**Beyond Cultural Diplomacy: The Study of International Cultural Relations (ICR)**

**– A New Perspective of Cultural Policy Research in a Globalized World –**

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**Abstract:** This paper is a resume of preliminary study on international cultural relations (ICR) and its implication for cultural policy research (CPR). ICR developed in Japan as a subfield of international relations (IR), but its scope and object of study overlap considerably with those of CPR. Research of ICR consists of three distinct approaches: analytical, administrative, and combined. The latter part of the paper focuses on the combined approach, and introduces a new concept of state's cultural policy in international context, which the author tentatively calls cultural relations policy (CRP). In the last section, the author briefly examines the CRPs of postwar Germany (the Federal Republic) and Japan, and considers distinct scope and characteristics of policies of the two countries.

**Introduction**

This paper introduces an emerging academic field, international cultural relations (ICR). ICR has developed in Japan since about 25 years ago as a subfield of international relations (IR), but its scope of interest and object of study overlap considerably with those of cultural policy research (CPR) [1].

Since the end of the Cold War, especially after "9.11", there are growing academic interests in cultural approaches to international relations as phenomena (ir, in small letters). ICR is an overarching

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[1] At ICCPR 2014, I presented a paper on interrelation between IR and CPR in their interests and approaches. The paper was revised and published as Kawamura (2016).

concept, which attempts to subsume those various approaches to analyze ir from cultural perspective. Research objects of ICR are international cultural relations as phenomena (written in lowercase icr), that is, "international relations regarded or managed with cultural approaches".

ICR emerged as criticism to mainstream or orthodox (mainly "realist") approach of IR, arguing that "orthodox IR" cannot sufficiently grasp the dynamism of contemporary world, or long-term development of international relations. The concept of ICR was elaborated by Kenichiro Hirano (1937- ), professor emeritus of the University of Tokyo and Waseda University, in his book *International Cultural Relations*, published in 2000 (Hirano 2000), and co-edited anthology *Studies on the History of International Cultural Relations*, in 2013 (Hirano et al. 2013). Akira Iriye (1934- ), professor emeritus at Harvard University, also influenced the study of ICR considerably with his notion of "cultural internationalism" (Iriye 1997).

Inspired by the works of these two IR scholars on the one hand, and the idea of "cultural resources management" in CPR and anthropology on the other, the author tries to develop a comprehensive theoretical framework of ICR with a new notion of cultural relations policy (CRP). CRP refers to a state's policy that aims to build better intercultural relations by means of cultural tools or resources. The scope of CRP stretches across different administrative branches, going beyond the conventional dichotomy of inland/international cultural policy.

In the following sections, I delineate the development of ICR as well as its research methodology. The research of ICR consists of three distinct approaches, the analytical approach, the administrative approach, and the combined approach (i.e., combination of analytical and administrative approaches). The latter part of the paper focuses on the combined approach, and introduces a new concept of state's cultural policy in international context, CRP. CRP is a policy or activity by the state of managing, maintaining and developing icr involving different actors, and has been called by various terms, such as international cultural policy, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, international cultural exchange, etc. In recent years, with acceleration of globalization and transnational mobility of people, goods and information, CRP includes not only

(1) *"external" cultural policy* exemplified by traditional cultural or public diplomacy,

but also

(2) broader *"outward" cultural policy* of nation branding,

(3) *"inbound" cultural policy* of attracting tourists and integrating immigrants, and further,

(4) *"inland" cultural policy* such as intercultural education and diversity management.

In the last section, I briefly examine the CRPs of postwar Germany (the Federal Republic) and Japan, and consider distinct scope and characteristics of policies of the two countries.

With respect to the concept of culture, I use it in three different senses:

(a) *Humanist* concept of culture, which means intellectual or artistic achievements of human beings, such as the arts, heritage, etc., and is sometimes also called „culture in a narrower sense";

(b) *Anthropologist* concept of culture, which means unique lifestyle and value ("way of life") of a human group, and roughly corresponds to „broad concept of culture"; and

(c) *Pragmatist* concept of culture, which means a field of human activities, administration, or world affairs, which is distinguished from politics, economics, or material power relations[2].

# 1. Development

The study of ICR started as a subfield of international relations (IR). Scholars of IR conventionally regard the reality of international relations (ir) as sovereign (nation-)state system. They suppose that

(1) states are the main actors of ir, and that

(2) ir corresponds to inter-state power relations, mainly in the form of military/material power relations and of political negotiations in a narrow sense.

ICR-scholars criticize such static, state-centric, narrow-focused views. To the above two premises of orthodox IR, they pose following questions:

(Q1) *Transnational movements and human identities develop beyond borders, upsetting and transforming the sovereign nation-state system. Why do IR scholars keep on regarding inter-state, material power relations as their main object of study?*

(Q2) *Cultural products and activities connect people beyond borders. Why don't we utilize such cultural connections for making a better world?*

In Japan, since the mid-1980s, these two questions were articulated and elaborated by Kenichiro Hirano, then professor of international relations at Waseda University. In his textbook on ICR (Hirano 2000), There, Hirano argued that mainstream IR research at that time was "static IR" because most IR scholars presupposed that ir are interactions between sovereign territorial states (*ibid.*: iii). According

