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Information Studies of Tourist Resources

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1. Becoming the Focal Point of a Privileged Gaze: The Birth of a Tourist Destination

2. Mobile Curiosity: Tourism and Travel

3. Tourist Resources and Tourist Development

4. Constructed Resources: From Natural Resources to Information Resources

5. Guidebooks as Information for Promoting Tourist Resources

6. Information Battles: Strategies for Attracting Tourists

1. BECOMING THE FOCAL POINT OF A PRIVILEGED GAZE: THE BIRTH OF A TOURIST DESTINATION

In the last ten years or so, we have seen an increasing number of New Year's cards affixed with recent photographs of the senders. At my house we receive several New Year's cards each year consisting of color photographs. Usually these are photographs of children, but some show the entire family. In effect, this is a way to communicate the current status of the sender's family. Among this year's cards were two or three with photographs of Nepal and Tibet, showing memorable scenes from places the senders visited last year.

For a long time the mountain regions of Nepal and Tibet were places for exploration and adventure. Until very recently, they were considered unexplored and had the image of being locations strictly for scholarly expeditions by cultural anthropologists. They were not considered to be tourist destinations, much less tourist sites which appealed to the general public.

In recent years, however, the situation has started to change. There are now group tours for trekking in the Himalayan mountains. For example, my friends went without having to make any elaborate expeditionary plans to visit these areas. They had no doubt gone on a pleasure trip by signing up for a package tour with a travel agency. The gimmicks offered by package tours have progressed to the point of providing options which can make the trip seem like an individualized tour.

This paper is not an inquiry into what kind of package tour these people enjoyed or whether they were able to partake of an individualistic or exciting trip within a group tour. My inquiry will focus on how entirely unknown areas, which used to be subjects for exploration and adventure fraught with danger, have...
become destinations for tourism and targets for group tours.

In medieval Europe, it was a commonly accepted belief that demons lived in the snow-covered rocky crags of the Alpine range. Even Dr. Johnson, considered to be one of the most erudite men in eighteenth century England, reportedly kept the windows of his carriage closed when he crossed the Alps [Clark 1967].

In the mid-nineteenth century the rugged, rocky peaks of the Alps, previously considered to be the habitat of demons, became a destination for climbers, giving rise to Alpinism. Eventually they became a comfortable tourist route. Due to the development of transportation systems and meticulous arrangements by travel agencies, it is now possible even for women in high heels and elderly people to enjoy Alpine tourism.

We are now in an era when people can take sightseeing tours by airplane from New Zealand, Chile, and Iceland to the South and North Poles, areas which have taken the lives of many explorers. It may only be a matter of time before the ocean floor and the moon, which Jules Verne described in his fantasy stories, are charted as tourist routes.1) These instances show that areas never before considered to be targets for tourism can readily be transformed into tourist destinations with the development of relatively safe travel routes, allowing for ease of access, and the guarantee of a certain level of transportation volume.

Theoretically, then, we could say that there is nowhere on earth that cannot be a tourist destination. It is possible that a certain amount of danger may be what attracts some people to a place. Although tending toward black humor, it cannot be ruled out that tours to see the Chernobyl nuclear power plant or to experience the Gulf War might be offered under the forces of commercial capitalism. Anything can become the object of tourism when there is a strong curiosity to see or know something, as long as it does not entail experiencing more danger than one can tolerate.

Most of the foreigners who came to Japan after the treaty ports were opened at the end of the Edo period were traders and diplomats. But there were already some tourists among them. Because Japan was unknown to the West for so long, it was a land with mysterious allure unexplored by tourists. There was also the perception that it was a country fraught with danger.

The chief dangers were earthquakes and the exclusionist samurai who might attack foreigners with brandished swords. These purported dangers added to the mysteriousness of Japan and were “tourist experiences” that visitors thought they would like to meet up with as long as they could avoid physical harm.

As to earthquakes, B. H. Chamberlain, the Englishman employed by the

1) For example, “Completion of the first domestically built tourist submarine ‘Mogurin’: Launching at Kobe plans for its debut in Okinawa seas as a new form of marine leisure” [Mainichi Shimbun 8 August, 1989]. Or, when the Apollo program aimed at a moon landing was in progress, the topic was often raised in America of soliciting applications from the public for future space travelers.
Japanese government who resided in Japan from the mid-1870's, noted in one of his works that, "'Oh, how I wish I could feel an earthquake!' is generally among the first exclamations of the newly-landed European" [CHAMBERLAIN 1905: 127].

