



VOLUME 2

Australian-Asian Research Collaborations in the Humanities

Mapping the Present,
Planning the Future

05. Japan

**Australian-Asian Research Collaborations in the
Humanities: Mapping the Present, Planning the Future
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GPO Box 93
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia

+61 [0]2 6125 9860
enquiries@humanities.org.au

humanities.org.au

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05

Japan

This profile explores humanities research in Japan. Following a thematic introduction by Vera Mackie, the substantive report by Brigid Freeman commences with an overview of the higher education system. It then proceeds to explore humanities research and cultural institutions, humanities research policy, funding and incentives, humanities research outputs, and international engagement.

Introduction

VERA MACKIE

In the course of the twentieth century, Japan changed from a largely agrarian society into an industrial giant which in turn evolved into a largely service and knowledge-based economy. With rapid economic growth after the devastation of the Second World War, Japan became Australia's major trading partner in 1966, holding this position until being overtaken by China forty years later. Its rivalry with China, past and present, is currently among the most intensively researched subjects in the field of international relations and history.

In the twenty-first century, Japan has been grappling with three interconnected areas of concern. First is a demographic crisis, consisting of a super-aging population, a low birth rate and consequent problems in the labour market – the provision of welfare and the provision of care labour. Second, the economy has been in recession for most of the time since the 1990s. Finally, the society is still dealing with the aftermath of the compound disaster (earthquake, tsunami and nuclear meltdown) of March 2011.

Humanities scholars have a contribution to make in understanding all of these contemporary issues. There is ample scope for international research collaborations which understand the cultural dimensions of these societal problems and place the issues in regional and global frameworks. The place of the creative arts in imagining alternative futures should also be kept in mind (Gill, Steger

and Slater, 2013; Allison, 2013; Brown and Mackie, 2015). The past retains high relevance in and for present-day Japan and is an established area of humanities research.

Australians have long had a keen interest in Japan, having one of the highest rates of Japanese language study in the world and a distinctive academic approach to Japanese Studies (Sugimoto and Mouer, 1989; McCormack and Sugimoto, 1986; McCormack and Sugimoto, 1988; Sugimoto and Arnason, 1995). Although Australians are generally reluctant to study languages other than English, Japanese is the most popular language in schools and universities (Ang et al., 2015, p. 49).

Until the late twentieth century, the study of Japan in Australia was largely stimulated by instrumentalist reasons. More recently, though, there has been a keen interest in Japanese popular culture: animated films (*anime*), graphic novels (*manga*), *karaoke*, popular music (J-Pop), digital games and costume play (cosplay, *cosupure*). This has brought a new generation of students into Japanese language and Japanese Studies programs. While the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japan Foundation are now promoting Japanese popular culture overseas, much of the initial interest in these popular cultural forms rather emanated from a grassroots level (McLelland, 2016).

While there are existing research collaborations between scholars in Australia and Japan,

particularly in the natural sciences, there is scope for further collaboration in the humanities and social sciences. One way forward may be for groups of scholars in the Asia-Pacific region to work on common regional issues (Mackie, Johnson and Morris-Suzuki, 2015, pp. 1–28). In the Australian Council of Learned Academies (ACOLA) report on engaging with Asia, the authors argue that ‘leveraging language, research and cultural capabilities will provide the basis for deep, long-term engagement that will return social, economic and political benefits to Australia and its partners in the region’ (Ang et al., 2015, p. 14). They also note, however, that there is a lack of ‘region-wide multilateral frameworks’ for such cooperation and that ‘skillful and persistent diplomatic legwork would be required to bring them into being’ (Ang et al., 2015, p. 24).

Japanese learning in international context

Scholars in Japan have long been integrated into international networks of scholarly communication. For centuries, Japan ‘introduced the latest scholarship and philosophy (first from India and China, and more recently from Europe and the United States)’ (Fujita, 1999, p. 65). Various forms of Chinese culture were being imported from around the mid-sixth century CE. Buddhism was also imported via China and Korea. For a time Japan used a modified form of the Confucian examination system and followed Chinese forms of architecture and city planning. A modified form of classical Chinese was used for official communications until the modern period. The three sets of Japanese script are derived from Chinese characters: *kanji* characters, the *hiragana* syllabary and the *katakana* syllabary. *Kanji* can be used to coin new vocabulary, similarly to the way that English uses Greek and Latin roots, while *katakana* can be used to import non-Japanese vocabulary. A modified form of Chinese known as *kanbun* made it easier for Japanese speakers to comprehend the very different grammatical structures of classical Chinese. This has made for a certain flexibility in coining, importing and adapting new ideas, concepts and terminologies.

The major source of cultural borrowings was replaced in the nineteenth century. In the mid-1850s, Japan was pressured into signing ‘unequal treaties’ with the United States and several

European powers. The crisis precipitated by these events led to the fall of the feudal Tokugawa Shogunate and the restoration of the Emperor to political power in 1868. The country embarked on a program of industrialisation; created a modern army and navy; built a system of railway infrastructure; and overhauled legal, social and political institutions. It established a system of compulsory education as early as 1873. The modern nation-state required a literate population, with national rather than regional identification.

Japan entered the modern era with a relatively high rate of literacy. In the feudal period there had been different forms of educational provision depending on status. The nobility had their own forms of education. The samurai class had domain schools, local schools and private academies. Temple schools (*terakoya*) provided education to commoners, largely focusing on boys, but with about a quarter of female students (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 14). These institutions were gradually replaced by a modern education system. The Confucian Academy of the Tokugawa era was closed in 1871, and an *école normale*, the Tokyo Normal School was established in 1872. Japan’s first modern university was Tokyo University, established in 1877, with faculties of law, letters, science, and medicine, later adding engineering and agriculture.¹ Several more imperial universities were established – Kyoto University, Tōhoku University, Kyūshū University, Hokkaidō University, Osaka University, and Nagoya University – as well as some specialised universities focusing on particular disciplines. In addition to the universities there were high schools, normal schools, and vocational schools. There were also private schools and mission schools.

The Japanese language was modernised in the late nineteenth century to bring the written language closer to the spoken language, although quasi-classical grammatical forms persisted in some contexts. This closer alignment of written and spoken forms was associated with the development of the modern novel, and a form of semi-autobiographical novel known as the I-novel (*shi-shōsetsu* or *watakushi-shōsetsu*). In the early twentieth century, Japan also embraced modernist cultural forms.

The teaching of languages other than Japanese has also been important in the higher education system. Although Tokyo University of Foreign

1. It was renamed the Imperial University (*Teikoku Daigaku*) in 1896; then renamed the Tokyo Imperial University (*Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku*) in 1897; and reverted to the name Tokyo University after the Second World War.

Studies dates its official founding as an independent university to 1899, it built on a series of foreign language schools and translation agencies from the 1850s (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2016). As Japan's empire developed, some specialised universities taught not only European languages but also the languages of Japan's colonies. Even today, universities like Tokyo University of Foreign Studies teach an extraordinary range of languages and associated area studies and international studies. Osaka University of Foreign Studies was established in 1949, building on a series of schools devoted to language studies and foreign affairs dating back to the 1920s. It amalgamated with Osaka University in 2007 (Osaka University, n.d.). There are also several private universities specialising in language studies.

Translation from foreign languages into Japanese has always been important, whether this be Sanskrit sutras, Chinese poetry, European policy studies, or literature in European and other languages. Even in the period of isolation from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries there was a specialised agency charged with translating Dutch texts. Once the country opened up in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, translation took on even more importance. The activity of scholarly translation receives rather more recognition in academia in Japan than it does in many other countries. Scholarly works from several languages are translated relatively quickly into Japanese, and literary translation is also a valued activity. There is, however, an imbalance between the works translated into Japanese and those translated from Japanese to English and other languages.² The *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* (KBS, Centre for International Cultural Relations) was established in 1934 to coordinate international cultural diplomacy (in a manner similar to the British Council or the Alliance Française) and to promote the teaching of Japanese language in the colonies and occupied territories. As the Asia-Pacific War advanced the KBS increasingly became a propaganda arm of the government (Shibasaki, 2014, pp. 53–72; Germer, 2012). The KBS was replaced by the Japan Foundation (*Kokusai Kōryū Kikin*) in 1972.

