The Macksey Journal

Volume 1 Article 185

2020

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Cover Page Footnote

I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Yongguang Hu, my research supervisor, for his patient guidance, enthusiastic encouragement, and useful critiques of this research work. I would also like to thank my parents for their support and encouragement throughout my work.

Whaling in Japan: Conflicts and Controversies Surrounding a Dying Tradition

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Abstract

From pre-historic to modern times, whales remain an exploitable resource—though in recent decades the controversy surrounding whaling has yielded economical, political, and social "double-standards" on a domestic and global scale. Through reading anti-whaling and international organization statements, government documents, and statistical data, this paper examines the history of three countries—Japan, Norway, and the U.S.—to compare the "double-standards" presented against Japan. While Norway whales with relatively little backlash, Japan ostensibly faces the brunt of the criticisms. Similarly, the U.S. which once maintained a burgeoning whaling industry now supports ending whaling, with this change reflecting whaling's shift from acceptable to controversial. Conflicts arise as a result of Japan's choice to whale seen through its conflicts with anti-whaling organizations such as Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd Conservation Society; international organizations such as the International Whaling Commission (IWC) and United Nations (UN); and other countries such as Australia and the U.S.A. By examining these conflicts, the nuances of each relationship construes the current climate surrounding whaling and presents the effects of domestic "double-standards" on indigenous tribes in Japan and the U.S. Additionally, this paper compares whaling with certain western food practices, including foie gras and veal, to demonstrate how Orientalism affects the practices of those controversies.

Keywords: Anti-Whaling Organizations, Greenpeace, Japan, International Whaling Commission, Norway, Orientalism, Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, United States, Whaling

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Whaling has a long history in many parts of the world, from the U.S. to Norway to Japan. Japanese whaling came under scrutiny by the foundation of the International Whaling Commission (IWC), which seeks to protect the whales and regulate commercial whaling. In 1982, the IWC declared a moratorium, ultimately creating legal issues related to aboriginal rights in the U.S. and causing several countries to form the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission (NAMMCO). Japan, due to U.S. economic pressure, complied with the IWC's guidelines but continued whaling under research pretenses. Consequently, Japan came into conflict with international groups such as the IWC and the UN, anti-whaling groups such as Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, and other countries such as Australia and the U.S. Japan relies on the ocean surrounding it, so to limit its commercial whaling from villages to commercial businesses raises two questions: To what extent does Japanese whaling differ from Norwegian and American whaling, and to what extent does Orientalism play a role in the backlash against Japan? While the preservation of our oceans and its animals have an undeniable importance, there remains a glaring "double-standard" placed on Asian whaling nations, such as Japan, in comparison to traditional Western whaling nations, such as Norway, in political, social, and cultural contexts. To understand each nation's role in and perspective on whaling, their histories must be considered.

As an island nation, Japan relies on the ocean for sustenance and resources. Evidence from the Jōmon period (14,500-300 BC) indicates that Japanese people hunted cetaceans, mostly dolphins, around 5,000 years ago (Arch 49). While Japanese people, much like Native

Americans and early American settlers, relied on beached whales for meat, Japanese whaling became organized in the late 1500s, and the Tokugawa era (1600-1868) ushered in a thriving economic period revolving around active, coordinated whaling crews operating at a larger scale (Arch 50). While there is no major shift or time period that defines traditional whaling and how far it stretches back in time, modern Japanese whaling started in 1879 as a result of a storm that claimed the lives of 111 Taiji whalers (Japan Whaling Association). Modern Japanese whaling, much like American and Norwegian modern whaling discussed later, became industrialized by utilizing technological advancements like the harpoon gun (Japan Whaling Association).

