree on a dispute resolution if we disagree on the validity of our contract? Again, this paradox is a "fable of social contract." How does lex mercatoria 'unfold' the paradox of 'self-regulatory contract?

The practice of international draftsmen, has found a way to conceal the paradox of self-validation in such a way that global contracts have become capable of doing the apparently impossible. Global contracts are indeed creating their non-contractual foundations themselves. They have found three ways of unfolding the paradox – time, hierarchy and externalization – that mutually support each other and make it possible, without the help of the state, for a global law of the economic periphery to create its own legal center.

In the first place, contracts themselves establish an internal hierarchy of contractual rules. They contain not only 'primary rules' in the sense established that regulate the future behavior of the parties, but 'secondary rules' that regulate the recognition of primary rules, their identification, their interpretation and the procedures for resolving conflicts. Thus, the paradox of self-validation still exists, but it is unfolded in the separation of hierarchical levels, the levels of rules and meta-rules. The meta-rules are autonomous as against the rules, although both have the same contractual origin. The hierarchy is 'tangled', but this does not hinder the higher echelons from regulating the lower ones.

Second, these contracts temporalize the paradox and transform the circularity of contractual self-validation into an iterative process of legal acts, into a sequence of the recursive mutual constitution of legal acts and legal structures. The present contract extends itself into the past and into the future. It refers to a pre-existing standardization of rules and it refers to the future of conflict regulation and, thus, renders the contract into one

element in an ongoing self-production process in which the network of elements creates the very elements of the system.

Third, and most important, the self-referential contract unfolds the contractual paradox by externalization. It externalizes the fatal self-validation of contract by referring conditions of validity and future conflicts to external 'noncontractual' institutions which are nevertheless 'contractual' since they are a sheer internal product of the contract itself. One of these self-created external institutions is arbitration which has to judge the validity of the contracts, although its own validity is based on the very contract, the validity of which it is supposed to be judging.

Here, the vicious circle of contractual self-validation is transformed into the virtuous circle of contractual arbitration. An internal circular relationship is transformed into an external one. In the circular relationship between the two institutional poles of contract and arbitration, we find the core of the emerging global legal discourse that uses the specialized binary code, legal/illegal and processes the symbol of a non-national, even of a non-international, global validity. An additional externalization of this reference to quasi-courts is the reference to quasi-legislative institutions (to the International Chamber of Commerce).

What is the ultimate difference between law as a paradoxical game and law as an autopoietic system? It is the difference between a philosophical and a sociological observation of law. The difference is revealed in the power that society, culture and history exert upon law's empire. While some philosophical observers discover a free 'play of differences', some sociological observers see a history of elective affinities between semantics and social structure. In lex mercatoria, for centuries the above-mentioned contractual paradox, the selfvalidation of contract as the basis of private contract and organization could remain latent. The reasons for this latency are historical. The nation state, its constitution and its law have political processes on a global scale? Would this breaking frames of private global law in turn not provoke new distinctions of constitutional law of the world society? Whether the newly built frames are breaking again is a matter of social practice. Frames do not break by themselves, it is history that breaks frames, provoking us to build new ones. However, the sociological distinction of semantics and social structures that I am using here is in itself paradoxical

Contemporary trends in globalization seem not to end up into convergence of social orders and be and in convergence of social orders and in a uniformalization of law. New differences are produced by globalization itself. These translated to durable fragmentation of world society into a totally different sectors and multiplicity of global culture. Also, as a result the new exclusion of whole segments of the population from this modernizing effect the consequence is more fragmented laws.

The EU movement to haromonization and unification of national culture and its use of "good faith" has also provided new divergences as unintended consequences. National laws – similar national economies – have become separated from original comprehensive good faith embedded in the nation. The globalization process has created one worldwide network of legal communication which changes the laws of the nation states to mere regional parts of this network which are in close communication with each other. Hence, laws are often uprooted or decouples from their national roots.

Legal institutions are no longer today intertwined in the whole fabric of social and culture. Their previous interdependency is concentrated on politics. The institutional transfers of the organic society depends primarily on their interlocking in the specific power structure of the societies involved.

Recent scholarship has put forward:

- (1) The laws' contemporary ties to society are no longer comprehensive, but are highly selective and varying in coupling from loose to tight coupling,
- (2) Ties of law are no longer tied to society by it identity but to divergent fragmentation of society.

Good faith was originally a rather ambivalent and an open-ended principle which was supposed to flexibly construct on an ad hoc basis the negotiates of formal law with an incredible degree of a conceptual system and abstract dogmatism.

Historical good faith or "bona fides" had been contract laws recourse to social morality. Good faith was always added to counteract formulas of contract doctrine with a substantive social morality. Contract was performed in good faith when the participants behaved in accordance with accepted standards of moral behavior. Market and organization,

professions, health sector, social serenity, family, culture, religions all impose certain requirements on the private contractual relations. Invoking good faith in such a situation means making visible how contractual expectations depends on a variety of non-contractual social expectation, among them policing expectation and their reconstruction with a contract within a contract. Unbounded priority of the individual consensus between parties to the conscience cannot be insisted upon whether one is linking with matters of individual conscience, religious prohibitions, political freedom, economic institutions, etc.

Good faith complements contractual duties with social expectations from those various fields. The general clause of good faith is particularly suited to link contract selectivity to their unstable social environments with constantly shifting and conflicting requirements. It is this selective and fractured linkage of good faith to highly diverse social environments that will be responsible for new cleavages. Good faith will reproduce in a legal form larger differences of the natural cultures involved and will do so paradoxically as it was to make laws more homogenous.

Comparative political economy undermines the assumption of mainstream comparative laws about convergences and functional equivalence against all expectation. The globalization of the markets and computerization of the economy will lead to a convergence of economic regimes under function equivalence of legal norms in responding of their identical problems, the opposite has turned out to be the truth. In fact, in the last 40 years there has been more than one form of advanced capitalism created.

It seems production requires hold a key to the differences created. Production regimes are the institutional environment of economic action. They organize production through markets and market-related institutions and determine the framework of incentive and constraints or rules of the games by a range of market-related institutions within which economic action is embedded. Varieties of capitalism are the result of interlocking system of economic institutions, e.g. interlocking systems of financial arrangement, governance, networks, etc. These configurations differ from country to country even in the European context.

Economic rules are not identical to legal rules; and economic institutions are different than legal institutions. The difference – economic

institutions are constraints and incentive structures that influence cost benefit calculations of economic actions. Legal institutions are ensembles of legally valid rules that structure the resolution of conflict structure where coupling does not create a new identity, rather it binds via a difference – via the differences that distinguishes law from the discourse to which it is bound. Binding arrangement do not create a new unity of law and society, in fact socio-legal operations, or common socio-legal structures which their events happen simultaneously they remain distinct parts of their specific discourse with a different past and a different future. The only condition for their synchronization is they need to be compatible with each other. Binding arrangements are Janus-headed, they have a legal face and a social face. Unfortunately, the two faces of Janus tend to change their minds in different directions.

Now in the case of legal transfers, the legal side of the relations changed this compatibility of diverse units can no longer be presumed. It would have to recreate in the new context which is a difficult and time-consuming process. It would be a double transformation, a change on both sides of the distinction of the transferred institution, not only the re-contextualization of its legal side with the new network of legal distinction but also the recontextualization of its social side. There is no unilateral determination of the direction in which the change of the other side will take place. Rather we are speaking of a symbolic space of compatibility of different meaning which allows for several possible actualizations. It is precisely in this space that Japan becomes a major player in the European contract world with its regime of production in the 1980's and 90's.

CONCLUSION

PRODUCTION REGIMES AND ORIGINS OF GOOD FAITH

Productions regimes are structural links between law, politics and economy. The term regime is not to be confused with the Foucaultian notion of regimes as "exercise" but more as a guidance structure or a rudder on a boat. Within the context of geography and hydrology, regimes is used as pointing to the changing condition of the flow of a river or a limiting condition. In this case heterogenous elements couple with autonomous systems of law and economy, forming linking institutions.

Production regimes are particular structural ensemble of economic institutions linking economy with other social systems. The economic institutions are cost benefit calculations of economic actors and legal institution productions regimes which become hybrids, social hybrids coming out of the coupling of the legal and economic operations.

Contracts and property are bilateral structural coupling between law and economics. But regimes are more complex encompassing educations, training and technical standardizations creating not only bilateral, but trilateral and even multilateral relations between social systems. Law also fosters relations with politics, science and with education. Hence production regimes are characterized as multi polarity and cyclicality rather than bipolarity and reciprocity.

With this brief understanding, we may be able to see how Japan interplays with Europe. Nation states actually exported it production regime into the other countries where they was only limited compatibility between productions regimes which ripple all kind of effects even undermining differing production system. Japan exported the game of JUST IN TIME... the automobile contracts between the assemblers and the supplies are not market independent contract but rather the supplier is a member of the family and is part of the overall Japanese way of contracting relations based of good faith, fairness and unconscionability reminiscent of Japanese *kreitsu*. Europe in general transfigured in their normal market practices from individual to collective contracting yet it did change all legal economic relationship but created a variety of capitalism.

Europe and Japan operating with the principle of their prevailing codes of conduct, good faith as the soul of lex mercatoria was activated by the on codes of honor and duty. Good faith has history in Europe as lex mercatoria (in a Western concept). As law of merchants the code is binding as the management trades off one's word or seal to engage in fair trade, which was self-interested with the only real demand to refrain from deception. However European economists of the French Revolution were highly influenced by Confucius and the Economics of Quetlet and his student, Adam Smith's concept of sympathy. Sympathy was translated as "relationship," as derived from Confucian teaching. Certainly the Japanese were influenced by Confucius, Shinto, Zen and Samurai. It has been said

the soul of Japan is Samurai. If one looks at Samurai code, one will see great parallels between Confucian virtues and the samurai code. The practice of good faith is of singular importance in Confucian *Ren* (person, benevolent), Japanese *Ren Ge* (person, dignity, self-worth) and Code of Samurai known as *bushido* (rectitude, courage, benevolence, politeness, honesty, honor, loyalty, character, prudence) and find a relationship with *bodivasta*, the enlightened. The show of compassion is foundation to *Dharma*, the norms of society. This is the region of the interkinesthetic pathos of what can be or cannot be done. This is not prescriptive but non-legal modes of conduct. The maintenance of the codes of good conduct while different have a "commonness," if you will, which is practical and binding.

Formally arbitration, mediation, dispute resolution all traded off the "good faith" clause. But this is something quite different within the East which has found its way into the Western concept of good faith, within the lawful/non-lawful forms often overlooked and certainly not practiced.

Good faith, a binding form of association is part of Confucius and Samurai code. And with the tradition of the West we may find it within the very thinking of Leibniz: the logic appropriate to today's world of networks and poli-centricity. The logic of unity becomes multiplicity in such a way that individual manifestations of one principle are coordinated without at the same time being resolved into a higher generality. Leibniz' search for harmony is not homogenization by constructive inter-weaving of diversities and contradictions. This is the "network logic" as "unitas multiplex."

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Special contribution (keynote speech)

SEARCH FOR FUNDAMENTALS OF INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE: HISAMATSU AND HEIDEGGER

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ABSTRACT

The article compares philosophical works of the Japanese philosopher Hoseki Shin'ichi Hisamatsu and that of Martin Heidegger. This comparison reveals possibilities for a fruitful intercultural dialogue between those thinkers. This paper discusses the links between these, at first sight, geographically and culturally distant traditions. It will show that mutual interest between Heidegger and the Japanese philosopher is not a coincidence, as both were trying to create a meaningful dialogue between the Eastern and Western philosophical tradition. It is important to emphasise Heidegger's conviction that this dialogue can protect the modern West from unmanageable influence of technology on human life and find a way to reflect and transform Western thinking. Interest of Japanese thinkers in Heidegger's philosophy, in turn, resulted in an understanding why the Europeanisation processes in Japan have created a gap between the European and the old Japanese tradition. Deep cultural conflict was driven by two distinct life worlds in the sense that Western philosophy in Japan, beginning in the last century, has been developed without any regard as to the cultural context and heritage of Japan. Given this context, at one level, the article analyses the works of Heidegger's Japanese student Kōichi Tsujimura, which reveal deep common roots of Heidegger's new thinking and those of Zen Buddhism practical tradition. The main purpose of the article is to show that Heidegger's new thinking reveals the significance of the ancient traditions of Zen Buddhism. It opens new possibilities for the West in terms of deeper understanding of the old Japanese cultural heritage.

 $\it Keywords:$ Heidegger, Hisamatsu, intercultural dialogue, phenomenology, Zen Buddhism.

INTRODUCTION

Mutual relationship between Heidegger and the Japanese philosophers began for different reasons. It is well known that Heidegger focused on Zen in order to overcome the domination of technical thinking in modern Western philosophy¹⁶. Heidegger believed that dialogue between Eastern and Western philosophical traditions can protect Western thinking from aggressive influence of globalisation and industrialisation processes¹⁷. He expected that turning to the East could help renew Western thinking¹⁸. Therefore, he was not only interested in Japanese, Chinese and Korean aesthetics and other intellectual heritage, but also actively interacted with Japanese thinkers.

Japanese thinkers, in turn, followed Heidegger's philosophy, because Europeanisation processes in Japan created a gap between the new European scientific and old Japanese Zen traditions. According to the Japanese philosopher Kōichi Tsujimura (student of Heidegger and Hisamatsu¹⁹), the problem was the fact that Europeanisation processes have been developed regardless of the cultural background and heritage of Japan²⁰. Therefore, the emergence of deep intercultural conflicts in the middle of the last century in Japan motivated the restoration of the ancient tradition and preservation of the authentic fundamentals of the old culture. Japanese thinkers have understood that the only way for their country to become equal to the West in globalising the world leads them to "finding in the heart of Western culture same fundamentals that Japan (and Asia) have on a pretheoretical level"²¹.

As we see, on both sides intellectuals were concerned about too aggressive European cultural tendencies and were looking for thinking that would be free from technical-scientific way of thinking. However, as Mickūnas well notes, the founded thinking should be essential to

Fóti, Véronique M. Heidegger and 'The Way of Art': the Empty Origin and Contemporary Abstraction. Department of Philosophy, The Pennsylvania State University, USA. Continental Philosophy 31, 1998, p.337-338.

Heidegger, M. What is Called Thinking, translated by J. Glenn Gray. New York: Harper & Row, 1968, p. 230.

¹⁸ Mickūnas, A. Per fenomenologiją į dzenbudizmą. vert. Dalia Kaladinsienė. Baltos Lankos. Vilnius, 2012, p. 58.

¹⁹ Hoseki Shin'ichi Hisamatsu together with Kitaro Nishida at Kyoto University has studied philosophy, at Rinzai Zen monastery Myōshin-ji temple, he studied Zen, and later developed an original philosophical system consisting of Zen philosophy and Western fusion.

²⁰ Tsujimura, K. Martin Heidegger's Thinking and Japanese Philosophy, p. 352.

²¹ Mickūnas, A. op.cit., p. 64.

Japan and to Western philosophy, especially to phenomenology²². Let us compare and analyse the philosophical ideas of Heidegger, who was one of the most influential Western thinkers of the twentieth century and Zen interpretations of Hisamatsu. After his monastic life at Myōshin-ji temple his works offer an excellent understanding of Zen Buddhism and its tradition. This comparison will help us understand if their works offer common aspects that could be treated as premises for an intercultural dialogue between Western and Eastern thinking traditions.

RELATION OF TRUTH AND ART CONCEPTS

In 1958 Heidegger and Hisamatsu organised a joint seminar on art and thinking at the University of Freiburg. The seminar dealt with the problems of dialogue between Eastern and Western traditions, highlighting the superficiality of political and economic interaction of that time, while emphasising the necessity for a foundation to develop a high level dialogue between cultures²³. At the seminar, Heidegger asks how East Asian art and, specifically, Japanese art understands itself²⁴; in other words, can we now understand the East Asian ancient art, in its own context? Heidegger wanted to emphasise that artworks of ancient Zen tradition cannot be authentically revealed using Western aesthetic concepts. Explaining his question Heidegger asks if there is a Japanese word that would refer to the art in non-European sense of the term.

In order to understand the essence of the question, it is important to point out that with an increased Western influence, the ancient Eastern thinking tradition became closed not only to the West but also to the East intellectuals. Lin Ma, who was an attentive investigator of Heidegger's interest in the Eastern thought, emphasised that the contemporary interpretation of the ancient Eastern aesthetic traditions could not be considered as authentic²⁵. Thus, Heidegger has raised the question in order

²² Ibid., p. 64.

²³ Lin, M. Heidegger on East-West Dialogue – Anticipating the Event. Library of Congress. Taylor&Francis, 2008, p. 73.

²⁴ Fóti, Véronique M. Heidegger and 'The Way of Art': the empty origin and contemporary abstraction, p. 339.

Lin, M. Heideggers (dis)engagement with Aian Languages. Journal of Chinese Philosophy, People's University of China, Beijing, China, 2008, p. 324.

to point out that the term of "art" has to be thought over, avoiding both the European and the contemporary Japanese sense. Therefore, he calls for the suspension of the trivial object-subject duality of Western metaphysics and raises the question concerning the manner in which such duality could be overcome. In his work "*The Origin of the Work of Art*" Heidegger explains that the creation of art is an event that discloses the truth, and suggests that truth is to be found in artwork. Thus, Heidegger compares concepts of truth and art, showing that the essence of truth contains close affinity to artwork²⁶. In other words, Heidegger used the concept of art as a certain way of thinking, capable of opening the very essence of the way that humans dwell in the world. Heidegger understands thinking as a way rather than form; in other words, thinking is a dynamic movement from understanding to understanding, rather than a static conceptual formation²⁷.

Lin Ma argues that Heidegger's question was based on his belief that the old East Asian art avoided the subject-object dualism. It implies that the object depicted in Zen art is just a means of imaging, like an instrument, which disappears when the essence of the image is perceived. Zen art cannot be considered as symbolic, visual expression is therefore needed in order to reflect a process that is regarded as the movement toward opening of essence²⁸. Therefore, coming back to Heidegger's belief that authentic art is a way to understand the essence of the phenomenon and its opening of truth, the question raised in the seminar should be understood as an attempt to ask whether the old Japanese language has the concept of art, equally linked to the opening of the essence of truth.

In an answer to Heidegger's question, Hisamatsu asserts that prior to the current concept of art gei-jitsu, which refers to the western aesthetic concept of art, the term gei- $d\bar{o}$ was used. Literally translated, gei means a path, and $d\bar{o}$ has an equivalent meaning as the Chinese term dao. Hisamatsu explains that this path is double because, on one hand, it leads from what is real, obvious and tangible, to the intangible ground, on the other hand,

 $^{^{26}~}$ Heidegger, M. $Meno~k\bar{u}rinio~i\dot{s}taka$, vert. Tomas Sodeika, Jurga Jonutytė. Aidai, 2003, p. 65.

²⁷ Heidegger, M. *On the Way to Language*, translated by Peter D. Hertz. Perennial Library, Harper & Row publishers, p. 12.

²⁸ Lin M. Heideggers (dis)engagement with Aian Languages, p. 333.

it moves from the intangible ground – back to something tangible²⁹. It should be clarified that according to Hisamatsu the intangible basis is the inward self of an artist. It is important to note that this self, according to Hisamatsu, has to be "awakened"; in other words, an artist has to free himself from attachments to the prior assumptions (Hisamatsu treats them as forms). Hisamatsu uses a concept of Formless Self to indicate to the "awakened" artist's inward self³⁰. It has to be noted that for Hisamatsu it is precisely the *Formless Self*, which reveals the essence of phenomena, and sustains freedom to create, without being tied to any forms.

It is important to emphasise that Hisamatsu explores the aesthetics of Zen tradition due to his attitude, which is explicitly attentive to the relationship between form, formlessness and creator; in other words, to the dynamics of connection between object, its background and artist. It is worth noting that the usage of this attitude paves the way to the essence of things not only experiencing them in terms of perception, but also expressing them through Zen art, and giving them an aesthetic sense. This is evident by observing Hisamatsu's efforts to describe the organic and rich details of Zen fine arts. He is carefully describing aesthetic aspects of paintings, gardening details, interior parts, household appliances, and utensils, interpreting them as revealing Zen tradition. Despite Hisamatsu's theoretical clearness, his approach emphasises the practical aspect, which enriches theoretical perspective with vital, pulsing relevance, immediacy and unobstructed presence.

It is clear that both Heidegger and Hisamatsu maintain a position that opening to truth has significant links with art such that the latter has a unique way of revealing the essence of expression. We have to point out that both thinkers require this revealing to be free from prejudices of the individual. Heidegger's phenomenological attitude, his requirement to suspend prejudices, arising from the historical and cultural context, obviously coincide with Hisamatsu's description of the Zen master as detached from the static and objectively interpreted reality and free from his own attachments. Let's examine this assumption more closely.

²⁹ Fóti, Véronique M. Vision's Invisibles. Philosophical Explorations. State University of New York. SUNY series in contemporary continental philosophy, 2003, p. 97.

³⁰ Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 76.

HISAMATSU'S APPROACH

Where does freedom from the cultural and individual presuppositions lead to? What does it open? Joan Stambough³¹ argues that it opens the vibrant present, which does not impose a subjective worldview³², in other words, it leads to a *Formless Self*. The latter, according to Hisamatsu, helps to break free from dependency on the fixed and unconscious mental structures. Stambough explains that the mind alone can only materialise reality and deform it³³, and therefore we need to reveal the *Formless Self*, which can be grasped thanks to distancing ourselves from the everyday type of thinking, from daily interests and cultural attitudes. Because reality here is understood as an alive, present moment, it is kept free from the relationship between the individual and fixed forms of culture. Thinker, according to Hisamatsu, is open to reality; he can freely contemplate an object, because he is not identified with anyone and anything. This attitude of the thinker Hisamatsu calls formlessness.

What does it mean for an artist to be able to identify his self with the object meditated upon and to be formless? Stambough explains that formlessness in Eastern traditions is understood not as an amorphous, but as freedom from attachment to the individuality and presuppositions that are imposed on reality³⁴. Let us illustrate it with an example from Hisamatsu book *Zen and the Fine Arts*, where, among other works, he discusses Hakuin, the Japanese master of calligraphic works. Hakuin writes the hieroglyph mu^{35} . Hisamatsu explains that master Hakuin's inner self has taken the form of the hieroglyph, thus in certain sense the master

Joan Stambaugh – New York University professor who has translated many works of Heidegger into English (Being and Time (1996), Identity and Difference (2002), On Time and Being (2002), The End of Philosophy (2003)). She has intensively studied Zen Buddhism and is well known as a specialist in Zen. She has published a study known as The Formless Self (1999), which deals with Hisamatsu work. She is also famous for her work Impermanence is Buddha-Nature: Dogen's Understanding of Temporality (1990) and others.

³² Stambaugh, J. *The Formless Self.* Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1999, p. 57.

³³ Ibid., p. 103.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 165.

³⁵ Japanese hieroglyph *mu* is the Chinese equivalent of *wu* [無], which has the following meaning: no, none, not, never mind, lack, and etc. (see http://www.zdic.net).

painted himself³⁶. According to Hisamatsu, Hakuin expresses the essence of Zen tradition, which is understood as artist's *Formless Self*. Hisamatsu explains that before writing the hieroglyph *mu*, *the* artist has perceived the essence of *mu*, through awakened *Formless Self*, which becomes expressed as identical with *mu*. Therefore, *mu* in this artwork does not refer to the value of 'no' but means the Zen itself³⁷. In order to avoid the subject-object dichotomy and emphasise the pre-reflective dimension (not explained or interpreted perception) Hisamatsu highlights the importance of immediate spontaneous experience of an artist, his vitality and practical exposure to an artwork. Hisamatsu explains that pervasive perception of the artist expressed in an artwork opens up the perceived truth; the idea is that the truth is kept open by the artwork.

Hisamatsu claims that awakened *Formless Self* can be identified with any form. This means that *Formless Self* as an artist, at the moment of writing hieroglyph *mu* identified itself with the hieroglyph; in other words, at this moment both are merged into a unified whole³⁸. Stambough explains that the *Formless Self* concept encompasses a whole, as embodied absolute freedom from attachment³⁹. In other words, the *Formless Self* concept refers to the artist's ability to empathise and perceive the world as part of the perception, not excluding oneself as a subject of a single whole. That is why, Hisamatsu explains, Zen painting is never realism, nor symbolism, nor expressionism,⁴⁰ since its ground is an artist's natural inner openness and freedom, which Hisamatsu considers as the essence of expression of Zen tradition⁴¹.

In order to better describe the concept of *Formless Self*, Hisamatsu has developed the concept of *No-Mind*⁴². What does it mean to be free from the mind? This does not mean madness or insanity, rather this refers to the abovementioned ability to break free from the presuppositions, to be able to suspend preconceived intentions. Stambough aptly observes that

³⁶ Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 67-68.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 67.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³⁹ Stambaugh, J. *The Formless Self*, p. 5, 19-20, 52-53.

⁴⁰ Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 72.

⁴¹ Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 67-68.

⁴² Ibid., p. 57.

"the freedom of mind" is the base of the idea of nothingness⁴³. Hisamatsu explains that Zen nothingness is preparing the self to cope with reality as it appears to the immediate experience rather than a specific analytical method, which requires limiting or reducing the perception of reality. Therefore, we can say that nothingness in Zen Buddhism is understood not as an abstract idea, or as theoretical lack of association, but as an active internal perception of emptiness and freedom from attachments. So, Hisamatsu defines very important relationship in Zen tradition between the empty and formed space. He highlights that instead of the form, which produces form, those who have no form make Zen fine art forms⁴⁴. In other words, an artist writing a hieroglyph, or making an ikebana, or preparing a tee house, or a garden, is free from any presuppositions, from any forms, he is the essence of Zen, he is the Formless Self. This attitude allows overcoming the preliminary assumptions of a thinker or an artist, releasing from encapsulated and methodical concerns bounded to their individuality.

Hisamatsu's analysis opens a pre-reflective dimension of artist's work, reveals his way of being in the world as an intention that creates the artwork. This way of research grounds a fruitful attitude, which opens not only the object's side, but also the background values. Background, which is considered here as a state of being or empathy, plays a crucial role in the very act of creation. We can note that Hisamatsu's method of study requires posing specific and particular questions about an artist: what background is at play of creating an artwork; what state of being guides an artist when he creates? Heidegger raised the same questions, but he questioned in the Western world. Let us analyse Heidegger's approach to art works.

HEIDEGGER'S APPROACH

Heidegger argues that after the Western metaphysical and theological traditions have come to an end, which Nietzsche embodies using the image of the death of god, it was perceived that Western thinking is limited and that it is possible to learn something from the East⁴⁵. However, let us not

⁴³ Stambough J. The Formless Self, p. 57.

⁴⁴ Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 69.

⁴⁵ Mickūnas, A. Per fenomenologiją i dzenbudizmą, p. 58.

forget that Heidegger understands that after processes of Europeanisation, the old Eastern tradition is closed both to the Western and to the Eastern thinking. We also have to remember Heidegger's claim that essential condition of the dialogue with the East Asian world is a re-creation of dialogue with the ancient Greek thinkers⁴⁶, as after the pre-Socratic era of the Western philosophy, each age only deeper plunges into the oblivion of Being and puts aside questions of authentic thinking. Therefore, as we see, on one hand, Heidegger's approach is similar to the Japanese in the sense that his target is to restore the fundamentals of the European culture – ancient Greek thinking. On the other hand, returning to purity of the ancient Greek thinkers, according to Heidegger, is related to a dialogue between the East and the West. Let us examine this in more detail.

At the event of Heidegger's seventy years anniversary, also attended by philosophers from Japan, Heidegger tells that his 1929 inaugural lecture "What is Metaphysics?" was not understood in the Western academic world. He explains that he was recognised as the nihilistic prophet, because nothingness was perceived as a maximum lack. Heidegger tells that Japanese philosophers understood him right from the very beginning. He explains that the question "why there is something rather than nothing?" highlights not the lack, not the negation of the outside world or the nihilistic denial of reality; this notion rather highlights the fact that the material essence of things is different from the immaterial essence of Being⁴⁷. Heidegger emphasises that one cannot catch Being in the materialistic sense. Therefore, one can say that it is not a thing is nothing. Thus, Heidegger puts aside object-subject strategy of thinking and requires considering non-substantial context of Dasein (very existence of the human self) which is rooted in its Being and determines object-substantial dimension more significantly than the objects themselves. In this sense, nothingness, according to Heidegger, is understood as the natural origin of the primordial thinking and authentic Being.

Summarising the discussion above, we can briefly observe here that there is an obvious relationship between Heidegger, who explores the bond

⁴⁶ Heidegger, M. Vorträge und Aufsätze Gesamtausgabe I. Abteilung: Veröffentlichte Schriften 1910-1976 Band 7. Frankfurt Am Main: Vittorio Klostermann Gmbh, 2000, p. 41.

⁴⁷ Tsujimura, K. Martin Heidegger's Thinking and Japanese Philosophy, p. 356.

between nothing and something,⁴⁸ and Hisamatsu, who highlights the aspect of unformed (or empty) and formed space in Zen tradition⁴⁹. We can assume that those parallels indicate that thinking of both thinkers is based on the same ontological premises. We can also notice that Hisamatsu's idea of *Formless Self* in Zen visual arts can be compared with Heidegger's attempt to raise the importance of the issue of being of *Dasein* instead of subject side oriented worldview. Thus, we can say that both thinkers use primordial idea of nothingness, and emphasize the *state of being* awareness in order to break free from a subject-object dichotomy. Their attitudes require shifting from the materialistic, object-oriented interpretation of the ontological reality to articulation of individual pre-reflective *state of being*.

In order to articulate individual's place, significance and meaning, Heidegger has developed an ontology of the living world and introduced the concept of *state of being* [Befindlichkeit]. He also emphasises the attitude that links the individual with the surrounding reality into a unified whole, which he calls *worldness*. Heidegger wants to show that not mind, but empathy, mood [Stimmung] and attunement [Gestimmtsein] is the primordial ground for perceiving the surrounding world⁵⁰. Heidegger claims that the *state of being* provides primal perception of reality, therefore, according to him, all understanding always comes from the *state of being*⁵¹.

Heidegger highlights the concepts of feeling or attitude, because it "is the wiser, smarter – it is more open than the mind"⁵². He also emphasises a certain self-oriented pre-reflective state, which indicates that the person is already aware of his presence. Such a perception is associated with the primordial nature of the experience, because the essence of an entity, according to Heidegger, always comes from an area unreachable by theoretical metaphysical thinking. Therefore, he considers that immediate contact with the entity, without introducing the transcendental concept of *state of being*, cannot be achieved⁵³. It can be concluded that it is exactly the

⁴⁸ Неіdegger, М. Что такое метафизика?, пер. с нем. В. В. Бибихина. Москва: Академический проект, 2007, р. 42.

⁴⁹ Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 70.

⁵⁰ Heidegger, M. Sein und Zeit. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1967, p. 134.

⁵¹ Heidegger, M. Being and Time, translated by J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1962, p. 182.

⁵² Heidegger, M. Meno kūrinio ištaka, p. 17.

⁵³ Heidegger, M. Что такое метафизика?, p. 31.

state of being awareness in Heidegger's thinking that articulates the nature of openness and primordial thinking and grasps the essence of an entity.

Heidegger has made a turn in the Western philosophical tradition of thinking, mainly changing the conception of transcendence. He articulates the conditions of experience that does not reside in a subject, therefore transcendence here is different from traditional metaphysics. Heidegger writes that being itself is the transcendence [Sein ist das Transcendent schlechthin] and any transcendent disclosure of Being is transcendental knowledge⁵⁴. Thus, Heidegger's thinking requires overcoming the technicalscientific worldview, because he negates the isolation of experience. He highlights that in one way or another any practical movement is always centred in transcendental reality, where each object is associated with its context thanks to endless links. In order to express this idea, Heidegger uses the concept of worldness, according to which every entity is not isolated and is connected by meaningful relations with other entities. According to Heidegger, an entity is shaped thanks to those links of worldness. Worldness refers to the ecstatic experience that lies in the transcendent dimension and reveals the moment of openness.

In order to disclose the *worldness* concept in his work "Origin of the artwork", Heidegger analyses Vincent van Gogh's painting of a pair of shoes painted in 1886. He notices that the shoes were painted in order to open up the world in which they were used. Therefore, a work of art, according to Heidegger, has a unique opportunity to open up the essence of an entity, in other words to reveal the truth, which would otherwise be invisible⁵⁵. As Timothy Clark well notices, Heidegger's approach rejects Western aesthetic tradition⁵⁶, because Heidegger shows that the true art differs from aesthetics, which, in his opinion, aspires for power. The real art, according to Heidegger, should be radically ahistorical, non-cultural element, in other words, its origins must not be a human will. This means that according to Heidegger's approach art has a completely different meaning than it has had in Western culture⁵⁷, namely, art opens up the truth and keeps it accessible.

⁵⁴ Heidegger, M. Being and Time, op. cit., p. 62.

⁵⁵ Heidegger, M. Meno kūrinio ištaka, p. 63.

⁵⁶ Clark, T. Martin Heidegger. Routledge Critical Thinkers. London: Routledge, 2002, p. 40.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Heidegger was looking for ways to free the Western thinking from the domination of technical dependency. He was engaged in an effort of transformation of Western thinking and criticised not only the field of Western methodologies, but also uncontrolled science and technology that was shaping human world. Heidegger explains that the prevailing scientific knowledge [Wissen] "attacks and overcomes entity constantly going beyond its limits, and by surpassing it"⁵⁸. Therefore, scientific thinking ignores the entity in its essence and existence, interprets reality as a resource for humans to use. Thus, the true knowledge, which paves a way to thinking, which he calls the attention to essence [Wesenhafte], has to be distinguished from technical thinking. True thinking, according to Heidegger, is directed to the Being of essence and attempts "not to manage the knowledge about entity, but to turn attention into it [angegangen]"⁵⁹. Heidegger claims that this understanding is absent in Western modern culture because the living person lacks his existential fundaments.

PARALLELS BETWEEN HEIDEGGER'S AND HISAMATSU'S THINKING

Hisamatsu explains that in Zen fine arts one can find what the West essentially lacks⁶⁰. What does he mean? Note that Hisamatsu explores Zen fine arts with the help of a three-level structure: the artwork, the artist's self and Zen. These three structural elements are fused into one united whole. In order to express the profound meanings, which lie deep in an essence of an entity and are the source of vitality and multidimensionality of Zen fine arts, Hisamatsu does not draw any line to separate "subject" and "reality". Thus, he seamlessly merges a unified whole which opens up the depth of the artwork and makes it understandable. Western technical-scientific thinking starts from separating subject from object and therefore splitting interpretation and cultural tradition from direct experience and loses important clue for grasping the nuanced perception.

As can be seen, *Formless Self* concept helps avoiding this separateness and strengthens existential fundamentals. We can also see that Heidegger's

⁵⁸ Heidegger, M. Parmenides, translated by A. Schuwer, R. Rojcewicz. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, p. 4.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 76.

worldly thinking clearly resonates with Hisamatsu's developed Formless Self concept, which is perceived as an attempt to understand the essence of things, look at them from the free, open and cumulative perspective. Heidegger's concept of state of being also includes the viewer and the artist who sees himself as a part of a whole. Therefore, we can explain that both thinkers pay attention to the practical dimension, to open directly experienced immediate being.

Both Heidegger and Hisamatsu create an additional dimension of thinking, which enriches the theoretical methodological attitude with practical, vital, intuitive, dynamic presence, which is not common in the static Western thinking tradition. In Heidegger's thinking we can find this when he extends phenomenology and hermeneutics with ontological dimension, describing *Dasein* perceived not only as phenomenological and hermeneutic, but also including the worldly and ontologically rooted in being. In Hisamatsu's thinking, this confirms the same assumption that art concept refers to the way, to the search for truth, which is related to the inward self effort to break free from prior assumptions and attachments. Hisamatsu's attitude and his aspiration to found the practical dimension on the theoretical level obviously coincide with Heidegger's thinking.

To sum up, Heidegger paves the way for authentic thinking, which is possibly thanks to the perception of the essence of entities mainly because of the perception of being achieved in articulating a question of being, he focuses on the concept of awakened *state of being*⁶¹, and empathetic effort, which has much in common with Hisamatsu who developed the concept of internal state of artist, and his *Formless Self* expression in artwork. It is also important to mention that Hisamatsu highlights the artist belonging to space of artwork⁶². This describes an artist's intentions as dictated from the whole, but not from the artist's subject, therefore we can compare his attitude to Heidegger's attempt to describe *Dasein* as existence of the self, arising from worldly thinking, from totality of the world.

We can also notice that Heidegger's efforts to transform the Western way of thinking, returning to the roots of Western philosophy, to pre-Socratic thinking joins the attempt of the Europeanised Japanese to

⁶¹ Heidegger, M. Meno kūrinio ištaka, p. 17.

⁶² Hisamatsu, S. Zen and Fine Arts, p. 70.

rebuild their cultural framework, to restore authentic interpretation of the Zen tradition in today's world of rapidly growing technology tendencies⁶³. Tsujimura, who is looking for similarities between Heidegger's philosophy and Zen masters of thought, is convinced that precisely Heidegger's philosophy can help preserve the Zen tradition in today's globalised international world. In order to explain this, he compares the thinking of Heidegger, who is trying to restore pre-Socratic primordial thinking and the thinking of Zen masters, which was slightly revealed with the help of Hisamatsu's *Formless Self* concept.

Tsujimura suggests that both Heidegger and Zen masters are thinking leaps-style⁶⁴, instead of a consistent, self-correcting logic that gradually advances to a more coherent and complete system. Let us try to explain what Tsujimura has in mind? Obviously, the idea of a leap indicates that instead of quantitative increment there is a qualitative change in thinking. Heidegger contends that we sense that thingness of a thing has long been under constraint and the linear, incremental thinking is responsible for this constraint. Therefore, such thinking has to be rejected if we are to increase our efforts to become more thoughtful⁶⁵. Thus, Heidegger wants to decipher consciousness in another context, rather than continue the old way developed by traditional Western metaphysical thinking. Therefore, Tsujimura proposes that Heidegger developed an attitude capable of withstanding the aggressive influence of the technological era and the resultant loss and destruction of cultural heritage⁶⁶.

Tsujimura shows that Heidegger's reference to another context of perception discloses the same ontological awareness, wherein the tradition of Zen thinking takes its roots. Tsujimura also argues that Heidegger's thinking clearly resonates with the fundamental attempt of Zen tradition; he points this out by referring to the important saying of the Zen Patriarch Dogen: "first of all it is necessary to learn how to take a step back" Obviously, Tsujimura articulates an important parallel between Heidegger's thought and the thinking of the Zen tradition: stepping back from the

⁶³ Tsujimura, K. Martin Heidegger's Thinking and Japanese Philosophy, 2008, p. 352.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 353.

⁶⁵ Heidegger, M. op. cit., p. 17.

⁶⁶ Tsujimura, K. op. cit., p. 355.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 352.

object is the same as suspension of mental aggression and rejection of the logic of power. This is exactly what Heidegger is speaking about as the necessary precondition in order to grasp the essence of an entity.

Perception of union between an artist and an entity in Zen tradition also resonates with Heidegger's texts. Tsujimura quotes Dogen's saying: "in the very moment when an old plum tree comes into bloom, in its blooming the world comes to pass"68. In his work "What is thinking?" Heidegger writes about the blooming tree, and talks about the momentary perception of the whole. He writes that when one, who sees the blossoming tree, and the tree stand together, united, face-to-face, one can understand how the tree really shows itself⁶⁹. Heidegger emphasises that such a perception is not self-evident, because scientific worldview dominant today is more misleading and hides the tree, rather than opens it. He argues that we have to make a leap into the foundation wherein we live and die. Such a leap, according to Heidegger, as a specific way of thinking movement, can be frightening, but it is clear that there is no other way to break free from the limiting horizon of prejudices. This, according to Heidegger, can be reached not through a gradual and progressive way of thinking, but by a leap into the very essence of truth.

CONCLUSION

After comparing Heidegger's and Hisamatsu's texts and their ideas we can offer our conclusions. It can be argued that cooperative efforts of Heidegger and Hisamatsu were fruitful. Heidegger was looking for the deeper concept of art, and in the depth of old Zen tradition of thinking he discovered ideas that confirmed assumptions of his phenomenological ontology. While unwilling to abandon the Western way of thinking, Japanese thinkers were at the same time fearful that modernisation might overshadow their ancient cultural roots, and were most impressed to have discovered in Heidegger's thinking assumptions that they believe could preserve the old Zen tradition's foundations and make them resistant to the deformation inherent in Europeanisation.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 355.

⁶⁹ Heidegger, М. Что зовется мышлением?, пер. с нем. Э. Сагетдинова. Москва: Академический проект, 2010, р. 55.

Therefore, we can argue that the parallels between Heidegger's and Hisamatsu's thinking are not accidental – indeed, they are essential. On the one hand, Heidegger acknowledges that European tradition has to learn a lot from the East, such that his ontology of everyday life might help Westerners to better understand the Zen tradition. On the other hand, Heidegger's efforts to explain the distorting effects of technical-scientific thinking on the human inward self, leading to his conceptions of authentic being and openness to truth, helps to interpret Japanese Zen tradition in today's technically shaped and globalised world. Thus the study of parallels between Heidegger's and Hisamatsu's thinking helps not only reveal a deeper understanding of the hidden meanings of their texts, but also confirms that the ideas developed in their works, are not only eastern or western – they overcome tradition-specific limitations and transcend cultural limitations.

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Chapter 2

GLOBAL COMMUNICATION AND POLICY CHANGES

EUROPE, JAPAN AND ASIA IN A CHANGING WORLD: EIGHT MYTHS

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ABSTRACT

Primarily driven by the rise of Asia and the deepening trade and economic relations, the level of interest in Asia in Europe seems to be increasing speedily in the past decade and the European perceptions of Asia seem to be changing rapidly. In the light of this, for the purpose of providing a food for thought – rather than making a coherent academic argument – on Europe's role in a new world, the changing dynamics of Asia's regional order and Europe-Japan/Asia relations, this article addresses the following eight myths, which are often heard and appear to be widely believed, but fortunately more or less misguided.

Those are the following: (1) Europe and Asia are far away – not much interregional linkage; (2) Europe is in decline and no longer a significant player in a changing world; (3) Japan is in decline and becoming irrelevant in a changing world; (4) Europe does not have much leverage to influence China because it is too dependent on Chinese money; (5) China means Asia and Asia means China; (6) the relationship between Japan and China/South Korea is always bad; (7) Europe is merely an economic power in Asia and has not much political and security role to play; (8) Asia lacks multilateral regional frameworks for cooperation.

Simply put, those are all wrong in one way or another. The reality is more complicated and multifaceted and the respective roles of Europe and Japan and the potential for Europe-Japanese cooperation are greater than often believed.

Keywords: Japan, China, Asia, Europe, European Union.

INTRODUCTION

The level of interest in Asia in Europe seems to be increasing rapidly in the past decade. It is primarily driven by the rise of Asia and the global power shift to the East. The volume of trade and investment between the two regions is expanding and the level of interdependence is deepening. Furthermore, whereas China and India are rising powers, the relative weight of Europe is declining. As a result, Europeans are slowly realising that their prosperity – and increasingly their security as well – are becoming more influenced by

what takes place in Asia. This trend is likely to continue. The US 'rebalancing' toward the Asia-Pacific region under the Obama administration reinforces Europe's need to think about its own engagement in Asia.

At the same time, however, for many ordinary citizens in Europe, Asian affairs – not least political and security issues – still seem to be remote. In geographical terms, the two regions are far away, which obviously will not change.

For the purpose of providing a food for thought – rather than making a coherent academic argument – on Europe's role in a new world, the changing dynamics of Asia's regional order and Europe-Japan/Asia relations, this article addresses the following eight myths, which are often heard and appear to be widely believed, but fortunately more or less misguided. Simply put, those are all wrong in one way or another. The reality is more complicated and multifaceted and the respective roles of Europe and Japan and the potential for European-Japanese cooperation are greater than often believed.

I. MYTH ONE: Europe and Asia are far away – not much inter-regional linkage

While acknowledging that geography still matters, it is undeniable that the number of inter- or extra-regional transactions is growing at an unprecedented speed. In this sense, geography – or more precisely, geographical distance – means less in today's international economic, political and security environment. Trade and economy became global in nature long time ago. Free trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) have played a crucial role in driving the economic development of most countries in Asia, the trade volume between Europa and Asia has much increased and now East Asia – China (including Hong Kong and Macau), Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) – accounts for approximately 28% of the EU's total external trade, which is now greater than its transatlantic trade (22.7%). As long as Asia's growth continues – even at a considerably lower speed in the future – the scale and depth of economic interdependence will be likely to increase.

⁷⁰ Cited in Council of the European Union. Guidelines on the EU's Foreign and Security Policy in East Asia. 11492/12, Brussels, 15 June 2012, p. 3.

The 9.11 terrorist attacks demonstrated in the hard way that international security threats and challenges are also increasingly global in nature. Europe and Japan/Asia, in short, are facing a range of challenges in common, which can only be addressed together. Recognising this, Europe and Asia are nowadays cooperating more with each other in an increasing number of fields, not only in trade, investment and economy, but also in foreign policy, security and defence.

One of the factors driving this is the fact that the centre of world power is shifting toward Asia, which makes Europe and Asia more interdependentx– meaning that Europe is more influenced by what takes place in Asia, not just in trade and economic terms, but also increasingly in the foreign policy and security domains. While the overall level of the awareness remains low and the pace of change in this regard may still be slow,⁷¹ Europeans are becoming more aware of this, as evidenced, for instance, by the French White Paper on Security and Defence of 2013.⁷²

That said, however, the notion of the European-Japanese partnership is hardly new. Japan has been the longest-standing partner of choice for many European partners, both individual countries and regional groupings such as the EU. Europe (the EU) and Japan are often described as natural partners, sharing fundamental values and a broad range of strategic interests. While not making front-page headlines, there are many things – cooperation projects – taking place between Europe and Japan. A free trade agreement (FTA) and a political agreement (Strategic Partnership Agreement: SPA) are now being negotiated. These agreements are supposed to lay a firmer foundation on which to develop the partnership in the years to come.

In addition, the relationship between NATO and Japan has developed in the past several years. Starting with political dialogue, the two partners are now more engaged in concrete and practical cooperation. NATO-Japan

⁷¹ Tsuruoka, M. Defining Europe's Strategic Interest in Asia. Studia Diplomatica: The Brussels Journal of International Relations. 2011, 64(3).

⁷² Présidence de la République, French White Paper on Defence and National Security 2013. Paris, April 2013, esp. pp. 56-58.

⁷³ Tsuruoka, M. The EU and Japan: Making the Most of Each Other. Alert, No. 36. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, November 2013.

⁷⁴ Joint Press Statement. 21st EU-Japan Summit, Tokyo, 19 November 2013, para. 3.

cooperation in Afghanistan is a case in point. While Tokyo has not sent its troops there, it has been working together with NATO mainly through the office of NATO's Senior Civilian Representative (SCR) and various Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) across the country, most notably the one led by Lithuania in Ghor province.⁷⁵

II. MYTH TWO: Europe is in decline and no longer a significant player in a changing world

In relative terms, it is true that the weight of Europe is declining whereas that of Asia – most notably China and India – is increasing⁷⁶. Catherine Ashton, the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy argued (or lamented) that the world today 'is no longer 'our' world – and we have to adapt".