Categorising learning in Japan

While Japanese culture had often been defined in opposition to Chinese culture, the major opposition from the late nineteenth century was

between Japanese (*wa~/hō~*) and Western (*yō*): *hōgaku* (Japanese music) versus *yōgaku* (Western music); *Nihonga* (Japanese painting) versus *yōga* (Western painting); *washoku* (Japanese food) versus *yōshoku* (Western food); *wafuku/kimono* (Japanese dress) versus *yōfuku* (Western dress); and *wasai* (Japanese sewing/dressmaking) versus *yōsai* (Western sewing/dressmaking). In practice, though, these clearly-defined borders could not always be easily maintained.

Until recently, in the educational system, Japanese history was known as *kokushi* (national history); Japanese literature was known as *kokubungaku* (national literature – also the name of one of the major Japanese literature journals); Japanese language was known as *kokugo* (national language); the study of Japanese language *kokugogaku* (national language studies/philology). Indeed, there was a split between *kokugo* and *nihongo kyōiku* (Japanese language education for non-Japanese). There has been a recent reaction against this by postcolonial scholars who write about Japanese-language literature (*Nihongo bungaku*) which includes, for example, literature written in Japanese by colonial subjects. In contemporary Japan there is now a body of literature written in Japanese by second and third generation members of diasporic communities. Scholars from Japan are increasingly cooperating with scholars from neighbouring countries in collaborative transnational research projects (Bu, 2015; Itō et al., 2010).

In some sectors there has been a focus on a perceived homogeneity and uniqueness of Japanese culture. This is known as *Nihonjin-ron* or theories of Japanese uniqueness. These essentialist, cultural nationalist theories have, however, been thoroughly critiqued from several quarters (Sugimoto and Mouer, 1981; Najita and Koschmann, 1983; Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986; Dale, 1986; Yoshino, 1988; Oguma, 2002). Critics of *Nihonjin-ron* rather emphasise diversity and conflict. They recognise the diversity of Japan's multi-ethnic empire up to 1945 and its postcolonial legacies in contemporary diasporic communities in Japan.

Claims of Japanese cultural homogeneity need to be treated with caution. The Japanese census categorises people according to nationality rather than ethnicity, and people of other ethnicities who have been naturalised appear simply as Japanese in the official record. In addition, Japan is increasingly host to international marriage

2. Trans Pacific Press, established in Melbourne in 2000 by Yoshio Sugimoto has been working to redress this imbalance by translating Japanese academic works into English (Trans Pacific Press, n.d.).

partners, international students, labour migrants, and international employees in the professions (Mackie, Okano and Rawstron, 2014, pp. 137–61).

The humanities in Japan are known as *Jinbungaku* (cognate with Chinese *renwenxue* and Korean *inmunhag*). In one sense this distinguishes the humanities from the social sciences (*shakai kagaku*); in another sense it distinguishes the humanities from the natural sciences (*shizen kagaku*). In universities the humanities can be found in faculties with names like *Jinbungakubu* (Faculty of Letters) or *Bungakubu* (Faculty of Arts). While there are a small number of universities which specialise in humanities and social sciences, such as Hitotsubashi University (one of the national universities), most large comprehensive universities will have a Faculty of Arts or a Faculty of Letters. Some universities have newer configurations which bring together, for example, humanities and environmental sciences (such as the University of Hyōgo's Faculty of Human Science and Environment).

The higher education system

After the Second World War, the education system was overhauled once again, alongside an overhaul of political and legal systems and a program of economic reconstruction. There is now a system of six years of primary education, three years of junior high school, three years of senior high school, two-year junior colleges, technical colleges and four-year universities. This replaced the highly stratified system in place before 1945. A national university was established in each prefecture and there are also universities administered by local governments. The university system includes both public and private universities, and a small number of women's universities (both public and private).

Japan is considered to have a mass tertiary education system, with over 50 per cent of graduating senior high school students proceeding to further education. Currently, however, the higher education system is dealing with a demographic crisis. The population of 18-year-olds, which was steady at around 1.5 million until the middle of the 1980s, has changed rapidly since, reaching a peak of 2.05 million in 1992 before going into decline, falling to 1.51 million in 2000 and 1.22 million in 2010. This means that there are fewer young people seeking to enter university. Small private universities and junior colleges have been particularly affected by these trends, resulting in some closures.

The universities descended from the seven former imperial universities – Tokyo University, Kyoto University, Tōhoku University, Kyūshū University, Hokkaidō University, Osaka University and Nagoya University – are still the most elite institutions. Waseda University and Keiō University are considered the most prestigious private universities. The University of the Air (now called the Open University) was established in 1985. Since 2004, national universities have been designated 'independent corporations,' rather than being under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). Nevertheless, MEXT still exercises control through its periodic evaluations. The Japanese higher education system is distinctive in that around 75 per cent of students are enrolled in private universities.

In 1953, the Japanese government initiated a scholarship program for overseas students, initially focused on developing countries. In 1983 the government initiated a plan to attract 100,000 international students, a target achieved in 2003. In 2008, the government announced a target of 300,000 international students, and supported the creation of programs taught in English. Centres of Excellence and Global Centres of Excellence are awarded to universities on a competitive basis. In 2014 the Top Global University Program awarded funds for internationalisation. While academics in medicine and the natural sciences have a long tradition of publishing in international journals in English, this has been less so for humanities and social science scholars, but there are currently moves to encourage academics in Japanese universities to publish in English, not least because of a consciousness of citation indexes and international university ranking systems.

Despite these moves for internationalisation, relatively few tertiary students in Japan take advantage of study abroad programs – only 0.9 per cent in 2014 – well below the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) average (Stewart, 2016). Although Australia has been a popular destination for Japanese students in English Language Intensive Courses for International Students and in working holiday programs, they are outnumbered by Chinese, Indian and Korean international students in undergraduate and postgraduate courses. The contrast with China is particularly marked. The large numbers of international students from China in undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Australia – some of whom subsequently take up positions in Australian universities – has

been an important factor in developing research collaborations, albeit largely in the sciences rather than the humanities (Ang et al., 2015, pp. 33, 38).

Beyond the university

Japan has a flourishing public culture of the humanities. Academics provide commentary in the mass media and often pen books for a general audience as well as their more specialised publications. In addition to university presses, there are commercial academic publishers, such as Iwanami Shoten. Iwanami also publishes several academic journals on a commercial basis (Ward, 2006, pp. 171–84). Some independent scholars work as *hyōronka* (critics or essayists) in the mass media

REPORT 05

Japan

BRIGID FREEMAN

HUMANITIES RESEARCH AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

Higher education system features

With the establishment of Tokyo Imperial University in 1877, the Japanese higher education system became the first modern university system in East Asia. Initially modelled on the German system, the universities began to display numerous distinctly American characteristics, especially after the Second World War (Teichler, 1997, p. 276). In recent years, they are increasingly reflecting Eastern influences, most notably from China and Korea (Yonezawa, 2015, p. 483).

Japan's higher education system comprises national and local public universities, private universities, junior colleges, colleges of technology and professional training colleges.³ There is a large number of universities (779 in 2016), the majority of which are private (600). The public higher education system includes both national and local universities, operated by cities and prefectures (MEXT, 2016a). Japanese universities offer four-year undergraduate programs leading to bachelor degrees, postgraduate diplomas or masters degrees, and three to five-year doctoral programs. More than

half of Japan's universities (57 per cent) offered doctoral programs in 2015, including almost all national public universities, most local public universities, and half of all private universities (MEXT, 2016b). Most private universities concentrate on teaching and learning (Huang, 2015a, p. 381). The system is hierarchical (Ishikawa, 2009, p. 168) with status concentrated in a small number of national and pre-war private universities (Huang, 2014, p. 1430). The former imperial universities (now leading national universities) and top private universities are represented in the prestigious research university grouping, RU11.⁴

Many Japanese universities offer general education programs (see Jung, Nishimura and Sasao, 2016) as well as specialised programs such as law, engineering and medical studies at the undergraduate level (see Huang, 2014). However, liberal arts faculties and general education programs have been in decline, most notably in national universities since the 1990s, as higher education has become increasingly economically instrumentalist (Miyoshi, 2000, pp. 682–83; Ogata, de Weert and Yoshimoto, 2007, p. 30). Interest in the humanities has simultaneously decreased, with Miyoshi stating that 'The humanities ...

