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## The City and Its Model : A Civilization's Mechanism for Self-Expression as the Object of Tourism

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## The City and Its Model: A Civilization's Mechanism for Self-Expression as the Object of Tourism

TAKADA MASATOSHI

*Mukogawa Women's University*

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

The future of tourism can be considered from many perspectives, but one thing is certain: the mode of human activity known as the "journey" or "tour," which can be categorized under the rubric of "tourism," will increase to an enormous degree as we approach the end of this century. This increase will occur because tourism is a behavior rooted in the very essence of being human.

Behind this anticipated increase lies the contradiction between the limited life span of an individual and the unlimited bounds of the human imagination. Culture is generally identified as an attempt to resolve this contradiction, because culture endeavors to link the limited life-span of the individual with temporal eternity and spatial infinity through the power of imagination. The most representative cultural domain where one may pursue temporal eternity is religion; the corresponding cultural domain for the pursuit of spatial infinity is the journey. Of course, both religious experience and travel can take a variety of forms. On the eve of the twenty-first century, tourism, too, is likely to undergo various transformations.

Civilization as facilities and institutions which support the continuity of human beings and society is clearly manifested in the crystalized form of the nation-state and the city. Above all, the nation-state has been the most important form integrating social institutions and facilities in the twentieth century. One could argue that modern industrial society requires social systems to be reorganized into the form of civilization known as the nation-state. However, at present it is not only

capital, information, and industrial products which circulate across national borders, but large segments of the population have begun moving beyond national borders as well. Consequently, there has been significant erosion in these artificially created national boundaries, due in no small part to the impact of the explosion in tourism.

Under these conditions, a nation-state sustained by military power becomes a hindrance to the development of human civilization. In contrast, the city, which has no military defense, moves towards a borderless world culture and serves as an incubator for a civilization which is entering the era of the information society. In this paper I would like to examine the future of civilization in relation to the concepts of "journey" and "tourism." To accomplish this goal, we focus on the facilities and institutions constituting the city, which bears futuristic potential.

## 2. CAPITAL, CITY, AND CIVILIZATION

The capital of a country, or its foremost city, is often one of the most popular destinations for domestic as well as foreign tourists. This observation applies to many countries and cities: Tokyo in Japan, Washington, D. C. and New York in the United States, London in England, Paris in France, Rome in Italy, and Beijing in China. Visitors go to these capitals or major cities because, in my opinion, they can most easily grasp therein the present condition and the future direction of these countries. For example, in Washington, D. C., one finds "The Mall," where a cluster of museums vividly display both the history of American civilization and its contemporary achievements. New York presents a whirl of industry and varied lifestyles which reveal the living face of American civilization. One has a similar experience when visiting the capitals and major cities of other countries such as London, Paris, Rome, and Beijing. The fact that Moslems making a pilgrimage to Mecca passed through a string of major cities such as Baghdad, Istanbul, and Muscat is another case illustrating the popularity of major cities as tourist destinations.

At the same time, smaller provincial cities frequently imitate the capital. Since ancient times, at least in Japan, as soon as the capital was established, rural towns and cities were built on the same model [MORIYA 1981: 43-47]. During the latter half of the seventh century when the law (*ritsuryō*) was first codified, provincial capitals were built around a central temple (*kokubunji*), just as Nara was built around a central national temple (*Sōkokubunji*), and Kyoto was built around the Imperial Palace. Thus, the advanced civilization which was imported from China spread all over Japan through this network of these provincial capitals.

In medieval times—in particular after the Muromachi era—aristocrats in exile and warlords fascinated by the beauty of Kyoto planned to build "little Kyotos." Yamaguchi, Ichijōdani, and Odawara were cities developed by warlords on the model of Kyoto, while Tosa Nakamura and Hida Takayama were similarly designed by aristocrats in exile. The pictures depicted in the screen *Rakuchū Rakugaizu Byōbu* and the festivals itself represented in the Gion festival functioned as the

medium by which to convey the "cityscape" of Kyoto.

In the early modern era, the three major cities of Edo (Tokyo), Kyo (Kyoto), and Osaka, as well as a number of castle towns (*jōkamachi*) throughout the country constituted the totality of the urban picture of Japan. These cities reflected the power structure at whose apex stood the Tokugawa *bakufu*. The basic design of the three major cities was similar: the castle was located in the center and the entertainment districts were isolated in the marginal area of the city. In the modern period, that is during the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa periods, the name of "Ginza," the biggest shopping and entertainment district of Japan's new capital of Tokyo, was borrowed as the name for shopping and entertainment districts in other cities, thus producing many local Ginzas.

From this perspective the city is generally not only the focal point of the region, but also a mechanism for self-expression of the civilization of which it is a part. In other words, the city is a huge mechanism that visually embodies in an extremely accurate fashion the characteristics of the civilization to which it belongs.

