ERIA Discussion Paper Series

No. 296

Words and Their Silos:
Commercial, Governmental, and Academic Support for Japanese Literature and Writing Overseas

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August 2019

Abstract: *This paper connects in a preliminary way realms of analysis and data regarding practices of disseminating Japanese literature and writing translated in English and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)–located languages since about 2000. The assumption is that translations from different languages have been consistently silo'ed – separated and allowed to accumulate and dynamically evolve. I outline a history of the de-linking of 'writing' from 'literature' as well as language study itself, which has led to both a withdrawal and an explosion of funding since about 1990. I note secondary effects of re-concentration in English and European languages, a flourishing of small-press activity and writing on food (Jonathan Gold) and self-help (Kondo Marie), and a focus on the 'authorised translator' model in both English and ASEAN languages following a tendency to standardise copyright law. Second, I introduce some histories and distinctive practices that could model support for translators. Last, I discuss economies of both money and prestige in different practices, and offer some suggestions based on interviews with an eye to supporting translators so that all languages have a hand in creative practice, and English-language–based translators can collaborate with translators in other languages.*

*Keywords***:** Cultural economics; economics of the arts and literature; culture

*JEL Classification***:** Z1; Z110

1. Silo-ing and the History of Translation Practices

Figure 1a and 1b: Vernacular Features of Silos

1a. Silo in Rokkosan Pasture, Kobe, Japan
Credit: ja.wikipedia.org
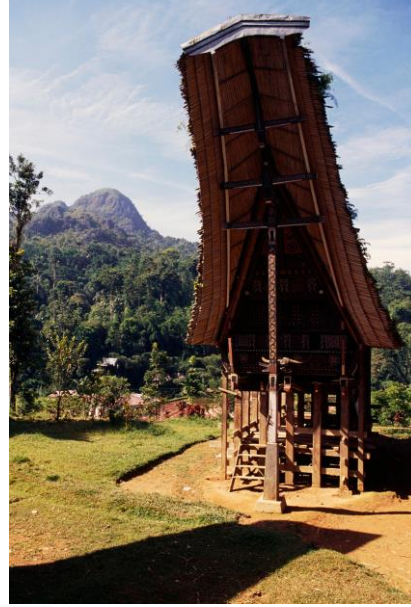
1b. Rice silo, Kete Kesu village, Tana Toraja region, South Sulawesi, Indonesia
Credit: Universal Images Group North America LLC /DeAgostini/Alamy Stock Photo

The study of creative industries is a relatively new field that draws on urban studies in the era of globalisation, but also on theories of poiesis – the process of making things.[1] Whilst Greek in origin, the word has a Japanese cognate in the word *monozukuri* – often employed when talking about industrial production as well as artisanally made works of craft. *Monozukuri* came to the fore in the 1990s at roughly the same time as discussions of creative industries, outsourcing of industrial labour, the creation of a precariat workforce, and post-industrial urban planning.[2] Philosophies of poiesis and *monozukuri* lie at the fore of debates about how to support creative industries, their product, and their workers.[3]

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[1] A Greek word in origin, poiesis *(ποίησις)* was used by Aristotle as well as by Karl Marx to mean the creative production of something that did not exist before, especially works of art; the word brings together the actors, processes, materials, and values involved in making a material or symbolic object. In this project, for example, relevant glosses include poetics as writing as well as the poetics of relationship-building.

[2] For a detailed explanation of the timeline of manufacturing-related policies related to *monozukuri* in Japanese covering 2009–2018, see METI (2018).

[3] See Raunig, Ray, and Wuggenig (2011) for a set of critiques of creative industry discourse.

John Hartley, former professor at Queensland Institute of Technology and head of the first university-level department, in 1982, to put creative industries at its centre at a university, explains that

> the term 'creative industries' was first given policy and industry prominence through initiatives taken from 1997 by the new UK Labour government through minister Chris Smith (1998) and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). A Creative Industries Taskforce published the *Creative Industries Mapping Document* (1998, revised edition 2001). This established a foundational definition: the creative industries are 'those industries which have their origin in <u>individual creativity</u>, skill and talent which have a <u>potential for job and wealth creation</u> through <u>the generation and exploitation of intellectual property</u>' (DCMS, 1998: 3) (Hartley 2012: 58–59; emphasis mine).