3. MEXT publishes a list of national universities approved by the Minister by region.

4. The RU11 group is comprised of nine leading national universities (including Hokkaido University, Tohoku University, University of Tsukuba, The University of Tokyo, Tokyo Institute of Technology, Nagoya University, Kyoto University, Osaka University, and Kyushu University) and two leading private universities (Waseda University and Keio University).

have been abandoned once and for all in Japan' (2000, p. 683). Despite this, large national and private universities offer humanities programs and undertake humanities research, as do smaller specialist universities such as the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Japanese remains the dominant medium of instruction throughout the school and higher education system, but in recent years there has been growth in the number of English-taught university courses resulting from government initiatives such as the Global 30 program (Huang, 2014, p. 1437). Increasingly, universities require staff to teach in English (Horie, 2015, p. 237), and globalisation is expected to increase the influence of English-language at the higher education level (Yonezawa, 2012, p. 397).

Japan's university student population totalled 2.8 million in 2016, including 2.57 million undergraduate students, 159,105 masters students and 73,852 doctoral students. Approximately three quarters of these students are enrolled in programs at private universities (MEXT, 2016a). Enrolments are concentrated in undergraduate programs (89 per cent in 2016), with small proportions undertaking masters degrees (6 per cent) and doctoral (3 per cent) programs. In absolute terms Japan's 74,000 doctoral candidates are exceeded only by China's (291,000) and India's (98,000) in the Asian region in 2013 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014).

Japan's higher education system was the first in the Asian region to reach massification⁵ (Horta, Jung and Yonezawa, 2015, p. 411) with more than 50 per cent of graduating senior secondary students advancing to university and junior college since 2007 (MEXT, n.d.-a). The universities implement competitive entrance examinations (Ishikawa, 2009, p. 167), particularly the prestigious universities, despite Japan's rapidly declining university-aged population, and sector diversification and expansion. The declining youth population represents a central challenge for the future of Japan's higher education system and is likely to result in substantial restructuring in coming years. Women's participation has greatly

contributed to universalisation within the sector, growing rapidly during the period between 1965 and 2011 from 16 to 42 per cent (Huang, 2015b, p. 36). Women remain, however, under-represented at 42 per cent of the university student population in 2013 (MEXT, n.d.-a).

Approximately one million people were employed in research and development in Japan (1,046,588) in 2014. Half were based in business enterprises while about one third were based in universities and colleges (Statistics Japan, 1996). Humanities and social science researchers represent a very small proportion of business enterprise researchers (approximately 1 per cent), as this sector is dominated by engineering (European Commission, 2013, p. 32). In the higher education sector, a very small proportion of Japan's researchers are humanities-based (4 per cent in 2011) (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014). In 2012, just one quarter of higher education sector researchers were women (OECD, n.d.). Women continue to comprise a small proportion of university faculty, with concentrations at junior (lecturer) levels, and in specific disciplines (social sciences, biomedical sciences, humanities, and home economics) (Kimoto, 2015, p. 92). While the proportion of female faculty members is higher at Japan's two national women's universities (Ochanomizu and Nara), they are concentrated at junior levels (see Ochanomizu University, 2014). The percentage of international teaching staff is low (5 per cent), although an ambitious national target has been set (10 per cent by 2020) (Horie, 2015, p. 235).

Comparatively, Japan's university sector performs strongly in international university rankings.⁶ There have, however, been downward shifts in recent years as other institutions, particularly in Asia, grow stronger. Sixteen Japanese universities were ranked in the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) 'top 500' in 2016 (ShanghaiRanking Consultancy, 2016) and five in the 'top 100' of the Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World University Rankings 2016–2017 (QS, 2016). The Times Higher Education (THE) Asia University Rankings 2016 'top 100' includes fourteen Japanese universities

5. This refers to one of the stages in the transition from 'elite' to 'mass' higher education established by the American academic, Martin Trow (2007).

6. In Japan, university rankings now influence applicants' choices regarding their preferred institution, provide an indicator of globally comparable research capacity, and inform management decisions (Yonezawa, 2013, pp. 173, 176). Prior to the implementation of world university rankings, stratification between universities tended to be 'rather nuanced and discipline specific' (Ishikawa, 2009, p. 168). Examples of Japanese-specific university rankings exercises include the *Asahi University Rankings*, Recruit Ltd.'s survey, and *Yomiuri Shinbun* newspaper articles and rankings (Yonezawa, 2013, pp. 174–75).

(THE, 2016), with the University of Tokyo the highest at number seven (see [Appendix B](#)).⁷

Japan has maintained a ‘front-rank, high participation science and engineering system’ for more than three decades (Marginson, 2015, p. 1). The nation’s research system is large by international standards, reflecting both a ‘competitive economy backed by technological prowess’ (Ishikawa, Moehle and Fujii, 2014, p. 82) and a high level of combined public and private investment in research and development (R&D). Japan’s gross expenditure on research and development (GERD) (3.5 per cent in 2013), while less than Korea’s (4.2 per cent), was higher than that of Taiwan, Singapore and Australia (OECD, n.d.).⁸ Despite Japan’s historical strength, government measures to reduce the budget deficit have seen allocations to national universities gradually but progressively reduced in recent years (Huang, 2014, p. 1431), as have budget allocations more broadly for public education (Ishikawa, Moehle and Fujii, 2014, p. 83).

Humanities research in leading higher education institutions

Leading examples of humanities teaching and research are provided by the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo University of the Arts, Waseda University, Osaka University, Hokkaido University, Sophia University and Tohoku University. Tokyo University and Kyoto University, both former imperial universities, have research strengths in modern languages, history and archaeology, linguistics, and English language and literature. Hitotsubashi University is a specialist university in the humanities and social sciences and performs well internationally in modern languages. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies concentrates on languages and area studies, while the Tokyo University of the Arts specialises in fine arts and art history, music, design and architecture. Other Japanese universities have notable humanities strengths, including Waseda University (particularly area studies), Osaka University (particularly Japanese language and culture, foreign languages and literatures, and history), Hokkaido University (particularly Slavic

Studies and media studies), Sophia University (particularly languages, literature, and theology) and Tohoku University (particularly Asian studies, languages, literature, and philosophy).

In addition to these and other universities delivering humanities programs and undertaking humanities research, Japan’s humanities research strengths in language and linguistics, history, and philosophy are embodied in the prestigious National Institute for the Humanities (NIHU), one of four institutes supported by the Japanese government as an Inter-University Research Corporation or Centre of Excellence (COE). The NIHU comprises six cross-institutional organisations including the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL), International Research Centre for Japanese Studies (*Nichibunken*), Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, National Museum of Japanese History (*Rekihaku*) and National Museum of Ethnology (*Minpaku*). While these national institutes are Japan-focused, their research programs may involve collaborations with international partners. These institutes concentrate on humanities research in the fields of Japanese history (prehistoric, ancient, modern and contemporary history, archaeology, and folklore), pre-modern Japanese literature, Japanese language and linguistics (linguistic theory and structure, cross-linguistic studies, language change and variation, corpus studies), Japanese studies (history, culture, and folklore), multidisciplinary environmental studies (interactions between humanity and nature), and cultural anthropology and ethnology.

The activities of Japan’s universities and the NIHU are complemented by Chinese, Indian and Islamic area studies research conducted through three projects representing formal collaborations between Japanese universities. These projects draw on both the humanities and social science disciplines. The Contemporary Chinese Area Studies project, led by the Waseda University Institute of Contemporary Chinese Studies, examines contemporary China in terms of its history, politics, economy, security, and environment. The Contemporary India Area Studies project, led by the Centre for the Study of Contemporary India at Kyoto University, explores

7. These three rankings consistently reveal the academic strength of Japan’s four leading national universities (University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Osaka University, and Tohoku University) and the sector more broadly; however, the THE rankings suggest a decline in recent years as Japanese universities have been surpassed by China’s universities which have rapidly increased in the rankings (THE, 2015).

8. Japan’s GERD as a percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) has fluctuated over the period 2000–2012, from 3 per cent (2000), peaking at 3.5 per cent (2008), falling after the global financial crisis in 2009, then returning to 3.5 per cent (2013). Japan’s GERD was higher than key East Asian economies including Taiwan (3 per cent), Singapore (2 per cent) and Australia (2.1 per cent in 2013) (OECD, n.d.).