### 3. CAPITAL (*MIYAKO*) AND MARKET (*ICHI*)

In this sense, the word "*toshi*" (city), a Japanese term developed after the middle of Meiji era, precisely captures the various connotations of the term "urban area" in English. The term *toshi* expresses two meanings: "capital" (*miyako*) and "market" (*ichi*). By *miyako* I mean a system of facilities which symbolizes by means of religious authority, political authority and the highest cultural, or in other words, the spiritual achievements and the value system of a nation or region. By *ichi*, I mean the facilities through which goods and services bearing imprints of such a culture are exchanged as commodities.

This definition is applicable for all cities, if they are called cities at all, from ancient ones which emerged throughout the Eurasian continent beginning in 6000 B.C. to Tokyo in modern Japan. The development of the city can be traced schematically in the following way:

- 1) The production of surplus values in peripheral areas. (This seems to have resulted from the human desire for temporal eternity and spatial infinity.)
- 2) The establishment of an affluent class (originally, monks and military personnel).
- 3) The birth of the *miyako* as a regional center of religious and political power of the leisure class represented by temples and castle walls.
- 4) The birth of the *ichi* as a place of exchange guaranteed by the religious and political authorities.
- 5) The establishment of the city, the locus where learning, the arts, and technical knowledge are concentrated, all of which not only enhance the authority of the *miyako* but also endow the *ichi* with tremendous appeal.

Both castle walls and religious towers, called *ziggurat* in the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia, symbolize the city in its most primordial form. One of the cities

which still retains this feature in its paradigmatic form is the capital of China, Beijing. This city invites citizens from all over China to make a trip to the capital by juxtaposing two elements: Tiananmen Square, which symbolizes the power of the state, and Wanfujing, a business and commercial district where one finds a confluence of commodities and customs which symbolize Chinese civilization and daily life in the process of modernization.<sup>1)</sup>

The same could be said of Tokyo, Japan's premier tourist city, which attracts tourists from all over Japan and the world. Tokyo's appeal lies in its skyscrapers which rise like trees in a forest, showing the unprecedented success of industrial society, and in the concentration of both commodities produced by the most advanced technology and design and the newest trends in the arts, learning, and technology. It is not possible at this point to determine exactly how many tourists visit Tokyo, because the figure is too large. However, it is clear that the number surpasses those for Nara and Kyoto, the so-called "tourist" cities.<sup>2)</sup> This phenomenon endows Tokyo with the image of "the city among cities." For this reason, every provincial city, town and village vies with one another to "become a real city" by building various facilities for artistic, scholastic, and technological achievements but also by developing unique and attractive products, symbolized by the motto, "one product unique to each village (*isson ippin*)."

#### 4. "LITTLE KYOTO" AND THE MODERN CAPITAL, TOKYO

The strategy of visualization is the most direct means by which to enable a city to fulfill its role as the civilization's self-expressive apparatus. As stated above, in Japan, an eloquent testimony of this visualization was achieved in the screen *Rakuchū Rakugaizu Byōbu* which depicted numerous provincial cities imitating Kyoto in the late medieval period. Many cities imitating Kyoto throughout Japan, like Kyoto itself, were constructed as cities in a "mini-basin universe" (*shōbonchi uchū*). "Mini-basin universe" is defined as:

...a kind of universe consisting of a basin in a plain, where people, things, and information are heavily concentrated in a market and castle town. On the peripheries, rice fields, dry fields and agricultural areas, and woods and watersheds mark the limits of this universe [YONEYAMA 1989: 12].

Yoneyama [1989] argues that variations in Japanese culture since the Jōmon and Yayoi periods have been fostered in these places. However, toward the end of the Tokugawa and the beginning of Meiji periods, Japanese cities began growing rapidly. Modern cities like Osaka and Tokyo are now located in an "open-plain

1) This comment is based on my observation prior to the incident at the Tiananmen Square in June, 1989.

2) Personal communication with personnel in the Tourism and Recreation Section, Division of Cultural Life, Tokyo City Hall.

universe." Again, I return to Yoneyama [1989: 233]:

It [open-plain universe] is a kind of universe which gave rise to Nobunaga and Hideyoshi as wielders of power, both of whom came from the Nôbi plain, and to Yoritomo, Tokimasa, and Ieyasu, all of whom came from the Kantô plain. In short, the open-plain universe produced the idea of centralized power and dominance over a large area.

This process was an indispensable precondition for Japanese civilization to modernize itself by means of internalizing universal values which were (imagined to be) inherent in Western civilization, on the one hand, and by making it possible to access the enormous domestic market, on the other. A proto-typical city based on this universe was Edo, situated in the Kantô plain and destined to become the capital of modern Japan.

## 5. STRATEGIES OF VISUALIZATION IN THE MODERN CITY (1)

A megalopolis of this sort, in fact, has difficulty affording the visualization of its "*raison d'être*" at a single glance; therefore, a typical city of the Edo period, for example, attempted to produce compact "urban spaces within a city" in order to enable visualization on a human scale.

For example, in Tokyo, the shopping and pleasure district called Asakusa, equipped with brothels in Yoshiwara, theaters, pubs and other restaurants, is centered around the "sacred space" of the Sensôji Temple. This was "a miniature city within a city." The "red light" district in Yoshiwara, in particular, was indeed another world, surrounded by walls and moats, and totally devoted to sexual pleasures. It gained a reputation for itself by being the very first place to adopt the most recent styles of clothing and interior decoration from the southern area of Asia and the West, and the first place to try out the latest fads in social manners and customs.