The definition put forth by the United Kingdom (UK) government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport included 13 industry sectors:

- advertising,
- architecture,
- art and antiques,
- computer games/leisure software,
- crafts,
- design,
- designer fashion,
- film and video,
- music,
- performing arts,
- <u>publishing,</u>
- software, and
- television and radio.

The 'industrial' descriptor refers less to actual factories and more to the fact that each field exists in a capitalised set of systems and organisations that share features, yet do not intersect and remain autonomous with sovereign rules and practices. Benedict Anderson has named the publishing arm of this system 'print capitalism', and defined it as the era of publishing after the printing press enabled a fixed written language above vernacular languages. The national consciousness of an imagined community shaped by print capitalism can also be shaped by translation and the vernacular languages 'below' (Anderson, 1991: 56–57). I will return to the topic of 'job and wealth creation' at the level of the individual in my discussion of current industry practices. We will see some major differences in the translation model and

copyright arrangements between United States (US)/UK versions, the Japan version, and other Asian systems, which result in different kinds of income structures and job security for translators.

Hartley – like so many writers on creative industries – does not include translation in his scheme. Rather he follows the typical a-linguistic tendencies of the knowledge economy and visual culture as his book frames these fields independently from writing, language, and translation. The same is true of other leading case-study books in management as well as cultural policy. The first iteration of the UK *Creative Industries Mapping Document* in 1998 contained a single 10-page chapter on publishing. This chapter focused largely on very large players in the print publishing value chain and electronic publishing value chain and notes that 'there are no readily available measures of international perception of UK product' (Creative Industries Task Force, 1998: 90). In other words, both the data and the publishing sphere itself are imagined in terms of large-scale domestic industries, and neither translation nor independent small-press activities play a part.

The same can be said of existing literature on cultural heritage and arts funding in Japan. Social anthropologist Watanabe Yasushi's (2011) treatise on public diplomacy surveys a range of strategies and programmes that span from Cuba to Kabul, Taiwan, and Japan with a particular interest in legacies of the US Occupation in Japan's public diplomacy. None of his case studies is literary, and despite the heavy weight put on culture as bridge-building, there is no attention to issues of translation or mediation at all. And Aoyagi (2015), archaeologist and former director of the National Museum of Western Art, founded his discussion of soft power, tradition (densetsu), and cultural properties (bunkazai) in a way that clusters them around material culture (*jōruri* , kabuki, decorative arts).[4]

In practical terms of 2019, rollback of post-recession cultural activities in Japan and the UK alike has meant that government support has been rolled back, whilst exchange of both translations and translators has been taken up by small and

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[4] Aoyagi's account has many strengths, including its attention to rural arts and the need to spin narrative. Like many cultural leaders, he tends to emphasise material culture and performance aspects of mixed media like kabuki that also involve language and writing.

academically driven presses.[5] There are both costs and benefits to withdrawal of government support, but what is clear is that the deletion of literature and language is consistent across disciplines, ideologies, and management styles. At the very least, the overwhelming popularity of writing-driven performers like kabuki actor Ichikawa Ebizō XI and tidying queen Kondo Marie – both known internationally as well as domestically – shows that literature and writing have yet to meet their end, and their power to spin narratives and media forms merits a second look.

Compounding the oversight of publishing and translation, in-depth research on creative industries in Asia on its own terms is scarce and often amounts to case studies that are itemised rather than analysed, and are neither well integrated into an overall analysis nor assessed in terms of their own specificity. An exception is a new body of work on China, but literature, writing, and translation play no part in either archival research or future modelling (Keane, 2013). A small amount of work on Japan can be found in analyses of the Cool Japan policy and in Lee and Lim's (2014) *Cultural Policies in East Asia*, which examines past and current cultural policies in China, Japan, Singapore, the Republic of Kore (hereafter, Korea), and Taiwan; the Japanese chapters are devoted to local cultural policy and support of the film industry. Recent scholarship in Japanese studies follows the same contours and traces film, gaming, manga, anime, and print magazines, with no attention to literature, translation, or print culture overall (Yoda and Harootunian, 2006).

