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Japan and the World Expositions as a tool for cultural diplomacy during the Meiji Period

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1. INTRODUCTION:

Japan has become one of the greatest "global cultural superpowers" of the 21st century. Its gastronomy, animation, music, films and fashion have spread worldwide, these cultural products have boosted Japan's national image, rising the interest for the country in other parts of the world. The success of Japan has been in part the result of the so-called pop-culture diplomacy that was designed by the Japanese government at the beginning of the present century and was deployed under the policy discourse of 'Cool Japan'[1] (Iwabuchi, 2015, p. 422). For many academics, due to the success Japan has had with its cultural diplomacy, the country has become a referent with regard to the implementation of public diplomacy, cultural exchange, and soft power.

Despite what many may think, this has not been the first occasion in which Japan has used culture and media communication to enhance the international image people had of the country. Yet in reality, the Japanese used this type of strategy during the 1920's and 1930's to accomplish its imperialist objectives (Sato, 2012, p. 145) and again during the 1970s to fight the anti-Japanese sentiment that had appeared in Southeast Asia (Iwabuchi, 2015, p. 420). However, there is a wrong tendency which makes people think that before the 20th century Japan had not implemented this type of strategies for its own benefit.

The following dissertation aims to analyse how Japan, after its international opening up at the time of the Meiji Restoration, used its art and culture as soft power tools in the World Expositions that were celebrated during the second half of the 19th century, to implement its cultural diplomatic strategy. This strategy aimed to revise the unequal treaties that some Western countries had signed with Japan at the end of the Tokugawa period and to position itself as an Asian power, at the same level as other Western power.

This dissertation is divided into six differentiated parts. It will start with the theoretical background that frames the study, by introducing the theoretical concepts used.

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[1] Discourse that consists in enhancing the popularity of the country through its cultural products linked to contemporary popular culture, in other parts of the globe, primarily in Europe and America (González Represa, 2016; Iwabuchi, 2015).

Following, a contextualization of the historical situation of Japan during the second-half of the nineteenth century will be done to later continue with the explanation of how the Japanese identity sentiment was constructed and the public diplomacy strategy was designed by the Meiji government. The fourth part of the dissertation will consist on the introduction of the phenomenon of the World Expositions during the nineteenth century, followed by an explanation of the Japanese participation on those events during the second-half of that same century. Finally, some conclusions will be drawn backing the statement that, indeed, Japan used cultural diplomacy during the 19th century to enhance its international image through the use of art and culture in the World Expositions.

It is important to highlight that the chronological period of study of this dissertation is prior to the development of the theoretical concepts employed for conducting the argumentation and justification of the research question of the study. However, these modern concepts will be used due to their current importance they have and the relevant contributions these concepts make for the understanding of the whole dissertation.

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY:

The objective of this dissertation is to analyse whether the Meiji government deployed a cultural diplomacy strategy to present itself to the rest of the world after its aperture during the second half of the 19th century, using as a vehicle for that strategy the World Expositions. To accomplish this objective, it is essential to analyse Japan's strategy during the Meiji Restoration, to understand the importance World Expositions had during that period of time and, finally, to evaluate the way in which Japan used and participated in the World Expositions.

The methodology used is based on a historical review of Japanese history along with a review of the history of the World Expositions and an analysis of how Japan participated on those events. For these reviews academic and historical documents have been used.

3. STATE OF PLAY:

An intensive bibliographic revision was conducted for the development of this dissertation. The search for academic sources first focused on finding works that studied Japan's use of World Expositions as a tool of soft power during the second-half of the nineteenth century. However, no academic works studying that concrete thematic were found. As a result, the literature search was reconfigured and refocused on finding works that studied a certain part of the entire thematic that was to be analysed throughout the dissertation (e.g. soft power, Japan's cultural diplomacy strategy or Japan's participation in World Expositions).

As a result, certain academic publications that were useful for the development of this dissertation were found. These bibliographic sources could be divided into four groups: (1) the study of Japan's soft power strategy in the twenty-first century, (2) studies on the Meiji restoration and the building of a national sentiment in Japan, (3) works that deal with the phenomenon of World Expositions during the nineteenth century and (4) studies focused on the presence of Japan at those exhibitions.

Regarding the study of Japan's national soft power strategy two important works should be highlighted. Firstly, the chapter by María Cristina González Represa titled "Japón, una estrategia política de marketing. *Soft power* y *Nation Branding* del caso *Cool Japan*" (2016), part of the book *Japón y Occidente. El patrimonio cultural como punto de encuentro*, edited by Anjhara Gómez Aragón. In this chapter, González Represa explains how the Cool Japan strategy was built by the Japanese government and how they implemented it by using soft power and marketing techniques.

Secondly, the work by Iwabuchi Koichi "Pop-culture diplomacy in Japan: soft power, nation branding and the question of 'international cultural exchange'". This article was published in the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* in 2015, and in it Iwabuchi explains how the Japanese were able to increase its international influence through attraction, more precisely through the use of Japanese media culture.

Regarding the study of the Meiji Restoration and the formation of the Japanese national sentiment it is important to highlight works such Amir Lowell Abou-Jaoude's article, "A Pure Invention: Japan, Impressionism, and the West, 1853 – 1906" (2016), in which the author explains how the Japonisme movement showed a moulded image of Japan. Another work worth mentioning is Mei Mei Rado's article "The Hybrid Orient. Japonisme and Nationalism of the Takashimaya Mandarin Robes" (2015), where she argues the political quest for national identity of Japan and how the robes were adapted to please Western tastes and increase the Western attraction for Japan. Apart from these two publications, the work by authors such as Kenneth B. Pyle, with his book the *Making of Modern Japan* (1996), and H. Paul Varley in his book *Japanese Culture* (1984) should also be remarked.

With respect to the study of the World Expositions and the presence of Japan in those events it is important to mention the thesis by Julia Morillo Morales *Las exposiciones universales en la literatura de viajes del siglo XIX* (2015), in which the author offers an in-depth study of the phenomenon of the exhibitions and a presentation of each of the World Expositions that took place during the nineteenth century.

It is also important to highlight the contributions made by José María Alagón Laste with his chapter "La imagen del Japón tradicional a través de las Exposiciones Universales" (2016), which is part of the book *Japón y Occidente. El patrimonio cultural como punto de encuentro* that was already mentioned above. In this chapter, Alagón Laste presents how Japan's image was shown to the West through the World Expositions that were held between 1862 and 1939. Finally, it is also worth mentioning the article by V. David Almazán Tomás titled "Las exposiciones universales y la fascinación por el arte del Extremo Oriente en España: Japón y China" (2015), and the article by Ricard Bru "Japón en la Exposición Universal de 1888" (2016). These two publications explain the participation of Japan at the World Exposition of Barcelona that was held in 1888.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

Soft power, *public diplomacy* and *cultural diplomacy* are three interrelated concepts that have wrongly been used interchangeably in many occasions. To analyse the presence and strategy followed by Japan in the universal exhibitions, it is key to correctly define and delimit each concept.

The concept soft power was coined by Joseph Nye in 1990, introducing a new type of power that states could use to exert influence on the international sphere. Nye defines power as the capacity an actor has to attain a desired outcome by affecting others (2008, p. 94). The behaviour of the other actors could be influenced in three primary ways "threats of coercion ("sticks"), inducements and payments ("carrots"), and attraction that makes others want what you want" (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 94), in other words, by employing hard or soft power.

Hard power will involve the "traditional instruments of power" (Nye Jr., 1990, p. 160), such as strategies which have a focal point on coercive diplomacy, military intervention or the imposition of economic sanctions (Art & Waltz, 2009; Campbell & O'Hanlon, 2006; Cooper, 2004; Wagner, 2005; Wilson III, 2008). Conversely, *soft power* would be defined as the capacity to mould the preferences of others via "culture, political values and institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority" (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 95).

Regarding Japan, since the beginning of the present century, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) has decided to develop a foreign diplomatic strategy that has as one of its main pillars the development of soft power. The rise of Japan as a "global cultural superpower" (McGray, 2002) is the outcome of a soft power strategy based on mechanisms such as people-to-people exchange programmes, fostering language education, as well as traditional culture or intellectual exchanges to enhance the receptiveness of foreign population towards Japan's position on the international arena (Iwabuchi, 2015, pp. 419 - 420).

It is critical to highlight that distinguishing between the exertion of hard and soft power does not mean these are exclusive forms of power. As reflected by Nye (2008), countries should not opt for a single form of power but rather combine both to be more effective and efficient at the international arena, in other words, to use what is called *smart power*. Ernst J. Wilson III defines the concept of smart power as "the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently" (Wilson III, 2008, p. 115).

An example of smart power could be the *Zenrin kyōkai* (Good Neighbour Association), which was a Japanese "semi-official humanitarian organisation that provided medical assistance and educational opportunities to the Mongols and the Hui" (Boyd, 2011, p. 266) living in Inner Mongolia after the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The aim of the *Zenrin kyōkai* was to ameliorate the image of the Japanese in China as a consequence of their military intervention in Inner Mongolia (Boyd, 2011).

As mentioned above, the soft power employed by a country primarily rests in its political values, foreign policies and culture, however, the outcomes generated by those are not always easily controllable (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 96). To prevent this from happening, governments exercise what is called as *public diplomacy*, a more "citizen-oriented form of diplomacy than the standard model, whose 'targets' are no longer other governments so much as diverse national and global audiences and publics" (Ang, Isar, & Mar, 2015, p. 368).

The term was neologised by Edmund Gullion as a metonym of propaganda, however, the instrumentalization of a suitable public diplomacy has to go further on propaganda; "conveying information, selling a positive image and building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies" (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 101). Through time, and as a consequence of the spreading of the term, public diplomacy's significance has evolved to be currently understood as a "trans-national process that can be engaged upon not just by governments and their agencies but by civil society and/or private sector stakeholders" (Cull, 2009, p. 12).

Leonard, Stead & Smewing's work of 2002 delimits three dimensions of public diplomacy depending on the relationship between direct government information and long-term cultural relationships: "daily communication, strategic communication and the development of lasting relationships with key individuals" (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002).

Daily communication will refer to the clarification and explanation of the decisions made by government officials regarding both the domestic and foreign policies of a country, an example could be an official communiqué, or a press conference delivered by a member of a government. *Strategic communication* is a dimension that focuses on the enhancement and fostering of certain topics to "reinforce central themes or to advance a particular government policy" (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 102) in a mid-term basis, in other words, the communication developed for branding the pillars that will compose the foreign policy of a country.

Finally, the third dimension encompasses the establishment of *long-term relationships between key individuals* through "scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels" (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 102). Each of these three dimensions of public diplomacy contribute to the construction of a country's image in an attractive way.

The third leading term, *cultural diplomacy*, has evolved in meaning through time, which has unleashed the creation of multiple academic definitions. For example, Louis Bélanger, who defines cultural diplomacy as "the activities of foreign policy that deal with culture, education, science and, to a degree, technical cooperation" (1999, p. 678). Richard Arndt, who stated "cultural diplomacy only takes place when the governments pay attention to this complex field and try to give sense to chaos so as to configure it, to some extent, and put it at the service of the elusive 'national interest'" (2009, p. 31), differentiating between cultural diplomacy and cultural relations. Milton Cummings, outlined cultural diplomacy as "the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding" (2003,

p. 1) or Ang, Isar and Mar, who defined it as a "governmental practice that operates in the name of a clearly defined ethos of national or local representation, in a space where nationalism and internationalism merge" (2015, p. 367).

In the aftermath, there is currently an extremely broad and even contradictory picture of what cultural diplomacy encompasses, in which "objectives, techniques of delivery, and assumed impacts and effects are often misaligned" (Ang, Isar, & Mar, 2015, p. 370). Discrepancies regarding the term's definition could be summarised as follows: on the one hand, cultural diplomacy is presented as a mechanism to foster the national interest of a state by presenting - introducing it "in the best possible light to the rest of the world" (Ang, Isar, & Mar, 2015, p. 370). On the other hand, there is an academic approach which claims cultural diplomacy should "promote a more harmonious international order" (Ang, Isar, & Mar, 2015, p. 370) by encouraging a mutual understanding between cultures.

