

POLS GR4472 Japanese Politics
Fall 2016
Mondays 10:00-12:00am

Professor Takako Hikotani

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Office hours: Mondays, 1pm-2:30pm in Room 915, IAB, and by appointment

Overview: This course examines contemporary Japanese domestic politics and foreign policy. No prior knowledge of Japanese politics is required. However, this is not an introductory course. It is a graduate course (open also to upper level undergraduates) that discusses important issues about Japanese politics and government performance.

The course will be conducted “seminar-style” with students expected to contribute to discussion based on an advance consideration of required readings. Discussion sessions will be arranged after consultation with the students.

Grades/Expectations: A take-home midterm examination will be distributed in class on October 31 and due on November 7 (to be submitted via email). A final research paper (12-15 pages for undergraduates, 15-18 pages for graduate students) is due at the start of the last class on December 12. Students will be expected to give a presentation on December 12 based on their papers. Final course grades will be calculated as follows: Take-home midterm exam: 25%, Final Research Paper: 50%, Attendance and classroom contributions: 25%.

Plan of Class: This course will introduce you to **seven** important puzzles about Japanese politics. As we try to solve these puzzles, we will learn about:

1. Important actors in Japanese politics: politicians, parties, bureaucrats, groups, citizens
2. Positions that different actors take (policy preferences), and the sources of these preferences.
3. How political institutions (electoral systems, administrative systems) affect the policy preferences of these actors, and block or enhance the representation of these actors’ interests.

- In Part 1 (Week 2 to Week 3), students will be introduced to the origins and foundations of Japan’s security and economic policies.

- Part 2 (Week 4 to Week 8) will focus on the policy making process: electoral system, intra-party organization, party politics, and political-bureaucratic relations. We will discuss how the institutional changes that took place in the past 20 years have changed the policy making process in Japan in important ways.

- In Part 3 (Week 9 to Week 12), we will look at contemporary public policy challenges for Japan. We will discuss how the changes in public policy (or the lack thereof) can be due to the changes in the policy making process, and why.

About the research paper: Students are required to choose one specific policy challenge for Japan, and evaluate the policy responses to the challenge. The papers should include (1) who the relevant actors are, (2) what these actors want and why, (3) how the changes in the policy making process has affected (or has not affected) whose preferences would be reflected in policy. Students should discuss with the professor about their topics by the end of October. Based on their topics, they will be assigned to become discussion leaders in one of the classes between Week 9 and Week 12. They are also expected to present their findings on Week 13.

Week 1 (Sept 12) Introduction

Overview of class and logistics
Watch *Japan's About Face* (PBS)

To read after class:

Pilling, David. 2014. *Bending Adversity: Japan and the Art of Survival*. Penguin Books. Chapter 13 "Abnormal Nation." pp.236-254.

PART ONE: Historical Background

Week 2 (Sept. 19) Origins of Japanese Security Policy

Puzzle 1: Why has security policy been relatively constant for the past 70 years? (And, is the recent security legislation a radical departure from the past?)

Required Readings

Berger, Thomas. 2012. "Ripe for Revision: The Strange Case of Japan's Unchanging Constitution." In Bryce Wakefield ed. *A Time for Change? Japan's Peace Constitution at 65*. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. pp.12-22.

Dower, John W. 1999. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. Read Chapters 12, pp.346-373. Skim Chapters 2,7,13, pp.65-86, 225-253, 374-404. New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc.

Lind, Jennifer. 2016. "Japan's Policy Evolution." *Policy Analysis*. Cato Institute February 25, 2016.

Oros, Andrews. 2008. *Normalizing Japan: Politics, Identity, and the Evolution of Security Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter 2, pp.41-70.

Schaller, Michael. 1997. *Altered States: The United States and Japan since the occupation*. New York,

Oxford. Oxford University Press. Chapters 4,7,8,9, pp.62-76, 113-162.

Recommended Readings

Dobbins, James et.al. 2003. "Chapter 3: Japan," in Dobbins, James. *America's Role in Nation Building: From Germany to Iraq*. Santa Monica. RAND. pp.25-54.

Iokibe, Makoto. 2011. "Diplomacy in occupied Japan: Japanese diplomacy in the 1940s." in Iokibe, Makoto. ed. *The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapter 1. pp.17-49

Kage, Rieko. 2010. "The Effects of War on Civil Society: Cross-National Evidence from World War II." In *In War's Wake: International Conflict and the Fate of Liberal Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, pp.97-120.