During the Meiji period Ginza became the new shopping and pleasure district. Although it had neither walls nor moats, it grew into a "city within a city" after the earthquake in 1923, becoming "a showcase of civilization and enlightenment," the movement to incorporate modern Western civilization in the creation of a new Japan. In retrospect, the rise of Ginza also represented the establishment of a permanent urban space derived from temporary fairs before the early modern period where vendors and entertainers came together for a limited period of time such as on festival days [TAKADA 1986]. This meant that the conditions of Japanese society at the time had already begun to foster a populace having enough economic power to support a permanent flourishing shopping and pleasure district [MORIYA 1985: 60]. In other words, Japanese civilization in the seventeenth century contained the seeds of today's mass society.

The growth of these shopping and pleasure districts not only provided city-

dwellers with an opportunity for amusement, but also encouraged those in provincial towns to visit the capital. This phenomenon is depicted in a magazine article published in the early Shōwa period:

When Ginza emerged as the material manifestation of the civilization and enlightenment movement of modern Japan as a greater wonder than a mirage, one could always find three or four people with red blankets (aka gettō<sup>3)</sup>) beside the Shinbashi bridge in Ginza. If there had been a board game of famous Tokyo sites for rural people who came for their once-in-a-lifetime tour of the capital, wrapped in red blankets, Ginza would have been certainly both the starting point and the winning spot of that game [RO ANSEI 1929: 153].

## 6. STRATEGIES OF VISUALIZATION IN THE MODERN CITY (2)

This strategy is not necessarily common to all modern cities in the world, since it is possible to visualize a city by using methods other than the construction of a "miniature of a city within a city." One example of such a method is the preservation of the identity of the place by "freezing" its history into monuments as in Rome and Nara. Alternatively, in cities where political and economic power is centralized such as Paris in France and Beijing in China, the city itself is laid out on a large-scale, ambitious plan, thus functioning as a medium through which to express the will of its civilization (Figure 1). For example:

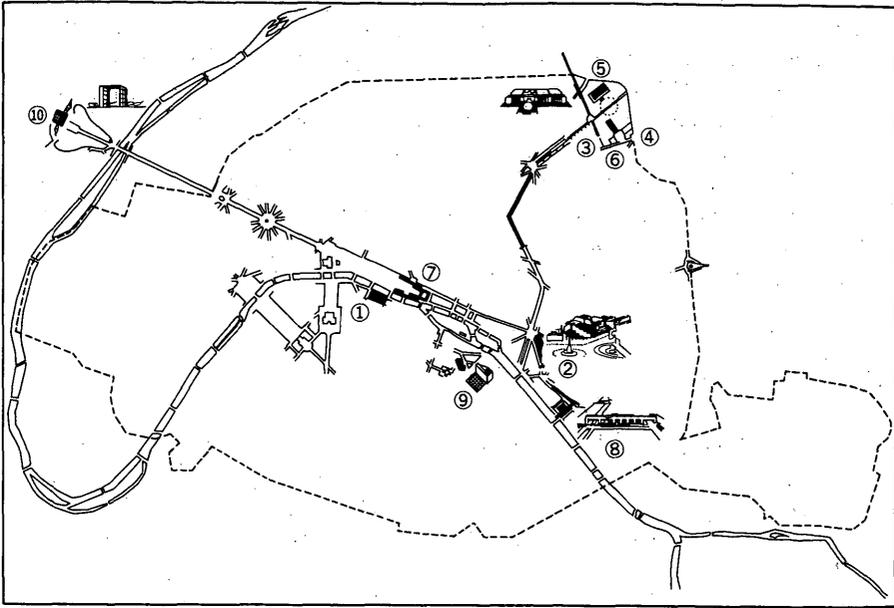
After the Louvre Palace had been thoroughly modernized in recent times, the organization of the city of Paris began to reveal itself as evidenced in the completion of the memorial road with the Champs-Élysées, the Etoile, and the Porte de Maillot, all of which followed a pattern depicted in the palace at Versailles.... Its geometric formalism and high level of perfection are nothing more than the ultimate expression of the lifestyle and energy of the French people [KATŌ 1987: 5].

The layout of the city of Paris symbolizes the achievements of the modern state of France and demonstrates its future direction to the world and manifests the strategy of visualization employed by those in political and economic power. From the building of the Eiffel Tower in the last century to the recent "Les Grands Projets," Paris continues to be shaped by bold city planning under a systematic set of building regulations, as if realized by a single will.

In contrast, in Japan, there has been no successful city planning since the beginning of the modern period.<sup>4)</sup> This is especially true for Tokyo. For example, Katō

3) This term means "red blanket." Those who came to see Tokyo from rural areas of Japan carried red blankets with them, hence it refers to country bumpkins who visit big cities.