Both the broad definition of the term and the different approach adopted by countries have led to many scholars to develop distinct types of cultural diplomacies depending on its principal purpose. For instance, Villanueva (2007, p. 38) who outlined three rationales, one based on the value of culture, a second one focused on nation branding an a third one relying on the employment of soft power. Similarly, Chartrand (1992, p. 135), Zaharna (2009) and Zamorano (2016, p. 178) distinguish between a type of cultural diplomacy oriented on the sharing and understanding within cultures and another type sharpened towards the national interest of a state.

Notwithstanding the existing differences on the definition of cultural diplomacy, scholars coincide to consider culture diplomacy as the linchpin of public diplomacy. As Mark (2010) and Clarke (2016) state, cultural diplomacy is the presentation of a country through the use of cultural products such as "art, literature, music, film and museum exhibits" (Clarke, 2016, p. 149) to sustain "foreign policy goals or diplomacy" (Mark, 2010, p. 73).

It is important to highlight that the outcome of the cultural product and the interpretation an audience might have of it will differ depending on the "identity" and the

"context" in which the cultural product is presented (Clarke, 2016, p. 152). Scholars of Culture Studies ((Hall, 2001; Clarke, 2016; Du Gay, Janes, Madsen, Mackay, & Negus, 2013; Storey, 2009) remark, that in order to uterly understand the effect of cultural diplomacy, it is essential to bear in mind not only the way in which cultural products are produced and consumed, but also "to the way in which consumption itself becomes a form of production" (Clarke, 2016, p. 152).

As John Storey exposed in *Inventing popular culture: from folklore to globalization* (2009), "the cultural field is marked by a struggle to articulate, disarticulate, and rearticulate particular meanings, particular ideologies, particular politics. Meaning is always a social production, a human practice; and different meanings can be ascribed to the same thing, meaning is always the site of struggle" (Storey, 2009, p. 59). In other words, as public diplomacy is a "two-way street that involves listening as well as talking" (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 103).

As it has previously been said, despite these terms were coined after the chronological period of this study, they could be directly linked with the subject of study of this dissertation and largely clarify the explanation and justification of the study.

5. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW:

Before the country's opening to the world, Japan was under the Tokugawa regime, that was first established in the year 1600. The Tokugawa Shogunate, also known as Tokugawa Bakufu or Edo Bakufu, was a feudal Japanese military government in which the power resided in the hands of the *Shōgun* and the *daimyo* (feudal lords) who, through centuries, controlled the access of the Japanese population to foreign knowledge and the interactions between Japan and other nations. This policy of national isolation received the name of *sakoku* which means "closed country" (Pyle, 1996, p. 58).

As a consequence of the Bakufu's measures, Japan ended up in complete isolation for decades until the eighth *Shōgun* Yoshimune (1716 - 1745), who was extremely interested in Western scientific developments and technology, decided to lift the ban on

the importation of foreign books. "By the close of the eighteenth-century books on astronomy, medicine, botany, and mathematics which were considered standard works in Europe had been translated and published in Japan" (Morton, 1994, p. 140).

The openness of Japan to Western knowledge and techniques, along with other internal problems such as the rise of the merchant class, the turmoil of some social classes such as the *ronin* samurai (who were samurai that did not have a lord), or the peasants, who provoked an open rebellion during the first half of the nineteenth century, were some of the factors the Bakufu had to lead with in order to avoid the loss of power. However, a new problem arose in 1853 with the appearance of a threat from the outside, more specifically, the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the United States to Japan.

Commodore Perry's mission was to compel Japan to open its borders, to improve the treatment the American vessels received from the Japanese authorities whenever they were in need of supplies or shelter, and to establish trade treaties with the Japanese. The "request" made by the United States to Japan to open their borders to international trade created a strong internal division between the daimyo throughout the country. "Patriotism, national pride, and the policy of isolation all pointed to a strong negative" (Morton, 1994, p. 142) to the request of the American.

Nevertheless, the military superiority of the United States was clear, "the Opium War (1840) [...] demonstrated clearly in the eyes of the Japanese that the spears and swords of the Asians were not match for the weaponry of the westerners" (Hua, 2004, p. 4). "Almost all of those who thought about the problem were agreed on the need for strengthening defences to meet the threat of foreign attack" (Pyle, 1996, p. 60). However, there was a sharp division of opinions regarding the foreign policy Japan should follow and the Japanese divided into two schools the *kaikoku* (open country) and the *jōi* (expel the barbarian) (Pyle, 1996, p. 60).

During the winter of 1853, there was a heated debate between the lords who were part of the Bakufu circles. Ii Naosuke, the *fudai* (the most powerful lord of the house), stated

that "[when one is besieged in a castle, to raise the drawbridge is to imprison oneself and make it impossible to hold out indefinitely" (Beasley, 1955, p. 117), meaning the only option for Japan was to start establishing trade with other countries to acquire knowledge and defend its independence. As a result, when Perry returned to Japan in 1854, the Kanagawa Treaty of Friendship was signed.

From that date onwards, there was a progressive openness to international trade and the division between those in favour and against Japan's aperture and modernisation increased. Since the Kanagawa Treaty, alike treaties with nations such as Britain, Holland or Russia were also signed. In 1858, the signature of the Harris Treaty was a turning point for Japan's history as this treaty set the model for subsequent treaties with other European countries (Pyle, 1996, p. 65). All these treaties were called the "unequal treaties". These agreements conferred three things:

> (1) Edo, Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Yokohama were opened to foreign trade; (2) Japanese tariffs were placed under international control and import duties were fixed at low levels; and (3) a system of extraterritoriality was established, which provided that foreign residents would be subject to their own consular courts rather than to Japanese law (Pyle, 1996, p. 65).

As a result of these unequal treaties, Japan was placed in a "semicolonial status" (Pyle, 1996, p. 65), in which important restrictions were imposed in the country's national sovereignty. The situation caused harm within Japanese society, in which a sentiment of impotence was set. The internal unrest and conflicts between the different groups of power in Japan, i.e. "the Shogunate, the imperial court, the Choshu clan, the Satsuma clan, and the foreign powers acting in concert" (Morton, 1994, p. 146), culminated in 1868 with the downturn of the Shogunate and the restoration of the emperor's power.

The end of the Tokugawa Shogunate marked the beginning of a new era for Japan, the Meiji Restoration, which is known to be a period of extreme modernisation, westernisation and change. In just a few decades, Japan was able to completely transform from a feudal and crop-based society to a more egalitarian and industrialised one. This

transition was successful due to a compilation of factors, for example, the modernisation and opening measures that had already started to be implemented under the Tokugawa regime, the social revolts that were produced over that period, or the non-interference of foreign powers in the Japanese domestic policies (Hua, 2004; Qingting, 1995).

Apart from these factors, another relevant aspect that should be mentioned is the highly volatile character of the reform process, meaning there were "no dominant social forces in control" (Wilson, 1983, p. 410). This is a consequence of the extreme fragmentation of the pre-modern Japanese society. The division was such that Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Japan's undisputed leading intellectual figure in the Meiji period" (Hua, 2004, p. 6), described Japan as a place where "there was a government, but not a nation" (Fukuzawa, 2009, p. 29). Consequently, Japan faced a complex process of modernization in which its population had to be united to compete with the Western powers. As Fukuzawa said, "our motive need not be mutual struggle between brothers, but intellectual competition with the West" (Fukuzawa, 2013, p. 76).

Meiji leaders faced a complex situation in which they had to overcome two main obstacles to foster modernisation in the country: the urge to catch up with the West and the lack of national sentiment of the Japanese population (Hua, 2004; Zhong, 2014). Japan had to develop and implement in a considerable short period of time a gradual and moderate strategy that would enable them to modernise effective and efficiently (Hua, 2004; Morton, 1994; Pyle, 1989; Zhong, 2014). It is important to highlight that the Japanese aimed to modernise without relinquishing or altering the *yamato-damashii* (Morton, 1994, p. 153)*,* "Japan spirit/soul" (Carr, 1994, p. 279).

Japanese intellectuals of that time agreed on the path the Meiji restoration should follow to be successful. Firstly, a "change of the political consciousness of the Japanese people" (Hua, 2004, p. 9) and then "change the political structure of the country" (Hua, 2004, p. 9). As Fukuzawa claimed "we should first reform men's minds, then turn to government decrees, and only in the end go out to external things" (Fukuzawa, 2009, p. 18).

The strategy followed by Japan is known as *bummei-kaika,* "civilization and enlightenment" (Varley, 1984, p. 206).

Despite the Japanese willingness of staying loyal to the *yamato-damashii,* they were also conscious of the necessity to gather knowledge from the Western countries, "if we look at present conditions, it seems that the deficiencies are all on our side, and the talents all on theirs (the west)" (Fukuzawa, 2013, p. 65). Through this period, many Japanese were sent abroad to gather ideas upon which reforms could be based, the most remarkable example of it was the Iwakura Mission, in which more than a hundred members (including Prince Iwakura Tomomi and key Meiji leaders) were sent for two years (1871 – 1873) to the United States and Europe (Pyle, 1996, p. 85). Apart from collecting information, the aim of missions such as the Iwakura Mission, was also to encourage Western powers to modify the unequal treaties that had been signed with Japan during the Tokugawa period.

This process of knowledge borrowing was characterised by the "impartial selectivity of the Japanese" (Morton, 1994, p. 154) and "their willingness to change their plans if they found a better model in another country" (Morton, 1994, p. 154). An example could be the use of the German political-economic theories for the creation of the Japanese Constitution and institution-building development (Zhong, 2014, p. 54). As well as the conservative and moderate character of the implemented reforms, because Japan, like Germany "found authoritarian government a more effective framework for modernization than democracy was" (Beasley, 1989, p. 620). As a result, a remarkable amount of reforms were conducted in sectors such as education, transportation, infrastructure building, industry or the military.

Apart from the benefits modernisation will have for Japanese society, Meiji leaders also sought to protect Japan against potential future threats coming from the outside (Varley, 1984, p. 206), taking as a slogan for their policy the Chinese thought of *fukoku-kyōhei,* "enrich the country and strengthen its arms" (Varley, 1984, p. 206). In the end, Japan wanted to modernise to "become strong in the arts of both war and peace and take a place in the forefront of the progress of the world" (Fukuzawa, 1966, p. 246) .

6. MEIJI GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY FOR BUILDING JAPANESE IDENTITY AND NATIONALIST SENTIMENT:

As said above, the Meiji government had to face the tremendous challenge of positioning Japan as an international actor, at the level of other Western powers. "From 1868 to 1894 the prime goal of Japanese foreign policy was [the] revision of unequal treaties, so as to stand on equal footing with Western countries and escape the semicolonial status to which extraterritoriality and tariff control had relegated Japan" (Pyle, 1996, p. 87). To do so, Japan had to "entail the formulation of far-reaching policies to transform Japanese society in an all-out effort to catch up with the West" (Pyle, 1996, p. 98).

As a result, the Meiji government developed a strategy, under the slogan *"fukoku-kyōhei"* (enriching the country, strengthening the military). "Japan constructed its new national identity through the dichotomy of Occident/Orient, Japan defined itself as a modern nation with a unique tradition; and through the juxtaposition of Nippon/China, Japan distinguished itself as the leader in East Asia and an imperialist counterpart of the Western powers" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 604).

To understand the perspective that was undertaken by Japan to develop its strategy we first need to understand the vision Japanese rulers had at that time. Prince Iwakura Tomomi wrote a memorandum on foreign affairs, two years before the Iwakura Mission's departure (Pyle, 1996, p. 98), in which he stated:

> Although we have no choice in having intercourse with the countries beyond the seas, in the final analysis those countries are our enemies. Why are they our enemies? Day by day those countries develop their arts and their technology with a view to growing in wealth and power. Every country tries to become another country's superior. Country A directs its efforts at country B, country B at country C – they are all the same. That is why I say, all countries beyond the seas are our enemies (Jansen, 1968, pp. 158 - 159).