Sakamoto, Kazuya. 2011. "Conditions of an independent state: Japanese diplomacy in the 1960s." in *The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapter 2. pp.50-81.

Samuels, Richard J. 2007. "Baking the Pacifist Loaf" (Chapter 2) in *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*, pp. 13-59. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Week 3 (Sept. 26) "Miraculous" Economic Growth and its Aftermath

Puzzle 2: Why was Japan able to recover from the ashes of WWII to hosting the Olympics in 1964? How has the miraculous growth affected the political economy of Japan thereafter?

Required Readings

Johnson, Chalmers. 1981. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Chapters 1, 6, 7, 8. pp.3-34, 198-304.

Pempel, TJ. 1998. *Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, Chapter 2,3. pp.42-110.

Recommended Readings

Tadokoro, Masayuki. 2011. "The Model of an Economic Power: Japanese Diplomacy in the 1960s." in *The Diplomatic History of Postwar Japan*. London and New York: Routledge. Chapter 3. pp.81-107.

Rosenbluth, Francis McCall, and Thies, Michael F. 2010. *Japan Transformed: Political Change and Economic Restructuring*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 5, pp.72-94

PART TWO: Japan's Political Process: Actors and Institutions

From Week 4 to Week 8, we focus on the political process. We look at the policy making process in a parliamentary democracy as a "chain of delegation." There are four discrete steps the "chain", (1) From voters to elected representatives, (2) From legislators to the executive branch, (3) From the head of government (prime minister) to the heads of different executive departments, and (4) From the heads of different executive departments to civil servants. Each Week we will focus on one of the steps, and explore what the nature of relationship in each step was, and how it has changed (and not changed) in the past twenty years. In Week 8, we sum up our observations and discuss how the current policy making process is likely to affect Japan's responses to its challenges ahead.

Week 4 (TBA) Voters, Politicians and the Electoral System

Note: October 3 class will be rescheduled after consultation with students. We will watch a documentary, "Senkyo." For background information on the documentary, see PBS Website: http://www.pbs.org/pov/campaign/campaign_background.php

Puzzle 3: Why did the LDP remain in power for so long? (Are Japanese elections "unique"?)

Required Readings

Curtis, Gerald 1971. *Election Campaigning, Japanese Style*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 33-61, 126-151, 179-210.

Curtis, Gerald. 1988. *The Japanese Way of Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 5. "Campaigning, Financing, and the Modern Party" pp. 157-191.

Ramsayer, J. Mark and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 1993. *Japan's Political Marketplace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 2 "Electoral Rules and Party Strategy" pp.16-37.

Scheiner, Ethan. 2006. *Democracy Without Competition in Japan: Opposition Failure in a One-Party Dominant State*. Chapter 3. pp. 64-89. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Recommended Readings

Curtis, Gerald. 1999. *The Logic of Japanese Politics: Leaders, Institutions, and the Limits of Political Change*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Reed, Steven R. and Kay Shimizu, "An Overview of Postwar Japanese Politics", in *Political Change in Japan: Electoral Behavior, Party Realignment, and the Koizumi Reforms*, ed. Kay Shimizu, Steven R. Reed and Kenneth McElwain. Stanford University: Walter H. Shorenstein

Asia-Pacific Research Center, pp. 109-131.

McElwain, Kenneth. 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 1, pp. 32-47.

Week 5 (Oct. 10) The Prime Minister and the Party System

Puzzle 4: Why were there such frequent turnover of prime ministers in Japan?

Required Readings

Estevez-Abe, Margarita and Takako Hikotani. "Japan's Extrovert Leaders: How Institutions Change Incentives and Capabilities". *WCPIA Working Paper 2008-0133*, Harvard University, October 2008.

Hosoya, Yuichi. 2015. "The Evolution of Japan's Leadership Deficit." In Ryo Sahashi and James Gannon eds. *Looking for Leadership: The Dilemma of Political Leadership in Japan*. Tokyo, New York: Japan Center for International Exchange. pp.31-45.

Krauss, Ellis, and Benjamin Nyblade. 2005. "Presidentialization in Japan? The Prime Minister, Media and Elections in Japan." *British Journal of Political Science*, 35 (2): pp. 357-68

Ochi, Takao. 2015. "Party Politics and Leadership Change in Japan: The Prime Ministerial Relay." In Ryo Sahashi and James Gannon eds. *Looking for Leadership: The Dilemma of Political Leadership in Japan*. Tokyo, New York: Japan Center for International Exchange. pp.83-107.