Although it is possible to define tourism in any number of ways, the satisfaction of curiosity must be one of its main motivations. One of the conditions needed to satisfy curiosity is mobility. At the cost of some over-simplification, tourism can be seen as 'the satisfaction of curiosity accompanied by physical movement.' This may be the simplest definition of tourism.2)

From this perspective, tourist destinations need not be special locations. Any place can qualify as a tourist site. Tourist resources are no longer defined in limited terms. And yet, places known as tourist sites or famous locations certainly do exist. This designation is given to places that received particular attention during a certain era. Places that exhibit a strong ability to draw and attract visitors became famous sites or tourist destinations.

In present times, the lack of some outstanding feature that draws people's interest does not necessarily mean that a location cannot become a tourist site. Actually, there are people who want to see a country's most typical town, a town that can be found anywhere.3)

One person's curiosity is the first step in the establishment of a tourist site. A tourist site is a place that attracts attention, an area that draws people's interest. It is when a locale becomes the focal point of a privileged gaze that it turns into a tourist site.

2. MOBILE CURIOSITY: TOURISM AND TRAVEL

Our definition of tourism as "the satisfaction of curiosity accompanied by physical movement" necessitates going to a different location from the place where

2) The definitions of tourism in dictionaries and encyclopedias can be summarized as "travel for the purpose of pleasure." The definition given by the Tourism Policy Council [NAIKAKU SÔRIDAIJIN KANBÔ SHINGISHITSU 1970: 13] is as follows. "Within the activities (recreation) engaged in to satisfy the basic desire of human beings seeking variation in their lives during their free time (leisure time), such as appreciation, knowledge, experience, activity, rest, mental stimulation, tourism is the series of activities undertaken in different natural and cultural environments away from the sphere of their daily lives."

3) The winner of the best entry award in the "Travel Recommendations Contest: What Travel Abroad Should Be in the Era of 10 Million Overseas Travelers" sponsored by the Mainichi Shinbun went to a recommendation titled "Everything about a Small Town." The award recipient had spent nine days taking a thorough look at a small city in the American northern Midwest with a population of 20,000 and no tourist sites. To the question, "What would you like to see in America?" this traveler had responded, "I'd like to take a thorough look at a typical American town from one end to the other," and had visited the town at the invitation of the State Department. Based on experiences of that visit, the writer suggested that this kind of tour be planned [MAINICHI SHINBUN 8 Augst, 1988].
one leads one's daily life. Regarding the phenomenon of mobility itself, tourism and travel are most often seen as being one and the same thing, as the same behavior.

We must, however, keep in mind that ryokō (travel) and tabi (journey) are not the same. To illustrate this point I would like to cite a somewhat lengthy passage from my own writing:

In 1927, the ethnologist Yanagita Kunio, who had extensive travel experience, wrote as follows. "Tabi was a sad thing, a difficult thing. In the past it required perseverance and great effort. . . . It is entirely due to a new culture that people began to travel (ryokō) for the purpose of pleasure." [YANAGITA 1970: 111]

It is worth focusing on Yanagita's differentiation between tabi which is "a sad thing, a difficult thing" and ryokō which he refers to in terms of "pleasure" and "new culture." This is not an accidental distinction. It is actually more meaningful to regard tabi and ryokō as essentially distinct in concept, going beyond a mere difference of expression. For example, when we substitute the word "ryokō" for the word "tabi" in such expressions as tabigeinin (itinerant player), tabiyakusha (itinerant actor), or tabi no mono (a voyager), the terms become very awkward or take on a different nuance. [SHIRAHATA 1990: 446]

Tabi certainly were sad and difficult. Because of this a tabi is often likened to life. The concept that a journey is life and life is a journey runs consistently through the twelfth-century poems of Saigyō and the seventeenth century haikai verses of Bashō, Oku no Hosomichi (The narrow road of Oku) begins: "The months and days are the passing guests of a hundred generations; the years that come and go are also travelers (tabibito)."4) This is practically a proclamation by Bashō that "life is a journey." Bashō's "Journey = Life" view is crystallized in what is considered to be his last poem:

"Stricken on a journey (tabi),
My dreams go wandering round
Withered fields" [KEENE 1978: 119]

Perhaps because the word tabi (journey) is thought to connote pain and suffering, even now titles of serious books use the word tabi rather than the word ryokō (travel). Books which include the word tabi in their titles are studies of life dealing with responses to troubles and problems faced by individuals. These volumes are shelved in the spiritual or life studies sections of bookstores. In contrast, books with ryokō in the title are placed in the leisure corner.5)

We can see from the above that ryokō and tabi differ. Travel (ryokō) is that in

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4) As translated by Keene [1978: 100].

5) In books with tabi (journey) in their titles, the treatment of the journey is almost uniformly consistent. For example: "A journey (tabi) is an encounter. People go on a
which needless suffering and danger are taken out of the process of movement. *Travel* is what can be accomplished thanks to the development of transportation facilities and the establishment of traffic networks. Moreover, *travel* itself can be a tourist activity and the means of travel can become the target for tourism. New travel devices, in particular, can become destinations for tourism, because they arouse people's curiosity.

The Kannom National Highway Tunnel (opened in 1957), the Tōkaidō line of the Bullet Train (commenced operations in 1964, San'yō line in 1975, Jōetsu line in 1979, Tōhoku line in 1988), the Meishin Superhighway (opened in 1965), Honshi Bridge (opened in 1985), Seikan Tunnel (opened in 1988) all transcended their functions of mere transportation devices by generating tourism. In addition, such devices perform the role of adding value to tourism. We can see advertising copy such as “Tour Paris and test ride the Concorde,” “Go to Disneyland via the two-storied New Bullet Train,” and, though no one can discern any difference from the usual jumbo jet in recent flights, “Go to Hong Kong on a high-tech jumbo” (advertisement by Lufthansa for its southern route to Europe in 1989). The recently opened Yokohama Bay Bridge is better known as a tourist destination than as a transportation device.

3. TOURIST RESOURCES AND TOURIST DEVELOPMENT

Tourist ‘resources’ are resources that are ‘deposited’ in every nation. Countries are not divided by the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’ as in the case of precious metals, gems, or oil. These resources exist regardless of whether a nation is an industrially developed country or a developing country. Tourism-related business is the type of industry that every country can enter into on an equal basis. Therefore, developing countries lacking capital to establish industry, attempt to use tourism as a means of acquiring foreign exchange and of gaining a source of capital for modernization.

In 1987, newspaper articles concerning China frequently dealt with the topic of tourist development: “China eager to become a great tourist nation” [ASAHI SHIN-BUN 2 February, 1987]; “China: Modernizing by becoming a tourist nation—ac-
quisition of foreign currency and the display of ‘liberalization’” [Asahi Shimbun 2 November, 1987]. The former article reported on the construction boom to build hotels, ski resorts, winter sports centers, and so on, taking place in the northeast region, an area known by the proverb, “Never travel there during the depths of winter.” The latter piece described the boom in the construction of hotels to house foreign tourists in Beijing and Shanghai.

These articles reported on the vigorous tourist policies of the Chinese government to increase the number of foreigners entering China from 1.5 million, in 1986, to five million in 1990, the year that Beijing hosted the Asian Games, and then to ten million, in the year 2000 by attracting the Olympic Games to China. The number of foreign tourists entering China has been growing at a steady rate.

The Tienanmen Incident of June 1989, caused a drastic decline in the number of tourists visiting China. This decline had not been fully reversed at the time of the opening of the Asian Games in 1990. The travel industry forecast that it might not be until 1992 that the number of Japanese tourists to China would exceed the 1988 peak number of 600,000 [Mainichi Shimbun 16 September, 1990].

There are many countries that, similar to China, have nothing to sell but tourist resources. North Korea, which has remained isolationist for many years, is considering tourist development as a way to bring in foreign currency [Mainichi Shimbun 22 July, 1989]. The only resource possessed by the small island country of Malta in the Mediterranean Sea is tourism. With its mild climate and diverse historic cultural heritage as investment, it is attempting to further increase its 500,000 tourists per year from countries such as Britain, the United States, and Australia [Mainichi Shimbun 5 November, 1989]. In Southeast Asia, where there has been a great increase in Japanese tourists, Thailand declared 1987 its “year of tourism” and inaugurated a campaign to attract tourists under government guidance. In 1988, the Philippines promoted a similar program, and in 1990 Malaysia did the same.