Aside from providing great profits through economic ventures, whales serve as a food source for Japanese, though whale meat's popularity lies primarily with the older generations today (Leonard) because whale meat extended from a regional to a nationwide staple due to the food shortage after World War II (Brasor and Tsubuku). Despite the Japanese government and whaling industry encouraging higher consumer demand, whale meat remains in low demand (Leonard). Now, whale meat has limited uses in Japan; the government holds nearly 3,700 tons of whale meat in stockpiles (Leonard), and school cafeterias serve whale meat for lunch (Kyodo). Japan has run several whaling research programs, the primary three being JARPA, JARPA-II, and NEWREP-A (The Institute of Cetacean Research, "Scientific Contribution: JARPA/JARPA-II/NEWREP-A"). Conflicts, which will be discussed later, have arisen as a result of the aforementioned research programs, especially JARPA-II. To understand the animosity directed towards Japan from anti-whaling organizations such as Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd Conservation Society as well as Western nations, primarily two Western nations—Norway and the U.S.—will be compared and contrasted to Japan below. While the U.S. no longer whales, Norway continues whaling and thus, like Japan, comes into conflict with anti-

whaling organizations. By examining a Western whaling nation and an East Asian whaling nation, the differences and similarities in the criticisms faced by the two reveal the hypocrisy of whaling stances.

Norwegian whaling dates back to ninth century Vikings (Altherr et al. 3). While Vikings no longer roam the waters, Norway remains a prominent whaling nation. Technological advancements like the harpoon gun in the 1860s allowed Norway to capitalize on the whale stocks in its waters. While Norway initially abided by the 1982 Moratorium, it ultimately resumed commercial whaling in 1993 (Animal Welfare Institute). In recent years, Norway reportedly kills more whales than Japan (Altherr et al. 2)—and there lies an ironical reason in this claim: Norway hunts whales under objection, allowing it to set its own quotas ranging in the hundreds or thousands, while Japan uses special permit whaling—the same permit used to whale for research (International Whaling Commission, "Special Permit Whaling (Also Known as Scientific Whaling)")—to hunt whales. In 2017, Japan in the Northwest Pacific under special permit whaling killed 134 whales in the open sea; Norway in the Northeast Atlantic under objection killed 432 whales (International Whaling Commission, "Total Catches"). Norway relies on the ocean for sustainability because its inner lands cannot sustain agriculture. Like Japan, however, Norway lacks domestic demand for whale meat. To continue whaling, Norway exports whale meat to Japan and funds development of new food-supplements and pharmaceuticals derived from whale oil to secure demand at home and abroad (Altherr et al. 2). As two whaling nations that objected to the IWC's 1982 Moratorium, Norway and Japan continue to whale. In one data set from the 2006/2007 season, it reveals that Japan killed 866 and Norway killed 545 whales (World Wildlife Foundation). In terms of killing whales, Japan appears the worst of the two offenders. However, two separate data sets illustrating total minke

whale catches, minke whales often being the most targeted whale species due to its abundance and population stability (NOAA Fisheries), from 1987 to 2016 reveal the differences; Norway killed 660 minke whales (Whale and Dolphin Conservation, "Whaling in Norway") while Japan killed 405 minke whales in 2015 (Whale and Dolphin Conservation, "Whaling in Japan"). In addition to minke whales, though, Japan hunts other whales, including the endangered Bryde's whale and sei whale; Japan killed 25 Bryde's whales and 90 sei whales in 2015 (Whale and Dolphin Conservation, "Whaling in Japan"). However, the controversial JARPA-II, which supposedly hunted whales not intended for research, launched around the 2006/2007 season and entered its full-scale phase in the following 2007/2008 season (Government of Japan), prompting further backlash against Japan. Though Norway hunts and exports whales, Japan ostensibly faces the brunt of the criticisms from the IWC, despite Norway operating its commercial whaling industry under objection from the IWC and exporting its product to Japan, where whale meat prices run higher (Greenpeace, "Norwegian Whaling").