Recommended Readings

Fujimura, Naofumi, 2007, "The Power Relationship between the Prime Minister and Ruling Party Legislators: The Postal Service Privatization Act of 2005 in Japan", *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 8, pp. 233-261.

Week 6 (Oct. 17) Politicians and Bureaucrats

Puzzle 5: Who was/is more "powerful" in Japanese policy making, politician or bureaucrats?

Required Readings

Campbell, John Creighton and Ethan Scheiner. 2008. "Fragmentation and Power: Reconceptualizing Policy Making under Japan's 1955 System." *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 89-113.

Curtis, Gerald. 2002. "Bureaucrats and Politicians: What's Wrong and What's To Be Done." In Curtis, Gerald ed. *Policymaking in Japan: Defining the Role of Politicians*. Tokyo: JCIE Press.

pp.1-17.

Ramseyer, J. Mark, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 1994. *Japan's Political Marketplace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 6 "Political Structure and Bureaucratic Incentives." pp. 99-120.

Shinoda, Tomohito. "Japan's Cabinet Secretariat and Its Emergence as Core Executive." *Asian Survey*, 45.5, pp.800-821.

Recommended Readings

Muramatsu, Michio, and Ellis S. Krauss. 1984. "Bureaucrats and Politicians in Policymaking: The Case of Japan" *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, No. 1, pp. 126-146.

Week 7 (Oct. 24) Opposition Failure:

Puzzle 6: Why has the opposition parties failed in becoming a viable alternative to the LDP?

Required Readings

Curtis, Gerald. 1988. "Chapter 4: The Japan Socialist Party: Perpetual Opposition." in *The Japanese Way of Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press. pp.117-156.

Kohno, Masaru. 2001. "Why Didn't the Japanese Socialists Moderate Their Policies Much Earlier to Become a Viable Alternative to the Liberal Democratic Party?" in Grofman, Bernard ed. *Political Science as Puzzle Solving*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press. pp.65-84

Scheiner, Ethan. 2006. *Democracy Without Competition in Japan: Opposition Failure in a One-Party Dominant State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, pp.31-63.

Ando, Yuka Uchida. 2015. "What Went Wrong under the DPJ?" in Ryo Sahashi and James Gannon eds. *Looking for Leadership: The Dilemma of Political Leadership in Japan*. Tokyo, New York: Japan Center for International Exchange. pp.108-130.

Kushida, Kenji E., and Lipsy, Phillip Y. eds.. 2013. *Japan under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*. Stanford, CA: The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. Introduction pp.3-42.

Recommended Readings

Kohno, Masaru. 1997. "Electoral Origins of Japanese Socialists' Stagnation." *Comparative Political Studies*, 30 (1): pp. 55-77.

Week 8 (Oct. 31) The “New” Politics: Promise and Pitfalls

Required Readings

Estévez-Abe, Margarita. 2006. ‘Japan's Shift Toward a Westminster System: A Structural Analysis of the 2005 Lower House Election and Its Aftermath’ *Asian Survey* 46(4): 632-651.

Machidori, Satoshi. 2015. The last two decades in Japanese Politics: Lost opportunities and undesirable outcomes. in Funabashi, Yoichi and Barack Kushner. *Examining Japan’s Lost Decades*. London, New York. Routledge. pp.135-157.

Takenaka, Harutaka. 2015. “The Frequent Turnover of Japanese Prime Ministers: Still a Long Way to a Westminster Model.” In Ryo Sahashi and James Gannon eds. *Looking for Leadership: The Dilemma of Political Leadership in Japan*. Tokyo, New York: Japan Center for International Exchange. pp.46-82.

Suggested Readings

Nyblade, Benjamin. 2011. “The 21st Century Japanese Prime Minister: An Unusually Precarious Perch.” *Journal of Social Sciences*. 61(2):195-209.

Sasada, Hironori. 2010. “The Electoral Origin of Japan’s Nationalistic Leadership: Primaries in the LDP Presidential Election and the ‘Pull Effect’” *Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 10, pp. 1-30

PART THREE: Explaining Public Policy Outcomes

From Week 9 to Week 12, we examine the challenges Japan faces today, and the policy responses that has taken place so far. Tentatively, the following policy topics have been chosen. Depending on the interest of the students, the topics and readings may be changed.

