

Heritage Conservation in Japan's Cultural Diplomacy

Heritage, national identity and national
interest

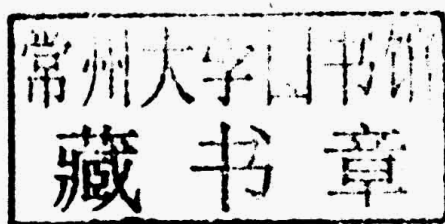
Natsuke Akagawa

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

Heritage Conservation in Japan's Cultural Diplomacy

Heritage, national identity and national
interest

Natsuko Akagawa



First published 2015
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2015 Natsuko Akagawa

The right of Natsuko Akagawa to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Akagawa, Natsuko.

Heritage conservation and Japan's cultural diplomacy: heritage, national identity and national interest / Natsuko Akagawa.

pages cm. – (Routledge contemporary Japan series; 53)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Japan—Cultural policy. 2. Japan—Relations. 3. Cultural diplomacy—Japan. 4. Cultural property—Protection—Japan. 5. Historic preservation—Government policy—Japan. 6. Nationalism—Japan. 7. National interest—Japan. 8. Geopolitics—Japan. I. Title.

DS843.A335 2014

363.6'90952—dc23

2014000801

ISBN: 978-0-415-70762-6 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-88666-4 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Wearset Ltd, Boldon, Tyne and Wear



Printed and bound in Great Britain by
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

for mama, papa, tako, relatives and everyone who has had an
impact on my life .

Figures

3.1	Development of Japanese heritage conservation system, history and Japanese identity	54
3.2	Schematic diagram of cultural properties	56
3.3	Ise Shrine precincts in 2013	76
4.1	Overview of ODA and new JICA	89
4.2	Organisational framework of JCIC-Heritage	100
4.3	Organisational chart of UNESCO activities	103
7.1	Plaque commemorating ‘the project for improving the surrounding area of My Son sanctuary’	151
7.2	Structure in the Hue citadel destroyed during the Vietnam War	153
7.3	Main Gate (Ngo Mon) restored during 1990–2	156
7.4	Site of Can Chanh Palace	162
7.5	Framework of international cooperation between Vietnam and Waseda, Japan in Hue	165
7.6	Nha Nhac Theatre restored during 1998–2001	169
7.7	Nha Nhac performers	170

Tables

1.1	Three types of power	26
2.1	Analysis of <i>Nihonjinron</i>	39
3.1a	Number of cultural properties listed by the National Government (as of 1 December 2013): Designation	57
3.1b	Number of cultural properties listed by the National Government (as of 1 December 2013): Selection	58
3.1c	Number of cultural properties listed by the National Government (as of 1 December 2013): Registration	58
4.1	ODA policy towards humanitarian security aid that became the focus for Prime Ministers Koizumi (2001–6), Abe (2006–7) and Fukuda (2007–8)	90
7.1	Japan's Aid for the Complex of Hue Monuments	155
A.1	Comprehensive table of all international assistance in and around the Complex of Hue Monuments	191
A.2	Major universities involved in large-scale international cooperation for heritage conservation	196

Boxes

4.1	Development of ODA in Japan	87
4.2	UNESCO/Japan Funds-in-Trust under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	109
4.3	UNESCO/Funds-in-Trust under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan	110–111

Preface

This book demonstrates how Japan's heritage conservation policy and practice, as deployed through its foreign aid programmes, became one of the main means through which post-World War II Japan sought to mark its presence in the international arena, both globally and regionally. Japan's involvement in heritage conservation has been intimately linked to its sense of national identity and that Japan's national interest was reflected in its use of cultural heritage has been an important element in its self-portrayal as a responsible global and regional citizen. Building on its historically significant and distinctive approach to conservation and the rich scope of its national heritage protection system, Japan has developed a heritage-based strategy, which it has used as part of its cultural diplomacy, designed to increase its 'soft power' both globally and within the Asian region.