Like many countries, the U.S. targeted whales for their resources. Passengers on the *Mayflower* recorded the whales playing alongside the boat and Native Americans harvesting meat from beached whale carcasses. By the 1830s and 1840s, New England housed the whaling capitol of the world in Bedford, Massachusetts where whaling vessels embarked on three-year journeys to hunt thousands of sperm and right whales for their oil, baleen, and meat. When whales became scarce in familiar waters and congregated elsewhere, the vessels scoured the oceans to find more whales (Shoemaker 270). By re-assembling the American whaling fleet in the years following 1814 and balancing cheap costs and productivity, the American whaling industry overtook the whaling industry's dominating force, the British, by the 1840s. However, the Civil War diminished the prominence of American whaling, which never fully recovered and

failed to reassume its mastery over the global whaling industry (The President and Fellows of Harvard College 570). Whales cultivated an American industry centered around seafaring, therefore technological advancements, such as steam-powered ships armed with harpoon guns that felled even the largest blue whale, looked like the tools to begin the commercialization of whaling—yet American whaling fell from prominence by the early twentieth century (Shoemaker 270).

American whaling's rise and fall to power finds its reasons in how Americans viewed whales as a resource and the economic competition that arose. Of all the products created by whales, oil proved the most beneficial for the Americans. From lighthouses to streetlamps to in the home, whale oil illuminated the U.S. in the 1700s to mid-1800s (Pees), but economic competition from petroleum weakened whale oil's hold on the market (The President and Fellows of Harvard College 571). Other whale products included ambergris, a waxy substance found in sperm whale intestines, and spermaceti, a liquid wax substance from the sperm whales' heads (New Bedford Whaling Museum). Ostensibly, the value of oil was why Americans never ate whale meat as much as the Japanese; Americans saw the whale's value in terms of oil, while the Japanese saw the value in terms of sustenance. Cultural differences, consequently, informed the future of whaling in Japan and the U.S. respectively (Wills). While both Japan and the U.S. hunted whales for their meat, the U.S. never truly viewed whales as a food source whereabouts Japan valued whales for their meat. Now, the U.S. forbids the sale of whale meat, and in the U.S. only indigenous groups consume whale meat (Wills). Regardless of whether a country is pro-whaling like Japan and Norway or anti-whaling like the U.S., all fall subject to the IWC.

Founded in December of 1946, the International Whaling Commission (IWC) aimed to conserve whale stocks in order to progress the then growing industry. Because the IWC operates

under a legally binding schedule that changes for various reasons such as new scientific research and requirements of aboriginal subsistence whalers, the IWC's regulations fluctuate. Generally, the IWC sets catch limits by whale species and area, designates specific areas as whale sanctuaries, protects calves and female whales accompanied by calves, and places restrictions on hunting methods (International Whaling Commission, "History and Purpose"). Current notable IWC memberships, according to the IWC's website, include Australia, Iceland, Norway, and the U.S.A. Both Australia and the U.S. joined in 1948, while Norway joined later in 1960 and Iceland in 2002. Japan joined the IWC in 1958, but withdrew membership in 2019 (International Whaling Commission, "Membership and Contracting Governments"). In 1982, to preserve the whale stocks, the IWC declared a pause in commercial whaling on all whale species and populations from the 1985-1986 season onwards (International Whaling Commission, "Commercial Whaling"). This pause became known as the 1982 Moratorium. During this time, commercial whaling paused; but Japan, under the guise of research whaling, continued to whale for commercial purposes. Because Japan hunts whales, it makes many kinds of enemies from anti-whaling groups to international organizations to countries.

Conservationist groups like Greenpeace and the Sea Shepherd Conservation, with stances firmly anti-whaling, aim in their missions to protect the environment. Greenpeace's mission reads, "Greenpeace is a global, independent campaigning organization that uses peaceful protest and creative communication to expose global environmental problems and promote solutions that are essential to a green and peaceful future" (Greenpeace USA, "About"). Greenpeace opposes many issues, from protecting the forests to promoting sustainable food to defending democracy (Greenpeace USA, "What We're Doing"). In Japan's case, Greenpeace focuses primarily on ending the whale hunts. One Greenpeace-published article in January 2016 explains