This oversight of literature and translation on the part of both partisans and critics of post-1990s neo-liberal policies is what I refer to as silo'ing. The remainder of this paper employs this metaphor for its potential in describing how culture is subject to infrastructures of industry, at the same time as it serves as a storage and retrieval device for culture that maintains local vernacular style within a commodity system. Let us turn briefly to the metaphor of the silo, a form of vernacular architecture seen in any area with active agriculture or where grains are imported and stored.

The two photos of working silos at the opening of this section remind us how the metaphor of 'silo' might work. The image on the left (Figure 1a) depicts a silo at a publicly accessible farm operated by the City of Kobe made in the image of a Swiss

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[5] For a discussion of austerity and its effects on cultural funding in the UK, see O'Brien (2011); for a discussion of the effects of funding cuts after the 2008 Lehman shock, see Bunka-chō (1995).

mountain farm on Mount Rokko, where free-range animals wander, and tourists can explore and dine. The silo is round, made of brick, and sits directly on the ground, fortified against curious animals through red-brick construction, a post-Meiji innovation; it is a signifier of planning and engineering know-how as well as a (obsolete) guardian of the harvest. Like the silo in Figure 1b, its function is to preserve; the vernacular form of the silo from Sulawesi is constructed of local materials (wood, reeds) and protects by elevation rather than fortification. The commodities housed by the silos may be personally or collectively owned. The silo classifies and establishes a place in a system, as well as a possible belonging. In short, silo'ing is a way to describe and classify how local differences are distributed and stored across systems – materials, styles, and uses differ across geographies.

The metaphor of the silo is an example of what information architects call a folksonomy. 'Folksonomy' is a portmanteau word made from 'folkic' or 'folkloric' and 'taxonomy'. In other words, it is a way to classify things based on folk knowledge, a practice that recalls former or past ways, but really came into use with the Internet and is sometimes known as social tagging. Thomas Vanderwal (2007) coined the term in the early 2000s whilst trying to describe the ways that people create semiotic connections between their existing everyday (folkic) vocabularies and new pieces of data. The presumption is that things have 'addresses' but are not findable or cannot be integrated into the larger system without a point of access through a classifier.

> Folksonomy is the result of <u>personal free tagging of information and objects (anything with a URL) for one's own retrieval</u>. The tagging is done in a social environment (usually shared and open to others). Folksonomy is created from the act of tagging by the person consuming the information.
> The value in this external tagging is derived from people using their own vocabulary and adding explicit meaning, which may come from inferred understanding of the information/object. People are not so much categorizing, as providing a means to connect items (placing hooks) to <u>provide their meaning in their own understanding</u> (Vanderwal [2007]; emphasis mine).

In my use, the 'folkic' or vernacular elements have a greater weight than in the typical use in the field of information architecture where meaning is purely personal, 'for one's own retrieval'. I wish to emphasise how local geography and language shape social use, beyond individual users, as a single person by definition cannot produce a folklore, although s/he can certainly re-direct existing meanings. Folksonomies are the

way that people receive and localise translated works by classifying them in terms of existing knowledge schemes. Folksonomies allow for the linking and illumination of links between different media forms and language, across space-time.

A related body of scholarship treating the field of prestige has emerged in the last 10 years in international relations. Lilach Gilady (2018) noted that by definition, international relations are relational and argues that prestige is a mode of power (covering both soft projects of culture and hard projects of militarism) that many aspirational countries use on the world stage. In this scheme, it seems notable that with some important exceptions like the Japan Foundation's key funding for Japanese studies and translation projects, and the niche-project JPIC Japan Library programme, the government of Japan has withdrawn from the prestige arena of culture (literature, classics) and placed the bulk of its investments in the arena of popular culture (Japan Library, 2018).