There was a time when Japan sought to rebuild its economy by using its tourist resources. This was just after the Second World War when Japan was a defeated nation. At a time when Japan had hardly any products that it could export or sell abroad, the slogan “Establish a Nation by Tourism” came into use.

In 1946, shortly after Japan’s defeat, the Tourism Business Council was established as an advisory body to the Prime Minister to examine tourism promotion policies. This Council was chaired by Ishizaka Taizō, then President of Nippon Life Insurance, who later became chairman of the 1970 Osaka International Exposition Association. It was a time when people were giving and receiving advice on how to limit Japan’s trade deficit to the smallest amount possible and how to earn even one more dollars in foreign currency.

Ishizaka [1950: 18] himself stated, “In 1936, shortly before the war, 42,500 foreign tourists came to Japan and spent 107 million yen. This amount ranked fourth in export earnings after cotton goods, raw silk, and rayon. These figures show, in convincing fashion, the importance of the international tourist business as
an invisible export.” It was undoubtedly true that income from tourism ranked fourth in the list of sources for earning foreign currency, with cotton goods at the top at 500 million yen.

During this period expressions such as “export of scenery,” and “capitalization of scenery” were coined in connection with tourist promotion [KISHI 1950: 125]. Japan had nothing to export. The only resource at hand was its natural scenery. The idea was to have visitors come to view the scenery and landscape and spend money while they were here, thus, giving rise to the expression “export of scenery.” Japan’s condition after the war was, as Tu Fu’s lines say, “The country has fallen, but its mountains and rivers remain” [KEENE 1978: 104]. Tourism was something visitors did in Japan, not something Japanese did abroad. The term “international tourism” was very influential from the latter half of the 1940s into the 1950s.

We still see hotels and inns displaying signs indicating they are government-registered international tourist hotels or inns. These are vestiges of the policies of the latter 1940s to 1950s, the era of the slogan “international tourism,” and indicate that these establishments have sinks, toilets, and baths in each room to meet the standards set by the Ministry of Transportation and are designated as being promoted by that ministry. It is well known that the inns in former famous tourist sites proudly displaying signs like “government-registered” or “international tourist inn” are inns devoid of individual character. This is the heritage of the standardization during the period of the effort to improve inns through “international tourism” slogan.

In present-day Japan, there has been an about-face from the promotion of international tourism for attracting foreign tourists, in order to bring in foreign currency, to the strong encouragement, for Japanese to travel abroad. The common trend now is “Promotion of travel abroad to reduce the balance of trade. Downplay publicity for international tourism” [ASAHI SHINBUN 14 December, 1988].

We are now at the point of having a “Boom in foreign travel by policemen” [ASAHI SHINBUN 3 June, 1989]. With the closing of government offices on Saturdays becoming the norm, it has become easier for civil servants to take days off. People have more disposable income to go abroad. Along with these trends, there is a growing internationalization of crime. Crimes committed by foreigners in Japan have increased as have troubles involving Japanese abroad. In these times, police officers lacking international sensibilities will not be able to respond to new types of crimes, and so they are encouraged to go on trips and gain personal experience abroad. The above article reports that organizations such as the Police Benefits Association have joined with travel agencies to put together package tours especially for police officers, and that these are extremely popular.

A nation’s economic condition can be clearly determined by whether its priority is placed on attracting international tourism or its effort is focused on popularizing travel abroad. After the end of the First World War, the encounter between an exhausted Europe and a strong America—which was at the height of its glory
through development of its wealth from the second half of the nineteenth century—is clearly evident with respect to tourism. The American tourists flowing into Europe became the theme for George Gershwin’s *An American in Paris*. At this time, the European side sought international tourism, while the American side engaged in travel abroad. This was the period when state-run travel promotion offices were founded in European countries.

Now Japanese travelers abroad, in excess of ten million in 1990, are encountering the political and economic disintegration of Eastern Europe and the Soviet sphere, resulting in “A Japanese in Warsaw” and “A Japanese in Moscow.”