That said, however, the rise of Asia does not necessarily make Europe irrelevant. In the first place, the entity whose total GDP is the biggest in the world – bigger than the US – can hardly be an irrelevant player. The fact that the EU has the largest internal market in the world provides it with considerable power in trade and economic negotiations. In addition, the EU's power as a rule- and norm-maker in the world should not be overlooked. Japan's recently adopted National Security Strategy (NSS) points out that Europe has a 'capacity to develop norms in major international frameworks', constituting one of the main reasons why Tokyo seeks cooperation with Europe.

The EU-US free trade agreement (FTA) – Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) – is actually a European as well as an American effort to remain in a driving seat of world economic governance in light of the rise of non-Western powers, particularly China, which makes

⁷⁵ See Tsuruoka, M. NATO and Japan: A View from Japan. RUSI Journal. 2011, 156(6); Tsuruoka, M. NATO and Japan as Multifaceted Partners. Research Paper, 2013, 91, NATO Defense College.

Youngs, R. Europe's Decline and Fall: The Struggle against Global Irrelevance. London: Profile Books, 2010.

Ashton, C. Europe and the World. Speech by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission, SPEECH/10/378, Athens, 8 July 2010.

⁷⁸ Government of Japan, *National Security Strategy*, Tokyo, 17 December 2013, p. 26.

the TTIP – and the TPP for that matter – geo-strategic in nature.⁷⁹ The EU and the US still possess substantial power in setting international rules and regulations, to which other countries cannot be indifferent. Along with the fact that Europe – including both the EU and individual countries – remains the largest donor of development assistance across the world, it still retains a considerable level of agenda-setting power in various fields on the international scene.

In political and security terms, the EU's record so far has been much less impressive. The development of European foreign policy - namely the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) - has been slower than its many proponents expected or the EU's grandiose rhetoric suggests. It is all too easy to dismiss the EU's role as a security and defence actor. However, compared to twenty years ago, when the CFSP was established by the Maastricht Treaty or ten years ago, when the first EU mission under the framework of the then European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was launched, one can see how far the EU has achieved in the fields of foreign policy, security and defence. 80 Nonetheless, this should not obscure the challenges and problems that the EU still faces in terms of strengthening its role and capabilities as a strategic player in an ever changing world and it remains true that the EU paunches below its weight. Particularly, how to raise its political and security profile in Asia is one of the biggest challenges facing the EU. Related to this is the EU's inability to speak in a single voice on important international issues of the day, including relations with China.⁸¹

At the level of individual countries, various European countries maintain unique and powerful leverages in one way or another. The fact that the UK and France are permanent members of the United Nations Security

⁷⁹ See, for example, Stokes, B. The Transpacific-Transatlantic Single Market. in Stirling-Woolsey, S. et al., *Unlocking the Potential of the U.S.-Japan-Europe Relationship*, Trilateral Forum Tokyo Paper, Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2013, pp. 6-7.

For an authoritative and comprehensive overview of the first decade of the ESDP/CSDP, see Grevi, G. et al. eds., ESDP: The First Ten Years (1999-2009). Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2009. For an overview of the latest development, see Missiroli, A. ed., EUISS Yearbook of European Security 2013. Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, 2013.

⁸¹ See, for example, Vaïsse, J. et al., European Foreign Policy Scorecard 2013. 2013, London: European Council on Foreign Relations.

Council guarantees that those countries remain relevant in addressing almost all major international security and defence issues, be it Iran, Syria or North Korea. The UK, France and some other countries in Europe have special expertise and interest in Africa and other countries, such as Spain and Portugal have historically dense relations with some of the Latin American countries. The Baltic countries' distinctive perspectives on Russia can also be seen as a factor that contributes to the EU's role in the Eurasian continent.

III. MYTH THREE: Japan is in decline and is becoming irrelevant in a changing world

Just like Europe, it is undeniable that Japan is in decline in relative terms. Furthermore, the demographic trend, particularly its unprecedented speed of ageing, is one of the most serious structural challenges the country faces. While often perceived to be overshadowed by China and other rising powers, Japan is still the third largest economy in the world (or the fourth, if the EU rather than individual EU countries is taken into consideration) and a major source of technological innovation and foreign direct investment, which, like Europe, can hardly be ignored.

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has declared that 'Japan is back'. It is surely part of political rhetoric, but perceptions and sentiment are still important, which are now boosted by the fact that the 2020 Olympics are coming to Tokyo. Japan's FTA strategy has become more active than ever with the simultaneous negotiations of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the EU-Japan FTA. It is firmly a part of Tokyo's growth strategy, often called Abenomics. After two decades of recession and sluggish growth, public and market confidence and expectations seem to have recovered.

Under Prime Minister Abe, Japan has been expanding not only economic, but also political and security relationships with an increasing number of countries, most notably in Southeast Asia (ASEAN countries), the Middle East and Europe, in addition to the Japan-US alliance.⁸³ The

⁸² Abe, S. Japan is Back: A Conversation with Shinzo Abe, Foreign Affairs. 2013, 92(4); Japan is Back. Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D. C., 22 February 2013.

⁸³ For the value of Europe in Abe's foreign policy, see Tsuruoka, M. The UK, Europe and Japan: Forging a New Security Partnership. RUSI Journal, 2013, 158(6).

establishment of the new National Security Council (NSC) and the adoption of the first ever National Security Strategy (NSS) in December 2013 represent Tokyo's effort to be prepared to deal with the worsening security situation that surrounds Japan. At the same time, the Abe government aims to make Japan a 'proactive contributor to peace',84 by expanding Japan's participation in international peace operations, including UN peacekeeping missions and strengthening capacity-building assistance in Asia and beyond.

Japan's political and security role and presence in the world are likely to remain modest compared to its economic prowess and Japan is not supposed to participate in any combat missions abroad. However, what the current development shows is Tokyo's increasing willingness and preparedness to shoulder a fair share of international political and security burdens from which it had long eschewed. It may not be possible in the short term to punch above its weight, but Tokyo has punched below its weight for too long.

IV. MYTH FOUR: Europe does not have much leverage to influence China because it is too dependent on Chinese money

Indeed, many people in Europe seem to believe that its economy is highly dependent on China, particularly as a result of the Euro crisis – sovereign debt crisis in Greece and other countries – since the late 2000s. Sensational press reports about China's buying of European government bonds have certainly contributed to generate such perceptions.⁸⁵

The nature of the game, however, is that of interdependence. It has never been a one-way street. The Chinese economy is heavily and critically dependent on Europe's market, investment and technology, without which China's economic growth cannot be sustainable. The fact that China is the biggest exporter to the EU market – the largest single market in the world – means that China's economy, which is dependent on export, relies on the EU. Chinese leaders, both political and business, are aware of this. That is why Chinese stock markets often react to bad news on the European economy.

Remarks by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on the Occasion of Accepting Hudson Institute's 2013 Herman Kahn Award. New York, 25 September 2013. This phrase is repeated in the December 2013 National Security Strategy.

⁸⁵ For a balanced analysis of this, see Godement, F. China's Price for Rescuing the Euro. Policy Memo. London: European Council on Foreign Relations, November 2011.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Europe has so far more or less failed to utilise its (potential) leverage vis-à-vis China, mainly because of its inability to forge a common position among the EU member states. Different countries pursue their own – often conflicting – goals with little coordination. The need for a single voice has long been recognised, but it proves extremely difficult to achieve it in practice. However, the fact remains that so as to influence Beijing, the only hope that Europe has is to speak in a single voice.

V. MYTH FIVE: China means Asia and Asia means China

China is undoubtedly the biggest emerging power in the world. However, there are obviously many other countries in Asia – not only Japan and India, but also Southeast Asian countries. China accounts approximately 11% of the world's GDP or a little less than 40% of the total GDP (current prices) of Asia (24 countries including Japan). China's weight and impact in the world has changed substantially since Gerald Segal argued that China was overrated and it needed to be understood as a 'second-rank middle power' in 1999. However, Segal's warning about the danger of obsession with China remains relevant today – it is still difficult to have a balanced picture of China.

Meanwhile, the importance of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a regional grouping and its member countries is increasing as an investment destination, market and also as a political and strategic partner. While ASEAN's pace of regional integration may not look impressive, it has nonetheless achieved a lot in the past few decades. The fact that it expanded its membership – meaning that countries such as Vietnam and Myanmar wanted to joint ASEAN – signifies that it is attractive as a regional body and joining it is seen as a natural way for economic growth. Furthermore, one of the important aspects of the US rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region is intra-regional pivot – *pivot within Asia* – recognising the growing importance of Southeast Asia.⁸⁷ The TPP, a US-led regional free trade initiative – whether seen as a containment tool of China or not – can

⁸⁶ Segal, G. Does China Matter? Foreign Affairs. 1999, 78(5).

⁸⁷ See, for example, The United States and the Asia-Pacific in 2013. Speech by Tom Donilon, National Security Advisor to President, at The Asian Society, New York, 11 March 2013.

be regarded as yet another evidence that China is not the whole story when it comes to the rise of Asia. Washington believes that taking advantage of the growing Asia cannot be completed without going beyond China.

Europe, too, needs to have a more balanced picture on Asia, where China is undoubtedly a major player, but it is hardly the only important player. Diversity is what characterises Asia. A related challenge for Brussels is how to link its relationship with China to a wider context of the EU's engagement in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. In the past, it made sense for Brussels to manage relations with China, Japan and Southeast Asian countries separately because of the relatively low level of interdependence between different countries in the region and different levels of economic development among those countries. However, those rationales are certainly less relevant today and such questions as what sort of overall regional strategy it wants to formulate and how to locate relationships with individual Asian countries in the context of the overall strategy of regional engagement are becoming more crucial.

VI. MYTH SIX: The relationship between Japan and China/South Korea is always bad

Bad news, rather than good ones, always make headlines. It seems common in all democracies, perhaps ingrained in journalists' instinct. As far as politics and security are concerned, it would be dishonest to pretend that everything is business as usual in Japan-China/Korea relations. Indeed, everyone knows it is far from business as usual. Tensions have heightened in the East China Sea between China and Japan and the problems of history and the dispute over Takeshima Islands continue to mar the relationship between Japan and South Korea. What is more, both Chinese and Korean leaders have refused to meet with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe bilaterally for more than a year since Abe returned to power in December 2012. The tensions in the East China Sea have entered into a new (heightened) phase with China's unilateral announcement of the establishment of its new Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ) there, including Japan's territory, namely the Senkaku Islands.

That said, however, this is still far from the whole story. As neighbours, Japan-China and Japan-South Korea relations are deep and multi-

faceted.⁸⁸ The depth of economic interaction and people's networks (mutual penetration) is remarkable – it is certainly much deeper than that seen between Europe and China. That is why Tokyo is still committed to build what is called 'mutually beneficial relationship based on common strategic interests' with Beijing. This is a concept established on the occasion of Prime Minister Abe's visit to China in October 2006 (during his first tenure as Prime Minister, 2006-07).⁸⁹ No one denies the importance to both counties of the Japan-China relationship. It is simply too important to be ignored or left stranded. While trying to manage political and security tensions, one of the pragmatic challenges is how to separate political and security problems and trade and economic relations and how to prevent the former from harming the latter.

There is also a question of perceptions. On the one hand, Japan needs to tell other countries about the changing nature of China's military and other behaviours in the region surrounding Japan. It is also about making Japan's case to various partners in the world, including those in Europe regarding the East China Sea and other issues of Japan-China bilateral relations and wider issues. On the other hand, it is also significant to send messages across that Japan's relationship with China is multifaceted and it cannot be understood only as a story of conflict and tensions. The impression that Japan and China are always quarrelling with each other is indeed pervasive in the world, not least in Europe. However, it is not in Japan's interest to allow such (rather simplistic) perceptions to persist as it would make Japan's views on China less credible in the eyes of Europeans and others.

VII. MYTH SEVEN: Europe is merely an economic power in Asia and has not much political and security role to play

It is certainly true that the EU's economic profile is much higher and more firmly established than its political and security profile. That is hardly surprising. European integration had long focused on economy and the

⁸⁸ For a comprehensive and balanced account of Japan-China relations, see, for example, Yahuda, M. Sino-Japanese Relations after the Cold War: Two Tigers Sharing a Mountain. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

⁸⁹ Japan-China Joint Press Statement. Beijing, 8 October 2013, para. 3.

Asia-Pacific region had not been of priority for the EU's external relations for many years until recently. Europe, in short, is still in the process of adjusting itself to the new reality of the increasing significance of Asia, not just in trade and economic terms, but also in political and strategic terms.

Furthermore, it is undeniable that Europe – whether through NATO or the EU or at the level of individual countries – is not willing to get involved in any armed conflict in Asia. Nevertheless, the fact that Europe is unlikely to play a major, direct military role in Asia does not mean that Europe has no strategic stakes in Asia. Whether recognised or not, Europe does have an ever expanding set of strategic interests in Asia. Therefore, the question is definitely not whether Europe has strategic interests in Asia or not. Europe's real challenge is to come up with a clearer idea of what – current and future – strategic interests it needs to defend, how, where and when.⁹¹

First and foremost, Europe's economic interests in Asia depend on peace and stability in the regional order there. Deterioration of security environment in Asia will have an adverse impact on Europe's economic interests. This forces Europe to be at least sensitive to political and security problems in Asia. How to make use of this awareness and sensitivity to formulate substantial engagement is a next step. Related to this is the question about how Europe is seen in Asia – or more precisely, what political and security role, if any, Asia expects Europe to play in Asia. The Asians (including Japanese) do not seem to have a clear idea in this regard. 92

At the same time, its sheer economic size makes the EU impossible to ignore political, security and other implications that its ostensibly economic actions might cause. The economic profile of the sort the EU represents inevitably carries political, security and other implications both intended and unintended – the issue of the EU's move to lift the arms embargo on China is a case in point. The EU needs to be fully aware of this. Related to this is Europe's role as an arms exporter to various countries in Asia (other than China). As a result of shrinking defence budget in almost all

⁹⁰ Smith, K. EU foreign policy and Asia. in Balme, R. and Bridges, B. eds., Europe-Asia relations: Building Multilateralisms. Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2008.

⁹¹ Tsuruoka, Defining Europe's Strategic Interests in Asia.

⁹² See, for example, Tsuruoka, M. Linking Japan and the Transatlantic Community in the Age of Asia's Rise. *Policy Brief.* 2009, Washington, DC: German Marshall Fund of the United States.

European countries, many European defence companies are now looking at Asia as a new market and some of them have been successful. Europe, in short, is already a security actor by default by arms export. However, there has been little coordination among European countries regarding this and little effort seems to have been made to connect Europe's role as a weapons exporter to Asia and its strategic engagement in the region.⁹³

Some individual European countries have their own political and security role in Asia, based on their historical links to the region in such cases as the UK and France. These two countries are also permanent members of the UN Security Council, which means that they will be involved in almost all major issues of peace and security in Asia. The UK and France also have some military presence and engagement in Asia. 94

VIII. MYTH EIGHT: Asia lacks multilateral regional frameworks for cooperation

Such an argument might have been valid ten or twenty years ago. But it no longer applies. Today's problem in the Asia-Pacific region is, in fact, not the lack of regional frameworks, but that there are actually too many of them in the region. It shows both success and failure of multilateral frameworks in the Asia-Pacific region. One may justifiably argue that because the existing frameworks are not seen to be effective, one needs to create a new one in the hope of having something different and more effective. Even if that may be largely the case, various efforts to strengthen multilateral cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region cannot be dismissed as futile. From the end of the 1980s, the regional frameworks such as Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) were established. There are now a number of frameworks and formats linking ASEAN and non-ASEAN countries, such as ASEAN-Japan, ASEAN-China and ASEAN plus three (China, Japan and South

⁹³ Casarini, N. EU-Asia Interdependence at a Time of Crisis. in Szczdlik-Tatar, J. and Gradziuk, A., eds., *Japan and the European Union: Challenges and Cooperation in Times of Crisis*. Warsaw: Polish Institute of International Affairs, 2012, pp. 90-92. For more positive views on Europe's role as an arms exporter, see Godement, F. Divided Asia: The Implications for Europe. *Policy Brief*. 2013, London: ECFR, pp. 8-9.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Rogers, J. European (British and French) Geostrategy in the Indo-Pacific. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, 2013, 9(1); Tsuruoka. The UK, Europe and Japan.

Korea). Among the most recent examples in the list of regional multilateral frameworks in the Asia-Pacific region are the East Asia Summit (EAS) and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting Plus (ADMM-Plus). 95

These regional developments have various implications to Europe's approach to the region. As ASEAN develops, the scope for EU-ASEAN inter-regional relations widens and the once-almost abandoned idea of EU-ASEAN FTA could be revived as a result. At the same time, Brussels may need to be more cautious when it argues that it seeks to promote and assist regional integration in Asia. The basic reality in Asia has changed substantially and the EU's efforts need to fully take into consideration the new reality on the ground.⁹⁶

CONCLUSIONS

What picture can be drawn from the discussions above? It must be admitted that there is no single picture describing all the important features of Asia and relations between Asia and Europe. The reality is complicated, which creates a number of myths about the situation. This article has tried to dispel some of those, but not all of them. What needs to be emphasised again here in conclusion, is that Europe and Japan/Asia are increasingly linked together, facing more common challenges, which can only be addressed together.

*The views expressed here are of the author's alone and do not represent those of the NIDS, the Ministry of Defense, the Government of Japan or RUSI.

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⁹⁵ For the ADMM-Plus, see Tsuruoka, M. An Era of the ADMM-Plus? Unique Achievements and Challenges. *PacNet*, 2013, 69, Honolulu: Pacific Forum CSIS.

⁹⁶ In the first place, to what extent the EU has actually been consistent in promoting regional integration in Asia (and other regions) despite its rhetoric is unclear. However, it is a wider issue, which goes beyond the scope of this article.

THE EU-JAPAN JOINT CUSTOMS COOPERATION

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ABSTRACT

Today customs are facing new challenges: they must ensure the smooth flow of trade whilst applying necessary controls on the one hand, and guaranteeing the protection of health and safety of the Community's citizens on the other. To achieve the correct balance between these demands, customs activities and control methods must be modernised and co-operation between the different countries outside the EU must be reinforced.

In the article, the influence of customs on the protection of public interests and social as well as economic development was analysed. After analysing the customs activities managing the international flow of goods, customs contribution ensuring the increased security of goods supply network was revealed. The analysis revealed the important contribution of the World Customs Organization (WCO) – representing 99% of the world trade, establishing the Frameworks of Standards to Secure and Facilitate Global Trade (SAFE Framework) – to global security and trade facilitation. The article entails a comparative analysis of the Authorised Economic Operator (AEO) models used for the assessment of business enterprise activities in the European Union and Japan.

Keywords: customs cooperation, international supply chain, AEO programme, authorised economic operator, security.

INTRODUCTION

Living in the current global economic conditions, the socio-economic well-being of each country is strongly influenced by the customs activities. Globalization has influenced the changes in customs procedures and inspection processes. Customs are engaged not only in the control, breach prevention and administration of duties and taxes, but also carry out the broader tasks, such as security assurance, simplification of trade conditions and protection of economic interests of the countries.

Nowadays rapidly growing international trade as well as new production and transport technologies require the goods to be delivered to the recipient exactly at the time when they are needed. For this reason, customs formalities must be carried out as quickly as possible, without disturbing the flow of goods and at the same time without reducing the efficiency of customs control.

Scientific literature lacks researches analysing the matters of customs activities. Therefore, the focus was placed on the analysis of the legal acts regulating customs activities – in particular, on the legal acts regulating the provisions of the global trade liberalisation and the security of the international supply network. It is important to point out that until 1990 there was almost no information concerning the aspects of the supply network, and the lack of information concerning the solutions helping overcome the logistical barriers that inevitably arise during the international trade process. Customs procedures and the time required for the inspection pose extremely serious logistical barriers for enterprises. The number of activities in this area has grown rapidly (Heide, John, 1990; Bleeke, Ernst, 1991; Hendrick, Ellram, 1993; Ganesan, 1994; Lambert et al., 1996; Pearson et al., 1998; Whipple, Gentry, 2000; Ellram et al., 2002; Bourne, Neely, Platts, Mills, 2002; Halachimi, 2002; Gutierrez, Hintsa, 2006; Saiz, Bas, Rodriguez, 2007; Morgan, 2007; Bento, White, 2010).

The legislative analysis (Council Regulation (EEC) No 2913/92; Framework of Standards to Secure and Facilitate Global Trade, 2005; Regulation (EC) No 648/2005 of the European Parliament and of the Council; Commission Regulation 1875/2006) was carried out in accordance with the legislation of the World Customs Organization, the European Union, the regulations, decisions and other documents of the Japanese Customs Administration. The main sources used are legal acts, published results of empirical studies that reflect the most recent aspects of the international trade supply network and enterprise procedure evaluation.

Research object – the EU-Japan customs cooperation in the field of AEO programme implementation.

 $Research\ aim$ – to conduct a comparative analysis of the AEO models used for the assessment of business enterprise activities in the European Union and Japan.

The objectives of the article are to reveal the role of customs seeking to facilitate legitimate trade, to perform the analysis of the AEO customs models used in the EU and Japan, to identify the most significant and the most risky areas of business activity assessment.

1. THE ROLE OF CUSTOMS IN THE SUPPLY CHAIN AND AEO

In the global economic conditions, customs activities retain their great importance. In the European Union, customs deal with the policy of duties and international trade. They are also responsible for the efficient security of the EU financial interests. The global trading system is not secured against terrorism that can cause serious damage to the global economy. The role of customs in the supply chain has been constantly evolving. From the revenue collector to the guardian of the internal market and of other policy areas, such as public health, consumer protection, environment, agriculture, it has naturally expanded, following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, to become a major player in the field of supply chain security.

Being a part of the governmental organisations that monitor and manage a cross-border movement of goods, customs administrations appear in a unique position, as they ensure an increased security of the global supply network as well as contribute to the social and economic development through the revenue collection and trade facilitation. With the growth of the international terrorism and the increased threats of weapons, counterfeit and pirated goods as well as hazardous materials to enter the country and thus endanger international trade and public security, customs are confronted with new challenges. Nowadays, the main strategic objective of EU customs is the defence of the market and the society in the field of the foreign trade while implementing the policy of European Community's taxes and trade. To achieve this objective, one of the main challenges is to implement measures related to the safety and security of international trade supply and to prevent terrorism, smuggling, organised crime and other criminalities. The focus is placed on the application of the audit-based control measures in order to overcome the logistical barriers that inevitably arise during the process of international trade.

The World Customs Organization (WCO) adopted an international framework ("SAFE Framework") in 2005, which includes the Authorized Economic Operator (AEO) concept, whereby a party involved in the international movement of goods would be approved by customs as complying with the supply chain security standards, and given benefits, such as simplified customs procedure and less customs intervention.

Ensuring the security of the global supply chain while facilitating trade is a challenge both for customs authorities and economic operators. To meet this challenge, many countries have introduced additional security measures to reinforce risk management in accordance with the WCO SAFE Framework of standards.

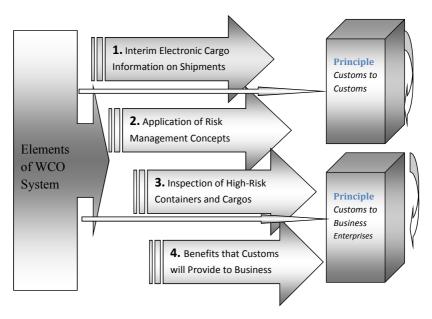


Figure 1. Framework of Standards to Secure and Facilitate Global Trade, SAFE Framework

Source: compiled by the author on the basis of the Framework of Standards to Secure and Facilitate Global Trade (2005).

The System of SAFE Framework consists of 4 essential elements (see Fig. 1). The System harmonises the pre-electronic cargo information about shipments. In order to be against the security threats, each country joining the System is obliged to apply the comprehensive approach of the risk management. The System requires the inspection of the high-risk containers and the cargo inspection. The System also defines benefits that customs will provide to the business enterprises matching the minimum supply network security standards and the best practices. The System,

based on four essential elements, is focused on two equal principles: "customs to cistoms" and "customs to business enterprises". The principles are composed of a series of standards that must be implemented at the international level and that are presented as minimum requirements obligatory for WCO members to carry out.

The EU Customs Security Programme covers activities supporting the development and implementation of measures enhancing security through improved customs controls: (1) introducing proper security controls to ensure the protection of the internal market and, in close cooperation with the major trading partners in the world, the securing of international supply chains, (2) providing assistance to traders who show compliant efforts to secure their part of the international supply chains. The programme introduces proper security controls to ensure the protection of the internal market and, in close co-operation with major trading partners in the world, secure the international supply chain. The programme balances controls with trade facilitation. Traders demonstrating compliant efforts to secure their part of the supply chain will be rewarded with benefits such as fewer controls. One of the main elements of the security amendment of the Community Customs Code (Regulation (EC) 648/2005) is the creation of the AEO concept. In risk management, the reliability of traders is of crucial importance. Established authorised economic operators that adhere to security and compliance criteria allow customs to focus on risky trade flows. In exchange, AEO receive benefits in the form of trade facilitation. Mutual recognition of AEO provides reliable operators with additional trade facilitation benefits in partner countries; it also allows customs to target high risk shipments more effectively. Reliable traders will benefit from trade facilitation measures through the Authorised Economic Operator programme.

The status of an authorised economic operator granted by one member state is recognised by the other member states. This does not automatically allow AEO to benefit from simplifications provided for in the customs rules in the other member states. However, other member states should grant the use of simplifications to authorised economic operators if they meet specific requirements and without re-examining the criteria that have been already checked.

The European Community is expecting more security and more facilitation from these rules as for example the use of advance electronic information and electronic systems for risk analysis will enable customs to identify high risk cargo bound for Europe at an early stage in the logistical process. With the new security initiative, customs will be enabled to carry out more targeted controls on high risk shipments by means of automated systems as well as new technologies.

2. COOPERATION WITH JAPAN ON MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF SECURITY MEASURES

For the policy of the European Community, cooperation at international level between customs authorities is an important tool for providing a balance between the necessary trade liberalisation and the increasing international trade with the world's large trading partners. This cooperation should help customs authorities to use new instruments or increase the efficiency in existing tools for the control of the trade flows and the fight against fraud and illegal activities.

In coherence with this policy, the Customs Cooperation and Mutual Administrative Assistance Agreements allow the parties to put in place the necessary tools for customs cooperation. For the benefit of world trade and international assistance to fight against customs fraud, the European Union has signed customs cooperation and mutual administrative assistance agreement with Japan. The agreement is part of the European Community's strategy vis-à-vis third countries as regards customs co-operation. This focuses on strengthened co-operation of customs authorities with a view to creating a level playing field for economic operators and to exchanging information on customs legislation and customs rules as early as possible.

The EU-Japan Joint Customs Cooperation Committee established an expert dialogue on AEOs at its first meeting, held in Brussels on 11 February 2008. Regarding the supply chain security and trade facilitation, the two sides recognised the importance of mutual recognition of AEO's programmes and security measures to facilitate international trade, while still ensuring effective customs control. They agreed to work closely to achieve such mutual recognition. The members of JCCC discussed mutual administrative assistance in pursuing customs fraud and irregularities

and undertook to step up their measures through effective information exchange. Achieving mutual recognition of AEO programmes between the EU and Japan would facilitate trade and EU exports and also increase end-to-end supply chain security. The security type of AEO certificate and the combined one allow their holders to benefit from facilitations with regard to the customs controls relating to security.

Each agreement establishes a Joint Customs Cooperation Committee which consists of representatives of the customs authorities of the Contracting Parties. The implementation of mutual recognition with Japan means that the AEO status of EU importers and exporters will be taken into account during the security risk assessment procedures by Japanese Customs in Japan, if the procedure outlined below is followed. Each customs authority provides comparable benefits to economic operators holding AEO status under the other customs authority's programme. These include taking the AEO status of an operator authorised by the other customs authority into account favourably in its risk assessment to reduce inspections or controls and in other security-related measures.

3. BUSINESS PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT SYSTEMS - MODELS AND THEIR ANALYSIS

The main problem related to the business activity assessment in most cases lies in the identification of the appropriate activity assessment indicators. After analysing the business activity evaluation models, it has been found that most of them include enterprise strategy aspects. Therefore, in order to carry out the evaluation of the activities, the organisation's mission, policies and objectives should be combined (Kaplan, Norton, 2001; Pongatichat, Johnston, 2008). It has also been found that today's business activity assessment models are characterised by the fact that activity assessment includes not only traditional business activity assessment indicators but also the assessment of the entire supply network and inter-operational procedures. The supply network is influenced by a broad set of environmental factors. That is why this assessment area is quite tricky and complicated, requiring a broad understanding of the importance of a global context.

Most of the authors creating the activity assessment model emphasise the importance of enterprise strategy and long-term goals. It was found that the greatest influence in the process of business assessment is made by the use of non-financial indicators. This has the greatest effect on business results. One of the activity assessment models, including the assessment of the supply network, is a model of J. Saiz, A. Bass, R. Rodriguez (2007) (see Fig. 2).

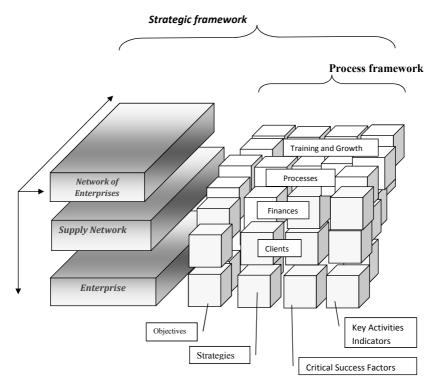


Figure 2. Structure of Business Activity Assessment Process Source: compiled by the author on the basis of J. Saiz, A. Bas, R. Rodriguez (2007).

After analysing this model it was found that the activity assessment process is also characterised by the fact that it includes not only the evaluation criteria of a business unit but also of the supply network and the business network. An essential feature of the model is a particular requirement: first of all, to consider and assess the organisation's strategy and only then to evaluate the ongoing processes. The authors of this model stressing the importance of

the strategy's implementation have identified its two components: a strategic framework and a process framework. The assessment process of the business enterprise activities can be made on the basis of this model.

The customs conducted assessment process of the business enterprise activities has a number of procedural aspects, coming from the particularities of the activities themselves, and the assessment itself may have different specific objectives. The result of the implementation of the activity assessment targets the measuring of achievement of those objectives that are taken into consideration while carrying out the assessment activities.

It has been found that in assessing the activities of business enterprises, the customs administrations of various countries use different activity assessment models. After analysing the theoretical business enterprise activity evaluation models and after carrying out the analysis of such models used by the customs of various countries. After carrying out the analysis of the customs audit models used for assessing business enterprise activities, it has been found that the models used for the assessment of business enterprise activities were launched only at the beginning of the twentyfirst century. The first ones were the Swedish customs officials raising the ideas of the modern customs system. In 2001 they developed a model of quality assurance and the simplification of the customs procedures. The model was called 'Stairway'. According to this model, another model for the assessment of business enterprise activities - 'AEO' - was developed and implemented in the EU customs from 2008. Customs administrations of other countries have also developed a number of different programmes to define business enterprise activities. On the basis of these programmes, specific activity assessment models have been designed: programmes of Customs-Trade Partnership against Terrorism (C-TPAT) and Containers Security Initiative (CSI) in the United States, AEO Programme in Japan, Partnership in Protection Programme in Canada, Secure Export Programme in New Zealand, Frontline Programme in Australia.

The EU customs model assessing the activities of business enterprises seeking to obtain the 'AEO' status, include the following fields of enterprise activities:

- evaluation of the available information about the company,
- · details about the requirements met,

- · company's accounting and logistics system,
- company's financial solvency,
- safety and security requirements.

The main objective of the customs in analysing business enterprise activity assessment is to evaluate the activities of entities and their compliance. After the customs carried out the evaluation of business enterprise activities and defined that the enterprise met the fixed criteria, a decision was made to grant the 'AEO' status and to issue a certificate.

The assessment of business enterprise activities in the EU customs is carried out taking into consideration the issuing/non-issuing of the AEO status – when the customs audit assesses the activities of an economic operator and its compliance with the established criteria. After analysing the enterprise activity quality AEO certification process of the EU customs, it can be affirmed that this is a positive phenomenon, which can be considered as a first step of the customs towards the positive assessment of the enterprise, taking into consideration its reliability. This process of certification provides a competitive advantage over other companies.

After analysing the theoretical models of business activity assessment and after carrying out the analysis of business enterprise activity evaluation models used in various countries it is clear that the EU customs model does not include one of the most important elements of assessment, namely company vision, goals, strategy and business risk assessment related to these elements. While assessing the company's activities, the analysis of external factors is very important. This helps the customs authorities to better assess possible risks and business perspectives. In this case, after identifying the external factors, it is extremely important to assess the potential threats and possible changes in the enterprise.

The Japanese government has also developed and promoted the AEO Programme in close cooperation with the business sector, aiming at ensuring security while facilitating legitimate trade. For this purpose, the Japanese customs, as a main entity in the field of international trade, has developed the AEO programme for importers, exporters, warehouse operators, customs brokers, logistics operators and manufacturers consistent with the "SAFE Framework" developed by the WCO.

Under that programme, an AEO in Japan can enjoy specific benefits according to its type of AEO, in addition to the benefits, such as increased reputation as a more compliant and security-oriented company, favourable consideration in customs enforcement proceedings and better relations with customs.

It should be noted that Japanese customs is characterised by the fact that the AEO programme includes five performance assessment models created for each participant in the supply chain. This segmentation of participants by supply chain has created substantial advantages for the assessment process. It is difficult to judge on the company for all market participants according to a single set of inspection criteria, as for different subjects this may have a different meaning. The audit by a particular participant developed to verify the package can be applied with much flexibility in the use of the performance indicators, perform supply chain risk analysis and assessment.

Supply chain participants in Japan must meet the same requirements as the EU Authorised Economic Operator status holder. The Japanese customs checking the company's activities for its compliance with the requirements use the AEO programme evaluation model "Check Sheet for the Compliance Program" (2008).

Japanese Compliance Programme consists of the following sections:

- organisational set-up,
- contracting parties (business partners) requirements,
- cargo/conveyance/premises security,
- due customs procedures,
- $\bullet \hspace{0.2cm} consultation/cooperation/communication with \hspace{0.1cm} customs,$
- · crisis management,
- education/training,
- internal audit.

After the evaluation of the businesses enterprise activities, it has been found that it is quite tricky and difficult to assess different entities of the supply network, using a single model of the customs audit that is adapted by the EU customs. For this reason, this model is worth reforming, using the example of the AEO programme as applied by the Japanese customs. It is recommended for the EU customs to develop the activity assessment

models for each party of the supply network individually. This will allow greater flexibility to undertake activity assessment during the audit procedures.

CONCLUSIONS

Each country's economy is influenced by the ongoing international trade, the volume of which depends on the efficiency of logistical operations – from modelling and management of the logistical process to helping control the flow of goods crossing national borders. The process of the worldwide transportation of goods is very long and complicated. The long time required for the customs procedures can be seen as one of the barriers to international trade.

After analysing the concepts of business activity evaluation, it is clear that they are very different. As a result, a relatively wide range of activity assessment models can be found in the field of business activity assessment nowadays. Some of them (well-balanced indicator system model by Kaplan and Norton, 2001; model by Saiz, Bass and Rodriguez, 2007) can be applied by improving the EU's customs audit model for the assessment of business activities. The analysis of assessment indicators in the model is carried out by connecting these indicators with the company's vision, goals and the implementation of the strategy. This additionally evaluated information provides the customs with the opportunity to view the evaluated enterprise wider and in more detail, by helping the customs authorities to better assess possible risks and business perspectives.

It should be noted that the Japanese customs is characterised by the fact that the AEO programme includes five performance assessment models created for each participant in the supply chain. This segmentation of participants by supply chain has created substantial advantages for the assessment process.

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DISTRIBUTIVE STRATEGIES USED BY LITHUANIAN STUDENTS IN INTERPERSONAL HORIZONTAL CONFLICTS

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ABSTRACT

Human constructive cooperation is based on recognition that values and life goals differ among individuals and among groups, acknowledgment of other people's points of view, appreciation of contexts broader than the issue at hand, sensitivity to the possibility of change in social relations, acknowledgment of the likelihood of multiple outcomes of a social conflict, concern with conflict resolution.

People from different cultures vary in the ways they approach social conflicts. For example, the Japanese indicated a strong preference for avoiding tactics, whereas the Americans showed a strong use of assertive tactics in conflict situations (Ohbuchi, Fukushima, Tedeschi, 1999). Understanding cross-cultural differences in conflict resolution style is essential to the practice of public diplomacy and public relations, especially given the globalised business economy.

Political and social transformation followed by legal and administrative modernisation has caused formerly unknown numerous social conflicts in Lithuania. Society became dismembered and divided (Lakis, Grigas, Kavolis). Strengthening individual and communal culture of dispute resolution through education was one of the guidelines for developing the national system of conflict management. The conflict management skills of the new generation, along with its strong and weak features, are under consideration. The report invoked the data of a student conflict resolution skills survey. It involved 138 students from Mykolas Romeris University and was carried out in 2012-2013.

Keywords: distributive strategies, manifestation of conflict, conglomerated conflict behaviour, students, Lithuania.

INTRODUCTION

People from different cultures vary in the ways they approach social conflicts. Dispositions rooted in early experiences shape the culture's style of interaction with others and interpretations of behaviour. It is a *conflict* defined by Ross as interpretive behaviour (Ross, 1993). Generally, cultural values are reflected in the conflict situation by participants achieving their

goals. The relationship between specific values and expectations about which tactics will maximise the values are learned in the context of the person's culture (Ohbuchi, Fukushima, Tedeschi, 1999).

Culture has a profound effect on how states perceive the world, behave in it, and manage their conflicts. Culture has become more important in the current environment, where many conflicts take place not only between states, but mostly between groups, divided by cultural or religious lines, within a state. Cultural variations have a significant impact on conflict resolution – both at the contextual and process stage (Bercovitch, Foulkes, 2012).

When members of one culture are unable to understand culturally determined differences in communication practices of another culture, "misunderstandings" arise and form counterproductive pseudo conflicts (Borisodd, Victor (1989) after Kozan (1997)). Such cultural differences have developmental consequences for reasoning about social conflict. Cross-cultural communication and conflicts may be better managed, if sides understand what the other side expects at each phase of the conflict or non-conflict communication process.

According to theoretical cross-cultural framework of M. K. Kozan (1997), the process of conflict management differs in Japan and Lithuania. Japan is one of the countries where a *harmony model* is essential and Lithuania belongs to the group of countries with a *regulative model*. There are 5 components of the conflict process which M. K. Kozan took into consideration while characterising these different models: antecedent conditions, thoughts and emotions, behaviour, outcomes, the role of third parties. It should be noted that conflict management can take place within any of these components of the conflict process.

According to M. K. Kozan (1997), the *harmony* model stresses cooperative behaviour in handling differences. Conflict management in the harmony model essentially attempts, by various non-confrontational means, to maintain group harmony. Members find it quite difficult to pursue their interests aggressively at the expense of the group interests. Therefore, conflict styles in the *regulative* model stress either avoidance or authoritative command. In the regulative model, conflict resolution is largely aided by the presence of universalistic principles and rules. Hence, bureaucratic arrangements are an integral part of the regulative model.

Negotiation style is more rigid than in the harmony model, because concessions may be viewed as deviation from the principle.

Some researches are revealing conflict management particularities of the Japanese (state and cross-cultural) which support, detail and illustrate theoretical statements of M. K. Kozan. For example, Obhuchi and Kitanaka (1991) found that the young Japanese (228 university students took part in the survey) accepted direct conflict resolution strategies more than the indirect ones. Cross-cultural researches showed that most of the Japanese participants used the tactic of avoidance and that the most American participants used assertion. Therefore, Americans and Japanese had common expectations about the efficacy of tactics in social conflicts (Ohbuchi, Fukushima, Tedeschi, 1999). The Japanese gain wisdom about social conflict and its avoidance earlier than the Americans do (Grossmann et al., 2012). Accommodation and individuation are emphasised to different degrees in Japan and the United States. In Japan, the lens of accommodation is dominant and the most common path is the one in which symbiotic harmony is paramount. In contrast, American culture encourages the development of personal preferences and individualisation in relationships, which may often prompt interpersonal conflicts. Conflict is seen as inevitable as well as healthy because it provides opportunities for partners openly to assert and renegotiate their personal needs (Rothbaum et al., 2000).

Lithuania is one of those countries, where simultaneous political and social transformation followed by legal and administrative modernisation after post-communist transformation has caused formerly unknown numerous social conflicts (Lakis, 2008). However, at present it is little known about the conflict features in Lithuania: prevailing types, reasons, forms of conflict behaviour manifestation or used strategies – all of this has hardly been investigated in Lithuania. In addition, there is no crosscultural study comparing the conflict resolution features of the Lithuanians and representatives of other counties.

Greater attention may be paid to the research of conflicts taking place within a state as well as to the research of cross-cultural conflicts because of the increasing number of cross-border links. The conflict behaviour influenced by culture may provide knowledge about values, habits and

preferences which are needed for successful conflict resolution, management and prevention. *The purpose* of the article is to describe the characteristics of the expression of conflicting behaviour of young Lithuanians (students). The task of the survey was to reveal the tendencies in the manifestation of conflicts between students and their peers (horizontal conflicts).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Conflict behaviour is an individual's reaction to the perception that one's own and another party's current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously (Rubin, Pruitt, Kim, 1994). The concept of a conflict varies depending on research. Therefore, a conflict can be understood as a clash which manifests in a certain behaviour. A party's strategic conflict behaviour has been represented in a space defined by two axes: cooperativeness and assertiveness. Five distinct conflict styles or modes can be identified in this space (Rahim, 2001; Gross, Guerrero, 2001). Competing (high in assertiveness) involves the use of power to have one's position get accepted. Accommodation (high in cooperativeness) represents trying to satisfy the other party's wishes at the expense of one's own. Collaboration (high in both) involves bringing all pertinent issues and concerns out into the open, and reach a solution that integrates different points of view. Avoiding (low in both) side-steps the issue and shies away from its open discussion. Compromise (mid-point) involves splitting the difference, with both parties giving up something to find a middle ground.

In daily life, these basic reactions are used as components of more complex reactions. For those complex reactions of conflict issue Van de Vliert, Euwema and Huismans have coined the term of conglomerated conflict behaviour (Van de Vliert *et al.*, 2004). The conglomerate perspective posits that any reaction consists of multiple components of conflict behaviour, and that these components moderate each other's effect on the substantive and relational outcomes of the conflict. The theory of conglomerate conflict behaviour states that the components of conflict behaviour should be considered as interrelated. Conglomerations of escalative contending and de-escalative accommodating, integrating, or avoiding might well be more effective than contending in and of itself (Euwema, Van de Vliert, Bakker, 2003).

Also, the theory of conglomerate conflict expands the analysis of behaviour from five to seven components, adding two active behaviours to the five modes mentioned above: process controlling and confronting. *Process controlling* is directed at dominating procedures, including setting the agenda and the rules of the game. *Confronting* refers to straightforward actions of demanding attention to one's own discontent by launching the conflict issue (Euwema *et al.*, 2003).

In addition, the most effective conglomeration of contending with other components of conflict behaviour is society-specific. It is also noted that Japanese subordinates handle conflicts with superiors more effectively to the extent that they complement high contending with high accommodating, while in the Netherlands primarily effective is contending complemented with integrating (Van de Vliert, Ohbuchi, Van Rossum, Hayashi, Van der Vegt, 2004).

The assertiveness and cooperativeness dimensions of conflict behaviour correspond to face-maintenance concerns of the parties. Two face maintenance concerns are identified during conflict: self-face concerns and other-face concerns. Cultures show differences in terms of these five styles. Members of collectivistic cultures have a higher concern for maintaining the other's face in conflict than members of individualistic cultures. Concern with other's face readily translates into a high degree of cooperativeness (accommodation and avoiding) and a lower degree of assertiveness (competing) (Kozan, 1997).

Conflict behaviour is implicitly or explicitly directed at realising outcome allocations. Distributive conflict behaviour is directed at maximising the outcomes for one party, minimising the outcomes for the other party (or both), whereas integrative conflict behaviour is directed at maximising the outcomes for the conflicting parties together. Contending and accommodating are both highly distributive. Integrating and compromising are highly integrative. Avoiding is neither distributive nor integrative (Van de Vliert *et al.*, 2004). Although the avoiding is uncooperative and can be frustrating to interact with someone who uses the avoiding style as well (Gross, Guerrero, 2001).

METHOD

The survey study avoided the investigation of integrative behaviour. The integrative strategies – problem solving, process controlling and accommodating strategy have not been analysed in this study. It follows the approach of problem solving and process controlling which are the most effective conflict behaviours – they unite parties against the issue, stimulate creativity, are mutually (substantative and relational) beneficial (Euwema *et al.*, 2003). Compromising implies searching for intermediate positions, satisfying only some of both parties needs. Van de Vliert describes compromising as a "half hearted problem solving".

Three less effective conflict strategies were investigated in the survey: forcing, avoiding and accommodating. They are often named as ineffective, inappropriate, uncooperative and distributive in the literature (ex. Gross, Guerrero, 2001). Within the conglomerate, forcing has no significant effect on substantive outcomes and is negatively related to relational outcomes. Avoiding and accommodating neither have a significant effect on substantive outcomes, nor on relational outcomes (Euwema *et al.*, 2003). Nevertheless, these strategies are often used in conflict. Knowledge on the manifestation of these strategies is needed to manage their prevalence.

Although it is without prejudice to the contingency perspective stating that each conflict behaviour is appropriate under some circumstances regarding the task at hand, the decision to be made, the available time, the nature of the conflict at issue, the relationship with the opponent (Rahim, 2001). It is inviolable the aspect of conflict behaviour efficiency in the survey.

Questionnaire. The first part of the questionnaire introduced the study and the second part contained questions about handling interpersonal conflicts with opponents.

Forcing includes confrontational remarks, accusations, personal criticism, rejection, hostile imperatives or threats, antagonistic jokes or teasing, aggressive questions, presumptive remarks, and denial of responsibility at the expense of the other person (Gross, Guerrero, 2001). In order to describe forcing conflict behaviour, the classifications proposed by Zb. Skorny (1968) are the ones mostly referred to. The classification identifies 3 types of power contending: offensive, damaging and humiliating. The

use of force is the indication of physically offensive contending, threatening and spurning is that of verbally offensive, not telling the truth that of verbally damaging, and mocking/ridiculing that of verbally humiliating. Also, the indications of the indirect physically offensive (preventing the opponent from speaking), physically damaging (damaging the opponent's thing), verbally offensive (threatening the opponent behind his back), damaging (informing against the opponent) and humiliating (mocking/ridiculing the opponent behind his back) types of conflicting contending is given as well.

Avoiding is a retreat from an unpleasant situation in order to avoid an imminent conflict. The retreat can be emotional and physical (Lekavičienė, 2001; Gross, Guerrero, 2001). The emotional one manifests in the forms of not listening to opponent's arguments or trying to forget about the disagreement rather than defending yourself or attacking the opponent. The physical one manifests in the forms of avoiding communication, keeping silent even addressed.

Accommodating is a manifestation of a person's desire to make other people solve problems. It includes putting aside one's own needs to please the partner, passively accepting the decisions that the partner makes, making yielding or conceding statements, denying or failing to express one's need, and explicitly expressing harmony and cooperation in a conflict episode (Gross, Guerrero, 2001). The person does not try to defend his interests but seeks the assistance of other people instead. The following accommodating behaviour has been investigated: failure to defend your opinion, bursting into tears during conflict.

Confronting refers to straightforward actions of demanding attention to one's own discontent by launching the conflict issue. (Euwema et al., 2003). The person who is unable to resolve the conflict himself seeks for support: he listens to other opinion and asks for some help. This behaviour has been investigated as well.

19 different items as possible reactions that may manifest during conflict were included in the conflict behaviour questionnaire (Table 1).