In this paper, I prepare the ground for a more in-depth treatment of how folksonomies – local ways of classifying genre, author, literary style – have developed in both English-to-Japanese works and ASEAN languages-to-Japanese works. In Section 3 we will look at two case studies to see how the grammar of folksonomies has spun uses of Japanese language in translation into new connections to Japanese cultural forms by English-speaking consumers. The next section establishes some basic research questions. Whilst preliminary more than comprehensive, I synthesise information about process from interviews and readings conducted in 2018–2019 with translators and editors working in Japan and working with British, Canadian, and US English; and in the ASEAN languages of Korean, Taiwanese Chinese, and Vietnamese.[6]

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[6] I have scheduled further conversations with translators from Thai, Indonesian, and mainland Chinese this summer, as well as follow-up conversations with current interviewees.

2. Existing Support and Translation Practices – Public and Commercial

2.1. History and Issues in Historiography – Archival

Keeping track of the market in translation of Japanese literature to other languages is difficult due to the end of archiving and industrial record-keeping. The single best collection of data, the magazine *Publishing News* and its aggregate, the annual *Year in Publishing* (Shuppan nenkan), will both cease publication by spring of 2019. *Year in Publishing* is valuable because it highlights the difference between translations that are successful in the academic realm and those that are commercially successful.

Two examples from the 2017 *Year in Publishing* show a pessimistic assessment of the market. An annual survey of bookstore owners from 2016 queried how respondents felt about the state of the bookstore business compared with 10 years earlier: 31% felt things had got significantly worse; 36.1% thought that things had got worse; and 17.9% thought that things had got somewhat worse. Overall, 85% thought that the state of the business had got worse (Year in Publishing Editorial Group 2017: 19). The second area that *Year in Publishing* tracked was sales. The 2017 *Year in Publishing* reported that sales of books were down 8% and that the peak for sales was in 1996; unfortunately, no statistics were kept on translated versus Japanese-language texts. In contrast to the domestic slump in books and magazines, translation had selective bright spots. For 2016, sales in Asian countries were divided. Not coincidentally, the countries itemised correspond largely to the countries whose passport-holders most often visit Japan (JTB Tourism Research & Consulting Co., 2019). It remains an open question how translations of promotional materials and features shape tourists' travel patterns.

Table 1: Change in Sales in Asian Countries (2015–2016)

Country	¥ (millions)	% change
Taiwan	1290	+6.1
China	910	-8.0
Korea	880	+3.9
Thailand	510	-17.6
Hong Kong	470	+2.3
Philippines	260	-47.6

Source: *Year in Publishing* 1（2017）, 124.

Whilst some records are still missing (sales in Viet Nam), it is clear that active tourism and on-site encounters are much more possible than even 30 years ago, and the way that writing mediates this engagement has also changed. Further research is needed to explore how patterns of writing and language use in non-English-speaking countries have changed since 1945, the end of the Viet Nam War, the thawing of relations with Korea, and changes in visa policy that encourage long-term residence in Japan. Tracking changes in English-language writing and translation is a somewhat more well-trodden field.

2.2. History and Historiography of Translation – United States

Writing and language have been a prized part of academic studies of literature since 1945. So-called area studies programmes, the basis of current Japanese studies programmes, were founded on the following structure: returning GIs, who were largely male, were able to study languages on the GI bill, and later become field experts, whilst instructors were predominantly female.[7] This facilitated a gendered division of labour in which language was treated as a feminine work field, whilst field-based knowledge – what we would call 'contents' today – was gendered masculine. Literary studies, in turn, were until fairly recently taught largely by a series of towering men, but that landscape has shifted.

Most current literary translators from Japanese to English are aware of Edward Fowler's 1992 article 'Rendering Words, Traversing Cultures: On the Art and Politics

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[7] For a more complete history of Japanese literary studies in the US, see Norma Field's essay in Hardacre et al. (1998).

of Translating Modern Japanese Fiction'. And most of them will tell you, unprompted, that the situation has not really changed in the 30 years since.

Literary historian Alex Bates (2016) summarises that 'situation':

> It was in the decade following *Homecoming* that the canon of modern Japanese literature began to be codified, namely Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Kawabata Yasunari, and Mishima Yukio. It was these three authors who came to symbolise modern Japanese literature for the English reading public well into the nineties.