4. CONSTRUCTED RESOURCES: FROM NATURAL RESOURCES TO INFORMATION RESOURCES

In the past, ‘tourist resources’ referred to beautiful landscapes, such as mountains, rivers, waterfalls, and coastlines. The grandeur and beauty of nature made famous places and tourist sites what they were. Admittedly, major cities such as Paris, London, and Tokyo were tourist destinations in themselves. It cannot be denied, either, that ‘famous locations’ and ‘tourist sites’ came into being because of pilgrimages by believers with religious motivations. Example of these were Takachiho, the place in Japan considered to be where the descendents of the Sun Goddess descended on earth, and Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain, founded on the belief of the discovery there of a relic of one of Christ’s twelve disciples. However, tourist resources were, in the main, those found in nature.

Man-made tourist resources have made their appearance from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The international exposition is the largest in scale of these. There have been more than ten large international expositions held since the 1938 Paris treaty, concerning international expositions, took effect. If we include the events held before that time, we can count over twenty of these expositions. The first exhibition, the 1851 London Exposition, had an attendance figure of six million people, about one-fourth of the population of England at that time. Those from the countryside who visited the exposition also saw the sights of London. It was at this time that the world’s longest standing business operation in the travel industry, the Thomas Cook company, established the foundations for its current business.

The founder of the business, Thomas Cook, was a devout Christian and an ardent supporter of the temperance movement. He had lighted on tourism as a means of offering healthy entertainment to commoners who only had liquor as an outlet for their troubles. At that time tourism was taken to be serious entertainment, an edifying form of amusement. An international exposition fit the bill perfectly. The international exposition was not only a man-made tourist resource, it also brought about the operation of the tourist industry and the travel industry in the tertiary industry sector.

Numerous events calling themselves expositions have been held in Japan. If
we include competitions such as the National Confectionery Exposition, the number would rise to an unimaginable figure. Over eight hundred comprehensive expositions have been held since the beginning of the Meiji period. These events numbered one hundred in the Meiji period; 150 in the Taishō period; three hundred in the pre-war Shōwa period (1926-1941); and 250 in the post-war era. With the popularity of expositions of recent years, the number will no doubt surpass that of the pre-war Shōwa period soon.6)

These expositions are generally organized by the public sector, with the national government or the local government taking the lead. Naturally, they serve to enhance national prestige or to promote a specific region. In order for them to succeed, it is essential that they become known and talked about.

The tendency observable, in the typical local government events during the surfeit of local expositions in 1988 and 1989, was the production of a tourist resource. This also required the production of information to enhance the topic-worthiness of the event, to raise the recognition factor of the region, and to link these to attracting tourists.

5. GUIDEBOOKS AS INFORMATION FOR PROMOTING TOURIST RESOURCES

Guidebooks aid in promoting a certain area as a famous tourist location. One of the precursors of guidebooks in Japan was the genre known as suzume mono, with titles like Kyō Suzume and Edo Suzume, which were descriptions of famous places. These appeared in the latter half of the seventeenth century and became numerous during the eighteenth century. Edo Meishoki by Asai Ryōi and Keijō Shōran by Kaibara Ekken are representative masterworks of this genre treating the major cities of Kyoto, Edo, and Osaka. During the Edo period, in addition to guides to major cities, guidebooks were published addressing specific fields, such as the Kaimono Hitori Annai offering information on famous shops, as well as guides to temples and shrines and their gardens.

As for guidebooks in English for foreign tourists since the opening of the country in 1854, my survey has uncovered over ninety volumes published during the Meiji period until about 1910. This amounts to an average of more than two volumes published annually. In spite of the fact that the number of tourists was not as great as that in our current era of mass tourism, the number of guidebooks available was quite impressive.

These guidebooks were media that transformed what, if left alone, would remain merely natural resources into tourist resources by supplementing information about such locations. Tourist resources are those that are transformed into something people feel they must see, rather than being resources that merely exist.

6) According to Hakurankai Kyoki by Terashita Tsuyoshi [1990], the number has exceeded 50 since 1985.
They are manufactured with information. Tourist resource production is also in-
formation production.