TABLE 1 Select Leading Humanities Institutes, Universities and Projects: Humanities Teaching and Research Strengths, Japan

Discipline	Institutions, Centres and Projects	Humanities Teaching and Research
Language and Linguistics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University of Tokyo Kyoto University Waseda University Hitotsubashi University Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Osaka University Sophia University Tohoku University National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modern languages Linguistics Japanese language and linguistics (linguistic theory and structure, cross-linguistic studies, language change and variation, corpus studies) Languages (Chinese, Korean, Indian, German, French, Slavic, South European) Foreign studies (language and culture)
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University of Tokyo Kyoto University Hitotsubashi University Osaka University Tohoku University National Museum of Japanese History (<i>Rekihaku</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Japanese history (prehistoric, ancient, modern and contemporary history) History (Asian, West-Asian, Oriental, Occidental, European)
Philosophy and Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University of Tokyo Kyoto University Hitotsubashi University Sophia University Tohoku University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Philosophy (Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Western) History of science Aesthetics Ethics Folklore Religious studies/Philosophy of Religion Religious studies (Buddhism, Islam, Christianity), theology
Archaeology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University of Tokyo Kyoto University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Archaeology
Area Studies/ Asian Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University of Tokyo Kyoto University Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Waseda University Hokkaido University Tohoku University International Research Centre for Japanese Studies (<i>Nichibunken</i>) National Museum of Ethnology (<i>Minpaku</i>) Contemporary Chinese Area Studies project, Contemporary India Area Studies (INDAS), Islamic Area Studies (IAS) project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asian studies Area studies: Japan, China, Korea, India (Indological studies), South Asia, Southeast Asia, Europe, Slavic, America, Africa Global and international studies
Cultural and Communication Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kyoto University Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Tokyo University of the Arts Hokkaido University Tohoku University National Museum of Ethnology (<i>Minpaku</i>) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural anthropology and ethnology Cultural/culture studies Transcultural studies Contemporary culture Film and new media studies Media studies
English Language and Literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University of Tokyo Kyoto University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English language and literature English/American language and literature
Literature	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Institute of Japanese Literature (NIJL) University of Tokyo Kyoto University Waseda University Osaka University Tohoku University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Literature (Japanese, pre-modern Japanese, Chinese, Indian, German, French, Slavic, South European, Greek and Latin classics) Contemporary literary studies Comparative literature
The Arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tokyo University of the Arts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fine arts Art history Music Design
Digital Humanities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Center for Evolving Humanities, University of Tokyo Digital Humanities Centre for Japanese Arts and Cultures, Ritsumeikan University International Institute for Digital Humanities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Digitisation of texts Digital databases Digital archives New tools and methodologies for the digital humanities

contemporary India and South Asia. The Islamic Area Studies project, led by the Waseda University Institute of Islamic Area Studies, explores contemporary Islam integrating history, religion, politics, economics and cultural anthropology.

Japanese universities provide general education, liberal arts programs (at the undergraduate level) and undergraduate and postgraduate humanities programs. Along with the national institutes, Japan's universities have teaching and research humanities strengths in language, literature, and linguistics (Japanese, Korean, Chinese, European, Indian), history (Japanese, Asian, European, prehistoric to contemporary), philosophy (Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Western, aesthetics, ethics, folklore, history of science), religion (Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, theology), archaeology, Asian studies and area studies (Japan, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, India, South Asia, Europe, America, Africa, and global studies), cultural studies (cultural anthropology, ethnology, transcultural studies, film and media studies), English language, literature (Japanese, Chinese, Indian, American, European) and the arts (fine arts, art history, music, design) (Table 1).

Structurally, humanities teaching and research is undertaken through faculties and graduate schools (e.g., arts and sciences, letters, integrated human studies, Asian studies), humanities departments, divisions and institutes. Leading Japanese universities hold cultural heritage artefacts and historical collections, and undertake digitisation projects. The digital humanities have grown, with key examples including the Center for Evolving Humanities at the University of Tokyo, the Digital Humanities Centre for Japanese Arts and Culture at Ritsumeikan University, and the International Institute for Digital Humanities. These centres have expertise in the digitisation of texts, digital database and archive construction and use, and the development of new tools and methods for the digital humanities.

Humanities undergraduate provision and research training

The number of Japanese university students enrolled in human science programs grew dramatically between 1965 and 1995 along with the massification of the sector, after which enrolments stabilised (Huang, 2015b, p. 34). However, the proportion of Japanese university students enrolled in humanities and arts programs remains low, having decreased slightly from 2000 to 2016 (from 17 per cent to 16 per cent) (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014; MEXT, 2016a). At the undergraduate level, a relatively small proportion of Japanese university students enrolled in humanities programs in 2016 (14 per cent), while a further 3 per cent enrolled in arts programs. The proportion of Japanese university students enrolled in postgraduate humanities programs was even smaller (7 per cent in 2016) (Table 2). Furthermore, the number of Japanese students enrolled in humanities programs is expected to continue to decrease as Japan is experiencing a rapid decline in its university-aged population. Historically, while entry into the engineering and health professions has required postgraduate-level qualifications, humanities programs at that level have tended to 'serve the reproduction of the academic profession' (Teichler, 1997, p. 293) rather than the broader labour market.

There is marked variation in participation by gender, institution type, and level. In 2012, approximately two thirds of all Japanese humanities university students were women, yet at the doctoral level there were only marginally more women (53 per cent) than male candidates (MEXT, n.d.-b). The majority of humanities students were enrolled at private universities in 2015; however, at the masters and doctoral level more humanities candidates were enrolled at public universities, reflecting in part the recognised research capabilities of leading public institutions (Table 3).

The employment rate for doctoral graduates was lower for humanities graduates (30 per cent in 2012) than all other disciplines, with the exception of arts (30 per cent) (MEXT, n.d.-b).

TABLE 2 Japanese University Students by Field of Study (2016)

Discipline	Undergraduate	Masters courses	Doctoral courses	Total	Percentage of total cohort
Social Science	829,442	15,931	6,120	851,493	30%
Engineering	384,767	65,890	12,966	463,623	17%
Humanities	366,241	10,867	5,846	382,954	14%
Health	318,522	11,663	28,638	358,823	13%
Others	180,450	18,249	8,487	207,186	7%
Education and Teacher Training	190,908	9,253	2,276	202,437	7%
Science	79,296	13,540	5,011	97,847	4%
Agriculture	76,404	8,716	3,580	88,700	3%
Arts	69,691	4,156	708	74,555	3%
Home Economics	71,393	840	220	72,453	3%
Total	2,567,114	159,105	73,852	2,800,071	100%

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), 2016a.

TABLE 3 Number and Proportion of Japanese University Students Enrolled in Humanities and Arts Programs by University Type (2015)

Course Level and University Type	Humanities	Arts	Total
Undergraduate			
National universities	30,949	3,263	445,668 (17%)
Local public universities	20,187	5,817	129,618 (5%)
Private universities	317,149	60,065	1,980,776 (78%)
Masters courses			
National universities	3,711	1,178	93,416 (59%)
Local public universities	405	639	10,372 (7%)
Private universities	7,186	2,287	55,186 (35%)
Doctoral courses			
National universities	3,014	341	50,676 (69%)
Local public universities	235	134	4,876 (7%)
Private universities	2,725	228	18,325 (25%)
	385,561	73,952	2,788,913

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), 2016a.

Humanities academic societies

The Japan Academy (*Nippon Gakushi-in*) is the nation's preeminent academic society. Initially established in 1879 during the Meiji period to advance education and science, the Japan Academy now operates under the auspices of MEXT. The academy includes approximately twenty-five humanities members spanning literature, history, philosophy, philology, and German linguistics. The *Transactions of The Japan Academy* includes humanities papers, while the *Proceedings of The Japan Academy* includes mathematical, physical, and biological sciences papers. There are also a number of Japanese professional associations (see [Appendix C](#)).

The Science Council of Japan, which encompasses all fields of science including the humanities, was established in 1949 to promote and enhance science. Key activities include advocating for policy change, promoting domestic networks and international activities, and promoting scientific literacy. The humanities and social sciences section has been active in lobbying on issues related to humanities and social science teaching and research, along with conducting academic symposia.

Cultural institutions and humanities infrastructure

Japan is home to a wealth of cultural institutions and humanities infrastructure. This includes a large number of performance venues, such as the National Theatre and National Engei hall supported by the Japan Arts Council. Japan boasts a large number of museums, including history museums, traditional art museums, contemporary art museums, and war museums, as well as a significant number of private museums and galleries. There are also a number of historically important shrines, temples and sacred places. These sites house cultural resources for research, including ancient books, historic documents, archaeological artefacts (from ancient to feudal Japan), artworks (paintings, sculptures), calligraphic works, performance traditions (drama, music) and crafts (ceramics, textiles, lacquerware, metalwork, dolls, *washi*). Many of these are listed on registers of Tangible Cultural Properties, National Treasures, Intangible Cultural Properties, and the UNESCO World Heritage Convention.