With the death of translation and literary historical pioneer Donald Keene in 2019, this era has come to an end. One surprising turn in translation is the coincident emergence of new prize-winning female writers such as Murata Sayaka with avowedly feminist translators. Murata's 2016 novel *Convenience Store Woman* has been contracted for translation into 31 languages as of April 2019 and has received a good deal of press because its main character departs from somewhat muted images of women found in other popular novelists' work. What succeeds the old era is a complicated cocktail of media, many of which are neither literary nor even based in writing at all.

2.3. History and Historiography of Translation —Korea, Taiwan, and Viet Nam

A 2012 edited volume on Japanese-to-Korean literary translation provides the first comprehensive background to this history. *Sixty-Four Years of Japanese Literary Translations into Korean* was edited by Yoon Sang-in, a literary historian and winner of the Suntory Prize for a 1994 book, *Sōseki and the Fin de siècle*. *Sixty-Four Years* could serve as a model for a broader inquiry into regional and language differences because its organisation brings up social historical factors as well as changes in law (copyright law) and technology (offset printing).

Sixty-Four Years contains three main sections: 'What Was Translated?' 'How Were Translations Received?' and 'How Were the Works Translated?' Many examples of multiple translated works appear, and many charts and graphs vividly illustrate shifts and trends over time. In Yoon's account, translation as such did not really start until 1960. There was really no need, as most people during the 35 years of

colonisation read books in the original: 'It was in 1960 that Japanese literature in Korea became in fact a "foreign literature"' (Yoon, 2012: 1). In the latter half of the 1970s, Natsume Sōseki, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, Kawabata Yasunari, and Ōe Kenzaburō were read by Korean writers (Yoon, 2012: 1) . Given that politicians only lifted the ban on Japanese popular cultural forms in 1998, until then it was only literature that had a special existence (2). Japanese cultural forms were severely restricted from 15 August 1945 to 1998. Only seven books were translated between 1945 and 1959: Kagawa Toyohiko's *Christian Primer* (*Kirisuto kyonyuumon*, 1950) and *Before the Dawn* (*Shishenwo koete*, 1920); Kurada Hyakuzō's *The Beginning of Love and Understanding* (*Ai to ninshikino shuppatsu*, 1921), a hit amongst young people; Niwa Fumio's *Defeated Japan* (*Nihon yaburetari*, 1949); Fujiwara Tei's *Life of a Drifting Star* (*Nagareruhoshiwa ikiteiru*, 1949); and the two-volume Yasumoto Sueko's *Nyanchan* (Nianchan, 1958), a diary she wrote when she was a 10-year-old resident Korean, which later became an Imamura Shōhei movie.

The second chapter, by Park Yi-jin and Han Jung-sun, explains this research from scratch in excavating the contents and reception of Japanese novels in Korea (24). In 1959, three separate companies began issuing series of world literature.[8] In the 1960s, there were few translators (39), many unknown. Many reprints of the same works took place, and many volumes of 'selected works' (*senshuu*) were compiled. For example, in the 1960s, 15 separate companies published Kawabata Yasunari's novel *Snow Country* (*Yukiguni*), and six published Miura Ayako's *Freezing Point* (*Hyooten*) (40). In the 1970s, genre translations took off, like corporate novels and historical novels (*Jidaishousetsu*), and writers like Kajiyama Toshiyuki (1930–1975) were popular. Kajiyama was born in Korea and wrote many mystery and corporate-crime novels that entered the media mix and were adapted into celebrated genre films such as *Black Test Car* (*Kuro no shishousha*, 1962, directed by Masamura Yasuzō).

In Chapter 4 of *Sixty-Four Years*, Lee Han-jung writes that the shifts in translating Japanese literature were a contributing part of the relatively new formation of the field of translation studies; this field developed as a kind of criticism that thinks through translation apart from correcting or critiquing at the level of the individual word. The

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[8] Further research is needed on the fascinating way that 'world literature' is defined in different geographies.

volume of translation has picked up substantially since the 1990s and readership has changed. In the beginning, *Freezing Point* was wildly popular, a popularity that has shifted to other writers, including Murakami Haruki, Higashino Keigo, and Miyabe Miyuki. Between the 1970s and the 2000s the number of new works declined, but still novels tend to be most popular and Japanese literature still has a status as a particular 'literature in translation'. As of the 2000s, there is more 'real time' translation and classical works have begun to be translated.