Table 1. The items of conflicting behaviour

Conflicting	Unilateral			
behaviour	Direct	Indirect		
- forcing	-Threatens	- Threatens opponent behind his back		
verbally	- Does not tell the truth (tells lies)	- Informs against the opponent		
	- Mocks/ridicules	- Mocks/ridicules the opponent behind his back		
physically	- Uses force (pushes, hits, kicks, pricks, etc.)	- Prevents the opponent from speaking - Damages opponent's things (stains, tears or scratches them)		
- avoiding	-Keeps silent when addressed	- Does not listen to opponent's arguments		
	- Avoids communication	- Tries to forget about the disagreement		
- accommo- dating	- Does not defend his opinion	- Breaks into tears		
- confronting	- Demands attention to the conflict issue	- Neglects		
-seeking for supporter - Asks for help		- Listens to others' opinion		

Sample and procedure. A broad convenience sample of 138 students from Mykolas Romeris University participated in the study. Participation was voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. The students were given 30 minutes to complete the questionnaires.

The survey contained questions asking the students to rate the aspects of their conflict behaviour experiences. They were asked to rate each item on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (always), keeping in mind how often the type of behaviour described by the item occurred during their disagreements with peers. A higher score for a component of conflict behaviour indicates a higher frequency of occurrence of that behavioural component.

The survey was carried out in the academic year of 2012-2013. The research data has been processed using the SPSS version 15.

RESULTS

Table 2 provides the means indicating the pattern of occurrence of five conflict modes.

Variables: Behavioural Components	Forcing	Avoiding	Accommoda- ting	Confronting	Seeking for supporter
Mean	1.6	2.3	1.9	2.3	3.0
SD	0.50	0.61	0.55	0.71	0.86

Table 2. Means, standard deviation of the variables used in this study, N=138

According to the data of the survey, the most representative strategy among the investigated was seeking for support at the moment of conflict. However, it should be noted that students more often seek indirect than direct support (Figure 1). It should also be added that, although integrative conflict behaviour strategies have not been studied, the result suggests that they are more common than distributive strategies. Individual use of integrative strategy (collaborating) directly faces conflict and tries to find new and creative solutions of problems by focusing on their own needs as well as the needs of others (Gross, Guerrero, 2001). After failing to solve the conflict on their own, but if the willingness to deal with the problem and to respect the wishes of the opponent is still alive, then people seek help from a third party. Applying for mediation is an indication that mutual relations are important for opponents.

M. Kozan (1997) describing the peculiarities of the regulatory model noted that it was characterised by norms and rules. Therefore, appeal for help may be associated not only with the strategy of co-operation, but also with the strategy of struggle, when it is addressed to those who are familiar with the rules and can support the opinion of the fighter. It is clear that this trend calls for a purposeful study.

The summary of results showed that distributive strategies are rarely applied by students. More frequently they use the strategies of confronting and avoiding, seldomly they use accommodating and the rarest is the forcing strategy. However, if we observe distribution of separate expression manifestations, we can see that some distributive actions are normal for students (Figure 1).

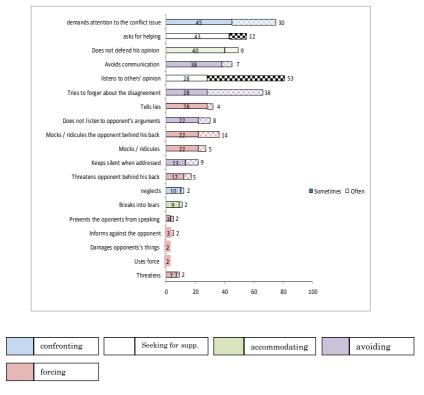


Figure 1. Manifestations of student distributive conflict behaviour (percentage of students using the item sometimes and often)

4 typical distributive actions during student conflicts may be highlighted. During the conflict with peers, students tend to demand attention to the conflict issue: one of three students (30%) – often, almost every second student (45%) – sometimes. On the contrary, some students do not pay much attention to the conflict issue, because they are trying to forget about it: two-fifths of the respondents (38%) do this often, about one-third (28%) – sometimes; the respondents that do not defend their opinion: about one-tenth (9%) – often, two-fifths (40%) – sometimes. This trend is likely to be conditioned by care of relationships. At the same time, it should also be noted that for some students their relationships are completely insignificant – they do not communicate with the other classmate who qualifies

things differently: often – 7% of respondents; sometimes – two-fifths (38%). Because the study also analysed the conflicting and aggressive behaviour, it is worth noting that the study revealed that students rarely use physical aggression for solving conflicts with peers (either direct or indirect). At the same time, verbal aggression is more common. Its most typical expression is scoffing. One-fifth of the respondents noted that sometimes they were mocking the opponent (either directly or indirectly); 5 % noted that they mock often and directly, and 14% – often indirectly.

Verbal offensive aggression, as well as humiliation, is more often expressed indirectly: 3% of respondents noted that they often threatened directly; twice as more respondents – 6% – noted that they often threatened indirectly. Unlike humiliation and offensive aggression, damaging aggression is more often expressed directly. Even 28% of respondents noted that sometimes they told a lie to an opponent and 4% of respondents often told a lie. 6% of respondents sometimes and 3% often denounced their opponent peers.

Thus, some young people tend to accommodate by accepting things as they are or to avoid trouble by physical or psychological recession rather than to struggle in order to improve the situation. There is an external similarity with the Japanese, who tend to reject the idea that humans can manipulate the environment and assume instead that they have to adjust to it themselves (Krauss, Rohlen, Steinhoff, 1984 after Kozan, 1997). As the data shows, the conformity of Lithuanians is conglomerated by indirect aggression while theb Japanese seek to protect not only their own image but also the other conflicting party's image (Ting-Toomey, Oetzel, 2001 after Van de Vliert *et al.*, 2004).

Therefore, the list of the expressed distributive actions during the conflict includes actions that are attributed to different strategies: forcing, seeking for support, accommodating and avoiding. Consequently, different conflict resolving strategies are interdependent. The data confirmed the assumption of conglomerated conflict behaviour: different strategies were adopted in order to find the most efficient solution of the conflict.

Attempts to separate individual strategies and identify the precise actions to reflect them were unsuccessful. The only strategy – seeking for help – was confirmed by factor analysis data (Table 3).

Table 3. The data of multivariate analysis

Factors	1	2	3	4	5	6
Manifestation of conflicting behaviour	forcing		seeking for help		accom moda- ting	conf- ronting
Uses force	0.821					
Threatens	0.763					
Informs against the opponent	0.725					
Threatens opponent behind his back	0.702					
Tells lies	0.674					
Mocks/ridicules		0.868]			
Mocks/ridicules the opponent]	0.811				
behind his back						
Prevents the opponents from		0.672				
speaking				ı		
Asks for helping			0.868			
Listens to others' opinion			0.704		1	
Does not listen to opponent's arguments				0.722		
Avoids communication				0.678		
Keeps silent when addressed				0.575		
Tries to forget about the disagree-					0.636	
ment]					
Neglects					0.635	
Does not defend his opinion]				0.588	
Damages opponent's things					0.518	
Demands attention to the conflict						0.723
issue]					
Breaks into tears						0.621

After conducting the factor analysis of data 6 factors were identified. One factor consisted of direct physical and verbal offensive and damaging (direct and indirect) actions of aggression. However, verbal humiliating (mocks/ridicules) and indirect physical (damaging opponent's things) actions of aggression created the second factor. Thus, generally the actions of forcing strategy are not homogeneous (in terms of factorial weight).

Assigned actions do not meet the initial classification and confronting, avoiding and accommodation strategies. According to the data, "crying" illustrated the meaning of the conflict to the opponent and took the form of an unconscious (?) demand for attention. Meanwhile, "neglect" signified negligence on the matter and was attributed to the accommodation mode. It was thought that trying to forget about the disagreement reflected the emotional avoidance of the problem. However, the data showed that it more illustrated accommodating mode.

SUMMARY

Usually different types of conflict behaviour are part of a complex conglomerate. Although mainly distributive strategies were investigated, it could be stated that cooperative and integrative strategies were accepted more than non-cooperative distributive ones.

At the same time, some young people tend to accommodate by passively accepting the decisions that their partner makes (9%), by neglecting the efforts (2%) and trying to forget about one's needs (38%). Less students tend to avoid the conflict by denying it (app. 8%): they do not listen to the opponent's arguments, keep silent when addressed and avoid the opponent. A part of students tend to damage the opponent (28% sometimes lie) or to humiliate him or her (22% of students sometimes mock and ridicule). These distributive conflict resolution tendencies should be borne in mind when developing student skills during lectures and seminars at a university.

More attention should be paid to cross-cultural conflict studies to survey cultural complexity and factors. Understanding cross-cultural differences in conflict management style and communicative strategy in crisis is essential in public diplomacy and public relations, especially in globalised business economy and proliferation of international trade agreements. The comparative aspects of conflict management are of paramount importance in the increasingly globalised working environment.

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JAPANESE COMPENSATION SYSTEM FOR NUCLEAR DAMAGE AND EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL LIABILITY REGIME

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ABSTRACT

From the beginning of the development of nuclear power reactors in the 1950s, governments realised that ordinary common law was not sufficient to cover the risks involved. A special liability regime is important to provide adequate financial compensation and to reconcile the differences of the stakeholders. International liability regime is regulated by two major instruments: Vienna Convention on Civil liability for Nuclear Damage and Paris Convention for Third Party Liability in the Field of Nuclear Energy. There is also the Convention for Supplementary Compensation for Nuclear Damage, to which any State may become a party despite its membership to any other Convention covering nuclear damage; however, this convention is not yet in force. Despite the fact that the conventions have been amended several times, not all protocols are in force and the amendments did not fundamentally alter any basic concepts. The framework on civil liability for nuclear damage is based upon principles of operator's strict, exclusive, channelling liability, mandatory financial coverage, and compensation without discrimination. Japan is not a party to either of those Conventions although it has solid national third party liability legislation similar to the international model. The Fukushima accident urged the international community to take actions not only for strengthening nuclear safety but also to improve the damage compensation regime. It showed that states have to be prepared by establishing a clear framework for a compensation model. Therefore, several initiatives were launched: harmonisation of civil liability for nuclear damage mechanism at the European Union level, revision of the Nuclear Safety Directive and revision of the Nuclear Safety Convention with its implementing documents. The compensation standards should be coupled with the recognition of economic realities. This paper analyses Japan's nuclear damage compensation system by distinguishing the international nuclear liability framework and the incentive to improve global legislative regulation.

Keywords: nuclear damage, Japanese compensation system, civil liability, channelling liability, Vienna Convention, Paris Convention, nuclear insurance pool.

INTRODUCTION

Japan has over 50 operational reactors and began its nuclear power programme in 1960. Civil liability for nuclear damage is regulated by two acts: the Act on Compensation for Nuclear Damage and the Act on Indemnity Agreements for Compensation of Nuclear Damage, reviewed every ten years. Ordinary law is not capable of addressing the risks involved in this energy generation type. The governments understand that the consequences of an accident have detrimental effects on health, public, private property Therefore, a special liability regime is crucial to ensure orderly compensation for people who have suffered damage in order to combine the interests of stakeholders, reactor vendors, fuel suppliers, and the State. Globally, the harmonisation problem that reflects a compensation system lies even deeper, as the 1963 Vienna Convention on Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage ('the Vienna Convention') was designed to establish a global nuclear liability regime, but this goal is still unattained due to the lack of harmonisation. In order to achieve this goal of a worldwide nuclear liability regime several other conventions were adopted, such as the Convention on Supplementary Compensation for Nuclear Damage ('CSC'), Joint Protocol Relating to the Application of the Vienna Convention and the Paris Convention ('Joint Protocol'). Nevertheless, there are only 60 countries worldwide that are parties to the international conventions that regulate civil liability for nuclear damage. Altogether they do not form a "global" regime, lacking the number of States parties and the degree of effective harmonisation.

The purpose of the research is to analyse Japan's compensation system for nuclear damage and to address the impetus for the development of international civil liability for nuclear damage system.

The object of the research is Japan's compensation system for nuclear damage and improvement measures to the global nuclear liability system.

The methods of the research are documentation analysis, methods of systemic, comparative analysis used to compare different legal acts.

Originality/Value – only some authors have analysed certain aspects of nuclear liability in Japan and international conventions separately, however, academic comprehension of nuclear liability regimes and insurance issues in the light of harmonisation at global level is still lacking. This work

provides insights into nuclear liability and compensation issues and will be valuable in practice when improving the legislative framework and developing nuclear projects.

1. JAPANESE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK IN THE AREA OF CIVIL LIABILITY FOR NUCLEAR DAMAGE

Nuclear energy has been Japan's strategic priority since 1973 as the country needs to import about 84% of energy resources to satisfy its energy consumption. Japan's 50 main reactors have provided 30% of the country's electricity and it was expected to increase up to 40% by 2017. This situation came under review after the Fukushima Daijchi nuclear accident at the Fukushima I nuclear power plant on 11 March 2011. However, the prospect now is for about half of this. The process of regulatory clearance for restarting 50 reactors is slow and takes time. Despite being the only country that suffered the devastating effects of nuclear weapons in wartime, with over 100,000 deaths, Japan encouraged peaceful use of nuclear technology to generate the initial proportion of electricity. Following the Fukushima nuclear accident, wide public protests were calling for nuclear power to be abandoned. Therefore, the continuation of reliable and affordable electricity supplies is being solved on a political level. Initially, Japan was dependent on fossil fuel imports from the Middle East. This geographical and commodity dependence became critical due to the oil shock in 197397. At that time Japan already had a growing nuclear industry, with five operational reactors, reduction of dependence on oil imports was also given priority. Nuclear power has been expected to play an even bigger role in Japan's future. In 2008, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry ('METI') announced the Cool Earth - Innovative Energy Technology Programme⁹⁸, the Japanese Atomic Energy Agency (JAEA) modelled a 54% reduction in CO₂ emissions by 2050, leading to a 90% reduction by 2100. Thus nuclear energy contributed by 51% to emission reduction: 38% from power generation and 13% from hydrogen production and process heat.

⁹⁷ Feldman, E. Fukushima: Catastrophe, Compensation, and Justice in Japan. Faculty Scholarship. Paper 465. 2013.

⁹⁸ Cool Earth-Innovative Energy Technology Program. 2008. [Interactive] [accessed on 04 11 2013] < http://www.meti.go.jp/english/newtopics/data/pdf/031320CoolEarth.pdf>.

In June 2010, METI decided to increase energy self-sufficiency to 70% by 2030, for both energy security and CO₂ emission reduction. Nuclear power had to play an important part in implementing the programme, and new reactors would be required to achieve 90% capacity factor across all plants. However, following the nuclear accident at Tokyo Electric Power Company ('TEPCO') the Government published a White Paper noting that "Japan's dependency on nuclear energy will be reduced as much as possible in the medium-range and long-range future." It also highlighted weaknesses in the energy system and said that a new energy policy would be developed.

Japan is not a party to any international convention but it has national legislation regime that deals with compensation for nuclear damage by reflecting the principles that are exemplified in the international liability regime. The Compensation Law provides strict, exclusive and unlimited liability of the operator. Referring to the amendment of 17 April 2009, an operator is obliged to provide insurance of a certain amount, currently – 120 billion JPY. According to the Law on Indemnity, the Government may contract an operator, whereas it indemnifies an operator for the amount and compensates nuclear damage that is not covered by a private insurance company, beyond that, the Government provides the requested financial coverage.⁹⁹ After the revision of the law, penalties have increased, including fines for nuclear companies that operate power plants without financial security, from the current maximum of JPY 500,000 up to JPY 1 million.

In 2011, the Government established a new institution that administered payments for the victims. This institution receives financial contributions from electric power companies with nuclear power plants, and from the Government through special bonds that can be cashed where necessary¹⁰⁰. This institution includes representatives from other nuclear generators and operates as an insurer for the industry, being responsible for an action in case a nuclear accident occurs. It is expected that TEPCO will be able to complete its payments in 10 to 13 years; afterwards it will turn back to a private company. Meanwhile, it pays an annual fee for the

⁹⁹ Takahashi, Y. The financial support by the Nuclear Damage Compensation Facilitation Corporation. OECD. 2012. P. 41-59.

¹⁰⁰ Vasquez-Maigan, X. The Japanese nuclear liability regime in the context of the international nuclear liability principles. OECD. 2012. P. 9-14.

Government support, to maintain adequate power supplies and ensure plant safety. The Government bonds total to JPY 5 trillion¹⁰¹.

In January 2012, TEPCO deposited JPY 120 billion insurance coverage to the Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau for the company's nuclear energy facilities. The utility was formerly covered by the Japanese Atomic Energy Insurance Pool, an organisation containing 23 non-life insurers. However, in August 2011 the Pool announced that it would not renew TEPCO's contract after its expiry in the mid January 2012. Due to the liability policy, insurance covers nuclear damage, legal expenses, and costs of measures to prevent expansion of the damage.

The Nuclear Damage Compensation Facilitation Corporation Act enabled the Government to establish the Nuclear Damage Compensation Facilitation Corporation and thereby set up a system for assistance to nuclear operator, as otherwise a nuclear operator would have gone bankrupt, referring to the long period of time for victims to claim damages. ¹⁰² It is important to note that a nuclear power plant operator is adjudicated civil liability as the proceedings are based on the fact whether an operator is liable or not. The burden of proof for the exemption from liability lies on the operator and not the victims. Concerning the time for the adjudication of claims, it is rather short and extends to twenty years, whereas international conventions set thirty years to lodge a claim.

According to the Compensation Act, ¹⁰³ a nuclear power plant operator is obliged to provide financial security, as otherwise the permission for operation is not granted. Financial security might be imposed by a deposit of money that meets the amount of the financial security. Another option is a private insurance contract for the relevant amount. It is worth noting that due to the indemnity agreement the Government undertakes to indemnify¹⁰⁴ a nuclear operator for his loss arising from compensation of nuclear damage not covered by the liability insurance contract, thus a nuclear operator becomes liable for such damage, and has undertaken to

¹⁰¹ Nomura, T., Hokugo, T., Takenaka, Ch. *Japan's nuclear liability system*. OECD. 2012. P. 15-39.

¹⁰² Nuclear Damage Compensation Facilitation Corporation Act. No. 94, 2011.

¹⁰³ Act on Compensation for Nuclear Damage, Act No. 147 of 1961, as amended by Act No. 19 of 17 April 2009.

¹⁰⁴ Act on Indemnity Agreements for Compensation of Nuclear Damage. Act No. 148 of 1961, as amended by Act No. 19 of 17 April 2009.

pay an indemnity fee to the Government. Here Government intervention might reflect in various forms as the state guarantee or in other forms necessary to cover financial obligations. Financial security is deemed to be JPY 120 billion per site for reactor installations with thermal output exceeding 10 000 kilowatts, therefore, all nuclear power plants fall under this category.

With regard to the question of victims who suffered outside Japan, the damages are compensated according to Japan's national legislation. There are two options related to persons affected outside the territory of Japan: firstly, they may bring a claim for damages in a Japanese court, otherwise plaintiffs may lodge a claim in their home country, then a plaintiff has to obtain the compulsory execution of a foreign judgement in a Japanese court.

It is worth noting that the Provisional Payments Act was adopted to ensure due compensation for victims in case TEPCO compensation payments exceed in time. That act came into force on 18 September 2011. Of course, when a victim receives compensation from TEPCO, it is not capable of asking a provisional compensation from the Government. When the payment is made to the plaintiffs, the Government has a right to seek compensation from TEPCO. Such a provision was adopted according to several conditions pursuant to the calculations of the damages and to cover urgent payments, whereas current evaluation of damage might exceed in time.

The Dispute Reconciliation Committee for Compensation of Nuclear Damage (hereinafter – DRC) was established in order to mediate and reconcile the victim and the nuclear operator if the conflict occurs between the parties. DRC also provides guidelines to determine damages to be compensated and provides for investigations on nuclear damage. In relation to Fukushima accident, the Nuclear Damage Resolution Centre was established with over 205 members, 44 special investigators, to provide an orderly investigation assessment as the DRC alone, consisting of 10 members, is unable to deal with the large number of related cases¹⁰⁵. Therefore, DRC provides more a negotiation than litigation process to the compensation system as well as prepares instructions to help operators voluntarily settle disputes.

¹⁰⁵ Matsuura, Sh. The current progress of relief of victims of nuclear damage caused by the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant accident. OECD. 2012.

The closer analysis of Japan's compensation system for nuclear damage shows that the compensation process is still at its early stage and it is quite difficult to evaluate whether such system is effective. The system is based on strong Government support in order to provide adequate and timely compensation if TEPCO is not capable of acting in a timely manner. However, the existing damage evaluation and calculation system rather presupposes an administrative burden than facilitates the compensation procedure.

2. INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK COVERING CIVIL LIABILITY FOR NUCLEAR DAMAGE

Vienna Convention on Civil liability for Nuclear Damage adopted at the IAEA diplomatic conference in 1963 is open to all States. Vienna Convention has been amended once by 1997 Protocol¹⁰⁶, by increasing the deprived minimum liability amount up to 300 million SDRs (about EUR 360 million), however, Vienna Convention does not set a maximum amount for the operator, thus it may be limited by the domestic legislation of each State recognising that compensation ground is not less than USD 5 million.¹⁰⁷ International legislation requires an operator to provide insurance on the imposed liability and if it is impossible to provide the required insurance, the State covers the difference between the specified liability amounts.

A regional international document regulating international liability is the Convention on Third Party Liability in the Field of Nuclear Energy ('Paris Convention') adopted in 1960. Paris Convention includes members of the OECD and several non-European countries. ¹⁰⁸ It does not apply to nuclear incidents or damage that occurs outside the territory of the contracting states, unless an operator's national law provides to the contrary. After the adoption of the Paris Convention, the contracting parties understood that liability amount was not sufficient to cover nuclear incident damage, hence several amendments were made and later on the Brussels Supplementary

¹⁰⁶ Protocol Amending the Vienna Convention on Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage, adopted on 29 September 1997.

 $^{^{107}}$ Value in gold 29 April 1963. Equal to USD 235 million (based on the US $\$ gold value on 10/08/2012 of 1650/oz)

¹⁰⁸ Australia, Canada, Japan, Korea, Mexico, United States of America are not Contracting parties of nuclear liability conventions.

Convention¹⁰⁹ provided for three tier systems, by adding additional State compensation tier and public funds compensation tier¹¹⁰. Paris Convention imposes a minimum liability amount of SDR 5 million¹¹¹ for a nuclear operator and a maximum amount of SDR 15 million. The Steering Committee for Nuclear Energy has adopted non-binding recommendations to increase the liability up to SDR 150 million. It must be noted that most of the contracting parties have provided for a higher operator's liability, and other countries provide for unlimited operator's liability.

The existing situation with several conventions covering the same scope and countries varying on different levels of ratified amendments creates a patchwork. Being aware of this problem, several initiatives were launched to create the links between these two mechanisms, but a considerable risk of legislative divergence remains. Both conventions that apply to nuclear accidents and the damage suffered on high seas may result in coexisting application. Joint protocol should have been the answer to the lack of existing links, however, not all the Member States acceded to this protocol. The Fukushima accident accelerated the need to find a solution to the patchwork, therefore the European Commission (hereinafter – the Commission) launched a public questionnaire referring to the harmonisation aspect analysed in the next part.

3. STEPS TOWARDS THE HARMONISATION OF CIVIL LIABILITY REGIME AT THE EUROPEAN UNION LEVEL

Nuclear liability regime is also regulated by national laws, which commonly reflect the provisions of the Paris Convention or the Vienna Convention. Although international conventions prescribe the minimum required compensation amount, several countries regulate civil liability questions by applying the legal channelling principle in compliance with blank indemnity. At the European Union ('EU') level there is quite a variety of legislative provisions, as Austria, Cyprus, Ireland, Luxembourg

¹⁰⁹ Brussels Supplementary Convention (1963) "Convention of 31 January 1963, supplementary to the Paris Convention of July 1960". Brussels.

¹¹⁰ Schwarz, J. Liability and Compensation for Third Party Damage resulting from a Nuclear Incident. International Nuclear Law: History, Evolution and Outlook. OECD, Paris, 2010.

¹¹¹ The SDR is International Monetary Fund reserve asset. 1 SDR = 1.29500 USD (Approx. rates as of 2013 March).

and Malta are not parties to any convention and thus apply common tort law rules to nuclear liability. The gap between the potential costs and the effective amounts for which nuclear operators are held liable and the financial security covered by insurance creates several problems, whereas victims are not treated equally, since not all of them are able to receive compensation for the same types of damage; competition rules in different Member States might be distorted, since the amounts for which operators are held liable vary in each Member State and they have to estimate large amounts of the costs that are not covered.¹¹² The gap between the compensation provided by the operator and the State creates a governance problem and might precede an impact on public budgets.¹¹³

The Commission has launched a public consultation questionnaire to analyse the level of regional harmonisation that might be achieved. The questionnaire covers certain harmonisation options, such as implication for the Euratom Community to accede to a particular international convention, also introduces more traditional methods, such as binding or soft-law regulation. However, it should be noted that new legislation might lead to a bigger patchwork instead of clarification. A possible option might be implication for all the Member States to accede to one convention, possibly the Amended Paris Convention and thus some obstacles occur. Firstly, OECD membership would be a precondition for such accession and, in addition, several EU countries are not members to this organisation (e. g. Cyprus, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania). Nonmember countries might apply for OECD membership, but only with unanimous agreement of the existing contracting parties. In this case, the need to phase out of one of the conventions is mandatory, as participation in both conventions would not be supportive. Another option would be for the Euratom Community ('Euratom') to accede to one of the international conventions. This option also creates a paradox, as Euratom jurisdiction in external matters is in line with internal jurisdiction and Article 101 of the Euratom Treaty cannot precondition the Community to accede to one

¹¹² Faure, M. The Civil Liability of European Nuclear Operators: Which coverage for the new 2004 Protocols? International Environment Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics. 2008. 3(8) p. 227-248.

¹¹³ Schwartz, J. A., 2006. International Nuclear Third Party Liability Law: the Response to Chernobyl. International Nuclear Law in the Post-Chernobyl Period, OECD/NEA.

of the international conventions.¹¹⁴ According to Article 184, Community as a supranational organisation is subject to international law, but Paris Convention does not provide an option for this type of accession and therefore initial amendments have to be adopted.¹¹⁵

There is a patchwork related to the variety of the liability amounts imposed on a nuclear operator, including unlimited liability, minimum liability according to the international conventions, there is also legislation providing for the liability amounts higher than the convention's required minimum. The variation according to the caps defined by the convention includes a State aid question, whereas the State decides to impose a higher amount for the operator as defined in the conventions, and it is likely that State provides a grant to cover a certain amount up to the amount required by national legislation. When the financial coverage for the operator is higher than the minimum required by the international conventions, an additional coverage by the State might precondition alleged State aid according to Article 107 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (-'TFEU'). According to TFEU, the aid granted through State resources in any form whatsoever favouring certain undertakings, affecting trade between Member States is incompatible with internal market. Of course, it is worth noting that limitation of an operator's liability might be preconditioned in the form of aid, as in such circumstances the State secures the guarantee to provide compensation in case of an accident. Whereas the nuclear power plant operator is the only one responsible for the safe operation of a nuclear power plant and the operator is discharged from civil liability. This provision is vindicated pursuant to the idea of the development of the nuclear industry, as the operator alone is not capable to provide for such a considerable financial security and the insurance is not always the answer to grant the financial security. In such case, the State obliges to compensate the remaining amount defined in national legislation that is necessary to cover damage costs, also the limitation of the operator's liability is quite questionable, as the State covers the rest of the amount, while the operator has to provide the required sum imposed

¹¹⁴ Handrlica, J. 2012. European Nuclear Liability Law at crossroad. ELRF Collection. Cambridge. Vol. 3, p. 145-180

¹¹⁵ Pelzer, N. Nuclear New Build -New Nuclear Law? Nuclear Law Bulletin. 2009.

by national legislation. The operator's liability limitation raises concern of State intervention into the market and the relationship between the principles of international nuclear law and the EU primary legislation. According to TFEU, such measure should be notified to the Commission and the necessary approval must be given in order to implement the support scheme.

The questionnaire also provides for optional provisions related to liability amounts. It was introduced to increase the operator's liability amounts and also to discuss an option of operator's unlimited liability and to involve all the related parties in the compensation mechanism without legal channelling, as it is recognised in the international nuclear law. The preference of unlimited liability is controversialm if the harmonised liability regime is concentrated on efficient compensation or only strong theoretical background without orderly financial coverage, as the insurance is provided to current amount by the insurers¹¹⁶. However, from the perspective of EU law, such an option would reflect the competition law requirements, as the operator is involved in current activity and irrespective of its fault it has to provide for electricity generation in a safe and secure manner. When an accident occurs, an operator or rather an insurance company provides the compensation up to a certain amount and the rest of the damage needs to be covered by the State as a type of guarantee. Frankly speaking, the unlimited liability system would not precondition a sufficient compensation system, as such a mechanism would rather imply bankruptcy for the operator. The channelling liability principle was firstly designed to facilitate the procedures for victims to lodge claims for damages without implication to prove fault. If there is a need to provide adequate and timely compensation but not only the legislative base to improve compensation, a wider compensation system, possibly including an insurance pool system, is necessary.

CONCLUSIONS

Japan is not a party to any international convention and liability questions are regulated according to the domestic law of the State, but certain

¹¹⁶ Tetley, M. Revised Paris and Vienna Nuclear Liability Conventions – Challenges for Nuclear Insurers. Nuclear Law Bulletin. 2006, p. 27-39.

ambiguities arise as the consequences spread outside a single country's territory and international questions are regulated by the conventions. Although national laws cover most aspects, being a party to an international convention ensures a systematic approach towards the compensation system.

International liability system is not unified and covers two major frameworks, namely Vienna and Paris Conventions with amending protocols, and despite the need to provide for a clarified system, not all protocols are in force due to lack of the necessary ratification. However, these instruments do not support each other and rather precondition inconsistency, while covering the same object and with different participating countries, as they set two separate frameworks rather than facilitate such a system and therefore introduce complexity into the whole process.

The need for harmonisation at the European Union level arose at the outset, when the accident occured and sufficient measures needed to be taken to improve the existing international system and thus to provide an adequate compensation. However, the liability system at the European Union framework is still divided into two regimes and no unified legislation has been adopted so far. Therefore, the Commission launched a public questionnaire on nuclear liability, which should provide more clarity on further actions and thus introduce a solution to the existing patchwork.

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Chapter 3

SOCIAL WEALTH AND DEMOCRACY DEVELOPMENT

POSSIBILITY OF A NEW DEMOCRACY FORMATION OF A NEW CIVIL SOCIETY IN JAPAN AFTER THE SHOCK OF 11 MARCH 2011

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ABSTRACT

I would like to argue how Japanese democracy should have changed after the accident of nuclear power plants in Fukushima. Naturally, it has not changed and it will be back in the situation what it was. The democracy that must have changed is not its superficial regime, but its practical contents, in other words, the cooperative participation of the people in the process of government's political decision. At first, I talk of the history of democracy in Japan, in order to reveal the superficiality of Japanese Democracy, especially of the long history of the one from the Meiji to the present. Japan became a democratic country after the defeat of the Second World War in 1945, but it needed a long time to breed the consciousness of democracy through the democracy given by the United States of America. Traditionally, the power of bureaucrats and technocrats is so strong, and most of the people tend to be subject to its command. The cause of the accident of Fukushima was the result from the unconscious subordination of the people to bureaucrats and technocrats. The people had believed in their infallibility, and they had never seriously opposed to them until then. They finally understood that the bureaucrats and technocrats had not been infallible. At last the anger of the people exploded and their real democratic movement has now begun. But the reaction of power elites is so strong that the people have a sense of failure. However, I am hoping the movement will not extinguish soon. I think that probably the situation of democracy in other countries is not so far from that of Japan. The domination of bureaucrats and technocrats continues so long in any countries despite the superficial regime of the universal suffrage. For example, here in Lithuania, the decision of the nuclear power energy was firstly made by the government, but it was refused by a national referendum. I think that through the Japanese case we could discuss the way that the democracy should be.

Keywords: Fukushima, a legend of the safe, the domination of power elites, the struggle for democracy, new democracy, myth of infallibility, law of the tendency of rate of profit to fall.

PROLOGUE

11 March 2011 was the day that Japan changed. The giant earthquake on the 11 of March 2011 heavenly shocked the Japanese. It was a tsunami (津波) rather than the earthquake that brought more damage to Japan. But what shook the world was the destruction of the cooling device of the nuclear power energy.

Consequently, the shelters of the four nuclear power stations had broken after a few days, and the materials contaminated by radioactivity were diffused into the air, the territory and the sea. Many people moved to the western area of Japan fearing contamination.

In Japan, the government repeated that the nuclear power generation was completely safe. The politicians, Tepco (Tokyo Electric Power Company 東京電力), the engineers and the bureaucrats have always stressed the safety of nuclear energy, promoting the construction of nuclear power plants, and they refused the opposing opinions of the movement against nuclear energy. The infallibility of the nuclear power generation turned into a legend of the safe, and such a legend could not even be quaked until 11 of March 2011. The accident of Chernobyl and the Three Mile were none of their business, and they were often proud of the high quality of Japanese nuclear power generation. Such a monopoly of knowledge by power elites like politicians, bureaucrats and some famous university professors was not broken through universal suffrage. Of course, the domination of power elites was not only limited to Japan. Once Kenneth Galbraith¹¹⁷ explained such a domination system as technocrat domination.

Certainly, such a domination apparatus is very powerful. We can say that the Liberal Democratic party¹¹⁸ (自民党) could dominate over Japan after 1955 only under such a system. The extraordinary economic growth after the Second World War prevented the Japanese from having political interests. Ironically, its cause resulted in a spirit of capitalism itself. According to it, the people are not much interested in politics, so long as their economic interest is surely kept. Most of the people would not like to

¹¹⁷ Galbraith, K., *The New Industrial State*, Hougthon Milffin, Boston, 1967. He used the word of technostructure to explain the domination of technocrats.

 $^{^{118}}$ The Liberal-Democratic Party dominated Japan for a long time from 1955. It lost its state power only twice.

engage in politics, and they do nothing more but stay subject to the leader of politics. Thus, the domination of politics is easily received by the people only on a condition of keeping their interests. In his book "*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*" (1852) Karl Marx also claimed the attractive article, describing the inauguration of the imperial of Louis Napoleon, and also in his early days article entitled "On the Jewish Problems" (1844), referring to the despotism of Robespierre, that capitalists are never interested in the politics unless their interests are assured.

Before the Second World War, we can add military authorities to the member of the group of power elites. However, the monopoly system of technocrats after the war had never changed, in spite of the disappearance of military authorities. The Japanese power elites as ever keep their privilege around the emperor.

The problem of the worship of Yasukuni Jinja¹¹⁹ (靖国神社) (shrine) by the ministers, including the prime minister, does not originate in the memory for the war victims, but in contributing to the domination of technocrats through Kokka Shinnto (国家神道)¹²⁰.

However, the system of domination was shaken by the accident of nuclear power plants. Why? Because the legend of the safety of nuclear power generation was broken.

Nuclear power was the symbol for power elites in one sense after the Second World War. This legend was inherited from one of the emperors (as a living God (現人神)¹²¹. The infallibility of the technology of nuclear power energy is similar to the one of the emperor. It is very strange that Japan, which was atom-bombed for the first time, was easily persuaded to promote the construction of a nuclear power plant, which was supposed to make the production of A-Bomb possible. At those days, the peace movement was so violent, and NO-MORE Hiroshima and the allergy of nuclear power development were firmly rooted in the hearts of the people. Was nuclear power energy related to economic growth? Probably yes. But

 $^{^{119}}$ Yasukuni Jinja is a shrine constructed at the age of Meiji to pray for the war victims in Tokyo.

 $^{^{120}}$ Kokka Shinnto means State Shintoism which was formed after Meiji. The Emperor is situated in the center like a God.

¹²¹ The Japanese Emperor was believed to be a living God for a long time. Hirohito, the Showa emperor declared to be a human being after the Second World War.

the power elites, who survived after the war, promoted the construction of nuclear power plant at any cost as a touchstone to establish the system of domination over the people. There are not so many projects by which the power elites can unite forces, except for nuclear energy. The project of the construction of nuclear power generation was promoted as the State project, like the one of the battleship Yamato (戦艦大和)122 before the war. The bureaucratic organisation that was tying up capitalists, politicians and scholars in a bundle took this train. This group established the system of domination, by stressing the safety of nuclear energy through very difficult scientific proof and by emphasising the ignorance of the peoples, a mystery on which nobody could debate except for the elite, and a rupture between the people and the elite was much deepened. The authority of elites fell down completely when they lost the control of nuclear power plants after 11 March. What we watched on TV news was the miserable feature of the elites who were standing alone without doing anything, and the elites who were exposed to a do nothing, was strongly branded as an idol ruined in the people's minds. The government that lost control demanded their family and relatives to run away from Tokyo, and so it betrayed the people. Finally, reckless nuclear power energy had brought to the melt down of the reactor and the reactor fell into the situation out of control. Thus all the power elites, such as scholars, engineers and politicians were put to shame in front of the people.

HISTORY OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN JAPAN

We have one vulgar expression "uekaramesen" (上から目線) (the unfounded power) for the people enough to express the point of view of the elites. In Japan, most of the Japanese have thought for a long time that the knowledge and the culture are trickled down from the above. Though it may be an idea of the isolated and closed islands, such an idea was formed 1500 years ago¹²³. Surely, the culture and the knowledge were transmitted to Japan from the other countries like China and Korea. It is natural that

¹²² Two biggest battleships were constructed in the world those days. Both of them were Japanese. One was Musashi (武蔵), and the other one – Yamato.

¹²³ The first Japanese government was Yamato Dynasty (大和朝廷), beginning from the seventh century.

men who could transmit such knowledge were good at using foreign languages and belonged to the upper class. Most of the people became gradually accustomed to think that they must be taught and enlightened from the above.

The enlight enment from the above also applies to Japanese modern is at ion.The modernisation of Meiji Restoration¹²⁴ (明治維新) (in 1868) began from the import of technology not from the Oriental countries, but from the Occidental countries (especially England, France and Germany). At the Epoch of Edo from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, Japan refused the exchange with foreign countries, except for some countries like Holland and China. On the contrary, the popular culture was prosperous and it did not reflect in the politics and the culture of dominant and feudal upper class (Samurai) under the strict regulations. The political system of Edo Bakufu (江戸幕府) is the shogunate and domain system, which enclosed the opinion from the beneath with the terror of strict punishment and law. Montesquieu cited the Japanese system as a typical terror of politics in his book "The spirit of Law"125. The shougunate and the domain system changed into the system of domination of the feudal clans like Satuma (薩摩) and Choushu (長州) after the epoch of Meiji. Finally, the liberty of the people was not guaranteed and the democratic politics was prolonged. Some democrats, like Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉), Nakae Choumin (中江兆民), and Okuma Shigenobu (大隈重信)¹²⁶ had opposed to the Meij government, with the establishment of private universities and the translation of occidental classic literature concerning democracy against the policy of the democracy and the enlightenment of the State. The government managed to promulgate the Constitution in 1889 through the collaboration with the famous scholar of the University of Vienna Lorenz von Stein, and the democracy system had then begun, even if superficially.

Most probably, the real movement of democracy started from the epoch of Taisho (大正), when Tananka Shouzou (田中正造) went to court

¹²⁴ Meiji Ishin in Japan started as an imperial state or an absolute monarchy from the extinction of Tokugawa Bakufu, a feudal regime.

¹²⁵ Montesquieu "De l'esprit des lois", Barrillot & Fils, Genève, 1748. Part 6th, chapter 13th.

¹²⁶ Keio(慶応) University was established by Fukuzawa Yukichi, Waseda (早稲田) University by Ookuma, and Nakae Choumin was a president of University of Tokyo of foreign language(東京外国語大学).

against the pollution of Ashio copper mine (足尾銅山), and at the time of the rice riots, which we call the Taisho Democracy. For about ten years from then, the Marxist movement and the labour movement developed and it had ended with the outburst of the economic crisis in 1929.

All of the opposite movements were completely suppressed by the government and the policy of suppression continued to the defeat of Japan in the Second World War.

After the defeat of Japan, the power of the people appeared on the surface of political power competitions. The new constitution created by the Japanese and the Americans refused the war and abandoned the military arms for the first time all over the world. But these contents were deformed by the American and the Japanese conservative upper class under the pressure of the Korean War and the foundation of the Communist China. The military organisation was reborn after the beginning of the Cold War and the existence of the military bases of the United States almost became to be permanent.

The final battle of the democratic movement after the Second World War was in the year 1960. We had two most important movements of the people, one of them was the Anpo Toso (安保闘争) campaign against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty (日米安保条約) and the other movement of the labour union of Mitui mining (三井鉱山). Both movements were fimly concerned with the movements against the new deal of the power of technocrats. The new deal was to have an atomic bomb in the future, producing plutonium through nuclear power generation. It also meant the recovery of the domination of power elites. The purpose of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty was not only to change Japan into the most important eternal military base for the U.S, but to create the secret world of which the people cannot know. The American military base was the holy and untouchable taboo for the people. It strangely resembled the holy feature of the emperor. Maruyama Masao (丸山眞男), a famous scholar of politics in Japan, described the structure of the system of the emperor as the irresponsible one¹²⁷. Briefly, the emperor is the symbol of the holy existence, absolutely untouchable, and the status of elites is in proportion to the distance from the emperor.

¹²⁷ Masao M., "The Logic and Psychology of ultranationalism" Sekai, Iwanami Shoten, May, 1946.

The Japan-U.S Security Treaty aimed at giving the Japanese an unconscious terror by creating the untouchable symbol. Many students and citizens manifested and demonstrated around the parliament. But the prime minister Kishi Nobusuke (岸信介), the ex-minister of the cabinet before the Second World War, also the grandfather of the present prime minister Abe Shinzo (安部晋三), explained that we had unwillingly decided on the treaty to keep the security of Japan. The government before the war had unwillingly decided by the command of the emperor, but nowadays it decided also unwillingly by the intention of U.S. Thus a feeling of powerlessness was born in the heart of the people¹²⁸.

The movement of labor union in Mitsui mine at Miike¹²⁹ (三池闘争) in Kyushu Island manifested against the closure of the mine. The government decided to change the energy policy from coal into petrol and nuclear power. This movement was so violent that the government ordered all of the Japanese police to concentrate on Miike. But it was defeated. And it also meant the defeat against the policy determined by the technocrats.

Thus, Tokyo Olympic and Universal Exposition had brought rapid growth. As a result, most of the people turned into the middle class, and they gradually lost their interest in politics. The last shock that kept the people at a distance from the politics was the student movement (学園紛争) echoed with those from the other countries (France and the U.S.) and the strike of the national railway workers (国鉄スト). The government repeatedly stressed the violence of the students and workers. It therefore brought the effect to create the emotion that opposing the government amounts to the betrayal of the State.

The struggle for democracy after the Second World War thus ended. They said that the society in 1970s was a mature one and all of the Japanese belonged to the middle class (中產階級社会). But this claim seems to be a false consciousness if we use the words of Lukács György in his *History and class consciousness* (1923). The legend of the middle class broke at once. Such a change of national identity from the patriotism to the citizens gave birth to the movement of the civil society (市民社会運動). But so long

¹²⁸ See the film "Night and Fog in Japan" (1960) by Osima Nagisa (大島渚).

¹²⁹ Miike mining belongs to the Conglomerate Mitui Zaibatu (the oldest monopoly capital in Japan in parallel with the Mitubishi Zaibatu).

as it was manipulated by the power of technocrats, its radicalisation was impossible.

The situation of the middle class deteriorates as the globalisation advances. The oversea transfer of factories and the immigration of foreigners turned most of the full time workers into temporary workers and unemployed persons. After the collapse of the Bubble at the end of the 80s, Japan interrupted into the age of globaliation. The stagnation of the Japanese economy was normal, the deficit of the state budget enlarged and the lifetime employment system collapsed. Thus the movement of the civil society declined and most of the people lost the method of appearsement of their own indignations.

IS IT POSSIBLE TO BUILD THE NEW DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN?

However, this Japanese history does not necessarily apply to Japan only. It more or less applies to all of the countries over the world. Nevertheless, the particular character of Japan consists in the point that the aim of the movement of the people extinguishes as if they beat the air, because the system of the authorities always keeps the untouchable sanctuary behind them like the emperor and the American military bases.

The structure of domination of power elites was always reconstructed every time that it faced the crisis. After 11 March, it is also going to be rebuilt in Japan. The system of technocrats is recovering through the big victory of the Liberal-Democratic Party in the elections to the House of Representatives in December 2012, the formation of the Abe Cabinet (安部內閣), and especially the Abenomics¹³⁰, the programme for the restoration of the Japanese economy. The reopening of operation of nuclear power generation and the promotion of export is its symbol. The strategy of the authority is aimed at weakening the interest of the people in politics and the critical movement of the people against the structure of technocrats by the acquirement of economic growth.

The tactics are composed of three posts as follows. 1. Easing the restrictions. 2. Creation of inflation. 3. An easy-money policy. They had cleverly changed the concern of the people from the problem of the danger

¹³⁰ We call the economic strategy of Abe cabinet "Abenomics", just like 'Reganomics' in 1980s.

of pollution of radioactivity of Fukushima nuclear power generation to the problem of dominium of the islands near China and Korea Senkaku Islands (尖閣諸島), Diaoyu Islands in Chinese) and Takeshima (竹島), Liancourt Rock or Dokto in Korean and actually to the campaign to host the Olympics. The strategy of patriotism is a normal course of the roll-back policy for the conservative authorities.

By the way, is it possible to discuss the possibility of a new democracy of Japan, while the structure of domination of technocrats is now recovering?

What I want to assert is not that a new democracy will replace the structure of domination of technocrats now at once. I want to stress the possibilities of a new movement. Because we can say that the Japanese society or the Japanese economy represents the future of the world economy or the one of capitalism. In other words, the stagnation of economic growth and the refusal of nuclear power generation may be an image of the future in our world. Ironically, Japan might have arrived at such level for the first time among the developed countries only because of the accident of Fukushima in 2011 and the collapse of the Bubble economy in 1991. If it were right, that feature of Japan may serve as a reference material for the future of the world. The new democratic movement firmly relates to the refusal of economic growth and the one of dangerous technology.

Japan has faced long stagnation for almost twenty years. It resulted in the real estate bubble that began in 1985. Japan, which faced the petrol crisis in 1973 (石油ショック), fell down to stagnation for the first time after the war, and this created a bubble economy to recover economic growth. It may be a smaller version of the Lehman Shock in 2009. The final result of the Bubble economy is so miserable. Both the companies and the persons that bought real estate at the highest prices collapsed. Most of the banks were in deficit and the government injected money into the banks to avoid their insolvency.

Thus, the State debt accumulated, economic growth turned into minus growth, and the deflation advanced. Bernanke, an American economist, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, said that the Japanese policy after the bubble was false (2003), but it was not that simple.

It takes so many years to recover, as we understand the economy after the Lehman Shock. According to the law of capitalism, it is necessary for capitalism to develop the overseas market, to develop a new commodity and to lower the salary of workers to solve the problem of overproduction and over-capital. If we have no such three means, we could not help creating the real estate and finance bubble to develop the economy. Actually, we have no new markets, except for some regions in Africa, and also we have no new commodities, such as a computer and a car, and the fall of the salary declines the sales of commodities. Capitalism already faces chronic stagnation in some respects.