After his return, Prince Iwakura Tomomi along with the rest of members of the mission, highlighted the importance of making Japan "self-sufficient in its economy and in

its military strength" (Pyle, 1996, p. 98), fostering the implementation of a "catch-up vision". This approach could be seen in the foundation statement of the Maruzen Company:

> Foreigners did not come to our country out of friendship; their real reason for being here is to trade. […] Their main object is solely to seek profits through trade. When we sit idly by and allow them to monopolize our foreign trade, we are betraying our duty as Japanese. If we once allow them to take over our foreign trade, if we are aided by them, if we are employed in their companies, if we invite them into our companies, if we respect and admire them, if we run around at their orders, if we fall into that kind of condition, there could not possible be a greater disaster to our country. A country in that situation is not a country (Tiedermann, 1974, p. 130)

For implementing the "catch-up vision", a "sharply focused but long-range view of Japan's national interest must be the foundation of comprehensive plans for Japan's development" (Pyle, 1996, p. 98). Japan's national strategy was supported on two pillars, one focused on the domestic sphere and the other one centred on the foreign arena.

6.1. Japan's domestic policy:

Regarding the domestic sphere, it is important to highlight a "key to understanding Japan's rapid response to the challenge of the West in the years after 1868 (in contrast to the slow response of other countries in Asia) is the fact that discontent with the old order was widespread and felt in every social class" (Pyle, 1996, p. 74). The traditional social order was not considered to be a "source of strength" (Smith, 1988, p. 153) anymore and, consequently, the entire society was opened to change.

The "Westernization of Japan" (the process of borrowing knowledge from the West that has already been explained in the historical background) included social, governmental and industrial reforms that completely transformed Japan. Apart from the military and political reforms that were undertaken, at the industrial, governmental and social level, it is worth remarking:

- The centralisation of Japan's administration, which included the "removal of restrictions that had impeded travel and commerce among different parts of the country during the Tokugawa Period" (Pyle, 1996, p. 105)

- The transformation of the class structure, headed by the ruling samurai in which "the legal underpinnings that had made their class a privileged elite" (Pyle, 1996, p. 105) were abolished.

- The reforms of the education system, focusing during the decade of the 1870s on achieving a universal primary education and providing "training to Japanese schoolchildren that stressed practical subjects and encouraged Western-style individualistic thinking" (Varley, 1984, p. 215). However, the government's focus shifted at the beginning of the 1880s and "took deliberate steps both to reinstate traditional moral training in the schools and to redefine the aim of education to serve the state rather than the individual" (Varley, 1984, p. 215). "Education became the prime mechanism of social advancement" (Pyle, 1996, p. 91) and prepared the Japanese society for "occupations in an industrial society" (Pyle, 1996, p. 88).

- Land tax reforms, which include the legalisation of the disposal of land and the establishment of a tax that would be assessed according to the land's value and that would be paid with a uniform money payment, eliminating the dependency it had on the rice's price (Pyle, 1996, p. 106). These changes contributed to the enhancement of the agricultural productivity of Japan.

- Currency and banking modifications, such as the establishment of a new banking system and the introduction of a standardised currency (Pyle, 1996, pp. 107 - 108).

- An industrial policy based on the rapid incorporation of Western technology to increase the Japanese production, foster the exports "initially handicrafts, tea, and raw silk, but moving steadily into more value-added products" (Pyle, 1996, p. 102) and, at the same time, reducing Japan's dependency on imports and avoiding the country's reliance on the Western powers (Pyle, 1996, p. 102).

However, one of the biggest challenges the Meiji government had to face and solve was the lack of national unity, they needed to find a way to mobilise the nation so that these reforms could lead Japan to an actual development and industrialisation. Itō stated:

> If there is no cornerstone, politics will fall into the hands of the masses; and then the government will become powerless […] In Japan [unlike Europe] religion does not play such an important role and cannot become the foundation of constitutional government. Though Buddhism once flourished and was the bond of union between all classes, high and low, today its influence has declined. Though Shintoism is based on the traditions of our ancestors, as the religion it is not powerful enough to become the centre of the country. Thus, in our country the one institution which can become the cornerstone of our constitution is the Imperial House (Pittau, 1967, pp. 177 - 178).

To foster the national unity and Japanese sentiment, the Meiji government relied on what is called "invented traditions"[2] in spheres such as "family state ideology, the institutionalisation of State Shintō, the ideology of industrial harmony, and the ideal image of Japanese womanhood" (Pyle, 1996, p. 127). This new "socio-political orthodoxy" was called *kokutai* (national polity) and it developed the concept of Japan as a great family-state in which "the Emperor [was presented] as the father of the nation and the subjects as his children" (Pyle, 1996, p. 128).

The "national polity" was contained into two different documents: the *Meiji Constitution* and the *Imperial Rescript on Education* of 1890 (Varley, 1984, p. 222). Both documents enhance the Emperor's figure, presenting him as "the charismatic leader so prominent in the modernisation of most non-western societies of a later period, a substitute that was more permanent, more deeply rooted in the culture, a more invulnerable to attack" (Scalapino, 1964, p. 103).

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[2] Invented tradition: "set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past […] with a suitable historic past" (Hobsbawm, 2012, p. 1)

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Japanese society was completely different from the one of the 1860s. In a period of forty years, Japan completely transformed from being a feudal agricultural society to an industrialised and proud one with a strong sentiment of nationalism and even evoked to self-sacrifice for the good of Japan.

6.2. Japan's foreign policy:

Japan's foreign strategy was developed for the first time after its opening to the world started in 1854 with the signature of the *Kanagawa Treaty of Friendship*. Hotta Masayoshi, a senior member of the Bakufu's Council of Elders, excellently summarised the foreign policy Japan should follow in order to survive:

> Our policy should be to stake everything on the present opportunity, to conclude friendly alliances, to send ships to foreign countries everywhere and conduct trade, to copy the foreigners where they are at their best and so repair our own shortcomings, to foster our national strength and complete our influence until, in the end, all the countries of the world know the blessings of perfect tranquillity and our hegemony is acknowledged throughout the globe (Beasley, 1972, p. 117).

The objectives and strategy proposed by Masayoshi remained considerably unchanged, despite introducing a remarkable amount of reforms, the Westernisation process was "a means to an anti-Western end: by adopting the techniques and institutions of Western society they hoped to eliminate all the manifestations of Western power, especially the unequal treaties, from their country" (Pyle, 1996, p. 78). Consequently, and in line with its final objective, Japan decided to present itself to the world in a non-violent way. The Meiji government was completely aware of the military superiority of the Western powers and, as a result, it decided to show Japan's value and power through other means: art, culture and trade (Morton, 1994, p. 153; Pyle, 1996, p. 78; Varley, 1984, p. 206).

The artistic and cultural exchanges with the West commenced in approximately 1854, with the openness of Japan to the international life, at first through the shipments of pieces of art that westerns in Japan did to their home countries and afterwards by Japanese

companies and Japan's government. Since then, "a vast artistic exchange between two disparate regions of the world [started]" (Abou-Jaoude, 2016, p. 58), Japanese art progressively entered European salons many impressionist artists, such as Monet, Pissarro, Degas, Cassat or van Gogh, began to take Japanese art as a source of inspiration. Apart from the exoticism related to Asian art, what captivated Western artists was that "Japanese art did not make use of perspective and foreshortening. Rather, Japanese landscapes seemed oddly flat" (Abou-Jaoude, 2016, p. 60).

It is also important to highlight the strong presence that the ukiyo-e prints had at that time. Ukiyo-e means "pictures of the floating world," a Buddhist conception of the ephemerality of existence" (Kozbelt & Durmysheva, 2007, p. 26) and it was a Japanese technique used for printmaking, primarily in woodblocks that stressed the fleeting character of a moment and the supremacy of nature (Robinson, 2014, p. 9). These new artistic influences came at a time when, as a consequence of the appearance of photography and the resulting loss in importance of the realistic painting, many painters were seeking for the real purpose of painting (Genova, 2009, p. 458).

The "Occidental appropriations" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 597) of Japanese art received the name of *Japonisme.* "This new wave of Japonisme took hold in Europe and America, reached a high point in the 1880s, and quickly disappeared after the first decade of the twentieth century" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 597). For many Westerns at that time, Japonisme movement was considered to be the continuation of the *chinoiserie* movement that "enjoyed its golden age in the eighteenth century" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 597) in Europe, as Chinese and Japanese objects were contained in the category of "far-eastern" or "Oriental" art and there was not a clear distinction between them. "China and Japan were perceived and imagined one through the other. During the course of the Japonisme movement, the pattern of imagination shifted from the initial mode of perceiving Japanese art under the rubric of Chinese art to the reverse" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 598).

The success of Japanese art exportation to the West was such that, "[b]y the end of the 19th century, there were more woodblock prints in Europe than there were in Japan"

(Abou-Jaoude, 2016, p. 58). Many collectors started to compare Japanese art with the one of other great civilisations, for example the Goncourt brothers (one of the greatest Japanese art collectors at that time) who stated Japanese art was "as great an art as Greek art [as] everything [Japanese artists] do is taken from observation" (De Goncourt, 1910, p. 241). However, the image that Western countries had about Japan through its art and artisanal goods was not showing the reality of the Asian country, which was going through an impressive process of industrialisation. The Japan that was shown to the West "was a "pure invention", and the art of late 18th and early 19th century Japan did not resemble the industrialized Japan of the late 19th and early 20th century" (Abou-Jaoude, 2016, p. 62).

This moulding of the Japanese reality and society to appeal Westerns could clearly be seen through the exporting of goods that many Japanese companies manufactured, adapting the style to please Western tastes. A very good example could be Iida Takashimaya company, a Japanese robe manufacturing company which used a "hybrid style" in which Chinese mandarin robe shapes were combined with embroidery and motifs that belonged to Japanese art and using an overall aesthetic that harmonised with the Western fashion trends of the second-half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 584).

As will be explained below, The Meiji government used the World Expositions as a showcase arena for introducing their national identity to the West, adapting and somehow propagandising it through the use of arts, crafts and cultural exhibitions that showed to the Westerns Japanese costumes such as the tea ceremony (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 605).

7. WORLD EXPOSITIONS:

World Expositions[3], officially denominated by the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE)[4] as International Registered Exhibitions (2019), is a concept that has evolved through time and, consequently, depending on the moment in time, its focus or thematic, the definition of what a World Exposition is may vary.

To understand the meaning of the concept World Expositions, it is important to highlight that these expositions have its origin in the medieval trade fairs that developed throughout Europe and where a wide range of products were shown and sold (Greenhalgh, 1968, pp. 3-5). Due to the positive impact that exhibiting products had on sales, the number of trade fairs that were organised increased as a way of promoting goods (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 29). As the industrialization process evolved, trade fairs gained complexity and became a public manifestation of agricultural, industrial, artistic and scientific products that were exhibited to boost production as well as consumption in the area (Greenhalgh, 1968, pp. 3-5).

Through time, the local trade fairs started to gain influence nationally and important fairs were organised at the main European cities. As Greenhalgh exposes in his book *Ephemeral vistas: The expositions universelles, great exhibitions and world's fairs*, the Marquis of Avèze and François de Neufchâteau, at the end of the eighteenth century, decided to organise a national exhibition that, apart from fostering the sale of goods, also promoted the French industry; not only at the national level, but also at the international one (1968, pp. 12-18).

Ten national expositions were organised in France between 1797 and 1849 (Greenhalgh, 1968, pp. 20-27; Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 31), which helped France not only to develop and foster its industry, but also to internationally spread a message and, in the

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[3] The terms Expositions, Exhibitions and Fairs will be used interchangeably.

[4] The Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) is the intergovernmental organisation that aims at present to regulate and control everything related to the celebration of the World Exhibitions as well as the verification of the exhibitions' status at an international level (BIE, 2019).

end, mould and generate a specific perception of France beyond its frontiers (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 31). Similar exhibitions at a smaller scale were also arranged in the United Kingdom through that same period of time.