Sixty-Four Years' inventory of multiple translations of Japanese literary works over time raises some compelling questions both about the relative representations of each work and about the status of the translator as a worker. The model of multiple texts dates to the era before 1987, when copyright law was not in play in Korea. Multiple renditions of texts mean that a greater variety of styles and responses could exist, and new translations could resonate with topical language or events. On the other hand, multiple translations mean that it is hard for a translator to develop a reliable income stream by affiliating with an author, because s/he is not identified (either in contract or in practice) as an 'authorised translator'. This lack of affiliation is one difference between the US publishing world and other contexts, as in the US and to some extent the UK, translators tend to affiliate with authors over multiple works or even an entire body of work. In one editor's words, the US press wants the author and access to a body of work, whereas other presses want access to the work.

Job security has an impact on translators' quality of life, and further research is needed to establish how the gig economy for translators impacts their ability to earn a liveable wage. Translation is by and large a freelance business, but some national contexts offer more support in terms of insurance and social safety net, which enables more choice on the part of the translator. This concern about lack of insurance was similarly voiced by a Japanese-to-Vietnamese translator, who stated that the low wage sometimes encouraged translators to translate from a mediating language like English or French, rather than the original Japanese, because the compensation was low.

2.4. Attention Shift to a 'Media Mix' Model

Translation has always been part of the media mix, but because this term was popularised in the era when subculture split off from language, it has fallen out of the loop of discourse. Since translated studies started, media have expanded beyond literary works. At the same time, adaptation across media has become popular. This has always been a strength of Japanese media forms, but the unsung role of writing has rarely been acknowledged. This is where the term folksonomy comes in; a term born of the information age, it acknowledges the legacy of reading practices put into play in the age of the book. Whilst numerous histories exist – archives, transcripts, memos, etc. – and have contributed to institution-building in the social sciences, none treats writing and literary studies. Overlooking this important mode of practice has consequences and risks, and maroons Japanese literary studies in a high-end luxury prestige niche, whilst consigning manga and anime to popular culture.

This translation is a modification of the idea of a 'media mix'. The term media mix was coined by Ōtsuka Eiji (1958–) who was trained as a folklorist at Tsukuba University – known for its experimental and interdisciplinary pedagogy – and who applied methods of folklore studies to pop culture and subculture in books such as *The Folklore of Girls' Studies* (*Shoujou minzokugaku*、 1989). Ōtsuka's 1989 book *On the Consumption of Narrative/Monogatari* (*Monogatari shouhiron*) argued that a new model of media production and consumption began in the 1970s. Ōtsuka did not mention the idea of adaptation; as we will see later, the oversight of this term allows in practical terms for writing and literature to be deleted from the field of media studies, placing an emphasis on visual and collectible cultural forms at the expense of writing and, arguably, narrative.

Distribution of fan-based subcultures like character goods and anime has flourished outside Japan since the mid-1990s. At the same time, most new research and venues that explore these new subculture exchanges and their social forms have almost entirely dropped prose fiction from their analysis. Yet writing remains important as a generator of new media forms. Even a brief examination of the list of Akutagawa Prize winners reveals how many have been adapted into films, many well known, many more than once. The Japanese

