Contents

Introduction: Enduring Imprints of the Longer Past 3

Maps, Tables, and Figures ix

PART 1. CRISIS OF THE TOKUGAWA REGIME

The Imperial Institution 16

Villagers and City-Dwellers 17

The Margins of the Japanese and Japan

18

Unification 11

The Daimyō 14

The Samurai 16

1. The Tokugawa Polity 11

The Tokugawa Political Settlements 13

PREFACE xi

2.	Social and Economic Transformations 22
	The Seventeenth-Century Boom 22 Riddles of Stagnation and Vitality 28
3.	The Intellectual World of Late Tokugawa 35
	Ideological Foundations of the Tokugawa Regime 35 Cultural Diversity and Contradictions 37 Reform, Critiques, and Insurgent Ideas 42
4.	The Overthrow of the Tokugawa 47
	The Western Powers and the Unequal Treaties 47 The Crumbling of Tokugawa Rule 51 Politics of Terror and Accommodation 54 Bakufu Revival, the Satsuma-Chōshū Insurgency, and Domestic Unrest 57
ART	2. MODERN REVOLUTION, 1868–1905 60
5.	The Samurai Revolution 61
	Programs of Nationalist Revolution 62 Political Unification and Central Bureaucracy 62 Eliminating the Status System 64 The Conscript Army 66

vi

Compulsory Education 67
The Monarch at the Center 68
Building a Rich Country 70
Stances toward the World 72

6. Participation and Protest 76

Political Discourse and Contention 77
Movement for Freedom and People's Rights 79
Samurai Rebellions, Peasant Uprisings, and New Religions 84
Participation for Women 87
Treaty Revision and Domestic Politics 89
The Meiji Constitution 91

7. Social, Economic, and Cultural Transformations 93

Landlords and Tenants 93
Industrial Revolution 95
The Workforce and Labor Conditions 98
Spread of Mass and Higher Education 103
Culture and Religion 106
Affirming Japanese Identity and Destiny 110

8. Empire and Domestic Order 113

The Trajectory to Empire 113
Contexts of Empire, Capitalism, and Nation-Building 122
The Turbulent World of Diet Politics 125
The Era of Popular Protest 129
Engineering Nationalism 135

PART 3. IMPERIAL JAPAN FROM ASCENDANCE TO ASHES 138

9. Economy and Society 139

Wartime Boom and Postwar Bust 139
Landlords, Tenants, and Rural Life 144
City Life: Middle and Working Classes 148
Cultural Responses to Social Change 154

10. Democracy and Empire between the World Wars 161

The Emergence of Party Cabinets 162
The Structure of Parliamentary Government 164
Ideological Challenges 166
Strategies of Imperial Democratic Rule 169
Japan, Asia, and the Western Powers 172

11. The Depression Crisis and Responses 181

Economic and Social Crisis 181

Breaking the Impasse: New Departures Abroad 185

Contents

Toward a New Social and Economic Order 191 Toward a New Political Order 195

12. Japan in Wartime 202

Wider War in China 202
Toward Pearl Harbor 204
The Pacific War 207
Mobilizing the Nation for War 209
Living in the Shadow of War 215
Ending the War 219
Burdens and Legacies of War 222

13. Occupied Japan: New Departures and Durable Structures 224

Bearing the Unbearable 224
The American Agenda: Demilitarize and Democratize 227
Japanese Responses 232
The Reverse Course 237
Toward Recovery and Independence: Another
Unequal Treaty? 238

PART 4. POSTWAR AND CONTEMPORARY JAPAN, 1952–2012 242

14. Economic and Social Transformations 243

The Postwar "Economic Miracle" 243

Transwar Patterns of Community, Family, School, and Work 249

Shared Experiences and Standardized Lifeways of the Postwar Era 251

Differences Enduring and Realigned 256

Managing Social Stability and Change 260

Images and Ideologies of Social Stability and Change 262

15. Political Struggles and Settlements of the High-Growth Era 268

Political Struggles 268
The Politics of Accommodation 277
Global Connections: Oil Crisis and the End of
High Growth 285

16. Global Power in a Polarized World: Japan in the 1980s 289

New Roles in the World and New Tensions 289
Economy: Thriving through the Oil Crises 297
Politics: The Conservative Heyday 300
Society and Culture in the Exuberant Eighties 303

viii Contents

17. Japan's "Lost Decades": 1989–2008 308

The End of Shōwa 308
The Specter of a Divided Society 311
Economy of the first "Lost Decade" 316
The Fall and Rise of the Liberal Democratic Party 322
Assessing Reforms, Explaining Recovery 329
Between Asia and the West 330

18. Shock, Disaster, and Aftermath: Japan since 2008 336

The Lehman Shock 336

Politics of Hope and Disillusionment 340

Making Sense of the Perception of Decline 342

The Disasters of "3.11" and their Aftermath 345

APPENDIX PRIME MINISTERS OF JAPAN, 1885–2012 355

NOTES 357

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY 379

INDEX 389