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Introduction: Tourism Studies in East Asia

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This book is a volume of collected papers which were presented in the session “Tourism and Glocalization: Perspectives on East Asian Societies” organized by Han Min at the conference of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) held in July 2009 in Kunming, China¹⁾. The idea of making a project of “Tourism and Glocalization: Perspectives on East Asian Societies” was started by Han Min in 2007 in order to participate in the 16th IUAES World Congress. It was also accepted and carried out as one of the Core Research Projects of the fiscal year 2009 in the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan. So in this sense, this book should be also taken as a result of one of the Core Research Projects of the National Museum of Ethnology available to the public.

The purpose of this book is to present extensive and general studies on current trends of tourism in the East Asia region, mainly in China and Japan, by paying attention to tourists, host societies (or destination societies), which means those accepting the tourists, tourism agencies, administrations, souvenirs and so on. Eleven contributors in this volume have been working on the tourism of Japan, Malaysia and China. We will discuss how the history, value and culture of a region, ethnic group and nation are reshaped, represented and consumed by focusing on tourists, tourist attractions, planners of the attractions and administrations. We will also place these studies in the context of the growth of anthropological studies of Asian tourism and especially as heir to the origins and development of research on the anthropology of tourism at the National Museum of Ethnology, known familiarly as Minpaku.

In this volume, we discuss tourism from both global and local perspectives. By the late 20th century, scholars had already pointed out the rapid growth of tourism in Japan and China. Ishimori and Takada took the global trend of tourism as the ‘Time of Neo-Nomads’ from the perspective of human civilization (Ishimori and Takada 1993) and Ishimori called the 20th century the time of international tourism or global tourism (Ishimori 1996). Tourism itself is a large part of globalization (Yamashita 2007: 6). This book provides an essential study on global and local trends of tourism in Japan and China by a younger generation of Japanese and Chinese scholars mainly trained in Japan. We pay attention to the two trends of tourism in Japan and China, both global and local, which Graburn has already pointed

out on the occasion of the establishment of the Institute for the Culture of Travel in Tokyo in 1993. He also suggested that tourism consists of both social and political phenomena, and that it could be a response to social and cultural changes and often related to geopolitical strategies, often linked with nation-making as well as community building (Graburn 1993b: 16-17).

The Anthropology of Tourism in East Asia

“Tourism is commonly referred to as a Western phenomenon. There seems to be a visible bias in favor of the ‘white’ Westerner who is enabled by his or her mobile lifestyle and circumstantially endowed to be the ‘tourist’, thereby rendering other cultural groups incompatible with this designation.” (Singh 2009: 12)

“[This] image of a Japanese male lying by the sea ... challenges the common held perception that the tourist is white and most probably living in a postindustrial ‘Western’ country. The vast majority of studies have looked at ‘Western’ forms of tourism and their impact ...” (Winter, Teo and Chang 2009: 2, 5).

In the 21st century it should not be necessary to claim originality by stating that the study of tourism in Asia is either new or uncommon as the above quotations imply. Tourism has been an important cultural and economic phenomenon in most of Asia, especially international tourism, for parts of Indonesia and Southeast Asia including Taiwan since the 1960’s. Furthermore, domestic tourism has been important in Japan and China at least since the 1960’s. During the Maoist era in China, tourism was important as a political reward and revolutionary activity, whereas economic development was not a central aim²).

In the P. R. China the pent up forces of domestic travelers and the arrival of regular international tourists emerged after the opening of 1978-79. Within three years the central government set up programs for strengthening tourism, passed a law on joint ventures, and had mapped the country for the expansion of tourist regions. Most “Departments of Tourism” in Chinese universities were developed from within the departments of history³). Thus tourism studies (but not Tourism Anthropology) began in the 1980’s, and flourished from the 1990’s (for instance in the journal *Tourism Tribune*). Tourism management became a major concern; scholars studied tourism economics, the development of markets, the management of hotels and travel bureaus, and the construction of infrastructure for tourism. Geography, with journals such as *Economic Geography* and *Arid Lands Geography*, was a hive of research activity. *Guo Lai Shi, one of the pioneer geographers in tourism research, supervised over 200 masters’ theses on tourism development (Personal Communication to Graburn, 1989, 1991).

The 1990’s

Foreign anthropologists competed to enter the country and the early ones were able to see at first hand the crumbling of the commune system and the inflow of Hong Kong capital and business entrepreneurs. One young Chinese migrant (*Mosher 1988) was able to give an account of the effects of the Cultural Revolution on regional domestic tourism and its

post-Mao aftermath. Pioneer Western anthropologists such as Stevan Harrell (1989), Margaret *Swain (1989), Louisa *Schein (2000) and Timothy Oakes (1998), focused on the *minzu* ‘small nationalities’ (ethnic minorities) and brought up the topic of tourism, which was so central in the minority’s contextual identity, relations to the state, and economic development. McKhann (1995) and Harrell’s *Cultural Encounters on China’s Ethnic Frontiers* (1995) also focused on the ethnic minorities, and secondarily on tourism where it transformed *minzu* lives.

The 1990’s saw an outpouring of important books on tourism in China, though many of them focused heavily on management and economics. More general works such as Opperman’s *Pacific Rim Tourism* (1997) and Picard and Woods’ *Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies* (1997) included China. Lew and Yu’s *Tourism in China: Geographical, Political, and Economic Perspectives* (1995) was the first major collection focused solely on China. Sofield and Li (1998: 1) found “Tourism has emerged as an effective vehicle for synthesizing some of the differences through its contribution to the modernization process, its utilization of heritage for product development, and its role in meeting some socialist objectives.” Jackson and Davis (1997) pointed out the ambivalent position of traditional religion in the new tourism, with its continuity with pilgrimage and its recent suppression under the Cultural Revolution (see Nagatani, this volume).