Literature Publishing Project (JLPP) was established in 2002 by the Agency for Cultural Affairs and lasted until 2016. About 180 titles were published under its auspices 'into a suite of languages (English, French, German, Russian, and Indonesian)' ('About JLPP | Japanese Literature Publishing Project: JLPP', n.d.).
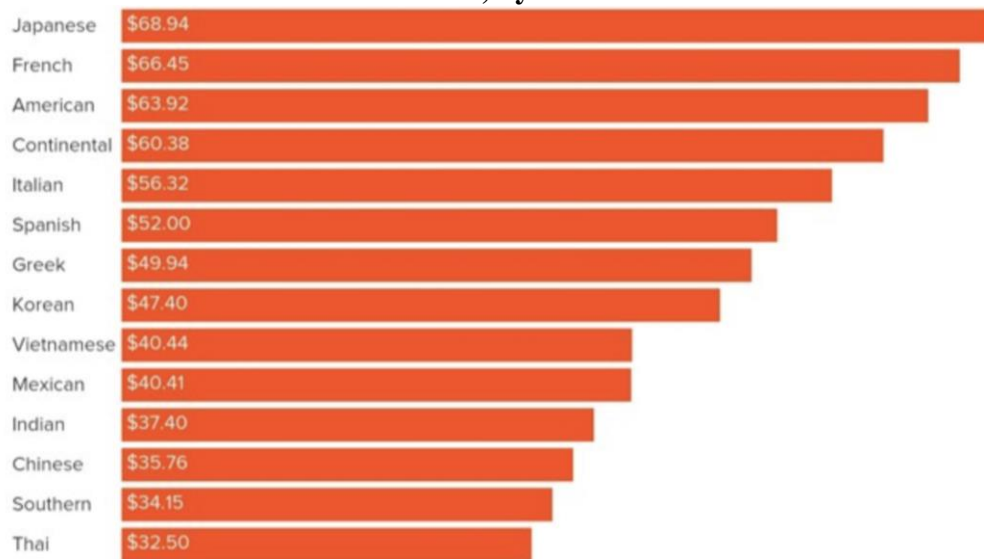
Since 2016, the main programme was disbanded and in its place have appeared a series of workshops and an annual translation contest designed to bolster recognition for emerging translators whilst highlighting untranslated works of merit. The languages of focus have shifted to English, and a second language that changes with each iteration of the contest. Since 2016, no Asian languages have been a focus of the annual workshops. The 2012 Concours for emerging translators featured English and German; the 2016 Concours featured exclusively English; and the third Concours, in 2018, featured English and French.

The 2018 Forum on Contemporary Japanese Literature (*Gendainihon bungaku hon'yaku kokusai fōramu*) featured a broad selection of materials that showed a clear link to a media-mix idea of literary forms. The Forum broadened the objects of translation to include drama, film, manga and entertainment novels. The featured writer in 2018 was novelist Machida Kō, who, before his career as an Akutagawa Prize-winning novelist, was known for his highly inventive lyrics in the Osaka-based punk band INU.

A common, if untested, perception is that literature is dead in Japan. John Whittier Treat (2018: 2), however, reminds us that, 'In fact, more internet blogs are written in Japanese than any other language, including English). Everyone can be a *sakka* 'published writer' now, if only on a homepage. The author isn't dead, she is everywhere'. Two anecdotes from 2019 will support Treat's claim that writing is instrumental to Japanese cultural diplomacy yet remains uncredited. First, online streaming platform Netflix began production in multiple venues and languages in 2017. One of the literary productions based on a Japanese property was a 10-part adaptation of Matayoshi Naoki's *Hibana: Spark* (*Hibana*, 2016), translated into multiple languages through a 'master' English version. A second is also Netflix, the 2018 production of *Tidying Up with Marie Kondo*. *Tidying Up* has become wildly popular with English-speaking viewers, even beyond those who supported its New York Times #1 Best-Seller ranking.

Arguably, it is writing in Japanese that has facilitated the broad acceptance of Japanese cultural products in the English-speaking marketplace. The unfortunate side effect is that Japanese food, whilst lauded, has been silo'd into the luxury market. As such, it has largely missed out on the boom of food journalism that draws largely from street food and immigrant communities. Such initiatives include the food journalism training programme run by Feet in Both Worlds and the Good Food radio show on Santa Monica, California's public radio station KCRW. In contrast to the explosion of interest in global street food, with the exception of izakaya and ramen, Japanese food is known as the most expensive cuisine. Krishnendu Ray, chair of the innovative Department of Nutrition and Food Studies at New York University, recently published a book that tracks the cost levels of national cuisines in New York City (Pinsker, 2016).

