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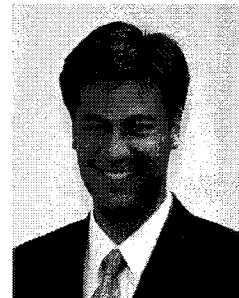
**Globalization and Japan's Soft Power:  
Kitty-chan Conquers America?**

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More than a decade ago, the French government labeled Stephen Spielberg's epic dinosaur film *Jurassic Park* a "threat to national identity." Many European governments, with the French government in particular, have long had an aversion to American cinema. Intellectuals have furrowed their elitist brows, wrung sweaty hands and proposed laws to limit the amount of American movies and shows that can be shown in theaters and on television. The United States has long seen these laws for what they are: trade barriers. The U.S. pushed for an elimination of these trade barriers during the 1994 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades negotiations, a move that prompted famous French film director Claude Berri to proclaim: "if the GATT goes through as proposed, European culture is finished!"

It's difficult to believe that the land that gave the world Moliere, Monet, Claude Debussy, and Victor Hugo could so easily succumb to the onslaught of computer generated dinosaurs. Voltaire versus the velociraptor?

Trying to prevent audiences from enjoying American films and television shows is a knee-jerk, if understandable, reaction to globalization. There are many, and some contradictory, definitions of globalization, but let us stick to the apolitical: globalization is the flow of goods, services and ideas across international boundaries. While the term "globalization" is relatively new, the concept has been with us for centuries. The Silk Road that stretched from ancient Rome to Egypt through China and touched both Korea and Japan is a good example of globalization in its infancy. This vast trade route not only laid the foundation for mighty empires and dynasties, but spread philosophies, religion and art along its route. How else to explain the Greco-Buddhist art that developed in Afghanistan? Along the old Silk Road, ideas were traded alongside jade and spices. Globalization is not a one-way street: it gives and it takes.

For decades, Japan has profited from globalization and reaped its fortune on the hatchbacks of Toyota, Honda and Nissan. And while Japanese culture has always found appeal in some quarters, Japan is now entering a phase where its popular culture is reaching heights previously only reached in the last two centuries by the United Kingdom and the United States. Douglas McGray wrote in the now famous 2002 issue of *Foreign Policy*, that Japan is cool and sought to measure Japan's new found coolness with his freshly coined phrase: Gross National Cool. What does this mean economically for Japan to have a high GNC?

In stark economic terms, Japan's export of pop culture earns Japan about \$12.5 billion a year—a number that continues to climb upward. Twelve billion dollars might seem insignificant compared to the earnings from automobile exports. Toyota earned \$173 billion in 2005, with North America alone accounting for about a third of that. But consider that animation studios consume fewer natural resources than automobile factories and you'll see that the profit margins for pop artists is considerable.

It might be interesting, or alarming, to note that one billion of Japan's GNC comes from the sale of "Hello Kitty" merchandise. Kitty-chan is the daimyo of Japanese pop culture.

So let's look at Japan's role in globalization by focusing on Japan's cultural invasion of America and examine manga, anime, music and, because everybody eats, food.

### Manga

Just outside the picturesque pine scented confines of tony Monterey, California---just an hour or so south of San Francisco---you will find a typical American strip mall. Anchored on one end by superstores like Costco and Wal-Mart and on the other end by Wendy's, this is where the well-heeled and hopelessly middle-class congregate to shop. One of the superstores is called Borders, and it is a store filled with books, videos CDs and big comfy chairs to sit in. A cafe in the corner keeps everyone well caffeinated.

About five years ago, I noticed the addition of a small shelf devoted to Japanese manga. It was a small collection, hanging onto a corner reserved for American comic books like Batman and The Uncanny X-men. The following year, the shelf had grown to two shelves. The next year it had evolved into its own section filling five shelves from floor to about the top of my head. The last time I was there, just before Christmas 2005, the manga section had become two entire aisles of books.