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[2] Culture in its pragmatist sense is not strictly an academic concept; it rather comes from our daily terminology. The threefold categorization of social phenomena, such as "politics, economics, culture," derives from historian Jacob Burckhardt in his theory of three *Potenzen* (historically influential powers). (Wefelmeyer 2003: 24)

to Hirano, Orthodox IR scholars take it for granted that states have the capacity to control their territories and residents within fixed boundaries. Conventional IR researchers also suppose that each state pursues its own power defined as national interest. Such image of orthodox IR depicted by Hirano can be visualized as Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Orthodox IR = "static IR"**
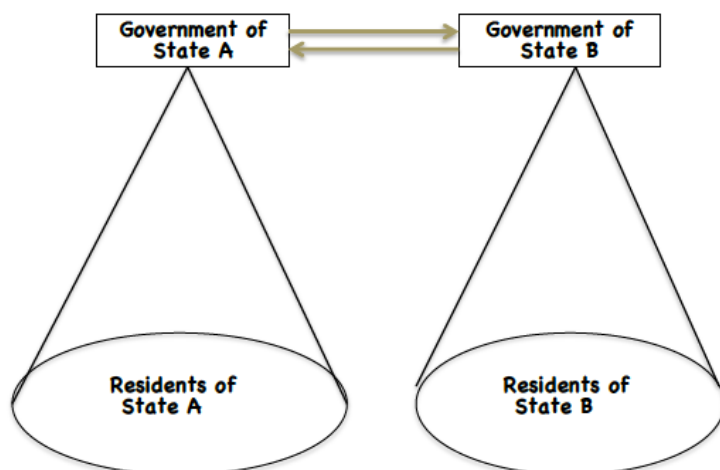


(Source: Author's Own)

Instead of such narrow, "old-fashioned" understanding of ir, Hirano insisted that it is necessary to grasp ir as the aggregation of various cross-border interactions of people, goods, money, information, etc. He called this broader image of ir "international cultural relations" (icr), and the study of IR based on such a vision "international cultural relations (ICR, *kokusai bunka ron*)," or "dynamic IR" (Hirano 2000: iii).

**Figure 2: ICR = "dynamic IR" = study of international cultural relations (icr)**
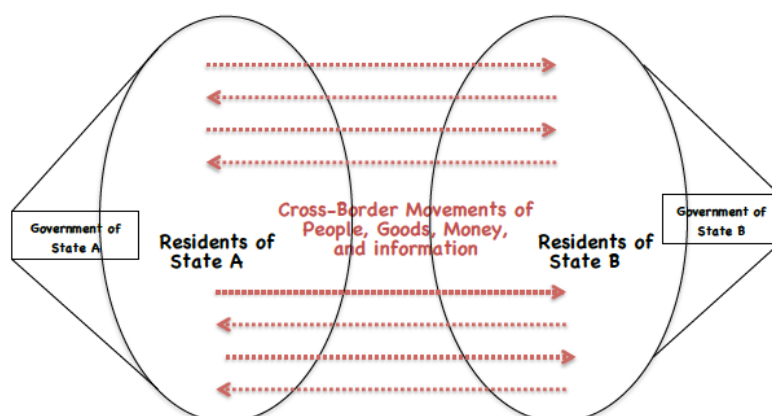


(Source: Author's Own, inspired by Alger (1990))

This broader image of ir, or icr in Hirano's term, roughly corresponds to what Keohane and Nye (1972) called "transnational relations." In fact, Takamichi Kajita (1947-2006) and some other

Japanese scholars with sociological background regarded broader ir as "transnational relations" (Kajita 1992, 2005), and established a study group named "Transnational" as a branch of the Japan Association of International Relations (JAIR).

Hirano and those researchers inspired by his arguments, however, preferred the term "international *cultural* relations". Hirano pointed out that culture in an anthropological sense bounds not only nations but also various other groups of human beings. The *multidimensionality of culture*, based on the fact that a person actually belongs to multiple cultural groups at once, makes culture a convenient tool for analyzing multi-layered transnational relations of contemporary world. In addition, the *historical comprehensiveness of culture* makes it possible to consider world affairs free from temporal constraints. It would, for example, be much more convenient to study the constitution and transformation of sovereign-states, if one considers the sovereign-state system itself as a culture that is unique to modernity. An IR scholar who adopts the concept of culture can thus study ir from a much broader perspective, both spatially and temporally (Hirano et al. 2013: v-vi).

As for the two essential questions (Q1, Q2) posed at the beginning of this section, Hirano's academic contribution was especially prominent in the elaboration of Q1 – at least at first glance. Hirano defined culture anthropologically as "ingenuity for living" (Hirano 2000: 11; Hirano et al. 2013: iii), making it easy to regard ir as "intercultural" relations with broader stretch in time and space. His textbook of ICR, for the most part, depicted the history of relations between the East and the West, with "acculturation" as a key concept (Hirano 2000: Chaps. 4-8); only one last chapter was spared for policy and activity for the betterment of cultural relations (cultural exchange, *ibid.*: Chap. 9).

Hirano, however, actually committed himself to policy research of Japanese cultural diplomacy, and thus considered Q2 as well, even though not in an organized manner as he elaborated Q1. As early as 1984, Hirano co-edited an anthology, *Cultural Exchange in International Relations*, published by the Japan Institute of International Affairs (Saito et al., 1984). The book was the first academic publication on cultural diplomacy in postwar Japan. Hirano was a favorite advisor of the Japan Foundation, and supervised a major research project in the latter half of 1990s (The University of Tokyo Study Group on International Cultural Relations 1998; Sengo Nihon Kokusai Bunka Koryū Kenkyukai 2005) and an advisory committee in the end of 2000s (Bunka Koryū Kenkyū Iinkai 2010) upon its request. Hirano also played a major role in the development of grassroots cultural exchange movements in Japan, chairing a nationwide networking conference from 1988 to 1997 (Shibasaki 2009, 2010).