Historical materials and records are also held in various archives, including the Tokyo-based National Archives of Japan. There are a large number of academic and general libraries spread throughout the country, such as the National Diet Library, which is home to Japan's major research collection of books and journals, as well as some important archives relating particularly to political history. Digitisation projects (initiated in many instances by cultural institutions and national institutes to minimise possible losses due to catastrophic disasters), have greatly increased the accessibility of Japan's cultural heritage. For example, NIJL has launched an international collaboration to digitise works into a Pre-modern Japanese Book Database. In addition to digitised records held by museums, archives, and libraries, leading Japanese repositories include the Japanese Institutional Repositories Online, the Academic Research Database Repository, and National Institute of Informatics' (NII) Scholarly and Academic Information Navigator (CiNii) and NII Electronic Resources Repository. The extent to which these various institutions and materials are used for scholarly research, including international collaborative research, varies.

HUMANITIES RESEARCH POLICY, FUNDING AND INCENTIVES

Humanities-related policies and reforms

Japan's highly-regulated research system has historically emphasised the natural sciences and technology.⁹ While the *Science and Technology Basic Law* (Law No. 130 of 1995) recognises that the 'mutual connection between natural science and the humanities is essential to the progress of [science and technology] S&T' (MEXT, n.d.-c, Article 2.2), subsequent five-year basic plans continued to emphasise science and technology policy priorities including technology commercialisation, 'green innovation' and 'life innovation'. Japan's five-year basic plans have also sought to strengthen the research system more broadly, and to foster interdisciplinary research and industry-education collaboration (MEXT, n.d.-d). The Japanese government has pursued internationalisation strategies both to address challenges specific to the Asian region, alongside global challenges relating to global warming, food, water, and energy. The

⁹ This emphasis is evident in major Science Council reports dating from the 1970s, including *Basic Policies for the Promotion of Science* (Science Council, 1973), *Basic Policies and Measures for the Improvement of the Scientific Research Systems* (Science Council, 1984), and *Strategies for Comprehensive Promotion of Scientific Research with the Prospect of the 21st Century* (Science Council, 1992) (see Fujita, 1999, p. 69).

Japanese government recognises that Japan's role in the Asian region is changing with the increasing influence of China and India (MEXT, n.d.-e).

The Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011 had a major influence on government policy direction (International Social Science Council, UNESCO, 2013, p. 216), leading to increased emphasis on research priorities such as sustainability, energy systems, environment, safety and security, and interdisciplinarity. The innovation-focused *5th Science and Technology Basic Plan (2016–2020)* aims to strengthen Japan's R&D sector and research human resources, realise a 'super smart society,' consolidate fundamental technologies, and enhance internationalisation (Council for Science, Technology and Innovation, 2015, pp. ii–iii). Concurrently, a large number of education and economic policy statements and reports have driven research system reform, particularly as economic revitalisation has formed a key plank of the government's agenda.¹⁰

Reports specifically focused on the humanities include the *Report for the Promotion of Humanities and Social Sciences* of 2009 and *Promotion of the Humanities and Social Sciences: Addressing Risk Society and Matured Intellectual Society* (MEXT, 2012). The 2009 report acknowledges that the level and fragmentation of Japan's humanities research is problematic, and notes the diminution of Japanese Studies as research centres have been reframed as 'East Asian Studies' or 'Asian Studies' centres. The 2012 report obliges humanities and social sciences researchers to 'provide radical solutions' to challenges facing the country following the 2011 disaster (MEXT, 2012, p. 1). Both reports recommend increased international scholarly collaboration and interdisciplinary research. Finally, Japan's *Policy on Cultural Affairs*, representing a counterpoint to the government's focus on STEM disciplines (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) and economic revitalisation, aims to nurture Japan's dramatic arts, media arts, and film, and to increase the utilisation of Japan's cultural properties (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2014, p. 2).

Higher education reform: influence on humanities research

The Japanese higher education sector has long been a subject of reform. During the period of American occupation after the Second World War (1945–1952), national General Education curriculum was introduced amidst support for a liberal arts education (Poole, 2010, p. 16),¹¹ which has had a lasting impact. The sector expanded rapidly from forty-eight universities and 100,000 students at the end of the Second World War, to 852 universities and 1.6 million students by 1969 (Poole, 2010, p. 17). In recent decades, as the Japanese government has focused on deficit reduction, higher education sector reforms have included increased marketisation (including increased tuition fees), the incorporation of national universities, and the introduction of evaluation-contingent government funding (Kaneko, 2012, pp. 17, 19). The government has also introduced reforms to increase the number of Japanese world-class universities such as the Top Global University Project. The humanities have struggled in this performance-based environment, which places a significant premium on science-related criteria and rankings.

In June 2015 MEXT issued a notice, *Overhaul of Organization and Overall Operations of National University Corporations* (for further detail see MEXT 2015a), directing national universities to review humanities and teacher education courses with a view to having them better reflect societal needs. The move was considered to reflect government concerns regarding the failure of the humanities to meet the needs of Japanese society, alongside increasing trends towards economic instrumentalism in the Japanese higher education sector ('Editorial: Ministry Must Stop,' 2015). The notice appeared against a context of fiscal constraint, concentration of government funding on research universities in a bid for improved performance in university rankings and in declining STEM research performance, and established plans by national universities to reduce humanities enrolments (Yonezawa, 2017, p. 32; Kingston, 2015; Steffensen, 2015). It was reported that this was a time when 'there [was] strong doubt in society about the value of university education in the fields of the humanities and social sciences... [and] wide and profound confusion about the nature of liberal

¹⁰. See *The New Growth Strategy Blueprint for Revitalizing Japan* (2010), *Comprehensive Strategy for the Rebirth of Japan* (2012), and *Comprehensive Strategy on Science, Technology and Innovation* (2014).

¹¹. This process involved conversion of 'the curricula of the state-run higher schools along with the independent, postsecondary prep schools (*yoka*) into the first- and second-year General Education curricula at public and private undergraduate schools throughout Japan' (Poole, 2010, p. 16).

arts and general education, and their relations with humanities and social sciences' (Yonezawa, 2017, p. 32). The proposed reforms received global media coverage (see Grove, 2015; Vickers, 2016), including criticism in *Time*, the *Times Higher Education* (THE), and the *Wall Street Journal*. The Science Council of Japan expressed profound concern (2015, p. 2), as did Keidanren, Japan's business lobby (Kingston, 2015). While MEXT subsequently issued a statement refuting allegations regarding such closures, they reiterated the call to ensure that national universities directly address Japan's challenges (MEXT, 2015a). Steffensen subsequently suggested that 'the general funding environment and policy priorities do not pose as grave a threat to social scientific and humanities education and research as suggested by THE, but other aspects of the second Abe premiership may' (2015).

Structures (Ministries, Departments, Councils)

Japan's Cabinet Office has responsibility for government policy and oversees a number of important Councils, including the Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (CSTI). The CSTI has responsibility for the establishment of science policy such as the *Science and Technology Basic Plan*, the development of national research priorities, and the evaluation of Japan's research effort. While the Council's remit extends to the humanities, government policy is largely focused on science and innovation (European Commission, 2013, p. 1). The Science Council of Japan, under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister, makes policy recommendations, undertakes international initiatives, and promotes scientific literacy.

MEXT has primary responsibility for science policy and research in part through the allocation of funding for universities, research and research infrastructure. Key MEXT departments and instrumentalities include the Science and Technology Policy Bureau, Higher Education Bureau, Research and Development Bureau, and Research Promotion Bureau. The MEXT Agency for Cultural Affairs promotes Japan's 'Power of Culture,' while the Director-General for International Affairs promotes internationalisation. As required, MEXT establishes special committees, including one focused on the humanities and social sciences that met until 2012 (European

Commission, 2013, p. 9). The MEXT Fine Arts Division supports key cultural infrastructure such as national museums (Kyoto, Kyusyu, Nara, Tokyo), national museums of art (Osaka, Tokyo, Kyoto), the National Art Centre Tokyo, and the Japan Arts Council. Other than MEXT, most government ministries with responsibility for the promotion of science concentrate on the natural sciences and technology (Fujita, 1999, p. 68).