Knowledge about the designation of places as ‘the three famed landscapes of
Japan’ or ‘the eight famous sights of Omi’ was considered a minimum requirement
for educated Japanese. This was even general knowledge among commoners as
well. We might call these examples of the first advertising copy for producing
tourist resources. In time, phrases such as “Don’t say fine (kekko) until you’ve
seen Nikko” appeared which sounded like slogans created to attract tourists.

To take this point further, consider the following haiku poems:

Matsushima!,
Ah Matsushima!,
Matsushima!

Do the Fifth-Month rains
Stay away when they fall,
Sparing that Hall of Gold? [McCULLOUGH 1990: 538]

These poems have been thoroughly analyzed as literary works in terms of the in-
terpretations of the writers’ personal emotions. Yet, there has been no discussion
of the function these poems have had in terms of imparting information to society.
No attempt has been made to approach them from the perspective of information
theory as they relate to transforming Matsushima and Hiraizumi into tourist
resources.

From the perspective of tourism studies, such poems (waka and haiku), the
designation of landscapes such as ‘the eight famous views,’ and guidebooks can be
considered as information used in the production of tourist resources.

6. INFORMATION BATTLES: STRATEGIES FOR ATTRACTING TOUR-
ISTS

In our time a major strategy that determines the prosperity of tourist areas lies
in the production of tourist resources. It may be more accurate to say that the
strategy lies in the creation of information in order to produce tourist resources. In
other words, trends in tourism can shift drastically depending on how much infor-
mation can be gathered, produced, and manifested.

In October 1987, a major article appeared with the headline “Warning to ‘tread
lightly’ with astonishing 16 billion yen event planned” in the Izu district local
newspaper. Close to the Tokyo metropolitan area, the Izu Peninsula is well equip-
ped with natural scenery and hot springs, as well as sports facilities, such as tennis
courts and golf courses, catering to recent tourist trends. It is an outstanding
tourist region which enjoys a great number of visitors throughout the year. The
number of tourists decreased and related businesses suffered, however, during the 1970 Osaka International Exposition, the 1981 Kobe Portopia, and the 1985 Tsukuba Science Exposition. This article was doubtlessly written with such past experiences of tourists being siphoned off by other sites in mind.

In conjunction with the opening of the Seto Bridge, in the spring of 1988, commemorative expositions were held in Shikoku and Okayama. The organizers of these events aimed at attracting three million visitors and budgeted sixteen billion yen. This meant that, without a deliberate strategy, the 1988 battle for attracting tourists would be lost to this strong rival. An article by Mitsuori issued a warning about this situation [MITSUHORI 1988].

Starting with the Seto Bridge Exposition, fourteen expositions were held in Japan in 1988 (Table 1). The major expositions were the Seikan Exposition held in Aomori Prefecture to commemorate the opening of the Seikan Tunnel, and the Silk Road Exposition held by Nara Prefecture from April to November. Not only the tourist-related business operations but also the entire local community felt the necessity to be serious about attracting tourists to Izu.

<table>
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<td>4/24 – 10/23</td>
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<td>6,818,833</td>
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<td>World Food Festival</td>
<td>6/3 – 10/30</td>
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<td>7/2 – 9/4</td>
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There was another reason for Izu tourist business operators to become concerned about the situation. This was the airing by NHK of the historical drama *Takeda Shingen* for one year starting in January 1988. The stage for the action in *Takeda Shingen* was located in Yamanashi and Nagano Prefectures. Prior to broadcast, both prefectures had shown their enthusiasm for promoting tourist sites in their prefectures by budgeting several tens of million yen. Geographical proximity caused those in Izu, located in Shizuoka Prefecture, to become even more anxious.

This was also the year of the three hundredth anniversary of Bashō's trip on the narrow road to the north, and the prefectures in northeastern Japan eagerly publicized this to attract tourists. As can be seen in these examples, television programs with high viewer ratings, such as the NHK historical dramas, and large scale events, such as expositions, are forceful means of communicating information to stimulate tourism.

The efforts to attract tourists to self-proclaimed tourist sites in local areas depends on how much information these localities can disseminate for publicity purposes by means such as creating events and topics of note. The battle for acquiring tourists has turned into an information battle. In our discussions of tourism, we can no longer consider it independently of information, and we must think of tourism as being produced by information.

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