Many of Hirano's colleagues and students, including the author herself, have committed themselves since mid-1990s to the elaboration of Q2, through studying various types of cross-cultural policies and activities for the betterment of icr (Hirano 1999; Hirano et al. 2013: Part 4), which are collectively called cultural relations policy (CPR) in this paper. When these researchers deal with case studies of CPR (e.g., Hirano et al. 2013: Chaps. 20 and 21), they often rely on the study of diplomatic history by Akira Iriye. Iriye, a Japanese diplomatic historian at Harvard University, has done extensive researches on the contribution of intellectual exchanges to liberal international order. He also coined the word "cultural internationalism" to call the inspiration behind initiatives by "individuals and groups of people from different countries(, who) have sought to develop an alternative community of nations and peoples on the basis of their cultural interchanges" (Iriye 1997: 2).

Iriye defined culture as "structures of meaning," including "memory, ideology, emotions, life styles, scholarly and artistic works" (Iriye 1997: 3, based on Iriye 1991: 215), thus with stronger humanist tone than Hirano. Since the late 1970s, Iriye has argued that ir can also be regarded as intercultural relations (Iriye 1979). He images icr as interactions between intellectuals and nongovernmental organizations driven by cultural motives in humanist sense, building various collaborative relationships across borders for the purpose of universal goals (Iriye 1997, 2004).

Influenced by the works of Iriye, Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, professor of diplomatic history at the Free University of Berlin, has organized several international conferences on "Culture and International History" in Germany since 1999. In these conferences, scholars of different academic disciplines (IR, history, musicology, CPR, etc) from various countries of Europe, the Americas and Asia contributed papers on historical analysis of icr and CRP (Gienow-Hecht and Schumacher 2003, Gienow-Hecht and Donfried 2010). In the 2005 conference, Japanese scholars presented the result of joint research project on CRP supervised by Hirano (Aoki-Okabe et al. 2010).

The study of ICR is still in its embryonic stage. Although Hirano and some other scholars of IR around him try to develop the notion of ICR in their individual research projects, and communicate loosely with other scholars of IR and other disciplines who share the same interest, so far they do not organize a network or academic movement in an institutionalized manner.

The author thinks, however, that ICR and CRP are useful conceptual tools for analyzing and shaping the world of the 21$^{st}$ century with growing mobility of people, goods and information across borders. As reviewed in Section 4, the practice of national cultural diplomacy today is expanding from

traditional "external" cultural policy or public relations to more general "outward" branding of the nation, "inbound" attraction of people, and further to "inland" social, cultural and educational policies. In such a situation, it is helpful to aggregate various academic approaches to cross-border interactions from cultural perspective under the overarching concept of ICR. It would also be convenient to gather researches of different disciplines (including CPR) on the management of cross-cultural relations under the concept of CRP. In the following sections, I present the methodology of ICR studies and elaborate the concept of CRP.

## 2. Methodology of ICR

As referred in the previous section, the study of ICR starts from two central questions, or criticisms, to conventional IR:

(Q1) *Transnational movements and human identities develop beyond borders upsetting and transforming the sovereign nation-state system. Why do IR-scholars keep on regarding inter-state, material power relations as their main object of study?*

(Q2) *Cultural products and activities connect people beyond borders. Why don't we utilize such 'cultural connections' for making a better world?*

To respond to these two questions, we can take three different approaches in actual academic research. As for Q1, we can study international cultural relations in lowercase letters (icr), that is, *analyze international relations (ir) as intercultural or inter-societal relations*. I call this first method *analytical approach*. As for Q2, we can *study the management (or administration) of ir with cultural resources (or means)*. I call this second method *administrative approach.* It is also possible to adopt these two approaches at once. That is, we can *study the management of international cultural relations (icr) with cultural resources or means*. I call this third (and twofold) method *"combined approach".*

The anthology published in 2013 by Hirano and others, *Studies on the History of International Cultural Relations* (Hirano et al. 2013), shows examples of research methodologies of ICR. The authors rely on various academic disciplines of humanities and social sciences, such as history, anthropology, sociology, etc., but all of them share the analytical approach of ICR, in that they regard international relations as contacts between different cultures. The key concept of the book is acculturation, defined by Hirano as "the act of accepting other cultural elements through contacts with others and of transforming one's own culture" (*ibid*.: iv).

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The book consists of 24 essays organized in four parts: Acculturations of Concepts (Part 1), Acculturations in Modern and Contemporary Asia (Part 2), Cultures, Civilizations and Ethnic Groups in International Relations (Part 3), and Activities that Shape International Cultural Relations (Part 4). Essays in Parts 1, 2 and 3 thematize international relations as intercultural contact by analyzing various historical cases – for example, the acceptance of such Western concepts as international society, public, and Orient by different nations in Asia (Chaps. 1, 2, 4), the development of tea (*cha*) culture in Korea under Japanese colonial occupation (Chap. 9), the construction of theory on Asian civilization by Japanese philosopher Tenshin Okakura (1863-1913) through his visit to China (Chap. 14).

All six essays in Part 4, and some other essays in the Parts 2 and 3, deal with various cultural activities and policies for the betterment of international relations carried out by individuals, organizations and states. Topics range from the history of International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC) under the League of Nations (Chap. 20), international research programs of the Ford Foundation in Japan during the Cold War (Chap. 22), to cultural diplomacies of the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany toward non-European countries (Chaps. 23 and 24). Cultural activities of sub-state or non-state actors are also analyzed, such as the exhibition programs of Fukuoka Asian Art Museum (Chap. 11). This latter group of essays exemplifies the combined approach of ICR, since they analyze cases of cultural resources management in a broad sense (i.e., adopt the administrative approach) and at the same time, treat such cases as interactions between different cultures (i.e., adopt the analytical approach).