three ways to shut down the Japanese government's whaling program (Sato). In this article, Greenpeace's intentions appear, at best, vague; there is no direct plan, only open-ended suggestions. Its successes appear limited to its own website. While Greenpeace may 'conflict' with Japan, Greenpeace seems no different than a gnat buzzing overhead: a minor nuisance. Unlike Greenpeace, which advocates for peaceful protest, Sea Shepherd takes much more direct approaches. Its mission statement reads, "To save marine wildlife and ecosystems, we take more than a stand. We take action" (Sea Shepherd). Because Japan whales in Antarctic waters, Sea Shepherd's Australian branch often leads the charge against the Japanese whaling program, including attacking Japanese research vessels from small boats (Jiji). Despite their shared interests of saving the whales and stopping Japanese whaling, Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd conflict with each other, the latter more so than the former. Sea Shepherd criticized Greenpeace for fraudulently claiming it aims to save whales while secretly profiting and misusing its donations. Founder and President of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society Paul Watson says, "In fact, Greenpeace has raised a mind-boggling hundreds of millions of dollars pretending to save whales over the years and yet they have not stopped the Japanese from killing a single whale" (Watson). Watson goes on to accuse Greenpeace of profiting off the whales' suffering, while his volunteers actually aim to stop illegal whaling activities.

As a result of the intensely globalized, interconnected world, countries that come into diplomatic conflict with one another take their cases to the UN. Since Japan whales, it conflicts with the IWC and the UN. Most notably, Japan's scientific whaling fails to adhere to IWC guidelines, which leads to conflict between the nation and the international organization. One of Japan's cetacean research programs, JARPA-II, sparked much controversy during its lifespan. JARPA-II launched in the 2005/2006 or 2006/2007 season and was the second phase of Japan's

JARPA research program that ran from the 1987/1988 season to the 2005/2006. JARPA-II had four core objectives: (1) monitoring the Antarctic ecosystem, which includes whale abundance trends and biological parameters, krill abundance and the feeding ecology of whales, the effects of contaminants on cetaceans, and cetacean habitat; (2) modelling competition among whale species and future management objectives, which includes constructing a model of competition among whale species and new management objectives such as the restoration of the cetacean ecosystem; (3) elucidating temporal and spatial chances in stock structure; and (4) improving the management procedure for Antarctic minke whale stocks (The Institute of Cetacean Research, "Scientific Contribution"). After JARPA-II's end in 2014, Japan's new research program NEWREP-A began, but unlike JARPA-II, NEWREP-A relies on non-lethal sampling methods (The Institute of Cetacean Research, "Outline of the New Scientific Whale Research Program in the Antarctic Ocean (NEWREP-A)"). However, NEWREP-A's ostensibly better sampling methods leaves tensions between Japan and other countries unresolved. Australia brought Japan to court regarding the JARPA-II, and the International Court of Justice ultimately ruled the program illegal. Consequently, Japan finds itself in conflict with the United Nations (UN). In a 12-to-4 judgment in 2014, the UN court found Japan guilty of breaching its international obligations by catching and killing minke whales and issuing permits for hunting humpback and fin whales within the Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary established by the International Whaling Commission (Tabuchi and Simon). While the decision serves as a major victory for Australia and environmental groups opposing whaling, Japan argues that Australia's suit attempted to force Australian cultural norms on Japan (Barbash). However, the presiding judge—Peter Tomka—stated, "In light of the fact the JARPA-II has been going on since 2005 and has involved the killing of about 3,600 minke whales, the scientific output to date appears limited"

(International Court of Justice). If Japan conflicts naturally with the IWC on the basis of conflicting intentions, then Japan conflicts with the UN as a result of conflicts between itself and other countries. While the U.S. and Japan conflict in subtle diplomatic tones, Australia and Japan have international showdowns.