4) In ancient Japan, cities were built modeling after Chang'an in an attempt to visualize Japanese civilization. Nara and Kyoto are two such examples.



**Figure 1.** The Grand Projects for Paris

- ① The Orsay Museum: architect: Reonaud Bardon, Pierre Colboc & Jean-Paul Philippon/ interior design: Gae Aulenti/ project begun 1981; inaugurated in 1986.
- ② The Bastille Opera House: architect: Charles Ott/ project begun 1985; inaugurated in 1989.
- ③ The Villette Park: architect: Bernard Tschumi/ project begun in 1984; first phase inaugurated in spring 1987.
- ④ Grand Hall of the Villette: architect Bernard Reichen & Philippe Robert/ project begun in 1983; inaugurated in 1985.
- ⑤ The Science and Industry Center at La Villette: architect: Adrien Fainsilber/ project begun in 1983; inaugurated in 1986.
- ⑥ The Music Center at La Villette: architect: Christian de Portzamparc/ project begun 1986; inaugurated in 1990.
- ⑦ The Grand Louvre Museum Project: architect: I. M. Pei, Michel Macary & Georges Duval/ project begun in 1984; glass pyramid inaugurated in 1989; entire project planned for completion in 1993.
- ⑧ The new Ministry of Finance Building: architect: Paul Chemetov & Borja Huidobro/ project begun in 1984; inaugurated in 1989.
- ⑨ The Arab World Institute: architect: Jean Nouvel, Pierre Soria, Gilbert Lézénès & Architecture Studio/ project begun in 1984; inaugurated in 1987.
- ⑩ The Great Arch at La Defence: architect: Johann Otto von Spreckelsen & Paul Andreu/ project begun in 1985; inaugurated in 1989.

This group of ten large projects gives form to the landmarks of Paris and at the same performs the function of an important element in spatial organization. In other words, together they form a grand project that is the key to Paris's development.

This map shows the locations of these ten projects in Paris.

From the beginnings of Paris, the banks of the Seine formed the core of the city. The new city is to include the Grand Louvre, the Orsay Museum, the

Arab World Institute, and Ministry of Finance.

The axis running through the city of Paris starts at the Royal Palace of the Louvre, goes westward through the Tuileries Garden, stretches along the Champs Elysees, passes through the Place Etoile, and extends to the suburban La Defense district. Toward the east, Rue de Rivoli passes through the historic

district of Paris and ends at the new Opera House on the Place de la Bastille.

The new La Villette district is located at the intersection of metropolitan and suburban Paris. The various cultural facilities to be built there indicating the future of the district will give balance to the urban planning of the entire Paris area.

[1987: 157] summarizes the situation as follows:

From the Taishô to the Shôwa periods, Tokyo has been completely destroyed by fire two times. The first was in 1923 when the city was struck by the earthquake, while the second was in 1945 when the city was bombed. Not many cities in the world have been reduced to ashes twice in the space of fifty years. After each catastrophe, I am sure that some sort of city planning must have been proposed. However, due mainly to difficulties in the administration of such a project, the city lost two chances to rebuild according to a plan.

In other words, after the beginning of modern period, Tokyo has failed to restructure itself through the strong political (or administrative) will and economic power that was employed in the planning of Paris. Instead, Tokyo has been shaped by the random wills of numerous companies which suddenly emerged in the modern period wielding their economic power and advanced technology.

Tokyo stands in stark contrast to Paris, the "ever-developing city";<sup>5)</sup> while the urban space of Paris unfolds according to a systematic plan, Tokyo is a maize-like urban space and is still growing even more labyrinthine. It is extremely difficult to detect a willful strategy of visualization which attempts to establish a comprehensive gestalt of the city. In comparison, New York, with its characteristics of an "island universe" and the spectacle of busy thoroughfares such as Broadway, and London, with its similarly bustling Piccadilly Circus, seem to have adopted a strategy of visualization somewhere on the continuum between Paris and Tokyo.

## 7. URBANIZATION AND THE METROPOLIS AS A CITY TO EMULATE

In the latter part of the Edo period, shopping and pleasure districts as a permanent space for amusement were built in Japanese cities as representations of "civilizational self-expression." Today the entire city now possesses the characteristics of the shopping and pleasure districts of cities of old. A century ago, Asakusa, Ginza and some other parts of Tokyo's periphery were the only places crowded with

5) In Tokyo, 20 percent of all the buildings are destroyed and rebuilt every five years.

people seeking to amuse themselves. With the high economic growth of the 1960s, Shinjuku, Shibuya, Akasaka, Roppongi, and even areas around Tokyo Bay and residential districts have been turned into pleasure districts [TAKADA 1988a].