Specifically anthropological works, those based on long term ethnographic fieldwork (*Leite and Graburn 2009), focusing on ethnic groups enmeshed in rural tourism, included two key works: Oakes’ *Tourism and Modernity in China* (1998) showed that by the very act of presenting themselves as “traditional” in tourist performances, the *minzu* of Guizhou were being taught modernity; and Louisa *Schein’s *Minority Rules* (2000) and *White (1997) showed how ethnic minorities, specifically the Miao, were treated as pliant subjects and shaped as ‘feminine’ by Han authorities, especially in their performative tourist identities. Research suggests that other minorities present themselves as much more ‘masculine,’ especially in Tibet (*Zhang Jinfu 2009) and the Turkic-speaking northwest (*Dawuti 2001; Gladney 1991; Graburn 2008). This is ironic because these are the two minority areas which could be said to have “stood up against” the Han authorities.

With the development of tourism, more social, cultural and ecological problems appeared, and Chinese scholars began to pay more attention to tourism studies. The works of sociologist *Wang Ning (trained in UK) on “Hutong Tourism in Beijing” (Wang 1997) and Sidney Cheung (trained in Japan) on a “Heritage Trail in Hong Kong” (Sidney 1999) heralded their well known later works. A key event was the conference “Tourism, Anthropology and Chinese Society” in Kunming, Yunnan, in September 1999. Well known Western tourism anthropologists such as Cohen, Graburn and Bruner attended this conference and influenced the direction of Chinese scholars such as *Peng Zhaorong, *Wang Yu, *Yang Hui and *Zhang Xiaoping. At this meeting, scholars discussed tourism as a part of social and cultural life. It resulted in two edited volumes, one in English: Tan, Cheung and Yang *Tourism, Anthropology and China*, (Tan *et al.* 2001), and one in Chinese, *Lüyou, Renleixue yu Zhongguo shehui* [*Tourism, Anthropology and China*] (Yang *et al.* 2001), containing the same general theoretical papers but mainly different case studies by Chinese authors. Graburn’s chapter “Tourism and Anthropology in East Asia Today” (Graburn 2001a) [and

“Jinri Dongya de Luyou yu Renleixue: Jidian Bijiao (Graburn 2001b)]” traced the development of anthropological and sociological studies in relation to the growth of tourism in Japan and China.

The first two Chinese scholars who brought forth tourism anthropology in China as an integrated subject were *Zhang Xiaoping (张晓萍) and Zong Xiaolian (宗晓莲). After studying in Berkeley, Zhang Xiaoping published a paper “Tourism Anthropology in the United States” (Zhang 2000) and “Tourism Anthropology in China.”(Zhang 2001a). Zong Xiaolian of Minzu University published “A comment on western Tourism Anthropology” (Zong 2001a) and “An analysis of the famous two schools in western Tourism Anthropology” (Zong 2001b).

Recent Research Directions

The first decade of the twenty-first century has seen a further tenfold explosion of research on tourism in East Asia (see also section on Minpaku below). Managerial and applied research still dominates in sheer quantity, but often includes more scholarly ‘pure’ research as well as contributions of foreign and Chinese scholars side by side, e.g. the aforementioned Tan, Cheung and Yang’s *Tourism, Anthropology and China* (2001a; 2001b), Yang Shengmin’s *Xiang cun luyou/Rural Tourism: a Strategy for Poverty Alleviation* (2005) and *Cochrane’s Asian Tourism: Growth and Change* (2007). After a semester at Berkeley, *Peng Zhaorong (彭兆荣) published *Tourism Anthropology* [Luyou renleixue] (Peng 2004) which included many aspects of tourism anthropology and Xiaoping Zhang edited the collection *Anthropological perspective on ethnic tourism* (Zhang 2005). Outstanding is the work of professor, activist NGO-organizer and ethnographer *Zhang Xiaosong, Yang Shengmin’s partner in rural Guizhou, who published the 3-volume *Fu hao yu yishi: Guizhou shan di wen ming tu dian* (Symbols and Rituals: An Illustrated Introduction to the Civilization of the Guizhou Mountains) (Zhang and Liu 2006) about the *minzu* people whose lives she is enriching and whose cultural continuities she is fostering.

By now dozens of the younger generation of Chinese scholars are studying tourism using ethnographic methods, housed in departments of anthropology, sociology, *minzu* studies and business and development, particularly in the universities of Xiamen, Zhong Shan (Sun Yat Sen), Yunnan and Beijing. These scholars, along with those trained in Japan and presenting in this volume, constitute the majority of social scientists studying tourism in East Asia, outnumbering Western social scientists who, as Singh (2009) and Winter *et al.* (2009) suggest, have tended to dominate until recently.

Tourism Studies at Minpaku⁴⁾

The National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku), Osaka, has long been a leader in Japanese studies in the Anthropology of Tourism and many scholars in the field first found their inspiration there. The key person was Prof. Ishimori Shuzo who was the youngest member of the team brought from Kyoto in 1976 by founding director Umesao Tadao. As we shall see below, Umesao sensei, who was himself a great traveler, was very supportive of the origin and growth of tourism studies at Minpaku. Graburn first met Ishimori at the *II*

International Symposium of the Arts of Oceania, Wellington, New Zealand in 1978 (Graburn 1978) where Ishimori had been a M.A. student in Auckland. Ishimori told Graburn of the opening of Minpaku in 1977 and invited him to visit in the future. The study of Pacific arts was at that time, soon after the publication of Graburn's *Ethnic and Tourist Arts* (1976), just beginning to focus on the influence of tourism in the Pacific (Graburn 1979). The meeting introduced Prof. Ishimori to the topic even though tourists had not yet made incursions into the site of his own extensive field research in Satawal, Micronesia (Ishimori 1985).