Australia, advocating for the end of whaling, and Japan, advocating for whaling's continuation, naturally find themselves enemies of each other and fight for their views. Australia takes particular issue with JARPA-II. Because the program focuses on cetaceans in the Antarctic ecosystem, Japan whales in the Antarctic to gather its samples, using lethal methods (The Institute of Cetacean Research, "Scientific Contribution"). Japan's samples are primarily minke whales, and the maximum limits for the full program that started in the 2007/2008 season allowed for 850±10-percent of minke whales, 50 fin whales, and 50 humpback whales (Anton). While the minke whales face the brunt of JARPA-II, the inclusion of fin and humpback whales give cause for concern. Humpback whales are listed as most threatened by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, and fin whales are listed as endangered by the World Conservation Union (IUCN) Red List (Anton). Additionally, JARPA-II doubled its pre-set minke quota maximum during its lifespan, killing 551 total minke whales in the 2007/2008 season alone (Anton).

Japan conflicts with the U.S. too, but for different reasons. The U.S. has historically always held an interest in Japan for economic reasons. One of the reasons the U.S. sent Matthew Perry to Japan in 1853 was because the U.S. whaling industry had pushed to the North Pacific, particularly Hokkaido (Dower). In the 1980s, Japan made a formal objection to the 1982 Moratorium following Norway, but shortly withdrew it after U.S. economic pressure (McGirk). When examining the U.S.'s views on Japan's whaling regime, presidential reports such as that

from President Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) and President Bill Clinton (1993-2001) reveal the overarching dislike—and sometimes outright scorn—towards whaling as an industry. Reagan's report demonstrates the American-imposed consequences of Japan's whaling choice. Because Japan continued its research in spite of the IWC's ruling against it, Reagan directed the U.S. Secretary of State to withhold all fishing privileges to Japan in the U.S. Exclusive Economic Zone. Until Japan complies, Reagan writes, the U.S. will deny Japan's requests and bar Japan from fishing privileges to encourage Japan to embrace the IWC guidelines and maintain the IWC's effectiveness as a conservation program (Reagan). While Reagan limits Japanese fishing privileges, he also orders two Secretaries of the Cabinet to continue consultations with the IWC; Reagan tries utmost to comply with the IWC and, consequently, enforce its rules. His report ends with, "Our actions taken today and in the future should encourage all nations to adhere to the conservation programs of the IWC" (Reagan). While it appears Reagan seeks to preserve the whales best by the IWC's standards, his actions against Japan demonstrate elements of Anglo-Saxon superiority cited in Japan's 2002 accusation against the IWC (McGirk). Though American-Japanese relations have changed over the centuries, an economic component remains. Former President Bill Clinton (1993-2001) similarly reported on Japan's lack of adherence to the IWC 'rules'. By examining Clinton's 1996 report, it becomes apparent that the U.S. government intends to punish Japan for violating the whaling guidelines set by the IWC. Whereabouts President Ronald Reagan's term saw Japan fully withheld from American fishing privileges, Clinton seeks to reprimand Japan not through harsh economic sanctions that define earlier presidencies like Reagan's, but through a more passive route; Clinton instructs the Department of State to convey his personal concerns to the Government of Japan (Clinton). Clinton's ostensibly lenient policy towards Japanese whaling violations allows for Japan to continue its whaling

practices without severe repercussions from the U.S. and undermines the IWC's authority. Clinton's report reveals the U.S., from a federal standpoint, dislikes whaling and seeks to end the whaling industries that harm the global whale populations. In Clinton's report, he mentions Japan killing 21 of the allotted 100 minke whales in the North Pacific and nearly 33-percent of minke whales in the Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary for its research program unauthorized by the IWC (Clinton). Thus, his concerns about Japan's whaling in whale sanctuaries appears evident—yet he takes no measurable efforts to curb Japanese whaling. He chooses words over actions, which contrasts the actions marking Reagan's presidency by favoring diplomacy, but ultimately portrays Clinton as a weaker enforcer of the IWC's guidelines. In comparison to Clinton, Reagan's stance appears harsher on Japan and more subject to his personal biases. Clinton, in contrast, takes the diplomatic highroad by preferring communication and negotiation over direct, enforced consequences. While animal protection plays an important role in political and global relations, the nature of this conflict surrounding whaling sees a cultural misconception in which societies critical of pro-whaling societies have similar, and ostensibly taboo, practices.