There have been more changes. In addition to these developments in Tokyo, printed media such as magazines and electronic media such as TV shows have popularized the notion among consumers all over Japan that a better life can be equated with the image and know-how of a sophisticated urban lifestyle. As a result, by the 1980s, the urban life style had spread far and wide to every part of Japan. In response, towns and villages from Hokkaidô to Kyûshû began promoting the goal of regional development under the slogan of "Bring Prosperity to Our Towns and Villages." As a consequence, the dichotomy between city and country no longer has any meaning in Japan. What exists now are two different categories of city: one with high population density, the other with low population density, though still offering a similar urban lifestyle. This implies that the concept of the city has changed from "a group to which one belongs" to "a group that emulates metropolitan centers." Sugiura [1983: 16-17] explains this change as follows:

For example, magazines for young adults, such as a 1992 issue of *Popeye*, included detailed information on activities, events, and popular items in Tokyo; however, 80 percent of the readership resides in cities other than Tokyo. Therefore, in my opinion, these young readers want to be urban, not by being there, but by emulating the urban life style.

This tendency among youth inevitably gives rise to another: rural youth are attracted to Tokyo as a kind of tourist. In January 1988, some young people were injured at a discotheque in Roppongi; the fact that most of those who had come to dance there were from outside of Tokyo seems to support my point [UMESAO and TAKADA 1989: 2].

## 8. THE FAIR AS A MODEL OF THE CITY

The economic expansion of the 1960s brought people to the cities. Consequently, this period saw the emergence of densely-populated cities like Tokyo and Osaka which had grown too large for the human mind to conceive as a complete entity. In response to this rapid growth, a design was sought to enable the visualization of the city's functions: "a playful miniature model of city within a city."

Let us take the example of the hotel in a modern Japanese city. According to Hikita [1988: 222], the hotel "has been transformed from 'a place to sleep with a huge dining hall' to a 'more elaborate urban complex.'" A modern hotel in a Japanese city is not only equipped with athletic club facilities but also contains shopping centers of up-scale specialty shops and performance and entertainment facilities, truly worthy of the name "a miniature city within a city." As a result:

In contrast to hotels in foreign countries which still derive a large portion of their revenues from room charges, major hotels in Japan derive less than 30 percent, sometimes even as low as 20 percent, of their entire revenues from room charges. Revenues from banquets exceed 40 percent, and those from numerous other services, too, exceed room charges [HIKITA 1988: 224].

Similar complexes are now found in urban facilities such as underground shopping malls, department stores, universities, and hospitals. All these institutions demonstrate the fact that like urban hotels they desire to become multi-functional. To a considerable extent, this phenomenon is unique to Japan. However, except for a few mega-urban centers with a population above a certain level, it is difficult to maintain these enormous facilities on a permanent basis. For this reason, local fairs which momentarily actualize a "miniature of a city within a city" have become increasingly popular since 1980.<sup>6)</sup> The several world's fairs which have been held near major cities in Japan since the World Exposition of Osaka in 1970 have a similar significance.<sup>7)</sup>

For example, in an article on the "Flower and Green Festival in Osaka 90," Yoneyama writes:

Although this fair does not have the functions normally associated with home, such as child-rearing, it does have the facilities of any normal city: diplomatic offices, a police station, a post office, a hospital with emergency care unit, a water supply and a sewage system, stores, and restaurants. I understand even a wedding was held there. There were no murders, but some cases of theft were reported. An anti-atomic energy demonstration was even held in front of the Electric Power Pavilion [ASAHI SHINBUN September 16, 1990].

## 9. THEME PARKS AND TOURISM

The space for pleasure and recreation created by fairs lasts only temporarily, but gradually such a space becomes permanent, as proven by the fact that many theme parks have been planned and constructed since 1990. Here I define a theme park as "an amusement park with a multi-functional complex which creates a time

6) This tendency reached its apex in 1988 and 1989: to name only a few, 'Silk Road Expo' (Shiruku Rôdo Haku) in Nara (1988); 'Future Expo' (Mirai Haku) in Gifu (1988); 'Park City Expo' (Kôen Toshi Haku) in Hyogo (1988); Yokatopia in Fukuoka (1989); 'Design Expo' (Dezain Haku) in Nagoya (1989); and 'Future Port Expo' (Minato Mirai Haku) in Yokohama (1989). All of these expositions drew more visitors than originally anticipated.

7) The following expositions have also been successful measured by the number of visitors surpassing original projections: 'Ocean Expo' (Kaiyô Haku) in Okinawa (1975); 'Science Expo' (Kagaku Banpaku) in Tsukuba (1985); 'Flower and Green Expo' (Hana to Midori no Hakurankai) in Osaka (1990).

and space removed from everyday life by means of an elaborate design and extensive facilities based on a specific theme or concept for the purpose of recreational pleasure." In that sense, the practice of establishing the venues of various fairs as permanent amusement parks since 1970 is analagous to the creation of permanent public areas for entertainment in the early Edo period from out of space used temporarily for religious festivals. At the same time it offers a new model of a "miniature city within a city" for a city grown too large to be grasped through visualization.

The most conspicuous contemporary example of this can be found in the pioneer theme park, Tokyo Disneyland, which was opened in 1983.<sup>8)</sup> Its main features are outlined below:<sup>9)</sup>

- 1) Its main theme is the world of fantasy created by Walt Disney.
- 2) It covers a huge area with expanded facilities and a staff known as a "cast."
- 3) It creates its own complete time and space totally cut off from everyday life.
- 4) It is equipped with all the essential services a city can offer (except housing).
- 5) All services are presented in a spirit of cheerful hospitality.
- 6) Visitors are called "guests," and are asked to play certain roles.
- 7) Visitors are offered an idyllic, amusing and engaging experience quite distinct from their everyday lives.