However, the objectives of the British differed from the ones France had regarding the national exhibitions. Whereas France used the national expositions as a way of strengthening and promoting their national industry both internal and externally, the United Kingdom perceived national exhibitions as an opportunity for stimulating the conscience of the working class (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 32). This conscience stimulation was done through the promotion of what was known to be industrial culture, fostering the development of new technology through experimentation and creativity.

Over the years, the idea of widening the national exhibitions to the international arena started to set in France (Alix Trueba, 1987, p. 10). After the failed attempt of Jacques Boucher, a French writer and archaeologist who, in 1834, proposed the idea of internationalising the national expositions; in 1849 the Trade and Agriculture Ministry put Boucher's suggestion forward. At that time, the British Henry Cole and Digby Wyatt were in Paris doing a report of the French national exposition for the Royal Society of Arts[5] (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 32). During their stay in France, Cole and Wyatt were able to talk with the Commissioner of the French events, who explained to them the challenges the French were facing with the internationalisation of their national exhibitions.

When they returned to the United Kingdom they met Prince Albert, the honorary president of the Royal Society of Arts at that time and shared with him the intentions of the French to internationalise their national exhibition (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 33). As expected, the Royal Society of Arts decided the exhibition that was going to take place in London in 1851 needed to be international. The *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*, also known as the World Exhibition of 1851 in London, ushers the phenomena

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[5] "The Royal Society of Arts, as it would be called after 1847, was established in 1753 for the encouragement of the arts, manufactures, and commerce. It accomplished this aim by bestowing prizes for inventions or improvements that increased trade or the employment of the poor" (Auerbach, 1999, p. 14)

of the worldwide events that will mark the development of the different countries along the second half of the nineteenth century.

Morillo Morales states on her thesis that there are three main characteristics which make the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations* of 1851 the first World Exhibition. Firstly, the fact that it was the first time that other countries were invited to participate on the exhibition using the diplomatic route. In the second place, there is an evolution of the approach followed, as well as a change of objectives and even the competitive character of technical and industrial advance that characterised the national exhibitions. Last but not least, the World Expositions were events which cluster all the areas of knowledge, not only the industrial and technological but also the artistical and cultural.

As Emilio Casinello, commissioner of the *Universal Exhibition of Seville* of 1992, stated in the book by Luis Calvo Teixeira *Exposiciones universales, el mundo en Sevilla*; a World Exposition could be defined as:

> Un microcosmos de la Sociedad mundial, un modelo a escala que reproduce la confluencia de factores que hacen la civilización, exponiendo cada uno a todos los demás en ese intercambio multidireccional que constituye la modernidad, la especial intensidad de nuestro tiempo histórico (Casinello, 1992, p. 1).

Having analysed the three main characteristics behind the concept of World Expositions, it is important to highlight that World Expositions at that time differed among them as each hosting country determined on its own the set of rules for that certain event. In virtue of the lack of coordination between countries, along with the multiplication of exhibitions that were organised from 1851 onwards, three main problems that "threatened the quality and image of World Expos" (BIE, 2019) were identified:

1. "Lack of transparency and information regarding national laws, regulations and taxations" (BIE, 2019), a legislative framework that was used in the own benefit of the organising country.

2. An increase in the number and importance of Expositions organised. As "each country wanted to overdo the last event" (BIE, 2019), countries organising and participating in the fair usually incurred in important sums of money (i.e. the building of exhibition halls).

3. "The apparition of new types of Expos such as colonial, sectorial or much smaller expos that did not match the nature of World's Fairs but were held under their name" (BIE, 2019).

As a consequence of these growing problems related with World Expositions that emerged during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, in 1928 the *Bureau International des Expositions* (BIE) or International Exhibitions Bureau was created. The raison d'être of this governing body was clear, to regulate and control everything related to the celebration of the World Exhibitions as well as the verification of the exhibitions' status at an international level (BIE, 2019). The Convention of 1928 in which the BIE was constituted, outlined different and non-exclusive types of expositions, "established their frequency [and] set a regulatory procedure for host and participant countries" (BIE, 2019).

Nowadays, Expositions could be divided into two groups: exhibitions which are eligible for (1) registration or for (2) recognition. Article 3 of the 1928 Paris Convention contains the requirements an exhibition must fulfill in order to be registered by the International Exhibitions Bureau in which the duration (between six weeks and six months) and the regulation these events must follow are specified (BIE, 1988, p. 8). Registered exhibitions are also denominated as World Expositions.

Recognised exhibitions will be those presenting the features exposed on Article 4 of the 1928 Paris Convention. From all the requirements exposed on the Article it is important to highlight some such as the duration which must be between three weeks and three months, the need for every registered exhibition to have a definite theme and the requisite that, each recognised exhibition, should be held between two registered exhibitions. (BIE, 1988, p. 8). Recognised expositions are as well named as International Exhibitions or Specialised Expositions.

Owing to the lack of a regulatory body and the lack of uniformity between the different expositions that took place during the nineteenth century, over that period, Morillo Morales distinguishes between World Expositions and Specialised or International Expositions by the theme of the exhibition. Whenever the theme encompassed the totality of fields of human endeavour, mainly agriculture, industry and fine arts, then the exhibition was considered as a World Exposition (Morillo Morales, 2015, pp. 36-37). However, when the fair was focused on a concrete theme, for example just on industry, and despite having a considerable amount of nations participating, the exhibition was considered to be a Specialised Exposition (Morillo Morales, 2015, pp. 36-37).

Regardless of the different classifications the important thing to bear in mind is the purpose and raison d'être of the exhibitions, which is excellently expressed on Article 1 of the 1928 Paris Convention. "An exhibition is a display which, whatever its tittle, has as its principal purpose the education of the public: it may exhibit the means at man's disposal for meeting the needs of civilization, or demonstrate the progress achieved in one or more branches of human endeavour, or show prospects of the future" (BIE, 1988, p. 7).
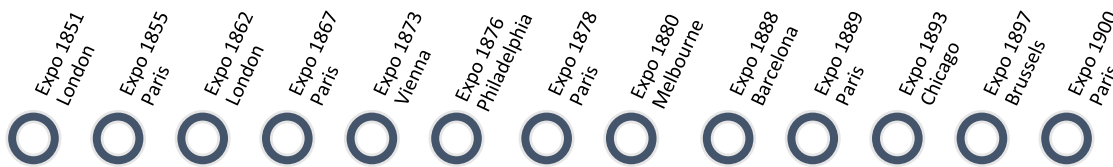
To completely understand how significant these events were during the nineteenth century it is necessary to highlight that, at that time, the world population did not have the needed transportation and communication means so as to be in continuous contact with other parts of the world. Consequently, exhibitions functioned as an effective vehicle for exchanging trade, industrial and cultural knowledge between countries (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 37).

However, the role of the nineteenth-century exhibitions did not end there, these events were as well used as an opportunity for the organising and participating nations to show to the rest of the world their economic, technologic and cultural capabilities (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 38). The display of power that countries made at the World Expositions could easily be seen on the pavilions and singular buildings that each participating and organising country designed and constructed of the events. According to Casinello:

En esta forma envolvente, multidisciplinaria, un poco sistemática pero espectacular y sugestiva, de mezclar las cosas que intervienen en nuestra vida, consiste la universalidad de una exposición universal. Regis Debray la ha definido acertadamente como una criatura mestiza de Diderot y Walt Disney, la ambición intelectual de la Enciclopedia casada con las técnicas expositivas más avanzadas y el sentido moderno del espectáculo. Se trata, sobre todo, de hacernos pensar y de hacer saltar la imaginación hasta la fundación misma de las cosas cotidianas (Casinello, 1992, p. 2).

Throughout the nineteenth century, a total of thirteen World Exhibitions, recognised by the Bureau International des Expositions, were held (Plate 1). As these events took place, the characteristics and objectives of the world exhibitions progressively evolved. World Expositions transformed from events that fostered peace, fraternity and the sharing of

Plate 1: World Expositions held during the nineteenth century

Expo 1851 London   Expo 1855 Paris   Expo 1862 London   Expo 1867 Paris   Expo 1873 Vienna   Expo 1876 Philadelphia   Expo 1878 Paris   Expo 1880 Melbourne   Expo 1888 Barcelona   Expo 1889 Paris   Expo 1893 Chicago   Expo 1897 Brussels   Expo 1900 Paris

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the BIE

knowledge and technological advancements[6] to World Fairs in which each countries' main objective was to exhibit their economic and military power[7] (BIE, 2019; Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 42).

In connection with power, it is interesting to stress that World Expositions became a meeting point of the greatest Western powers, which were also the most powerful colonial countries at that time. This events where vehicles to show to the rest of the world their power and international influence. In this regard, it is interesting to note the

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[6] *"Elles renforçaient, en présentant les progrès, les inventions, les nouveautés de constructions industrielles, techniques et sociales, scientifiques, la croyance dans le perfectionnement de l'homme et son but final : une civilisation mondiale unitaire. Tous les hommes devenaient frères"* (Plum, 1977, p. 58)

[7] *"se llegaron a realizar competiciones entre sus industrias e incluso concursos acerca de la calidad del material de guerra producido, lo cual poco o nada tenía que ver con la paz universal"* (Morillo Morales, 2015, p. 42).

importance the Japanese participation had on the World Fairs celebrated during the second half of the nineteenth century, despite not being an international power at that time.

8. JAPAN AT THE WORLD EXPOSITIONS:

Japan's participation at the World Expositions started at London's Exhibition of 1862, few years after the commencement of its international aperture (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 627). Since its participation in the *London International Exhibition of Industry and Art of 1862*, where the Japanese delegation became aware of the social relevance this type of events had for the Western countries, Japan actively participated in these expositions, enhancing its national identity and influence to the rest of the world (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 627).

As it has previously been said, "Japan's national image was largely propagandized through its arts and crafts, especially in the universal expositions" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 604) to "elevate its international prestige" (Conant, 1930, p. 81) and, as a result, align itself with "Western countries as a modern nation-state and at the same time represent itself as an Oriental civilization rich in tradition" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 605). This strategy set by the Meiji government will set and influence Japan's participation through the different World Expositions organised along the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 627).

In this section, to comprehend the strategy behind Japan's participation at the World Expositions that were held throughout the nineteenth century, an analysis of the fairs of Paris 1867, Vienna 1873, Philadelphia 1876, Paris 1878, Barcelona 1888, and Chicago 1893 will be made.

8.1. Japan at the World Exposition of Paris, 1867:

The second World Exposition organised in France was *l'Exposition Universelle de Paris 1867* (BIE, 2019). The main objective of the exhibition was to "improve understanding between nations and foster peace" (BIE, 2019). The Exposition was celebrated to rival the *London International Exhibition of Industry and Art* of 1862 which was larger in "size and

scale than the original World Exhibition of 1851 and the Exposition 1855 of Paris" (BIE, 2019).

Napoleon III wanted to oust the World Exposition of 1862, to do so, he decided not only to heighten the splendorous and majesty of the exposition through the production and display of the participating countries' production, but also to "showcase different ways of life from all over the world, and to allow interaction between different cultures through a new feature: the national pavilions[8]" (BIE, 2019).

Between eleven and fifteen million visitors (Demeulenaere-Douyere, 2008, p. 3) attended the Exposition to see the displays of the forty-two participating countries[9] (BIE, 2019). The countries shared the central building of the exposition, *Le Palais Elliptique,* designed by the architect Jean-Baptiste Krantz and constructed at le Champ de Mars (Demeulenaere-Douyere, 2008, p. 3). Surrounding *le Palais Elliptique*, miscellaneous buildings, the national pavilions, were erected following the traditional architectural styles of the participating countries, together with cafés, restaurants and entertainments for the audience (Demeulenaere-Douyere, 2008, p. 3). These "entertainment facilities helped the French exposition provide a fun atmosphere like that of a festival, causing the event to be regarded as a model to be followed by the subsequent expositions" (National Diet Library, 2011).

