Japanese Tourists and Indonesia:
Images of Self and Other in the Age of
Kokusai (Internationalization)

by

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This thesis represents my own original work. All authorities and sources that have been consulted are acknowledged in the references.
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Introduction

The case study in the following chapters has been inspired by both anthropology and Asian studies as interdisciplinary area studies. It is a study of the way in which the Other (the local people's lives and culture or the 'hosts') is represented in relation to the meaning system of the Self (tourists or 'guests') in the limited context of tourism. This is studied through the representation of 'Indonesia' in Japanese travel brochures, paying particular attention to the relationship between the self-image of Japanese and the way in which they construct the Other.2

In the representation of 'Indonesia' in Japanese travel brochures, the representation of the local Indonesian people's lives and culture reflects the ideal self-image of the Japanese tourists. This process is explored through the concept of kokusaijin (international citizen), which is one aspect of the self-image of the Japanese tourists in the age of kokusaika (internationalization). 3

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1 The definition of 'tourist' itself has been problematic and much discussed in the study of tourism, as reviewed in the article of Nash (1981, 'Tourism as an Anthropological Subject', in Current Anthropology 22(5). pp.461-463). This thesis does not aim to define the word 'tourist', but rather uses it generally to refer to people who travel to other places by their choice. In an extended usage, it refers to the 'Self' who is involved in the process of seeing and representing the Other, which includes not only the viewer of the brochures but also the travel companies who produce the brochures: it refers to people in general in the 'society' which produced these 'viewers' and 'travel companies'.

It seems that people generally regard 'tourists' as an inferior species no matter who they are. At home, people feel superior to tourists from other societies, and talk about their 'naivety' and 'foolishness'. When they travel to other places and become tourists themselves, they do not want to be regarded as 'tourists' and convince themselves that they are different from 'all those tourists' because they 'studied' the guide books and 'know' about the people and culture that they are visiting. These travellers try to distinguish themselves by saying that their travel is different because they have experienced the "real" thing through "real" communication with the people living there.

2 This study does not take the stand-point of a nihonjinron (discussions about the uniqueness of the Japanese). Nihonjinron is a form of Japanese studies which attempts to define the specificity of Japanese identity, and ranges over the whole complex of Japanese historical culture, choosing illustrative material from classical records, folklore materials, historical chronicles, contemporary news, dictionaries of Japanese usage, etc. (Dale 1986:i). Japanese tourists are taken as an example of the 'invention' of reality in tourist brochures. Consequently, this study itself, rather than being one of the nihonjinrons, casts a meta-inquiry as to whether what is called nihonjinron might itself be one of the 'inventions', by projecting their ideal self-image onto the Self as well as the Other, although this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

3 The concepts of kokusaika (internationalization) and kokusaijin (international citizen) are studied as one possible means of describing the self-image of Japanese today, and this study does not aim to define or generalize these concepts which are used diversely in different fields and levels.
The topic of this thesis, as explained above, emerged from questions concerning
the 'representation' of culture in the context of area studies. In representing culture, is
the Self representing the Other who is 'out there', and do the Self and the Other exist
as separate entities enabling the Self to represent the Other 'as they are'? Or is it an
'invention' (Wagner 1981) both by the Self and the Other in the dialectic interaction in
which both parties actively construct each other?

This thesis hypothesizes the latter. The Self and the Other are never settled as
separated entities, but are constantly changing through the process of interaction and
are actively constructing each other. Moreover, 'the way in which each sees the other
confirms his own view of himself' (Berger 1982:96). The Self is a part of the
interaction, and the Self actively creates the Other as well as the Self while interacting
with the Other.

In the representation of the Other (other people's lives and culture), in which the
Self is a part of the interaction, the Self is in the paradoxical situation of 'becoming the
Other' and 'retaining the Self'. In the process of interaction, one is always moving
between the Self and the Other. On the one hand, in order to understand and achieve
the successful representation of the Other, one becomes like the Other in the process
of comprehending the meaning system or the perspective of the Other. Yet on the
other hand, if one totally becomes the Other one runs the risk of losing the identity of
the Self. This loss not only threatens one's identity, but also threatens one's capacity
to represent the Other in the meaning system or from the perspective of the Self.

This thesis, by confining itself to the context of travel brochures, studies the
relationship between the Self and Other. The relationship between the self-image of
the tourists and the representation of the Other (the lives and culture of the people
living at the destination) is examined through its representation in travel brochures.
Due to its limited scope, it explores more of the Self in the representation of the Other,
which is only a part of the dialectic process involving both the Self and the Other. In
representing the Other do we 'use those people and their way of life and make them
subservient to ourselves' (Wagner 1981:16)?

The representation in the brochures is influenced by what the prospective tourist
wants, and, vice versa, the prospective tourist is influenced by what is represented in
brochures. Brochures are produced by travel companies. In order to attract
consumers, brochures provide what they want. They promise the opportunity for
self-realization, which is realized through the viewer's travelling to the destination
advertised. In a dialectic movement demand creates and perpetuates supply while
supply in turn creates and perpetuates demand.
The representation of 'Indonesia' in Japanese travel brochures is explored as an example of representation of other culture. For the Japanese, Indonesia is but one destination among others. Although Asia is popular as a destination for Japanese tourists, Indonesia is less popular at the present although the rate of increase is over ten per cent. Taiwan, Korea, and Hong Kong are among popular destinations in Asia (Ministry of Transportation 1987:10). However, Japanese tourists comprise a high percentage of tourists visiting Indonesia. In 1983, Japanese tourists who visited Indonesia amounted to 83,997, which was the third largest group following Singapore 95,106, and Australia 84,432.