Since it opened in 1983, more than ten million people have visited Disneyland annually, and it has proven over and over to be one of the biggest tourist attractions of the greater Tokyo metropolitan area. Disneyland's unprecedented success spawned many new theme parks, some of which have been completed, while others are currently in the planning stage. Table 1 enumerates all the theme parks already in existence. Of course, not every theme park has been as successful as Disneyland.

In sum, we can clearly see here the intention to:

...establish a time and space with environmental closure based on a specific theme, a place where visitors can see, hear, taste, smell and feel the atmosphere of a world different from that of their everyday lives, and thus create facilities for a make-believe world [TAKADA 1988a: 10-14].

Above all, its main function is not to deliver information with a distinct goal or impart a particular message, but to please the bodies and minds of the visitors, and

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8) Prior to the building of the Tokyo Disneyland, many large amusement parks and outdoor museums had already existed throughout Japan. But none could be regarded as a "miniature city" in terms of size and density, the degree of self-sufficiency, the quality of service and the level of hospitality.

9) Notoji's [1990] fascinating work details the success of Disneyland opened in Los Angeles in 1955, in terms of its cultural background which led to the overwhelming support of the masses.

Table 1-1. Chart of Representative Theme Parks

Facility Name:	Canadian World	Noboribetsu Marine Park "Nixe"
Location:	Kogane-chô 731, Ashibetsu-shi, Hokkaido	Noboribetsu Higashi-chô 1, Noboribetsu-shi, Hokkaido
Location Feature:	Resort	c. 30 minutes from hot springs district
Date Opened:	7/29/1990	7/20/1990
Ownership:	Hoshi no Furu Sato Ashibetsu (KK)	Hokkaido Marine Park (KK)
Area:	1,560,000 sq. meters	75,000 sq. meters
Park Area:	480,000 sq. meters	26,000 sq. meters
Initial Investment:	c. 4.5 billion yen	c. 7 billion yen
Theme:	Anne of Green Gables and the Canadian prairie	Scandinavia-like world and marine fantasy
Method of Theme Expression:	Atmosphere and buildings of the prairies	Buildings resembling Danish birthplace of Andersen
Park Structure:	A field of lavender, and reconstructions of buildings on Prince Edward Island	Centered on Nixe central square, an old Danish castle and various marine show buildings
Main Attractions:	Performances by Canadians, etc.	Aquarium and marine shows
Notes:	c. 160,000 visitors during summer vacation between 7/29 and 8/30	Average consumer spending: 3,000 yen; entrance fee: 1,500 yen; Commodities and drinks: 1,200 yen; etc.

**Table 1-2.** Chart of Representative Theme Parks

Facility Name:	Glucks Kingdom	Fantasy Dome
Location:	Kofuku-chô, Obihiro-shi, Hokkaido	Kiba-chô 1, Tomakomai-shi, Hokkaido
Location Feature:	Resort, outskirts of city	Opposite JR Tomakomai station
Date Opened:	7/1/1989	9/1990
Ownership:	Zenrin Leisure Land (KK)	Nagasakiya (KK)
Area:	92,000 sq. meters	14,000 sq. meters
Park Area:	92,000 sq. meters	Expanded floorspace 30,900 sq. meters
Initial Investment:	c. 4 billion yen	c. 11 billion yen
Theme:	Grimms' fairy tales and German buildings	Indoor amusement park
Method of Theme Expression:	Buildings and streets and live performances	Thrill rides and fantasy rides
Park Structure:	'Grimms' Village' with reconstruction of medieval German village, amusement park zone	25 types of amusement rides inside dome area; of those 17 are large scale amusement rides
Main Attractions:	Street performances, live music, craft-making by Germans	Super roller coaster, sky ship, etc.
Notes:	Average consumer spending: 4,000 yen; entrance fee, amusement park ticket: 2,000 yen; etc.	Entrance fee: 2,800 yen; attractions in park are free

Table 1-3. Chart of Representative Theme Parks

Facility Name:	Nikko Edo Village	Tokyo Disneyland
Location:	Fujihara-machi 470, Shioyagun, Tochigi Prefecture	Maihama 1-1, Urayasu-shi, Chiba Prefecture
Location Feature:	Resort, on tourist route	On Tokyo Bay, 5 minutes from station
Date Opened:	4/23/1986	4/15/1983
Ownership:	Shinto Chiiki Kaihatsu (KK)	Oriental Land (KK)
Area:	495,000 sq. meters	826,000 sq. meters
Park Area:	165,000 sq. meters	462,000 sq. meters
Initial Investment:	c. 6 billion yen (total: 10.5 billion yen)	c. 150 billion yen
Theme:	Streets and buildings of Edo period and period drama show	Kingdom of magic and dreams
Method of Theme Expression:	Attractions include feature performances, and touring of sights	Composite displays with entire park as stage
Park Structure:	A highway leads from the entrance through a way station town, <i>ninja</i> village, shopping district, samurai mansions	Made up of 5 theme lands around a central plaza
Main Attractions:	Yoshiwara pleasure quarter, Minamimachi police station, 3-D film presentation	36 attractions; 30 foods and beverages; 42 commodities
Notes:	Average consumer spending: c. 4,000 yen, of that 2,600-2,700 is entrance fee	Mickey Mouse Sports Festival held 9/29-11/18