A year before the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan officially participated at *L'Exposition Universelle de Paris 1867*. Japan's engagement at the World Exposition fostered the interest of the Western population in Japanese art and culture (Bromfield, 1984, p. 136). Alfred Charles was the architect in charge of the design (based on inaccurate verbal

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[8] "[L]es pavillons nationaux se transformaient en musées régionaux – récits de la géographie (cartes, photographies, tableaux, maquettes), de l'ethnographie (mannequins en costumes populaires, éléments d'habitation, scènes de la vie quotidienne) et de l'histoire. Ainsi les façades et les intérieurs des pavillons nationaux se complétaient présentant une image pittoresque du pays" (Kazakova, 2014, p. 2).

[9] The *Exposition Universelle de Paris 1867* was the "first international exposition in which Japan officially participated" (National Diet Library, 2011).

descriptions) of the exhibition area of the participating Asian countries in which a Japanese kiosk with porcelains was displayed (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 628).

However, the most important Japanese contribution made to the World Exposition of 1867 was the construction of its own exhibit space, a traditional Japanese tea house, at the Champs de Mars (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 628). The tea house was divided into three different spaces, one in which three geishas from Edo showed Japanese costumes to the audience, a second one representing the tea ceremony and a third section in which visitors could buy Japanese products such as ceramics or bronzes (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 628; National Diet Library, 2011).

8.2. Japan at the World Exposition of Vienna, 1873:

Die Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873 was the fifth World Exposition celebrated during the nineteenth century, and the first one that was organised outside France or the United Kingdom. "Until 1873 the world fairs had functioned primarily as a stage on which Anglo-French political, cultural, and economic rivalries were played out" (Rampley, 2011, p. 129). Thirty-five countries participated at *die Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873*, including the participation of non-European countries such as China, Egypt, Japan and Persia" that erected impressive pavilions and displayed artefacts and images that raised awareness within the Austrian audience (Rampley, 2011, p. 130).

The World Exposition of 1873 served, as the Archduke Carl Ludwig said to the emperor at the inauguration of the exhibition, to "direct the gaze of the world toward Austria and ensure the recognition of the participation of our fatherland in the promotion of the wellbeing of mankind through work and instruction" (Halper, 1936, p. 32). In other words, the Vienna Exposition was "one of the most ambitious attempts to present a coherent image of Austria-Hungary and to promote it as an advanced European state" (Rampley, 2011, p. 131).

To give that image of modernity and progress, the World Exhibition had to overcome the spectacular displays that had been made in previous expositions at London and Paris.

As a result, a total of 233 hectares were disposed for the exhibition, from which an area of 12-hectares at the Prater Park located at the Danube, was selected as the central exhibition ground (BIE, 2019). The territory designated for the World Exposition (see Figure 1, Annex 1) "was five times larger than the previous Paris exhibition held at the Champ de Mars" (Rampley, 2011, p. 110).

The original idea was to "create an "international city" with numerous national pavilions" (BIE, 2019). However, this idea was discarded in favour of the construction of the Industrial Palace, "a central exposition building for industrial products, machinery and fine arts" (BIE, 2019). One of the architectural highlights of the World Exposition of Vienna was the Rotunda of the Industrial Palace (see Figure 2, Annex 1). Designed by Karl von Hasenauer, the Rotunda was a "steel structure some 80 meters high and with a diameter of 108 meters at its base" (Rampley, 2011, p. 110), making the Rotunda "the largest in the world" (BIE, 2019).

There were many novelties introduced at the Vienna Exposition that made the exhibition a landmark event for the history of World Expositions. Apart from construction of the Industrial Palace, a building that broke all the records of previous Wold Exhibitions; *die Wiener Weltausstellung* also changed the focal point of the Exhibition from the display of industrial and agricultural advancements to centre the attention on the sharing of culture knowledge and educating the audience (BIE, 2019). The Fifth World's Fair wanted to illustrate "an image of the cultural aspirations of the present moment ("Jetztzeit")" (Rampley, 2011, p. 112). It was the first time such a great number of groups were focused on culture, covering themes such as "contemporary art, historic art and design, and religious art" (Rampley, 2011, p. 112).

Despite the forecasted success of the World Exposition of 1873, many consider it was a considerable failure (e.g. Ferdinand Kürnberger defined the fair as being "our second Köninggrätz[10]" (Pemsel, 1989)). This was due to three major events that took place during

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[10] The Battle of Köninggratz was a decisive battle of the Austro-Prussian War, that took place in 1866, in which the Austrian Empire was defeated by Prussia (Craig, 2003).

the six months the Exposition lasted: "an unforeseen flood of the Danube, a cholera epidemic, [and] the May 1873 stock exchange crash" (BIE, 2019). As a consequence of the disgraces that hovered over *die Wiener Weltausstellung*, the total number of attendants amounted to "7,250,000" (BIE, 2019) visitors failing to reach the forecasted number of "20,000,000" (Rampley, 2011, p. 130). As a consequence, Austria did not cover the debts they incurred for the organisation of the event that summed "around 19,000,000 guilders" (Rampley, 2011, p. 130).

Die Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873 was the first World Exposition in which the Meiji government officially participated (National Diet Library, 2011). For this Exhibition, the government aimed to exhibit "a new Japan to the world at that exposition, more vigorously than at previous expositions" (National Diet Library, 2011), however, maintaining their focus on showing the more traditional and artisan character of the country and cultivate the phenomena of *Japonisme* among the Western audience (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 629).

The selection of all the objects and representations displayed by Japan at the World Exhibition of 1873 was made by Heinrich von Siebold and Gottfried Wagener, two specialists on Japanese culture that were contacted by the Meiji government to help them create the image that they wanted to transmit to the Western audience (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 209). In other words, Japan had a double objective at the World Exposition, on the one hand to show the cultural wealth of the country and, on the other, presenting Japan as an attractive commercial and business partner (BIE, 2019).

In a space of 4,303 square-metres, the Meiji government ordered to build a Japanese garden, the first one that was built in Europe (Barlés Báguena, 2011, p. 592), and a Shinto Shrine[11] "featuring a white wooden gate. Behind the gate were the shrine's main structure, a traditional music and dance hall, and arched bridge" (National Diet Library, 2011) (see

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[11] Shinto shrines are sanctuaries in which *kamis* (the Shinto deities) are worshipped and dwelled, "shrine grounds are composed of various buildings, and the components of a shrine vary depending on location and history of the shrine" (Jinja Honcho, 2018).

Figure 3, Annex 1). At the Weltausstellung's Industrial Pavilion, Japan exhibited Ukiyo-e[12] engravings, porcelains, dolls, as well as a copy of the *kinshachi* [13]from Nagoya's Castle (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 629).

Japan also presented a fifteen-metre statue of the Great Buddha of the temple of Todaiji in Nara (Almazán Tomás , 2006, p. 103) , which was not exhibited in its entirety as, due to a fire that broke out when the Buddha was being unpacked, the sculpture burnt and the only part that was shown to the public was the head (Calvo Teixeira, 1992, p. 25). Apart from the Great Buddha, the Meiji government also created a four-metre reproduction of the "pagoda of Tennoji Temple of Yanaka, a big drum of approximately two metres in diameter, and a lantern of approximately four metres in diameter with a picture of a dragon on a waterfall" (National Diet Library, 2011).

Japan's display generated a great impact on the visitors that attended the World Exposition, even the Emperor Franz Joseph I and the Empress Elisabeth showed a remarkable interest (National Diet Library, 2011). As expected by Siebold and Wagener, their selection of products sold extremely well, the success was such that even the Japanese garden, the trees and the stones used were sold to the British trading company Alexander Park when the Exposition ended (National Diet Library, 2011). As a consequence of the commercial success of *die Wiener Weltausstellung*, the company Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha was founded by the Japanese government, after the end of the Exhibition, for the exportation of Japanese objects to Europe and other parts of the world (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 629).

Along with the commercial success that Japan had at the exposition, the cultural impact it had in Europe was also extremely relevant. Even though Japonisme had timidly arrived at Europe years before Vienna's Exhibition (Abou-Jaoude, 2016, p. 57), the display Japan made at the event was key for the definitive expansion of the phenomena. It was the time when many impressionists, such as Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Edgar Degas, Mary

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[12] Japanese technique used for printmaking. "Ukiyo-e means "pictures of the floating world," a Buddhist conception of the ephemerality of existence" (Kozbelt & Durmysheva, 2007, p. 26).

[13] "The two Kinshachi, or "golden orcas," that sit atop the foot of the main keep at Nagoya Castle are widely known as symbols of Nagoya" (Nagoya Convention & Visitors Bureau, 2019).

Cassatt or Vincent van Gogh (Abou-Jaoude, 2016, p. 61), started to take influences from Japanese culture and art and began to embody these influences on their artwork (Abou-Jaoude, 2016, p. 61).

8.3. Japan at the World Exposition of Philadelphia, 1876:

The Centennial Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine was the sixth World Exposition of the nineteenth century, it was inaugurated the 10th of May of 1876 at Philadelphia (BIE, 2019), and commemorated the 100th anniversary of U.S. independence (National Diet Library, 2011). The President of the United States at that time, Ulysses S. Grant, apart from commemorating the centenary of the independence, also wanted to prove to the rest of the world "what progress could be achieved in a few years by a nation if every citizen works diligently for freedom, prosperity and honour" (BIE, 2019).

Thirty-five participating countries were displayed along the different pavilions that were designed by Hermann Josef Schwarzmann (BIE, 2019). Displays were classified by thematic areas in five different pavilions "the Main Hall[14], the Fine Arts Pavilion, the Machinery Hall, the Horticultural Palace and the Agricultural Hall" (BIE, 2019) along with almost "200 pavilions for the US states, foreign nations and private companies" (BIE, 2019).

Many technical novelties were presented at the Exposition of 1876, in which inventions such as "a typewriter by Remington Co., a telephone by A. G. Bell, and a quadruplex telegraph by T. A. Edison, as well as agricultural and heavy industrial machinery" (National Diet Library, 2011) were included.

With the objective of showing the greatness of Japanese culture, the Meiji government decided that, for the *Centennial Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Products of the Soil and Mine of Philadelphia*, they were going to send an extensive sample of representative Japanese objects (see Figure 5, Annex 1). Japanese participation was one of the most remarkable of the World Exposition of 1876 (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 629).

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[14] (See Figure 4, Annex 1)

At the Exhibition Japan presented two buildings, a bazaar (see Figure 6, Annex 1) and a house, that were designed following traditional Japanese architecture. These buildings spurred interest since its construction process started, this was not only for the techniques and materials used for the assembling, but also for the Japanese workers that were sent to the United States to perform the task (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 629). Apart from the bazaar and the house, a Japanese garden was also built and many ceramics, bronzes, lacquers, paintings as well as textile products were exhibited at the Japanese pavilion (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 629) (see Figure 7, Annex 1).

The Japanese achieved such a success at the World Exposition of 1876 that the fascination of the Americans for Japanese culture and the demand of its products rocketed. As a consequence, in 1877, the company Kiritsu Kosho Kaisha decided to open a branch office in New York to cover the demand of the American market (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 629).

8.4. Japan at the World Exposition of Paris, 1878:

L'Exposition Universelle de 1878 was the third exposition held in France. It was officially inaugurated on May and was opened to the public until November 1878. The importance of this World Exposition leans on two factors. On the one hand, the significance that it had for France, that had been defeated by the Prussians at the Franco-Prussian War and "sought to raise the profile of the French Third Republic in the world, and to demonstrate its revitalization as the centre of the world culture" (National Diet Library, 2011).

On the other hand, the emphasis that was given to arts and technology (National Diet Library, 2011) at the World Exposition of 1878. Many technological innovations were presented at l'Exposition Universelle de 1878, such as the Thomas Edison's "improved version of Graham Bell's phone, as well as a phonograph" (BIE, 2019) and others like "Raoul Pictet & Cie's ice cream machine, Mouchot & Pifre's solar oven, the horseshoe-making

machine by the Compagnie des Petites Voitures, the soda-making machine or the typewriter" (BIE, 2019).