This focus on Japan's use of cultural heritage as an element of its cultural diplomacy is contextualised by exploring the evolution of the heritage conservation movement in Japan since the Meiji restoration as well as Japan's positioning in Asia prior to and after World War II and particularly following the end of the Cold War. The Nara Conference on Authenticity (1994) and the appointment of Matsuura Koichiro as the Director-General of UNESCO (1999–2009) are two specific examples that reflect Japan's influence at a global level. During Matsuura's term in office, the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) (the '2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention') was adopted. Seen in retrospect, the Convention represents Japan's principal contribution to the global heritage system. It parallels the Nara Document on Authenticity, Japan's main contribution to the international heritage discourse.

Regionally within Asia, and especially in East and Southeast Asia, many heritage sites with iconic value for national identity have received major heritage conservation funding from Japan. In this book, Japan's involvement in cultural heritage conservation projects in Hue, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, is used as a case study to examine in detail the role that heritage has played in Japan's cultural diplomacy within the region. This case study, based on fieldwork undertaken in Japan, Vietnam and Thailand, reveals how Japan has contributed to the conservation of Vietnam's heritage and shows that this was supported by the

Japanese Government as a form of cultural diplomacy. It also reveals how such practice impacted on the direction of Vietnamese official policies towards enhancing that nation's cultural identity.

An examination of existing publications shows that a comprehensive study exploring the evolution of Japanese heritage conservation policy and practice in relation to Japanese national identity and foreign policy has not been undertaken. This study seeks to fill that gap. In an era where global cooperation has become increasingly important for humanitarian, security and economic reasons, Japan used its strength in the heritage field to allow it to exercise a significant degree of influence in its immediate region and also more generally in the evolving global discourse on the principles and practice of heritage conservation.

More broadly, the study establishes the theoretical nexus between the politics of heritage conservation, cultural diplomacy and national interest. Thus, it demonstrates that issues of heritage conservation practice and policy extend beyond the provenance of heritage practitioners, heritage policy-makers and scholars, to fall legitimately within the wider study of geo-politics. In addressing the political dimension of heritage as a key issue of contemporary concern in the field of heritage studies, this innovative integrated framework could therefore provide a model for an understanding of the role of heritage in other countries.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to scholars, researchers, government officials, site managers and anonymous supporters in Thailand, Vietnam, Japan and elsewhere around the globe, whose cooperation, informal conversations and openness have always been my source of inspiration and insights that I could never capture from literature alone.

I would like to express my gratitude to my colleagues at The University of Western Australia, where I am currently Assistant Professor, for their encouragement and to the International Institute for Asian Studies and Leiden University for their generous support in awarding me with a Fellowship to complete the manuscript for this book.

My appreciation to Alfred Deakin Professor William Logan, Associate Professor Michele Langfield, Dr Joost Coté, Alfred Deakin Professor David Walker, Professor Herb Stovel, Professor William Chapman, Dr Tiamsoon Sirisrisak, Professor Hugh O'Neil, Professor Katherine Darian-Smith, Dr Kate MacNeill, Professor Máiréad Nic Craith, Dr Helaine Silverman, Dr Laurajane Smith, Professor David Simpson, Winthrop Professor Krishna Sen, Winthrop Professor Susan-Broomhall, Winthrop Professor Philip Mead, Dr Richard Engelhardt and Professor Michael Herzfeld for their constructive advice. Thank you also to my former colleagues at Deakin University, Monash University, Melbourne University and La Trobe University.

Thank you my friends, for your inspirations, support, comfort and encouragements. I am truly grateful. Thank you, Linda, David, Jacqueline, Margaret B., Sue R., Lu-Chin, Alberto, Ivy, Yiqing and all of my dear friends.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to my family – my parents, brother and relatives – for their encouragement and dedicated support.