Commonalities to these different methods of ICR can also be found in some other researches of IR, foreign policy analysis, diplomatic history, etc. For example, the thesis of Samuel P. Huntington (1927-2008) in his 1993 essay that "(t)he fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future" (Huntington 1993: 22) is based on the view that international relations after the Cold War can primarily be regarded as intercultural or inter-civilizational relations (analytical approach of ICR). Joseph S. Nye's (1937- ) argument over soft power and public diplomacy that a nation can make use of its "cultural" resource for pursuing its interest (Nye 2004) is typical of administrative approach of ICR. The study of "cultural internationalism" by Akira Iriye cited in the previous section, which sheds light on activities by intellectuals for the promotion of intercultural understanding, is a prime example of combined approach of ICR. The research method of ICR overlaps also with that of cultural policy research (CPR). Cultural policy defined by Kevin V. Mulcahy (1945- ) as "the sum of a government's activities 'with respect to the arts (…), the humanities, and the heritage'" (Mulcahy 2006: 320, based

on J. Mark Schuster) corresponds roughly to the act of utilizing and managing cultural resources, i.e., the study object of ICR with administrative approach.

In today's globalized world, different disciplines and policies on managing culture and intercultural relations merge together (Durrer, Miller and O'Brien 2018). On the one hand, increasing mobility of people, goods and information across borders necessitates a new academic scheme for intercultural relations. On the other hand, the development of information society and tertiary industry urges the study on the management of cultural resources for various actors in international society to maximize their interests.

The development of ICR, consisting of three interrelated methods shown above, is a response to this new academic need. In the academia, ICR embodies the interpenetration between IR and CPR. In the real world, the emergence of ICR corresponds to the interpenetration among those various "cultural policies" which have traditionally been administered by different government sectors and social actors. In the next section, I present a tentative model of analyzing these different policies of the state for the management of international cultural relations (icr) under one comprehensive concept of cultural relations policy (CRP).

## 3. Cultural Relations Policy (CRP)

Cultural relations policy (CRP) is the management of international cultural relations (icr) by the state. It is the act of influencing and controlling cross-border interactions of people, goods, money, information, etc., both directly and indirectly, in the pursuit of national interest in a broad sense. As such, the scope of icr-management stretches far beyond the area of traditional cultural diplomacy (cultural policy and public diplomacy within the framework of foreign policy). The author tentatively calls it cultural relations policy, since the policymakers pursue to build better relations with cultural "others," both within and outside the national border.

As a state's policy, CRP consists of four policy areas that are interconnected with each other.
(1) *"external" cultural policy* exemplified by traditional cultural or public diplomacy,
(2) broader *"outward" cultural policy* of nation branding,
(3) *"inbound" cultural policy* of attracting tourists and integrating immigrants, and further,
(4) *"inland" cultural policy* such as intercultural education and diversity management.

CRP is thus an aggregation of different policy areas that are planned and administered by different government sectors. It is mostly sub-state or non-state actors that carry out such cultural projects; the role of state is often limited to that of patron and/or facilitator. Figure 3 shows a rough picture of icr-management by the state.

**Figure 3: Cultural Relations Policy (CRP) as Aggregation of Different Policies of icr-Management**
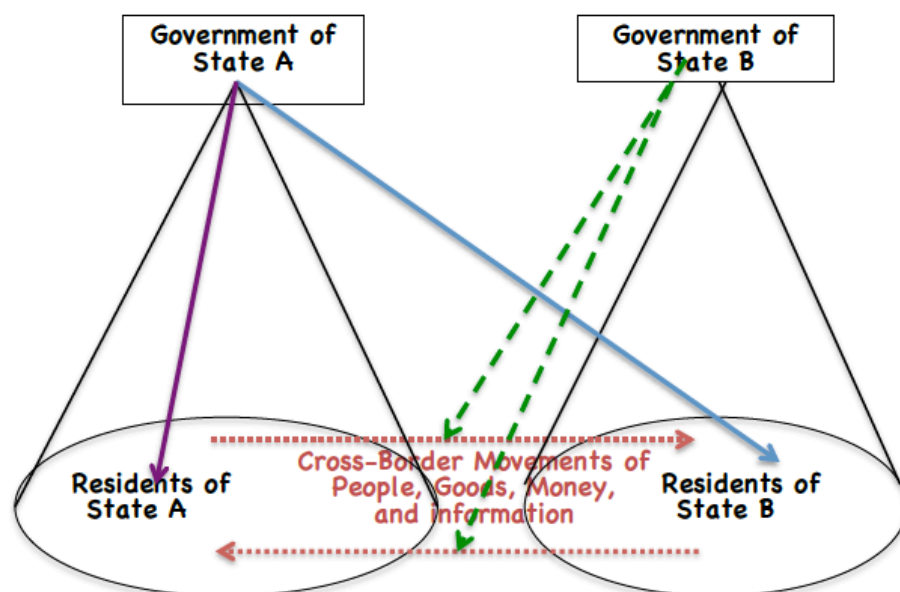


① ············▶  international cultural relations (icr);
international relations (ir) at a societal level
private activities of international exchange (management of icr by non-state actors

② ───────▶  external public relations of a government;
public diplomacy of a traditional type
a state's approach to people of the other states, in order to create favorable public opinions and images

③ ─ ─ ─ ─▶  international cultural policy at state level;
traditional cultural diplomacy;
public diplomacy with a "connective mindshift";
"outward" nation branding;
"inbound" policy for attracting tourists and immigrants
a state's intervention in ① (ir at a societal level), in order to create favorable relations and images of the peoples

④ ───────▶  domestic public relations of a government;
domestic educational and cultural policy;
diversity management by social integration and inclusion
a state's approach to people of its own, in order to create favorable public opinions and to consolidate the basis of society

②+③+④ = management of icr by the state = cultural relations policy (CRP)
(②, ③, ④ are actually also part of icr)

(Source: Author's Own)