The World Exhibition was held in the Palace of the Champs, "a gigantic rectangular hall, that occupied the space between the Seine and the Ecole Militaire" (BIE, 2019). Apart from the Palace of the Champs, the Trocadéro Palace (see Figure 8, Annex 1), designed by Gabriel Davioud and Jules Bourdais, was erected to hold the section of fine arts, along with a congress centre and a concert hall (BIE, 2019). From the attractions available at the *Exposition Universelle de 1878,* it is important to highlight the empty head of the Statue of Liberty, to which visitors had access, a giant stream-driven balloon that elevated up to 600 metres and a massive aquarium (see Figure 9, Annex 1) that was built inside the Trocadéro Palace (BIE, 2019; National Diet Library, 2011).

Japan's participation at *L'Exposition Universelle de 1878* was also remarkable, being considered by the French audience as one of the most attractive displays of the Exhibition (Sedille, 1878, p. 913). On this occasion, the Japanese government opted for the construction of a tea house, a farm and a Japanese garden, all designed following traditional Japanese architecture and constructed with natural wood (Sedille, 1878, p. 915) (see Figure 10, Annex 1). Japanese style made an impression at the Exhibition:

> Les artistes de Yedo en ont apporté de leur île tous les morceaux et les ont assemblés sur place. Jamais cette vérité : que l'architecture est un art essentiellement relatif, n'a été plus sensible, plus clairement exprimée. Il y a dans la port japonaise quelque chose de primitif et de raffiné tous ensemble (Blanc, 1878, p. 52).

Apart from the architectural style, the Japanese display also made an impact on the visitors with the Japanese who were at the buildings wearing traditional dresses and explaining the tea ceremony, how life in the country was in Japan or the gardening techniques they use for the caring of the Japanese garden (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 630).

8.5. Japan at the World Exposition of Barcelona, 1888:

La Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888, celebrated between April and December of that same year, was the first World Exposition organised in Spain. The World Exposition aimed to "celebrate the urbanisation of Barcelona and its transformation into an industrial, commercial and cultural centre" (BIE, 2019). Unlike many other World Expositions celebrated along the second-half of the nineteenth century that were financed by the host nation, the World Exposition of 1888 was financed by the city of Barcelona itself, together with the support of private initiatives (Bru, 2016, p. 42), which explains the modest character of the Exhibition.

Approximately 2,300,000 visitors attended Barcelona's Exposition to see the displays of the thirty participating countries, from which is important to highlight the United States, China or Japan (BIE, 2019). The participation of faraway countries created a cosmopolitan environment that the Spanish cultural life lacked at that time (Almazán Tomás , 2006, p. 94).

The exhibition ground, of 46.50 hectares (BIE, 2019), was located in Parc de la Ciutadella, a new park that was built replacing a military fortress (Bru, 2016, p. 44) (see Figure 11, Annex 1). At the entrance of *la Exposición Universal de Barcelona*, the *Arch of Triumph* (see Figure 12, Annex 1) was erected, a construction that was designed by Josep Vilaseca, that exemplified the new architectural trends that were emerging at that time (i.e. the use of chromatic surfaces and materials such as brick, ceramic or iron) (Bru, 2016, p. 44).

The Exposition's main building (*el Palacio de la Industria*), was a semi-circular structure of 70,000 square-metres that was divided into several showrooms with ceilings made of wood, glass and tiles (Bru, 2016, p. 44). The building was not the most modern, nor attractive from an architectonic perspective, mainly because instead of being specifically built for the Exposition, the construction already existed and was just reformed for the

event (Bru, 2016, p. 44). The renovation project of the Palace of Industry was done by Elias Rogent (Bru, 2016).

At the central hall of the *Palacio de la Industria* Spain's exhibits were display and the rest of galleries were for the rest of the participating countries together with the Spanish regions that were also represented there (BIE, 2019). Apart from the main building, the Exposition also had other buildings such as "the Palace of Fine Arts, the Machine Gallery, the Scientific Palace and the Marine Pavilion" (BIE, 2019).

The participation of Japan at the *Exposición Universal de Barcelona de 1888* was one of the most remarkable and important ones from the entire Exhibition. Even though the Japanese delegation had a limited space for its display (see Figure 13, Annex 1), it was able to show the essence of Japanese culture, traditions and new developments (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 630; Almazán Tomás , 2006, p. 100; Bru, 2016, p. 44). The attraction and expectation created around the Japanese display of the Exposition, made possible the definitive introduction of the *Japonisme* phenomena into the Spanish society of that time, despite the first influences had arrived to Spain through the 1870s (Bru, 2016, p. 45).

The Japanese pavilion, with a surface of 300 square-metres, was built with wood and following the traditional architectural style of Japan (Almazán Tomás , 2006, p. 98). Its façade was flanked by two bronze statues and impressive porcelain and ceramic pieces, exhibited along grandstands that were placed at the building's entrance (Bru, 2016, p. 45).

As Japan previously did in other World Expositions of the nineteenth century, a considerable number of ceramics, porcelains, textiles, paintings and lacquers were exhibited to show to the public their great handicraft knowledge of the Japanese artists (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 630). From this range of products, it is important to highlight the presence of works by relevant artists, such as bronzes from Suzuki Chōkichi and Shōmi Eisuke, the cloisonné enamels of Namikawa Sosuke and Namikawa Yasuyuki or the *Ukiyo-e* engravings that were displayed at the Exposition (Bru, 2016, p. 47).

Apart from the magnificent products and pieces of art that were shown, it is also important to highlight the construction of a five-metre replica of the Great Buddha of Kamakura (see Figure 14, Annex 1), considered to be the most famous sculpture of Japan (Almazán Tomás , 2006, p. 103), and the creation of a traditional Japanese house with a garden (Bru, 2016, p. 46). As in previous World Exhibitions, Japanese people were present showing the visitors their traditional costumes (Bru, 2016, p. 46).

Both the construction of the house and the garden as well as the replica of the Buddha of Kamakura were techniques that Japan had previously used in other World Exhibitions, to catch the attention of the visitors and generate and impact on them to awaken their curiosity for Japanese culture (i.e. Paris in 1867 and 1878; and Philadelphia in 1876, with the construction of traditional buildings in which visitors could learn about Japanese culture and costumes; and Vienna in 1873 with the exposition of the Great Buddha of Nara).

However, at the World Exposition of 1888, Japan also displayed a collection of photos in which visitors could approach the reality of the modern Japan, which was at that moment developing new industries and investing in infrastructures and modern constructions (Bru, 2016, p. 48). This image of progress also had an impact on Spanish society of that time which, apart from being impacted by its cultural splendour, started to consider Japan as a nation which was advancing to establish itself at the level of the most developed nations of the world, approaching more of a western model and constituting the fundamentals that will enable Japan to compete commercially with the West (Almazán Tomás , 2006, p. 100).

> [E]n aquel orden de artículos en los que la paciencia, la destreza y hasta cierto buen gusto original constituyen las circunstancias salientes y apreciables del objeto de comercio, puede el Japón competir y compite hasta ventajosamente con pueblos mucho más adelantados en el camino de la civilización (Yxart, 1888, pp. 235 - 236).

8.6. Japan at the World Exposition of Chicago, 1893:

The *World's Columbian Exposition*, also known as the "White City", took place from May to October 1893 (BIE, 2019). The World Exposition of Chicago had two important aims; on the one hand, to "commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the New World by C. Columbus" (National Diet Library, 2011). On the other hand, to build "a sense of national unity, encouraging confidence and pride in the American goods and business. It was a perfect way to explore social transformations, educate people and reduce their fear of change" (BIE, 2019).

Frederick Law Olmsted was in charge of designing the exhibition grounds, located next to Lake Michigan (BIE, 2019). The ambitious project by Olmsted included the construction of fourteen main pavilions, known as the "Great Buildings" (BIE, 2019), "designed with a unified theme of the neo-classicism style, a revival of ancient Greek and Roman models" (National Diet Library, 2011), all "illuminated by city lights, which gave the Expo[sition] its nickname of *White City*" (BIE, 2019) (see Figure 15, Annex 1).

At the Columbian Exposition, many novelties were introduced, two which are worth highlighting are: on the one hand, the creation of the Women's Pavilion, "dedicated to the work of women in all fields and exclusively designed and managed by them" (BIE, 2019). On the other hand, the Midway Plaisance which was "a one-mile strip of land entirely dedicated to entertainment" (BIE, 2019). The *World's Columbian Exposition* was a big success, "[a]ttracting visitors equivalent to approximately half of the U.S. population of those days" (National Diet Library, 2011) and becoming the "largest exposition held in the 19th century in the United States" (National Diet Library, 2011).

For the *World's Columbian Exposition* of 1893, the Meiji government spent a total of "$630,000" (Coaldrake, 2013, p. 182) for the Japanese display. This huge investment had a clear and remarkable reason behind, "the revision of the "Unequal Treaties" was due the following year in the United States Congress and, more generally, they wanted to secure

treatment as an equal in the international order dominated by the Western imperial powers" (Coaldrake, 2013, p. 182).

Despite having built tea shops, houses, gardens and Shinto shrines in previous World Expositions, the Exhibition of 1893 was the first event in which Japan constructed "an authentic Japanese pavilion" (National Diet Library, 2011) based on the *Ho-o-Do (Phoenix Hall)* of the *Byodo-in* Temple (National Diet Library, 2011) (see Figure 16, Annex 1). The Japanese pavilion received the name of *Ho-o-Den (Phoenix Palace)* and was designed by the Japanese architect Masamichi Kuru (National Diet Library, 2011).

Ho-o-Den was divided into three annexes, the main hall (see Figure 17, Annex 1) decorated with the theme of the Edo period, ruled by the Tokugawa clan; the south wing of the palace representing the Muromachi period (1333 – 1568), ruled by the Ashikaga Clan; and the north wing displaying a decoration from the middle Heian period (794 – 1185), in which Japan was ruled by the Fujiwara Clan (Alagón Laste, 2016, p. 630; National Diet Library, 2011). The objective behind the division of the Ho-o-Den into three different areas was to make an emphasis on Japan's long and rich history (National Diet Library, 2011).

Together with the construction of the *Ho-o-Den*, Japan decided not to "merely display its items, but emphasized the recreation of each period with the current of Japanese art history" (National Diet Library, 2011). In other words, add value to its art so that the world would stop considering Japanese art as decorative art to see it as fine art, something Japan had fought for since the first distinction between decorative and fine arts [15]was made in the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873 (Coaldrake, 2013, p. 174 & 183). Another pillar of the Japanese government's strategy to gain recognition and be considered as an equal member of the international community was, to differentiate itself from other Asian

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[15] "Historically there was no distinction between the fine and the decorative: Japanese art was often mellifluously both. The idea of separating one from the other, still more of marginalizing one from the other, was inconceivable in a civilization that moved constantly towards the unity of the arts rather than segregation by taxonomy" (Coaldrake, 2013, p. 176). The distinction between decorative and fine arts was just incorporated to adapt to Western requirements.

countries such as China, "striving to boost its national prestige and expand its exports by demonstrating its dignified culture, manners and customs" (National Diet Library, 2011).

As it has been shown throughout this section, from Japan's first official participation in the World Exposition of Paris in 1867 to Chicago's World Exhibition of 1893, Japan's presence at these events considerably evolved. Japan adapted the image it wanted to show to the rest of the world with its displays and it transformed from being just a cultural and artistic power at the mid-nineteenth century to a country which showed its industrial development that had also built strong trade relations with many international powers. This evolution goes along with the strategy the Meiji government implanted through that decades that advocated for a change in Japan's international image from being just a weak Asian country to becoming an international power at the same level as other Western powers of that time.

9. CONCLUSIONS:

This dissertation has been divided into three different sections. Firstly, an introduction to the concepts of soft power, public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy has been made. Secondly, a historical contextualization of Japan's situation during the second-half of the nineteenth century and an explanation of the strategy followed by the Meiji government to form a national sentiment and an international image have been conducted. Finally, a presentation of the phenomenon of the World Expositions during the nineteenth century and Japan's participation during the second-half of the century in those events. After all the analysis that has been conducted, the following conclusions should be highlighted.