The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) has primary responsibility for industry-related policy and research, extending to Japan's cultural industries. METI's Creative Industries Division supports Japan's cultural industries spanning manga, anime, fashion, film, food, and arts and crafts (see Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2012).

Research funding

Funding bodies, programs and incentives

The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) is the most relevant government funding body for humanities research funding.¹² The society provides funding to researchers principally through the competitive funding scheme, Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (KAKENHI). This scheme supports basic and applied research across all disciplines, including the humanities, social sciences, and STEM disciplines. The society also supports internationalisation through programs aimed at promoting collaborative research, international networks and training opportunities for young researchers. Increasingly, government funding privileges applications involving international researchers (Ishikawa, 2009, p. 169). Following the release of the report, *Promotion of the Humanities and Social Sciences Addressing Risk Society and Matured Intellectual Society* (MEXT, 2012), the society introduced the Topic-Setting Program to Advance Cutting-Edge Humanities and Social Sciences Research. This program encourages interdisciplinary research that directly responds to societal needs, and international scholarly collaboration. The society also implements several programs aimed at promoting world class universities (e.g., the Top Global University Project) and at enhancing university research more generally (e.g., the Re-Inventing Japan Project). These initiatives arguably indirectly benefit all research

12. The two other key research funding organisations, the New Energy and Industrial Technology Development Organisation (NEDO) and Japan Science and Technology Agency (JST), are predominantly focused on basic research, natural sciences, and technology. NEDO's priorities include energy, global environmental problems, and industrial technology. Priority areas for the JST include green innovation, life innovation, nanotechnology and materials, information and communications technology, and science and technology for society.

TABLE 4 Number of Grants and Their Budgets by Grant Type for Arts/Humanities (1998–2015)

Grant type:	1998		2002		2015	
	Number of Grants	Budget Allotment	Number of Grants	Budget Allotment	Number of Grants	Budget allotment
Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (S)	–	–	5	139,490	11	242,500
Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (A)	108	582,900	154	1,721,380	154	1,083,500
Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B)	337	818,800	649	2,197,500	603	1,784,700
Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C)	1,240	1,123,700	1,801	1,802,400	3,145	2,826,300
Grant-in-Aid for Exploratory Research/Challenging Research	158	119,350	194	185,300	411	328,300
Grant-in-Aid for Encouragement of Scientists (A)	633	544,800	9	49,010	38	91,300
Grant-in-Aid for Encouragement of Scientists (B)	–	–	700	706,200	1,035	746,200
Research Activity Start-Up	–	–	–	–	172	152,582
Scientific Research on Innovative Area	–	–	–	–	26	166,500
Total Arts/Humanities and percentage of all	2,476 (7%)	3,189,550 (5%)	3,512 (9%)	6,801,280 (7%)	5,595 (8%)	7,421,882 (5%)
Total (all fields of research)	35,555	64,824,920	40,366	99,694,590	73,196	156,264,900

Source: Adapted from Nishizawa et al., 2007, p. 82; and Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), 2016.

TABLE 5 Funding for Humanities Projects Through the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (2005, 2014)

2005		2014	
Number and percentage	Funding (yen and percentage of total)	Number and percentage	Funding (yen and percentage of total)
3,295 research projects (7%)	6.7 billion yen (5%)	5,411 research projects (8%)	7.7 billion yen (5%)

Source: Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), 2010a; JSPS, 2010b.

disciplines at participating institutions, including the humanities.

Humanities research funding

Arts and humanities research receives only a small proportion of government research funding, with the number of grants to the category Arts/Humanities fluctuating between 7 and 9 per cent and the budget allocation fluctuating between 5 and 7 per cent over the period 1998 to 2015 (Table 4). While Arts/Humanities research funding grew in this period in terms of the number of grants and the amount of money allocated (Table 4),

the proportion of grants allocated remained well behind medicine, engineering, interdisciplinary studies, and science (Nishizawa et al., 2007, p. 83).

In 2014, the JSPS allocated Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research for a total of 72,262 research projects, including 5411 research projects in the humanities (8 per cent). Of the total funding allocated (164 billion yen), 5 per cent was allocated to the humanities (JSPS, 2010a). While the level of funding per project declined over the period from 2005 to 2014, the proportion of humanities projects funded and the proportion of funding allocated

to humanities projects remained stable over this period (JSPS, 2010a, 2010b) (Table 5).

Research funding is concentrated in key universities including the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Osaka University, Tohoku University, Kyushu University, Hokkaido University and Nagoya University (JSPS, 2010c).¹³

HUMANITIES RESEARCH OUTPUTS

Japan's contribution to science and engineering articles globally (6 per cent in 2011) places it fourth behind the European Union (31 per cent), the United States (26 per cent) and China (11 per cent) (National Science Board, 2014, pp. 5–36). Tokyo is one of the world's leading centres for research publications, and is geographically close to other world-leading centres including 'Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, Seoul, Taipei [and] Hong Kong' (Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education [DIISRTE], 2012, p. 17).¹⁴

Japan's humanities research publications outputs in English are concentrated in language and linguistics, history and philosophy of science, history, and philosophy (SCImago Journal & Country Rank [SJR], 2016). The bulk of Japanese research publications in the humanities tend to be published in Japanese, with many appearing in non-refereed outlets and internal, university-specific publications. Despite the fact that such English-language, international citation data privileges English-language papers and understates humanities scholarship which 'remains rooted in the national-language medium' (Ishikawa, 2014, p. 4), the SJR publications data reveals that humanities publications outputs more than doubled in the period 1996 to 2014 (from 510 humanities publications to 1085). Japan's humanities research output has grown in almost all subject categories other than conservation where fluctuations on a small base are evident (SJR, 2016) (Table 6).

TABLE 6 Humanities Publications (and 'Arts and Humanities, Miscellaneous') by Subject Categories, Japan (1996–2014)

Subject category:	1996	2014
Language and Linguistics	51	241
History and Philosophy of Science	195	129
History	13	93
Philosophy	31	83
Archaeology (Arts and Humanities)	6	38
Music	4	37
Religious Studies	4	34
Literature and Literary Theory	3	31
Visual Arts and Performing Arts	0	26
Conservation	3	22
Museology	1	3
Classics	0	3
Arts and Humanities (Miscellaneous)	208	418
TOTAL	519	1,158

Source: SCImago Journal & Country Rank, 2016.

The total number of citations for this period is 449,311 (h index = 275). As other Asian countries have increased their research output, with China clearly dominating (Barlow, 2014, p. 15), Japan's contribution towards the total number of regional humanities publications has declined dramatically from 50 per cent in 1996 to 13 per cent in 2014 (SJR, 2016). At a global level, Japan's research capacity is evidenced by its ongoing contribution to global humanities publications, which remains high at 1 per cent in 2014 despite decreasing during this period (SJR, 2016).

INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT

To date, Japan's international engagement has 'long centered on internationalisation at home rather than internationalisation outside home' through 'increased English-medium instruction classes and programs, hir[ing] international faculty members

13. The NII's database, Database of Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (KAKEN), holds information including research themes and results (reports and reviews) for Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research allocated by MEXT and JSPS (NII KAKEN, n.d.).

14. Any exploration of research output based on English-speaking publications understates Japan's research capacity. Ishikawa notes that 'research in cultural and social studies remain solidly and decidedly Japanese-language mediums' (2009, p. 169). Japanese language research publications are accessible through a variety of sources. For example, CiNii Articles (n.d.) developed by NII (see Negishi, Sun and Shigi, 2004) is a database of Japanese academic publications including Journals of Academic Societies, Japanese university research bulletins, the Citation Database for Japanese Publications, the National Diet Library Japanese Periodicals Index, Japanese university institutional repositories, and the Japan Science and Technology Agency J-STAGE. In addition, CiNii Books (n.d.) provides an online catalogue of books held in 1200 Japanese university libraries.

and researchers, and reform[ing] curricula to match international standards' (Kamibeppu, 2015, p. 161). Internationalisation 'outside home' has been oriented towards the Anglosphere (largely Europe and North America) and 'implicitly equated with "Westernisation"' (Rapple and Vickers, 2015, n.p.). Concurrently, there has been 'a parallel push for deeper linkages with peer institutions in China and Korea' (Taylor, 2014, p. 39), reflected in such initiatives as the Collective Action for Mobility Program of University Studies in Asia (CAMPUS Asia) (Horie, 2014, p. 19). Internationalisation strategies, while concentrated on student mobility (Huang, 2015a, p. 391), have been conceived both as key to fostering the global standing of Japan's higher education system, and a productive workforce for Japan's economic development (Horie, 2015, p. 229). This represents a shift from initial emphasis of internationalisation as 'capacity-building in other countries' (Horie, 2015, p. 229).