Although a CRP is an act of the state, it actually involves many different kinds of actors – state, sub-state, semi-state or non-state. Figure 4 shows planning and administration of a project of CRP in the case of external cultural policy, where State A hosts a lecture on its arts in State B. The government of State A funds a public organization of international cultural relations, such as the Japan Foundation or the Goethe-Institute, through its ministry (e.g. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture, etc.: action ①). Such a public cultural organization under the auspices of the government is the direct organizer and therefore the central actor of this project. When its section in charge plans and administers the event, the staffs often consult outside specialists, such as artists, curators, researchers, etc., in their own country (inland collaborators), and ask them for advice on the selection of theme, target group, etc. of the program (action ②). As a result of such consultation, the organization determines the content of program, and finally, commissions an artist of State A to give a lecture at a local university in State B (action ③). Sometimes a branch of State A's cultural organization in State B, supervised by the local embassy of State A, supports the project, through consulting specialists in State B (foreign collaborators).   It is also possible that the inland and foreign collaborators are connected through their own networks, and jointly support the planning of the project (actions ④). As a result, a "cultural program" (in its narrower sense) is carried out, in the form of, say, an artist's visit from State A to a university in State B (action ⑤).

When the media reports such a "cultural program," or the government of State A evaluates its funding on cultural policy, the report or the evaluation covers in most cases only the resulting part of the event (⑤). In the case of CRP, however, planning and administration of a program in fact includes the whole process from ① to ⑤. As an act of nurturing international cultural relations, the CRP and its effectiveness should also be considered in the light of developing long-term relations with various collaborators (② and ③, especially with those in the host country), and of building networks among inland and foreign specialists (④).

**Figure 4: Plan and Administration of CRP (in the case of external cultural policy)**
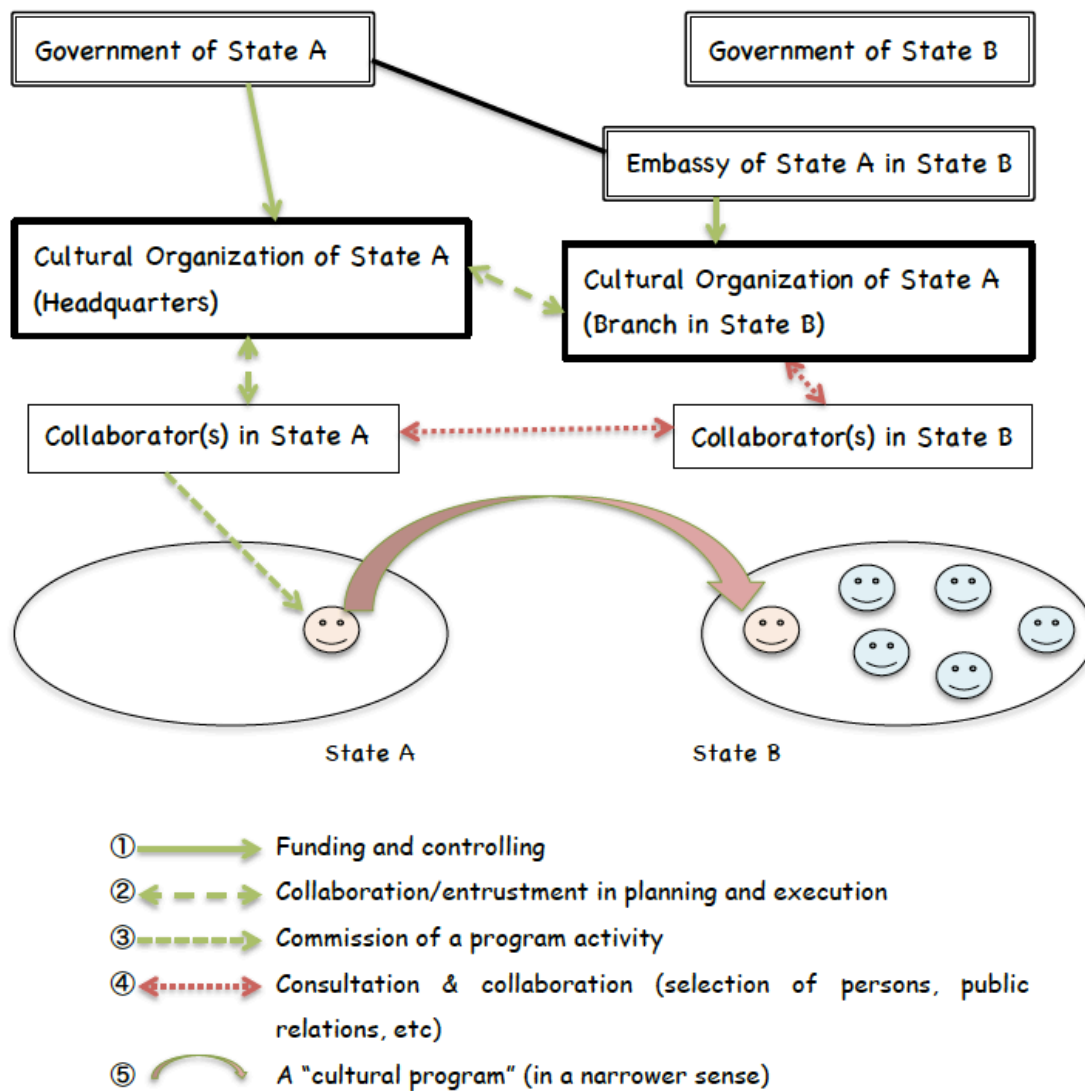


(Source: Author's Own)

The merit of applying the concept of CRP, or icr-management, to the analysis of relation-building oriented cultural policies is twofold. First, the concept of CRP makes it possible to consider various "cultural policies," which have conventionally been handled in different policy areas or government sectors, in a single framework. It is also possible to include policies of cultural segregation and isolation, such as the apartheid policy in former South Africa and the national isolation by early modern Japanese *shogun*s, or those of cultural ban, such as the prohibition of Japanese popular culture by the Korean government after the WWII, as part of CRP.