In the West, whaling seems outdated, but Japan as a small island nation relies on its proximity to the ocean. Japan sensibly exploits the local whale populations for resources, and Western nations often rail against whaling. If whaling serves an outdated, unethical purpose, then ostensibly so does foie gras and veal. Each culinary practice has inhumane elements, yet the standards change when the practice heralds from a Western nation. Foie gras, declared a cultural treasure by France, is the name for the product in which the livers of male ducks or geese are fattened by force-feeding. The Humane Society of the United States reports that force-feeding induces liver disease such as liver steatosis—a pathological fatty degeneration of the liver—by increasing the natural fat percentage in a duck or goose liver to unnatural proportions: 5% to 50-

60%. Other health issues include injuries, lameness, respiratory and digestive diseases, and high mortality rates (Humane Society of the United States). Ducks and geese intended for foie gras production often suffer from poor living conditions. Most often the birds sit in small groups on slatted floors or individual cages with wire or mesh floors, constricting their movement by disallowing them to stand, turn, and flap their wings (Skippon). In Article L654-27-1, La Service Public de la Diffusion du Droit declares, translated, "Foie gras is part of the cultural and gastronomical heritage protected in France. Through foie gras, the liver of a duck or goose becomes specially fattened by gavage" (La Service Public de la Diffusion du Droit). If foie gras plays an important role in French culture, as France claims it to, then foie gras production and consumption cannot be quietly eradicated. Ostensibly, if whaling serves an intrinsic role in Japanese culture, it too cannot be simply removed from the cultural equation.

However, if both foie gras and whale meat contain cultural components, then it raises the question: Is foie gras ethical to produce and consume because ducks and geese are an abundant resource whereas whales are not? Whales maintain a threatened or endangered status; 60 of 128 cetacean species and subspecies fall under this category, and 30 cetacean species and subspecies lack sufficient data to determine their current status (IUCN-Cetacean Specialist Group). Ducks and geese, in contrast, are animals that, unlike whales, reproduce at larger and quicker rates. Additionally, ducks and geese are domesticated, allowing for greater control and exploitation at human hands and relying on an animal surplus for stock. Veal, like foie gras, relies on an animal surplus to be made. Veal is the meat of calves, and it often comes from male dairy calves because they are not used for breeding. Since female dairy cows must give birth at least once a year to continually produce milk, male dairy calves either get sold to veal producers or beef producers, where they will be slaughtered as adults (United States Department of Agriculture).

The United States Department of Agriculture describes veal calves as receiving specialized care and a milk replacer diet that provides the necessary vitamins and minerals post-separation from their mother. Each calf gets an individual stall that allows veal farmers and veterinarians to monitor each calf's health and, if needed, properly treat it with government-approved antibiotics (United States Department of Agriculture). Animal activist groups like PETA claim calves experience small pens that limit movement to produce abnormal muscle growth that keeps the meat tender and get fed a low-iron milk substitute to encourage the development of anemia, which keeps their flesh pale (PETA). Photos of veal calves in crates circulated the U.S. in the late 1980s, and veal sales plummeted. In the 1950s and 1960s, Americans consumed 4-pounds of veal per year; Americans, as of 2007, consume half-a-pound per year (Burros). From 2015 to 2018, Americans consistently consumed 0.2 pounds of veal per year (Economic Research Service and US Department of Agriculture), or nearly 91 grams of veal compared to Japan's whale meat average consumption of 30 grams (Leonard).