Figure 2. The Average Price of a Meal for One at a Zagat-Listed Restaurant in New York, by Cuisine

Cuisine	Price
Japanese	$68.94
French	$66.45
American	$63.92
Continental	$60.38
Italian	$56.32
Spanish	$52.00
Greek	$49.94
Korean	$47.40
Vietnamese	$40.44
Mexican	$40.41
Indian	$37.40
Chinese	$35.76
Southern	$34.15
Thai	$32.50

DATA: KRISHNENDU RAY; ZAGAT

Source: theatlantic.com

In fact, Japanese food is often known more as a 'cuisine' than as a 'food' in a way that stresses the prestige or luxury angle and opposes Japanese food to so-called 'ethnic food'. In an interview with *Washington Post* reporter Roberto A. Ferdman (2016), Ray stated:

> When we call a food ethnic, we are signifying a difference but also a certain kind of inferiority. French cuisine has never been defined as ethnic. Japanese cuisine is not considered ethnic today. Those are examples of cuisines that are both foreign and prestigious. There is no inferiority associated with them.

Where Japanese consumers pride themselves on both access and quality, food journalism on Japanese food has tended to emphasise the prestige element. For his work on Los Angeles food culture, Jonathan Gold won the first Pulitzer Prize ever awarded for writing on food. Gold is widely known to have connected the Japanese culture of *yatai* (street food stalls) and izakaya to high-end products like World Heritage-related *kaiseki ryōri*, making a new range of Japanese foods available in the English-speaking world. Yet neither LA media nor Japanese media notes his role in popularising Japanese food in his 2017 obituaries.[9] Despite the successes of Japanese cultural proprieties in the English-speaking world and beyond due to writing, support for literature and non-literary forms of writing remains low.

2.5. The Rise of World Literature – Bilateral Arrangements Plus Alpha

'World literature' simply refers to literature that is transported usually through translation outside the borders of the space in which it was initially produced. It has a presence in the world that may differ from its presence in its place of production. Often these differences are represented in translation. A host of institutions worth supporting has emerged to bring Asian writers into the orbit of often English-language-dominated world literature. The National Museum of Taiwanese Literature partners with Japanese literary museums to produce exhibitions, guides, and events. The Kim Dong Publishing House supports events where translators can communicate officially with readers at book fairs. Facebook groups have emerged in Vietnamese for fans to discuss the Vietnamese version of Dazai Osamu's novel *No Longer Human* (*Ningen shikkaku*) translated by Hoang Long. A Taiwanese academic has used her research time and budget to publish a collection of translated essays by Taiwanese writers on their

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[9] For a survey of reviews, and the restaurants widely known to be popularized by Gold's reviews, see Coser (2018).

experiences living, traveling, and writing in Japan (Wu Shirouzu, and Yamaguchi, 2018).

The International Writing Program at the University of Iowa (IWP) brings international writers and translators to a Fall Residency at the University of Iowa. However, despite intermittent funding from sponsors, there has never been a stable source of funding from Japan. In contrast, for the last 20 years, Arts Council Korea has fully funded one writer from Korea each year. The same can be said of Creative New Zealand, which substantially funds one writer from New Zealand each year. The National Arts Council of Singapore began in 2000 and since 2008 has fully funded up to two Singaporean writers each year. Taiwan's Ministry of Culture (formerly the Council for Cultural Affairs in Taiwan) fully funds one Taiwanese writer each year. The private Paul and Hualing Engle Fund, endowed by founders of the IWP itself, fully funds one writer from China each year. A second private organisation, the Robert H.N. Ho Family Foundation, has a multi-year gift agreement to fully fund up to two Hong Kong writers each year, plus translation and printing costs. Japan is the only East Asian country that does not send writers, whether funded by the government or private donors.

3. In Place of a Conclusion – In an Ideal World

This paper has mapped the ways that literary writing and non-literary writing work and have worked as springboards for cultural and economic exchange in the Heisei period (1989–). I conclude by offering some suggestions for funding support mechanisms for translators:

- Provide funding for better online dictionaries (e.g., Vietnamese–Japanese).
- Support the creation of Japanese textbooks in Japanese for ASEAN-language learners.
- Provide networking opportunities for ASEAN-language translators to meet and consult with Japanese scholars of literature and literary critics.
- Show Japanese writers the value of translation so they know and can imagine the significance of being known outside of Japan.

- Publicise clear, successful cases of how people emerged from study or life in Japan to become working translators.

In future research, I hope to address related avenues of inquiry such as copywriting and travel writing, both of which require the resources of translation and professional-quality imaginative writing by people who traverse multiple genres and geographies.

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