**Table 1-4.** Chart of Representative Theme Parks

Facility Name:	Meiji Village	Little World
Location:	Uchiyama 1—1, Inuyama-shi, Aichi Prefecture	Imai Narusawa, Inuyama-shi, Aichi Prefecture
Location Feature:	Suburb, on tourist route	Suburb, on tourist route
Date Opened:	3/18/1965	3/18/1983
Ownership:	Hakubutsukan Meiji Mura (KK)	Little World (KK)
Area:	1,000,000 sq. meters	1,240,000 sq. meters
Park Area:	—	c. 600,000 sq. meters
Initial Investment:	Total over 5 billion yen	Total c. 10 billion yen
Theme:	Preservation and display of historical structures of the Meiji period [1867—1912]	Outdoor ethnological museum that presents different ways of life around the world
Method of Theme Expression:	Display of buildings and cultural items, open to the public	Display of restored ethnic dwellings; experiential displays; exhibits in resource building
Park Structure:	60 buildings from the Meiji period relocated or reconstructed on hillside	Main exhibit hall and 28 ethnic dwellings from 18 nations located on 2.5 km loop walkway
Main Attractions:	Restored steam locomotive; Kyoto city street car; etc.	Trying on native costumes in houses from India, France, Okinawa
Notes:	Meiji Village 25th anniversary events held 10/21—11/4; 'Cabinet Library,' etc. opened to public	Fall 1990 performance by Wuhan Boys and Girls Acrobatic Troupe from China, Taiwanese dwelling opened to public; etc.

Table 1-5. Chart of Representative Theme Parks

Facility Name:	Tôei Uzumasa Film Village	Space World
Location:	Uzumasa, Ukyô-ku, Kyoto-shi	Edamitsu, Yahata-Higashi-ku, Kita Kyûshû-shi
Location Feature:	Residential area, tourist location	Industrial area, residential area
Date Opened:	1/11/1975	4/22/1990
Ownership:	Tôei Kyoto Studio (KK)	Space World (KK)
Area:	36,000 sq. meters	330,000 sq. meters
Park Area:	33,000 sq. meters (open set)	330,000 sq. meters
Initial Investment:	Total c. 3.8 billion yen	c. 30 billion yen
Theme:	Entertainment and educational facility aimed at preserving and advancing film culture	Amusement park along with space camp
Method of Theme Expression:	Tour of film studio and viewing of film stars in the process of filming movies	Combination of attractions and space camp
Park Structure:	Open set; glass-enclosed studio; film culture exhibit hall; service center; etc.	Space bazaar and attractions; ride zone; space camp
Main Attractions:	Popular stars shop square; autograph sessions; etc.	Space dome; IMAX theater; etc.
Notes:	Yearly attendance: c. 2.18 million people; 15th anniversary of the facility; held Second Kyoto Uzumasa Film Festival	Space revue (occasionally held)

**Table 1-6.** Chart of Representative Theme Parks

Facility Name:	Hizen Yume Kaidô	Nagasaki Holland Village
Location:	Ureshino-chô, Fujitsu-gun, Saga Prefecture	Seihi-cho, Nishi Sonogi-gun, Nagasaki Prefecture
Location Feature:	Near hot springs tourist area	Resort
Date Opened:	1/2/1990	7/21/1983
Ownership:	Hizen Yume Kaidô (KK)	Nagasaki Holland Mura (KK)
Area:	42,445 sq. meters	120,000 sq. meters
Park Area:	20,995 sq. meters	98,000 sq. meters
Initial Investment:	c. 4 billion yen	Total c. 16.2 billion yen
Theme:	Streets and Buildings of Edo period and period drama show	Historical review of Japanese-Dutch cultural exchange within a natural surroundings
Method of Theme Expression:	Attractions feature performances, touring of sights	Reconstruction of streets and buildings; museum; reconstruction and sailing of historic ships
Park Structure:	A highway leads from the entrance through a way station town, <i>ninja</i> village, shopping district, samurai mansions	Three zones alongside Omura Bay: Willemstadt, Hoorn, Bloemendam
Main Attractions:	Ninja residence, stage performance by 'Hizen Troupe'	Hall to experience cruising by grand sailing ships; observatory hall; Kanko-maru; etc.
Notes:		Revenue proportions: entrance fees: 35%; sales of items: 47%; food and beverages: 18%

to allow them to have an unusual and interesting experience. We can see this as a mechanism for conveying information which soothes the visitor like a pleasant massage.<sup>10)</sup>

Most information with entertainment value traditionally appealed mainly to the aural and visual senses of the audience. In contrast, a theme park aims to stimulate all the five human senses including the gustatory, olfactory, and tactile senses, and, furthermore, the whole body all at once. This kind of informational experience plays the role of presenting variety in the quality of life for people to emulate. It also brings about change and diversity in the aesthetic standards of the community to which they belong through the provision of fixed criteria of judgement.<sup>11)</sup> Thus, the development of the theme park industry harbors the potential to affect the design of a city as institutional mechanism.