Subsequently Graburn visited Japan in 1978 and spent a term at Minpaku in 1979. While working on his research on Inuit culture and arts in change, he gave public lectures on the emergence of Inuit tourist arts at Minpaku and at nearby Kansai Gaidai University. He and Prof. Ishimori cooperated and published an account of the Pacific Arts at Minpaku (Graburn and Ishimori 1979). Living in Kyoto and commuting to Banpaku (Commemorative Organization for the Japan World Exposition of 1970), Graburn became involved in cultural tourism and popular festivals, with the assistance of Kimura Mikio san, a retired official from the city's art and tourism department. On returning to UC Berkeley, he gave lectures on Japanese domestic tourism, and found that there was very little scholarly publication on the subject either in English or Japanese, but an immense amount on traditional Japanese pilgrimage. Thus he published a short monograph *To Pray, Pay and Play: The Cultural Structure of Japanese Domestic Tourism* (Graburn 1983), and other articles (1987), so in some sense the anthropology of Japanese tourism was started at Minpaku. He also continued to publish many works on tourism and tourist arts, including a paperback edition of *Ethnic and Tourist Arts* (Graburn 1989), originally published in 1976, with a chapter on Ainu tourist arts by Berkeley student Setha Low* (Low 1976). When he edited the special issue of the *Annals of Tourism Research* devoted to the Anthropology of Tourism, he included *Moeran's early work "The Language of Japanese Tourism" (Moeran 1983).

Meanwhile at Minpaku, Prof. Ishimori and others became aware that the anthropological study of tourism was growing elsewhere in the scholarly world, even the study of Japanese tourists. They were stimulated to start such studies at Minpaku, and with Director Umesao's encouragement, they started a three year long National Tourism Seminar (one of the Inter-University Research Projects at Minpaku conducted jointly by scholars of the Museum and outside organizations) between April 1988 and March 1990, bringing in anthropologists from outside Minpaku, such as *Yamashita Shinji, then at Hiroshima University, to come to Minpaku once a month to study along with interested Minpaku scholars. The first year was devoted to the study of Hospitality, in which the scholars could draw on their own field data mostly gathered in non-industrial 'pre-modern' societies. The following years were devoted to the comparative study of tourism and travel, and the production of a number of important conferences and publications, including Ishimori's "Tabi kara Ryoko e" [From journey to Travel] (Ishimori 1988a) and "Popularization and Commercialization of Tourism in Early Modern Japan" (Ishimori 1989b).

Ishimori also invited Graburn to spend the year March 1989–June 1990 at Minpaku to assist with the growth of Japanese anthropology of tourism. It was a very exciting time to be there. Using 'year-end' funds, we invited Jafar Jafari, Editor in Chief of the journal

Annals of Tourism Research to visit, including a weekend at a nearby Arima *onsen*; Jafari invited Ishimori to become the Japanese representative of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism which was having its first full meeting later that year in Warsaw and Zakopane, Poland. The next month we were able to invite to Minpaku Prof. Erik Cohen, the leading sociologist of tourism, who was Dean of Social Sciences at Hebrew University, Jerusalem. In September Ishimori and Graburn flew via Moscow to Warsaw, to attend the Academy meetings where Ishimori met for the first time most of the senior scholars of tourism of the Western World (Smith and Eadington 1992); and he reported on this event to Minpaku when he got back (Ishimori 1990).

Prof. Ishimori was engaged in trying to establish an international institute for the study of tourism, modeled on Minpaku. It was to be called the Neo-Nomadium, because he thought that after the end of hunting and gathering, and the long establishment of agriculture, 20th century mankind was returning to a life of neo-nomadism. We visited many institutions and businesses, giving promotional talks on the importance of the study of tourism in Japan. This involved speeches and discussions on radio and television, often as far away as Tokyo. It was hoped that Mitsubishi would be able to underwrite the cost of the Neo-Nomadium, with a museum and staff of 8-12 researchers and regular foreign visiting scholars, which was to be housed in a skyscraper being built at Rinkutaun [Link town] where the causeway from the island in Osaka Bay where the new Osaka International Airport was about to open, met the land.

Others at Minpaku were encouraging, including visiting scholar Ikeda Mitsuho, Minpaku visual anthropology Prof. Omori Yasuhiro, and Prof. Akimichi Tomoya, who was concerned with the decline and future of Japanese whaling at that time. He asked Graburn to contribute to the study of the possibilities of promoting whale-watching as a form of tourism that might replace the economic losses of small towns whose whaling income had declined or ended (Graburn 1990). Prof. Akimichi later headed the large scale research project "A Trans-Disciplinary Study on the Regional Eco-History in Tropical Monsoon Asia" which supported and stimulated research on tourism in Yunnan, including some of the work published in this volume. And there were other visitors doing research on the anthropology of tourism. One of them was British Graduate student John Knight who was studying the *onsen* (hot spring resort) and shrine Tourism in the highlands of Wakayama (Knight 1996). Later in the year, Prof. Moon Okpyo from Korea visited Minpaku, as she had recently published her path breaking book *From Paddy Field to Ski Slope: the Revitalisation of Tradition in Japanese Village Life* (Moon 1989) which focused on tourism development in rural Tohoku.

Many senior members of the Minpaku staff were also interested though they did not specifically join the project or publish on the 'anthropology of tourism.' The very popular Professor Ishige Naomichi, at the time the world's leading food anthropologist and later Director of Minpaku, published his research on foreign food systems and how that changed in response to local demand and foreign traditions. Even before the 'birth of the anthropology of tourism' he had published on the variety of foods in China (Ishige 1984) and on Japanese and other ethnic restaurants in Los Angeles (Ishige *et al.* 1985). Director Umesao was also very interested and Graburn discussed his travel experiences in terms of our research. He

later published some of his travel memoirs (Umesao 1992; 1993) and was deeply involved in Minpaku conferences and publications on tourism, such as his 1995 “Keynote Address: Tourism as a Phenomenon of Civilization” (Umesao, Befu and Ishimori 1995).

Prof. Ishimori made a very original contribution in editing a collection on the topic of *Kanko to Ongaku* [Tourism and Music] (Ishimori 1991). He gathered case studies from Japanese and translated some Western articles on this important topic which, until that date, was hardly touched upon outside of the Caribbean (*Lie and *Abelmann 1992).