Second, the notion of international cultural relations, by enlarging the scope of policy process, facilitates a broader perspective in the analysis and evaluation of a cultural program. One of the difficulties of evaluating a cultural policy has been that its effect on end-participants in the program

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(such as audiences, visitors, etc) can be measured only indirectly and in a long term. In CRP, understood as a policy process supported by many different actors, we pay attention also to the role of in-between policy collaborators and the development of networks among various specialists and cultural organizations. In this way, we become aware of manifold effects of a cultural program, which is not limited to the direct effect on its participants.

ICR, with its notion of CRP as "management of international cultural relations," thus enables a more comprehensive research of cultural policy in the globalized world of today.

**4. Case Study: Cultural Relations Policies of Germany and Japan**

The scope and content of CRP of a country varies, according to the nation's constitution and its history of cultural relations with internal and external "others". In this section, I briefly present the cases of CRP in Germany and Japan, in order to sketch out the different features of cultural relations of the two countries. The general picture of German and Japan CRPs, consisting of four policy areas presented in Section 2, is summarized in Table 1. My discussion on the cases of respective countries is based on some more in-depth analyses presented in other publications (Kawamura 2015a, 2015b, 2018; Aoki-Okabe et al. 2010; The University of Tokyo Study Group on International Cultural Relations 1998, among others).

**Table 1: Major Policies of CRP in Germany and Japan** (with main government sectors in charge)

| Policy area | Germany | Japan |
|---|---|---|
| (1) External | **Cultural relations and education policy** (*AKBP*, under the supervision of the Federal Foreign Office, and carried out in most cases by private "mediating organizations") | **Public diplomacy** (Ministry of Foreign Affairs); **local partnership cooperation** (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication) |
| (2) Outward | *Standortpolitik* (**"location policy"**) **such as "Land of Ideas" initiative** (Joint initiative of the Federal Government and the Federation of German Industries) | **Cool Japan policy** (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry and Cabinet Office); **promotion of the "Japan brand" within the arts and culture policy** (Agency for Cultural Affairs) |
| (3) Inbound | **Acceptance and integration of immigrants and refugees** (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, mediating organizations of *AKBP*); **"Research in Germany" and "Study** | **Hosting of 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games**; **promotion of tourism** (Japan National Tourist Bureau); **the JET programme** (joint program of Ministry of Internal Affairs |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **in Germany" portals** (a project of German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), sponsored by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research); **promotion of tourism** (The German National Tourist Board) | and Communication, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, and the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations); **Study in JAPAN initiative** (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) |
| (4) Inland | **Promotion of "culture of remembrance", management of cultural heritage, support of major international cultural events** (The Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media); **promotion of local cultural and intercultural policies by cultural federalism** | **Promotion of internationalization ("*kokusaika*") of local authorities, including coexistence of different cultures in the community** (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication) |

(Source: Author's Own)

**4-1. Germany**

German CRP consists of an active and broad external cultural policy, in fact called "cultural relations policy" in English, which today also covers a part of inbound cultural policy. Outward cultural policy is rather modest. Inland cultural policy is widely delegated to local actors, though the Federal Government supplements some important tasks including those with a representative character.

**(1) External cultural policy** is conducted in the framework of cultural relations and educational policy (*Auswärtige Kultur- und Bildungspolitik*, *AKBP*), also known simply as cultural relations policy (*Auswärtige Kulturpolitik*, *AKP*), which is supervised by the Federal Foreign Office (AA). Accorrding to AA's website, the *AKBP* aims to build trust in Germany around the world, and its specific objectives range from creation of stable foundations for international relations and conflict prevention, to communication of a realistic and vibrant image of Germany. Its primary instruments are academic exchange and cooperation between universities, schools abroad, cultural programmes, promoting German as a foreign language and intercultural dialogue (https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/aussenpolitik/themen/kulturdialog/01-ziele-und-aufgaben, retrieved on 12th June 2018). The Federal Government submits a report on *AKBP* annually to the Parliament (*Bundestag*).

The policy area of *AKBP* shown in the report actually goes beyond that of AA; according to the latest report, AA executes only 56.5% of the *AKBP* budget. The rest is distributed among other federal ministries – 19.2% to the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF), 17.4% to the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media (BKM), 3% to the Federal

Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), 2% to the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ), and 1.0% to the Federal Ministry for Interior, Building and Community (BMI) (Auswärtiges Amt 2017: 23). Actual programs of *AKBP*, though, are mostly carried out by the so-called mediating organizations (*Mittlerorganisationen*) under the auspices of AA. In 2016, 78.6% of the *AKBP* budget of the Federal Government flowed into four big mediating organizations, namely the Central Agency for German Schools Abroad (ZfA, 28.6%), the Goethe-Institute (GI, 25.6%), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD, 19.4%), and the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation (AvH, 5%) (Auswärtiges Amt 2017: 25).

The works of the mediating organizations of *AKBP* today covers not only the nation's external cultural activities in a narrower sense. The change of immigration and citizenship policy during the Red-Green Coalition (1998-2005) to accept immigrants more actively, and in particular, the influx of immigrants and refugees from so-called crisis regions since the mid-2010s, prompted these organizations for cultural relations to provide immigrants and refugees with various services for the integration into German society ("inbound" cultural policy). For example, the GI has developed a website and apps of language assistance for those who arrive in Germany; the DAAD provides scholarships and internships for foreign researchers and students who were persecuted from their home countries.