Particularly, the most developed countries gradually lose the superiority to the underdeveloped countries. They need some high technology, like rockets, airplanes, and nuclear power generation to keep their privileges. Low cost and low quality products have a possibility to destroy the most developed countries.

We can say that it was Japan that experienced such a phenomenon of capitalism crisis for the first time among the most developed countries and created a bubble economy only in domestic countries. It may be strange that Japan that had begun to modernise later than occidental countries arrived at the goal of capitalism a bit faster than the other developed countries. But we can say that condensed modernisation accelerates its speed more than in other countries, and reveals all of the contradictions of modernisation sooner than the others. It jumped the limit and fell into a catastrophe. It may be a paradox as if the last appeared member won the lottery.

Thereby Japan might have prognosticated the future of the world capitalist economy. The character of capitalism consists in the law of tendency of the rate of profit to fall. This means that after a limit it faces long stagnation. If we have no final means to run away from such stagnation, we have no chance more than to admit low growth and to socialise capital. Then we interrupt into the age of anti-growth (decroissance). But capitalism dislikes low growth and refuses anti-growth. That is the reason why the principle of movement of capital depends on the volume of profit. Capital needs to keep the growth rate of at least more than 2%. Therefore, the government invests in something useless to develop the economy with deficit-covering bonds.

It is the group of technocrats that decides on the useless investment. They never admit that this investment is of no use, and they conceal the truth. They cannot help but to continue the project, by intentionally concealing the

fact of uselessness. They mystify the system and persuade the rightness of economic growth to the people. After 1900s, the life environment of Japan has completely changed. Owing to the deficit of over ten trillion dollars, airports, welfare facilities and highways were constructed in the country. Despite of such investment, economic growth could not be achieved. Though most of the people were vaguely aware of the causes of such facts, nobody could criticize them. Because they could not doubt that the technocrats and the scholars of the famous university were false.

The accident of 11 March destructed the myth of infallibility. It was revealed that public investment and economic growth by the deficit of the budget, and the realisation of the prosperity were not true. Of course, the height of a grown-up adult cannot increase any more. He only gets fat. As Japan is obese, it cannot be quick in action. The collapse of the legend should give the people a new power. Men and women who their lost houses and territories in the result of the accident of the nuclear power plants, and the ones who lost their family and property. The regions within 30km far from the Fukushima nuclear power plants and also within 80km have still been more polluted now. I measured the degree of radioactivity by myself. The sound of Geiger Muller Counter, which indicates the danger, did not stop. But the government permitted some of the refugees to come back home. The government has to show that the accident of nuclear energy of Fukushima is unbelievably a little one to recover the legend of security, even if it were similar to that of Chernobyl. Of course, the people become victims. Nobody talks about the health problem of workers who devote themselves to remove the polluted water. The mothers who have little children never believe the word of security of government. They understood by their experiences that they should not easily believe in the opinion of the government in order to keep their children safe.

The damage by a rumor or a lie (Fuhyo Higai, 風評被害) means the expansion of the damage by a rumor and a lie. The degree of the pollution of Fukushima is still high and so its provisions are also polluted. Though it is not much higher than the standard defined by the government, people cannot believe in it. And they refuse to buy the provisions at the polluted areas. The peasants and fishermen cannot sell the provisions. The government forces the people to buy the polluted provisions by reproaching

the damage by a rumor of the people. But the people must resist such a force by measuring the pollution by themselves.

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN

Is it possible to keep a new democracy of the people, while the structure of technocrats is recovering and the conservative patriotism is growing. It is surely contradictory. According to the principles of parliamentary democracy, we cannot deny that the government elected by the vote of universal suffrage means the incarnation of democracy. As J.-J. Rousseau said in his book *Contrat Social*¹³¹, the government is not more than the expression of consensus of the will of the people, as long as it is the one of the general will of the people. Therefore, they cannot complain that the people become parts of the State, just after having admitted the general will. But this is a case of immediate democracy, where the will of the people reflects upon the politics. As its concrete example, Rousseau referenced to the Republic of Geneva, a small state.

Referring to a big State, we better cite Montesquieu. He recommends immediate democracy for a small state and aristocracy for a big one. For the sake of clarity, according to him, aristocracy is nothing more than one of the democracies. Aristocracy is supposed to be one of the parliamentary democracies. But such a democracy is not the political system that reflects immediately the will of the people. It is rather a political organisation by the elected people. In other words, the system of the elected people resembles the system of technocrats.

As I already said, such a system tends to be the one where the elected representatives do nothing more than ratifying the project of bureaucrats and technocrats. The eternal victory of the Liberal- Democratic Party is supported by power elites as a community of interest. It is not always supported by the people, but by the interest. Most of the people act according to the superficial interest and by the ideology embedded through some apparatuses of the State.

Taking the example of mass communication, such as television, the most important law was decided without any discussions, while people were dancing on the invitation of the Olympics. It is the State Information

¹³¹ Rousseau, J.-J. Contrat Social, Amsterdam, 1762. Part 2, Chapter 7.

Security Law (this law was adopted at the end of 2013). It prohibits the people from reading and informing the documents of nuclear power energy and the military problems. The rupture between the elites and the others is completely achieved here. Information disclosure is the most important element for the system of democracy. However, in most of the countries, the disclosure of information is not admitted. The case of Snowden in July 2013 is the same in one sense. Surely, the right to know the State secrets clearly opposes to the guarantee of security of the State, especially when the risk management of the state against terrorism was demanded. But the terror of terrorism itself arises from the information manipulation by the State to enlarge the budget of the military system and the secret agency. We should doubt if the State seriously protects us or manipulates us. We want to warn the relation between risk management and the structure of domination.

Actually, the world is trying to change the society of risk control into the society of surveillance, taking advantage of the menace of terrorism after September 11. What is situated in the center of this society, as we repeated, is secret and taboo. Only those who can touch such a secret and a taboo dominate the society. Therefore, only the government who can monopoly every secret can dominate the world.

What we can see through the accident of Fukushima, it is the existence of such a society, and it is also the corruption of elites who monopolise and mystify all of the secrets and its crisis. The Japanese people challenge the monopoly of power elites, and they demand freedom of information and aim at creating an open society without any secrets. Meanwhile the technocrats still hide the details of the accident, people inform the world about the accidents and are searching for consultation as to how we can decommission nuclear power generation and recover the contaminated territory. Tepco, however, prevents them from approaching the nuclear reactor and does not need collaboration with foreign countries.

RELATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND EUROPE

Ironically, the very university is the place that breeds the technocrats and gives them legitimation. Of course, most of the universities create the noble, which rather support the people, and they correct the false of elites. The government will not give such universities any research foundations,

but such universities can keep their critical role. The people must pay attention to the domination and manipulation by the government.

Above all, they have to keep eyes on the growth of the State power in the threat of terrorism and also on xenophobia arising from the international economic war. Globalisation could not promote the democratisation of a state without the premise that it destroys its bureaucracy and the domination of technocrats. If it is supposed to be right, the globalisation by which the bureaucrats and the technocrats profit should be rejected by the people.

The monopoly of secret by the elites must be destroyed and must be a common property to have a democracy in the true sense. Naturally, we have a legend that the secret of the State must be concentrated in the hands of some people to protect the State, as long as the confrontation among the States exists. At the same time, we have the other legend that the more the secrets of the State are open, the more they can avoid the war and be friendly. Thomas Hobbes stressed a human habit that Connatus (instinct of self-preservation) leads to¹³².

However, this is not always applicable to all of the epochs. As Baruch Spinoza¹³³ had described, "I would like to believe so, Connatus could lead the people to peace the better for searching for the safety of one another."

The process of human progress is not more than the one of liberation of domination by the elites. We should evade the concentration of information and power on them as much as we could. In this respect, we can say that Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan¹³⁴, which determines the

¹³² It is a conception that Hobbes used in his book "De Cive", Paris, 1842.

¹³³ Spinoza, Tractatus Politicus, B.D.S. Opera Posthuma, Amsterdam, 1677, Chapter 2.

¹³⁴ CHAPTER II, RENUNCIATION OF WAR. Article 9. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized. 「日本国民は、正義と秩序を基調とする国際平和を誠実に希求し、国権の発動たる戦争と、武力による威嚇又は武力の行使は、国際紛争を解決する手段としては、永久にこれを放棄する。前項の目的を達するため、陸海空軍その他の戦力は、これを保持しない。国の交戦権は、これを認めない」. The Constitution of Japan (interactive), Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, promulgated on 3 November 1946, entered into force on 3 May1947 [accessed on 15-09-2013] http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html

renunciation of war, foresees the human society in the future. Of course, it is not so easy to create the world with no secrets and no hate against one another. But a human being has a right to have such a dream. Regrettably, Japan does not keep all of the contents. We have many American military bases in Japan and also the self-defense forces (in fact, the Japanese military). It may be probably a real strategy to survive in the region surrounded by the Russian Military and the Chinese Military. However, it is more important to take a little distance from the real world and to realise and break through the idea despite of the situation. Let us have a dream!

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ECONOMIC CONVERGENCE VS. CULTURAL CONVERGENCE

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ABSTRACT

Convergence processes are used in economics to define certain achievements of a separate economy in the context of general trends of a region towards the efforts of countries seeking to increase wealth of the country. Convergence processes are determined from the rapid catch-up growth affecting an openness and liberalisation in the emerging and developing countries, technology conditions and migration growth, expansion of the global market and integration, and social cooperation. Increased income concentration and competition, complexity and diversity in living standards and quality require deeper understanding of the nature of processes in order to create the relevant policies and development strategies. Inequality of global income impacts the relationship between a country's position and mobility.

Globalisation has not only positive, but also negative impacts. Negative effects of globalisation become visible when countries lose their political independence, when instability increases, national or regional economy becomes unstable. Convergence supports regional stability and conditions sustainable economic growth.

Keywords: economic growth, convergence, cultural convergence, diversity.

INTRODUCTION

The growth of the global economy creates diversity of the needs to investigate impacts on regional or emerging economies. The new groups of rapidly growing developing countries are searching to achieve the status of a developed economy. 50% of the world output is produced by 15% of the population of advanced countries. The major advanced groups of advanced "developed" countries by different classifications (IMF, World Bank, OECD, the UN) include America, Japan and Europe. Asia's rapidly developing economies are under investigation due to the billions of population, and unique models of economy and ethical values are an essential factor of the most rapid growth of any other regions.

The article presents the research into the theoretical and empirical issues of economic convergence in the context of environmental changes.

The concepts of economic convergence created discussions on the relevance of estimation methodology and policy importance to strengthen the trends of convergence between the advanced and developing countries. In the first part of this article, the convergence trends are related to the key classical theory of economic growth. Since 80s, the concepts of convergence created a wide range of applications focused on different processes and subjects. The issue of convergence is very important because a tendency for real per capita income differences between rich and poor countries will narrow significantly over the long run. There should be a systematic tendency for the poorer countries to grow faster than the rich countries until they have "caught up" with the levels of income per capita in the latter (convergence hypothesis).

The second part of the article is dedicated to the growing importance of cultural industries in developing cultural convergence. These industries became the drivers of economic development. Cultural diversity is a dynamic process, which promotes the exchange and interaction among communities, organisations and institutions, whose fundamental values and objectives are insufficiently evaluated in their environment with the aim of strengthening mutual respect and a better understanding. Cultural diversity and the economy are far from being incompatible, as cultural diversity is a source of innovation and creativity for development.

I. ECONOMIC GROWTH AND CONVERGENCE TRENDS

Convergence processes are used in economics to define certain achievements of a separate economy in the context of general trends of a region towards the efforts of countries seeking to increase wealth of the country. Economic indicators are summarised by the the EU Commission in the Economic Convergence Reports (for accession countries). The term "convergence" is defined by Kincaid (2009) as a "movement toward one point, toward a common interest, and toward greater uniformity, never quite reaching that point."

Economic and financial convergence leads to regional economic integration – Asian ASEAN, African SADC, European, Latin American, etc. Classical economic growth models focused on assumption of "absolute convergence" across countries, as the returns on capital tend to diminish

over time in capital-intensive wealthy economies. Absolute convergence implies an inverse relationship between the initial levels of GDP per capitathe average ratio of capital to labour - and the foreseen economic growth across countries (Barro, Sala-I-Martin, 2004; Solow, 1956; Swan, 1956). The descriptions of the convergence hypothesis are the following: absolute convergence (AC) considers a group of countries, all of which have access to the same technology, the same population growth rate and the same savings propensity, and only differ in terms of their initial capital-labor ratio. Then, it is expected that all countries converge to the same steadystate capital-labor ratio, output per capita and consumption per capita and, of course, the same growth rate. Conditional convergence (CC) states that, if countries possess the same technological possibilities and population growth rates (e.g. India and Nigeria) but differ in savings propensity and initial capital-labor ratio, then there should still be convergence to the same growth rate, but not necessarily at the same capital-labor ratio and thus different income/consumption per capita. If the value of y (convergence ratio) is restricted to 0, absolute convergence is assumed. The same specification can be used to test the existence of a convergence process on other economic variables, such as GDP per worker (labour productivity).

Table 1. GNI per capita (current USD) by regions, 2012

Arab World	\$6,262*	Least developed countries:	\$755
		UN classification	
Caribbean small states	\$8,398*	Middle East & North Africa	\$3,453* *
East Asia & Pacific	\$4,846	OECD members	\$37,062
Euro area	\$37,935	Other small states	\$4,573
European Union	\$33,598	Pacific island small states	\$3,179
Europe & Central Asia	\$6,636	Small states	\$5,473
Latin America & Caribbean	\$8,999	South Asia	\$1,422
		Sub-Saharan Africa	\$1,345
		World	\$10,012

Source: WB indicators *2011, **2009

Economic growth within a country refers to escalation of its per capita output, and then economic development refers to a broader economic,

social and political phenomenon, encompassing not only economic growth, but also improvements with respect to social (e.g., in education and health) and political attainments (e.g., in democratic political processes and human rights). The GNI per capita is shown in Table 1, where the data refer to the main world regions.

IMF countries' classification is based on the following income groups: low income: \$1,025 or less; lower middle income: \$1,026 to \$4,035; upper middle income: \$4,036 to \$12,475; high income: \$12,476 or more. Differences within regional economies influence the complexity of the methods used to estimate the convergence indicators.

Differences in the economic convergence depend on the development stage of a separate country and a wide range of conditions. A new age of convergence in a world economy started around 1990, when average per capita income in the emerging market and developing economies taken as a whole began to grow much faster than in the advanced economies. It created new driven forces in all financial markets, integration processes, and changed the institutional frame within regions. In regard to the assumption that the European countries exceeded the United States growth rate, Fig. 1 shows changes in GDP for the selected countries from 1950 to 1998.

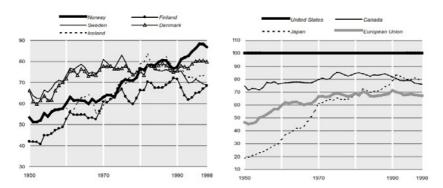


Figure 1. The evolution of real GDP per capita, 1950-1998 (Indices US=100)

In Table 2 the annual changes in the main macro indicators are presented by selected advanced countries.

Table 2. Selected Advanced Economies: Real GDP, Consumer Prices, Current Account Balance, and Unemployment (annual percentage change)

	Real GDP		Consumer Prices		CA Balance		Unemployment					
	2012	Projections		2012	Projections		2012	Projections		2012	Projections	ctions
	2012	2013	2014	2012	2013	2014	2012	2013	2014	2012	2013	2014
Advance.	1.5	1.2	2.0	2.0	1.4	1.8	-0.1	0.1	0.2	8.0	8.1	8.0
Econ.	2.8	1.6	2.6	2.1	1.4	1.5	-2.7	-2.7	-2.8	8.1	7.6	7.4
United States	-0.6	-0.4	1.0	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.8	1.9	11.4	12.3	12.2
Euro Area	2.0	2.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.0	1.2	1.7	4.4	4.2	4.3
Japan	0.2	1.4	1.9	2.8	2.7	2.3	-3.8	-2.8	-2.3	8.0	7.7	7.5
UK	1.7	1.6	2.2	1.5	1.1	1.6	-3.4	-3.1	-3.1	7.3	7.1	7.1
Canada	1.9	2.3	3.1	2.0	1.5	2.1	4.3	-4.2	4.2	4.5	4.8	4.6
Other Adv.												
Eco.												

Source: IMF outlook, 2012

The changes in GDP growth within the euro area are projected lower in comparison to the rest of the countries or their groups, the unemployment rate is also worse than for the rest of the countries.

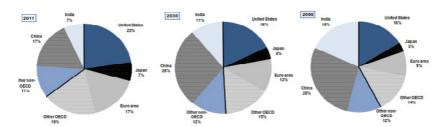


Figure 2. Major changes in the composition of the global GDP (Percentage of global GDP in 2005 PPPs)

¹Global GDP is taken as sum of GDP for 34 OECD and 8 non-OECD G20 countries. Source: OECD (2012).

Such changes in shares of global GDP will be matched by a tendency of GDP per capita to converge between the advanced and emerging economies, although substantial gaps in living standards will remain. According to an OECD survey (2012), the next 50 years will see major changes in country shares in global GDP (Figure 2). On the basis of the purchasing power

parities in 2005 (PPPs), China is projected to surpass the euro area in 2012 and the United States in a few more years, to become the largest economy in the world, and India is about now surpassing Japan and is expected to surpass the euro area in about 20 years. The faster growth rates of China and India imply that their combined GDP will exceed that of the major seven (G7) OECD economies by around 2025, and by 2060 it will be more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ times larger, whereas in 2010 China and India accounted for less than one-half of the G7 GDP. The combined GDP of these two countries will be larger than that of the entire OECD area, based on today's membership.

The economic and socio-political components of development are interrelated. Improvements in public policies, such as education, health and political processes form a critical impetus for economic growth. In Table 3, the convergence concepts are summarised according to some researchers and publications.

Table 3. Convergence concepts

	Features/measurements	References
Conver-	Productivity measures as output with	Solow, R. M. (1957). Technical Change
gence of	constant capital and labour input.	and the Aggregate Production
producti-	The "Solow residual" is defined as	Function, Review of Economics and
vity	per-capita economic growth above	Statistics, Vol 39, pp. 312-320.
(Beta-	the rate of per-capita capital stock	Baumol, W.J., Nelson, R.R., Wolff,
conver-	growth, known as the ratio of output	E.N., 1994. Convergence of
gence)	to labor input.	Productivity: Cross-National Studies
	Beta-convergence refers to a process	and Historical Evidence. Oxford
	in which poor regions grow faster	University Press.
	than the rich ones and therefore catch	Bernard, A.B., Jones, C.I., 1996a.
	up on them.	Comparing Apples to Oranges:
	The concept of Beta-convergence ¹³⁵ is	Productivity convergence and
	directly related to neo-classical growth	Measurement Across Industries and
	theory (Solow, 1956), where the key	Countries. The American Economic
	assumption is that factors of	Review 86, 1216–1238.

 $^{^{135}}$ The methodology used to measure Beta-convergence generally involves estimating a growth equation in the following form: $\ln(\Delta y_{i,t}) = a + \beta \ln(\Delta y_{i,t} - 1) + \gamma \, Z_{i,t} + u_{i,t}$ (1), were y, $\Delta y_{i,t}$ are respectively the level and the growth rate of GDP per capita in a region i at a time t; $Z_{i,t}$ includes all other factors affecting the growth rate;

u_{it} is the standard error term; and

a, β , Δ – are the parameters to be estimated the level and the growth rate of GDP per capita in a region i at a time t.

F	I	T
	production, in particular capital,	Bernard, A.B., Jones, C.I., 1996b.
	are subject to diminishing return.	Productivity Across Industries and
	Accordingly, the growth process	Countries: Time Series Theory and
	should lead economies to a long-run	Evidence. The Review of Economics
	steady-state characterised by a rate of	and Statistics 78, 135-146.
	growth which depends only on the	Kraay, A., Ventura, J. (2002). Product
	(exogenous) rates of technological	Prices and the OECD Cycle.
	progress and labour force growth.	·
	Diminishing return also implies that	
	the growth rate of poor economies	
	should be higher and their income	
	and/or GDP per capita levels	
	should catch up with those of rich	
	economies.	
Regional	The regions require effective public	Marrow, E. and R. Paci. 2013.
conver-	policies, which reflect global	Regional Development and Creativity.
gence	economic shifts and shifts in regional	International Regional Science
	development policy focused on	Review 36:354–91.
	outcomes and institutional incentives.	McCann, P. and R. Ortega-Argile's.
	The new policy includes integrated	2013. Redesigning and Reforming
	place-based approaches that focus	European Regional Policy: The
	on promoting innovation, sustaining	Reasons, the Logic, and the
	the environment, and inequality.	Outcomes. International Regional
	The new policy also reflects a new	Science Review 36:424–45.
	understanding of the unique nature	
	of different regions and localities.	

Economic convergence is not a monotonous process; cyclical changes (Schumpeter, 1939) within economy development are influenced by the essential macroeconomic factors, technology development, socio-political conditions. Since 1990 the per capita income growth in emerging and developing countries has accelerated more rapidly than in advanced countries. This shows the major structural shift in the dynamics of the world economy, and the emerging markets since 90s became the driving force for the world economy.

Globalisation has not only positive, but also negative impacts. Negative effects of globalisation become visible when countries lose their political independence, when instability increases, national or regional economy becomes unstable.

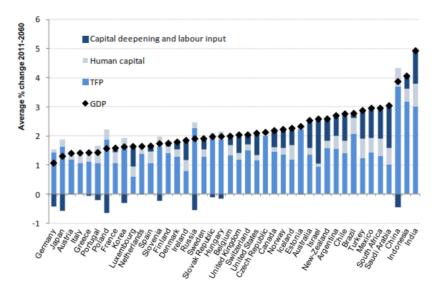


Figure 3. Convergence in GDP across countries is mainly driven by education and productivity improvements

(Contribution of drivers of growth to annual average trend real GDP growth 2011-2060) OECD (2012), "Looking to 2060: A Global Vision of Long-Term Growth", *OECD Economics Department Policy Notes*, No. 15 November 2012.

The stage of "New Convergence" involves three following processes:

First, *globalis ation* through strengthened trade links and rising foreign direct investment facilitates catch-up growth as latecomers import and adapt know-how and technology. It is much easier to adapt technology than to invent it.

Second, the *demographic transition* of most emerging and many developing economies that accompanied slower population growth supported greater capital intensity and faster per capita growth. At the same time, many of these countries enjoyed a golden age as the ratio of the economically active to the total population peaked. Meanwhile, the share of the aged increased significantly in the advanced economies, particularly in Europe and Japan.

A third significant cause of convergence is *the higher proportion of income invested* by emerging and developing countries – 27.0% of GDP over the past decade compared with 20.5% in the advanced economies.

Not only does investment increase the productivity of labour by giving it more capital to work with, it can also increase total factor productivity – the joint productivity of capital and labor – by incorporating new knowledge and production techniques and facilitating transition from low-productivity sectors, such as agriculture to high-productivity sectors such as manufacturing, which accelerates catch-up growth. This third factor, higher investment rates, is particularly relevant in Asia – most noticeably, but not only in China. Asian trend growth rates increased earlier and to a greater extent than those of other emerging economies. A good part of the catch-up growth in manufacturing has already taken place, and the reallocation of labour from low- to high-productivity sectors has also exhausted some of its potential; in some countries, even rapid manufacturing growth has not generated much employment, leading to a greater labour share in low-productivity activities (Rodrik, 2011).

The aggregate convergence of the emerging and developing world provides opposed results, where very small countries get equal weight with China, India, or Indonesia. In aggregate, at least for the next 10 to 15 years, there is substantial potential for more catch-up growth. Labour reallocation from low-to-high productivity sectors may slow down, but its reallocation from low-to-high productivity firms within even narrowly defined subsectors is likely to continue at a solid pace. The services, energy, and infrastructure sectors may also have substantial potential for the adaptation of new technology. With the notable exception of China, demographics will favour emerging and developing economies over the "old" rich countries for more than a decade to come. The very high debt ratios that the most advanced economies have accumulated will constrain their macroeconomic policies and slow investment.

This continued, if perhaps somewhat slower, convergence will profoundly transform the world economy. By 2025–30 many emerging market economies per capita incomes will be much closer to those of the advanced economies, reflecting both growth differentials and the likely real appreciation of their currencies. The economy of China will undoubtedly become the largest in the world (Fig. 2), and the economies of Brazil and India will be much larger than the economies of the United Kingdom or France. The division of the world into "advanced" and "poor" economies

that began with the industrial revolution will end, ceding to a much more differentiated and multipolar world economy.

The increasing importance of emerging and developing economies must be taken into account in the governance of international institutions, whose legitimacy and effectiveness depend on it. Global interdependence calls for stronger cooperation within an institutional setup that reflects the growing weight of emerging and developing economies. The world of the future will be ever more multipolar and interdependent, with global markets offering the potential for rapid economic progress. Whether this potential can be realised might depend largely on how well international cooperation improves both the effectiveness of national macroeconomic policies, strengthening the convergence processes.

In many countries, the distribution of income has become more unequal, and the top earners' share of income in particular has risen dramatically. In the United States the share of the top 1 percent has close to tripled over the past three decades, now accounting for about 20% of total U.S. income (Alvaredo *et. al.*, 2012). At the same time, while the new convergence mentioned above has reduced the distance between advanced and developing economies when they are considered as two aggregates, there are still millions of people in some of the poorest countries whose incomes have remained almost stagnant for more than a century. These two facts have resulted in increased **divergence** between the richest people in the world and the very poorest, despite the broad convergence of average incomes.

II. CULTURAL CONVERGENCE DEVELOPMENTS

Key forces leading the globalisation process are technological (industrial, transportation, IT), social, political and legal, economic (income, trade, finance). In this context, culture as a way of people thinking, feeling and acting differs between countries, industries and organisations. All these levels of culture are interacting, at the same time there are differences between Japanese and American or European the same type of organisations based on national cultural differences. Cultural convergence is a term for theories of cultural evolution and social evolution, describing how societies and cultures changed over time from one country to another.

While globalisation may mean that certain aspects of culture have converged across national boundaries, there are still enormous differences that impact on all socio-economic activities, and on consumer behaviour. Therefore, the investigation of the economy growth and convergence must be based on a vision that encompasses both cultural similarity and diversity. The cultural diversity and the economy are far from being incompatible, since cultural diversity is a source of innovation and creativity for development, at the same time cultural diversity hardly asserts in policies of international cooperation.

Convergence of culture helps create mutual understanding of nations and people. Initially, Kincaid's convergence model (2009) was meant to address shortcomings of transmission-based models of communication. Jenkins (2006) refers to media: "It could be expanded to the culture and creative industry. But could we expect convergence of social values?" Speed acceleration of the socio-economic transformation forced the intellectual competition between regions, created vision of technological convergence based on knowledge economy. What about social wealth and social values convergence challenges?

Due to the rapid growth of multicultural societies and countries, increasing international migration flows, and the accelerated development of digital technologies, cultural diversity is becoming the principal challenge of our times. In its latest report on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions, the European Commission emphasises: "The diversity of cultural expressions lies at the heart of the European project" (SWD/2012/129 final). The issues that arise from cultural diversity cannot be solved by political voluntarism; they require knowledge and an intense international cooperation and exchange of experiences.

Today, cultural diversity is understood not only as the common heritage of mankind, which needs to be protected and promoted, but also as a resource, which needs to be managed in the interest of building lasting peace and sustainable forms of development. The management of cultural diversity may be realsed through dialogue on all levels of cultural action, within and beyond the borders of communities marked by the affiliation with a certain culture, faith, nation, view of the world and geopolitical alliance. It is also possible to realise such a dialogue through

the cooperation between (individual) states, but still more readily, and more diversely, through the framework of civil society and networking. In practice, it was precisely networking which fostered new dynamics of cultural diversity on the global level.

The integration of cultural diversity into a wide framework of public policies plays an important role for the international community in its approach towards its fundamental goals – peace building and development, conflict prevention, democracy and human rights. *In which degree cultural diversity is present in the implementation of development policies in general?*

Inter-personal contact with people from other societies has increased from travelling, migration, networking, telecommunications, etc. Core values, such as strong feelings of national identity, traditional attitudes towards morality, and orientations towards authority, acquired during formative experiences in early youth may prove relatively enduring. Will television and the internet destroy thousands of years of any authentic culture and religious teachings?

The cultural industries based on modern technology, knowledge, innovative approach expanded their functions and impact on economic development.

The cultural industries shifted to the 'creative industries' (CI) in the 1990s. Advocates of the CI idea believed that the totality of economic activity stemming from creativity and culture, including their commercial forms, needed to be considered to understand their true contribution to the nation's life. This activity included more than traditional art forms, such as theatre, music and film, but business services such as advertising (which sell their creative skills mostly to other businesses), manufacturing processes that feed into cultural production, and the retail of creative goods¹³⁶. Based on this broader definition, it was claimed that the industries with their roots in culture and creativity were an important and growing source of jobs and wealth creation (Gibbon, 2011).

CONCLUSIONS

The initial convergence concepts based on productivity, income per capita, labour force activity across countries and regions refers to new

¹³⁶ In 2010, the cultural and creative industry has contributed approx. EUR 63.7 billion to the gross value added in Germany and is therefore ranked as one of the country's most important economic fields alongside such sectors as automobile manufacturing, mechanical engineering and the information and communication technologies.

tendencies in cycle synchronisation between countries, interdependency and digital and networking economy conditions. The differences in the economic convergence depend on separate country development stage and broad range of conditions.

The changes in the development of emerging economies are higher than in advanced countries. It created new driven forces in all financial markets, integration processes, international cooperation, and changed the institutional frame within regions (MNC, European Banking System, etc.).

The increasing importance of emerging and developing economies must be reflected in the governance of international institutions, whose legitimacy and effectiveness depend on it. Global interdependence calls for stronger cooperation within an institutional setup that reflects the growing weight of emerging and developing economies. The world of the future will be ever more multipolar and interdependent, with global markets offering the potential for rapid economic progress. Whether this potential can be realised may depend largely on how well international cooperation improves both the effectiveness of national macroeconomic policies, strengthening the convergence processes.

The process of globalisation promotes certain aspects of culture that have converged across national boundaries (communication technology), but there are still enormous differences that impact on all socio-economic activities, and on consumer (individual) behaviour. The investigation of the economy growth and convergence must involve a vision that encompasses both cultural similarity and diversity. Cultural diversity is a source of innovation and creativity for development, at the same time cultural diversity hardly asserts in policies of international cooperation.

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IS SOCIAL WEALTH POSSIBLE WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT? THE LITHUANIAN CASE

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the dependence of social wealth on democratic development. Analysis of the growth of the key EU (Germany, France, etc.) and the Far East countries (Japan, Taiwan, etc.) shows that the democratic development of the society starts from a certain level of development of the economy and the middle class. A further basis for the growth of social wealth is a parallel democratic consolidation of society. Poor quality of democracy is one of the factors slowing the growth of social wealth, along with the internal and external factors in the development of the country, such as religion, tradition, investments in human capital, membership or non-membership of the state to the different economic entities etc. The article deals with professed values in Protestant countries of Europe and Japan, as well as the priorities for the development of economic and social environment in the broadest interpretation, which are the very basis that helps Japan and Europe to maintain the proper level of communication in the modern world. In a comparative context, Europe and Japan is considered as a place of social wealth and democratic development in Lithuania. It is emphasised that maturity barometer of the political elite is to realise the country's goals and objectives of the above differences of position with the opposition. Mature political elite realises that failures in economic policy undermined public confidence in the political system. This forced researchers and public figures to look for the answer to the question, whether originally accepted system and its values are evidential and whether they need to adjust to the specific region and to their political, economic and religious ideology.

The article emphasises that the countries and regions that belong to the same or similar core values communicate more intensively and have had a positive influence on each other. In this article, we are talking about Weber's or similar values in public life and in market economy.

The article also highlights that the exclusion from the political process of forces that do not meet the elite ideas about democratic development goes against social equality, violates the rights of members of the society when making decisions and hampers democratic development, which is reflected in the dominance of the State over society and the market.

Keywords: social wealth, democracy, development, Lithuania, Japan.

INTRODUCTION

Accepting the name of the conference, it is necessary to define what is understood by such words as communication, social, wealth and democracy. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English¹³⁷ defines the word "Communicate" as "... to make (opinion, feelings, information, etc.) known or understood by others, the various ways of moving goods and people, and sending information, between places ..." Next, the same dictionary defines "social" as "quality of life"; "Wealth" – "as a large amount of money and possession"; "Socioeconomic" as "based on a combination of social and money condition". Democracy is understandable as "government by the people, or by elected representatives of the people or as social equality and the right to take part in the decision-making".

Therefore, taking into account the terms of the interaction of communication, social welfare and democratic development and adding Huntington's definitions of democratic consolidation to them¹³⁸, as well the clash of civilizations¹³⁹, we will try to answer the main question – namely whether social welfare depends on democratic development? What factors influence this relationship? What are the major internal and external reasons of this social well-being? What are different approaches in Europe and Japan in their understanding of this public well-being?

As James Madison wrote at the end of the eighteenth century¹⁴⁰ "If men were angels, no government would be necessary,

If angels were to govern men,

neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administrated by men over men, The great difficulty lies in this:

You must enable the government to control the governed;

And in the next place oblige it to control itself".

¹³⁷ Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. Second Edition. Harlow: Longman Group UK Limited, 1987, p. 201, 1000, 1192

¹³⁸ Hutkinson, S. P. *The third wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century.* London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991, p. 15-16.

¹³⁹ Hutkinson, S. P. The Clash of Civilizations. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 1996.

¹⁴⁰ Madison, J. [1787]. The Federalist No. 10. The Federalist Papers. Second Edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.

Thus, for more than 226 years ago, the question of political consolidation of the society played a primary role. This means, first, public confidence in the ruling class and the elite, supported by the knowledge that the quality of life is the main parameter that drives the whole conversion or economic policy choices in the right direction.

Obviously, the maturity of the political elite means the standing goals and objectives of the country above the position of disagreement with the opposition and contributes to democratic consolidation. It is also clear that the failures of economic policies undermine the credibility of the political system and force researchers and public figures to seek an answer to the question of whether initially professed system and its values are well-grounded and whether they need to be adjusted in relation to a particular region and professed by it political, economic and religious ideology.

Consequently, the level of democratic development, including economic culture of decision-making at the national level, are determined by the quality level of the market economy, which depends on both social and cultural backgrounds, and from the optimum and rational functioning of the institutional facilities. In a more narrow sense – it is to support market economy on the establishment of common rules and voluntary self-regulation in the behaviour of legal entities and individuals in the context of the characteristics of the level of democratic development, the general culture generally and economic culture in particular. The high level of democratic decision-making contributes to the efficient development of the economy, its transparency, security and prosperity of the national models of human society, which, in turn, were and are a constant priority of the declared programmes and activities of the regional elites of all time.

THE WELL-BEING OF NATIONS AS A DERIVATIVE OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL COMMUNICATION AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF

Theories are developed depending on the achieved level of development of the countries, as well as tactical and strategic vision of the elite of increase of well-being of their nations in the short, medium and long-term. It is obvious that the theoretical framework and strategy for the development of well-being of nations for low, medium and high level

of development will be different. It is also obvious that for regions with different levels of democratic development, moral and cultural traditions, political and economic decision-making will also be different. Therefore, taking some theoretical studies as a basis and mechanically transferring them to other political, financial, economic and socio-cultural conditions is unlikely to get the result, which was originally calculated.

These especially acute challenges face the former countries of socialist orientation in Eastern Europe and also the Baltic States, which were a part of the USSR, in particular Lithuania.

The main factors influencing the development of the region include internal and external ones. The main internal factors affecting the socioeconomic development of the region is the level of democratic development, religion, traditions and related investments in human capital, in particular the perceived quality of education, and as a consequence human beings exerted influence on the growth or reduction of the competitiveness of the country/region. The main external factors include the socio-economic atmosphere in the country/region, membership or non-membership of the state in different economic entities, and on the basis of internal factors, the ability of state legal entities to achieve global or regional competitiveness. These two internal and external factors include political, economic, environmental, social situations, which can be divided into positive and negative arguments, made in the broader context of SWOT analysis, with more detailed splitting into their components each in its sphere. The adoption of modern important economic decisions is determined in the context of economic growth of countries. This growth can be seen as the improvement of social change and without it. These social changes that were thought to improve the society as a whole, include the level of democratic development, culture, education, ethics, the standard of living. Thus, a kind of political-economic matrix has formed over time, consisting of the countries that, according to the above criteria, especially GDP per capita, and political-religious order, take a certain place in this matrix. Further in this matrix are united groups of countries according to their origin or entry into a particular political, economic and cultural space. Countries confirming their membership in certain organisations have become to be called "civilized". Historically, three "civilized" centers

of the modern world in North America, Western Europe and Japan were created. The expansion of these centers in Europe is under the auspices of the EU with the connection of the Central and Eastern Europe, and in the English-speaking world with connecting Australia and New Zealand. Later, however, leaders and outsiders began to develop among the civilized nations. For example, in Western Europe, the uneven development of regions depended and depends on such factors as, inter alia, carrying out of a stimulating macroeconomic policy by the governments and microeconomic environment stabilising market economy. Infrastructural and logistical availability of access to global markets, as well as belongings to the economic culture, to the conditional North or South, which in turn relies on to confess the religion, plays a relatively important role in the formation of the leading countries^{141,142}.

The analysis of empirical data of the past and the present century drew attention to the classical work entitled "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" by Max Weber¹⁴³, pointing back then, that the history of economic development of countries and their culture, including religious development, in many areas determine economic success or backwardness of certain regions of the world. Looking for the roots of present welfare of the advanced nations proceeding from Weber's theory, it should be noted that they all professed Protestantism generally, and that from the large countries only Japan which was not professing Protestantism in its Anglo-Saxon option, has managed to become one of the economic centers of the world. Here, however, it should be noted that in the search for ways to develop after the revolution in 1867-1868 and the course for a return to imperial rule, Japan itself has taken the German model of capitalism as a basis, which can be compared with the Japanese version of Weber's protestant ethics.

Thus, it can be argued that from the point of view of tradition, and despite the formal belonging to different religions, values professed in the

¹⁴¹ Azeem I. (2011). Saving Greece or Saving the Euro. OP ED – Huffington Post, July 18, 2011.

¹⁴² Thus the gap between the North (Germany, France, etc.) and the South (Spain, Greece, etc.) in Europe has increased from the introduction of the euro in 1999 to an average GDP of more than 11%.

¹⁴³ Weber, M. Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2010.

Protestant countries of Europe and Japan, such as freedom and security, as well as the priorities for the development of economic and social environment in its broadest interpretation, were the foundation that helped Japan and Europe maintain the proper level of communication in the modern world.

In the second half of the twentieth century an attempt was made to combine the common economic space of the global socialist system, from Vietnam to Cuba, in spite of Weber's theory on the basis of the doctrine of socialist development of the productive forces of society, in order to establish the proper level of communication between different civilizations. One of the principles of socialism stated - "From each according to their possibilities, to each according to their needs". In other words, a matter of possession of knowledge, education level and the level of common culture in a different multicultural environment were stimulated by ideological considerations rather than by considerations of achieving equal wealth by individuals, conducting a general leveling towards "equitable distribution of the national product". This principle was to take the original equality of people, regardless of their cultural and social environment, which consequently had to certainly take advantage of emerging economic opportunities and incentives of socialism. However, even on the decline of the 70-year existence of the Soviet Union in the late 90s of the last century and the early introduction of the term "Soviet people", a significant difference was obvious in the level of democratic development, culture and economic culture both in terms of regional economic elites and the local population, between the Catholic West, the Orthodox Centre and Muslim Central Asia and the Caucasus in the Soviet Union, and the more significant differences among the countries of the "won" socialism and socialist orientation in a global context. Unlike this socialist principle, the standard approach of the Western economic science was based, in terms of relative cultural homogeneity between Catholics and Protestants, on unshakable respect for private property, on the presence of incentives for economic growth and laissez-faire policy, which in terms of this concept provided the necessary prerequisites for society enrichment. Thus, it can be argued that the economic results of societal development are directly related to their level of democratic

development, culture and traditions, and excluding these components from the "equations" of wealth achievements, many development theories of modern economies cannot claim universality.

Lithuania is more influenced by Iberocatholics than Protestants. Iberocatholicism in this interpretation means presence of the shape of democratic institutions, parliament, government, courts, and others, which, however, reflect the mentality distant from a democratic one¹⁴⁴. It is based on the desire of the elite to implement political control over economic and social life, by focusing exceptional attention on institutional self-maintenance and stability. The effectiveness of public administration in terms of improving the competitiveness of the nation goes aside.

Many studies have noted a very close relationship between the level of economic development and democracy. State regulation, playing a positive role at a certain stage of economic development, gradually exhausts itself and runs counter to the objective needs of the market economy.

Much brings us to the answer to the main question – whether social welfare depends on the democratic development of research (Jenn-Jaw Soong)¹⁴⁵. This study is interesting from several points of view. First, it is applied to Taiwan, which some scientists integrate in the Far Eastern civilization, merging the Chinese and the Japanese culture. Second, which is important for Lithuania, it is a certain similarity of the geopolitical situation of Lithuania and Taiwan, which have long been and are under certain political and economic pressures, and are within the zone of influence of powerful neighbouring states. Third, Lithuania, as well as Taiwan, began its move toward democratic consolidation, starting from the totalitarian past. It should be noted that the passable way of Japan, Taiwan and Lithuania is essentially the same, but is separated by a time

¹⁴⁴ For example, subjection to doubt by the authorities of the result of the referendum in 2012 on the construction of a new nuclear power plant in Visaginas, when 63% of the population voted against the project.

¹⁴⁵ Soong, J. J. Democracy and Development. Taiwan and the Baltic Countries in Comparative Perspective. Civil Society, Socio-Economic Development and Democratic Consolidation/Governance: The Case Study of Taiwan. Riga: SIA Apgads Mantojums, 2012, p. 253-283.

interval. According to Jenn-Jaw Soong¹⁴⁶, initial dominance of the state over society and the market is replaced by the dominance of the state and the market over society, and then the society and the market over the state and eventually the society over the state and the market. In parallel with the change of dominance the transition to democracy occurs, which is accompanied by economic recovery. It is followed by a transition to democratic consolidation, accompanied by political maturity or, according to Jenn-Jaw Soong, to "political miracle", and by transition to democratic board accompanied by "social miracle".

THE ATTITUDE OF THE STATE TO SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED ENTERPRISES, AS AN INDICATOR OF ITS DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT LEVEL

It is widely recognised that the domestic policy of the state is an essential instrument of regional development. Long gone are the days when free competition and private initiative could allocate productive forces and create a social infrastructure that they simultaneously met the needs of the society and market economy. At stabilising the democratic processes, the role of the economic culture by decision-making by the regional elite and the observance by the state of the subsidiarity principles highly impacts regional development as well as separate branches of industry, and allows the state to balance the distribution of productive forces.

In this regard, closer attention should be paid to the macroeconomic policies of social and religious doctrine in the context of stabilising the microeconomic market economy environment.

In this respect, the main indicator level of democratic development is the state attitude to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

We should pay attention to two aspects – first, the very presence of a nation's entrepreneurial spirit, and, second, an aspect related to the market economy institutional environment and generated by it products and services. If most of the society's members do not wish to engage in market economy, it reflects on its adverse environment (tax policy, legal framework, information support, counterproductive waste of time in case

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

of mandatory communication with State agencies, their indifference and "unwillingness to help"), which in turn negatively impacts the rates of economic development, contributes to limiting the freedom of individuals and increases the dependence of the members of the society on institutional institutions. Therefore, the economic level of each state directly depends on the market economy community and attention or lack of attention in relation to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), which can be organised without large investments, quickly respond to changes in supply and demand in the local markets, and create the desired competition for the large enterprises.

The level of maturity in the democratic development and the effectiveness of the regional elite in relation to SMEs should be evaluated in terms of establishment of a clear legal and economic environment, accessibility of financial aid, priority of entrepreneurship in the regions, as well as viewing the region as a set of enterprises increasing its competitiveness. Addressing these issues will create new jobs, strengthen the middle class, increase GDP growth and reduce the socio-economic gap between regions, which is directly connected to the security of the state. The long-term goal for Lithuania indicated in the strategy since 2015 is equal competition within the common economic space of the EU at the SME level. However, in most cases, support for SMEs in Lithuania is more declaratory and supported only on a theoretical level, i.e. verbally 147, while the role of SMEs in the Lithuanian economy is increasing significantly. However, if due to systemic deficiencies entrepreneurship is limited or even deliberately undermined, whatever the motives, then "shadow" economy or activities outside the "legal field" are encouraged. According to Eurostat¹⁴⁸, 99.7% of the enterprises in the EU are SMEs, they provide 50.9% of surplus value and employ 69.7% of all workers. For Lithuania, the data is as follows - SMEs - 99.4%, 68.2% of the surplus value, a percentage of the total employed population (69.7)¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁷ Makštutis, A. Šiuolaikinė vadyba. Vilnius: Generolo Jono Žemaičio Lietuvos karo akademija, 2010, p. 227.

¹⁴⁸ European Commission, Eurostat. [interactive] Luxembourg: Joseph Bech building, 2011 [accessed 2012-06-10].http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/productdetails/publication?p_product_code=KS-CD-11-001.

¹⁴⁹ Darulis, A., et. al. *Lietuvos smulkaus ir vidutinio verslo būklė*. Vilnius: Kriventa, 2004, p. 58.

Review of the literature suggests that the growth of welfare is the basis for evaluating the effectiveness of authorities by the civil society. Constant economic reliance on domestic forces forms the basis for this growth. Preferential growth of wealth at the expense of temporary borrowing pushes democratic consolidation of the authorities and the society, leading to its decline in the medium and long-term *perspective*.

Recently, Lithuania experienced a sharp increase in prosperity from the end of 2004 to mid-2008, mainly due to borrowing. This process has contributed to the process of democratic consolidation of the authorities and the society. However, on the onset of the global economic crisis, the real actions of the government drastically undermined confidence in the ability of the government to act for the good of the civil society, and to solve socio-economic problems, but also to find explanations for the selected political policy of integration with the EU and the links between the level of democratic development and the growth of social welfare. Being on the opposite sides of the civil and market economy, the communities and the political elite led to search for perpetrators and distrust in each other, which for years has frozen democratic development, economic growth and consequently undermined confidence in the Weber's concept of public welfare professed by the leaders of the EU and Japan.

LITHUANIA IS AT THE CROSSROADS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN AND JAPANESE CENTERS OF THE MODERN WORLD

An ideal basis for making decisions is the macro balance and consensus of national ideological, political and economic interests. Under this ideology, we understand democratic development of a society in the context of its belonging to the Western and Weber's values.

Political interests include everything that matches the value orientations of the ruling elite of the society, and national economic interests encompass all that contributes to its economic prosperity and development.

It should be borne in mind that the new democracies, especially those who were a part of the former Soviet Union, such as Lithuania, today are the buffer states between not only economic but also military blocs, political issues, including national security, and they often have a significant and

not always rational impact on the development of economic interests and contradict with the ideology of Weber's direction.

Consequently, many of the provisions of this direction have not yet turned into an internal need for the development of such societies, which is reflected:

- (a) by a contradiction of political and economic interests; and
- (b) in specific economic culture of acceptance of national political decisions in the field of short-term and long-term macro-economic development of the region.

Accordingly, any differences between the political objectives and economic interests of the elite of the country are natural.

The optimal ratio of the two is the one in which maximum economic development contributes to political objectives and policies and to economic development.

This provision is based on two ideas.

There is no policy that would have no impact (positive or negative) on the economy.