During the summer of 1989 Japanese student Matsuda Misa, got in touch with Graburn who had been the external examiner of her very original MA Thesis “*Japanese Tourists and Indonesia: Images of Self and Other in the Age of Kokusaika (Internationalization)*” in Asian Studies at Australian National University. In it she showed that Japanese tourists in Indonesia sometimes assumed the pose of “colonial superiors” emulating the prior roles of the Dutch and the British vis à vis the local people, but that when there were Europeans also present in hotels, they assumed the role of “we Asians,” rice-eaters with a common heritage vis à vis the European “outsiders” (see also Tanaka, this volume). She came to visit Graburn at Minpaku from her home in Shikoku, and was immediately engaged as a research assistant by Prof. Ishimori. That was the year that Minpaku became a graduate school – The Graduate University for Advanced Studies – and picked its first class of PhD students. Ms. Matsuda was chosen and entered the graduate school, but dropped out within two years because she was not allowed to pursue the subject of her MA as that involved studying the Japanese, which did not fall under their definition of “ethnology.” Soon after Graburn left Minpaku in summer 1990, Berkeley graduate student Jennifer Beer* was generously hosted by Prof. Ishimori. She came to study Japanese tourist culture and was granted a one year internship in the Osaka office of JTB where overseas package tours were constructed and prices decided. In her second year, she spent her time accompanying Japanese package tourists to Asian destinations such as Beijing, Hong Kong, Singapore, Jakarta and Bali and wrote a very insightful dissertation *Packaged Experiences: Japanese Tours to Southeast Asia* (Beer 1993).

Unfortunately the establishment of the Neo-Nomadium never came about, because Japan’s ‘bubble economy’ began to collapse at that time. However Ishimori and others remained ambitious in promoting events and scholarship focusing in tourism. In the autumn of 1990 the International Garden and Greenery Exposition, locally called *Hanahaku* [The Flower Exposition] took place in Osaka and Ishimori and Prof. Yoneyama, senior anthropologist at Kyoto University, organized conferences on the exposition grounds, and invited Graburn and many other speakers; both of these symposia were published the following year (Ishimori 1991; Yoneyama 1991). Prof. Ishimori continued to arrange for high visibility participation in academic and non-academic venues.

In early July 1993 Ishimori and Graburn convened an international group of scholars at Minpaku for a conference “New Dimensions in Tourism Studies.” The participants included Ishimori, who examined the meaning of the word *kanko*, which normally means ‘tourism’ (sightseeing), and explained that it was originally derived from a phrase in the *I-Ching (Book of Changes)*, one of the oldest classical Chinese texts, “Guan guo zhi guang,” meaning “See the Splendid Light of the Country”, based on the reflection of the king’s

virtue on the land as he traveled his realm. Erik Cohen spoke about “‘Unspoiled and Enchanting’; Island Tourism in Southern Thailand,” and Dean MacCannell’s paper focused on “The New Tourist”, in which he claimed Postmodernity was marked not so much by the movement of kinds of tourists but the movement of iconic tradition-marking objects around the world, producing an increasing homogenization. Thus ‘home’ becomes distinct only in that it is the place that we leave and come back to. Judith Adler of Newfoundland, Canada, wrote on what we can learn about performativity and tourism in her paper “The Holy Man and Traveler and Travel Attraction: Early Christian Asceticism and the Moral Problematic of Mobility,” (cf. Adler 2002). Alice Horner* challenged MacCannell’s version of authenticity and presaged Ning Wang’s classic work (1999) in her “Personally Negotiated Authenticities in Cameroonian Tourist Arts,” and Jennifer Beer* reported on “Selling Dreams: Japanese Tour Marketing.” Deirdre Evans-Pritchard showed the insightful new Les Blank movie “Innocents Abroad” (1991). Japanese participants included Yamashita Shinji, by then at the University of Tokyo, who spoke on the famous commoditization of funerals in Tana Toraja “‘Merchandizing the Dead Father’: Mortuary Tourism and Manipulation of Ethnic Tradition in the Toraja of Sulawesi, Indonesia,” *Nagafuchi Yasuyuki reflexively examined the creativity of links between the margins and the centre in his “Miguel Covarrubias and Bali: On Several Aspects of Acceptance of Balinese Cultural Images in New York.” Two papers focused specifically on the impacts and negotiations of tourism in minority communities: Ota Yoshinobu spoke on “Power and Resistance in Tourist Discourses on Southern Ryukyus” and Kuzuno Hiroaki looked at the appropriation of Santa Claus land in “A Demand for Copyright of Ethnic Culture among Sami (Lapp) People: Ethnic Tourism and Ethnic Art Movement in the Nordic Fourth World.” Unfortunately the volume was never published as planned, partly because of the disruptions of the Great Hanshin Earthquake and because of participants’ later career moves, but several of the papers were published in other volumes.

The following week Ishimori arranged for Graburn to give a major address at the Urban Resort International Symposium in Kobe, on the topic of the San Francisco Region (1993), opposite spokespersons for Barcelona, which had just hosted the Olympics, and Sydney which was about to host the Olympics, while the mayor of Kobe himself presented an overview of Kobe for which he saw a brilliant and expansive future, two years before the disastrous Hanshin (Kobe) earthquake.

And at the end of July 1993 Prof. Ishimori spearheaded an international symposium at the famed Miyako Hotel, Tokyo, for the establishment of the Kinki Nippon Institute for Research on the Culture of Travel (Graburn 1993b). This event also featured academic and public intellectuals such as Takada Masatoshi, the folklorist and essayist who became editor of the Institute’s journal to be called *Mahora*, and Yamazaki Tomoko, the author of the novel *Sandakan hachiban shokan: Bokyō* [Brothel number eight] (Yamazaki 1972) about a poor Japanese woman who had served as a military ‘comfort woman’ whose life story was later exposed by a journalist, which became the famous movie “*Sandakan 8*.” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Help:Installing_Japanese_character_sets) For Ishimori, perhaps this institute substituted in spirit for his dreamed of Neo-Nomadism. Ishimori continued to pursue the public intellectual extra-scholarly audience with his agreement to publish monthly articles on the study of tourism in the Tokyo journal *Chuo Koron* [Public Opinion from the

Center], one of Japan's foremost general-interest magazines, of great importance in Japanese intellectual circles; it might be noted that his mentor Umesao's memoirs were published by the same house.