**(2) Outward cultural policy**, in comparison with external cultural policy, is not actively pursued in Germany. Since the West German years, the Federal Republic has been well aware of the disastrous consequences of propaganda by the Nazi government, and refrained from overt "nation branding" policies. There is an exception, though; a national project called "Germany – Land of Ideas (*Deutschland – Land der Ideen*)" was launched in 2005 in order to promote a good image of Germany in the world, when Germany hosted the 2006 FIFA Soccer World Cup. The project was initiated by the then president Horst Köhler, and organized jointly by the Federal Government and the Federation of German Industries (BDI). Particular efforts were made to make Germany popular as a location (*Standort*) of innovation and research.

Actually, this element of *Standortpolitik* is also embedded in *AKBP*. In the above-mentioned website, AA states that "(p)resenting Germany as a modern and attractive location for education, research and professional development" is one of the main objectives of *AKBP*. Here, the German notion of *Standort* covers not only the outward cultural policy but also the inbound cultural policy.

(3) Germany's **inbound cultural policy** mainly targets three groups of people: immigrants and refugees, researchers and students, and tourists. For the first group, the central actor is the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), which conducts immigration policy. Cultural measures, in particular, are taken by the above-mentioned mediating organizations of *AKBP* such as the GI and the DAAD. For the second group, the DAAD runs a portal site "Research in Germany" (research-in-germany.org) and "Study in Germany" (study-in.de), where they provide comprehensive information for application, career building, etc. to the talents of the world. The DAAD, together with universities and other institutions for academic exchange, rallies a campaign to attract excellent researchers and students since the 1990s. The campaign is organized within the framework of global strategy for German universities and research institutions, and funded by the BMBF. For the third group, the German National Tourist Board runs a website of travel information (germany.travel), supported by the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy.

(4) In Germany, a federal polity where cultural sovereignty is given to the 16 states (*Länder*), **inland cultural policy** is in the first place the task of the *Länder* and local authorities. According to a report of the Federal Government issued in 2016, 41.9% of the nation's public spending on culture was attributed to the *Länder*, 44.8% to local authorities, and only 13.3% to the Federal Government (The Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media 2016: 6, based on the figure in 2011). The Republic's cultural federalism, prescribed in the Basic Law, can itself be regarded as a policy of promoting cultural diversity within the national border. Many local authorities, especially big cities, pursue multicultural or intercultural policy on their own, for the integration of immigrants and refugees.

Since the beginning of the Red-Green coalition, the Federal Government supplements the cultural federalism by appointing a Commissioner for Culture and the Media (BKM). According to the website of current Commissioner Monika Grütters, her main tasks include legal arrangements, promotion of cultural institutions and projects of national importance and of the Federal Capital Berlin, external representation of the nation in cultural affairs, promotion of memorials and other institutions for remembering the Nazi and Communist regimes, etc (https://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerKulturundMe dien/staatsministerAmt/aufgaben/_node.html, last updated on January 4, 2018). For the management of international cultural relations, the promotion of "culture of remembrance" and other cultural heritage is especially important. The representation of Germany as a "nation of remembrance," consciously remembering and considering the unjust deed by its ancestors, is an essential element of the country's CRP.

Overall, the four areas of German CRP are characterized by two traits. One is decentralization and delegation in its administration. In the case of *AKBP*, individual projects are planned and administered by mediating organizations, which in most cases have a private character and wide discretion on their work. This plural and somewhat "loose" character of CRP is the consequence of the country's history since the time of territorial states, and also of the violent, ethnocentric cultural policy during the Nazi period.

The other distinction of German CRP is the underlying attitude to regard cultural relations policy as the instrument of building a free, creative, collaborative and humane society. Such a philosophy is the result of the nation's democratization since the end of WWII, supported widely by the so-called 1968er generation and critical intellectuals who shaped the political culture of the Federal Republic (Kawamura 2015b: 12-14, 19). Recently, this open, rather cosmopolitan vision of the postwar CRP is challenged by the rise of right-wing populism. The AfD (Alternative for Germany), which criticizes Chancellor Merkel's open immigration policy and is now the third largest party in the *Bundestag* after the 2017 election, demands a more nationalist-type CRP with stronger German *Leitkultur* (guiding culture).

## 4-2. Japan

Compared with German CRP, which is characterized by broad and decentralized *AKBP* supplemented by other smaller policies, Japanese CRP is rather scattered in its administration. It also appears to be more focused on national consolidation in its objectives – at least at its first sight.

**(1)** Japan's **External cultural policy** is, as German *AKBP*, in its most part supervised by the diplomatic branch of its administration (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). MOFA calls its cultural policy "public diplomacy (PD)" in its official website; here, the PD aims better understanding of Japan worldwide, and consists of public relations abroad, cultural exchange, people-to-people exchange, cooperation with international organizations, cultural grant assistance, and economic cooperation (https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/culture/public_diplomacy.html, retrieved June 12th, 2018). The government of Japan delegates concrete activities of PD to the Japan Foundation (JF), which is often compared with the German GI, though the former is more modest both in size and scope of its programs.

A unique feature of Japan's external cultural policy is that the national government promotes international activities of local authorities in the form of partnership cooperation. The central government branch in charge is the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication (MIC). In 1988, the Ministry of Local Government, the predecessor of MIC, issued "Guidelines for the

Decision of Fundamental Principles for the Promotion of International Exchange at Local Level",
and prompted all 47 prefectures and major cities to commit themselves in international exchange.
At that time, the government of Noboru Takeshita (1924-2000) was eager to "internationalize"
the nation by active promotion of cultural relations (*kokusai bunka koryū*). The total number of
local partnerships, also called sister-city relationships, increased from 719 in 1989 to 1,725 in
2017, by almost 240% (http://www.clair.or.jp/e/exchange/shimai/index.html, retrieved 12th June
2018).