As it has been explained above, *soft power* would be defined as the capacity to mould the preferences of others via "culture, political values and institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority" (Nye Jr, 2008, p. 95). However, the outcomes that soft power tends to generate are not easily controllable and, as a consequence, public diplomacy strategies are designed to settle this lack of control.

Public diplomacy strategy is a term that refers to soft power strategies that are designed by a country's government and put a focus on a more citizen-oriented form of diplomacy. This form of diplomacy has as a linchpin what is called as cultural diplomacy, which consists on the presentation of a country through the use of cultural products such as "art, literature, music, film and museum exhibits" (Clarke, 2016, p. 149) to sustain "foreign policy goals or diplomacy" (Mark, 2010, p. 73).

Regarding Meiji government's strategy for building and presenting the Japanese identity to the West it is important to highlight that it was based on the slogan *"fukoku-kyōhei"* (enriching the country, strengthening the military) and had a clear objective: "[the] revision of unequal treaties, so as to stand on equal footing with Western countries and escape the semicolonial status to which extraterritoriality and tariff control had relegated Japan" (Pyle, 1996, p. 87). As a result, "Japan constructed its new national identity through the dichotomy of Occident/Orient, Japan defined itself as a modern nation with a unique tradition; and through the juxtaposition of Nippon/China, Japan distinguished itself as the leader in East Asia and an imperialist counterpart of the Western powers" (Mei Mei, 2015, p. 604). Due to the military inferiority of the Japanese, in comparison with other Western powers, the Meiji government decided to present Japan in a non-violent way, through art, culture and trade.

It could be then concluded that the strategy developed by the Meiji government to present Japan at the international arena was a public diplomacy strategy with a strong presence of cultural diplomacy and a clear strategic communication. Based on the presentation of the country through its cultural products, such as its art or costumes, in order to present Japan as an ancient country with an extremely rich culture, superior to other Asian countries and that should be respected by the West. Another aspect that sustains the idea that the Japanese government developed a public diplomacy strategy is the fact that, the Meiji government's objective was to spread within the Western population what Japan was and to attract them through art and artisanal products of an

exquisite quality, this citizen-orientation is another characteristic of public diplomacy that has previously been highlighted.

To reach a bigger audience, the Japanese government decided to participate at the World Expositions that were held in Europe and the United States during the second-half of the nineteenth century. Those international events worked as a showcase in which countries were able to display the latest technological and scientific advancements, along with a fine art display in which countries also showed masterpieces from their homeland. As Japan was not a technologic or scientific power at that time, the government focused on the artistic and cultural display of Japan at the World Expositions, seeking to impress the international audience, Japan created impressive pavilions and buildings that would capture visitors' attention and would invite them to know about the Asiatic country.

Despite Japonisme was progressively entering into the European and American salons, World Expositions were the catalyst of Japanese culture and boosted its introduction in Western countries. The sophistication and expertise that was shown at the World Expositions gave to the West a moulded image of Japan, that did not fit the Japanese reality which was of a country immersed in an industrial revolution, in other words, a country that had little left from the traditional Japan that was been presented internationally. This display of the World Expositions that somehow played with the old Japan to create a positive image of the country could be somehow seen as a strategy of soft power as, through the use of culture and values of ancient Japan, the Meiji government was able to mould the perception the West had from Japan.

It could be then concluded that, despite the concept and practice of soft power was yet to be coined and the term cultural diplomacy as a diplomatic tool had not been consolidated at that time, the Meiji government created and displayed what could be considered as a public diplomatic strategy; through the use of a strategic communication based on culture and art, with the World Expositions as the vehicle of transmission of the Japanese message to the Western countries. The objective was to generate attraction for the Asian country and transform the perception the Western countries had about Japan, to

stand at the same level and renegotiate the unequal treaties that Japan was forced to sign at the end of the Tokugawa shogunate. Changing these treaties was an objective that Japan was able to accomplish by the end of the nineteenth century.

Along with it, another implication of the Japanese strategy was that the Asian country transformed from being a potential colony of the West to a colonial power in Asia. It is important to remember the slogan of the Meiji's strategy s *"fukoku-kyōhei"* (enriching the country, strengthening the military), due to the non-violent presentation they performed internationally, Western countries shared their military knowledge with the Japanese, as they did not perceive the country as a potential threat. However, thanks to the knowledge the West shared with Japan, together with its economic and political advancements and its enforced nationalistic sentiment and pride, the Japanese strengthened their military forces and, by the end of the nineteenth century, started an expansion overseas (i.e. Korea, Manchuria and the Russo-Japanese war).

It is undeniable that Japan was able to completely transform itself in just a few decades, this was largely due to the flexibility and pragmatism of the Japanese society and the strategic analysis the government did to catch-up with the West, focusing on culture.

Finally, to conclude this dissertation, and regarding future lines of study, it would be important to analyse the evolution of Japan's public diplomacy from the beginning of the twentieth century up until World War II, when Japan was already considered to be an industrial and militarised power developing an imperialist strategy in Asia. The evolution of the foreign strategy of Japan and the image it wanted to show to the rest of the wold throughout that period of time, as well as a comparison with how the country first presented itself during the second-half of the nineteenth century, could also be an attractive line of study to consider. Unfortunately, due to the limited extension of this dissertation, these aspects could not be addressed here, but they could be future lines that would be contemplated for future investigations. What is evident, though, is that the participation of Japan in the International Expositions phenomena is a key element without which we cannot understand the rise of Japan in the late 19th century.

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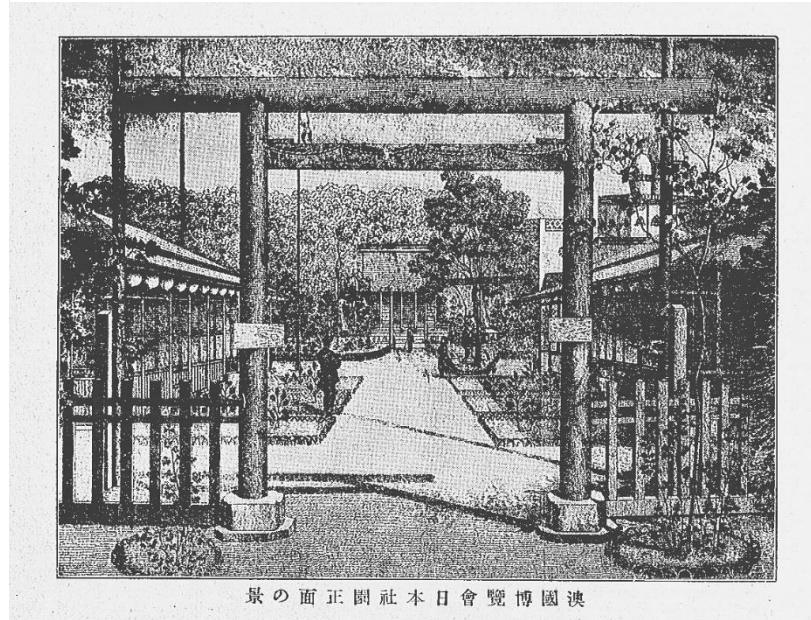
Annex I: Japanese display in the World Expositions of the 19th century:

Figure 1 - Vienna World Exposition 1873. Exposition grounds
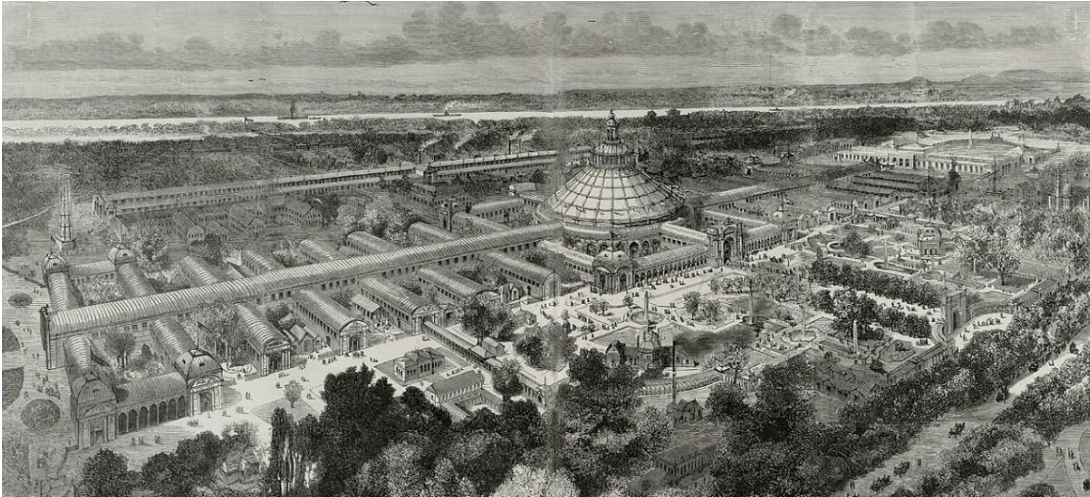
Source: (BIE, 2019)

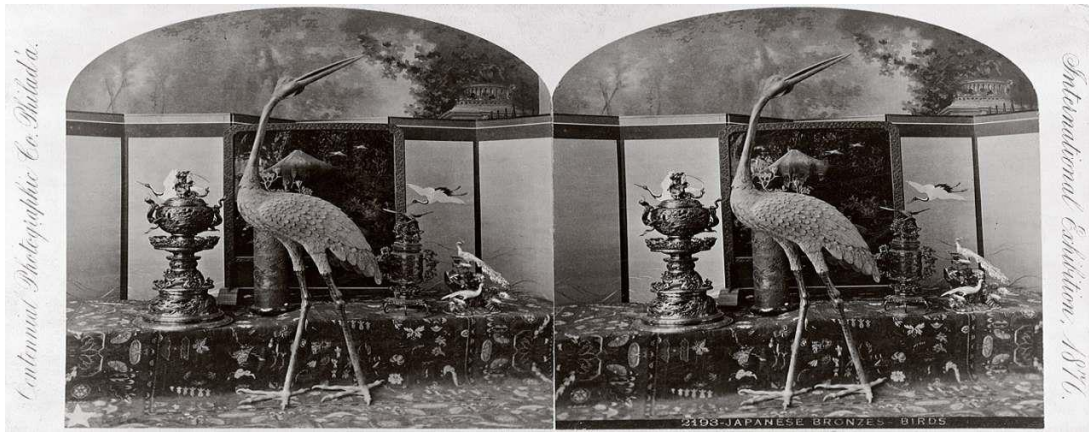*Figure 3 - Vienna World Exposition 1873. Japanese Garden and Shinto Shrine*