## 10. TOURIST CIVILIZATION IN A "MESSAGE-TYPE" INFORMATION SOCIETY

I have already suggested that a theme park represents a "miniature city within a city" thus making it possible to grasp visually a stable view of the city under circumstances where the actual city has grown too big to fathom. However, in truth, this hypothesis may already be outmoded by current developments. For example, many expensive hotels called "urban resort hotels" have sprung up around Tokyo Disneyland. A railroad station has also been built there. In nearby Makuhari close to Tokyo Disneyland, a convention center, commercial buildings, and high-rise apartment complexes have been built. In short, Tokyo Disneyland is not simply a tourist spot, but a brand-new urban center in its own right.

With this in mind, in January 1991, I visited "Nagasaki's Holland Village" (Nagasaki Oranda Mura), another example of a successful theme park which skillfully incorporates the history of the area. The park is located on 120,000 square meters of land, where three Dutch cities of Wilhemstadt, Haarlem, and Bloemendam have been recreated here at a cost of 16.2 billion yen. Since it opened in 1983, more than two million people have visited the park annually. Despite the success of this park, it will be closed in 1992 for remodeling. It will become a lodg-

10) Elsewhere I [TAKADA 1992] have distinguished two types of information: a "message" type, on the one hand, and a "massage" type, on the other. The former affects institutional aspects of civilization, increasing the level of efficiency and the function of communication, while the latter affects the body and mind of an individual, bringing about pleasure and joy.

For the gender-based differences in sensitivity to information, see Takada (1989). There I have pointed out that in Japan women, not men, are more sensitive to information of the latter type.

11) For example, since the opening of Tokyo Disneyland, not only buildings in resort areas but also custom-ordered and ready-made houses now have exteriors and interiors resembling those found in Disneyland.

ing facility offering cultural classes with an emphasis on crafts.

The reason for this temporary closure is to build an even larger Holland Village on the other side of the strait, to be called "Haus Tembos." A theme park that far surpasses the original Dutch Village will be built on 1.5 million square meters of land developed originally for industrial expansion. It will include restaurants, a shopping mall, and museums of fine arts and natural history, as well as hotels and cottages. The total cost is estimated at 540 billion yen. The main purpose in building this "Haus Tembos" is not only to attract tourists but to build a new town with summer houses and a residential complex with the capacity to house 10,000 people. All of this is explained in a tour pamphlet:

Holland has expanded its land by drainage. By coexisting in harmony with nature, it has created an ecological environment full of beautiful green forests and waterfronts. "Haus Tembos" (Dutch for "A house in the woods") is a new town which brings to life the knowledge and philosophy developed in the building of the Dutch nation in a Japanese natural environment.

A theme park seems to expand its functions as a "miniature city within a city" as a self-expressive mechanism of civilization as if it were trying to become a city in its own right.<sup>12)</sup> The city within a city, which had been an object of tourism, is now developing into an autonomous city in a kind of inversive phenomenon.

At the same time, contemporary Japanese society is certainly becoming ever more saturated with the pleasant, fun-filled "massage-type" information experience and seems to continue on a path towards a civilization sustained by tourism.<sup>13)</sup> In my view, journeys and tours, in other words, the human activity of tourism in general, seek to discover some kind of meaning by comparing various manifestations of nature, culture and humanity from all over the world. In this process, one makes choices from among them according to one's own interests, immerses oneself in a variety of "massage-type" information experiences, and finally "edits" this experience according to one's own will in order to discover meaning of some sort. If this is the case, contemporary Japanese civilization is ready to create facilities and institutions to build cities for the self-expression of civilization of the sort discussed here.

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12) On April 29, 1991 the Walt Disney Company also announced that it would build a city based on the theme of fantasy. This new city named "Celebration" will be built south of Disney World in Florida. It will have, among other things, buildings for offices, shopping malls, express railroads, and golf courses, in addition to an open space for greenery. In this new city one will be able to enjoy the very life style that epitomizes the Disney concept of affluence and entertainment [ASAHI SHINBUN May 1, 1991].

13) The modern man and woman's desire for a "massage" type of information is not restricted to tourism and travel. It includes experiences of "virtual reality" created by audio-visual equipment and trance experiences induced by drugs, dancing, and reckless driving. Ikeda [1990] called these objects of experience "fictional tourism."

If I may add a final comment, I do not think it accidental that the Disneyland was first built in Los Angeles rather than New York City. While the schematic layout of New York City is much easier to grasp, Disneyland seems to go well with a city whose gestalt is much harder to fathom. Accordingly, Los Angeles may have required something like Disneyland to help represent the city's gestalt.

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