Cost-neutral policy is impossible:

- (a) because of the universal relationship phenomena in a society, where "everything is connected to everything" and measuring any part of the social system caused a chain of reaction to changes in all the others.
- (b) due to the fact that any policy operates with public values, by preferring one and neglecting the others.

At the same time, any social values (including the most "spiritual": cultural, moral, etc.) are also economic. All of them are involved in the process of their correlation and exchange with other economic values (including the most "material" ones). Thereby, they are involved in the economic processes in the society.

Any policy uses economic resources of the society.

Achieving political goals is impossible without the involvement of economic resources, and primarily material resources and human activities. Cost-effectiveness of these resources depend on the contribution of these policy objectives to the country's economy. They are cost-effective, if they promote economic development, and counterproductive if they hinder the same.

In view of those aspects, any policy changes the conditions of the national economy.

On the other hand, the effectiveness of a national policy is directly dependent on its economy.

Therefore, the policy of the country with a strong economy is both a strong policy. This means that it is able to invest heavily in the implementation of their goals.

This implies that:

- policy, in full compliance with the economic interests of the country is both politically and economically optimal;
- any discrepancy between national politics and the economy unfavourable for the economy and for the policy.

This then means that the establishment, whether a policy entails the most effective cost, is the most important point of the analysis and evaluation.

Lithuania, which over the last hundred years has been strongly influenced by political and economic cultures and religions from the East and the West, is still trying to find its place among the countries with a democratic level of development of modern capitalism.

Its politico-cultural and economic heritage, morality and traditions do not always determine a rational position on the continuum between the East and the West in terms of politics and economics.

This means that the direction of political and economic interests of the Lithuanian establishment and the society differ in many respects.

If economic strategy is defined by national economy and the possibilities of its further development, as noted above, the political strategy is largely formed under the influence of non-economic factors, including the dynamics of the ruling elite under the influence of ideological morality in the context of its presentation of the national interest, ideology of the elite, its historically established traditions, especially in the evaluation of certain countries as "enemies" or "friends" in terms of who and how can create a threat to the country, which political groups inside and outside the country are or may be a potential support for the forces directed against the national interests, etc.

This dichotomy gives even a greater contrast in terms of permanent budget deficit, which indicates the nature of the country's endowment. This means that the strategic goals and objectives of Lithuania are largely determined and defined by the subsidized institutions located abroad.

Therefore, it can be argued that due to the Ibero-Catholics, instead of Weber's traditions of economic decision-making culture of the Lithuanian establishment, a dissenting part of the society expressed its protest also in the tradition of the Ibero-Catholicism. For example, one active group of the civil society in the form of entrepreneurs have moved to the "shadow" in one way or another or terminated their activity, and another active part of the civil society simply emigrated, and misunderstanding or lack of understanding by the national elite of the fundamental principle of globalisation concerning time and that time is money. i.e. not examining or reducing the value of time as an asset in the organisation of social and market economy life and in terms of understanding the effectiveness and timeliness of decisions made, bears for itself a negative trend and tendencies in the Lithuanian socio- economic realities. Thus, the government giving priority to policies that are important only for the elite, which is not in the public interest of the majority, turning guaranteed services to citizens, spending most of the distribution of material resources (mainly the EU funds) on the basis of a clan to the circles close to the government administration, and expanding the receipt of symbolic goods for a certain number of people in exchange for their loyalty and support to the government, postpones the holding of democratic consolidation, directly influencing the level of economic development of the country.

Consequently, we can speak about a certain level of democratic development and a culture of decision-making, which gives us the right to say that in Lithuania iberocatholicism prevails both in common and in economic culture of decision-making, compared with the EU and Japan. This is a situation in which political voluntarism, low competence, impunity, irresponsibility, corruption, low morale, political patronage and a virus of personal enrichment is tolerated. Most of these features are inherent in the higher administrative board, both the position and the opposition, in a state and public sector of Lithuania. Thus, we can say that during the 23 years from the declaration of independence in Lithuania, a dual society or a society of two speeds has formed, when one considerably smaller part of the society increases the speed of its financial well-being, professing the

iberocatholicism principles to the best of their culture due or at the expense of its greater other parts. Hence economic development will not be progressive until the economic culture of the Lithuanian elite considers that the main objective of the state consists precisely in the creation of democratic consolidation of all the society.

This situation often finds its expression in the adoption of national decisions not by finding a consensus, but by forcing the authorities making power solutions that even more strongly strengthen divergence trends in the society and allow us to conclude that the political objectives of the Lithuanian ruling elite are largely determined by the factors irrelevant for Weber's spirit and moral decision-making in the example of Western Europe and Japan.

CONCLUSIONS

Interpretation of the basic words in the title of the conference and in one of its sections leads to the following conclusions.

First, we can tell that communication processes and understanding each other's regions are more intense among those who practice the same or similar core values, in our case, the EU and Japan. In this case, they are Weber's values or similar values in public life and market economy activity.

Second, social welfare, which is understood as quality of life, based on the optimal combination of the available funds and the provision of social services, which can only be achieved on a certain level of economic development. The main focus is on avoiding the concentration of a large amount of money and property in the hands of a small number of individuals and legal entities, which results in disparity in social stability of the society.

Third, the exclusion from the political process of forces that do not meet the elite ideas as to democratic development contradicts social equality, violates the rights of the public community members in decision-making and hinders democratic development, which is expressed in the state dominance over public life and the market.

Fourth, the common culture and ethics of the Lithuanian elite, with a predominance of iberocatholic traditions, do not accept the democratic consolidation of the society as a major problem and this determines the poor efficiency of decision-making aimed at the country's economic growth.

SUGGESTIONS

- 1. Actions of the Lithuanian national elite in the field of democratic consolidation of decision-making are a negative benchmark for regional imitation of individuals and legal entities.
- 2. Lithuanian political elite implementing a selective policy is not able to carry out democratic consolidation of the country's multicultural ethnic group, which negatively impacts its overall socio-economic development.
- 3. Democratic consolidation of the Lithuanian elite must stem from the principles of voluntary self-regulation in relation to individuals and legal entities, in a transitional context from a democratic state to civil society, and the entrance efficiency of the national economic operators into the global integrated economic space.
- 4. Experience in the development of the key EU and the Far East countries shows that democratic progress begins with a certain level of economy and middle class development. A further basis for growth of social welfare is a parallel consolidation of democratic society. Consequently, the countries lagging behind in their economic development, in particular Lithuania on the EU average, need to pay attention to the lack of quality in democracy as a primary growth factor of social welfare.

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Chapter 4

JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND
CULTURE EDUCATION
POSSIBILITIES IN
EUROPEAN MULTICULTURAL
ENVIRONMENT

HAIKU AND THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE: HOW TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE SHORTEST LITERARY FORM IN THE WORLD

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ABSTRACT

Haiku is said to be the shortest poetic form in the world, and yet it has firmly established itself as one of the major literary genres in Japan and its popularity is now spreading over the world. The present paper addresses the paradox of haiku poetry, which is so short and yet can be so functional at the same time. It starts by checking how one and the same original haiku piece in Japanese can be translated in widely divergent ways in western languages – which incidentally reminds us of a remark by Roland Barthes, who characterizes haiku as having 'an empty center' (i.e. semantically indeterminate, thus inviting any reader to come to it with any meaning he/she favours, without ever being assured that the interpretation offered by him/her is the absolutely correct one). The paper proceeds to show that haiku's functionality is supported by the characteristic stance of Japanese speakers in their daily use of language as a means of communication, namely ready empathy, 'reader-responsibility' (Hinds 1987: active self-involvement in interpretive work on the part of the reader) and the 'subject-object merger' type of construal.

Keywords: haiku, translation, empathy, reader-responsibility, subject-object merger

1. A paradox about Japanese *haiku* poetry is that it is alleged to be the shortest poetic form in the world and yet it can function as a piece of artistic work. Thus, reactions to one and the same *haiku* poem may vary, not only between individual readers who are native speakers of Japanese but also between people of different cultures – sometimes in drastically different ways. Let me give an example. Example (1) below is one of the most celebrated pieces of *haiku* in Japan, a piece by Basho (1644-1694), probably the best-known *haiku* master in the country. It is given here together with a word-for-word gloss and a literal translation into English. This is followed by its four English translations, (1a) by D.Keene, (1b) by E. Seidensticker, (1c) by W. J. Porter, and (1d) by W. J. Page, all of whom

were university professors of either Japanese or comparative literature in the U.S. at the time of translation.

- (1) Furu ike ya kawadzu tobikomu midzu no oto.
 Old pond exclamatory frog jump-in water possessive sound particle
 (literally, OLD POND FROG JUMPING IN SOUND OF WATER)
- (1a) The ancient pond
 A frog leaps in
 The sound of the water.
- (1b) The quiet pondA frog leaps in,The sound of the water.
- (1c) Into the calm old lake A frog with flying leap goes plop! The peaceful hush to break.
- (1d) A lonely pond in age-old stillness sleeps ... Apart, unstirred by sound or motion ... till Suddenly into it a lithe frog leaps.

One hears from time to time from Japanese professors who lecture on Japanese literature in the U.S. that on being presented with the English translations like (1a) and (1b) above, American students typically react by responding with questions like "So what?" and "What of it?" They simply cannot understand the point of the original work. At the same time, if Japanese students are presented with English translation like (1c) and (1d) above, they will probably respond by saying "These are mere paraphrases and are not translations at all!" All of the four translations are judged to be either saying too little or saying too much.

2. Before proceeding to discuss our major problem of *haiku* paradox, we have to consider and keep in mind certain specific linguistic problems necessarily involved in rendering a piece of text in one language into another language. The first phrase in Basho's acclaimed piece quoted in (1) above is *furu ike*, glossed as 'old pond'. Any native speaker of Japanese

who also knows English will agree that 'old pond' is the closest literal rendering in English of the original Japanese phrase, furu ike. But look at translations (1a) and (1b) given above --- translations, incidentally, by two of the best-known American Japanologists. Neither of them opts for using the word 'old' in their translations. What they offer actually are the words 'ancient' and 'quiet', both of which are semantically totally distinct from 'old'. What are the possible reasons for their diversions? The translators' motivation for using semantically diverging words will presumably be that the English phrase 'old pond' could evoke a very different image from the original Japanese phrase, furu ike. How different could it be? According to a reviewer (who is a native speaker of English) of a book on haiku in English (Sato 1983), "Old pond' in English might suggest a stinking body of water, black, weedy and stagnant, ...' (quoted in Sato 1987). Such an image being imposed on the acclaimed masterpiece, everybody will agree, would simply be a disaster. The avoidance of the use of the adjective 'old' can be accounted for in this way. But what can we say about the adjectives 'ancient' and 'quiet' actually chosen instead by the translators of (1a) and (1b)? The translator's motivation for opting for 'quiet' rather than 'old' in (1b) is transparent enough. The translator assumed that the original poet's intention was to contrast the features of motion and sound of the frog jumping into the water with the state of rest and silence associated with the pond. The translator's motivation for opting for 'ancient' rather than 'old' in (1a) is a bit more delicate. Personally, I remember an occasion on which I encountered the expression 'ancient pond'. I was staying in an elegant hotel in Hawaii. On the beach adjacent to the hotel building was a pool built in the style of the age of King Kamehameha (who reigned over the Hawaiian Islands between 1810-1819). In the handbook on the hotel, this pool was described as an 'ancient pond'. The adjective 'ancient' in translation (1a) is thus meant to imply something like 'reminiscent of the noble past times', thus excluding any uncomplimentary connotations.

Notice next that the phrase *furu ike* ('old pond') is followed by the agglutinating particle *ya*. This particle is in fact very frequently used in the text of a *haiku* poem, especially at the end of the initial phrase (as in the present case). In the English translation, it is rendered as a semicolon, a colon or an exclamation mark, as the case may be, or simply ignored.

However, it functionally plays an important role in *haiku* rhetoric. The indigenous technical term for it is 'kireji' (literally, 'cutting word'), its function being 'to cut the flow of the text'. Notice that its rhetorical function is highly paradoxical: it is meant to cut the flow of the text, in order, however, not to destroy the cohesion of the text, but rather to bring to the fore the contrast between the two parts of the text separated by it. Thus in our present example, the cutting word *ya* separates the first phrase ('old pond') from the second and third phrases ('frog jumping in ... sound of water'). By being separated, the emergent two portions of the text are now found standing in clear contrast to each other in terms of 'static' vs. 'dynamic' and 'silence' vs. 'sound'.

Next comes the word *kawadzu*, an old word for *kaeru* ('frog') in modern Japanese. Now Japanese nouns (including nouns referring to concrete, countable entities) do not morphologically distinguish between singular and plural. There are a couple of suffixes that are agglutinated to nouns to show plurality but their use is only optional. In most cases, the singularity-plurality distinction is judged by referring to the context. This means that the word *kawadzu*, as it stands in the particular *haiku* poem we are now considering, can be interpreted either as singular or plural. In fact, we have English translations which have 'a frog', on the one hand, and those which have 'frogs', on the other.

A survey (quoted by Sato (1983)) reveals that out of the one hundred of English translations (both by native speakers of Japanese who know English and by non-native speakers of Japanese who know Japanese) of the *haiku* piece in question, ninety-eight render *kawadzu* in the singular and only two in the plural. The result agrees with the intuition of the native speakers, to whom the image evoked by the piece usually contains only a single frog, the reason for their choice of a single frog being that the point about the piece in question is 'the silence suddenly broken by a sound'. Extremely intriguing, however, is the fact that of the two English translations with the plural form, 'frogs', one is a translation by Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904), a cosmopolitan writer of Irish-Greek descent, who came to Japan in 1891 and chose to be naturalised as a Japanese citizen. Hearn is acclaimed as a person who had a deep understanding of Japanese culture and it is sometimes considered puzzling that a person like Hearn

should have opted for the image of frogs rather than a single frog. Some critics suggest that this is exactly the scene of the garden Hearn himself used to witness from the room of the house where he was staying. A linguistically more plausible interpretation, however, will be that the plural form here refers to the number of times rather than to the number of entities. In other words, it may well be that what was actually witnessed was a repetition with some pause in between, of a frog jumping rather than a number of frogs jumping all at one time. It is interesting to note that in the written record describing the scene at which the *haiku* piece in question was created, we read 'the sound of FROG jumping into the water was sometimes [literally, not often] heard'.

After the question about the number of FROG, the translators are encountered by the question of what verb to choose to describe the motion of the frog(s). The statistics quoted in Sato (1987) give 60% for *jump*, 20% for *leap*, 12.6% for *plunge* and 7.4% for others. One can say that of the three most frequently chosen verbs, *jump* connotes dynamism, *leap* suggests elegance, and *plunge* is associated with suddenness, while specifying that the movement is into water. The Japanese verb, *tobikomu* is rather neutral when contrasted with any of the three English verbs cited. Any of the three can be well accommodated here.

The final phrase of the *haiku* piece in question is *midzu no oto* (literally, 'water's sound'). One alternative offered here to the translator is to use an onomatopoeic word (e.g. *plop* as in (1c)). It can be pointed out, however, that the use of onomatopoeic words is not common in *haiku*, except when the poet invents and uses a new short form for a new effect not covered by the already existing onomatopoeic words. One reason for the paucity of onomatopoeic words in *haiku* poetry is that the poetic form is too short to indulge in the luxury. A more real reason, however, will be – and this is one of the central points I am going to discuss in the latter half of my talk – that the *haiku* poem presupposes no one-and-only-one 'correct' interpretation and that it rather is ready to lend itself to any number and any kind of interpretation that the reader may want to offer, so that anyone can appreciate it and enjoy it in their own way. It is like a socially open forum in which anyone can participate with their own ideology intact. Using onomatopoeic words with socially encoded meanings (like 'plop')

will certainly go against this essence of *haiku* poetry. Simple descriptive statements like 'the sound of the water' will accommodate any reader as a possible creator of new meanings out of familiar images.

3. A quick review of the rich semantic potentials encoded in the 'masterpiece' by Basho will remind us of the notion of 'ambiguity', such as the one advocated by William Empson, an English critic who defines 'ambiguity' as 'any verbal nuance, however slight, which gives room for alternative reactions to the same piece of language' (Empson 1956:1) Empson's definition of ambiguity does appear to be well applicable to the poetical essence of haiku poetry I have been talking about here. There is, however, a crucial difference to be noted. In the case of Empson, 'ambiguity' is primarily conceived of as something tactically encoded in the text by the author, which the reader is supposed to detect and appreciate. The interpretive process described by Empson gives us an impression of a work by an acute critic, who closely analyses the text and brings to light the hidden treasures of meaning. The text of haiku poetry does not require of its readers anything so special and technical. Rather it welcomes and invites its readers to read themselves into the text. Notice a paradox here. It is ready to accept any interpretation, however private; it accommodates just anything, while it remains unchanged, always ready to accommodate. In other words, it is 'empty'.

Roland Barthes, the well-known French critic, who visited Japan briefly in the 1960's, saw 'emptiness' in a number of aspects of Japanese culture. *Haiku* poetry was found no exception and he offered the following comments in his book on Japan, *Empire of Signs*:

... While being quite intelligible, the haiku means nothing and it is by this double condition that it seems open to meaning in a particularly available, serviceable way – the way of a polite host who lets you make yourself at home with all your preferences, your values, your symbols intact; the haiku's "absence" (we say as much of a distracted mind as of a landlord off on a journey) suggests subornation, a breach, in short the major covetousness of meaning.

Barthes, in the passage quoted above, would have better talked about 'a polite hostess' rather than 'a polite host'. The image of the former would perhaps have agreed with Japanese sensibilities more than that of the latter.

In any case, Barthes insightfully and beautifully accounted for an aspect of the 'paradox' of *haiku* poetry.

4. We could, however, go a step still further and try to account for the 'paradox' in terms of the characteristic linguistic and psychological stances taken by the speakers of Japanese in their daily communication. Here I would like to introduce you to a 'typology' proposed by John Hinds, an American Japanologist. The following quotation is from his paper in 1987:

"In this paper, I suggest a typology that is based on speaker and/or writer responsibility as opposed to listener and/or reader responsibility. What this means is that in some languages, such as English, the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the speaker, while in other languages, such as Japanese, the person primarily responsible for effective communication is the listener English speakers, by and large, charge the writer, or speaker, with the responsibility to make clear and well-organized statements

In Japan, perhaps in Korea, and certainly in Ancient China, there is a different way of looking at the communication process. In Japan, it is the responsibility of the listener (or reader) to understand what it is that the speaker or author had intended to say.

Thus if there is a failure in communication, the responsibility is to be attributed to the speaker in one culture and to the listener in another culture. Hinds offers the following anecdote to illustrate the point:

An American woman was taking a taxi to the Ginza Tokyu Hotel [in Tokyo]. The taxi driver mistakenly took her to the Ginza Daiichi Hotel. She said, 'I'm sorry, I should have spoken more clearly.' This, I take to be an indication of her speaker-responsible upbringing. The taxi driver demonstrated his listener-responsible background when he replied, 'No, no, I should have listened more carefully'".

There can be individual and circumstantial differences, of course, but I think I can accept Hinds' characterisation as a general statement. What I want to emphasise in this connection is that *haiku* poetry is a literary genre which presupposes the 'reader-responsibility' stance on the part of its readers. On reading the piece on the frog(s) by Basho, which we have been discussing, the typical Japanese reader will undergo an interpretive

process (if I may say so) like the following: 'OLD POND – FROG JUMPING IN – SOUND OF WATER ... this is what our *haiku* master witnessed –what did he feel or what was he thinking about when he was watching the scene? – Suppose I were now sitting beside him, watching the same scene – How would I feel? – Would I feel in the same way as the great master? – Would what I feel be the same as, or different from, what our master had in mind? – If different, how different would it be and why?' and so forth. What at first was a collection of bits of fragmentary information could in this way be elaborated and expanded infinitely by reading one's own thoughts into it. Without such positive engagement on the part of the reader, the *haiku* piece remains insignificant, eliciting no more response than 'So what?'

The stance of 'reader-responsibility' in linguistic communication is naturally to be supported by positive mental readiness for empathy. You project yourself into the author, be at one with the author, first trying to re-experience what the author (is supposed to have) experienced. All this while, however, you reserve your own possibilities --- possibilities to diverge from, and even to go beyond, the author.

5. One further point I would like to discuss in relation to the interpretation of *haiku* pieces is the preference between the two contrasting stances called 'subject-object opposition' and 'subject-object merger' – two notions which are often referred to in the traditions of Asian philosophy. A poetically phrased account of the two notions from the viewpoint of the author being engaged in literary production is found in an essay published in 1924 by Yasunari KAWABATA (1899-1972), the winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1968:

There are only three ways of seeing the lily ...: Am I within the lily? Is the lily within me? Or do the lily and I exist independently of each other? ... If I describe the lily and myself as though they existed independently of each other, that would be to use a naturalistic style of writing. That represents the old principle of objectivity. We could say that this is the principle that has determined every form of literary expression to this day. However, the power residing within the subject is no longer content with this. I am within the lily. The lily is within

me. These two are ultimately indistinct. The fundamental aim of neosubjectivist approach is to express things through just such feelings.

Put in abstract terms, Kawabata is talking about the contrast between two contrasting stances: either the author locates himself within the situation to be described (in which case the author as a subject is merged with the object he works on) or the author locates himself outside the situation to be described (in which case the author as a subject is opposed to the object he works on) and he opts for the former stance, namely 'subject-object merger'.

- **5.1** Now keep the distinction made by Kawabata in mind and consider the following episode recorded in the late seventeenth century (in which Basho, the *haiku* master already referred to, is involved). The point of the story concerns the right interpretation of a piece of *haiku* poetry. The *haiku* poem in question reads as follows:
 - (2) Iwabana ya kokoni rock-nose, i.e. rock protruding over a cliff 'cutting word' here mo hitori tsuki no kyaku. also one (person) moon 's guest (literally, 'A protruding rock! Here is another one a guest of the moon.')

The poem narrates what happened on a brightly moonlit night. One of the best disciples of Basho offered the following interpretation: "The moon was so beautiful in the night sky. I [the author of the piece] went out and looked for a place where I could watch and admire the bright moon. Finally I found a very good place – a protruding rock overhanging the cliff. I hurried there only to find out someone already sitting there watching and admiring the moon!" On hearing this account, Master Basho intervened, saying that a stranger as a guest of the moon was a poor choice and that the guest of the moon was to be none other than 'me', the author himself. In the interpretation first offered by the disciple, the author (or 'I') is the subject and "a guest of the moon" is the object. The whole scene is construed in terms of 'subject-object opposition' and the composition sounds like a piece of the author's report of what he witnessed. In the haiku master's interpretation, however, the whole scene is construed in terms of 'subjectobject merger' and the composition sounds like a piece of the internal monologue uttered by the author.

How will an average speaker of Japanese react to the two interpretations? Most probably they will first offer the same interpretation as the disciple's, taking the piece as a description of an objectively construed scene. Being told, however, of the master's alternative interpretation, they will readily admit that it is also a possible interpretation – an interpretation which is not as readily available to the layman's mind and is for that reason much more interesting and exciting than the interpretation they themselves first came up with.

- **5.2** One last example I'd like to offer also concerns the theme of 'subject-object merger'. The work to be discussed is given as example (3a) a work composed by Emmerich Lang, a German poet and intended as a piece of *haiku* in German. This is to be compared with (3b) an adaptation of (3a) in Japanese by Hakucho YAMAKAGE, a Japanese haiku poet (Sakanishi et al., eds. 1979):
 - (3a) Aus dichtem NebelDringt der rauhe Schrei. Ich frier'Wie ihr, o Krähen!(literally, Out of thick fog / comes [forcefuly] the rough cry.I am freezing / like you, oh, crows!)
 - (3b) Kiri no oku no karasu hitokoe ite kibishi.

(literally, Deep in the fog / [a] crow one cry / freezing cold)

The situation described here is something like the following: "Freezing cold, the poet and the crow(s) being wrapped up alike in thick fog. Then a crow's cry – heard from the depth of the fog." Notice that in the German version the poet addresses the crows. The poet wants to empathise (and by empathising, to be at one) with the crows. This, however, ironically shows that the poet and the crows exist separately – they stand in opposition to each other. In the revised Japanese version, however, we have no opposition between the poet as subject and the crows as object. The poet and the crows are wrapped up alike in one and the same thick fog; being dissolved, as it were, they are no longer opposed to each other. Notice also that in the Japanese version, the first person pronoun, which in the German version, specifically refers to the poet himself, is removed. To say 'I' is intended to say actually 'I, and none other than I', implying that the speaker wants to contrast himself with someone else. You will notice that the first person pronoun rarely occurs in the *haiku* text. This is because what is described

in the *haiku* text is something that the poet himself experiences or has experienced. This, in fact, is supposed to be presupposed by the reader. In other words, the reader of *haiku* is supposed to presuppose the *invisible presence of the author* in the text. This explains why the Japanese reader senses something like *haiku* in a poem like the one shown below – a piece of 'imagist' poetry by William Allingham (1824 – 89), an Irish poet (especially without the last three lines):

(4) Four ducks on the pond, A grass-bank beyond, A blue sky of spring, White clouds on the wing; What a little thing To remember for years – To remember with tears.

Notice that the invisibility of the poet in the text helps the reader to empathise (and by empathising, to be at one) with the author.

6. Let me conclude my talk by pointing out that *haiku* certainly has some features which appear to be specific to the Japanese culture naturally because it has evolved in a specific culture called Japanese culture, but that those features are by no means something to be monopolised by one specific culture alone. We all as humans must have a potentially common range of sensibilities. By activating our whole range of sensibilities, we will certainly be able to come to a stage at which what at first appeared to be alien about other cultures can be understood and appreciated as natural. It will even be possible that certain features of originally one particular culture may evolve in time in ways not at all envisaged by the indigenous members of the culture in question.

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ERASMUS MUNDUS: PROMOTION OF MULTILINGUAL COMPETENCE AND INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE IN ACADEMIC SETTINGS

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ABSTRACT

Erasmus mobility schemes provide exchange students with opportunities to learn and use different languages in higher education institutions (HEIs). Languages are important not only for studies or work; they are also a tool of communication and intercultural understanding. Language, culture and learning are fundamentally interrelated and this interrelationship must be placed at the centre of the learning process. The research conducted in 2013 aimed to analyse the incoming exchange students' multilingual competence, problems encountered in the study process and intercultural dialogue at Mykolas Romeris University. The survey instrument was an interview composed of 10 open-ended questions administered to 26 incoming Erasmus Students of 2011/12 who came to study at MRU. The analysis of the survey findings indicates that understanding that foreign students experience within a new educational context, their linguistic training and preliminary readiness to study abroad are an important educational, cultural and personal benefit.

INTRODUCTION

The co-operation between higher education institutions resulted in the launch of Erasmus programme that is celebrating its 25^{th} anniversary in 2012 and that is the most successful student exchange programme in the world.

Erasmus mobility schemes provide exchange students with a possibility to learn and use different foreign languages in higher education institutions (HEIs) of Europe, e. g Erasmus Intensive Language Courses (EILC), the specialised courses for exchange students coming to host universities for Erasmus studies to learn the less widely used or taught languages and cultures and to prepare themselves for their inland mobility period. 150

¹⁵⁰ European Commission. Education and Training. Erasmus Intensive Language Courses (EILC) [accessed on 2013-10-08] http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus/eilc_en.htm>.

EC statistics on Erasmus shows that close to 3 million students have participated since its start in 1987, each year more than 230 000 students study abroad in one of more than 4 000 higher education institutions in 33 participating countries thanks to the Erasmus programme. Lithuania was reported as the country with the highest numbers of outgoing Erasmus students as a proportion of the national student population in 2011-2012.¹⁵¹ The most popular destination among the European students was Spain, France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy. 152 The EC data on Lithuania illustrate that from the starting year of the Erasmus mobility programme in Lithuania the number of incoming students has been dramatically increasing; there were only 56 incoming students of Erasmus in 2001/2002, but the number totalled to 9380 in 2011/2012. According to the statistics of 2011/2012, top 5 countries of incoming students are Turkey, Spain, France, Poland and Latvia. Since 2001/2002 HEIs of Lithuania have already organised Erasmus Intensive Language Courses (EILC) for 713 participants. 153

Mykolas Romeris University (MRU), a holder of an ERASMUS University Charter, was placed in the third position in the rating of student mobility in 2011/2012 among top 5 HEIs sending students in Lithuania and thereby promoting international education and contributing to linguistic diversity. ¹⁵⁴ In today's internationally and linguistically diverse world, cross-cultural differences at MRU are shared in many original ways, e.g. incoming Erasmus students donate money and visit hospitals in Vilnius, participate in the most popular events among students – Erasmus Got Talent, European Basketball Championship which have already become traditional, visit schools in different parts of Lithuania to share study

¹⁵¹ European Commission. Education and Training. Lifelong Learning programme [interactive] [accessed on 2013-10-05].
http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/erasmus_en.htm>.

¹⁵² European Commission. Education and Training. Erasmus Facts, Figures and Trends 2011-12 [accessed on 2013-10-21] http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus/doc/stat/erasmus1112_en.pdf.

¹⁵³ European Commission. Education and Training. Erasmus Country Statistics 2000-12 [accessed on 2013-10-05]. http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus/statistics_en.htm.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

experience at MRU and thereby promote exchange studies abroad, share culinary traditions, etc.

The aim of this article is to present the incoming Erasmus Exchange Student self-evaluation of foreign language/ESP competence prior to their study at MRU in Lithuania, the problems encountered while applying their language knowledge and skills in academic settings and intercultural dialogue.

The research objectives are to analyse:

- the incoming Erasmus Exchange Student foreign language competence acquired at domestic educational institutions;
- study languages and problems encountered in the study process at MRU;
- languages used in cross-cultural dialogue.

The findings are based on the analysis of the survey data, as the authors assume that understanding foreign students' experience within new educational context, their linguistic training and readiness to study abroad provides an important educational, cultural and personal benefit.

1. DOCUMENT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The European Commission presents Erasmus as a cooperation and mobility programme in the field of higher education, the most successful student exchange programme in the world which "now supports the Bologna goal that by 2020 at least 20 % of all graduates from the European Higher Education Area should have spent a period of time studying or training abroad". 155

Researchers and educators (Van Dame, 2001156, Ho, 2009157, Altbach,

¹⁵⁵ European Commission. Erasmus Facts, Figures and Trends. The European Union support for student and staff exchanges and university cooperation in 2011- 12, p. 5 [accessed on 2013-10-21]. http://ec.europa.eu/education/erasmus/doc/stat/erasmus1112_en.pdf>.

¹⁵⁶ Van Dame, D. Quality issues in the internationalisation of higher education. University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium [interactive] 2001 [accessed on 2013-11-03]. http://www.springerlink.com/content/h1655n7084776473/fulltext.pdf?MUD=MP.

¹⁵⁷ Ho, S. T., K. Addressing Culture in EFL Classrooms: The Challenge of Shifting from a Traditional to an Intercultural Stance. Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching [interactive]. 2009, 6 (1): 63–76. Centre for Language Studies National University of Singapore [accessed on 2013-09-15] http://e-flt.nus.edu.sg/v6n12009/ho.pdf>.

Teichler, 2001¹⁵⁸, Altbach et al., 2009¹⁵⁹, Užpalienė, Vaičiūnienė, 2012¹⁶⁰) indicate benefits of internationalization of HEIs. According to Altbach and Teichler¹⁶¹ "trans-national education" provides mobile students with "the opportunity to learn from contrasts and thus to develop a more reflective mind and a better understanding of diversity". Byram, Gribkova, Starkey¹⁶² assume that "the visit or exchange is much more than an opportunity to 'practice' the language learnt in the classroom. It is a holistic learning experience which provides the means of using intercultural skills and acquiring new attitudes and values". The intercultural communicative competence and its development through teaching languages has been extensively discussed by Rivers, 2010, ¹⁶³ Newton et al., 2009. ¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ Altbach, P. G., Teichler, U. Internationalization and Exchanges in a Globalized University. Journal of Studies in International Education [interactive] 2001, 5 (1): 5-25 [accessed on 2013-09-05]. http://www.utwente.nl/mb/cheps/summer_school/literature/internationalisation.pdf>.

¹⁵⁹ Altbach P. G.; Reizberg L.; Rubnley, L. E. Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution. World Conference on Higher Education [interactive] 2009 [accessed on 2013-09-15]. http://129.194.160.51/webdav/site/developpement/shared/developpement/cours/E759/Altbach,%20Reisberg,%20Rumbley%20Tracking%20an%20Academic%20Revolution,%20UNESCO%202009.pdf.

¹⁶⁰ Užpalienė, D., Vaičiūnienė, V. European Dimension and Multilingual Functioning in Higher Education: Erasmus Students' Experience. Kalbų studijos/ Studies about Languages. 2012, 20.

¹⁶¹ Altbach, P. G., Teichler, U. op. cit., p. 2-3.

¹⁶² Byram, M.; Gribkova, B.; Starkey, H. Developing the Intercultural Dimension in Language Teaching: a Practical Introduction for Teachers. Language Policy Division. Directorate of School, Out-of-School and Higher Education. DGIV Council of Europe, Strasbourg [interactive] 2002, p. 30. http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/guide_dimintercult_en.pdf.

¹⁶³ Rivers, J. An introduction to the concept of intercultural communicative language teaching and learning: A summary for teachers based on a report written by Jonathan Newton, Eric Yates, Sandra Shearn and Werner Nowitzki of Victoria University of Wellington. 2010. Education Counts Publications.

¹⁶⁴ Newton, J. et al. Intercultural Communicative Language Teaching: Implications for effective teaching and learning. The Newton report. Wellington: Ministry of Education. Education Counts Publications, 2009.[Unpublished draft report to the Ministry of Education] [accessed on 2013-09-17] http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/curricultum/an-introduction-to-the-concept-of-intercultural-communicative-language-teaching-and-learning-a-summary-for-teachers/download-report>">http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/

The Council of Europe has formulated language education policies to promote plurilingualism and linguistic diversity points at cultural cooperation and mutual understanding among the participants of Erasmus mobility programme. The Council of Europe's Common European Framework (CEFR) of Reference for Languages draws "on the principles of 'intercultural awareness' and 'intercultural skills' as learner competencies, and refers to the importance of intercultural communication and intercultural experiences besides practical study problems". The Directorate General on Education and Culture places a particular focus on student mobility by indicating that Erasmus is one of the most effective ways of learning other languages and making contact with other cultures.

Education institutions participating in the Erasmus mobility programme expect exchange students to be acquainted with the languages of incoming countries. The most frequently taught and used languages of instruction at European universities are English, followed by German, French, Spanish, Italian. Although EC policy documents on linguistic diversity seem to suggest the promotion of multilingualism, there is a growing tendency for simply learning and using just English as a foreign language in most of the HEIs.

New opportunities for Erasmus students to acquire different languages have been offered when language education in EU has been profoundly modified. From this perspective:

"It is no longer seen as simply to achieve 'mastery' of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the 'ideal native speaker' as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place. This implies, of course, that the languages offered in educational institutions should be diversified and students given the opportunity to develop a plurilingual competence." ¹⁶⁷

Since 1996, specialised language courses in the less widely used and taught languages as part of the Programme have been offered for Erasmus

¹⁶⁵ Council of Europe. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment [interactive] p. 52 [accessed on 2013-10-25] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf>.

¹⁶⁶ Education and Culture DG. Europe in Gear for more Mobility. The Magazine [interactive] 2008, 30: 3-4 [accessed on 2013-10-01].

http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/publications/30_en.pdf.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 13.

students. The aim is to help students to master the basics of native languages through a linguistic and cultural introduction and to achieve levels A-1; A-2; B-1 according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). ¹⁶⁸ The EC statistics illustrates that the number of Intensive Language Courses (ILC) supported has grown tremendously. Some 435 courses were organised in 26 participating countries in 2011-2012, and they have more than doubled as compared to 2005-2006. The highest proportion of incoming students participating in a language course is in Slovenia (19.1%), followed by Croatia (12.7%), Iceland, Romania, Greece and Estonia that had participation rates of between 10 and 11%. ¹⁶⁹

Understanding what students experience during their study period abroad is a very important educational issue as regards their study, linguistic, cultural and personal experiences. The article presents the findings on the incoming Erasmus Exchange Student (2011/2012) multilingual competence and intercultural experience by analysing their linguistic self-evaluation in the context of the study process as well as in the culturally diverse setting.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The paper focuses on incoming Erasmus student self-evaluation of language competence acquired at home and their evaluation of linguistic performance in a host country (Lithuania).

The target group was composed of 26 incoming 2011/2012 Erasmus Exchange Students of different Bachelor study programmes who came to Mykolas Romeris University, Lithuania from France (5), Turkey (5), South Korea (4), Poland (2), Hungary (2), Ukraine (2), Czech Republic (2), Germany (1), Moldova (1), The Netherlands (1), Slovenia (1). The survey participants have been coded by numbers, consequently their real names are not revealed. In the following descriptive analysis, qualitative data was grouped and categorised, disclosing the linguistic readiness of incoming Erasmus exchange students to study at MRU, the problems encountered in academic settings and intercultural dialogue.

¹⁶⁸ Council of Europe. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment [interactive] p. 52. [accessed on 2013-10-25] http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/source/framework_en.pdf>.

¹⁶⁹ European Commission. Erasmus Facts, Figures and Trends, op. cit., p. 4.

The method applied in the research was the qualitative analysis of the data collected through the questionnaire survey developed specifically for this study. Qualitative research methodology, grounded on Myers, 2000¹⁷⁰; Woods, 2006¹⁷¹; Bitinas 2006¹⁷²; Lemke, 1998¹⁷³; Golafshani, 2003¹⁷⁴ was discussed by Užpalienė, Vaičiūnienė (2012),¹⁷⁵ arguing that reflections and experiences are not immediately measurable in percentage terms or scores. Therefore, the qualitative research methodology seemed more appropriate to address the aim of the research as it offered the perspective of the situation, which in the case of this study was related to student self-evaluation of their foreign language/LSP competence and their intercultural experience of studies at MRU.

The instrument of the research was an interview composed of 10 openended questions delivered and collected online. On the basis of those methodological assumptions, the research was conducted by analysing the linguistic self-evaluation of incoming Erasmus students according to the following categories:

- 1. Language competence acquired at home;
- 2. Languages of studies;
- 3. Languages of daily communication.
- 4. Discussion of the results

The research is aimed at analysing the responses of the survey conducted in 2013. The first part of the questionnaire was focused on the languages studied at domestic education institutions and the level

Myers, M., Qualitative Research and the Generalizability Question: Standing Firm with Proteus. The QUALITATIVE REPORT [interactive] 2000, 4 9(¾) [accessed on 2013-09-20].http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR4-3/myers.html>.

¹⁷¹ Woods, P. Qualitative Research. Faculty of Education, University of Plymouth [interactive] 2006. [accessed on 2013- 09 -20]. http://www.edu.plymouth.ac.uk/resined/qualitative%20methods%202/qualrshm.htm#CONTENTS.

¹⁷² Bitinas, B. Edukologinis tyrimas: sistema ir procesas. Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas: Kronta, 2006.

¹⁷³ Lemke, J. L. Analysing Verbal Data: Principles, Methods, and Problems in K. Tobin & B. Fraser, (Eds). International Handbook of Science Education. London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1998, p. 1175-1189.

¹⁷⁴ Golafshani, N. Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. The Qualitative Report [interactive] 2003, 8 (4): 597 – 607. University of Toronto, Canada. [accessed on 2013- 09 -20]. https://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-4/golafshani.pdf>.

¹⁷⁵ Užpalienė, D., Vaičiūnienė, V. op. cit. p. 133-134.

of acquired linguistic competence. The second one was focused on the languages used in the academic environment during the exchange period and the problems encountered. The third part was dedicated to languages of everyday communication and the constraints that students experienced.

2.1. Language proficiency acquired at domestic education institutions

The obtained findings revealed the diversity of languages: nine different languages were studied at domestic education institutions. Table 1 illustrates the distribution of languages studied by the survey respondents/incoming Erasmus students of 2011/2012.

Table 1. Languages studied at domestic institutions
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Languages	Students No
English	26
German	9
Russian	3
Spanish	3
Chinese	3
Japanese	3
Latin	2
French	2
Italian	1

All the survey participants (26) studied English as a foreign language, whereas the proportion of other languages learned at home was respectively lower (see Table 1). The distribution of languages demonstrates the apparent advantage of English over the other foreign languages in education institutions at home. The reported data led to the findings that the variety of foreign languages acquired at home was mainly determined by the location of the country where the respondents came from: e.g. South Korean students studied Chinese, Japanese; Polish students – Russian; Hungarian students – German; Moldavian students – Russian; French students – Spanish, German; Slovenian students – German and Italian.

In spite of the incoming Erasmus student multilingual competence (some of them studied even 3 different languages at home), only 11 out of

26 respondents studied *languages for specific purposes (LSP)* at their home university.

For the processes of effective Erasmus Exchange mobility, respondents were asked to self-evaluate their language proficiency acquired at home as it was important to determine their linguistic competence prior to entering the mobility programme at MRU.

The reported data illustrate that incoming students from different countries acquired knowledge of two or even three languages (main/first, second, third foreign languages), e.g. South Korean respondents acquired knowledge of *English*, *Chinese and Japanese*, a student from Ukraine studied *English*, *German*, *Latin*, but proficiency level in each language was different, e.g. a respondent from Hungary considered "his English language skills relative to studies at MRU..., but German he hadn't used for 5 years and it was difficult".

Self-evaluation of the foreign language competence acquired at home primarily referred to English, because it was the academic study language at MRU. Most of incoming students used Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) as a guideline to measure the levels of language proficiency acquired at home, e. g R9 from Ukraine wrote: "I wasn't scared to speak my intermediate English". Some respondents were more open and added comments, e.g. R3 from Slovenia wrote: "I don't find it was so useful at home. We learned some new words, vocabulary, but we studied just the USA system, we had a professor from the US". The language background acquired at home was considered by R4 from Ukraine "as very good which helped her to be actively enrolled in the lectures from the very beginning". R7 from Czech Republic and R23 from South Korea indicated the advanced level of English by pointing out that they had successfully passed CAE and TOEFL exam, respectively. The respondents from France, Hungary, the Czech Republic assessed their language skills more moderately by indicating that their "level was enough, sufficient, relative or adequate to studies, not a big change." However, some respondents assessed their knowledge and skills by indicating the length of learning a language (R3 described his progress in terms of the period of time (for 10 years) he learned English in Slovenia).

Except for some proficient users (3 out of 26), the majority of incoming respondents, 23 out of 26, evaluated themselves as independent

language users by indicating the intermediate level of language proficiency. The degrees of intermediate competence ranged from *enough*, *sufficient* to *good*, *very good*. In the context of overall *good* self-evaluation there was little feedback (4 out of 26) from Turkish and South Korean respondents who considered that their language proficiency was not enough, *it was* very difficult because they were not provided with English education in their countries. Critical self-evaluation provided evidence that the language skills acquired at home were not adequate for academic studies at MRU.

Level	No of students	Language
Excellent (proficient user C1)	3	English
Very good (independent user B2)	16	English, Chinese
Good (independent users B1)	8	English, German
Satisfactory (basic user A1-A2)	12	English, Spanish, Latin, French Italian, Russian, German

Table 2. Self-assessment of foreign languages acquired at home

The overall report of language skills acquired at home on the global scale of the *CEFR for Languages*¹⁷⁶ illustrates a "language gap", and that language skills are unevenly spread across countries, which corresponds to the findings of this research indicating the uneven importance that HEIs in different countries attach to language learning/teaching.¹⁷⁷

The self-evaluated data on language competence acquired at home also led to the findings that at the stage of the intermediate level of language proficiency most students were orally prepared to use the language of instruction (English) prior to their study at the host university (MRU). Though the respondents' oral skills at this stage of language competence were quite well developed, other skills, such as vocabulary, pronunciation,

¹⁷⁶ Council of Europe. CEFR. op.cit., p. 33.

¹⁷⁷ European Commission. The European Indicator of Language Competence. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council. Brussels 1.8.2005. COM(2005) 356 final. 11, p.5 [accessed on 2013-10-25] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0356:FIN:EN:PDF.

writing, grammar could be lagging behind, e.g. students continued to make some grammatical and spelling mistakes both in written and oral form, they were short of specialised, technical and professional vocabulary, etc.

The data provided imply that education institutions participating in mobility programmes should introduce languages for specific purposes (LSP), and the opportunity to shift from general linguistic competence towards LSP competence should be provided for Erasmus Exchange Students at all home universities.

2.2. Diversity of languages during the Erasmus Mundus Exchange Programme

The study participants of 2011/2012 participating in the survey of 2013 came to MRU, Lithuania, for Erasmus Exchange studies from different countries: France (5), Turkey (5), South Korea (4), Poland (2), Hungary (2), Ukraine (2), Czech Republic (2), Germany (1), Moldova (1), The Netherlands (1), Slovenia (1).

English as the main language of instruction was used by all of the 26 respondents in the study context at MRU. Incoming Erasmus students were provided with the course of intermediate level (CEF level B2) of Legal English (11 respondents) and Business English (15 respondents) by the receiving university (MRU) in Lithuania. This course was for those Erasmus students who needed to refresh their English for law or business studies (15 out of 26) or who had no Legal or Business English as languages of specific purposes at domestic universities (11 respondents out of 26).

By encouraging incoming students to learn more than one foreign language, to communicate and interact across cultural boundaries, MRU provided the incoming students of 2011/2012 with the *basics of the Lithuanian language*. This "survival" course of Lithuanian was based on actual communication (i.e. listening comprehension and speaking; reading and writing were taught only as supportive skills). Learning the Lithuanian language was combined with insights into local culture.

Analysis of student responses concerning language competence at MRU highlighted particular patterns that were categorised according to languages and factors having caused language-related problems and difficulties (see Table 3 and Table 4).

Table 3.Language comprehension difficulties by the number of students

Factors that caused study and communication problems	No of students
Lack of specific professional vocabulary and phrases	15
Dialect, intonation, pronunciation, accent of native speakers	12
Lack of grammar competence	9
Lack of word knowledge (not adequate vocabulary)	8
Lack of general social knowledge	6
Lack of general foreign language experience	6
Teachers' foreign language inefficiency	6
Language competence of university staff, locals, students	6
Misinterpretation of another person's meaning	5
Lack of knowledge of the particular subject	5
Psychological problems (motivation, etc.)	5
Complexity of study subjects	4
Speed of presenting information	4
Sophisticated lecturing	3
Unusual study culture/atmosphere	3
Study techniques (methods)	3
Nonverbal behaviour (e.g., gesture, facial expression, body posture)	2
Speed of information presenting	2
Study requirements and order	1
Technologies	1

Further analysis of the problems that hindered incoming student learning process allowed distinguishing four categories of language-related problems:

- Lack of language proficiency
- Complexity of the study subject
- Lecturing
- Cross-cultural issues (see Table 4).

Table 4. Categories of language-related problems

Category	Factor	
Lack of language	Lack of specific/professional/special vocabulary and phrases (15)	
proficiency	Lack of fluency in speaking (14)	
	Lack of general vocabulary (12)	
	Lack of grammar competence, e.g. tenses (9)	
	Lack of word knowledge, not adequate vocabulary (8)	
	Lack of general foreign language experience (6)	
	Difficulties of language comprehension (3)	
	Pronunciation (8)	
	Spelling mistakes (3)	
Complexity of	Lack of knowledge of the particular subject (5)	
Study subject	Complexity of study subjects (4)	
	Difficulties in doing LSP (Legal English, Business English) tasks (4)	
	Study techniques (methods) (3)	
	Difficulties to exchange ideas (2)	
	Study requirements and order (1)	
	Technologies (1)	
Lecturing	Teachers' foreign language competence (6)	
	Misinterpretation (5)	
	Speed of presenting information (4)	
	Lecturers' accent (3)	
	Sophisticated lecturing (3)	
Intercultural	Speakers' dialect, intonation, pronunciation, accent (12)	
issues	Communication difficulties because of poor language skills of locals,	
	students, teachers, university staff (6)	
	Lack of general social knowledge (6)	
	Psychological problems (motivation, fear, shyness, etc. (5)	
	Unusual study culture/atmosphere (3)	
	Relationship with people,	
	Non-verbal behaviour (e.g., gesture, facial expression, body posture) (2)	

The reported data of the research into incoming Erasmus participant experiences and reflections revealed 4 top language competence-related problems at MRU: the lack of vocabulary for specific purposes (15), the lack of fluency in speaking (14), the lack of general vocabulary (12), the native speakers' accent, dialect, intonation, pronunciation (12).