Government policy has increasingly encouraged researcher mobility, an 'international-level research environment' (CSTI, 2010, pp. 29, 31) and the development of 'global human resources' (Yonezawa, 2012, p. 407). Faculty and student international engagement and mobility have been encouraged through various government policies (see the *Plan to Accept 300,000 International Students* of 2008 [MEXT, 2008], and *Japan Revitalization Strategy – Japan is Back* of 2013 [Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet]). Notable initiatives include the MEXT Global 30 Project and Super Global programs, university recruitment reforms (Taylor, 2014, p. 39), the TOBITATE! (Leap for Tomorrow Study Abroad Campaign), Re-inventing Japan Project, TeamUp campaign and the strategy to achieve 'top 100' positions for ten Japanese universities in key world university rankings (Ishikawa, 2014, p. 3), and the Monbushō scholarships program. Japan's internationalisation agenda is constrained by language, as evidenced by the lack of English-language research publications, and is influenced by geopolitics and historical relations (Matthews and Cheng, 2014, p. 57).

Inbound and outbound students

The number of inbound international students has grown since the early 1980s, where student numbers totalled some 10,428 in 1983 (Shao, 2008, p. 1). Government policy targets have been set (300,000 international students by 2020) and policy shifts have encouraged enhanced international student mobility,¹⁵ including dedicated 'job search' visas to enable international students to remain beyond graduation (Asian Development Bank Institute, 2014, p. 25). Despite these measures, Japan hosts a comparatively small number of international students (peaking at 141,774 in 2010, then declining to 110,518 in 2012) relative to the size of the higher education system (Kamibeppu, 2015, p. 163; MEXT, n.d.-b).

The declining international student intake after 2010 has been attributed to the Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011 and subsequent Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant meltdown (Kamibeppu, 2015, p. 163). The majority of the 2012 cohort of inbound international students originate from neighbouring China (69,117) and Korea (14,097), with very few from the Oceania region (2,358) (MEXT, n.d.-b). Many inbound international students from developed countries (including the United States, France, Germany, Australia, Italy, and Canada) enrolled in short-term (not for degree) rather than degree-seeking programs (Kamibeppu, 2015, p. 165). Less than one fifth of all inbound international students enrolled in humanities programs in universities (17 per cent), with the majority enrolled in social science (46,377 or 42 per cent) or science (27,420 or 25 per cent) (MEXT, n.d.-b).

The number of Japanese tertiary students studying abroad peaked at 82,945 in 2004 and subsequently declined (Bradford, 2015, p. 22). By 2012, the number of Japanese nationals studying overseas totalled 60,138, with the main destinations being China (21,126), the United States (19,568), the United Kingdom (3633) and a small number studying in Australia (1855) (MEXT, 2015b, p. 1). The trend of comparatively few outbound international students has been recognised as a 'serious problem' (Kobayashi, 2013, p. 1). This development has variously been attributed to a 'failure of the education system to prepare students

15. See the *Plan to Accept 100,000 International Students* (1983) and *Plan to Accept 300,000 International Students* (MEXT, 2008) by 2020. Kamibeppu (2015) observes that the 2008 policy involved a number of strategies, including '(a) expanding Japanese language education overseas; (b) making entrance examinations, enrolment, and entry into Japan more student friendly; (c) 'globalizing' Japanese HEIs; (d) improving hosting environments (i.e., housing and financial support); and (e) supporting postgraduation life and employment in Japan' (p. 167). The *Japan New Development Strategy*, announced in June 2013, reiterated the target of 300,000 inbound international students by 2020, while decreasing the target for outbound international students from 300,000 to 120,000.

for overseas study; economic stagnation; excess enrolment capacity of Japanese higher education institutions; institutional constraints related to the academic calendar and transferring of credits earned overseas; and the hiring practices and preferences of Japanese companies' (Bradford, 2015, p. 23). In terms of company hiring practices, Japanese students frequently begin searching for jobs in the second year of their undergraduate degree (Kamibeppu, 2015, p. 172). Only 2167 Japanese international students were enrolled in higher education programs in Australia in 2014, well behind the number of international students from China (100,000), Malaysia (29,068), Singapore (28,267), India (26,018), and Hong Kong (12,481) (Department of Education and Training, 2015).

Scholarly collaboration

Gottlieb (2015) suggests that globalisation has challenged the 'staunchly held ideology of Japanese monoculturalism, monoethnicity, and monolingualism' (p. xiii). Important European intellectual works are quickly translated into Japanese; however, there remains an unequal flow of translation into and out of Japanese. While Japan was the first Asian nation state to actively promote internationalisation (Ho, Lin and Yang, 2015, p. 55), Japan's current level of international collaboration is low in comparison to other research-intensive countries such as the United States and China (Matthews and Cheng, 2014, pp. 13, 56). Japan's international collaborations primarily involve other G8¹⁶ industrialised nations (DIISRTE, 2012, p. 7), most particularly the United States and United Kingdom (Semba, 2014, p. 10), while in the Asia-Pacific region, these collaborations are predominantly with China, Korea and Australia (DIISRTE, 2012, p. 7). The increasing connectedness between researchers in the Asian region suggests potential for an Asian Research Area (or Asia-Pacific Research Area) similar to the European Research Area (Marginson, 2010, p. 608; see Ang, et al., 2015).

In addition to collaborations with organisations in research-intensive countries, Japanese universities have pursued international agreements with institutions in developing countries elsewhere in Asia, and in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. Trends regarding internationally mobile Japanese researchers and their destinations have changed in recent years. For example, the number

of Japanese researchers travelling to North America for short-term visits (up to three months) declined from 37,000 to 33,000 in the period 2005 to 2010, as did the number travelling to Europe (declining from 40,623 to 39,746) while the number travelling to Asia increased during the same period (from 45,000 to 53,000) (European Commission, 2013, p. 14).

The number of joint publications involving international co-authors from Japan has increased considerably over recent years (Barlow, 2014). Concurrently, the number of joint publications involving Japanese and Australian co-authors nearly doubled from 522 in 2000 to 1007 in 2009. However, almost all of these joint publications were in the sciences and engineering disciplines, while a very small proportion were in the humanities in 2010 (DIISRTE, 2012, p. 45). Approximately one third of Japan's humanities publications involve co-authorship arising from international collaboration, and this rate has been static for much of the last two decades other than in 1997 and during the period 2000 to 2002 (SJR, 2016).

Japan participates in a number of regional initiatives, including the ASEAN+3 (Association of Southeast Asian Nations plus China, Japan and Korea). Japan has also pursued bilateral agreements governing international scholarly collaboration, such as the *Memorandum on Cooperation in Education between the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan and the Department of Education, Science and Training of Australia* signed in 2007 (MEXT and Department of Education, Science and Training of Australia). In addition, Japan participates in initiatives such as the University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific program, New Colombo Plan, ASEAN International Mobility for Students, and Japan-China-Korea Committee for Promoting Exchange and Co-operation among universities.

Australia-Japan collaborations

International collaborations involving Japanese and Australian research institutions are supported by a range of funding organisations, including the Japan Foundation and Tokyo Foundation/Nippon Foundation. For example, the Tokyo Foundation/Nippon Foundation has provided endowments to Monash University, Macquarie University, the University of Queensland, and Griffith University to promote Japanese language education. Australia-

16. The G8 includes Anglophone countries (United States, United Kingdom, Canada), European countries (Germany, France, Italy), Russia and Japan.

Japan collaborations are concentrated in leading institutions such that ‘the top 20 Australian institutions account for 75 [per cent] of joint publications between Australia and Japan, while the top 20 Japanese institutions account for about 50 [per cent]’ (DIISRTE, 2012, p. 50). The number of formal agreements between Australian universities and Japanese partners has increased progressively from 368 in 2003 to 479 in 2014, with Japan representing the fourth country of preference behind China (1237), the United States (967), and Germany (572) (Universities Australia [UA], 2014, p. 12). These agreements cover academic/research collaboration, short-term and other mobility programs, staff exchanges, student exchanges, and study abroad programs. In 2013 to 2014, 31 Australian universities had 275 active academic/research collaboration agreements with 149 Japanese universities, institutes and foundations (UA, 2014).