Regardless of whether ducks, geese, or calves, each animal's preordained destiny lies in the same realm: slaughter for commercial consumption. Ostensibly, then, the reason foie gras and veal lack the polarizing controversy of whales lies in the animal's IUCN status. Though whales face a quick, usually violent, 20- to 25-minute death at the harpoon gun's mercy (Gabbatiss), ducks face 12-15 days and geese 15-21 days of force-feeding (Humane Society of the United States). Whereabouts veal has fallen wayside, foie gras maintains a high economic demand; the European Union in 2018 produced 24.5 thousand tons of foie gras, comprising 90-percent of the world's foie gras (Euro Foie Gras). In 2015, France alone produced 18.94 thousand tons (France Agri Mer) and consumed 18.31 thousand tons (Euro Foie Gras). If foie gras holds a high economic demand and continues to maintain a global market, the notion of

economic demand implores one to consider the effects of the economy on controversial food practices from the foie gras industry to the whaling industry. Comparing the different industries—foie gras, veal, and whale—reveals the "double-standards" placed on Western versus Eastern food, and the "acceptability" of one food practice over another. While foie gras remains an exception due to its high global demand, veal and whale, both of which have low domestic demand, would have no place on the menu—if each practice was regarded equally.

Japan as a nation consumes little whale meat, so economically whale meat lacks the burgeoning domestic and global demand akin to foie gras. As mentioned previously, whale meat's popularity lies primarily in the older generations (Leonard) as a result of food shortages after World War II (Brasor and Tusbuku). However, Japanese government officials claim domestic demand for whale meat still exists and in Japan lies a viable economic market for whale meat (Wingfield-Hayes)—yet the average Japanese only eats about 30 grams of whale meat per year (Leonard). An obviously declining demand for whale meat means Japan's government officials lack justification for claiming a domestic demand exists. Despite that, officials paint Japan as a nation hungry for whale meat. Junko Sakuma admits a whale-eating culture exists in some regions, like parts of Chiba and Wakayama Prefecture, but it is not a national culture (Ida). She reveals that, when she was a Greenpeace Japan activist, she read an article written by International PR that divulges how the Japan Whaling Association employed International PR to portray Japanese whaling as an important cultural tradition to rally public support of the dying whaling industry. Therefore, the crux of the pro-whaling argument rested on the notion that eating habits played an essential part of a national cultural identity, and countries should respect foreign cultures (Ida). However, domestic demand contradicts that very argument. Sakuma says, "Consumption has been falling for years. Even as the amount of whale meat

decreases, the price doesn't go up" (Wingfield-Hayes). Similarly, after Japan had announced its intention to resume whaling, journalist Rupert Wingfield-Hayes sat in on a private briefing with a high-ranking Japanese government official, who admitted Antarctic whaling plays no part in Japanese culture. "[Antarctic whaling] is terrible for [Japan's] international image and there is no demand for the meat. I think in another ten years there will be no deep-sea whaling in Japan" (Wingfield-Hayes). So what drives Japanese whaling? Sakuma thinks the issue lies in the fact that Japan's whaling is government-run. As a large bureaucracy with research budgets, annual plans, promotions, and pensions, Sakuma says, "Most of the bureaucrats will fight to keep the whaling section in their ministry at all costs [because if the number of staff in a bureaucrat's office decreases while they are in charge, they feel tremendous shame]. And that is true with the politicians as well. If the issue is closely related to their constituency, they will promise to bring back commercial whaling. It is a way of keeping their seats" (Wingfield-Hayes).

Keeping whale meat on the market—and thus whaling on the dockets—sparks fierce debate. Despite fading domestic interest, whaling possesses a cultural component in Japan, though it has shifted away from sustenance. Looking at Taiji, a town in Wakayama Prefecture, the cultural component of whaling becomes clearly illustrated. Taiji is most famous for its annual dolphin drive hunt which, despite the name, includes small whales in its catch quotas. In the dolphin drive hunt, boats herd pods of dolphins and other cetaceans into a small bay—infamously called "The Cove"—for slaughter (BBC News). Yoshifumi Kai at the Taiji Fisheries Association emphasizes, "The people of Taiji have been engaged with whaling for more than 400 years; it's part of our life. We don't have any industries here, and the available land is limited. In this environment, we have no other way but to try to gain our living from the sea" (Denyer). In recent years, criticism focused on the cruelty of the dolphin drive hunt, seen most

prominently in the documentary *The Cove* (Denyer), and the hazards of high mercury levels in dolphin meat, which was described by Taiji officials as "toxic waste" (Harnell). However, Taiji continues with its annual dolphin drive hunt, so the controversy endures. After *The Cove* was released in 2009, for example, Sea Shepherd activists often travelled to Taiji to march through the small coastal town (Denyer). Because whaling polarizes and provokes reactions, many people in modern, industrial countries such as Britain and the U.S. feel it is their right to advocate against the 'barbarism' that encompasses whaling (Kalland and Moeran 2). Orientalism, thus, plays an instrumental role in explaining the backlash against Japanese whaling.