2.3. Languages used for intercultural communication

Going for the Erasmus exchange programme to Lithuania was a good opportunity for incoming students to advance their language of instruction (English) in academic settings, also to learn and practice other languages in

daily communication (see Table 5). Apart from the opportunity to advance their language of instruction, students also had an opportunity to practice other languages.

Newton et al. (2009),¹⁷⁸ Rivers (2010)¹⁷⁹ introduce the concept and practice of intercultural communicative language teaching and learning by presenting a model of intercultural communicative competence of five components: attitudes; knowledge; skills for interpreting and relating; skills for discovering and interacting; and awareness. The above-mentioned components are for successful communication, interaction and mutual understanding.

Table 5.	Languages	in daily	communication

Languages	No respondents
English	26
German	4
Lithuanian	4
Russian	3
Polish	1
French	1
Body language	1

Although only English was used in daily communication by almost all respondents, the use of other languages applied in every day communication in Lithuania convincingly demonstrates their diversity, i.e. Russian, Polish, German, French, Lithuanian. Incoming students sometimes tried to speak Lithuanian as much as possible, asked questions and information, Russian, Polish were important to speak to and understand locals who didn't speak

¹⁷⁸ Newton, J. et al. Intercultural Communicative Language Teaching: Implications for effective teaching and learning. The Newton report. Wellington: Ministry of Education. Education Counts Publications, 2009. [Unpublished draft report to the Ministry of Education] [accessed on 2013-09-17] http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/curricultum/an-introduction-to-the-concept-of-intercultural-communicative-language-teaching-and-learning-a-summary-for-teachers/download-report>">http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/

¹⁷⁹ Rivers, J. An introduction to the concept of intercultural communicative language teaching and learning: A summary for teachers based on a report written by Jonathan Newton, Eric Yates, Sandra Shearn and Werner Nowitzki of Victoria University of Wellington. 2010. Education Counts Publications.

English; German was used to communicate with the students of German speaking countries (R2, R3, R13, R19).

The generalisation of the surveyed reflections of the incoming Erasmus students on languages of communication highlighted common patterns:

Firstly, among six languages employed in daily communication *not* only English was used as an instrument of communication.

Secondly, thanks to the opportunities to *communicate with friends*, *locals*, *university staff*, *security staff*, *salespeople* etc., to *hear different languages* and practice them beyond the classroom walls learning of languages extended to better intercultural awareness.

Thirdly, in intercultural communication most commondifficulties were caused by:

- speaker (native or non-native accents) dialects, intonation, pronunciation.
- low language proficiency level of native speakers (locals, students, teachers, university staff, etc),
- lack of incoming students' general social knowledge,
- incoming students' insufficiency of linguistic competence
- psychological problems (motivation, fear, shyness, etc.),
- non-verbal behaviour (e.g. gesture, facial expression, body posture).

On the one hand, communication with fellow students, friends, university lecturers and each other extended academic learning to a more informal environment and enriched respondents both from the cultural and linguistic point of view. On the other hand, lack of the incoming students' foreign language competence (other than English) and the low foreign language level of some locals, university staff, security guard, other students resulted in communication constraints (R6, R7, R24).

CONCLUSIONS

The findings on the incoming Erasmus exchange student self-evaluation of language/LSP competence prior to study at the host university in Lithuania, problems encountered while applying their knowledge and language skills in academic settings at MRU and intercultural dialogue imply that:

 the opportunity to shift from a focus on general linguistic competence towards language competence for specific purposes should be pro-

- vided for all Erasmus exchange students prior to study exchange, as it is closely related to academic study achievement;
- at the intermediate level of language proficiency, most of the target group students (22 out of 26) were prepared to use English orally prior to their studies at MRU. However, other knowledge and skills, such as writing, vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation were lagging behind;
- the main language competence-related problems at the host university were: lack of vocabulary for specific purposes, lack of fluency, lack of general vocabulary, native speakers' accent, dialect, intonation, pronunciation:
- language skills are unevenly spread across countries, depending on the importance which HEIs in different countries attach to language learning. In spite of the advantage of English as the most popular language used in studies, the surveyed students acquired knowledge and skills of Lithuanian that created an added value in the overall context of exchange programme studies;
- other languages (German, Russian, Polish, Lithuanian, French) were also used in daily communication, which expanded student understanding of cultural diversity and created positive environment for intercultural dialogue. Communication extended learning and made studying more interesting, enriched incoming students educationally, culturally and personally. However, different language proficiency levels of incoming Erasmus students and native speakers resulted in some communication difficulties.

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ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE STUDIES AT VILNIUS UNIVERSITY: CURRICULUM CHALLENGES AND ISSUES

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ABSTRACT

The curriculum makers of Asian Studies in general and Japanese Studies in particular at Vilnius University are laying emphasis on the linguistic fluency as the basic determinant of the syllabus. Since the instructors working in the field of Japanese Studies have training rooted in the Russian Oriental school, reading classes of either modern or classical texts, ever since the introduction of the Japanese course, have been accepted as the fundamental component of the BA programme. Recently, however, new notions are being taken into consideration based especially on the fact that the students demonstrate unwillingness to work with the printed materials and reveal propensity of absorbing fragmented knowledge based on the visual information. This tendency is leading towards making a conceptual shift away from the heretofore practices of traditional Japanology.

Keywords: Japanese Studies, syllabus, undergraduate course modules, area studies, linguistic fluency, learning environment

INTRODUCTION

Academic institutions confront new challenges as the level of student engagement in classroom activities is influenced by a growing variety of visual and interactive possibilities outside the traditional learning environment. Curriculum is a plan to foster student's academic development and to enhance an integration of various kinds of knowledge. As access to this knowledge becomes more diverse, the necessity arrises to reexamine the course outline of Japanese Studies, suggesting new approaches towards the classical methods of learning, especially with regard to text reading. The problem of putting theory into practice is discussed on the empirical basis of finding new balance between traditional and modern teaching methods in the process of restructuring the Japanese Studies section as part of the Asian Studies programme at Vilnius University.

1. HISTORY OF ASIAN STUDIES AT VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

Vilnius University, founded in 1579, is one of the oldest universities in Eastern Europe. The University, nevertheless, had never had either Japanese, Chinese or East-Asian studies before a course of the Japanese language was opened for University students in 1992 at the Faculty of Philology. In 1993, when the Japanese section merged with the Sanskrit branch which had been set in motion a year earlier, the Center of Oriental Studies came into being, and additional classes of Chinese, Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, Korean, etc., were offered. This was the start of the modern era of Asian studies in Lithuania.

There were, as it happens, much earlier attempts to introduce Asian studies at Vilnius University, although the success was rather moderate. 2010 marked the bicentenary of the foundation of the first Department of the Eastern Languages at Vilnius University. The Department was indeed officially founded in 1810, but the whole project did not go beyond the official record in the University archives since there was no one to take over the position of the head of the Department. Then again, the fascination with the East did frequently develop into serious academic research. In 1822, the Arabic Language was incorporated into the University curriculum, to be followed by Persian four years later.

In 1832, the University was, however, closed by the Tsar of Russia, and it was the end of the Oriental ambition at that moment in time, even though several of the University's alumni later became Asian specialists of world renown. Osip Kovalevsky (1801–1858), for example, pioneered Mongol studies at Kazan University, Russia, and later became its Rector; while Osip Senkovsky (1800–1858) headed the Department of Arabic and Turkish at St. Petersburg University. Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918), a Polish cultural anthropologist who conducted famous research on the Ainu ethnic group, had also lived in Vilnius. During the Soviet times, when Lithuania was not encouraged by the occupational authorities to set up academic institutions designed for non-European studies, a special status at the reopened Vilnius University was nevertheless enjoyed by Indian studies because of the common linguistic roots between Lithuanian and Sanskrit, although the Sanskrit course itself was not of an adequate scale.

It could be said, however, that the Asian studies project was carried out most successfully at the end of the twentieth century, when Lithuania finally regained independence. In spite of the linguistic sentiment towards Sanskrit on the Lithuanian part, it is the Japanese department that continues to attract the largest number of students who also have the best grades, and it is equally stable in expanding its admission capacity.

2. FEASABILITY OF THE JAPANESE STUDY PROGRAMME

Average entrance grade for the Japanese Department is high and remains on essentially the same level or even demonstrates an increasing tendency, which proves that the competition is serious and it ensures that only the best entrants are selected. It also allows for the standards of future studies to be set by the best students.

The groups of students who enter different specialisations of the Asian Studies Programme are small, not exceeding 14 persons (larger numbers are divided into two groups for the language-learning classes). Such practice allows the teaching staff to follow closely the academic performance of each student and to pay appropriate attention to the supervision of their academic papers and individual projects. It ensures that the students who enter the Japanese Department of the Center of Oriental Studies with excellent grades maintain stable progress in general and become elite graduates of the University. Despite rather high drop-out rates, the students who choose to pursue their studies till the end and submit their final papers can be regarded as motivated persons with professional attitude toward their chosen field.

The Students of the Japanese Department also have very good possibilities (if compared to the students from other departments at Vilnius University) to participate in a wide range of mobility programmes at Japanese Universities as well as European Universities under the ERASMUS programme according to the field of their specialisation. This has a good impact on their professional motivation, effectively improves their knowledge, and increases their competitiveness in future carrier, especially when it comes to securing the most suitable jobs as specialists on the Japanese culture and language.

Students and alumni of the Japanese study programme successfully integrate themselves into the job market immediately after graduation or even during their studies, and more than half of them make use of the specific knowledge and skills obtained at the Center of Oriental Studies.

The channels have recently been diversified through which potential applicants are informed about the contents and requirements of the studies. One such step has already been taken when a series of public lectures on various aspects of Asian studies were organised by the faculty of the Center of Oriental Studies in spring 2013 on the occasion of the 20 anniversary of the modern Center in order to reach as broad an audience as possible. The Japanese Department was represented by Dr. Agnė Steponavičiūtė, a specialist in Japanese popular culture.

Measures have also been taken to include into the Japanese studies curriculum courses of more practical value, hoping to raise possibilities of the future graduates to use their competences acquired at the Center of Oriental Studies more actively.

3. LINGUISTIC FLUENCY AS AN ADVANCE POINT

It is not a coincidence that the Japanese Studies took off as a language course, and an optional one, at the very beginning. Asian Studies (and Japanese Studies are not an exception), have a widespread association on a popular level in Lithuania with the command of a language or languages of the region, and that was the starting point of Vilnius University as well.

The initial language course developed into a Japanese minor diploma programme just in two years, and the faculty of the Japanese Department was entrusted with the task to design the curriculum and carry it out according to the plan. The programme had a strong leaning towards classical Japanology, which concentrated on language-learning, as well as reading and analysis of the texts of various periods although, naturally, there were also courses on culture, history, religion and art of Japan.

Since the first teachers of the programme, including myself, were graduates of St. Petersburg University (the then Leningrad University), the tendencies of the Russian Oriental schools were predominant as reflected in the syllabus. Even classical Japanese texts were read, and a huge project of compiling a Japanese-Lithuanian character dictionary was started. The project was the graduation work of 16 students who chose Japanese as a minor discipline, and they received academic credits for their work, although it was built on entirely voluntary basis. The students cooperated in selecting words and compounds to be entered into the dictionary, and

checking their meanings against English dictionaries and, in some cases, Russian or German ones. After several years of intense work, the dictionary was published by one of the largest publishing houses in Lithuania, "Alma Littera", with the support of the Japan Foundation and Research Council of Lithuania, and it remains to date the most significant teaching tool in the Lithuanian language for the students of Japanese.

In 2000, the next step in the process of developing Oriental Studies was taken by Vilnius University, and the programme of Comparative Asian Studies was launched which for the first time offered a full B. A. degree in Asian studies in Lithuania, including Japanese Studies. New teachers started coming in for various discipline courses in the Japanese Department.

The Programme aimed at preparing qualified specialists with a broad spectrum of academic knowldege in the field of Humanities. Among its educational objectives were analysis and research of cultural evolution in the major geographical regions of Asia, intercultural communication, and prospects of collaboration with Asian countries, particularly Japan.

Still, language classes occupied major part of the programme, and classical Chinese was introduced for the first time for both students of the Chinese and the Japanese departments. This development was also a legacy of the Russian-style guidance for it was compulsory for the students who majored in Japanese philology at Leningrad University during the Soviet period to not only have solid knowledge of classical Japanese but also to complete three-year studies of classical Chinese texts. The Japanese studies at the second biggest Asian-language academic center in Russia leaned so strongly towards classical texts that the command of contemporary Chinese or the ability to pronounce characters in the Chinese way was not even considered a priority, although students were expected to read and understand Chinese texts of different epochs.

4. NEW RESEARCH TRENDS AT THE JAPANESE DEPARTMENT

Although in the Japanese language pedagogy, the teachers proceed largely by intuition, influenced by individual language background and experience, and, in many cases, by their academic interests, the Oriental scholars of the old school, who were predominantly textual scholars in the

beginning, have shown that they are able at least to translate a text that has not been translated before, even if they did not refer to modern theories.

At the same time, we are encouraged to generate the knowledge that might be interesting to people outside Japan studies, since the spatial frameworks of understanding are in some respects obstacles that make the nature of the contemporary world system less visible and comprehensible.

As the programme of Asian studies advanced at Vilnius University and the first graduates appeared, some of them were invited to join the teaching personnel of the Center of Oriental Studies. Traditions, however, were not necessarily stuck to, because ex-students of Vilnius University who are currently enrolled in the faculty had continued their studies abroad, such as Jurgita Polonskaitė, who has completed her graduate studies of modern Japanese literature in Japan, or the recent newcomer to the Japanese teaching staff Dr. Ramūnas Motiekaitis with fluency in both Japanese music and Japanese philosoply, who submitted his PhD thesis to the University of Helsinki and is at present doing research at Nanzan University under the Canon Foundation Fellowship for Postdoctoral Research. New research themes were offered, and new courses introduced thanks to their efforts. All of the recent developments contributed to the idea of leading the programme away from the rather limited heretofore perception that the so-called applied "Area Studies should seek to advance knowledge by providing data for the existing disciplines and authorities via translation" 180

Although the BA graduates of Japanese studies are offered an opportunity to enter the MA programme of Modern Asian Studies offered by the Center of Oriental Studies, most of them choose to and are encouraged to pursue their further academic career at other universities both in and outside of Lithuania in order to deepen their professional experience. As a result, the graduates of the Department continue their studies at both Japanese and European universities, and the Centre of Oriental Studies itself has constant and generous support of the Embassy of Japan, which helps to keep the programme going and improving so that it constantly refreshes itself with new courses and new teachers.

¹⁸⁰ Goto-Jones, C. What is Modern Japan Studies? Towards a Constructive Critique of Epistemic Violence [interactive]. Leiden: University of Leiden, 2007, p. 6.

It could also be said that the Japanese Studies at Vilnius University are experiencing shift towards new disciplines, such as visual anthropology, cultural studies and even economics, which have less to do with the analysis of written texts and traditional Sinology or Japanology. Convening in the classroom and reading texts in either Japanese or Chinese is becoming a more and more outdated idea, which holds no attraction for the students.

5. TRIGGERING OF INTERACTIVE MATERIAL

The traditional concentration on reading skills in foreign language instruction is been replaced by the emphasis on oral communication, and language-learning classes have to be reconsidered along these new lines with a lot of video and audio material available on the Internet for free. Even dictionaries are only used by the present-day students as long as they are electronic ones and do not involve any page-turning by hand. For this reason, English dictionaries are also often preferred over the Lithuanian one because the latter is only available in a paper-book format.

With the culture absorbing and responding to the explosion of new media technologies, "participatory culture is emerging" 181. It has, therefore, become harder to design classes of classical languages which are esentially based on texts. As a result, the time alloted for the classical languages has been reduced drastically in the newly built curriculum based on the module system which was introduced in 2011. And it is necessary to reform the traditional methods of teaching classical languages although it is not easy to fit video material into the classes on the linguistic intricacies of the *Analects* of Confucius or the chronicles of Japan from the 8th century such as *Kojiki*. One of the opportunities for making those already reduced hours of text-reading more attractive to the students is an employment of the possibilities of Virtual Learning Environment (VLE) on a larger scale, and the Center of Oriental Studies of Vilnius University is successfully working towards the goal. It is also possible to incorporate filmed lectures, and documentary programs discussing the issues.

¹⁸¹ Jenkins, H., et al. Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2009, p. 9.

6. BENEFITS OF THE TEXT-BASED LEARNING

The reading classes which dominated much of the language courses in previous years have not, however, been fruitless. The students of the Japanese department have actively participated in the interactive competition of literary translations "I want to be a translator" organized by the the Lithuanian Association of Literary Translators, and have been declared overall winners more than once. Lithuania is also keeping in very good pace with the boom of Haruki Murakami with eight volumes of his novels published over the recent period of seven years, and reacting to the prestige and attraction of the Nobel awards with the translations of the novels by both Kawabata Yasunari and Ōe Kenzaburō. All the translators from Japanese are either instructors or graduates of the Center of Oriental Studies.

On the other hand, the reduction of the share of classical languages in the present syllabus does not signify any change in the key strategy of Vilnius University which aims to provide solid grounding in generally relevant modern language education. Through learning a language, students, firstly, identify their interests with a particular nation or nations. Secondly, the encounter with a new language and with a foreign culture through the language is of critical importance in forming attitudes and establishing study procedures.

7. CONTEXT-SENSITIVE STUDIES

It is obvious, nevertheless, that Japanology took irreversible turn towards Japanese Studies as the development of East Asian studies shifted emphasis toward an area knowledge of contemporary Asia, away from a concentration on the historical, "oriental" civilizations, and the theory started to dominate over the translation. The shift occurred at the end of the Cold War as area studies scholars in collaboration with governments and private entities set out "to explore unknown world areas so as to deparochialize knowledge on human development which was in the past centered in the West." 182

It has also been natural reaction to the challenge of the decreasing attractiveness of the traditional European-type humanities based firmly on the

¹⁸² Quiñanola, A. On the Brink of Scientific Revolution: Problematizing the Sciencehood of Area Studies. PEAR Yonsei Journal for International Studies. 2011 2(1), p. 128.

study of language and literature, and the increasing popularity of degree programmes containing more elements of social sciences and disciplines which allow them to respond adequately to market signals and global dynamics.

What is intended to be produced by the new modules of the programme of Asian Studies, and Japanese Studies as a part of it, can, therefore, be called context-sensitive area studies with interdisciplinary collaboration. The programme is aimed at educating professionals of Japanese cultures skilled in theory-, practice- and value-oriented understanding of and critical engagement with the culture and the society of the area studied, and capable to identify and resolve basic problems relevant to governmental, NGO and business sectors that require interdisciplinary approach and demonstration of international and intercultural attitudes, especially considering the fact that the field is dominated by the English-language academic texts written by U.S.-based scholars.

At the same time, the old emphasis of area studies programmes on producing PhDs has been replaced by the central focus on undergraduate education, and fostering the graduates possessing ability to communicate efficiently in the language of the area continues to be the central focus for the syllabus. Curriculum makers at the Department of Asian Studies of Vilnius University remain, therefore, committed to the particularity of Japan, by emphasising the language-learning classes as the basic element of the course which also ensures that the translation services are provided, if necessary.

In the process, we offer practical skills to our students with emphasis on the elementary and intermediate knowledge of modern Japanese language despite the fact that the hours alloted to the language classes in the present curriculum framework based on the modules as well as sets of modules have been reduced. One of the side effects of such changes as reflected in the new Asian Studies curriculum is that the acquisition of a second Asian language which has been compulsory for each student of the Center of Oriental Studies (the students of Japanese had a compulsory course in Chinese, and vice versa) is now based on optional choice. The classes of advanced Japanese have also moved from the division of compulsory modules to the segment of optional modules.

In order to achieve the level of linguistic proficiency in the Japanese language classes as had been preconditioned by the previous curriculum

settings, it is, therefore, also required of the teachers to further consider innovative methods of introducing visual and interactive materials into the classrooms, and enhance the in-person interactions in developing the reading competences of the students.

8. NOVEL APPROACH TO READING CLASSES

The basic form of teaching and learning is the informative process with a teacher and a student involved. In university education, where independent work and research occupy an important place, a special educational environment is needed, consisting of both traditional and online instructive tools, such as virtual learning platforms.

A forthcoming project of creating an anthology of Japanese literary writing by the faculty of the Center of Oriental Studies takes into consideration the prevailing challenges and is a major attempt to serve the changing needs of the Lithuanian student. It adopts as the starting point a notion of the effectiveness of domestic materials in cross-cultural interaction, and their potential to generate knowledge which might also be appealing to people outside Japanese studies. In the process of laying and strengthening the foundations for future Japanese studies in the curriculum of Lithuanian universities without rejecting the tradition-based learning, it is also of critical importance to consider what Japanese texts should be selected for the translation into the Lithuanian language and for the introduction to the Lithuanian students and general reading public.

Learning to read Japanese texts remains an important issue in the course of shaping Japanese-language skills and knowledge of Japanese culture, since it reflects the context in which social communication takes place. In the perspective of illuminating that context, it is important to produce basic teaching materials for the use of Vilnius University students that would compensate for the reduced contact hours at the classroom. A Lithuanian-language anthology of Japanese written texts could be an important option in guiding the students during their independent study hours, which make an even more significant part of their total workload under recent curricula regulations.

University students of area studies work with texts both in literary area and extra-literary areas (e.g., sociology, religion studies, history,

arts, economics, gender studies, etc.), and the literary texts can be both "canonical" and "non-canonical" ones (like popular literature). The anthology, as we see it, would deal with the canon rather than non-canon, but if major Japanese canonical texts are to be introduced through translations into Lithuanian, it is important to consider which texts are those major ones that would help familiarise the students of the Japanese language, and maybe even the broader public, with Japanese writing and ideas. It is also necessary to decide as to the extent that social, historical and ideological context should be explained to the reader.

And should, for instance, both out of respect to the tradition and for pragmatic purposes, Chinese texts be included, and not only those written in Japan as part of the Japanese literary core but also in China, for instance, the description of Yamataikoku in the Chinese chronicle *Wei zhi* (ca. 297) comprising the first section of the *San Guo Zhi* (Records of the Three Kingdoms).

One way or another, our primary task would be to select the most representative texts of literature, philosophy and religion which would provide general knowledge of the Japanese literary traditions and history of thought from ancient times to early modernity, much of which could be relevant to the reading of modern works of fiction and understanding of modern cultural texts as well. The anthology is hence planned to be designed in such a way that selected texts in their full length (if they are rather short) or as excerpts will be provided in both Lithuanian translations and Japanese original form and preceded by brief introductions in Lithuanian about the authors and the circumstances of their creation.

While we concentrate on introducing each text on its own terms, we will also be making comparisons and probably following some common themes throughout the book. The format of the anthology would be based on chronological periodisation, although concepts of genre, and literary movements, as well as values and concerns of the times, would also be considered.

The most important point, however, is to make the anthology available online on the basis of Virtual Learning Environment for the University students, as is the case with *An Introduction to the History of Japan* written in the Lithuanian language which has already been submitted for publication

in an e-book format so that it could be used as a complimentary tool fitting into the syllabus module of the History of Japan.

CONCLUSIONS

The steady development of technology seems to offer an opportunity to overcome, at least in part, the confines of the classical Japanese Studies based on text reading, by employing visual materials as well as making use of the possibilies of more independent studies and in-person education provided by the emerging virtual learning platforms. The important task in designing guidelines for Japanese classes is to achieve a balanced proportion between language-teaching and the disciplines without obscuring the programme contents and loosing the competences necessary for the translation of the Japanese texts into Lithuanian which provide the means of direct access to the wider audiences of the country. Modern instruments of teaching are only effective if they reinforce the interest in the subject-matter and serve the learning outcomes.

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BRIDGING THE GAPS THROUGH INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS

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ABSTRACT

Most definitions of culture include a reference to a system of shared beliefs, values, customs or behaviors that are transmitted from generation to generation through learning. While for a considerable amount of time research has been conducted in order to demonstrate the uniqueness of various cultures, lately a new term has emerged: intercultural competence. Cultures are no longer seen as separate from one another, but a great deal of effort is put into finding those skills that enable one to understand and respect people who are perceived to have different cultural affiliations from oneself, to respond appropriately, effectively and respectfully when interacting and communicating with such people, to establish positive and constructive relationships with such people and to understand oneself and one's own multiple cultural affiliations through encounters with cultural 'difference' 183. Our paper presents the case of two remote cultures - the Japanese and the Romanian ones - coming in contact in the field of language and culture education. We present and briefly analyse two particular instances where Romanian students of Japanese created a framework of mutual cultural understanding: a sketch presented at the annual festival of the students at the Japanese Department of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University in Bucharest and a study meeting on *senryū*, held in 2012 in Bucharest.

Keywords: intercultural competence, globalisation, intercultural encounter, Japanese language learning, informal education.

INTRODUCTION

For a considerably large number of people, stepping into the 21st century meant becoming aware of the necessity of having access to information. While the spread of the internet had already begun before the year 2000, the past ten years witnessed an amazing development of technology, which has implications in numerous areas of our everyday life: transportation, communication, mass media etc. Culture was no exception to the rule, the

¹⁸³ Barret, M., et al. Developing Intercultural Competence through Education. Report for Council of Europe, Directorate General II, 2013 [accesssed on 2013–09–02], http://hub.coe.int/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=9396761c-aea8-43f3-86a6-c105b45ef756&groupId=10227.

change in the medium of transmission bringing about changes both in the content of cultural products as well as in the way in which culture itself is understood. We witnessed a shift from cultural to intercultural. Cultures are no longer perceived as isolated from one another, but more and more as interconnected and intermingled, since nowadays people can reach – virtually or in reality – very remote places with very little effort. This type of accessibility forces the present-day society to change its cultural paradigm as well. While this process is still in the making, one cannot deny that new attitudes and different approaches in dealing with cultural realities are necessary.

1. (RE)DEFINING CULTURE

Culture has been defined and explained by numerous scholars over time. According to the simple dictionary definition, culture is "the ideas, customs and social behavior of a particular people or society"184. The dictionary definition follows closely the ideas of the famous anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), who first defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".185 More recently, G. Hofstede has defined culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another." 186 Other definitions view culture as consisting primarily of the symbolic, ideational, and intangible aspects of human societies. "The essence of a culture is not its artifacts, tools, or other tangible cultural elements but how the members of the group interpret, use, and perceive them. It is the values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives that distinguish one people from another in modernized societies; it is not material objects and other tangible aspects of human societies. People within a culture usually interpret the meaning of symbols, artifacts, and behaviors in the same or in similar ways". In the past, most

¹⁸⁴ www.oxforddictionaries.com.

¹⁸⁵ Tylor, E. B. Primitive Culture: Researches Into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom, Volume 1. London: John Murray, 1871, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Hofstede, G. National cultures and corporate cultures. In L.A. Samovar & R.E. Porter (Eds.), Communication Between Cultures. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1984, p. 51.

¹⁸⁷ Kupper, A. Culture: The anthropolgists account. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.

anthropologists accepted a broad conception of culture as a shared way of life that included values, beliefs, and norms transmitted within a particular society from generation to generation. From a sociological point of view, culture thus appears to have several characteristics which surface regardless of the society under study: culture is learned; culture is shared; culture is based on symbols; culture is adaptive and changing.

Culture is not genetically inherited, but it is acquired through the process of enculturation. Our learning of culture is based on our linguistic and cognitive abilities to symbolise. Humans have the unique ability to extract the essence of complex events and patterns in an abstract way and to create images through symbols while attaching meaning to them. Culture is thus the historical accumulation of symbolic knowledge that is shared by a society. This symbolic knowledge is transmitted from parents to children through learning and it can change over generations.

The understanding of culture as a set of values and beliefs that are characteristic for a particular society has been accepted and used for more than a century. However, the introduction of the world wide web into our everyday life and the development that it has witnessed in the recent years call for a wider - or different - definition of culture. Contact between cultures has already become the norm in today's society. Globalisation brought about the awareness of The Other, as well as the necessity to develop strategies of incorporating The Other into our everyday lives. We no longer develop inside the boundaries of our national or regional cultures, but are exposed to and made to acknowledge, if not necessarily accept, the existence of other cultural spaces. Cross-cultural approaches are not, however, products of the 21st century. Throughout history, people have been interested in cultural diversity and they have identified differences in the values, beliefs or practices around the world. Whenever different groups have come in contact with one another, people have compared and contrasted their respective cultural traditions. Commerce, wars, conquests or pilgrimages are all examples of intercultural contact in the past. However, all these forms of contact have been rather isolated or affected only a particular community, society or region. The degree to which intercultural contact is experienced in today's world is unprecedented, hence the necessity for creating new strategies to cope with the new reality.

1.1. Interculturalism

Although the issue of various types of relations that can occur among cultures has been of interest to many researchers, scholars, social or political bodies, nowhere can this idea be better seen than in Europe and especially in the activity of the Council of Europe. With its heterogeneous structure – be it ethnic, political, linguistic or cultural – Europe provides a very suitable space to create and develop theories about culture. Diversity is, undoubtedly, a defining feature of the European continent. Throughout time, diversity has been either ignored or even denied (see, for example, the guest-worker approaches or the assimilationist approaches) or overemphasised, as multiculturalism did. Lately, the terms interculturality or interculturalism were started to refer to a specific type of relations between cultures. In the documents of the Council of Europe's Intercultural Cities Programme, interculturalism is defined as a rather new concept which explicitly refers to "recognising the value of diversity while doing everything possible to increase interaction, mixing and hybridisation between cultural communities". 188 The prefix inter-, as pointed out by Anne Lavanchy, Anahy Gajardo and Fred Dervin, shows that while cultures are separated from one another, they can be connected to one another by 'intercultural translators' or facilitators who can create bridges between different cultures.189

A term that interculturalism is often compared to is multiculturalism. Although they both share the root "culture", there are however differences in the interpretation of the two concepts. While multiculturalism "underlines the unique value of each culture and encourages the development of policies to preserve minority and migrant cultures, it has also often provoked rivalry between ethnic communities for access to power and resources, and has unwillingly increased ethnic ghettoisation, interculturality recognises strongly the need to enable each culture to survive and flourish but underlines also the right of all cultures to contribute to the cultural landscape of the society they are present in. Interculturality derives from the understanding that cultures thrive only in contact with other cultures,

¹⁸⁸ http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/cities/Interculturality_en.pdf.

¹⁸⁹ Fred Dervin, Anahy Gajardoand Anne Lavanchy (eds.). Politics of Interculturality. New-castle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, p. 5.

not in isolation. It seeks to reinforce inter-cultural interaction as a means of building trust and reinforcing the fabric of the community."¹⁹⁰

1.1.1. Intercultural competence

If one were to characterise the world of today with only one word, probably globalisation would immediately come to mind. There is no doubt that we live in a globalised world, which forces us to constantly interact, communicate and collaborate with people belonging to different cultural spaces. Communication, media and travel have developed to a point where it is possible to come in contact with some of the most remote places on earth and people having the most diverse cultural backgrounds have come to live and work together. This unprecedented development of the possibilities of accessing another territory leads to the necessity of being equipped with the knowledge and skills to behave in a manner that would not create conflict situations. The term intercultural competence has been introduced to refer to "the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive or behavioral orientations to the world." ¹⁹¹ The definition of intercultural competence is not, however, a simple matter. Competence can be used in its narrow sense, referring to someone's ability to do something; however, competence can also be understood beyond the meaning of "skill", as a "combination of attitudes, knowledge, understanding and skills applied through action in any relevant situation. Competence is the capacity to respond successfully to types of situations which present tasks, difficulties or challenges for the individual, either singly or together with others."192 Intercultural competence must necessarily include the ability to step beyond one's own culture and interact effectively with individuals from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Intercultural competence is not an end-product or a result, but can rather be regarded as an ongoing learning process which will gradually make one more open and flexible in contact with unfamiliar cultures. This process is carried out in the course of various intercultural encounters. An intercultural encounter has

¹⁹⁰ http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/cities/Interculturality_en.pdf.

¹⁹¹ Spitzberg, B. and Changnon, G. Conceptualizing Intercultural Competence, in Darla K. Deardroff (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence*. California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2009, p. 7.

¹⁹² Barret, M., et al., 2013.

been defined as "an encounter with another person (or group of people) that is perceived to have different cultural affiliations from oneself. Such encounters may take place either face-to-face or virtually through, for example, social or communications media. An interpersonal encounter becomes an intercultural encounter when cultural differences are perceived and made salient either by the situation or by the individual's own orientation and attitudes." Thus, in an intercultural interaction, one does not respond to the other person on the basis of their own individual personal characteristics – instead, one responds to them on the basis of their affiliation to another culture or set of cultures. In such situations, intercultural competence is required to achieve harmonious interaction and successful dialogue.

Deardorff's study on intercultural competence presents it as a pyramid-model in which lower levels enhance higher levels¹⁹⁴:

Table 1

Desired External Outcome

Behaving and communicating effectively and appropriately (based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills and attitudes) to achieve one's goal to some degree

Desired Internal Outcome Informed frame of reference/filter shift

- Adaptability (to different communication styles and behaviors; adjustment to new cultural environments)
- Flexibility (selecting and using appropriate communication styles and behavior; cognitive flexibility)
- · Ethnorelative view
- Empathy

Knowledge and comprehension

- · Cultural self awareness
- Deep understanding and knowledge of culture (including contexts, role and impact of culture and others' worldviews)
- · Culture-specific information
- Sociolinguistic awareness

Skills

- Listen
- Observe
- Interpret
- Analyse
- Evaluate
- Relate

Requisite attitudes

- Respect (valuing other cultures, cultural diversity)
- Openness (to intercultural learning and to people from other cultures, withholding judgment)
- Curiosity and discovery (tolerating ambiguity and uncertainty)

¹⁹³ Barret, M., et al., 2013.

¹⁹⁴ Spitzberg, B. and Changnon, G., 2009, p. 13.

As seen in Table 1, in order to achieve intercultural competence, one must first possess certain attitudes and behavior. These constitute the basis for further knowledge about interculturality and will also be the foundation for the necessary skills. As a result of the combination of these factors, an internal outcome is first achieved, the respective person becoming adaptive, flexible and empathic with people from different cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, the last level of the pyramid is represented by the external outcome, where all the attitudes, knowledge, skills and internal changes become explicit in one's behavior and actions towards people from a different culture.

1.1.2. Interculturality and education

Intercultural education has the aim of developing intercultural competence. Rus (2003) defines the goals of intercultural education on four levels, as follows¹⁹⁵:

- to acquire knowledge regarding the culture in general and the impact of the culture on the individual and groups behaviors, regarding the own culture/cultures and regarding another cultures;
- to develop skills in connection with life in multicultural/intercultural society (the awareness of own cultural determinations, stereotypes and prejudices, the identification of these skills to the others, the capacity to make more acceptable/ relative the points of view, the communication and skills and the relationships);
- to construct attitudes as there are: respect of cultural diversity, of own cultural identity, of culture of the other one, to refuse the discrimination and intolerance;
- the stimulation of participation and action in the scope of the promotion of the principles of intercultural society and to fight against the discrimination and intolerance.

The goals of intercultural education, as it can be easily seen from above, correspond to a great extent to the composing elements of the intercultural competence proposed by Deardroff. Developing intercultural

¹⁹⁵ Rus, C. Traduire l'interculturel en Roumanie. In: Gohard-Radenkovic, A., Mujawamaryia, D., Perez, S. (eds). Integration des "minorities" et nouveau espaces interculturales. Berne, Peter Lang, 2003.

competencies through intercultural education has been mainly discussed and related to those countries where the necessity for various ethnic – and, therefore, culturally-diverse – groups to live together became an issue at some point, due to economic or social reasons.

2. INTERCULTURALITY AND JAPANESE LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN ROMANIA

In the case of Romania, interculturality is often discussed in relation to the various ethnic minorities living here – Hungarians, Germans, Turks or the Roma people. In the present paper we do not, however, refer to such cases, but we take into consideration the case of the contact of Romanian students of Japanese with the Japanese culture in Romania and the way in which this encounter affects the Romanian students' perception and behaviour towards the Japanese culture in particular, but also towards other cultures as well.

For many Romanian students of Japanese, the possibility of experiencing the Japanese culture in Japan is rather limited, if not inexistent altogether. In most cases, Romanians who study Japanese come into contact with the Japanese culture through books, movies, TV programmes, music, manga, anime, social networks or, in some cases, through direct contact with Japanese people living in Romania. The Japanese experience is, therefore, not one that comes through immersion, but rather through mediation. Furthermore, when it comes to the form of education that students of Japanese are involved in, while the language knowledge is mainly acquired in formal education (the structured education and training system that runs from pre-primary and primary through secondary school and on to higher education) and/or non-formal education (any planned programme of education designed to improve a range of skills and competences outside the formal educational setting, and throughout lifelong learning), knowledge about Japanese culture usually comes through informal education (the lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, skills and knowledge from the educational influences and resources in his or her own environment and from daily experience and conversation (family, peer group, neighbours, encounters,

library, mass media, work, play, etc.)¹⁹⁶. Informal education means less or no control on the part of the teacher and therefore allows the student to be much more free in both experiencing the new culture and in expressing his/her own views.

2.1. Intercultural encounters – study meeting (senryū¹⁹⁷)

In the next part of our paper we will present and briefly analyse two instances of intercultural encounters where Romanian students of Japanese came in contact with facets of Japanese culture and were made to process and integrate them into cultural products of their own. The first case is a study meeting organised by the Association of Japanese Language Teachers in Romania on the topic of $Senry\bar{u}^{198}$. In preparation for this meeting, the participants – both Romanian and Japanese - were sent a manual containing the definition of $Senry\bar{u}$ and the technical rules of composing a $Senry\bar{u}$ and were asked to play with words and compose $Senry\bar{u}$ of their own in Japanese. The results were posted on a website especially designed for this occasion $Senry\bar{u}$ of the explanations provided by the authors, in the original language that the authors used:

1. Senryū: やせるため においを食べた 方がいい²⁰⁰

Explanations: やせるために、一つだけの方法があります:何も食べないようにです。しかし、何も食べないことは健康によくないですから、においを食べた方がいいです。²⁰¹

2. Senryū: 飲みすぎた 大丈夫だよ zeama de varza!²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ Defintions taken from Barret, M., et al., 2013

¹⁹⁷ A Japanese form of short poetry, consisting of three lines with a total of 17 syllables. While $senry\bar{u}$ is structurally similar to the better known haiku, it is usually humorous, referring more to the human nature. Unlike haiku, $senry\bar{u}$ does not include a kireji (cutting word) or a kigo (season word).

¹⁹⁸ Study meeting "Senryu", 18 March 2012, organised by the Association of Japanese Language Teachers in Romania at "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University, Bucharest; held by prof. Mamoru Morita (The Japan Foundation/Charles University Prague).

¹⁹⁹ http://yaki.holy.jp/senryu/ (created and developed by prof. Akira Yamguchi, Japan Foundation specialist).

 $^{^{200}}$ "In order to lose weight you should eat the smell" (our translation) .

²⁰¹ "In order to lose weight, there is one way: to eat nothing. But because eating nothing is bad for your health, you should eat the smell" (our translation).

²⁰² "I drank too much/That's fine/ Cabbage sour juice!" (our translation).

Explanations: 飲みすぎたら、頭が痛いし、吐き気もあるから、zeama de varza (ゼアマ デ ヴァルザ) は一番の薬です。「ゼアマ デ ヴァルザ」と言うのは塩と水で漬けたキャベツのジュースなのです。²⁰³

3. Senryū: 試験時期 授業ないから 9GAG²⁰⁴

Explanations: In Romanian universities we are in the middle of the exam session period. There are no courses but, instead of using the free time for learning, students (and teachers) waste a lot of time looking at foolish pictures on a site called 9GAG ($\mathcal{T}\mathcal{T}\mathcal{T}\mathcal{T}\mathcal{T}$). You can join us on http://9gag.com/:)

4. Senryū:ドナウ川 ツイカになったら おおよろこび²⁰⁵

Explanations:ルーマニアで、「ツイカ」と言う飲み物はとても有名だと思います。ドナウが大きい川であるから、もしそれがツイカに変わるならば、人々は本当に幸せでしょう。特に雪のとき、それを飲んで、心が弾む ^ ^206

Although there was no specific requirement, a great number of the poems posted on the site referred to Romanian realities or customs, as can be seen in the examples above. In 1, for example, the poem refers to a Romanian saying, while examples 2 and 4 clearly indicate Romanian traditional products or habits. The participants to the project felt that an intercultural approach would be more interesting and useful and therefore used a great amount of specific cultural references in their poems. Another thing that is interesting to note is the mixture of languages used. The participants had total freedom in composing their $senry\bar{u}$ and thus Japanese, Romanian and English blended to create a comfortable medium of expression. The participants to this project did not feel constrained to use a certain language correctly or to conform to the strict requirements of the language class, but used their freedom of expression in an attempt to create

²⁰³ "If you drink too much, you'll have a headache and you will be sick and the best medicine for that is *zeama de varza*. "*Zeama de varza*" is the cabbage juice obtained by pickling cabbage with water and salt" (our translation).

 $^{^{204}}$ "Exam period/ Since there are no classes / 9GAG" (our translation).

²⁰⁵ "It would be such joy if the Danube River turned into *tuica*" (our translation).

²⁰⁶ I think that in Romania there is a famous alcoholic drink called "tuica". Because the Danube Rivers is a big river, if it turned into tuica, people would probably be very happy. Especially when it snows, when you drink it, your heart bounces (with joy)." (our translation).

connections between the two cultures. Aside from the languages used here, another aspect is of equal interest: the use of emoticons. Romanian and Japanese emoticons are different, but when writing the explanations of their poems, many Romanians adopted Japanese emoticons, even when the explanation was written in English (see the example below).

If we consider the definition and characteristics of intercultural competence, we can easily notice that the people involved in writing the above-mentioned poems were open to, curious about and willing to learn from and about people who have different cultural orientations and perspectives from one's own, they were ready to question what is usually taken for granted and considered 'normal'. They were aware or they were made aware of their own preconceptions and stereotypes. The following poem and especially the comments that it received are a very good example of the kind of intercultural (virtual) dialogue that arose in the course of the project:

Senryū: 山の上 ひつじまもって さびしそう207

Explanations: Among thousands of sheep, a shepherd is still very lonely -_-.

返歌1: 羊飼い 携帯電話で 話し中

Aさんはやさしい人なんですね。でも、だいじょうぶかもしれません。写真展で見た写真の羊飼いの人は携帯電話で話してました!²⁰⁸

返歌2: 顔ちがう イギリスの羊 チャールズ似

ルーマニアとイタリアとイギリスの羊の写真も見ました。イギリスの羊はチャールズ皇太子に似ていました。²⁰⁹

The person who composed the poem (Mr/Ms A) refers to a very stereotypical image of the lonely Romanian shepherd on the top of the mountain, surrounded by his sheep. The replies deconstruct this cliché image and present the writer with new possibilities of interpretation.

Taking part in this project for many participants meant understanding the influence that their language and cultural affiliation has on their experience of the world. Moreover, they became more aware of the fact

 $^{^{207}}$ "On the top of the mountain, guarding the sheep, he looks so sad" (our translation).

²⁰⁸ Answer 1: "The shepherd - talking on his mobile phone". Mr/Ms A, you are a very kind person. But he (the shepherd) is probably OK. The shepherd that I saw in some pictures at a photo exhibition was talking on his mobile phone! (our translation).

²⁰⁹ Answer 2: "Different face – English sheep resemble Charles". I saw pictures of Romanian, Italian and English sheep. The English sheep resembled Price Charles. (our translation).

that other peoples' languages may express shared ideas in a unique way or express unique ideas difficult to access through one's own language. In terms of the outcomes, both internal and external outcomes were achieved: cognitive flexibility, evaluating cultural beliefs, being able to explain one's views, challenging cultural stereotypes and prejudices.

2.2. Intercultural encounters – a Japanese university festival

Every year in December, the students of the Japanese Department of "Dimitrie Cantemir" Christian University in Bucharest organise Harumachidzuki, a festival that includes music, theatrical performances, traditional and modern dance and various workshops. In our paper we will refer to the 2011 edition of the festival, when for the first time the theatrical performance was based on plays that the students wrote themselves in Japanese. At the festival two plays were performed – one which depicted a story set in traditional Japan (including samurai and geisha) and another one which was set in contemporary Japan. We will only refer to the modern play, called "Aidoru" (Idol). The sketch presents a press conference of a Japanese pop star named Reimu, who is in Bucharest for a concert. The dialogue is full of cultural references and represents a brilliant picture of the students' view on certain aspects of contemporary Japanese culture. It is worth mentioning that none of the students involved in writing and performing the play has ever been to Japan, their only knowledge about the Japanese culture having been acquired either in school or via movies, music or the internet.

The main character of the sketch, Reimu – the Japanese version of the English "lame" – is what the students considered to be the typical Japanese pop star: an effeminate-looking young man, who is extremely preoccupied with the way he looks. The first lines of the dialogue include the reference to the capital city of Romania (Bucharest), which Reimu mistakes for Budapest. The mistake has become famous in Romania especially after stars such as Michael Jackson or the vocalist of Metallica greeted the Romanian public by saying "Hello, Budapest!". Reimu seems unaware of the confusion he is making and ignores the repeated attempts of the journalist who is trying to correct him. Later on, a crazy fan appears on stage trying desperately to reach and hug Reimu. She is dressed in the Harajuku style and her behavior seems highly exaggerate even for a Romanian young person. The dialogue between

the pop star and the journalist continues with reference to Romanian food, which serves as an introduction of a very colorful character – the Romanian gypsy woman who is selling sunflower seeds. For any Romanian, the sight of a gypsy woman selling sunflower seeds at the corner of the street is a very common one and the fact that the students decided to include such a character in a play related to Japan and the Japanese culture seemed odd at first, but the feedback received from the Japanese people who viewed the performance showed that it was exactly the gypsy character who represented the liaison of the Romanians and the Japanese in the performance hall. It was the element that was external to both cultures and, although the usual image of the Roma people is a negative one, in the play it is only the positive stereotypes that are put to work. Moreover, the lines that the gypsy woman must say in the play represent some of the best moments of the whole festival. The woman speaks in Romanian and Reimu does not understand, so he asks the journalist to translate it for him. The gypsy woman, however, picks up words that she hears in Japanese and interprets them in her own Roma/Romanian way:

Gypsy: Sunflower seeds we have, sunflower seeds! Who wants sunflower seeds? Oh, may the light eat you, so handsome....beautiful you are!²¹⁰ Does the girl...boy want any seeds? Come on, it's cheap!

Reimu: あのおばあさんはなにを言っているんだ?²¹¹ Journalist: ええと、あなたは。。。びじんです²¹²

Gypsy: What Beijing? Are you from there? From China? You were too many there and you were treading on each other's feet. It's better here.... we also have seeds. Come on, I'll make you an offer because you're so beautiful...handsome: you buy one, get one for free.