景の面正園社本日會覽博國澳
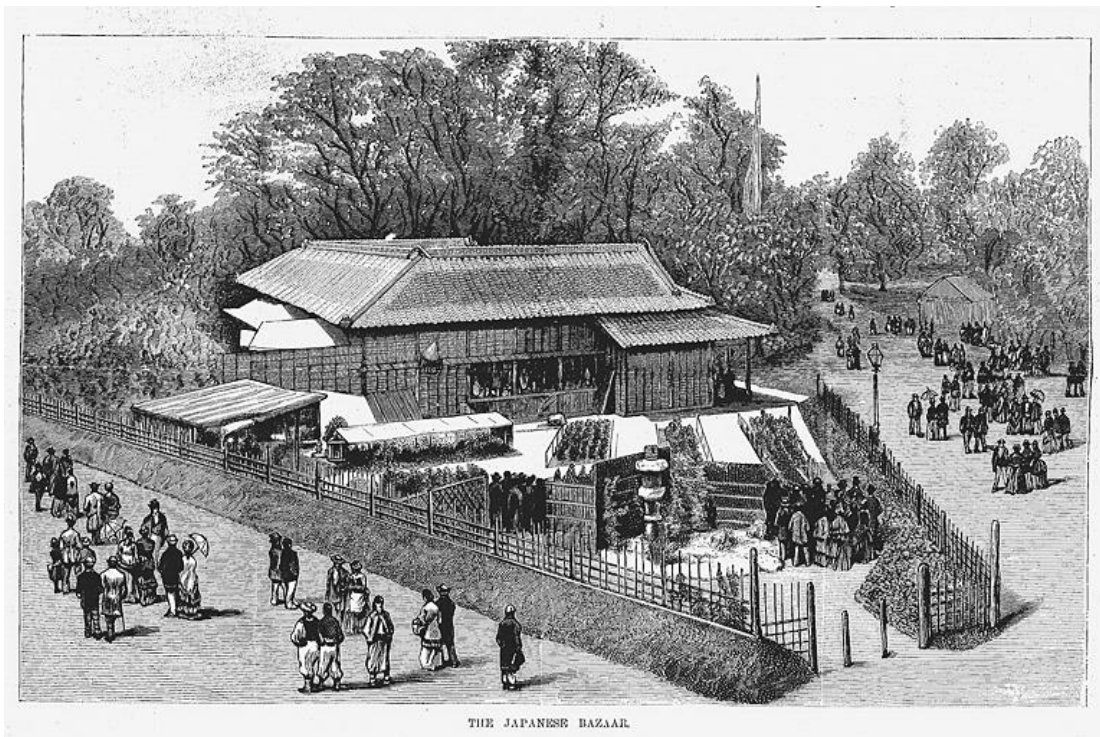
Figure 4 - Philadelphia World Exposition 1876. Industrial Palace

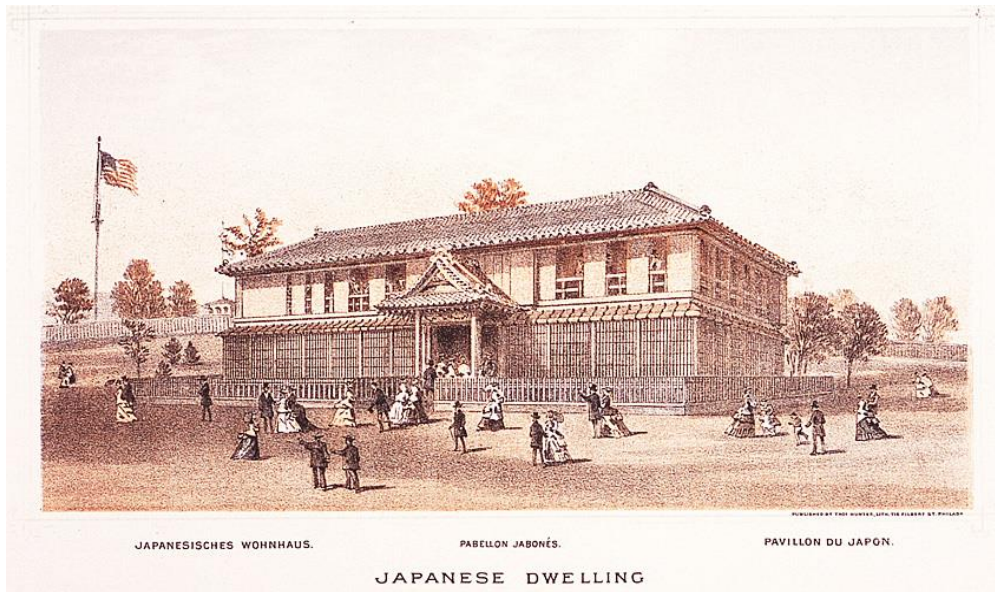*Figure 5 - Philadelphia World Exposition 1876. Japanese art and crafts*

Source: (BIE, 2019)

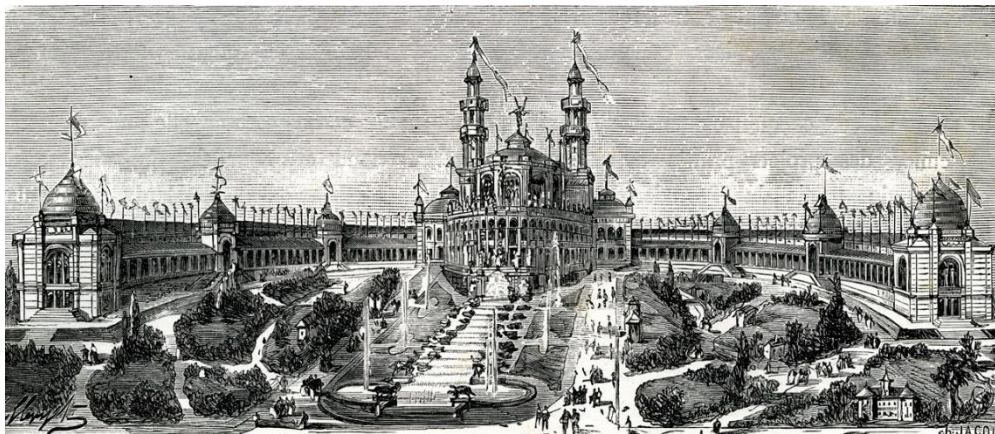*Figure 6 - Philadelphia World Exposition 1876. Japanese Bazaar*

Source: (Norton, 1877)

Figure 7 - Philadelphia World Exposition 1876. Japan's Pavilion

JAPANESISCHES WOHNHAUS.   PABELLON JABONÉS.   PAVILLON DU JAPON.

JAPANESE DWELLING

Source: (Westcott, 1876)

Figure 81 - Paris World Exhibition 1878. Palais du Trocadero

Source: (BIE, 2019)

Figure 9 - Paris World Exposition 1878. Aquarium

Source: (BIE. 2019)

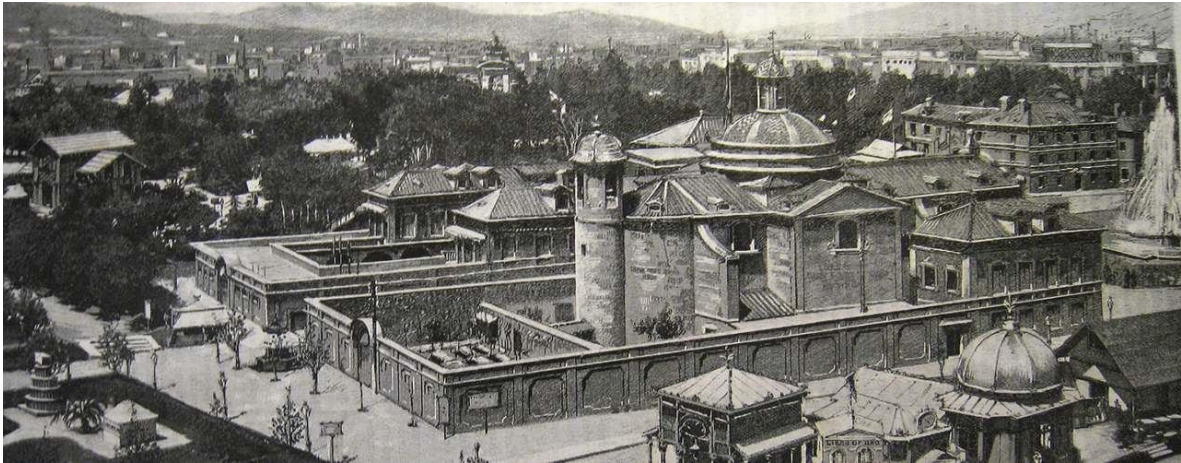*Figure 20 - Paris World Exposition 1878. Japanese display*

FONTAINE JAPONAISE, DANS LA RUE DES NATIONS.

LA RUE DES NATIONS. — FAÇADE DE LA SECTION JAPONAISE.

Source: (de Liesville & Champion, 1879)

Figure 31 - Barcelona World Exposition 1888. Industrial Palace

Figure 42 - Barcelona World Exposition 1888. Arco de Triunfo

Figure 13 - Barcelona World Exposition 1888. Japanese display

Source: (La Ilustración Española y Americana, 1888)

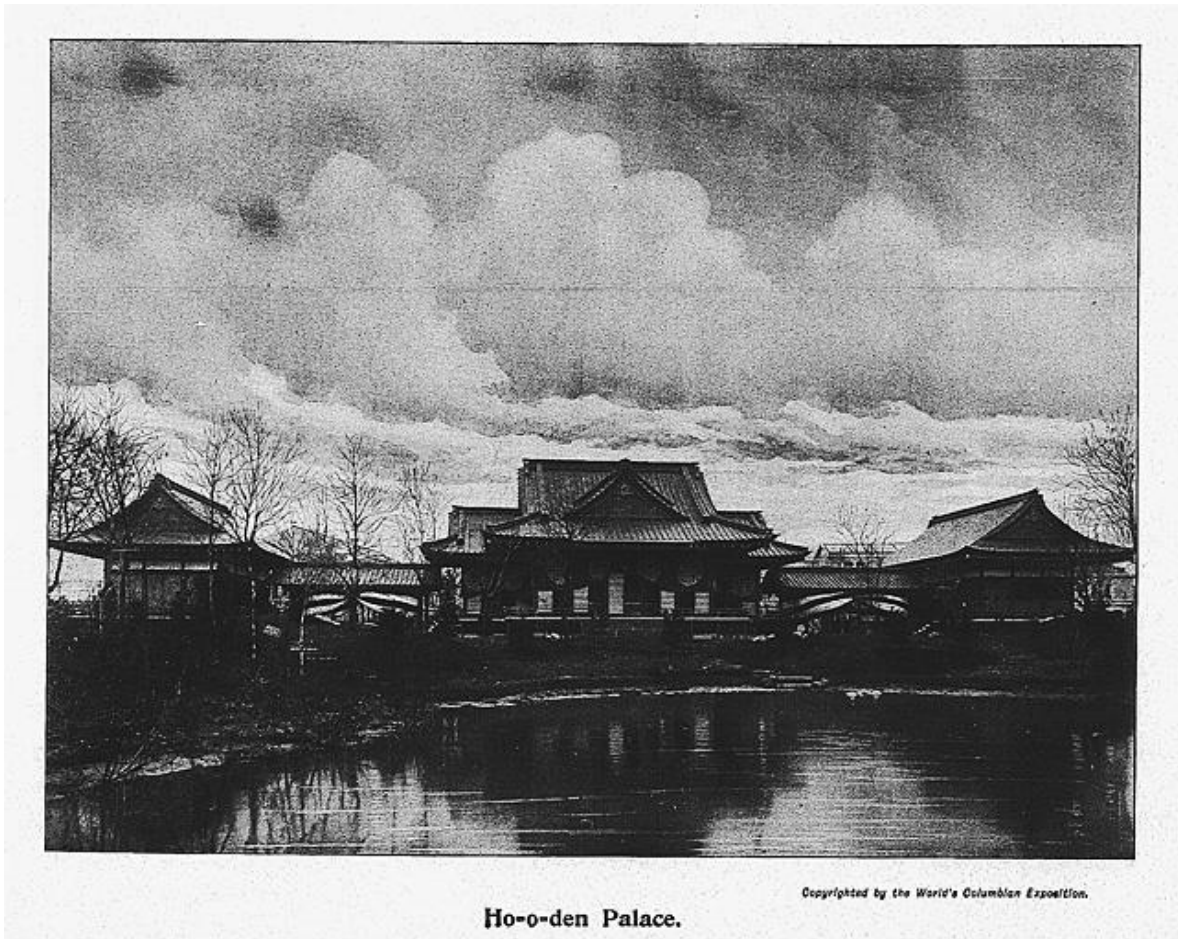*Figure 54 - Barcelona World Exposition 1888. Great Buddha of Kamakura*

Source: (Mundo Gráfico, 1929)

Figure 75 - Chicago World Exposition 1893. The Great Buildings

Figure 6 - Chicago World Exposition 1893. Japan's Ho-o-Den

Ho-o-den Palace.

Copyrighted by the World's Columbian Exposition.

Figure 87 - Chicago World Exposition 1893. Central Hall Ho-o-Den

Copyrighted by C. D. ARNOLD.   CENTRAL HALL : THE JODAN-NO-MA.

Source: (National Diet Library, 2011)