Abbreviations

ACCU	Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
EIIHCAP	Establishment Initiative for the Intangible Heritage Centre for the Asia-Pacific
FY	Fiscal Year
HMCC	Hue Monument Conservation Centre
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IIRC	ICOMOS International Wood Committee
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JEXIM	The Export-Import Bank of Japan
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JNTO	Japan National Tourism Organisation
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology
MOCST	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NFUAI	National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan
NHK	Nippon Hoso Kyokai
NIT	Nippon Institute of Technology
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
OSH	Outrage at state humiliation
OTCA	Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency
SCAP/GHQ	Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers/General Headquarters
SEAMEO-SPAFA	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development

xx *Abbreviations*

UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
WFUCA	World Federation of UNESCO Clubs and Associations

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of tables</i>	xiv
<i>List of boxes</i>	xv
<i>Preface</i>	xvi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xviii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xix
Introduction: heritage conservation in global and regional cultural diplomacy	1
1 Unpacking heritage: deconstruction and construction of heritage	8
2 National identity, nationalism and Japanese identity	28
3 The Japanese heritage conservation approach and authenticity	47
4 Japan in the global heritage context	79
5 Intangible heritage	115
6 Vietnam case study: Vietnam's nationalist history and Japan's Official Development Assistance to Vietnam	138
7 Vietnam case study: Can Chanh Palace and Nha Nhac Court Music in Hue	150
8 Conclusion: Japan a 'cultural nation'?	182

xii *Contents*

<i>Appendix 1</i>	191
<i>Appendix 2</i>	196
<i>References</i>	197
<i>Index</i>	219

Introduction

Heritage conservation in global and regional cultural diplomacy

To date, a comprehensive study exploring the evolution of Japanese heritage conservation policy and practice in relation to Japanese national identity and foreign policy has not been undertaken. This study therefore aims to fill that gap. It shows how Japanese heritage conservation policy and practice intersect with Japanese national identity and nationalism and how, in turn, these are linked to Japan's national interest in providing a key element in its foreign policy and cultural diplomacy. It provides a comprehensive understanding of the historical background and nature of cultural heritage laws in Japan since the Meiji era and explains how this tradition of cultural heritage practice has been utilised in the operation of Japan's cultural diplomacy. Referring to Joseph Nye's (1990) concept of 'soft power', the study shows how heritage conservation has become a key component of Japan's foreign policy strategy to strengthen its presence on the international stage as a form of soft diplomacy. More broadly, the study establishes the theoretical nexus between the politics of heritage conservation, cultural diplomacy and national interest. In providing a framework for examining the political dimension of heritage conservation, it is hoped that this innovative contribution to heritage studies will provide a model for identifying the role of heritage in other national contexts.

The focus of this study is contextualised through an exploration of the historical background of heritage conservation in Japan, Japan's positioning in Asia after World War II and, more specifically, its positioning following the end of the Cold War. Locating Japan's heritage policy within this historical context enables a clearer understanding of why and how heritage conservation has become one of the important means through which Japan deploys its foreign aid programmes to mark its presence in the international arena. It helps to highlight the mixed motivations for Japan's involvement in heritage at the global and regional level. This includes not only commercial interests but also its aim is to be seen as a 'good global citizen' serving wider humanity by undertaking cultural works in support of the principles advanced by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The book explores and documents in some detail Japan's involvement in the development of UNESCO policy and practice in the area of World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage as its major contribution to the global heritage

2 Introduction

discourse. More specifically, it focuses on Japan's role in the discussion of the Nara Document on Authenticity and subsequently on its important involvement in the preparation of the legal instrument for the safeguarding of intangible heritage or immaterial heritage, following the French term *patrimoine immatériel*. It is argued that Japanese efforts not only contributed to elevating global heritage discourse to a position where it became capable of accommodating more complex and diverse forms of cultural heritage, but in doing so, allowed Japan to fulfil its aspirations of playing a significant humanitarian role in global affairs.

With the emerging global emphasis on the need for regional and international cooperation, Japan's international cultural policy has been designed to contribute to the broader domain of economic development and security issues. Its cultural diplomacy is interwoven with efforts to elevate Japan's position in the region through the use of heritage conservation funds and its technical expertise.

The book is thus concerned to show that much of Japan's foreign policy and the projection of its national identity abroad are interlinked with the practice of cultural diplomacy. It shows that the issue of heritage conservation practice and policy extends beyond the provenance of heritage practitioners, heritage policy-makers and scholars, to legitimately fall within the wider study of geo-politics.