The Australian Academy of the Humanities (AAH) *Survey of the International Collaboration of Fellows*, conducted in 2013, identified research-based collaborations of AAH Fellows, predominantly by Asian Studies Fellows. Collaborations between AAH Fellows and faculty in Japan represented a small proportion of all Australia-Asia collaborations. Collaborations were identified between AAH Fellows and partners at the Museum of Ethnography (Osaka), several universities (Tokyo University for Foreign Studies, Okinawa International University, Osaka University, University of Tokyo, Kobe University, Kwansei Gakuin University, Ryukyu University), and Japanese government agencies. AAH Fellows had secured funding from the Museum of Ethnography (Osaka), Japanese universities (Tokyo University for Foreign Studies, Osaka University, University of Tokyo) and Japanese government agencies (Japan Science Foundation for Promotion of Science, Japanese Ministry of Education, Japanese government).

CONCLUSION

Japan’s research sector is large by international standards and continues to perform well in international university rankings despite downward shifts in recent years. Japan’s humanities research capacity is most evident in the RU11 group and other leading universities, most notably the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo University of the Arts, Waseda University, Osaka University, Hokkaido University, Sophia

University, and Tohoku University. In addition, humanities research capacity in languages and linguistics, literature, history and philosophy is held at NIHU. Many Japanese universities undertake Asian studies spanning Japan, China, Korea, India, South Asia, and/or Southeast Asia; and area studies encompassing Europe, America, Africa, Islam, and/or global/international studies. Waseda University and Kyoto University host contemporary area studies projects focused on China, India, and Islam.

Japan has a concentration of humanities teaching and research strength in philosophy, history and philosophy of science, history, and language and linguistics. Many Japanese universities also deliver general education; however, liberal arts faculties and general education programs have been in decline. In philosophy and religion, Japan’s teaching and research is very wide ranging, spanning Japanese, Chinese, Indian and western philosophy, along with history of science, aesthetics, ethics, and folklore. Japan also has academic strength in Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, and theology. In history, Japan’s gaze is both regional and global, focusing on Japanese, Asian and European history (from prehistoric through to contemporary). As a research-intensive, Japanese-language country, Japan’s language and linguistics teaching and research covers Japanese, other Asian languages (Chinese, Korean, Indian), as well as European, English, and other foreign languages. While there is some shift to English-language as the medium of instruction at the university level, much Japanese humanities research is published in the national language, particularly humanities research.

In literature, Japanese teaching and research strengths cover a broad geographical spectrum, from Asian literature (Japanese, Chinese, Indian), through European literature (German, French, Slavic, South European, Greek/Latin), and American literature. Japanese universities also have strength in cultural anthropology and ethnology, transcultural studies, film and media, and the arts (fine arts, art history, music, and design). In digital humanities, there are several notable centres, such as the Digital Humanities Centre for Arts and Culture at the private Ritsumeikan University, that have expertise in digitisation of texts, and digital database and archive construction and use.

The Japanese government and individual universities have actively pursued internationalisation and interdisciplinary research, initially as outreach aiding capacity-building, and more recently to enhance Japan’s global standing.

The government has emphasised the STEM disciplines and economic revitalisation, and this push has shaped university research effort and focus. Japan's international research collaboration strategies have largely been oriented towards the Anglosphere, most particularly other G8 industrialised nations. However, this has shifted as collaborations in the Asian region increase, most particularly with China, Korea, and Australia. More broadly, Japanese researchers have extended collaborations to developing countries elsewhere in Asia and in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. Much of this activity involves the sciences and engineering disciplines, rather than the humanities.

Joint Australian-Japanese research collaborations are concentrated in each country's leading institutions, and humanities-based collaborations are dominated by Asian studies scholars. As a research-intensive country with a large university sector and an active internationalisation agenda, Japan represents a key partner for Australian scholars able to position themselves amongst competitors from both industrialised and developing countries. As much Japanese humanities scholarship remains in Japanese, Japanese language capability would provide a major advantage.

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APPENDIX A

KEY INDICATORS, JAPAN

Geographical location	East Asia, east of Korea
Economy	Predominantly services and manufacturing industries [^]
Population	127 million (July 2015 estimate, rounded) [^]
Official language	Japanese [^]
Ethnicity	Japanese (99%) [^]
Religions	Shintoism (79%), Buddhism (67%), Christian (2%), Other (7%) ^{^▲}
GNI per capita (2014 PPP\$)	37,920*
Human Development Index	0.814 (1990) 0.891; ranked 20th (2014) [#]
Population density	348.7 people per square kilometre*

Sources: [^]Central Intelligence Agency, 2015. [▲]Percentages total more than 100, as many people practice both Shintoism and Buddhism. *The World Bank Group, 2016. [#]United Nations Development Programme, 2015, pp. 208, 212.

Abbreviations: GNI = gross national income; PPP = purchasing power parity

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY RANKINGS, JAPAN (ARWU, QS, THE)

Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) 'top 500' 2016			Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World University Rankings 2016-2017		Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings (Asia University Rankings 2016)	
Country Rank	Institution	World Rank	Institution	World Rank	Institution	Asia University Ranking
1	The University of Tokyo	20	The University of Tokyo	34	University of Tokyo	7
2	Kyoto University	32	Kyoto University	37	Kyoto University	11
3	Nagoya University	72	Tokyo Institute of Technology	56	Tohoku University	23
4	Osaka University	96	Osaka University	63	Tokyo Institute of Technology	24
5	Tohoku University	101-150	Tohoku University	75	Osaka University	30
6	Hokkaido University	151-200	Nagoya University	115	Nagoya University	34
7-9	Kyushu University	201-300	Hokkaido University	130	University of Tsukuba	=46
7-9	Tokyo Institute of Technology	201-300	Kyushu University	135	Kyushu University	=48
7-9	University of Tsukuba	201-300	Waseda University	201	Hokkaido University	49
10-12	Chiba University	301-400	Keio University	216	Tokyo Metropolitan University	=52
10-12	Keio University	301-400	University of Tsukuba	225	Tokyo Medical and Dental University	59
10-12	Okayama University	301-400	Hiroshima University	297	Hiroshima University	=73
13-16	Kobe University	401-500	Tokyo Medical and Dental University	329	Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology	97
13-16	Osaka City University	401-500	Kobe University	369	Osaka City University	=99
13-16	Tokyo University of Science	401-500	Tokyo Metropolitan University	471-480	-	-
13-16	Waseda University	401-500	Hitotsubashi University	481-490	-	-
-	-	-	Yokohama City University	491-500	-	-

Sources: ShanghaiRanking Consultancy, 2016; Quacquarelli Symonds Limited (QS), 2016; Times Higher Education (THE), 2016.

APPENDIX C

HUMANITIES PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, JAPAN

Archaeology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese Archaeological Association • Asian Research Institute of Underwater Archaeology • The International Jomon Culture Conference • Japan Society of Oriental Ceramic Studies
Asian Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asiatic Society of Japan • Japan Association for Asian Studies • Japan Society for Southeast Asian Studies • Japanese Society of Indian and Buddhist Studies • Society of Central Eurasian Studies • The Sinological Society of Japan • Society of Inner Asian Studies
Classical Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Classical Society of Japan
Cultural and Communication Studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese Association for Digital Humanities • Japan Society for Research on Emotions • The Association for Area Cultural Studies
English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English Literary Society of Japan • The American Literature Society of Japan • The Japanese Association for Asian Englishes • The Shakespeare Society of Japan
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Association for Local History Studies • Society for Liao, Jin and Xi-xia Studies • The Japanese Historical Council • Society of Study in Korean History
Languages and Cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australian Studies Association of Japan • Japan Association for Media English Studies • Japan Second Language Association • The Chinese Language Society of Japan
Linguistics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japan Association of Systemic Functional Linguistics • Semantics Research Group • The Linguistic Society of Japan • The Mathematical Linguistic Society of Japan
Philosophy and the History of Ideas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese Association for the Contemporary and Applied Philosophy • Japan Association for Philosophy of Science • The Japanese Society for Ethics • The Philosophical Society of Japan • Philosophy of Science Society, Japan
Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese Association for Religious Studies • Society for the Study of Modern Japanese Buddhist History • The Association of Buddhism Literature
The Arts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Japanese Association for Studying Popular Music • The Association for International Exchange of Japanese Music • The Japanese Society for Aesthetics • The Musicological Society of Japan • The Society for Research in Asiatic Music