R: 今、また同じことを言ったのか?でも、どうして美人?僕は美人ではなく、ハンサームだ。[.....] 僕は男性だ!²¹³

²¹⁰ A typical phrase used by gypsies to refer to something very beautiful.

 $^{^{\}rm 211}$ What is that old lady saying? (our translation).

²¹² Well, that you are...beautiful. (the word used is *bijin*, typically used for women and is misheard by the gypsy woman as Beijing) (our translation).

²¹³ And now is she saying the same thing? But why beautiful (*bijin*)? I'm not beautiful, I'm handsome! I'm a man! (the word used for "man" is *dansei*, which again is misheard by the gypsy as the Romanian "dansezi" (you are dancing) (our translation).

Gypsy: You're dancing?! That's why you're so beautiful. [She spits on him three times saying some magic words at the same time]

This very short dialogue brings on stage several cultural backgrounds – Japan, Roma people living in Romania and China, each of them presented through some typical stereotypes. Reimu is the Japanese young androgynous man, the Romanian gypsy woman is the lively character who does not hesitate to comment anything she hears and China is introduced through its typical image of a place with (too) many people. Romanian superstitions are also referred to: the gypsy woman spits on Reimu three times so that the evil eye could not affect him. References to cultural diversity and can be traced here, as well as willingness to tolerate ambiguity. Another trait of intercultural competence that one can easily identify here is the knowledge of the beliefs, values, practices, discourses and products that may be used by people who have particular cultural orientations. Among the skills that are displayed in this very short dialogue, the ability to interpret other cultural practice and to relate it to one's own can be also mentioned. Linguistic and sociolinguistic skills were also necessary in order to construct the piece of dialogue above.

CONCLUSIONS

Examples of intercultural encounters such as those described in 3.1 and 3.2 above show how pieces of informal education can lead to the formation and development of intercultural competence. Incidental learning, which occurs in such cases, enriches the students not only with linguistic knowledge, but also with cultural awareness. It is not always necessary for members of two different cultures to come in direct contact with one another. In the case of the Romanian students of Japanese, their contact with the Japanese culture was mediated and the role that the internet played, especially in the second example, is of utmost importance. The Japan presented by the students in the sketch is the Japan that they knew about on the internet. The virtual reality that they experienced prepared them for the true reality, for when they get the chance to go to Japan. However, they collected information from the internet and processed it based on their own cultural determination. The humor present in both examples is a very good illustration of how a very Romanian cultural characteristic – an acute

sense of humor – is used to interact with people of a completely different background.

One may wonder what the role of the teacher is in this equation and even if the teacher is a necessary presence in this type of informal learning, where any piece of information is available with just one click. While it is true that the quantity of information that today's students can have access to is enormous and extremely varied, the teacher can guide the students in selecting the information that is relevant for the purpose of their activity. Furthermore, the teacher can lead the students to acquire deeper and wider knowledge by showing them the causal relations between seemingly isolated facts²¹⁴ and encourage them to express openly their views on the world. In this way, the students will display an awareness of, sensitivity to, and an appreciation for cultural diversity.

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²¹⁴ For more detailed examples on this, see Moritoki, N. *The Language Teacher's Role in the Age of the Internet*, in Acta Linguistica Asiatica, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2011, pp. 39-51.

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Chapter 5

MUTUAL ASSIMILATION OF JAPANESE AND EUROPEAN TRADITIONAL FEATURES IN POP-CULTURE

A SOCIAL CAPITAL ANGEL 3.0 APPEARING IN THE NETWORK POST POP-CULTURE PHENOMENON: HATSUNE MIKU

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ABSTRACT

Hatsune Miku is singing synthesizing technology application, Vocaloid, developed by CRYPTON FURURE MEDIA in Japan. This Vocaloid software inspired not only song creation but also different categories of creation, such as songwriting, drawing illustration, video-editing, producing etc. and evolved their works collaboratively in a creative community. This paper tries to describe value creation process of collective intelligence in the community and to analyse it from the point of social capital, bridging and bounding functions. Media effect studies often discuss on social capital observed in community building as key influence factor of the internet usage; however, this presentation will focus on social capital as a key of creativity. Can internet collective intelligence produce creative objects? Hatsune Miku phenomenon says "Yes."

Keywords: Collective Creativity, Social Capital, Network Analysis, Hatsune Miku.

1. THE POWER OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

A mutual cooperative relationship is built when people are connected, and sometimes the relationship gives birth to the miraculous surprise. The theory named "Social Capital" is established by elements of "Reliability", "Reciprocity" and "Network" referred to connection between people²¹⁵.

The Great East Japan Earthquake on 11 March 2011 is a significant example to be reaffirmed for effectiveness of social capital in Japan. The painful disaster has made Japanese a unity and increased their social capital. Between not only victims but also bystanders, "reliability" and "reciprocity" are improved. Indeed, Japanese connected by "bonds of people" did not have riots, which occurred frequently in the oversea disasters. In fact, Japan is full of altruism and politeness. Nearly 90% of Japanese consumers and more than 80% of companies made a donation of money; nearly

²¹⁵ Putnam, R., Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, Princeton University Press, 1993.

60% of companies conducted volunteer activities and contributed relief supplies²¹⁶. These data stunned the overseas experts and gave Japanese the true pride upon being Japanese. In these days, verification and possibility of effectiveness on the network of this theory are repeated extensively.

2. COMMUNITY OF "THE ERA OF WEB2.0"

First of all, regarding the background of rising social media, a strategy on the internet in recent years has shifted significantly to search for a methodology of effective information diffusion on Twitter, Facebook, blogs and the other video-sharing websites. It means that we are in the Era of the so-called "Web2.0"217. Rushed to take an advantage of social media, many companies and organisations act strenuously; however, at present they cannot find themselves so successful in social media strategy, except for several accidental success stories. Regarding the word "social" of social media, it is nothing more than a term that originally means the connection between people, there is no doubt that this relationship would be a core strategy when we share the information. Rather than the mere information of public relations and advertisement, people prefer the information provided by their favorite organisations. The information transmitted by charismatic persons, respectable persons and sincere friends, reliable organisations and communities is more persuasive than the information generally told. Social network is easy enough to inspire interest of consumers and to lead to "Action". The strategy of companies and organisations in social media is designed to maximise the efficiency of information flow. Public relations and marketing have begun to use social capital in the era of Web2.0.

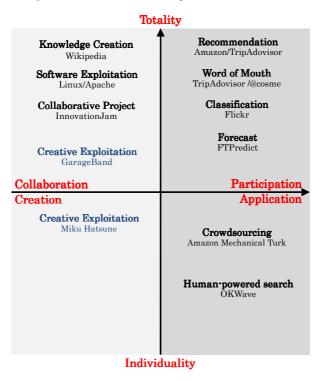
At the same time, as research on social capital, research on "community" and "collective intelligence" on the internet is also in progress²¹⁸. Scheme 1 below is a summary from the perspective of "collective intelligence" services on the internet in the Web2.0 Era.

²¹⁶ Yamamura, K., Miyabe, J., Ito, N., Kitami, K. and Wada, M, "Quake Hits PR: The Impact of 3.11 Earthquake on Public Relations in Japan", 15th International Public Relations Research Conference Proceedings, pp. 823-831, 2012.

²¹⁷ Shuen, A., Web2.0: A Strategy Guide. Business Thinking and Strategies Behind Successful Web 2.0 Implementations, Oreilly & Associates Inc., 2008.

²¹⁸ Powers, J., The Wisdom of Crowds: Why the Many Are Smarter than the Few and How Collective Wisdom Shapes Business, Economics, Societies and Nations, Doubleday, 2004.

Scheme 1. Perspective of Collective Intelligence



Illustrated by the author

On the right side of Scheme 1 (first and second quadrant), the usage of "collective intelligence" area as services is shown. In order to take an advantage of the collective knowledge in services, so many consumer participants are required. The left side of Scheme 1 (third and fourth quadrant) show the "creation" area of collective intelligence. To conduct the creation of collective intelligence, "collaborative relationship" in the community of participants is a premise. In particular, in the third quadrant of Scheme 1, many researchers participated in the analysis of community effect of Linux developers before²¹⁹, so as Wikipedia in these days. Though these projects are trying to

²¹⁹ Sandred, J., Managing Open Source Projects: A Wiley Tech Brief, Wiley, 2001.

produce collaborative knowledge, an appearance of new community, blue phenomenon of Scheme 1, has attracted people and gained their attention. Linux' keyword for research was the "creation of collective intelligence". At the same time, the new keyword to describe this new phenomenon can be referred to as "creativity of collective intelligence".

3. APPEARANCE OF HATSUNE MIKU PHENOMENON

It is common in Japan to discuss Hatsune Miku phenomenon as an overflowing social phenomenon. In a narrow sense, Hatsune Miku is only a registered trademark name of vocaloid (singing synthesizer application) software, which was developed by CRYPTON FUTURE MEDIA Inc. in Sapporo, Hokkaido, Japan. Furthermore, it also means the works produced by users of software and the generic group of characters in a broader sense. Behind the scene of producing Hatsune Miku as a current social phenomenon, this company, CRYPTON, had a tiny strategy.

Photo 1. Hatsune Miku²²⁰



When this company packed the vocaloid software into a box, they did put a brief profile of height and weight of Hatsune Miku and the 2D illustrations of Miku, such as Photo 1.

First, consumers were inspired by this illustration, and it led them feel like "I want to make her sing." Secondly, the viewers begin to embrace the feeling that "I want to hear the song of "this Miku." With a little illustration over the machinery of this singing synthesis software, now Miku has a clear "physicality and reality." Moreover, the interaction of the viewers with the users has begun to grow as a character.

After having a characteristic of this illustration, activities in various fields of Miku became a huge success which was appropriate for the name of a "social phenomenon." As the core business, music industry success comes first, the first place in the Japanese Chart CD album sales in 2010

²²⁰ ©CRYPTON FUTURE MEDIA Inc.

and 2011, and 17 pieces of top 10 in the 2008-2012 years' ranking. While music industry sales figures have been declining, Miku still provides valuable contents.

Character-related goods, Miku special issued social science magazines, and commentary books of Miku's social phenomenon are becoming very popular and successful. Japan's biggest IT-related academic society "Information Processing Society of Japan" editing a special issue of Miku faced a sold out for the first time in their history. In addition, she even appeared in the recent Google Chrome and US Toyota commercials. In addition, overseas concert performances (See Photo 2), which have started since 2009, were held not only in Japan but also in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Shanghai, and Los Angeles. And finally Japan Expo 2013 conducted in Paris played a role as their promotion for Europe, the release of the English version vocaloid software. The CEO of CRYPTON FUTURE MEDIA Inc. gave a lecture on this event, which was filled with many cosplayers and fans of Miku (see Photo 3).



Photo 2. A snapshot from the concert by Hatsune Miku²²¹

^{221 &}quot;Thanksgiving Day", Tokyo Dome City Hall, 9 March, 2012. ©SEGA / ©CRYPTON FUTURE MEDIA Inc. Organized by SEGA/MAGES.



Photo 3. Lecture in Japan Expo 2013²²²

In September 2013 there were more than 200,000 Japanese contents on Nico Nico Douga and 390,000 on YouTube with the keyword "hatsune miku". Including non-Japanese contents, there are more than 1,000,000 contents on YouTube. Increasing posts of non-Japanese Miku contents on the internet suggests that the Hatsune Miku phenomenon is crossing the borders of the world.

4. TYPES OF CREATORS

The music and videos of Hatsune Miku are never produced by one person. An integrating director of music and videos, there is at least the so-called P (= Producer); however, it is impossible for P to complete the music and videos on their own. In general, many components collaborated by many creators are required to create one video. Before the Hatsune Miku phenomenon, musicians making music on a PC called DTM (= Desk Top Music) existed. Their major problem was to find a vocalist that can sing their music in their way. Even if producers are talented at composing music and writing lyrics, their singing ability is not

²²² ©CRYPTON FUTURE MEDIA Inc.

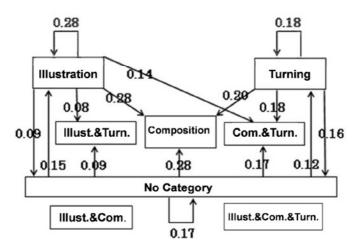
enough to sing well, because singing is a special and very rare skill. That is why producers were waiting for so long for something singing on their computers. Then Hatsune Miku came up, and finally became a Messiah for them. Nevertheless, users of Hatsune Miku noticed immediately the difficulty of this software. In order to get the voice closer to the natural human voice, mechanical Miku's voice requires a specialised patient work of tuning which is called "adjustment". Composers who are talented to adjust tunings as well as composition have appeared, but "tuning" is admitted gradually as an independent work field.

In addition to this composing music line, illustration line follows in the same way. Initially, there were works by groups of users who drew self-made illustrations based on the illustration of Photo 1, inserted into the package by CRYPTON. Then, the illustration works inspired programmers to make their 3D movies. Drawing 2D illustrations is separated from making 3D videos in the illustration line. And finally, these two lines are joined to make one Miku work with the editing and stage effect. Considering the background process of making one Miku video, it is obvious that "producers" would be required to organise their different types of creator network and conduct their collaboration.

5. SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS ON HATSUNE MIKU

The empirical network analysis by Hamazaki et al. (2008)²²³ on connection and cooperation between creators has impacted not only internet researchers but also social scientists, and derived accordingly by many other studies. It tries to analyse the network with the most viewed 7,138 videos, chosen from 26,709 videos with a tag "Hatsune Miku." Scheme 2 below is the citation map from the study, and Table 1 shows the result of degree centrality and types of the top 10 clusters.

²²³ Hamasaki, M., Takeda H. & Nishimura, T., Network Analysis of Massively Collaborative Creation of Multimedia Contents, 2008. http://www-kasm.nii.ac.jp/ papers/takeda/08/ hamasaki08uxtv.pdf>.



Scheme 2. Citation rate of Miku creators²²⁴

Table 1. Degree centrality and types of clusters²²⁵

Rank	Size	Degree centrality	Key person	Majority
1	161	4.293	C	I
2	144	0.080	_	I
3	118	5.257	C&T	I&T
4	95	1.808	_	I
5	91	5.897	I	I
6	90	7.055	C&T	T
7	79	5.164	C	T
8	56	3.012	_	T&I
9	55	6.923	C&T	T
10	51	4.000	_	I
		(×10 ⁻³)	n=7,138	(2008 June)

As Scheme 2 shows, three large creator groups called "Illustration", "Composition" and "Tuning" built their communities on the internet. Feedback flesh of Illustration, Turning and No Category groups indicates they had internal citation exchange, but other groups did not have it.

²²⁴ *Ibid.* Scheme 2 has been edited by the author.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* Table 1 has been edited by the author.

Composition does not have internal citation exchange, but stays in the center of citations. Composition seems to be a key of the creative community. Table 1 shows the proof of the composition hypothesis. The key person of the biggest Cluster 1 is a composer who is in the center of illustrators. In addition, Clusters 3, 6, 7 and 9 are supposed to have common properties that the key person is always a composer, surrounded by illustrators and tuning specialists, and has a high score of degree centrality, which means outstanding strong node linking with so many other nodes.

Groups that have similar professional skills, including collaborative working are supposed to have frequent and intimate internal communications, which Putnam categorised as of "bounding type". Feedback flesh of Illustration and Tuning in Scheme 2 must be typical bounding strong tie communication. When a composer tries to exchange information with outside of his/her cluster with weak tie, it is typically called "bridging type" communication. According to Scheme 2 and Table 1, it would be a composer who could manage the proper mixture balance of bounding and bridging, which is a condition for a good creative community.

6. HATSUNE MIKU 3.0

Features of Hatsune Miku communities are not generated only by creators, such as composers and illustrators. The audience and their platform Nico Nico Douga website play an important role for them. The Nico Nico Douga, which began their service in 2006, bisects the share of video-sites with YouTube in Japan. Basic services of both are very similar; however, they are differentiated by many unique services. The most outstanding feature of Nico Nico Douga is the "comment function." People can share their timely comments on the videos online.

Photo 4 below is a picture of the "comment function" captured on Nico Nico Douga. Viewers are able to write a comment anytime anywhere on the video. Furthermore, comments by other viewers are also shared at multiple levels on the screen. As a result, we can feel a sense of unity with the other viewers. In short, pseudo-synchronic function is actualised so to speak. Not only the audience watches the video, but also the producers do. Creators get to know what the audience comments on their work, and they notice at which point the video got commented. Additionally, producers observe

these comments as the knowledge of renovation work and re-editing which led them to the next production. Namely, a huge integrated "audience = producer" community emerges. Thus, it can be said that the birth of Miku was determined by the interactive creation of the audience and producers.



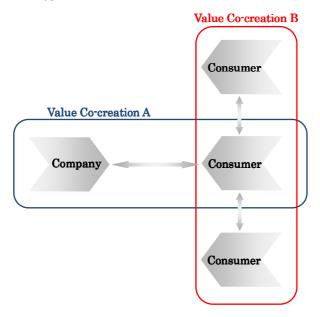
Photo 4. Comment function²²⁶

Web2.0 is often explained as a "value co-creation A", and the blue horizontal line in Scheme 3 below shows the interaction between the company and consumers. Nowadays people have started to talk about Web3.0, which is referred to as a "value co-creation B", red vertical line in Scheme 3, created between consumers and consumers. In marketing, Kotler et al. (2010)²²⁷ speak of Marketing3.0 in almost the same context as Scheme 3.

²²⁶ Livetune, "Last Night, Good Night", feat. Hatsune Miku. http://www.nicovideo.jp/.

²²⁷ Kotler, P., Kartajaya, H. and Setiawan, I., Marketing 3.0: From Products to Customers to the Human Spirit, Wiley, 2010.

Scheme 3. Two types of value co-creations



Illustrated by the author

In Hatsune Miku phenomenon, horizontal co-creation value is observed between creators and audience, the vertical one is between audience and audience. Now it is appropriate to declare Miku as the phenomenon "3.0."

7. SOCIAL CAPITAL OF CREATIVE COMMUNITY

Behind the birth of Hatsune Miku movies, how did producer manage collaborative groups and creative communities for getting the best efficacy? And what is the distinctive feature of organising creative communities?

Table 2 below shows a figure of two types of social capital, bonding and bridging²²⁸. Each type has positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects of bonding type are observed in the Japanese Disaster as mentioned in the beginning of the paper, with such a closed and strong tie, that often

²²⁸ Putnam, R., Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, Simon & Schuster, 2001.

homogeneous communities realise their maximum effects as a unitary value. Negative aspects of bonding type also exist. In excessively closed communities, often in the internet, a newcomer is hit exclusively. Positive aspects of bridging type are pointed out in the famous "The Strength of Weak Ties" by Granovetter (1973).²²⁹ It would be the most powerful function for the creation and creativity. Negative aspects of bridging are researched in the communication. Weak tie of communication partners decreases correct communication results. In conclusion, it could be said that the creative act could be established in well-balanced combination by Bridging and Bonding.

	Bonding	Bridging
Network	Closed	Open
Ties	Strong	Weak
Property	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous
Reciprocity	Specific	General
Reliability	Individual	General

Homogeneity

Unitary

Table 2. Bonding and Bridging of Social Capital

Illustrated by the author

Resources

Values

Social network analysis can give researchers their measurements to describe human relationship from the outside; however, psychological data, such as "reciprocity" and "reliability" is necessary to survey over each member of communities. Hence, interviews to Miku community members and to the audience would be an urgent task for clarifying the actual situation of the creative community. The comprehensive social network analysis is going to be our major challenge in the future.

Diversity

Diverse

Is the community producing Hatsune Miku phenomenon as a miraculous outcome? Is it a reproducible one? If so, then what are the conditions for reproducing it? A research work on the formation factors and terms of

²²⁹ Granovetter, M., "The Strength of Weak Ties", in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No. 6., May 1973, pp. 1360-1380.

communities generating Hatsune Miku is not only a task of this study, but also a valuable guide to draw the future of the internet.

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"MOGA (MODERN GIRLS)" IN JAPANESE POPULAR FILMS OF THE 1920s AND 1930s: MODERNISATION AND JAPANESE WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

"Moga" or "modern girls" in the 1920s-1930s of Japan refer to young women dressed in western style with short hair, very often wearing hats. In those days, moga were very often negatively viewed as decadent, focused on enjoying consumer culture without ideals or morals, while imitating the West. However, a recent study claims that while encouraging young women to enjoy consumer culture, moga function is a tool to encourage women to acquire a sense of individual autonomy in modern society. This paper examines this function of moga through their representations portrayed in the popular films of those days. The main films to be analysed are Minoru Murata's Souls on the Road (1921), Kenji Mizoguchi's A Paper Doll's Whisper of Spring (1926), Sisters of the Gion (1936), and Osaka Elegy (1936), Yasujiro Ozu's The Lady and the Beard (1931) and What did the Lady forget (1937), Heinosuke Gosho's The Neighbor's Wife and Mine (1931), and Mikio Naruse's Street without End (1934). In earlier films, moga are very often depicted negatively as "delinquent girls," in contrast to "shukujo" or Japanese traditional ladies. In later films, moga enter deeply into Japanese society and are portrayed in a more complicated manner. While moga represent a rich western lifestyle, they begin challenging the traditional aspects of the Japanese society of those 1920s and 1930s.

Keywords: Japanese films, modernisation, moga (modern girls), 1920s, 1930s.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1920s and early 1930s, chic American women gazed enviously at French fashion, trying to emulate and accommodate the look in their own style. Major newspapers around the country reported on the Paris fashion scene, featuring drawings of the latest offerings. The *Washington Post* regularly covered Parisian fashions; reporting in 1920, for example, "How Paris Influences Our Modes Even When We Least Think It." In 1922, a *Chicago Daily Tribune* column offered "The Last Word in Paris

Fashions." In April 1927 the *New York Times* also claimed that "Paris Still Inspires." ²³⁰

In much the same way, Japanese women began looking longingly at the Paris-inspired fashions worn in American films. Some adopted American and European clothing-called, *yoso* in Japanese-and abandoned the traditional Japanese kimono. During the 1920s and 1930s those women were called *moga*, an abbreviation of "modern girls." Writing on *moga*, an American film scholar, Robert Sklar observed that "Clothes, hair styles, speech, gesture, all could be gleaned from American movies. In Japan, new words were coined to describe the young men and women who patterned their dress and behavior after American screen characters: 'mobos' and 'mogas,' short for modern boys and girls²³¹. A 1925 survey conducted in Ginza²³² in 1925 found that 99% of women continued to wear traditional Japanese kimono, and many pulled their hair back in the traditional bun. Thus, *moga's* western dress length, reaching the knee or slightly below, and *danpatsu* (short hairstyle) with a prominent hat, were a challenge to the conventional dress codes²³³.

During that time period, most of the Japanese viewed *moga* negatively. Intellectuals strongly denounced them for being superficial. For example, Roan Uchida, a leading literary figure severely criticised *moga*, calling them useless: "*moga* merely imitated American fashion, resulting in a kind of mimicry that spoke new words with no significance." According to Uchida, modern styles in Europe and the United States were not simply momentary fashion fads, but derived from challenges to traditions in the aftermath of World War I; when these styles entered Japan, these ideological backgrounds were lost.

²³⁰ Burtis, E. W. "How Paris Influences Our Modes Even When We Least Think It," Washington Post, 1920 15 February, p. 58; Williams, M. B., "The Last Word in Paris Fashions: Generalizations and Contradictions," Chicago Daily Tribune, 19 February 1922, p. D1; "Paris Still Inspires: Why Style Tendencies From Retain Their Interest," New York Times, 10 April 1927, p. E19.

²³¹ Sklar, R. Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of America Movies. Rev. and upd. New York: Vintage Books,1999, p. 227.

²³² "Ginza" is a very fashionable Tokyo shopping area.

²³³ Sato, B. H. "The Moga Sensation; Perceptions of the Modan Garu in Japanese Intellectual Circles During the 1920s." *Gender and History*, 1995. 5 (3), p. 364.

²³⁴ Uchida, R. "Modan wo Kataru (Discussions of the 'modern')." *Chuoh Koron.* the October 1928 issue, pp.140. The author translates this sentence.

Recent sociological studies on moga have disputed this view, claiming that particular significance can be attributed to those styles, as shown through an examination of women's roles presented in women magazines. A 2010 study by Ruri Inoue, Hiroko Sakamoto, and Tani E. Barllowl²³⁵ referred to the symbolic aspect of moga as an icon of consumer culture that functioned as a tool through and with which various classes of women constructed an independent identity as the society modernised and prospered.

While it is difficult to fully understand how *moga* were viewed in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s, Japanese films from that period offer insights into their role in the Japanese society. This paper examines the function of *moga* through interpretations of 1920s and 1930s Japanese films depicting these "modern girls."

1. MASTERPIECES AND FILMS BY FAMOUS DIRECTORS

This paper analyses the following twelve texts, including *A Paper Doll's Whisper of* Spring (1926), for which only the scenario remains. Japanese film critics label these films as masterpieces and identify their filmmakers as among the country's greatest directors, which explains the film's longevity.

List 1. Films depicting moga in	1920s and 1930s	3
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Released Year	Title	Type of Moga	Director	Film Company
1921	Souls on the Road	Daughter from a wealthy family	Minoru Murata	Shochiku
1926	A Paper Doll's Whisper of Spring	Waitress at a café	Kenji Mizoguchi	Nikkatsu
1930	Why Do You Cry, Youngsters?	Wealthy daughter Jazz singer	Kiyohiko Ushijima	Shochiku
1931	The Lady and the Beard	Delinquent girl Wealthy daughter	Yasujiro Ozu	Shochiku
1931	The Neighbor's Wife and Mine	Jazz singer	Heinosuke Gosho	Shochiku
1934	Street without End	Waitress at a café	Mikio Naruse	Shochiku

²³⁵ Inoue, R., Sakamoto, H., and Tani, E. B. Modan Garu to Shokuminchi teki Kindai (Modern Girls and Colonial Modernization). Iwamani, 2010.

1934	Our Neighbor, Miss Yae	Student	Yasujiro Shimazu	Shochiku
1936	Wife, Be Like a Rose	Office clerk	Mikio Naruse	P.C.L.
1936	Sisters of the Gion	Geisha	Kenji Mizoguchi	Nikkatsu
1936	Osaka Elegy	Office clerk/ Delinquent girl	Kenji Mizoguch	Nikkatsu
1937	What did the Lady forget?	Niece	Yasujiro Ozu	Shochiku
1939	Warm Current	Wealthy daughter	Kozaburo Yoshi- mura	Shochiku

The author saw *Souls on the Streets* in Japan's Film Center in Tokyo, owning the only existing negative of the film. With the exception of *A Paper Doll's Whisper of Spring*, the other nine films were viewed at Kyoto Prefectural Museum on videotape.

2. ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN CLOTHING AND CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVES

Seymour Chatman's concept of "a new point of view on 'point of view" provides one of the criteria to evaluate the acceptance or spread of *moga* from the perspective of a film's narrative. Chatman, who has developed narrative theories and applied them to films, expands the literal meaning of "seeing" into a figurative one: "point of view" includes "the acts of memory, judgment, opinion, or whatever." He divides the subjects to "view" or "who views" into two types: narrators and characters, thus clarifying the location of the perspective. "Slant" is a point of view of a narrator who reports a story and remains outside the story. Slant gives the narrator's attitudes and other mental nuances appropriate to the report function of discourse²³⁷. Chatman notes that when "slant" is expressed explicitly, it is "judgmental commentary" and rooted in ideology²³⁸. "Filter" is a point of view of characters in the story world and refers to perceptions, cognitions, attitudes, emotions, memories, fantasies, and the like²³⁹. Chatman uses the

²³⁶ Chatman, S. Coming to Terms: The Rhetoric of Narrative in Fiction and Film. Ithaca, and London: Cornell University Press, 1990, p. 143.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

term "filter" because "the story is narrated as if the narrator sat somewhere inside or just this side of a character's consciousness and strained all events through the character's sense of them." This paper uses these terms to analyse the narrator in each of the studied films.

3. MOGA AND SHUKUJO (A MODERN GIRL VS A TRADITIONAL LADY)

Three types of *moga* appear in the films produced before 1931: (1) a daughter of a wealthy family; (2) a woman employed in a job characteristic of the time period, such as a jazz singer, a waitress at a café, or a typist; and (3) a delinquent. With the exception of *Souls on the Road*, all three types of *moga* are depicted negatively in the films before 1931. *The Neighbor's Wife and Mine*, which was released in 1931, an ambivalent or positive image of *moga* appears. The key figure is the film's *shukujyo* character, a girl or a woman who is portrayed as the *moga*'s complete opposite in appearance and attitudes; this traditional Japanese figure wears a kimono and usually is compared and contrasted with the film's *moga*. While emphasising the features of these three most common types, this paper examines what *moga* refers to in contrast with *shukujo* and considers the role of *moga* in film narratives.

3.1 Daughters of a wealthy family

In Souls on the Road (1921), the oldest existing film depicting moga, a wealthy lady lives in a gorgeous home and wears a dress and a hat. Everything in her villa-a horse cart; beds, music records, wine bottles, western style dinner, and decorated cake; and a Christmas tree-with the exception of her servants, come from Europe or the United States. Her life is entirely Europeanised/Americanised and very modern. The film presents two family portraits, comparing and contrasting one family whose lives are full of love and generosity, and another lacking these emotions. The "wealthy daughter" type moga depicted here is a generous lady who even blesses a homeless person who tries to steal something for food. In the other family, the master of the household has kicked his son out of their home and does not allow him to return with his wife and daughter, even after he begs for his father's permission. The master forces them to leave

his villa in the middle of a snow storm, during which they die. The film depicts both episodes in turn. Through the striking contrast of the wealthy daughter and master's subsequent results, the film highlights the tolerance and love of Christ embodied in *moga* in the first episode. The film's message is emphasised by the words that appear on the screen given twice in the opening and last scenes: "We must have a heart for tolerance and Love toward human beings as a whole. For instance, Christ shows compassion toward the human race, telling us that we also should have compassion. The timing is very important. We should not miss that timing."²⁴⁰

In *Warm Currents* (1939), Keiko, the daughter of the administrator of a large hospital is depicted as a very modern girl. Keiko has her own villa, rides a bicycle, plays the piano, and reads foreign books. She represents the well-educated young woman living the modern bourgeoisie lifestyle; she is rich, intelligent, and full of love. She is an independent woman who is not dependent upon a man. Keiko always argues with her boyfriend, Yuzo as his equal, often winning their arguments. In the end, Keiko sets aside her love for Yuzo and chooses to live alone because she knows one of the hospital nurses (dressed in kimono) also loves him. The last scene is a close up of her sad, but beautiful face, her tears spotlighted by the camera.

In contrast, two *moga*, also daughters from wealthy families are depicted negatively. In *Why Do You Cry, Youngsters?* (1930) and *The Lady and the Beard* (1931), Futaba is the first daughter of the Prime Minister Uesugi, the former, and Ikuko is a baroness in the latter. While the *moga* in the previously described films has presented positive portraits of wealthy families, consumer culture, and the western life styles, the moga in these films represent negative aspects of materialistic luxury and capitalism, such as sybaritism, hedonism, and overindulgence. Futaba and Utako, Uesugi's second wife and a jazz singer, are very sociable, hosting parties, staying out late, and enjoying horse riding, dancing, and mah-jong. After their pleasurable activities, they wake up very late in the day. Absorbed in their amusements, both *moga* leave the sick Uesugi's care to his second daughter, Kozue, shown wearing a kimono. Here again, a character dressed in the traditional style is contrasted with *moga*. By offering a negative comparison between the *shukujo* Kozue and her moga sister and step-mother, the film

²⁴⁰ The author translates these words.

presents her as a conventional moral character who is "neat and clean," "modest," "refined" and "dedicated" to her family.

Similarly, negative depictions of *moga* appear in *The Lady and The Beard* (1931). Ikuko, also a girl from a wealthy family wears a kimono, but her hair style is cut in the *moga's* short style. She enjoys jazz and dancing. Initially paying no attention to her brother's friend, Okajima, she falls in love with him after he cuts his beard, behaving aggressively toward him. Ikuko and a delinquent girl (another *moga* type), who also loves Okajima, are contrasted with Hiroko, a traditional young woman in a kimono and upswept hair. Hiroko is also in love with Okajima, who ultimately chooses her. Once again, the *moga* are used to emphasise the good characteristics of a traditional Japanese lady.

These films demonstrate differing viewpoints, as delineated by Chatman's narrative point of view categories. In *Souls on the Street* (1921), the point of view is that of a "slant"; the narrator, who is located outside the film narrative, gives an objective view of two families, using subtitles and various camera angles. In *The Lady and the Beard* (1931), the point of view is that of a "filter" – Okajima, the male love interest. Similarly, in *Why Do You Cry, Youngsters?* (1930), the Prime Minister's son offers a "filter" viewpoint. In the first example, the "*slant*" admires *moga*, while the second and third male "*filters*" highlight *shukujyo*, undermining *moga*. With the exception of the last close up, in *Warm Currents* (1939) a *moga's* viewpoint, that of its heroine and narrator, Keiko, is presented.

3.2 A waitress at café and a jazz singer

The scenario for *A Paper Doll's Whisper of Spring* (1926) uses negative adjectives and adverbs to describe its *moga* character, Aiko, a café waitress. Among these are the scornful words, such as "plush" (used twice), "sloppy" (three times), "shallow" (twice), "obtrusive," "impudently," "flashy," "slipshod," and "inconsiderately." In contrast with Akiko is Otane, *shukujyo*, or a lovely traditional lady. The film focuses on their contrasting approaches to their sweethearts. They say Otane secretly loves the son of a merchant and writes her feelings on her paper doll. She glances away from him, and cannot say a word when their eyes meet. The girlfriend of Otane's brother, Aiko writes a passionate love letter to him and enchants him with her sexy mannerisms.

People are very offended by Aiko's behavior. For instance, Otane's paper doll is inconsiderately left behind, which made Otane feel sad. To be noted is a letter from Otane's sweetheart in Paris reveals both his administration for her and distain for Aiko: "I have known more about the Japanese traditional beauty and significance. Otane, please stay as you are. Don't be Americanised/ westernised by modern society." In contrast with the modesty and elegance embodied in Otane, Aiko (depicted as indecent, westernised, and having a lot of nerve) functions as a perfect foil to spotlight the positive aspects of traditional Japanese women.

Unlike Aiko, Sugiko, the waitress in *Street without End* (1934) is depicted positively. She does not function as a foil to emphasise *shukujo*, but is a true heroine. Embodying independence, she challenges the Japanese family system and lives on her own. She meets and marries the wealthy Hiroshi, but leaves him when his mother is very hard on her. Learning that Hiroshi is in danger of dying after a car accident, Sugiko visits him in the hospital. There her mother-in-law demands that she return to Hiroshi for the sake of Yamanouchi Family. Sugiko rejects her demands and tells her accusingly, "I say clearly... What you have loved is not me nor Hiroshi. You have just loved the family name of Yamanouchi. Are you really his mother?" Sugiko's words reveal her rejection of the family system – an attitude that takes precedence even over her love for Hiroshi and their marriage.

The Neighbor's Wife and Mine (1931) is an early positive example of moga in Japanese films. In this film, through the filter of Shibano, a playwright, the film contrasts Shibano's wife (who wears a kimono) and his neighbor madamu (a jazz singer who wears a dress). Once again a moga and a traditional lady are contrasted as in the previously analysed films; however, here Shibano and his wife gradually become more modern, and the old and new worlds blend. His wife is not depicted as the ideal modest woman, dedicated to behaving like the traditional lady. Skillfully managing housekeeping and childcare, she nags him to work, claiming she doesn't have enough money. In contrast, Madamu flatters Shibano when he goes to her house to complain that she and her band are too noisy. The cheerful Madamu admires him first, saying "He is a very famous writer, Sir. Dr. Shibano." She crosses her legs and pours him a glass of beer. She behaves sexily while entertaining him. Shibano smokes cigarettes, drinks

beer and sings a song called "The Speed Age" with Madamu and her band. Shibano's wife becomes jealous when he stays too long in Madamu's house and complains: "You had a lot of fun with that modern girl. The current "madamu" is too dangerous. She is so erotic. A hundred percent, erotic." However, in the end, impressed with the idea of "the speed age", Shibano regains his performance, finishing his work. In fact, before he went to Madamu's house, Shibano had been having trouble working. Seeing him on the right track, his wife begins to change, incorporating new aspects into her old self. In the final scene, she still wears a kimono, (although she has asked Shibano to buy a dress) but has gotten a permanent in the *moga's* short hairstyle. An automobile drives alongside the couple while an airplane flies above, symbolically representing the speed age.

Thus, the film's *moga* embodies a cheerful and enjoyable consumer life, respects the speed age and promotes a "modern" life.

3.3 Deliquent girls

As discusses previously, *moga* in *The Lady and the Beard* (1931) includes a delinquent girl as illustrated by the subtitle, "A delinquent girl." This character is depicted smoking, and extorting money from *shukujo*.

The delinquent moga in Osaka Elegy (1936) is a more complicated and nuanced character, revealing the dichotomy between moga and the traditional lady in one figure. Ayako, a telephone operator, sacrifices her own life to help and support her father and older brother. As the film progresses, she is betrayed by them, and undergoes changes that reflect both her inner emotions and others' perceptions. Ayako initially wears a kimono, symbolizing her dedication and submission to her family. This dedication extends to repaying her father's debt by becoming the mistress of the president of the company from which he misappropriated funds. Further, Ayako tricks her boyfriend into giving her money which she uses to support her brother's education and living expenses in Tokyo. Despite her sacrifices, Ayako's father and brother treat her coldly. She begins to act more disobedient and rebellious when her boyfriend discovers the lie. From this scene, she changes her clothing for a western dress, symbolic of her inner changes. Completely altering her behavior, she now smokes and sits cross-legged. She gets arrested by the police for tricking her boyfriend.

Released from the jail, Ayako returns home, but is unwelcome in her new status as a "delinquent girl." The final scene shows her standing alone at night on a bridge in town, wearing a hat and coat. The camera zooms in on her, showing a beautiful, strongly determined face, instead of a miserable, exhausted lonely one.

Osaka Elegy is narrated from Ayako's perspective: her unreliable father, selfish older brother, and untrustworthy boyfriend are viewed through her eyes. The film exposes the unreasonable aspect of the traditional lady who sacrifices her life for her family and questions her morality as a way of life. It then offers a new lifestyle for strong women who are trying to be independent and resist men and the outmoded system, even for those who are despised as delinquent girls.

4. THE SPREAD OF WESTERN STYLE TO THE ORDINARY PEOPLE AND THE RESISTANCE TO THE TRADITION

In addition to the three *moga* types discussed above, filmmakers introduced more diverse *moga* characters in the beginning of 1934. Yaechan, the heroine in *Our Neighbor, Miss Yae* (1934) is a cheerful and active *moga*. She wears the required uniform to school, but selects a dress and hat at other times. Yaechan secretly loves a college student neighbor, but does not aggressively or sexually approach him. Her life is modern and westernised, as subtly shown by her brother playing baseball, watching American cartoons, and living in a western style house in the Tokyo suburbs.

What did a lady forget? (1937) presents another moga, Setsuko, through the filter of her uncle, a university professor. Dr. Komiya, who loves and admires his cheerful, unconstrained, healthy niece, who acts boldly, wears a dress and hat, and drives. Setsuko supports her uncle when his wife is critical of him for playing golf so often. Mitsukoshi Department store, driving a car, and playing golf illustrates how much consumer culture has spread in the region. The film's view is partially that of Dr. Komiya (the male filter) and partially that of Setsuko (the moga).

Kimiko in *Wife, be like a Rose* (1936) is an office worker. As the film's filter, she views the story fairly from the perspectives of the three people in a triangle relationship: a husband, who is her father, his wife and his mistress. Walking with her boyfriend, Kimiko (wearing a coat; when he

catches up with her, she again moves forward). This scene represents *moga's* awakening sense of equality as demonstrated by Kimiko's storng determination to compete with men (in this case, her boyfriend).

Similarly, Sisters of the Gion (1936), the final film analysed here, contrasts moga's self-asssured views with the traditional lady's compliant nature; the film makes a strong claim for female autonomy, freedom, and independence from male society. Sisters of the Gion depicts two geisha women: Umekichi, a traditional geisha, and Omocha, a more modern geisha. A high school graduate, the rational Omocha is both practical and calculating. In contrast, the conventional Umekichi has a strong sense of obligation and cares how others view her. Their conflicting values are illustrated by their different attitude toward Umekichi's former patron, Furusawa (and by extension, all men). Umekichi insists: "We should kindly respond to the person who really takes care of us." To this, Omocha fires back, "What is the use of moral obligation? I will not get easily taken in by the idea of moral obligation or indebtedness. Have such people treated us as human beings, haven't they? There is no reason why we care what others would consider."

Omocha criticizes Umekichi for her continuing dedication to Furusawa, who has taken advantage of her submissiveness and their previous relationship. Omocha asks, "Who have made us playthings with money and who have bought and sold us women like merchandise? It's all men. Men are all our enemy. I will beat them up." Omocha attempts to trick her patron Kimura, who works in a kimono shop, into giving her an expensive kimono. Her actions incur Kimura's wrath, who tries to lock her up as punishment. Trying to escape, she got seriously injured. Omocha, whose name means "toys" in Japanese, rails against the male-oriented feudal society which permits men to treat women as playthings. She struggles frantically against her constraints, enduring pains, crying out, "I will not give in. Men can't beat me. Why does this kind of business exist? This should not exist." Meanwhile, Umekichi, who has tried to repay her indebtedness and moral obligation with her deep devotion to Furusawa, is overwhelmed with loneliness when he returns to his wife.

Sister of the Gion's plot story supports Omocha's resistance to men. Both Furusawa and Kimura, as well as the other men in the story, are selfish and unreliable. Seen through the eyes of the *moga*, Omocha, the film exposes the unreasonable aspects of the traditional values of moral obligation and indebtedness. It further exposes the geisha business and the vulnerable position of women forced to live by its feudal rules which allow men to subjugate them.

CONCLUSION

As shown in the above analysis, films prior to 1931 (with the exception of the 1921 *Souls in the Street*) depicted *moga* negatively. The plush and luxurious life of dance parties, and horseback riding enjoyed by the rich *moga* daughters in *Why Do You Cry; Youngster* and *The Lady and the Beard* lead to moral deterioration characterised by sloppiness, self-indulgence and selfishness. Other films' waitress, typist, and or jazz singer *moga* characters are described in such derogatory terms as "superficial", "obtrusive," "sexual," and hedonistic;" their lifestyle sometimes leads to delinquency. Expressed in the terms of the day, they symbolise "eroticism", "grotesqueness" and "nonsense." These *moga* are often contrasted with *shukujo*, traditional Japanese women in kimono, whose modesty, purity, obedience, and devotion to men function as foils to the *moga*'s independence. In each story, these *moga* are viewed and narrated by "slants" or "filters" of male characters; men greatly admire shukujo, but reject *moga*, whom they treat with disgust and contempt.

After 1931, the films' point of view switch from the slant or filters of male characters, to that of the *moga* heroines, who promote acceptance of their free and independent ways. *Moga* begin to embody such positive attitudes as generosity, love, mercy, cheerfulness, and joy. They value equality and independence of women and the speed of modern world which they view as absent in the conventional society. Visualising a new unbound modern society, they challenge the existing authorities and traditional values which support family systems, the male-oriented society, and even the basic human bonds of moral obligation and indebtedness. Empowered by women rights and freedom, these *moga* question unreasonable aspects of a traditional Japanese society. Moga represents resistance to and challenge of the existing society conflicting modern elements, such as rights and freedoms of women or individuals. *Moga's* adoption of contemporary western fashion shares to a certain degree the ideological motivation seen

in the fashion of modern European and American girls as delineated by the Japanese intellectual Roan and discussed in the introduction.

The ways in which the *moga* are depicted and function in these films demonstrate the Japanese society's conflicts between tradition and modernity in this time period. They reveal women's ideological struggle between despise and longings, between modernisation/westernisation/capitalism and traditional values. The struggle depicted in these films symbolises the social process in the modern world gaining independence and freedom as the tradition-bound society evolves in the modern world. While the *moga* in these films are only fictional characters, the *moga's* function in the Japanese society in those days cannot be overestimated, particularly given the films 'popularity' (*Sisters of the Gion* and *Osaka Elegy*, received first and second Kinema prizes, respectively, in 1936.) Of additional note, as referenced in the introduction, the adoption by American film stars of the European fashion influenced Japanese movie stars, suggesting that the fashion style of *moga* "was introduced to Japan via the United States from Europe after World War I."²⁴¹

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GLOBALIZATION OR ORIENTALISM? JAPANESE AESTHETICISM SEEN THROUGH FRENCH- INFLUENCED JAPANESE FASHION

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ABSTRACT

It is said that Japanese culture is accustomed to absorbing elements of other cultures. For example, with the onset of Buddhism, Kanji logograms that came from China were modified so as to adapt to the Japanese *hiragana* syllabary. Furthermore, Japanese lifestyles were occidentalised after the country opened to foreign trade and diplomatic relations in the mid-nineteenth century. This process continued with Americanisation after Japan's defeat in WWII. Fashion in Japan is no exception to the Westernisation movement.

Japan started adopting occidental clothing during the Meiji era (1868-1912), especially in the case of elite women. During the Taisho era, French fashion, such as the *garçonne* style, diffused among certain Japanese women known as *moga* (modern girls). After WWII, and since the period in which Japan rushed to modernise/occidentalise, French fashion has been accepted by the Japanese public initiated by the *New Look* of French designer Christian Dior. Modernisation in the post-WWII realm of fashion could be said to be the localisation of French fashion as followed by Americans.

However, not only did French fashion have an influence in Japan, but the Japanese kimono has influenced European fashion since the mid-nineteenth century as well. And, since the 1970s, a second wave of Japanese fashion in Paris has taken hold with Japanese designers such as Kenzo Takada, Issey Miyake, and *Comme des garçons*. In the 1990s, Japanese street fashion, such as 'Gothic Lolita' and 'Cosupuré' of Manga, started to be received in France.

The acculturation of Japanese fashion in France, however, tends to be represented as exotic, not as Japanisation, while occidentalisation could be a synonym for modernisation in Japan. Through the examination of mutual representations of Japanese and French fashion, I will further examine how the image of binomial opposition, "mature Occident vs. immature Japan", has been reinforced by occidental and even Japanese points of view, and then re-examine Japanese "immaturity" as Japanese aesthetism from a point of view that is liberated from a Eurocentric one.