To this end, the case of cultural heritage conservation projects in Hue, Vietnam, is employed to explore in detail the role of Japanese cultural diplomacy. In analysing this case, the study reveals how the mechanisms and processes through which the Japanese government has provided support for heritage conservation in Vietnam can be seen as an exercise of its 'soft power'. At the same time, it shows that the Japanese presence in the field of local heritage conservation has had an impact on the direction of Vietnamese national policies, towards enhancing its cultural identity.

Vietnam was specifically chosen for the case study because Japan's support of Vietnam was the first occasion on which Japan moved away from its earlier non-interference foreign aid programme policy. Far from being a policy of non-intervention, in using Official Development Assistance (ODA), Japan has been able to exercise a significant degree of influence over Vietnam's development policy and its judicial system. Within Vietnam, Hue was selected for study because it was the first place in that country where Japan officially provided aid to projects for safeguarding heritage, both tangible and intangible. Furthermore, 'The Complex of Hue Monuments' is the first World Heritage site in Vietnam and the 'Nha Nhac – Vietnamese Court Music' in Hue is the first element to be listed under the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention.

The example of Hue, therefore, also effectively allows one to observe how Japanese aid for heritage conservation included support for safeguarding both tangible and intangible heritage. The case study thus reveals not only the characteristics of Japan's cultural diplomacy in relation to heritage but also how its own specific practice in heritage conservation, of which some aspects are now reflected in World Heritage Operational Guidelines, are applied.

This study specifically seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1 How do Japanese heritage conservation policy and practice intersect with Japanese national identity, nationalism and national interest?
- 2 How did Japan make use of its heritage conservation expertise to become one of the major players in the international cultural heritage conservation field?
- 3 How has Japan's use of heritage in its cultural diplomacy strategy influenced the development of 'international best practice' in the heritage field?
- 4 How has Japan contributed to heritage conservation in Vietnam, and how does this reflect the Japanese Government's use of cultural heritage conservation activities as part of its cultural diplomacy in the region?

Existing literature on Japanese heritage and heritage conservation focuses mostly on technical aspects relevant to architectural conservation on specific case studies. As for Japanese heritage, the focus tends to be narrowly focused or form a part of ethnographic or anthropological studies. This book deals with issues related to architectural conservation, history, anthropology and political science, but from the perspective of heritage studies. In doing so it simultaneously addresses a notable absence in heritage literature in establishing a theoretical nexus through a study of heritage conservation between the politics of heritage conservation, cultural diplomacy, national identity and national interest.

Some elements of heritage discourse in Japan can be found embedded in general guides and reports on 'cultural properties', which are prepared by an official government body, the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan (文化庁), also widely known by its Japanese name of *Bunkacho*. Although there are a number of publications that focus on Japanese nationalism as the core theme in Japanese studies (e.g. Tsurumi 1927; Maruyama 1953; Pyle 1971; Harootunian 1971; Morris-Suzuki 1995; Schmiegelow and Schmiegelow 1990; Lincicome 1999), Sandra Wilson has argued in *Nation and Nationalism in Japan* (2002:1) that 'reference to the Japanese case is almost entirely missing from the contemporary theoretical literature on nation and nationalism'. It is also noticeable that there are very few publications on nationalism in Japan relating to the period of post-war occupation (1945–1952) or after the 1950s. This is in sharp contrast to the extensive critical studies of Japanese nationalism in the pre-World War II period. However, *nihonjinron* (日本人論), the post-war discussion on the nature of Jap-aneseness has become prominent since the 1970s and 1980s (see Miller 1982; Mouer and Sugimoto 1986; Dale 1986; Yoshino 1992, 1997). Befu Harumi (2001), an anthropologist, and Yoshino Kosaku (1992), interpret *nihonjinron* as a type of cultural nationalism.

Given the lack of substantive academic work in this area, therefore, I have had to rely on my own reading and analysis of Japanese government reports and documents, especially those from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Agency of Cultural Affairs and other official documents. The key sources upon which this discussion draws were located in the Diet Library of Japan and the National Museum of Tokyo.