Examining those shelves you'll find titles like Gundam, Platlabor, One Piece, Dr. Slump, Ranma ½, Dragonball Z, Detective Conan, Doraemon and Lupin III. The same manga you find here, only translated into English and in some cases, with completely different titles.

The sale of manga in the US is staggering and represents the fastest growing section in bookstores, according to a national book sellers association. The sale of manga means big bucks for retailers and distributors. In 2002, manga sales in the US hovered at \$60 million dollars. That number almost doubled a year later to \$110 million in sales. In 2004, manga sales in the US totaled \$140 million. That number continued to grow and in 2005, manga sales approached \$180 million.

Just as Toyota and Honda are outselling Ford and GM, so too do Pokemon, Gundam and Sailor Moon threaten the standing of Batman, Superman and Spider-man. Although no one need yet fear (or hope!) that the pirate crew of One Piece will be topping Batman from the Gotham City skyline anytime soon.

### Anime

It's not too surprising that Japan makes 60% of the world's cartoons. But what is surprising is that Japanese anime now accounts for nearly that same amount found on American television excluding channels devoted exclusively to cartoons like Cartoon Network and Disney. By my crude estimate, there are 20 to 30 Japanese anime programs on American television on any given week. One highly popular channel alone, Fox Kids, broadcasts eight programs every week. These shows include, One Piece, Yu Gi Oh, Shaman King, Sonic, Magical Do Re Mi and Meow Meow Power.

The market has grown steadily for anime. And just as bookstores are well stocked with manga, so too are video stores. Every video shop in America has an anime corner. While young American kids might enjoy Pokemon and Sailor Moon, adults are enjoying "Tonari no Totoro" and "Sen to Chihiro No Kamika kushi", better known in America as "Spirited Away." Miyazaki's Spirited Away was a watershed film for anime in America and around the world and won the Oscar for Best Animated Feature at the 2003 Academy Awards.

Japanese animators who long ago were inspired by Walt Disney are now appealing to audiences who have grown bored with Mickey Mouse and Disney cartoons. The student has become the master and yesterday's Walt Disney is today's Osamu Tezuka. Now American animators are heavily influenced by Japanese anime. One hit show for Warner Bros., Teen Titans, slavishly copies the "anime style." Their homage to anime even extends to the show's theme song which is sung by a famous J-Pop act. Which leads to our next subject: music.

### J-Pop

Twenty years ago while living in Bangkok, Thailand I could not help but notice the plethora of American pop stars that dominated the music stores and discos of the day. Outdoor music stalls swelled with Madonna, Prince, Bruce Springsteen and many other American rockers that Japanese under the age of 30 have probably never heard of. But back in the 1980s these pop stars were as popular in Thailand as they were in California.

I had the chance to return to Thailand recently. A lot has changed in 20 years. In place of Madonna, Prince and Springsteen I expected to see

Britney Spears, Justin Timberlake and Christina Auguliera....instead I found Mr. Children, Dreams Come True, and B'z.

J-Pop has conquered Asia, from New Delhi to Seoul, but this is one invasion that has failed in America. Only two Japanese pop acts have been able to penetrate the coveted top 40 on the Billboard charts. The first was in 1963, when "Ue o Muite Aruko" became a hit single. You should know, however, that the name of the song was changed to "Sukiyaki" to make it, pardon the pun, more palatable to American teens. They might not have known that sukiyaki is Japanese food, but they knew that it was Japanese or Japanese sounding and from a marketing perspective that was all that mattered.

The only other Japanese performers to make an impression on the American music scene wouldn't come until 1979, when Pink Lady had their English language song "Kiss in the Dark" peak at #37 on the top 40 lists.

But what does the future hold for J-Pop? And why can't J-Pop conquer America as easily as it has South East Asia? After all, Thai kids don't speak Japanese any better than their American counterparts. I don't have any answers. Maybe the answer lies in looking at the most popular J-Pop act in America today.

Popularity is relative, so by saying "popular J-Pop act" what I really mean is "slightly less unknown J-Pop act."