Anti-whaling or international organizations and Western non-whaling countries display good intentions, but underneath their words lie double-standards that forms the basis for the backlash over Japanese whaling. To understand why the backlash manifests, one must look to Orientalism. According to Edward Said, who coined the term, Orientalism loosely refers to the patronizing views held by the West of the East. Said states the Occident and the Orient as geographical and cultural entities are man-made and have corresponding ideas or realities, and their power dynamic must also be studied if their different ideas, cultures, and histories are to be studied. Lastly, the structure of the Orient cannot be solely founded on lies or myths (Said 2). Said draws the distinction between the Orient and Europe, most notably; the Orient, an ambiguous term, may apply to places such as Syria, India, or Japan while Europe applies solely to Western Europe. Using that ambiguity, Said contrasts the familiar and well-understood Europe to the strange and mysterious Orient, then passes an insightful judgment: "What is "European" is rational, virtuous, mature, and 'normal' while the Orient is irrational, depraved, child-like, and 'different'" (Said 40).

Richard Minear in his review of Said's *Orientalism* identifies three influential Japanese scholars—Basil Hall Chamberlain, George B. Sansom, and Edwin O. Reischauer—to consider the implications the historical relation between the West and Japan differs significantly from that which Said posed in his relation between the West and his Orient. Minear quotes one of Basil Hall Chamberlain's letters, writing that no efforts can make Japan 'Europeanized' because all Western nations share a common past and reservoir of ideologies, while Japan shares no such commonalities with its Eastern neighbors. According to Chamberlain, the Japanese are far more inferior to Europeans, and he writes, "Much of what strikes one as originality is…relative originality as compared with Europe, [because] the thing…was borrowed from China, or…not really worth so much as the corresponding thing in the West" (Minear 509). Minear notes Chamberlain's double-sided nature as a man who has an enthusiasm for select Japanese things; Chamberlain praises the Japanese for their "cleanliness, kindliness, and refined artistic taste," but he also deems such virtues "minor arts and graces of a dying civilization" characteristic of the Old Japan in his and Western Europe's dreams (Minear 509).

Through Chamberlain's letter, Minear supports Said's concept of Orientalism defined by Europe's superiority compared to the Orient. For the purposes of this paper, the Orient refers solely to Japan while the West refers to the Western nations of Australia, Norway, and the U.S. However, Norway's whaling practices and France's foie gras culinary practices, both of which belong to Western European nations, respectively demonstrate the hypocrisies of deeming an Eastern nation 'barbaric' and one food industry's ethical acceptability over another's. Thus, there exists a "double-standard" in Western and Eastern cultures. In analyzing these examples, the "double-standard" may be explained by Orientalism, which patronizes the East for its different practices and further perpetuates the view that in the "irrational, depraved, and child-like" East

lie ‘backward’ people, contributing to a larger backlash against the Japanese for their whaling regime (Said 40).

The whaling issue possesses many different nuances that become more complex with the presence and interference of anti-whaling organizations, international organizations, and countries in political, social, and cultural contexts. Orientalism lends itself to explain a part of the backlash against Japan by highlighting the glaring “double-standards” placed on Eastern whaling nations like Japan in comparison to Western whaling nations like Norway as well as the acceptability of controversial food industries that herald from the West in comparison to those from the East. Thus, the crucial component becomes Orientalism’s differentiation between the West and East as respectively ‘normal’ and ‘different’ entities.

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