However, at Minpaku Ishimori organized a regular invited symposium, with the help of Harumi Befu and supportive Director Umesao, resulting in Minpaku's first major collection devoted to tourism: *Japanese Civilization and the Modern World IX, Tourism* (Umesao, Befu and Ishimori 1995). Umesao himself gave the Keynote address. Ishimori wrote about "Tourism and Religion", noting the continuities in Japanese tourism history. Public intellectual Kanzaki Noritake, noted author of *Monomi Yusan to Nihonjin* [Sightseeing and Pleasure Trips of the Japanese] (Kanzaki 1991) wrote a comparative analysis of the tourism industry (Kanzaki 1995). American visitor Robertson related tourism to large cultural issues in her chapter on "Nostalgia, Tourism and Nation-making" (1995). Many of the other authors, former members of the national seminar on tourism, wrote about tourism in relation to their more traditional ethnography, such as Sakamoto Tsutomu's "Islamic Pilgrimage and Travel" (Sakamoto 1995); it is perhaps noteworthy for the present volume that Shu Tassei wrote on "The Establishment and Development of Tourism in China." (Shu 1995)

The following March 1994 he arranged for Graburn (1994a), as well as famed sociologist of tourism Dean MacCannell and critical architect-planner Michael Sorkin of New York to participate in the International Symposium "The Age of the City: Future of World Cities" at International House, Osaka. Right after that Ishimori and Graburn participated in a conference for the establishment of the Kansai area's ambitious tourism travel promotion plan, *Rekishi Kaido* [Routes of History], stimulated by Ishimori's excursion with a group to see Germany's *Romantische Strasse* that had been invented by travel agents in the 1950's.

Undaunted by one unpublished volume, Ishimori put together a major collection *Kanko no 20 seiki* [Tourism in the Twentieth Century] (Ishimori 1996), perhaps his most important single work. Authors were from both in and outside of Minpaku: Nagafuchi (1996) repeated his Bali-New York paper from the 1994 conference, whereas Ota (1996) broached a new subject, "Ecotourism in Belize." Konagaya Yuki (1995) looked at Mongolia as a country for possible tourism, Ohtsuka Kazuyoshi (1996) considered the growth of tourism to the Ainu, Yasufuku Emiko (1996) brought up the topic of tourism and prostitution in Southeast Asia, and former Minpaku postgraduate student Ikeda (1996) wrote about tourism to the Mayan ruins of Central America. Ikeda later published a very original article on the cultural construction of "nature" amongst ecotourists in Costa Rica (1998). Inose Kumie (1996) examined the origins of mass tourism in the work of Thomas Cook, whereas essayist and friend Takada wrote on "The Future of Tourism" (Takada 1996).

The same year Yamashita published a comparable edited volume *Kanko Jinruigaku* [The Anthropology of Tourism] (Yamashita 1996) which included some of the participants in the 1993 unpublished symposium. One of the chapters, by Kawamori Hiroshi (1996), examined "Nostalgia and Folktale Tourism at Tono", bringing up an interesting connection between tourism and Japan's 'Native Anthropology.' Yanagita Kunio's classic book *Tono Monogatari* [(Traditional) Tales of Tono] (Yanagita 1953) claimed to recapture tales of the real 'old Japan', and this book later spurred a stampede of tourism to the old hinterland village which became a 'theme park of rural tradition.' Kanzaki was one of the first to draw

attention to this topic in his *Kanko Minzokugaku no Tabi* [Journey to Folkloric Studies of Tourism] (Kanzaki 1990). In 1995 Marilyn Ivy published her striking book *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Ivy 1995), in which she examined the JNR (Japan National Railway) *furusato mairi* [return to your roots] 'Discover Japan' campaign and a later 'Exotic Japan' campaign, showing that urban Japanese felt that they had lost touch with the 'real Japan' and made nostalgic journeys to small town and rural Japan and even to folkloric recreations to assuage their postmodern condition.

Yanagita Kunio was perhaps the most famous intellectual whose work had an influence on modern Japanese anthropology. Some other non-anthropologists also published their research on tourism in ways that gave us some historical insights. Among them were historian Nakagawa Koichi whose books *Tetsudo Kinen Butsu no Tabi: Genchi Chosa no Kiroku* [Railways: Records of Onsite Research] (Nakagawa 1982), *Kanko no Bunkashi* [Cultural History of Tourism] (Nakagawa 1985) and *Ehagaki no Tabi, Rekishi no Tabi*. [Travel through Postcards, Travels through History] (Nakagawa 1990) cover the modern period. Iwai Hiromi was a retired professor at Minpaku; in his *Tabi no Minzokushi*, [A History of Folk Travel] (Iwai 2002), he focused on different forms of travel that were observed in Japan since ancient times. On the management/industry side, Kitagawa Munetada was a professor of business at Ryutsu Kagaku University, former director of the Japan Academic Society of Tourism (Nihon Kanko Gakkai), and deputy director of the Japan Academic Society of Hospitality Management. His *Kanko to Shakai: Turizumu e no Michi*, [Sightseeing and Society: the Road to Tourism] (Kitagawa 1998), was a textbook for tourism business/policy management students, covering what leisure and sightseeing are, the history of tourism in the world and Japan, and contemporary resort tourism, and his edited volume *Kanko Bunkaron* [Studies in Tourist Culture] (Kitagawa 2004), was also a textbook style, with more emphasis on tourism policy and resource management. He argued that Japan was an 'underdeveloped tourist country' for tourism imports far exceeded exports, contending that the problem came from the fact that the Japanese do not appreciate Japaneseness, i.e. a lack of domestic tourism, a position opposed by Graburn (1983; 1995) and Ivy (1995).

In 1998, Ishimori was able to make a part of his dream (building a research centre of tourism studies) come true. He urged the establishment of the International Tourism Department within the International Communication Faculty of Hannan University in south Osaka, forming the department in April 1998 by setting up the curriculum and by choosing the original staff; among the faculty members are his former Minpaku students Maeda Hiroshi and Shioji Yuko, and Sakurai Tetsuo. It is the first Japanese university west of Tokyo to establish a department of tourism studies, responding to the needs of society. In April 2010, the International Tourism Department will become an independent Faculty of Hannan University.