This slightly less unknown act had to change their names so as not to be confused with American rapper Sean Puffy Combs. In America they are known as Puffy Ami Yumi, but you might remember them as simply, Puffy. This dynamic hip-hop duo first found success in America with their theme song to the popular kids' show, the previously mentioned Teen Titans. Now, Puffy Ami Yumi have their own anime show, called "Hi Hi Puffy Ami Yumi" and their albums are readily available in stores nationwide. But still their fans seem to be young children and the young college student who are otaku for Japanese pop and anime.

A Kyodo newswire report published in the *Daily Yomiuri* on July 18, 2006 featured a report on Puffy AmiYumi's New York tour:

The two said that their performances in the United States were nearly identical to those in Japan, although they have playful half Japanese, half English exchanges between songs, reading their English comments from small notepads and making fun of each other's pronunciation, as well as telling offbeat anecdotes about the energetic members of their band.

Asked about how U.S. audiences connect to their musical given the language differences, Ami said it was fun for her to see U.S. audiences dancing and responding to different songs – for example, she said, during some love songs couples often kiss and hug.

Yumi noted that she enjoys a lot of U.S. music without understanding the lyrics. "I think they [the audience] just love our tunes and our rhythm," she said.

Fans of all ages at the show seemed to agree. "I just really like J-pop – it sounds really good," said Jon Ingoglia, 23, who attended with two other friends and wants to visit Japan in 2008.

William Kahn, 12, has watched Hi Hi Puffy AmiYumi since it started. "I really like the music and the songs, even though I don't understand them," he said. "I've always wanted to hear Japanese songs."

Gillian Orwoll, 14, said she and her sisters all watched the show and were anime fans. "My sister brought us here, though," she said. "She's trying to teach herself Japanese."

This random sampling, and by no means definitive sampling, of Puffy's American audience reveals an interest in visiting Japan and studying Japanese.

### Food

There is an old French saying that goes: tell me what a man eats, and I will tell you about that man. I'm from Texas, where fusion cuisine known as Tex-Mex is popular. That's to be expected because Tex-Mex, as you can guess by the name, is influenced by Texas' neighbor to the south, Mexico. This cuisine is usually heavy with meat and spices. But Texans are not without their own sophistication and food from all over the world can be

found there.

Visit my home town of San Antonio (population 1.5 million), and you will find restaurants like the Tokyo Inn, Zushi Sushi, Samurai Sushi and Shogun Japanese Steak House. In fact the telephone directory indicates that there are at least 20 Japanese restaurants in San Antonio. Not bad for people raised on burritos and barbecue and lots and lots of inexpensive, delicious and completely safe American steaks.

New York City, with about six times the population, has 167 Japanese restaurants according to their telephone directory.

Are these foods authentic? Would you, on visiting one of these Japanese restaurants in America, walk away convinced you had dined in a real Japanese restaurant? Consider this: when you visit Mos Burger, are you under the delusion that your *Mosu Raisu Baga* is authentic American cuisine? Are you convinced that your pizza with squid, boiled egg and hot dogs is really Italian? And by the way, did you know that "ebi chili" is not really Chinese food? So: are those so-called Japanese restaurants serving authentic Japanese food? Of course not!

When food migrates it does so at the mercy of available local ingredients. That's why in California, you'll find the "California roll"---sushi with avocado.

But the point is that now, more than ever before, Japanese styled food can be found all across America. At supermarkets, you can get sushi for take out. In cities all across the country you can find tepanyaki.

With the rise in popularity of sushi has come the increase in sake consumption. But unlike in Sake's home of Japan, sake in America is seen as cool and the average drinker is likely to be younger than the average Japanese drinker of sake. One beverage distributor in the US recently said that sales of sake increased 400% over the last year!

Sushi first made in-roads onto the American dinner table about 25 years ago. And now sake is the new cultural ambassador for Japan. It is the perfect reflection of Japan for Americans who know nothing of Japan but think they do. Sake embodies

the perceptions that Americans have of Japan being mysterious, ancient, and zen-like in its simplicity. Sake: clear, clean, strong, mysterious. Just like Japan!