Week 9 (Nov. 14) Politics and Policy in the Era of Slow Economic Growth

(Guest Lecture: Mr. Genichi Osawa, Ministry of Finance, Japan)

Required Readings

Gordon, Andrew. 2015. “Making sense of the lost decades: Workplaces and schools, men and women, young and old, rich and poor.” in Funabashi, Yoichi and Barack Kushner. *Examining Japan’s Lost Decades*. London, New York. Routledge. pp.77-100.

Toyama, Kazuhiko. 2015. The Curse of ‘Japan Inc.’ and Japan’s microeconomic competitiveness.

in Funabashi, Yoichi and Barack Kushner. *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*. London, New York. Routledge. pp.56-76.

Recommended Readings

TBA

Week 10 (Nov. 21) Demographic Challenges: Gender, Immigration

Required Readings

Aoki, Reiko. 2012. "A Demographic Perspective on Japan's 'Lost Decades'." *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 38 (Supplement): pp. 103-112.

Genda, Yuji. 2007. "Jobless Youths and the NEET Problem in Japan." *Social Science Japan Journal*.

Seike, Atsushi. 2015. "Japan's Demographic Challenges." In Funabashi, Yoichi and Barack Kushner, *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*. London New York. Routledge. pp.1-16.

Shipper, Apichai W. 2005. "Criminals or Victims? The Politics of Illegal Foreigners in Japan." *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol.31 (2), pp.299-327.

Recommended Readings

Lambert, Priscilla. 2007. "The Political Economy of Postwar Family Policy in Japan: Economic Imperatives and Electoral Incentives." *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 33:1. pp.1-28.

Week 11 (Nov. 28) Local Politics

Required Readings

Saito, Jun and Kyohei Yamada. 2011. "Local Politics" in Alisa Gaunder ed. *Handbook of Japanese Politics*. New York: Routledge, Chapter 10, pp.103-114.

Horiuchi, Yusaku. 2009. "Understanding Japanese Politics from a Local Perspective." *International Political Science Review*, Vol.30, No.5, pp.565-573.

Horiuchi, Yusaku, Jun Saito, and Kyohei Yamada. 2015. "Removing Boundaries, Losing Connections: Electoral Consequences of Local Government Reform in Japan." *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 15. pp.99-125.

Recommended Readings

Shimizu, Kay. 2013. "Electoral Consequences of Municipal Mergers" in Kushida, Kenji and Phillip Lipsky eds. *Japan Under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*. Stanford: The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

Samuels, Richard J. 2013. *3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Week 12 (Dec. 5) Security Challenges

Required Readings

Curtis, Gerald. 2013. "Japan's Cautious Hawks: Why Tokyo is Unlikely to Pursue an Aggressive Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs*. March/April issue, Volume 92.

Hikotani, Takako. 2009. "Japan's Changing Civil-Military Relations: From Containment to Engagement?" *Global Asia* Vol.4, No.1.

Green, Michael and Akira Igata. 2015. "The Gulf War and Japan's national security identity. in Funabashi, Yoichi and Barack Kushner. *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*. London, New York. Routledge. pp.158-175.

Liff, Adam P. 2015. "Japan's Defense Policy: Abe the Evolutionary" *Washington Quarterly* 38, no.2

Tadokoro, Masayuki. 2011. "Change and Continuity in Japan's 'Abnormalcy': An Emerging External Attitude of the Japanese Public. in Soeya, Yoshihide, Masayuki Tadokoro, and David A. Welch, *Japan as a 'Normal Country'?: A Nation in Search of Its Place in the World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. pp.38-71.

Recommended Readings

Akiyama, Nobumasa. 2015. "Japan's failed bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council." in Funabashi, Yoichi and Barack Kushner. *Examining Japan's Lost Decades*. London, New York. Routledge. pp.274-296.

Smith, Sheila. 2001. "Japan's Uneasy Citizens and the U.S.-Japan Alliance." *Asia Pacific Issues*, Vol. 54: pp. 1-8.

Tanter, Richard. 2005. "With eyes wide shut: Japan, Heisei militarization, and the Bush Doctrine." In Gurtov Mel, and Peter Van Ness. *Confronting the Bush Doctrine: Critical views from the Asia-Pacific*. pp.153-180.

Week 13 (Dec. 12) Wrap up: Student Presentations