Ishimori continued to be very productive in holding conferences and publishing works on topics relating to tourism and heritage, including *Ekotsurizumu no sogoteki kenkyu*, [Advanced Studies in Ecotourism] (Ishimori and Maita 2001b), *Heriteji no sogoteki kenkyu*, [Advanced Studies in Heritage Tourism] (Ishimori and Nishiyama 2001a) and *Kanko to Jenda*, [Tourism and Gender] (Ishimori and Fukuyasu 2003), all published by the National Museum of Ethnology. He also reached out to the public with popular articles such as

“Tourism in Shigaken: In conversation with the governor.” in *Horizons: the United Airlines In-flight Magazine* (Ishimori 2005).

Professor Yamashita, writing in Tokyo, was equally productive. Perhaps his most widely read book has been *Bali: Kankojinruigaku no ressun* [Bali: What can we learn from the anthropology of tourism?] (Yamashita 1999), later published in English as *Bali and Beyond: Explorations in the Anthropology of Tourism* (Yamashita 2003); and he tackled a topic now of widespread interest, “Towards interdisciplinary research of tourism” (Yamashita 2002) (cf. Graburn and Jafari 1991). Both Graburn (1997) and Han Min (1997) have chapters in the volume on *Tourism and Cultural Development in East Asia and Oceania* edited by Yamashita, Kadir Din and Jerry Eades (1997). Sekimoto* Teruo had an important chapter on Indonesian Batik as tourist art (Sekimoto 2003) in Yamashita and Eades’ *Globalization in Southeast Asia: Local, national and transnational perspectives* (Yamashita and Eades 2003).

Prof. Ishimori continued to supervise students and teach about tourism and heritage at Minpaku. How far the Japanese anthropology of tourism has come since the early days of the national seminar (1988-90) can be judged from the fact that one of his students, Shioji Yuko, came to study the traditions of Graburn’s native country, the United Kingdom, in her book *The Creation of Englishness: Sensing Boundaries and the Preservation of Cultural Heritage in the Cotswolds of England* (Shioji 2003).

In 2006 Prof. Ishimori retired from Minpaku and went on to become Director of the Center for Advanced Tourism Studies, Hokkaido University, where he achieved, in a less grandiose form, another version of his dream of founding a “Neo-Nomadium⁵.” However, Prof. Nishiyama Noriaki, a visiting Researcher at Minpaku from Kyushu University, continued the joint research project on tourism and heritage to which Prof. Ishimori had belonged until 2008.

Han Min came to Minpaku in 2000 and attended the tourist project led by Ishimori between 2001 and 2004. Known for her earlier work on Mao tourism (Han 1997; 2001) she has moved into broader topics, especially localized and ethnic tourism (this volume). Compared with the former tourism research project at Minpaku above, “Tourism and Glocalization: Perspectives on East Asian Societies”, organized by Han Min and accepted as one of the Core Research Projects of the fiscal year 2009 at Minpaku has three points of significance.

Firstly, the former tourism projects mentioned above covered a wide region around the world including Japan, Peru, Britain, Australia, South Asia, and Pacific Ocean nations, whereas this tourism project focuses on East Asia and presents essential and intensive studies on this area.

Secondly the former tourism projects paid particular attention to gender, heritage tourism and eco-tourism, mainly from the perspectives of host society and administration. Compared with the former ones, in this volume we discuss tourism in East Asia from both global and local perspectives by paying attention to tourists, host societies, tourism agencies, administrations, souvenirs and so on.

Thirdly, like the tourism projects mentioned above, this new joint project is also following in the tradition of Minpaku as an Inter-University Research Institute, housing a

research centre and a museum all in one. The authors of this volume come from both inside and outside of Minpaku, working or doing research in seven universities in Japan.

Tourism and Glocalization in East Asia

As the world is experiencing an economic and political globalization, people are at the same time searching for their own locality, ethnicity and nationality. Here we use the concept of “glocalization” to argue how people are seeking for and are reconstructing their locality, ethnicity, and nationality in tourism development.

The term *glocalization* firstly appeared in 1991 in the Oxford Dictionary of New Words. “In business jargon: simultaneously global and local; taking a global view of the market, but adjusted to local considerations”. Also as a verb *glocalize* or process noun, it means “to organize one’s business on a global scale while taking account of local considerations and conditions”⁶). It originated in Japanese business practices, coming from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, (global localization) which originally referred to a way of adapting farming techniques to local conditions and indigenous species, and which evolved into a marketing strategy when Japanese businessmen adopted it in the 1980’s⁷).

The concept of glocalization was soon introduced by the British sociologist R. Robertson in *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (Robertson 1992). He uses this term to express the general problem of the relation between universal and particular. He argues that global capitalism both promotes and is conditioned by cultural homogeneity and cultural heterogeneity. The production and consolidation of difference and variety is an essential ingredient of contemporary capitalism, which is, in any case, increasingly involved with a growing variety of micro-markets (national-cultural, racial and ethnic; gendered; social-stratificational; and so on).

“The concern for authenticity in modern societies and locality is certainly a reaction to the impact of an overwhelming globalization and it is created by the globalization as well” (Robertson 1992: 173-175). In the prologue to the Japanese translation, he told the Japanese readers that the concept of glocalization had been adopted to handle intellectual collisions between two kinds of people, those who think the world is getting more homogeneous and those who think it is becoming more and more diversified. “My argument is that now more and more people have begun to think and act both globally and locally” (Robertson 1997: 16).

When we deal with reshaping the history, value and culture of a region, an ethnic group or a nation, we must also pay special attention to issues such as the authenticity of a culture, the people practicing the culture, those designing the culture and those consuming it. We will examine what kind of influence or impact the history and culture presented to tourists will have on the host society as well.

Therefore in order to clarify the current trends of tourism in East Asia, this book is divided into three chapters.

Chapter 1, ‘Tourism and Cultural Representation in the Host Societies’ focuses on the host societies and shows how tourism is developed and how cultures are reconstructed and represented in various societies in East Asia from the point of view of the local society,

those who have constituted and practiced the cultures. All of these chapters demonstrate that these communities draw upon their unique cultural resources, whether these are ethnicity, foreignness, local history, or local religious and cultural traditions, to “modernize” and remake them as key elements of their attractive identity (*meibutsu*) as tourist destinations.