#### **What It All Means – or, So What?**

What does it mean to be a Cool Country? There are modest economic benefits as we've seen. But how does pop culture transform itself into soft power? Will exporting Kitty-chan, Puffy and sake eventually win Japan a permanent seat on the UN Security Council?

The thing with Soft Power is that it is difficult to measure. Hard Power is obvious and can be calculated: you can look at a country's GDP or count the number of missiles it has. These are real. But Soft Power is more elusive. How do you measure it? More importantly, how do you measure its affect on the hearts and minds of people?

The US State Department has a number of specialists who focus on economics, politics or consular affairs. The role of Public Affairs, to put it simply, is to explain American culture and promote US government policy. People in my profession are very interested in Soft Power. In fact, the US government has been, without knowing it at times, flexing its Soft Power muscles since the end of the Second World War.

The US government during the 1950s and 1960s spent millions of dollars building libraries around the world. There was a "Jazz Ambassadors" program that sent famous jazz musicians on tours that circled the globe. The US government, through the US Information Agency, promoted American arts, film and music in a way that it had never done before or since. There was the firm belief that if people in other countries experienced American culture through art, film or music, they would embrace the American democracy that created it.

Lest we forget, the Soviets were doing the same thing: using culture to win hearts and minds on the ideological battlefield of the Cold War.

Things changed in the 1980s. Not only was the Cold War winding down, but there was a feeling now that government dollars were no longer needed to promote culture because Hollywood was doing a good job of it already. Hollywood blockbusters were being shown in theaters around the world.

MacDonald's was on the march. And in far-flung places like Thailand, kids were lining up to listen to Madonna, Prince and Bruce Springsteen.

Of course, kids in Thailand are listening to something else these days.

Which brings me back to Japan's Gross National Cool and its growing Soft Power. Is Japan's Soft Power, in the strict Nye-sian definition, truly powerful enough for Japan to get what it wants without resorting to force? I don't know what it will mean for Japan in the future and whether if Japan will get that seat on the Security Council, or if North Korea will peaceably disarm, or if the world will embrace large scale hunting of whales. Can Soft Power have that much affect? Neoliberalists like Joseph Nye believe that America's Soft Power helped to undermine communism and so helped to end the Cold War. So perhaps Japan's Soft Power will yield unforeseen yet important results at some point in the near or far future.

But there are two things that I know are happening now with Japan's Soft Power and they are good.

First, the flood of manga and anime into America has been a good thing. There is nothing like competition to spur on the best in competitors. Remember earlier when I said that manga were taking up larger and larger real estate in bookstores? Remember how I also mentioned that the space for American comic books has grown, albeit modestly? That's because as manga becomes more and more popular, new and old readers will be tempted to check out the local, native product. Booksellers have conveniently placed them beside each other, like two competing dishes at a buffet. The exotic lures shoppers in, but sometimes it is the familiar that they are most comfortable with.

Readers of American comics are almost exclusively male. According to Milton Griep, publisher of an online trade publication, "Manga...have tapped into a new audience for comics---the female consumer." But manga has a broader audience and appeal, and women and girls are picking them up.

Knowing this, American comic book makers are trying to find ways to lure these new female readers to the traditionally male dominated American

comic book world. In May 2007, DC Comics, home of Superman, will launch a new line of graphic novels targeting teenage girls. "MINX books will appeal to the many young women who have been introduced to the visual impact of graphic novels through manga" said DC's Vertigo Senior Vice President, Executive Editor Karen Berger in a press release announcing the line.

In the area of animation, things have never been better for American cartoons. For decades, cartoons were seen as simple children's fare and only shown in the mornings. Now, there are several cartoons broadcast at night for an adult audience. In recent years, shows like the Simpsons, King of the Hill, Futurama, Southpark and Space Ghost Coast to Coast have found lucrative success. The writing and quality have also improved for children's cartoons.