(2) The popular **outward cultural policy** of Japan is the so-called Cool Japan policy. The phrase
"cool Japan" is inspired by the 2002 essay of an American Journalist Douglas McGray, who
valued the attractiveness of Japanese popular culture and described it as "national cool" (McGray
2002: 52-53; McGray himself relied on Nye's notion of soft power to reinforce his argument).
The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), which has actively promoted contents and
creative industries since early 2000s, soon began using the catchword "Cool Japan". The current
Prime Minister Sinzō Abe (1954- ) appointed a minister in charge of Cool Japan policy after his
reelection in 2012. The Cabinet Office set up a homepage on Cool Japan Strategy, where it
defines Cool Japan as "an initiative to further strengthen the ties between Japan and other
countries (in such areas as economics, culture, and diplomacy)"
(http://www.cao.go.jp/cool_japan/english/index-e.html, retrieved 12th June 2018).

For Japan, nation branding is a major element also within the arts and culture policy. The Agency
for Cultural Affairs (ACA) sets up a budget item "Outward promotion of diverse arts and culture
for the betterment of Japan Brand" (Agency for Cultural Affairs 2018). The notion of "Japan
Brand" has got general attention especially after the great earthquake and the nuclear plant
accident in March 2011, which critically damaged the image of Japan.

(3) Since around the 1980s, the Japanese government has increasingly emphasized its **inbound
cultural policy**, though it so far targets visitors and residents for a limited time only. The
Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) rallies a "Study in
JAPAN" campaign since 1983, when it launched a plan to invite 100 thousand foreign students by
the year 2000. In the 21st century the government strengthened its tourism policy by setting up the
Japan Tourism Agency in 2008, thus promoting the country as travel destination for foreign
tourists. Since 2013, when Japan became the hosting country for the 2020 Olympic and
Paralympic Games, the national inbound policy has even more been strengthened.

A unique inbound cultural policy of Japan is the Japan Exchange and Training Programme (JET
Programme), which began in 1987 "for the purpose of increasing mutual understanding between

the people of Japan and the people of other nations." The JET Programme is a joint program of MIC, MOFA, MEXT, and the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR), to invite young college graduates from around the world and let them work at local government offices, Boards of Education, and schools of elementary and secondary levels. Over 31 years, the number of participating country grew from 4 to 44, and that of annual participants from 848 to 5,163. Since its creation, more than 66,000 young people from 67 countries have participated in the Programme (http://jetprogramme.org/en/, retrieved 12th June 2018). The idea of inviting foreigners to work at domestic institutions is reminiscent of the 19th century, when the government hired foreign experts for the nation's modernization. Actually, the JET programme of today can be compared to an official promotion of working holidays, since it targets rather unskilled youngsters who wish to live in local Japan for their own experiences. Many of its participants (so-called "JETs") become attracted to Japanese people and culture; some come back to Japan in order to work or study for a longer period. In 2011, when the great earthquake and nuclear disaster damaged the country and its reputation, it was the JETs and the alumni that made humanitarian action to help the recovery, and efforts to correct wrong information on the situation of Japan in foreign countries.

**(4)** Compared with Germany and many other industrialized countries, Japan is rather homogeneous in its population and society. Its **inland cultural policy**, carried out by the ACA, has long been oriented to heritage conservation and national language preservation. After the 2001 legislation of the Basic Law on the Promotion of the Culture and the Arts (BAPCA), Japanese cultural policy has gradually been focused onto the consolidation of the "Nation Based on Culture and the Arts (*Bunka Geijutsu Rikkoku*)" (Kawamura 2018).

The government of Japan pursues its "inland" international cultural relations rather in the policy area of local administration, where the MIC has promoted internationalization (*kokusaika*) of local authorities since the 1980s. Today, the Japanese cultural relations policy at local level includes coexistence of different cultures in the community (*tabunka kyōsei*, which means integration of foreign residents).

In Japanese CRP, in comparison with the decentralized CRP of Germany, the directive power of central government is greater in certain respect. The JET Programme, for example, can be regarded as a contemporary version of top-down modernization of the 19th century. Within the administrative structure of the central government, however, the jurisdiction of CRP is rather scattered in an unorganized manner. Not only MOFA but also METI, MEXT and MIC play a major role, and at the

same time, there is no such notion or framework as German *AKBP* to comprehend the broad structure of CRP across the ministries.

Another character of Japanese CRP is its lack of philosophy or grand strategy. Catchy slogans such as "Cool Japan" and "Nation Based on Culture and the Arts" are rather empty in their content, since they are not supported by intellectual discussion or historical experience of the nation.

Brief sketch of CRPs of Germany and Japan reveals the broad scope and content of icr-management, which transcends the traditional division of labor within government administration. At the same time, the analysis of CRPs makes clear the character of administrative structure and political culture of respective countries. Adopting the concepts of CRP and icr thus provides a fresh view on cultural policy research.

**Conclusion**

This paper is a resume of preliminary study on international cultural relations and its implication for cultural policy research. Theoretical framework of ICR is still in its tentative stage, and needs to be improved by critical comments from researchers of different disciplines and countries. The author believes that ICR enables a more comprehensive study of international relations as well as of cultural policy, since the concepts of international cultural relations (icr) and of its management (CRP) are based on a realistic view of the contemporary world, where people, goods and information move across borders and such cross-border movements blur the traditional ministerial division of labor. ICR, in its broader sense, can thus be understood as an emergent paradigm of academic research on the function and utility of culture in a globalized world.

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