Chen Tien-shi who was born and grew up in Yokohama, discusses Yokohama Chinatown, known since the 1860’s as a place of Chinese migrants. After World War II it became a place where U.S. sailors spent shore leave at local bars, but it has been changed into a more generalized tourist attraction since the 1980’s. She points out that the Chinatown Development Association worked to change its former image as a dark, dirty and dangerous place into a new image as an exotic ethnic culture. It created this new image by reconstructing and representing aspects of Chinese traditional culture such as building temples and gates, and reorganizing Chinese foods and festivals. As a result, ‘Chinese ethnic culture’ has become a major part of Yokohama local culture where Chinese and Japanese businesses cooperate in creating and maintaining the attractive facilities, a good example of the growing trend of multiculturalism in today’s Japan (Graburn, Ertl and Tierney 2008). Thus Yokohama Chinatown has been successful in becoming a famous tourist spot in Japan where more than 20 million people visit annually, and 90 percent of its visitors are non-Chinese.

Based on her case studies of two cities, Nagasaki and Kotohira in Japan, Wang Wei examines the relationship and interactions between local culture and global tourism, and points out that the two cities have gone in opposite directions in presenting their unique identities to attract tourists. Nagasaki has drawn upon its history and reputation for foreignness, as a port open to Asian and European visitors and cultural influences for 400 years, to present itself as a positive aspect of Japan’s contemporary multiculturalism. Kotohira, on the other hand, has had reach back to its religious and performative local history, in representing its tradition of Kabuki near its famous old Shinto shrine, Konpira, attracting tourists to its location on Shikoku Island.

Nagatani Chiyoko discusses how the religious beliefs of Theravada Buddhism, the spirit cults of the Dai ethnic minority, the Mahayana Buddhism and Taoism of the Han (the Chinese majority) are revalued as resources for tourism development in Dehong Town, Yunnan. By examining the changes in the religious meanings of the Water-Splashing Festival in the last few decades, she points out that the “religious culture” represented in the tourist events and spots, such as the Water-splashing festival and the Pagoda of Mengbalaxi, has lost its meaning in official thought, compared to its ideal definition, the historical and dogmatic definition of the *Dai* intellectuals and as a practice of everyday life. This is because religion and superstition were prohibited by the Communist Cultural Revolution, so their revival since the Maoist period has been in the new concept of “religious culture” created by the tourist industry in order to keep a safe distance from “religion,” and it has been kept separate from the original values of “religion” on the ideal, traditional and practicing levels.

Shimizu Takuya examines the potential value of the Chinese Traditional Theater School of Shaanxi Opera as a tourist attraction in Xi’an. He shows that the staffs of the Shaanxi Opera and the Chinese Traditional Theater School are revaluing the complex process of training the actors and actresses as significant cultural heritage and trying to cultivate a new market for the local opera by attracting and introducing more tourists to the subtleties

offered by the Shaanxi Opera during its training sessions. He also analyzes the merits and demerits of this project for encouraging the acting students in their careers, for drawing a larger and more appreciative audience to the Opera, and for the future possibility of making money by training interested foreign students.

Chapter 2, “Experiencing and Consuming Space, Time and the Culture” focuses on the tourists’ regions and discusses some new patterns of tourism in East Asia. The emphasis is on new social relationships stemming from modern practices such as long stay tourism or (near) retirement abroad, the popular hobby of technologically sophisticated photography, and the changing patterns of Japanese holiday practices in the context of changing relations to other Asian countries.

Based on her fieldwork in Malaysia, Ono Mayumi analyzes a new trend in Japanese outbound tourism, namely “long-stay” tourism from the two perspectives of the sending side and the receiving side, following her mentor Yamashita Shinji (in press). On the sending side, Japanese longevity and declining birth rate have become a serious socio-economic issue. Increasing numbers of Japanese pensioners move overseas for economic reasons, especially to Southeast Asian countries, in pursuit of a better quality of retirement life. Tourism is no longer merely a pattern of leisure activity but is practiced as a strategy for survival. As the receiving side, Malaysia began to host foreign retirees and pensioners by starting the ‘Malaysia My Second Home’ program, issuing a special visa or social visit pass since the late 1980’s, and it has become one of the most popular destinations among elderly Japanese. This chapter is a contribution to the study of the growing global phenomenon of “Lifestyle Migration” (Benson and O’Reilly 2009).

Drawing on travel photography as a form of niche tourism, Sun Jie examines the relationship between photography, tourist tales and tourist experiences. By analyzing the tourist tales told before, during, and after the photography, she explains that photographers construct identities which differ from those of other tourists, and that each photographer also establishes their self-identity through their own photos. Photography is not only the most important product of photography travel, but also contributes to the formation of a new social relationship important for many reasons. Meanwhile, taking opportunities to shoot the next photograph becomes a new motivation for organizing the next trip. Thus photographers, who meet occasionally in the field, form a more permanent ‘virtual community’ through their internet communications, maintaining a micro-cultural value system from which they draw pride and identity. This is particularly interesting because anthropologist Wang Yu (2008) studied the political context of the local government and the Hani peasants who gain little benefit from the lucrative photography of the rice terraces which they built and maintain and which are now proposed for UNESCO World Heritage status.

Tanaka Takae gives a brief review of the history and changes of Japanese outbound tourism to East and Southeast Asia since 1964, and analyzes the sociality of Japanese in their tourism in Southeast and East Asia. She derives two main conclusions from her examination of tourists’ own accounts and from travel brochures. Firstly she emphasizes the ideas of tourism as a product and of the tourist’s role as a consumer and cultural agent and she analyzes the tourist’s status from socio-cultural, commercial and political perspectives. She points out the tourists’ image of themselves and the changes that tourism is constantly

undergoing that become the motive power for tourists to undertake their travels. She discusses how “Asia” is located within the discourse of Japanese tourism, focusing especially on the characteristics of a package tour employed by tourists for their travels and on how their images of “*nosutarujia* (nostalgia)”, “intimacy”, and “freshness” are being constructed throughout the process. The second perspective is an individualized process of tourists’ actual consumption of tourism as a product. She discusses the place of narratives in tourist experience, where tourists share their thoughts on tourism, which is crucial in the process of meaning formation.