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Keywords: globalisation, orientalism, communication, intercultural representation, France, Japan, popular culture

INTRODUCTION

It could be said that clothing fashion plays a great role in the formation of identity. Moreover, the 'other' is necessary in order to construct the identity of the self; in particular, in the modern and contemporary period, when the self and the world are imagined and diffused under the influence of globalised media development, it seems to us that identity in our period is perceived at the crossing of how the 'I' and 'others' look. What is more, identity is not considered to be reality but rather a representation constructed in relation to others (Olivier 2006). Based on this idea, I will discuss in this paper how the identity of Japanese women has been constructed through the reception of Japanese fashion as represented in French media and how the identity of French women is represented in Japanese media through the discourse analysis²⁴³. My hypothesis is that through Japanese fashion, which has been acculturated in France from the end of the nineteenth century to the present, i.e., from kimonos to Japanese fashion designer creations to kawaii fashion, the image of Japanese women, and even Japan itself, is always constructed as exoticism, for which the key words are immaturity and incomprehensibility. French fashion as received in Japan during the Meiji era and the Taisho era, in particular from the end of WWII to the present, could be seen in Japan as a device that permits the Japanese people to construct the identity of the most westernized country of the world outside the Occident. As an example of the acculturation of fashion, this paper will re-examine the question of mutual acculturation,

²⁴³ Maingueneau D. (2002) defines discourse as "the whole of the produced texts and the system permitting to produce them;" discourse is "a trace of an act of socio-historically determined communication" (Maingueneau D. *Analyser les textes de communication*, Armand Colin 2012, p. 186) and it justifies the framework as "the Knowledge," "the Literature," "the Philosophy" and "the Publicity," while these frames also legitimate each discourse. He also indicates that the purpose of discourse analysis is to "think about the device of enunciation which relates the textual organization and the determined social place" (Mainguenau, D. p.43). That is, this method aims at examining the processes of constructing and communicating the "events" that happen in a public domain through discourse determined by the institution of the given period and society, and legitimating this "institution" through the "events" constructed and communicated by the discourse.

i.e., the power relationship between Japan and Europe and between orientalism and westernization. Furthermore, through the examination of mutual representations of Japanese and French fashion, I will discuss how the image of binomial opposition, 'mature Occident vs. immature Japan', has been reinforced by occidental and even Japanese points of view, and then I will re-examine Japanese 'immaturity' as a form of Japanese aestheticism from a point of view that is liberated from a Eurocentric one.

1. JAPANESE FASHION ACCULTURATING FRENCH FASHION

It has been said that Japanese culture is accustomed to absorbing elements from other cultures. With the onset of Buddhism, Kanji logograms that came from China were modified so as to adapt to the Japanese *hiragana* syllabary. Furthermore, Japanese lifestyles were occidentalised after the country opened to foreign trade and diplomatic relations in the mid-19th century. This process continued with Americanisation after Japan's defeat at the end of WWII. Fashion in Japan is no exception to the westernisation movement.

Japan started adopting occidental clothing during the Meiji era (1868-1912), especially in the case of elite women. During the Taisho era, French fashion, such as the *garçonne* style, diffused among certain Japanese women known as *moga* (modern girls).

After WWII, and since the period during which Japan rushed to modernise and occidentalise, French fashion has been accepted by the Japanese public as initiated by the *New Look* proposed in the 1947 Paris Haute Couture Collection by the French designer, Christian Dior and then followed by *America Fashion*²⁴⁴. Modernisation in the post-WWII realm of

 $^{^{244}}$ We will now look at the Japanese social context when the $\it New Look$ trend was diffused in Japan.

First, there was an increase in the number of women, and war widows in particular, who were studying western dressmaking. The occidentalisation of appearance was promoted by the record number of women going to dressmaking schools. Before WWII, the number of dressmaking schools was about 50, but after WWII, the number of dressmaking schools was about 400. The number of students was around 4500 in 1947, but by 1951, that number increased to 200,000. Whereas in 1949, there were approximately 2000 schools, in 1951, this number increased to about 2400 schools. (Kimura, H., *Fukuso no bunkasi 1945-1988*(*Cultural Histoire of clothes1945-1988*), Tokyo: Gendaisozosha, 1988.). Second, the movement of remodernisation and re-occidentalisation became urgent. The

fashion could be said to be the localisation of French fashion as followed by Americans.

The result is that just after the defeat of WWII, the appearance of Japanese women was influenced by articles from Soen²⁴⁵, which blindly promoted the New Look style as French fashion. It encouraged dressmakers and wearers to imitate and realise the *New Look* style in order to explicitly modernise Japan. Since the 1970s, prêt-a-porter (ready-made clothes) has dominated world fashion instead of haute couture. Fashion has taken many forms. Nonetheless, many Japanese men and women of all ages tend to buy high-class handbags as souvenirs when they go abroad. In the 1970s, when economic growth was realised, the most popular bag was the Louis Vuitton Monogram²⁴⁶. The comportment of buying a real Louis Vuitton bag as a luxury souvenir from a trip to France was represented by anan no 1 and no 2, the model, of an actual Japanese fashion magazine that was licensed with the French fashion magazine, ELLE. It no longer presented sewing tips, like the above-mentionned magazine Soen, but its content was rather presented as a lifestyle, and the reader could order clothes and accessories from it. The Louis Vuitton bag was an ostentatious device of

Japanese anthropologist Aoki Tamotsu considers this to be a period when the Japanese followed the occidental model and denied their own culture. As the author demonstrated, the Japanese 'had to reconstruct the nation and their society which looked the occidental countries as their well advanced example, on denying abruptly an idea' (Aoki, T. *Nihonbunka ron no henyo* [Evolution of views of Japanese culture], Tokyo: Chuokoron sha, 1999, p. 27). Following French fashions became one of the visible ways that Japan adopted 'modernity', which could signify 'occidentalisation' in this period. From 1948 to 1954, under the occupation of General Headquarters (GHQ), Japan had to modernise, Americanise, occidentalise, and democratise its social system, which entailed the denial of the Japanese culture. As in the Meiji period, Japan had to keep up the appearance of being a democratised and modernised country for GHQ and the occident. Following the same Parisian fashions followed by Americans played a role in this modernisation.

Within these social contexts, we now turn to how some significant articles from Japanese dressmaking magazines like *Soen* presented a 'new look' to Japanese readers.

²⁴⁵ Soen (『装苑』) is a dressmaking magazine that has been published since 1936 by Bunka Fukusô Gakuin. The Bunka Dressmaking School is famous in Japan, having produced famous designers, such as Kenzo Takada and Yohji Yamamoto, both active in the French fashion world.

²⁴⁶ According to the *Compendium of Foreign Companies* published by Toyo Keizai Shinbunsha (29 April 1999), the luxury brand income reports in 1997 were as follows: Louis Vuitton 17.5 billion yen; Hermes 5 billion yen; Gucci 4.3 billion yen; Chanel 2.8 billion yen.

modernisation and westernisation and a way of showing that one belonged to the middle class²⁴⁷. Japanese society then tried to attain westernisation and to go beyond it. In contrast, articles published about Louis Vuitton in 1999 did not present French features as before. Instead, they illustrated the relevance of Louis Vuitton bags in each generation's life context. In this final case, westernisation and modernisation were not expressed explicitly but were self-evident. Without explaining this western brand consumption as globalisation, magazines presented several ways of localising this western-brand bag for all generations.

 $^{^{247}}$ The dominant reason for this trend in the 1970s was the realisation of a capitalist society and high economic growth and the establishment of the middle class through consumption. To truly understand the situation in the 1970s, we must also consider the 1960s when the Ikeda government declared the 'plan for doubling income (所得倍增計画)'. The Japanese society thus became a real capitalist society. The growth of Japanese consumption supported this realisation of high economic growth. However, how was consumption promoted in the 1960s in Japan? To answer that question, we could point out the following: the number of salaried workers belonging to the new middle class started growing. Through the development of an industrial society, the new middle class (shin churyu kaikyu 新中流階級) appeared and progressed, while farm workers, craftsmen, and merchants all experienced decrease in their numbers (Ishikawa, A., Misekake no churyu kaikyu, Tokyo: Yuhikaku 1982, p. 16).; The increase in people feeling that they belonged to middle class society encouraged consumption because wage gaps were closed. Meanwhile, consumption and hobbies became standardised among the Japanese in the 1960s. Michiko Naoi, a Japanese sociologist, explained the reason for this growth of Japanese who identified themselves as the middle class: The life with 'the house, bath, telephone, and refrigerator was considered the life of the middle class'. That is, consumption became a barometer for judging which class Japanese people belonged to (Naoi, M., 'Kaisou ishiki to kaikyu ishiki', (Conscience of class, conscience of hierarchy) in Nihon no kaiso kozou (Structure of the Japanese hierarchy), ed. Kenichi Tominaga, Tokyo: Tokyodaigaku shuppannkai, 1979, p. 372). In the 1960s, to belong to the middle class, Japanese people tried to buy the same things. The first three sacred treasures (三種の神器, Sansyu no sinki) were a television, a washing machine, and a refrigerator. The next three sacred treasures were a color television, a car, and an air conditioner. These were the necessities, the commodities. After everybody had these commodities, they started to spend their money on luxuries. Thus, in the 1960s and 1970s, the consumption of luxury items was a way of belonging to the middle class (Ishikawa, pp. 44-45). This type of luxury consumption promoted overseas travel in Japan. Forty hours of work per week and two days of holiday per week favored a hobby boom and encouraged leisure travel. Overseas trips were promoted, particularly after April 1964, when the Japanese could freely leave Japan. Travel abroad peaked in the 1970s (Leblanc, C. Le Japoscope, Paris: Illyfunet., p. 181). Thus, in Japan, consumption became part of the middle class as the society moved away from necessities towards leisure and hobbies.

Although these days the place of dispatch of fashion is diversified, in Japanese fashion magazines, we found, for example, in the Japanese Fashion magazine *ELLE Japon* and on the website, 'Paris Fashion Snap', that Parisienne street fashion styles are presented mainly as examples that Japanese readers are invited to follow,²⁴⁸ while *ELLE France* presents the fashion of New York, London or Paris mainly but not that of Japan, as examples²⁴⁹. Modernisation after WWII in terms of Japanese fashion could be described as the localisation of western fashion; the manner in which western fashion was accepted and acculturated developed according to Japanese social contexts. Accordingly, fashion was one device that was used for constructing the identity of a westernised Japan.

Occidentalisation or Americanisation could be said to be a synonym for modernisation in Japan, which has absorbed foreign cultures into its own culture. In the Asian context, Japanese national identity is characterised by its ability to have realised the most successful and rapid occidentalisation, Americanisation, and modernisation in Asia. As Iwabuchi said, 'Japan is a non-Western nation that has most sincerely and successfully absorbed Western civilization and culture', which has permitted it to distance itself from other Asian countries since the Meiji Era²⁵⁰.

At the same time, we cannot avoid admitting the fact that Japan has adopted western fashion as though obvious, undoubted truth would reinforce the binominal, oppositional relation of the maturity of the west versus the immaturity of Japan. According to the sociologist Shinji Miyadai, in Japan, immaturity exists despite an obsession with maturity and an innate respect for authenticity, which is the origin of the need for imitation and which is equivalent to immaturity. Against this background, we have feelings such as, "We are 'imitation', that were provoked by rapid

²⁴⁸ Its introductory paragraph Streetstyle delivers you the parisiennes latest fashion trends directly from Paris and the "it" styles from sacred homes of fashion such as NY, London, and Tokyo daily'(http://www.elle.co.jp/fashion/snap examined on 2013/09/26).

²⁴⁹ Street Fashion style is presented on the website *ELLE of which the* introductory paragraph of a latest article is 'what is the trend being most widely adopted by fashionistas this season? The checkered pattern. Whether this trend is in London or in New York, the editors do promise only this print. (http://www.elle.fr/ Mode/Influences /Street –Style examined on 2013/09/26).

²⁵⁰ Iwabuchi K., Japanese Popular Culture and Postcolonial Desire for 'Asia, *Popular Culture*, Globalization and Japan (Matthew A. and Sakamoto R. (ed.)), Routledge, 2006, p. 22.

westernisation and modernisation"²⁵¹. The westernisation of Japanese fashion reveals a binominal, oppositional scheme: Western fashion versus Japanese westernised fashion would be equivalent to maturity versus immaturity.

2. FRENCH FASHION ACCULTURATING AND APPROPRIATING JAPANESE FASHION

2.1. Representations of fashion proposed by Japanese designers in France: Appropriated, assimilated, or sublimated into art, fashions detested exoticism

However, not only did French fashion have an influence in Japan: Japanese fashion has influenced European fashion since the midnineteenth century as well. And since the 1970s, a second wave of Japanese fashion in Paris has taken hold and includes Japanese designers such as Kenzo Takada, Issey Miyake, and *Comme des Garçons*. In the 1990s, Kawaii Fashion, Japanese street fashion, such as 'Gothic Lolita' and 'Kosupuré' of Manga, began to be received in France.

2.1.1. Issey Miyake: Exoticism sublimated into art and futurism

Issey Miyake, born in Hiroshima in 1936, established his pret-a-porter brand in 1971, the year when he showed his first collection in New York and Tokyo. In 1973, his collection moved from New York to Paris, and the French fashion magazine *Elle* devoted its front cover to Miyake's fashion. In 1975, he opened his first shop in Paris, and since the second half of 1980, he has worked a lot with pleats, to which Miyake is considered to bring a contemporary, aesthetic expression.

Especially since the second half of the 1980s, the fashions proposed by Issey Miyake have often been presented as being from the 'designer of the third millennium' (*Le Figaro*, October 23, 1989). The fashion section published in *Le Figaro*, a French national newspaper, reads as follows:

²⁵¹ Miyadai, S.,「かわいいの本質」[kawaii no honsitsu] ("The Essense of Kawaii in English") in 『日本的想像力の未来』Nihontekisouzouryoku no mirai] (Future of Japanese Creative Power-possibilities of Cool Japanology), H. Azuma (ed.), Tokyo: NHK Books, 2010. p. 98-99.

Issey Miyake is spectacular: "[...] dresses for women from another planet, in pleated silk in reliefs articulated to the elbows, arms or waist as it would be for samurai armour - armour of silk which evokes the robot of tomorrow and the goddess of science fiction. [...]. Miyake is designer, artist, visionary. The third millennium interests him!" (*Le Figaro*, March 20, 1989).

In this text, by using the adjective, 'spectacular', the journalist introduces some opposing stereotypical expressions that evoke, on the one hand, Japanese tradition (samurai armour), and on the other, innovation ('visionary', 'women from another planet', 'the robot of tomorrow and the goddess of science fiction', 'the third millennium'). These expressions, used instead of 'exotic' to describe fashions that are not similar to French fashions, are used to add value to Miyake's work and emphasise the positive. As another example, I also found 'Issey Miyake: Art or Fashion?' (*Le Figaro*, October 22, 1990). These terms, art, or evoking the future, are used to create in the reader the desire to support Miyake's fashion. When his fashion is exotic, meaning far removed from occidental traditional standards, it is positively represented as art or futurism.

2.1.2. Rei Kawakubo: Primitive exoticism as violence: Invasion, survivor of atomic bomb, auto-destruction

Rei Kawakubo, a Japanese designer born in Tokyo, Japan in 1942, worked first for the Asahi Kasei textile company. In 1973, she launched her pret-a-porter brand, *Comme des Garçons*. She showed her first collection in 1981 in Paris. Since the 1983 spring and summer Parisian pret-a-porter collections, Kawakubo, with another Japanese designer, Yohji Yamamoto, has impressed observers of fashion. She embodied the ideas of the avantgarde by presenting a look known as the 'poor look'. The creations of *Comme des Garçons* try to shatter the values of occidental fashion and are always controversial in the French media. That is, *Comme des Garçons* creations are considered exotic fashion, far from the European norm. I found that Kawakubo's creations were treated in three particular ways in the French national newspapers such as *Le Figaro* of the 1980s, when, because of strong Japanese economic power in the European market, the French media diffused a negative image of Japan rather than a positive

one in order to criticise what they saw as economic invasion. I will present some of the representative examples 252 .

Kawakubo arrived in French fashion in the 1980s. In representing Kawakubo's fashion, *Liberation* first associated it with militarism, as in the following example: 'pale and gloomy models, striding along the podium in Prussian manner (did I not say before that the Japanese are the Prussians of Asia?)' (*Liberation*, March 20, 1983).

The expression, 'in Prussian style' makes reference to the strict discipline of Prussian soldiers, and 'the Prussians' refers to German soldiers under Prussian hegemony. What is more, the exoticism of Kawakubo's fashion is sometimes interpreted as the result of the atomic bomb: 'With an hors-d'oeuvre of Japanese speciality served by a Nippon company Comme des Garcons. Her apocalyptic vision of the clothes: holes, rags, as though for the survivors of nuclear catastrophe' (Le Figaro, October 21, 1982).

The fashion of *Comme des Garcons* implies neither rapport with the atomic bomb nor any explicit evocation of Hiroshima. But, needless to say, this expression, 'Her apocalyptic vision of the clothes: holes, rags, as though for the survivors of nuclear catastrophe' easily evokes the memory of Hiroshima. The exoticism of Kawakubo's fashion is also represented as alienation or self-destruction: 'Comme des Garcons ou comme des folles ['like boys or like crazies']: Where are we? At a fashion show or a psychiatric refuge?' (Le Figaro, October 21, 1982).

Thus, in the 1980s the exoticism of *Comme des Garcons* fashion is represented through violence, through the victims of the atomic bomb, or through insanity.

2.2. Immaturity and the kawaii style

Since 1990, Japanese popular culture, such as *manga*, video games, and street fashion, has been imported into France and into other countries. One of the key words in this movement is *kawaii* (cute). However, as Koga showed, 'outside of Japan, *kawaii* designates [rather] the new Japanese culture such as *anime* or *manga*; the fashion *kawaii*, a casual fashion such

Our corpus stretched from 1981 to 1992. In *Le Figaro*, which presented all collections concerning the Japanese designer, we found 105 articles. In *Libération*, we found 37 articles of which 12 articles were on R. Kawakubo (*Comme des Garçons*) and 6 articles were on I. Miyaké.

as *harajuku kei* [Harajuku street fashion]'.²⁵³ But unlike Kimono, Kawaii fashion is considered to have been formed and transformed through absorbing western fashion since the Taisho period (Botz-Bornstein 2011, Koga 2009, Nakamura 2012).²⁵⁴ C. Veillon quotes the definition of *kawaii* given by S. Kinsella: 'the *kawaii* phenomenon, and the behavior it implies, is a kind of revolt by young Japanese' who 'play the role of children in order to accent their so-called immaturity and incapacity to take social responsibilities' (Veillon 2008: 63). The style of *kawaii* adopted in France tends to focus on a kind of immaturity, proper to Japan.

In French national newspapers, such as Le Monde, Liberation, and Le Figaro, the term kawaii has not been used very frequently since its first presentation in 1999. This term appeared for the first time in Le Monde in 1999. The term has been used in *Liberation* since 2002 and in *Le Figaro* since 2006. It appears 8 times in Le Monde between 1999 and 2013, 24 times in Liberation and 23 times in Le Figaro. In these newspapers, by 2008, the term, kawaii is used to designate the character of the Japanese popular culture or the activities of the Japanese artist Takashi Murakami as vapidly or perversely cute (Koma 2010a). What is more, in Le Dictionnaire du Look (the dictionary of the look) published in France in 2009, kawaii is used to describe a childish universe: "the kawaii world is the world of the child, filled with stars; panda babies and very cute fireflies are used to describe the childish universe" (De Magargerie 2009: 131). I found fashion influenced by manga in Madame Figaro, although it was always in the guise of the Japanese character Hello *Kitty*. The 'calm' version of the *kawaii* style could be found in the April 2010 issue of Glamour, for which the caption is "KAWAII! The first sun's ray, the look preppy of the Japanese is adopted." The tendency to qualify Japanese women and style in terms evoking immaturity, such as mignon (cute) and petit (small), had already begun in the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century novel, Madam Chrysanthemum, the narrator stated,

²⁵³ Koga, R. "Kawaii" no teikoku (the empire of "kawaii"), Tokyo: Seidosha, 2009, p. 210.

²⁵⁴ Furthermore, the 11 wearers of one of kawaii's fashions, Lolita Fashion, answer that the origin of most Lolita Fashion is Victorian style, Marie Antoinette style, Rococo style, and 19th century English and French aristocratic style. Japan found these in the 1970s through the fashion shop Milk, and in the 1990s, through the visual kei band, Mana and through Harajuku (Koma, K. Kawaii as Represented by Wearers in France Using Example of Lolita Fashion, Regional Studies(7), 2013).

"I really abuse the adjective 'petit'. I know it well, but how could I do otherwise? – In describing the things of this country, I tended to use it 10 times in a line. Little, vapid, cute (in a negative sense), the morals and physiques of Japan are in these three words..."²⁵⁵

In 1868, Pierre Loti published *Madame Chrysantheme*, a successful novel about the author's impressions of Japan in the form of an intimately written diary. Loti evokes, in particular, the image of Japanese women, whom he describes as dolls or *mousme*, a neologism designating a type of young Japanese daughter. Also reflecting this vogue, Japanese fashion kimonos and Japanese women were presented in some French women's magazines. *Femina* introduced French fashion influenced by the style of the kimono as '*Madam Chrysanthemum* style' inspired by the main character, Madam Chrysanthemum, described by Loti in his novel as a '*petite mousme*'. According to the narrator, this reinforces their image as *poupee-objets* ('doll-objects') that are immature and have no emotions.

As the French writer Michel Butor said, "Loti felt adult in a child's country"²⁵⁶. Furthermore, as I remarked before, S. Kinsella said that *kawaii* is a way of escaping the restrictions governing Japanese youth. Even now, as Brian Morean indicated regarding the images of Japan presented in British advertisements, Japanese people are often represented as children, effeminate, or incomprehensible²⁵⁷. Thus, how could the Japanese fashion booms in France, such as the Kimono style and *kawaii*, not be considered to be connected with immaturity?

Not only Japanese fashion and Japanese women but also Japanese culture was considered *kawaii* and something that corresponded to an explanation in a kind of encyclopaedia of Japanese culture for French teenagers, *kawaii trop mignon*, *le livre 100 pourcent Japane* (kawaii too cute, the 100 percent Japanese book), published by *Les Editions Larousse*. In the summary presented on the cover of this book, I found the following text:

"Kawaii mania will no longer be a secret to you. This book is for girls fascinated by Japan. This book, 100% Japanese, describes all

²⁵⁵ Loti, P., Madame Chrysantheme, Paris: GF Flammarion. 1990, p. 182.

²⁵⁶ Butor, M. Le Japon depuis la France un reve a l'ancre, Paris: Hatier, 1995, p. 41.

²⁵⁷ Morean, B. The orient strikes back. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 13 (3), 2006, p. 77-112.

events associated with these trends from the country of Hello Kitty: the fashion, the culture, the way of living."

For a long time, Japan has been called names such as 'The Land of the Rising Sun', but this encyclopaedia explains not only Japanese youth culture but also traditional Japanese and general daily culture, referring to Japan as 'the country of Hello Kitty'. Japanese traditions and general culture are reduced to the culture of the country of Hello Kitty. Such a denomination, and the concept of this book, generalise the idea by which Japan continues to be considered a childish country. As discussed above, we found several interpretations of the exoticism of Japanese fashion in the French media: futurist exoticism (which corresponds with one 'of the sky-scraper and of the electronic' according T. Todorov), of which incomprehensibility is sublimated by art and futurism; and primitive exoticism, which, according to the contexts, takes the form of alienation or of provoked violence or victimisation. The kawaii represented is considered to be a kind of complex exoticism that is primitive, futuristic and egalitarian. The egalitarian exoticism proposed by Rafoni and quoted and developed by C. Sabre, and which analyses the reception of Japanese Popular culture in France, is exoticism that is "characterised by the egalitarian look which it directed on the foreign object as dignified and valuable in its radical otherness ..."258 We will review some of the examples in detail.

As identity is the 'product of a relation with the other'²⁵⁹, could it be said that the exotic representation of Japanese fashion functions to implicitly reaffirm a French identity: maturity versus immaturity, civilisation versus violence or savagery? The binominal opposition of civilisation versus violence or savagery, which could be considered to be a savage and immature culture, would be absorbed into the opposition of maturity versus immaturity.

²⁵⁸ Rafoni B. Représentation et interculturalité. Les nouvelles images du Japon. *Questionner l'internationalisation, cultures, acteurs, organisations, machines : actes du XIVe congrès national des sciences de l'information et de la communication*, Université de Montpellier III / Société française des sciences de l'information et de la communication, 2004, p. 19-26. SFSIC ed (quoted by Sabre, C., Neojaponism and pop culture New Japanese exoticism in France, *Regionines studijos* (6) (ed. Koma, K.), p. 67-88).

²⁵⁹ Benichou M. Le multiculturalisme, Rosny: Bréal, 2006, p. 13.

By way of conclusion, beyond the binominal opposition: maturity versus immaturity

As discussed above, the westernisation of Japanese fashion and Japanese, and westernised fashion as received in France tend to be represented under the binominal oppositional scheme of the west as a mature culture versus Japan as an immature culture that would have been constructed by 'Modernist Cultural Understanding'²⁶⁰.

But how could "the point of view of 'Modernist Cultural Understanding" be avoided when Japanese *kawaii* is examined?

Keath Vincent discussed in *the genealogy of Japanese immaturity* that we need to abandon the immaturity stereotype of Japan, which is based on a binominal opposition such as 'men and women' or 'mature and immature'²⁶¹. Vincent hopes that the childish image of Japan could become a device that permits us to think long and hard about the understanding of our boyhood days and how 'graduation, awakening from this period and growth have been wrapped by the conceptual meaning of modern world'.²⁶²

Following the idea that Vincent presented as described above, could the aesthetic of *kawaii* be considered to have been related to a notion of Daisetsu Suzuki「無分別 [mufunbetsu] (no-discrimination)」, ²⁶³ which is joined with various types of duality in western thought including subjectivity versus objectivity, object versus mind.... That is, the purpose of 'no-discrimination' is, without inclining toward either extreme of dual opposition, and if I can add, without falling into nationalism, to overcome relativity, to produce an idea that will unify the West and East, and to speculate on a new world. Could a Japanese character in westernised Japanese fashion and in its representation in France considered as immature be re-examined from a point of view of no-discrimination as a culture that has the flexibility to have absorbed western culture and even to have touched the incomplete beauty?

²⁶⁰ Vincent K., "日本的未熟性の系譜" [Nihontekimijukusei no keifu (*Genealogy of Japanese Immaturity*), 『日本的想像力の未来』 Nihontekisouzouryoku no mirai] (Future of Japanese Creative Power-possibilities of Cool Japanology), H. Azuma (ed.), Tokyo: NHK Books, p. 26.

²⁶¹ Vincent K., p. 94.

²⁶² Vincent K., p. 18.

²⁶³ Suzuki D.,『対訳禅と日本文化 [Taiyaku zen to nihon bunka]』 *Zen and Japanese Culture*, translated by Momoo Kitagawa, Kodansya International, 2005, p. 50-53.

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HARUKI MURAKAMI'S "KAFKA ON THE SHORE": ECOCRITICAL READING

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ABSTRACT

Ecocriticism is a growing interdisciplinary approach to literature and environment in the humanities. New awareness of representation of nature in writings of different periods and of different authors is gaining interest and grows as an instrument of literary inquest. It offers deeper and sharper understanding of human life through exploration of human intercations with otherness in the broad spectrum of its forms. "Kafka on the Shore" by Haruki Murakami is a novel which reveals an intricate construct of a dialogical relationship between the human and the animal world – internal and external interactions between the cats, crows and forming or reforming individuals. Haruki Murakami plays with social and biological identities as well as with the essence and the limits of humanity. The world of the novel is actually contructed on the three tier system consisting of social culture tier, biological tier and the mysterious existence of nonhuman phenomena. In effect a human life is examined thoroughly as a moment of recreation through these three stages.

Keywords: Haruki Murakami, ecocriticism, other, mountain.

INTRODUCTION

Haruki Murakami is one of the most influential contemporary writers. He is read, admired, honoured and interpreted worldwide. His works are translated into many world languages, Lithuanian including, and are equally appealing to the readers globally as they are to the Japanese people. In his writings Murakami approaches and deals with complex issues such as tradition, trauma, indifference, disbelief, mindlessness, experience of pleasure, human and nature. Murakami is concerned in his works with issues understood globally, and his manner of approaching these issues shows us that "...fiction honors the dignity of an individual consciousness" 264.

²⁶⁴ Lewis, A. 18 October, 2013. The Essence of the Japanese Mind: Haruki Murakami and the Nobel Prize. Los Angeles Review of Books. [interactive] accessed 02 December, 2013 [http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/the-essence-of-the-japanese-mind-on-haruki-murakami-and-the-nobel-prize]..

Murakami focuses on individual existences, blends them within certain spatial and temporal frames, in Murakami's words "riddles combine, and through their interaction the possibility of a solution takes shape" ²⁶⁵.

Despite, his appeal to the modern reader's mind and imagination, Murakami's scholars insist that his works seem "to avoid such critical problems as those of self and others or love and hate". Critics mark that the writer lists objects as foods, places and consumer products which are easily consumed and just as easily forgotten and avoids exposing deep and strong passions²⁶⁶. In response to his literary researchers Haruki Murakami gives interviews or writes personal letters to his readers himself in which he explains his writings, his intentions and thoughts that he is following over a certain period of time.

Murakami's strong humanistic concern was stated in his acceptance speech of Jerusalem prize²⁶⁷ for *Kafka on the Shore* in a deeply politicized situation when Israel's foreign policy was condemned by many advanced minds. Among other things in his speech Murakami stated:" I have only one reason to write novels, and that is to bring the dignity of the individual soul to the surface and shine a light upon it."²⁶⁸

Murakami declares his humanistic engagements, national cultural values and the essence of being a Japanese consistently and in public since, at least, 1996^{269} . He notices about Japanese nation that: "There is this feeling of togetherness, of sharing a landscape, or the imperial system, or, indeed, the love of listening to insects "while in 2009 Amanda Lewis in *LA Review of Books*²⁷⁰ states that Murakami diverted from the concept of "togetherness" to the remeasuring the value of the individual in Japanese

²⁶⁵ An Interview with Haruki Murakami.(n. d.) [intercative] accessed 12 December 2013 at [http://www.bookbrowse.com/author_interviews/full/index.cfm?author_number=1103].

²⁶⁶ Fuminobu, M. 2002. Murakami Haruki's postmodern world. *Japan Forum*. Vol. 14(1), p. 127.

²⁶⁷ Murakami, H. Always on the side of the egg. Feb. 17, 2009 [interactive] accessed 20 December 2013 at [http://www.haaretz.com/culture/arts-leisure/always-on-the-side-of-the-egg-1.270371].

²⁶⁸ Supra note 266.

²⁶⁹ Buruma, I. Profiles, Becoming Japanese. *The New Yorker*, December 23, 1996, p. 60.

²⁷⁰ Lewis, A. The Essence of the Japanese Mind: Haruki Murakami and the Nobel Prize, LA Review of Books, 18 October, 2013[interactive] accessed 12 December 2013 at [http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/the-essence-of-the-japanese-mind-on-haruki-murakami-and-the-nobel-prize].

value system. Murakami's social inquest into Japanese character revealed the result of "putting group interest before individual's" and this gave ground for his concern that human compassion to an individual is not in line with the national character.

The quest for compassion, in the broadest sense, culturally, and in a particular value set of one novel, leads to close analysis of common social spaces where individual interactions happen. In his novels Murakami manifests unity of human, nature and species on many levels. It is possible to assume that, to quote Buell, Murakami represents in his works, Kafka on the Shore as one, "the interdependence of the "anthropocentric" and "ecocentric" dimensions of environmental imagination "271. Ecocentric dimension, though, mainly viewed by Lawrence Buell as the opposite to Western cultural dimension, provides a possible reading of meanings of Haruki Murakami's novel Kafka on the Shore. Possible non-Japanese interpretations of the novel were licensed by Murakami himself in his interview following the publication of Kafka on the Shore; "Japanese information or it might be Western; I don't draw a distinction between the two. I can't imagine how American readers will react to this, but in a novel if the story is appealing it doesn't matter much if you don't catch all the details."272

In this article public spaces will be first approached as physical places of nature, of landscape, and then as cultural places in Haruki Murakami's novel *Kafka on the Shore*. Interactions of human and non-human characters of the novel will be briefly recounted.

1. ECOCRITICISM: NATURAL VS NON-NATURAL. THE DEALS WITH THE OTHER

Ecocriticism as a stream in literary criticism was formed as a transdisciplinary method, which studied geographical, biological and literary writings and focused on revelations of human consciousness. To quote Steven Rosendale in his edited work "Greening of Literary Scholarship:

²⁷¹ Buell, L. Writing for an Endangered World: Literature, Culture, and Environment in the U. S. and Beyond. Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard University Press, 2009. p. 236.

²⁷² An Interview with Haruki Murakami.(n. d.) [intercative] accessed 12 December 2013 at [http://www.bookbrowse.com/author_interviews/full/index.cfm?author_number=1103].

Literature, Theory, and the Environment"²⁷³, the aim of ecocriticism in "nonfiction nature writing (and perhaps environmental writing in all genres) is the exploration of the psychological phenomenon of consciousness and, in some cases, the stimulation of self-awareness and environmental awareness".

Lawrence Buell elaborates on the understanding of environmental awareness by saying that ecocriticism is concerned with the "extension of moral and sometimes even legal standing to wider circles of human and nonhuman community"²⁷⁴. Buell traces the roots of such extensionism as far back as Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and Jeremy Bentham's *The Principles of Morals and Legislation*²⁷⁵. Extensionist principle and practice in literature provide a new approach to the issue of *the other* in philosophical and fictional approaches²⁷⁶. The writings of "nature" and the "natural" posed the questions about the non- natural – the other²⁷⁷. Without further analysis into the concept of "otherness" in this article "other" will be used in the sense of a dialogical peer to the individual, be it human, feline, serpent, bird or ghost.

Kafka on the Shore, in fact, provides the whole array of alternative human ("non-natural") images – memory challenged Satoru Nakata; heamophiliac, transvestite Oshima; fake Johnnie Walker, Colonel Sanders, the boy named Crow, Miss Saeki, talking feline and turning into a ghost image from the picture etc. Throughout the novel all those characters seem to be engaged in activities where they provide important services to each other, in fact, most of these services are of educational service character to the "natural" characters such as Kafka Tamura or Hoshino. Both Kafka Tamura and Hoshino appear to be without immediate family, so the other, in their cases is someone who is not genetically, nor, to that matter, biologically related to them. Kafka Tamura is abandoned by his mother and his sister in his early childhood and is not fond of his father. "I study my

²⁷³ Rosendale, Steven (Editor). Greening of Literary Scholarship: Literature, Theory, and the Environment. Iowa City, IA, USA: University of Iowa Press, 2002, p. 8.

²⁷⁴ Lewis, A. Supra note 270, p. 237.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 240.

²⁷⁷ Mortimer-Sandilands, C.; Erickson, B.; Alaimo, S. Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire. Bloomington, IN, USA: Indiana University Press, 2010, p. 51.

face in the mirror. Genes I inherited from my father and mother – not that I had any recollection of what she looked like – created this face. [...] But there is no way to erase the DNA they passed down to me. If I want to drive that away I'd have to get rid of me." Paradoxically, though he runs away in search for his lost family, he also tries to escape his family at the same time. Kafka Tamura is the character whose education is his personal goal and who is experiencing many interior transformations because of exposure to almost all characters in the novel. However, in the last page of the book Kafka confesses to the Boy named Crow, dialogical peer, imaginary alter ego: "...I still don't know anything about life" 279.

Kafka Tamura lives in constant awareness of the other, since he is on the look out for his missing family. Kafka seems to be confused by not knowing the alternative to himself. This time Kafka Tamura travels into the thickest of the forests, following the labyrinth of trees. Oshima informs Kafka at some point in the story that labyrinth is a metaphor for intestine and a travel through labyrinth in the end is a physical journey inside oneself – the identity which is, ironically and allegorically, genuinely ours: "No *other* here – poisonous snakes, mushrooms, venomous spiders or insects – is going to do you any harm, "[...] "*Other?*" I ask. I can't get a mental picture of what he means. I must be tired. "An *other*, no *other* thing,", he says. "no things are going to harm you here. We're in the deepest part of the forest, after all. And no one- not even yourself – is going to hurt you." This is Kafka's way of dealing with the other – starting with acceptance of oneself.

Mr. Hoshino, on the contrary, cherishes fond memories of his diseased grandfather, and after his long sojourn with Nakata, who happens to remind him of his grandfather, and interactions with Colonel Sanders, though he recognizes their queerness, shows no attempt to resist their influence and converts into a *different* person, to use his own words: "*You* changed my life. These past ten days, I don't know – things look *different* to me now.[...] Music for instance –music I used to think boring really gets to me now.[...] I've started to see the world through *your* eyes. [...] I should

²⁷⁸ Murakami, H. Kafka on the Shore. London: Vintage Books. 2005, p. 11.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 615.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 545.

be thanking you. All I'm trying to say is you've done me the power of good, Mr. Nakata. Do you know what I am saying?"²⁸¹.

The two above examples are given to launch the interpretation of the "non- natural", the other in the novel *Kafka on the Shore*. Transmitting human knowledge and values from the other happens in spaces which in the novel bear significant and long-standing ecocritical interpretation.

2. PLACE AS THE OTHER

Human values in nature writings are found to be extended not only to species but also to the concept of place. The awareness of how much a space becomes a medium for social interaction among present or absent "others" emerges in Anthony Giddens' opinion with the advent of Modernity²⁸². The place with its "phantasmagoric"²⁸³ capacity resolves the otherness issues and in its ecological capacity serves as either "an insulating or a galvanizing force"²⁸⁴.

2.1. Meanings of a place in ecocriticism

Buell quotes a political geographer John Agnew in providing a trifold interpretation of a place as having social, geographical and cultural sense of place meanings²⁸⁵. However, the attempt to differentiate the three layers proved that all meanings are socially constructed and are representative of ecological culture, place connectedness, of a certain tradition or traditions. In this respect another interpretation of the place meanings is found in Yi-fu Tuan's Topophilia, which is representative of a traditional Chinese world view. Tuan draws five concentrict zones: radiating out from the "imperial center": "royal domains," "tributary lords' domains," "zone of pacification," "zone of allied barbarians," and (finally) the "zone of cultureless savagery" 286. Robert Sack offers a scattergram of locales: "image of ordinary middle-class life as a patchwork of specific entanglements that make up one's primary life routines: "my home, my work, my leisure,

²⁸¹ Murakami, H. Supra note 278, p. 535.

²⁸² Mortimer-Sandilands, C. Et al. *Supra* note 277, p. 68.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

my relatives, my worshipping"—"all geographically apart, and often far apart." $^{\rm 287}$

Gertrud Lehnert emphasizes that "places can be superseded by imaginary spaces", e.g. a sitting room as a theatre. The place does not change its material features but rather there is a change in perception, emotional use of the place²⁸⁸. In this sense Lehnert refers to non-places or "heterotopias" in the Foucaultian sense. In modern society these places are excluded from everyday life and are accessible only "under certain conditions (such as opening hours of department stores or museums or, in the case of hospitals or prisons, a good reason as well as a permit to visit someone)"²⁸⁹. These places are regulated by inclusion exclusion regime and therefore are subjects to power status.

Thus there is a distiction between a space and a place. Spaces posses "emotional values and a specific atmosphere" in modern texts dominate such emotional, atmospheric features as: anxiety, desire, fear, uncertainty, solitude. Also freedom or solitude can be experienced in spaces of transition²⁹⁰.

2.2 Spaces and non-spaces in Kafka on the Shore

Several places seem to exude "specific atmosphere" in the novel. The first and most often refered to in different characters' lives is the mountain.

Denis Cosgrove and Veronica della Dora in their book *High Places: Cultural Geographies of Mountains, Ice and Science* analyze the possible interpretations of the geographical locations in writings. In their view "landscapes of high places" most commonly were associated with "feelings of awe, reverence, but also displacement and anxiety"²⁹¹. Such interpretations are not accidental, but rather, as the authors observe, are associated with the physical characteristics – "material specificities"²⁹² of the landscape. In

²⁸⁷ Mortimer-Sandilands, C. Et al. Supra note 277, p. 77.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁹⁰ Lehnert, G. (Editor); Siewert, S. (Editor). Spaces of Desire - Spaces of Transition: Space and Emotions in Modern Literature. Frankfurt, DEU: Peter Lang AG, 2011, p. 8.

²⁹¹ Cosgrove, D.; Dora, V. D. (Editor). High Places: Cultural Geographies of Mountains, Ice and Science. London, GBR: I. B. Tauris, 2008, p. 18.

²⁹² Ibid.

Western 19th century nature writing tradition, according to these authors, high places are spaces of muscular and masculine challenge, of competitive adventure, and unearthly, intense, sometimes even spiritual experience, as well as of intense scientific curiosity "293". Mountains are treated in many faiths as places between the earth and the heaven and often are referred to as the ends of the earth 294. Reaching "the end of earth" would guarantee the "super-human" status to the traveller. However, the ascent to the end of the world is temporary 295. Herman Schmitz assumes that space posseses structures as human body and that space has a quality of atmosphere and emotion 296. Mountains often offer Cartesian detachment from the world at their feet 297.

A mountain as a space can be subject to all these traditions of interpretation. Haruki Murakami highlights linking effect in his interview: "When we write a story on our own it can't help but link up with all sorts of myths. Myths are like a reservoir containing every story there is."298 Therefore, many of the interpretations can find their proofs. First mountain appears in the reports of the mysterious event with the group of schoolchildren who temporarily lost consciousness - military intelligence tapescripts ("It was a hill we often went to on outings.It was a round hill shaped like an upside down bowl. We usually called it Owan yama. [Note: "Rice Bowl Hill."]299), medical expert research (" We asked each of the children what had happened, but they looked dumbfounded, as if we were asking about something they didn't remember taking place. Going up the hill, starting to gather mushrooms – that much they recalled. Everything after that was a total blank."300) the schoolteacher's letter reporting of a dream("The night before I took the children up into the hills, I had a dream about my husband, just before dawn.[...] In the dream we were lying

²⁹³ Cosgrove, D.; Dora, V. D. (Editor). Supra note 291, p. 18.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁹⁶ Lehnert, G. (Editor); Siewert, S. (Editor). Supra note 290, p. 7.

²⁹⁷ Buell, L. *Supra* note 271, p. 25.

²⁹⁸ An Interview with Haruki Murakami. BookBrowse. [interactive] accessed 01 12 2013 [http://www.bookbrowse.com/author_interviews/full/index.cfm?author_number=1103].

²⁹⁹ Murakami, H. Supra note 278, p. 18.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35-36.

on a large flat rock having sex. It was a large grey rock near the top of a mountain.")³⁰¹. In these reports mountain is present but the reporters are not stating their awareness of the importance of this locus, yet the effect of the transition upon human body and human minds, particularly the effect upon Nakata who never regained his memory after the incident on the mountain marks the space as having extra natural powers. However, first and foremost, it is a geographical place.

Though physically not challenging (a round hill shaped like an upside down bowl) - the mountain is charged with mysterious powers, not revealed by scientific research. Mountain is capable of penetrating human consciousness in dreams and in reasoning.

In Kafka Tamura's story line, the mountain is a place whose exceptional status is stressed. Kafka Tamura's mountain is a space of solitude – a transition space. Kafka twice spends his stint on a mountain, both these stays correspond to his inner restructuring and to gaining some new value set. Kafka Tamura's mountain is a transition space from one set of values to another.

Kafka's transition into another self first time is through his study of the trial on Adolf Eichman, Nazi war criminal sentenced on the 15 counts of crimes against Jewish people, and the thought that Kafka reads in the scribbles on the book margin presented to him by his helper and tutor Oshima is: "It's all a question of imagination. Our responsibility begins with the power to imagine. It's just as Yeats said: In dreams begins responsibility." The issue of accepting guilt or not accepting guilt was the key concern of Kafka at this stage of his life in the novel. Kafka happens to be escorted to the mountain following the strange event in his life when he wakes from temporary loss of consciousness behind the Shinto shrine with his T-shirt and hands stained in blood. The sense of a possible guilt scares Kafka and this feeling he lives out in his reflections in his stay on the secluded mountain cabin.

His second trip to the same mountain sanctuary is linked to a more profound identity crisis. ("There is a void inside me, a blank that's slowly expanding, devouring what's left of who I am. I can hear it happening. I am

³⁰¹ Murakami, H. Supra note 278, p. 127.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 172.

totally lost, my identity is dying."³⁰³. This time Kafka Tamura travels into the thickest of the forests, following the labyrinth of trees.

Kafka Tamura's mountain is a transition space into the depth of oneself. It is also non- space, since the access to the mountain is restricted to the public by Oshima's family." My grandfather originally owned this mountain. He was a wealthy man in Kochi, with a lot of property. He passed away ten years ago, and my brother and I inherited almost the entire mountain. No other relatives wanted it. It's too far off the beaten track, and not worth much. "304. Oshima provides the possibility to access the mountain and instructs Kafka as to recommended use of place. It is a place of solitude and by definition becomes a transition space (Oshima gives a warning or a hint to Kafka "...solitude to you comes in different varieties. What's waiting for you may be a little unexpected." "305)

Oshima also guides Kafka into the library, a family owned structure that opens and closes to the public at certain times. The same as the mountain in the novel, the library is an educational institution: "When I open them, most of the books have the smell of an earlier time leaking out from between their pages - a special odour of the knowledge and emotions that for ages have been calmly resting between the covers."³⁰⁶

Oshima further leads Kafka into a back room with extra instructions of when to stay here and the room provides Kafka ephemeral encounters with Miss Saeki at nights, educating his sensuality.

Mountain is exploited in the novel as a space of transition, but it also serves as a non-place – a restricted location for public access. Mountain is a place where the characters are lifted from the ground and are given the opportunity to get inside "their guts" – "the labyrinth".

Mountain is present in yet another shape as a cultural symbol – it is Mont Blanc pen, the brand of fountain pen which Miss Saeki uses to write her papers on a daily basis and the pen she plays with when talking to Nakata about the entrance stone. Her association with the mountain is this tiny but salient detail in the novel.

³⁰³ Murakami, H. *Supra* note 278, p. 508.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 150.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 147.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Following the triade of a geographical place depiction suggested by John Agnew: social, geographical and cultural sense of the place; mountain appears as mostly geographical icon at the start of the novel as a space where the mysterious events happen to a group of children; then the mountain is used as a transition space in Kafka Tamura's educational quest for self; and the symbolic use of the glacier's name for the object at hands. Mont Blanc is used not as place but as culturally constructed object for writing and which is endowed with such company Montblanc philosophy as: tradition, storytelling, elegance, preservation: "Just as a soul remains long after its body is gone our pieces are crafted to perform superbly and brandish elegance for many lifetimes."³⁰⁷

CONCLUSIONS

Ecocriticism in its essence tests human values and consciousness by extension of their key features to observations, descriptions and applications of themes to the non-human phenomena. Also the opposition of natural versus non- natural become key in ecocritical analysis.

Though focusing his interest onto Japanese consciousness, Haruki Murakami commits himself to highlighting individual consciousness within most wide contests. He accepts diversity of interpretations and encourages diverse explanations of his texts.

Kafka on the Shore published in 2002 was followed by critical acclaim and international awards, though the novel's understanding was as much under constrain as was the value of the novel acclaimed internationally.

Ecocritical approach to interpreting otherness through interaction of feline, physically challenged, transvestite, fake identity and ghost-like characters with humans whose major strive was to reconstruct oneself through immediate family (Kafka Tamura primarily through his lost mother and sister, Hoshino through his recollections of his grandfather). The interactions of characters in the novel appears to have educational effect upon Kafka and Hoshino. Though both characters arrive at different conclusions of such interaction. Kafka acknowledges the lack of knowledge of the world, Hoshino realises growth of his understanding and interests.

³⁰⁷ Montblanc. 2013. Corporate philosophy. [interactive] accessed 12 December 2013 [http://www.montblanc.com/en/flash/default.aspx/#/corporate/philosophy].

Following the triadic interpretation of the place description in environmental writings by John Agnew as having social, geographical and cultural readings and mountain location interpretation in literary tradition, it must be admitted that mountain appears in the novel as a geographical place (mysterious event with schoolchildren); social non-place of restricted use, as Oshima's family residence and Kafka's transition spaces and spaces of solitude; and as a cultural artifact in case of Mont Blanc pen in Miss Saedis hands. As a place of transition the mountain provides Kafka opportunity to travel into labyrinth of oneself, into the guts and search for one's identity without any *other*.

Library is also a salient non-place in the novel since it is subject to the same restrictions of access.

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