In the 1980s, Japanese television viewers were treated to shocking images of Japan bashing in the United States as disgruntled factory workers and politicians raised sledgehammers and smashed Japanese imports. But times have changed. There is no Japan bashing now because Kitty-chan dolls outsell Mickey Mouse dolls. No one is burning copies of Tetsuwan Atom. And unlike the French *Jurassic Park* debacle, the United States is unlikely to smother access to Japanese cartoons and cartoon characters in the American market. Giant robots, sword-wielding schoolgirls in sailor outfits and sugary cute animals, like past immigrants to America's shores, are welcome.

The second concrete factor has been a rise in students studying Japanese language and culture. Recently, I had a chance to talk to Dr. Richard Samuels of MIT. He teaches Japanese studies. I asked him if he noticed a rise in student interest, and if so, if it could be attributed to interest in Japan's pop culture. He said, absolutely. There is a new generation of Japanophiles being created. In the 1980s, at the height of Japan bashing, there was also a keen interest in studying Japanese. This came mostly from students who were working on their MBAs and wanted to do business with Japan. The motivation was money. It's different today. Kids are coming back to Japanese studies because of something that intrigues them about Japan that they probably found in a manga, or anime, or plate of sushi.

The truth cannot be denied: a new generation of Americans are sliding open the *shoji* and stepping out onto the *tatami*. As more people study the language and culture of Japan, our countries cannot help but grow closer. It's in the interest of both United States and Japan to better understand each other.

Globalization has made all this possible. Globalization is a two-way street...it's giving and taking. Thanks to the forces of globalization, Japan's Soft Power has never been stronger. But while its ability to attract people is certain, its ability promote state interests remains in doubt. But measuring the extent of Soft Power, the influence of culture and its probable effect are beyond the ability of political scientists. Only tomorrow's historians can tell us how successful Japan's pop culture was at influencing Japan's global interests.

But what are quantifiable are the sales figures for manga and anime and sake and sushi and the rising numbers of young Americans studying Japan. The real, practical benefits are not Japan's alone, but also America's too. Japan earns billions by exporting its pop culture, and Americans benefit when we have a plethora of entertainment options. We benefit when competition makes our products better. And I certainly benefit when there are more good sushi restaurants in my neighborhood.

## ガリオア・フルブライト同窓会

「私とフルブライトーアメリカとの出会い・想い」

岩野一郎

2007年3月3日

於 南山大学L911会議室



ご紹介どうもありがとうございました。私はこの同窓会の立ち上げの時から関わっております。39年間勤めました南山も、3月末をもって退職致しますが、それにあたって、私がどれだけフルブライトのお世話になったかという事的一端でも皆様にお伝えできればと思います。

### はじめに

私は1964年にフルブライト全学給費奨学金を頂いて渡米し、1967年までシカゴ大学大学院社会科学研究所政治専門課程で学ばせて頂きました。1964年は東京オリンピックの年でしたが、同時に海外渡航が自由化された年でもありました。日本を出たのは1964年でしたが、私が選抜試験を受けたのは前年の1963年で、まだ海外渡航は自由化されておりました。大学院生が留学しようとする、フルブライト奨学金こそが、ほぼ唯一の道であったと思います。しかも、ドルの持ち出しには厳しい制限があり、私が密かに持っている当時の、山羊革の表紙の、大平正義氏が外務大臣だった時のパスポートには持ち出したドルと円の金額が記入されてあります。1967年にフルブライト留学から帰ってきて僅かな期間でしたが大学院の博士課程に復学し、1968年の1月に助手となり、それも3ヶ月で辞して、1968年4月に南山大学に赴任致しました。爾来39年間、南山のお世話になり、この度定年を迎えました。

### 私とアメリカの出会い→1945年秋の進駐軍との出会い

ところで、私はいわば最後の「皇国少年」の世代でした。1945年4月に国民学校に入学し、毎日御真影奉安殿の前では脱帽・敬礼し、宮城遥拝、それに教育