Chapter 3, “Reconstruction and Revaluation of History, Landscape and Heritages” examines how history, spectacle and cultural inheritance are restructured and revalued through aspects of cultural policies and culture strategies by administrations in the East Asian region.

Han Min examines the process by which Heshun, a hometown of overseas Chinese, became a “culture-ecology village,” a tourism spot under the cultural strategy of regional government since the 1990’s. She analyses the different ways of representing history and heritage between the official tourism spots and the ones managed by local private persons and concludes that in China, the way of local and ethnic cultures always synchronizes with the cultural policies of the government. Therefore, a new superiority or inferiority relation may emerge between those cultures that are valued as tourism resources and those that are not. However, for the moment Han’s account of Heshun tourism illustrates both collaboration and competition among government offices, tourism agencies and the local community, in the process of creating local images for tourists. More multi-versions of representing locality are raising the possibility of the appearance of a heterogeneous society with multi-values in the process of tourism development.

Based on her fieldwork in Miyama-chou, Kyoto, Doshita Megumi argues that since environmental tourism has flourished worldwide in the last few decades, *satoyama* [literally ‘village-mountain’] in Japan which means at present the landscape consisting of everything in the countryside such as houses, rivers, paddy fields and forests, has been revalued as one of the most ideal tourism resources in this context. The original meaning of *satoyama* was an area surrounding housing sites and agricultural fields, and the present definition has been constructed along with the nation-wide environmental discussion mainly conducted by urban dwellers. Regardless of the change in its definition, those places categorized as *satoyama* have been cultivated and managed by rural residents whose main purpose was to obtain their daily goods and commercial products. Recently they have come to utilize these things for rural tourism as an alternative economic activity to agriculture and forestry. Tourists and tour agents interpret *satoyama* in their own way and rural residents often face difficulties in sharing the same understanding of *satoyama* with others and in achieving their ideal rural tourism development.

Imanaka Takafumi offers a case study on the tourism development of the “Muslim [Hui] District” in Xi’an and the changes made to the Hui district under the urban renewal project. The local government and developers are promoting urban renewal from a global perspective in order to attract more tourists from the world and at the same time they are encouraging the local Hui people to preserve their communities. The local Hui people living

inside the Hui districts are revaluing their history and have constructed some gates appearing as the visible boundaries of the Hui quarter, which is a strong way of expressing their desire to preserve their communities. However twelve independent communities in the Hui quarter differ in their approach to the preservation of their communities. There is no unified public opinion yet and each community maintains its own unique traits and features.

Zong Xiaolian's paper is the only one focusing on tourism souvenirs (*omiyage*) in this volume. She suggests that the development of a tourist souvenir industry can not only bring direct income to local inhabitants, but also contribute to revitalizing local culture, maintaining the traditional community, and developing a sustainable tourist industry. However, in the case of Lijiang, machine-made commodities produced by enterprises in coastal areas, most of which are similar but of inferior quality, occupy a dominant place in the tourist souvenir market. Souvenirs in Lijiang which have distinctive local features, are worthy of memory and collection and produced by local enterprises, are very few. She points out that in this case the tourism industry does not bring about the resurgence of traditional art forms or the preservation of skilful craftsmanship. Local enterprises cannot compete with mechanized factories in more developed areas. Finally she offers two suggestions for improving local products to enter the souvenir market and to help the development of the local economy and culture. Firstly laws and regulations should be improved according to the requirements of the development of the tourism souvenir industry. Second is to improve the service function of the industrial policy of the government, because government adoption of effective measures is a precondition for the development of an authentic tourist souvenir industry.

We hope that the significance of this volume is not merely collected papers about the tourism of East Asia on the 16th IUAES World Congress. Firstly it is an essential tourism study on East Asia, which is now one of the world's most popular areas both for tourism destinations and for tourist exporting countries. Also, from the introduction to the end of the book, people can see how tourism research started in Japan and how Minpaku has been playing an important role in leading it. Furthermore this book presents research results by young scholars trained mainly in Japan and China. Their challenges provide not only new materials and case studies for tourism anthropology, but also possibilities for the generation of new frameworks in anthropological approaches to tourism. .

Notes

- 1) The session, Tourism and Glocalization: Perspectives on East Asian Societies was held in room 515 of the Wenyuan Building in Yunnan on July 29, 2009. There were about 40 scholars attending our session coming from Japan, South Korea, the United States, Britain, Mexico, Taiwan and China. 12 scholars gave their presentations. The paper by Sun Jie in this volume was presented in another session of the 16th World Congress of IUAES in Kunming. Chen Leeming who came from the University of Tokyo and gave a presentation on An Ethnographic Study of Taiwanese Tourist Experiences: A Case Study of Tourism to Japan, and Christian J. Park, who came from Hanguk University of Foreign Studies (South Korea) and gave a presentation on (Re) Making of Inter-Korean Borders in Geumgangsán Tourism did not contribute their papers to his volume for their private reasons. In Kunming, Professor Graburn Nelson attended the session from beginning

- to end and finally gave general and perceptive detailed comments which were of great encouragement for each of the presenters. Later, Han Min, the organizer of the session, invited Professor Graburn to join her work of editing this volume.
- 2) Personal communication, *Yang Ying 1989. An*asterisk denotes people who have been students or visiting scholars at U. C. Berkeley, to whom Graburn owes enormous gratitude for enlarging his understanding of China and Japan.
 - 3) Wang Yu, Personal Communication to Graburn, 2009.
 - 4) For a more general history of travel and the study of travel in Japan, see Guichard-Anguis "Introduction: The culture of travel (*tabi no bunka*) and Japanese tourism." (2009)
 - 5) He teaches about tourism development, advises institutions and communities in Hokkaido and receives visiting foreign scholars.
 - 6) *Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, 1991, s.v. "glocalization".
 - 7) *Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, 1991, s.v. "glocalization".

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