Although the case study discusses Japanese and the representation of 'Indonesia' in the Japanese travel brochures, it does not aim to discuss Japanese themselves. The Japanese tourists are taken as an example among tourists of other nationalities.

In the context of Japanese tourism, via the representation of 'Indonesia' contained in travel brochures, the study reveals that the representation of the Other reflects an aspect of self-image. The Other is portrayed from the perspective of the ideal-self. Further, the viewer's act of seeing the representation of other people's lives and culture gives a false feeling of 'becoming the Other' on the grounds that the viewer 'gets to know about other people's lives and culture'. In this process, one is assured of his self-image by seeing the self-image reflected in the Other. Thus, the representation of the Other in the travel brochures does not necessarily contribute to the understanding of the Other, rather it disguises the feeling of 'retaining the Self' while enabling one to believe that one is 'becoming like the Other'.

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My own interest in the representation of culture was spurred by personal experiences. I was previously an exchange student to a high school in a small town in the U.S.A. for one year, a post-graduate student in Australia where I have lived for three years, and lastly, a student of Indonesian studies in both Japan and Australia.

As an exchange student, I have stood between, on the one hand, Japanese culture, and on the other hand, American or Australian culture. I have experienced different roles involved in the process of representing culture; i.e. the role of 'observer' who interprets one's own culture and represents it in another cultural context; 'informant' who interprets one's own culture and explains it to the Other in a foreign cultural context; and the 'observed' who is being interpreted and represented to and by other people.
While I was in the role of an 'observer' or 'outsider' who represented Japanese culture, yet while being one of the 'insiders', the process of representation depended on 'interpretation'. In order to represent my own culture I had to retain my own cultural identity as an 'insider'. At the same time, in order to represent my own culture to others and make the representation relevant to the foreign culture, I had to objectify my own culture and take the perspective of an 'outsider'. No matter how hard I tried, what I represented appeared to me inadequate judged from the perspectives of either 'insider' or 'outsider'. From the perspective of an 'insider', the representation was artificially transformed in the context of the other culture to make it relevant to the audience. From the perspective of an 'outsider', it was too vague because it was not sufficiently translated into the cultural context of the listener to be understood. Furthermore, what I, who was regarded as an 'insider' of Japanese culture, knew of Japan was from merely one of the perspectives out of the total population of Japan.

Some listeners expected the stereotypic 'exotic' and 'oriental' image with Geisha girls, cherry blossoms, and Mt. Fuji. Others expected an 'industrialized' and 'high-tech' image with tall buildings, bullet trains, and factories. Although I did not intend to represent Japan in these ways, what I said often turned into proof of what they had expected. There was always a gap between Self and Other even within myself, i.e. a gap between what I knew of Japan as one member of the society and what I could say about it from a detached perspective in the task of making it relevant to the Other, given limited time and language capacities. There was also a gap between what was represented and what was 'actually understood' by the Other in terms of their cultural context. I did not tell lies, but the more I tried to fill the gap with words to tell the truth, the more I felt as though I was creating a lie out of the truth to both the Self and Other.

While I was in a role of an 'informant', I found myself involved in the creation of reality as an informant, affected by both the expectations of the listener and of myself. I experienced the creation of a truth in the interaction between the informant and the listener. There were questions to which I could not answer a straight 'Yes' nor 'No' but which were more complex. 'Is the position of women much lower than men compared to here?' or 'Are Japanese all workaholics?' etc. I felt compelled to explain the different aspects of such complex questions, but after such explanations each question had to be answered either 'Yes' or 'No'. In some cases, the listener tended to emphasize the 'Yes' side or the 'No' side in order to meet their expectations. In those cases, I found that the way I answered was influenced by what the Other expected and so I talked more of what they expected, and simplified or cut short the
rest. Or in other cases, I was influenced by what I considered the more ideal image of Japan and emphasized that side.

I also found myself in the position of being represented as one of the 'observed'. The more 'unfamiliar' and 'exotic' the representation was in the context that it was presented, the more 'attractive' and 'entertaining' it became. I encountered many representations of Japan in different ways: in the form of advertisements, posters, documentary films, and articles in magazines. These were not necessarily a representation of the same Japan that I personally knew. Although these were convincing, attractive and true in a sense, in that each element in the representation was familiar, the representation as a whole appeared unfamiliar. I felt uncomfortable about the balance in the way things were represented, as in a photograph, for example, where some objects were sharply focused in the centre and given meaning, while others were left out of focus in the background. 'Familiar' elements were arranged in 'unfamiliar' ways.

'Familiar' objects were also used in 'unfamiliar' ways. I found Japanese swords, paintings, wood-carvings, and pots which were taken out of the Japanese context and used in the western conventional living-room in different ways, on the wall, mantelpiece, or the cupboard. They seemed part of an invention of 'exotic orientalness'. These 'boring' things which were too familiar in my life in Japan became 'fascinating' and appeared more attractive, when viewed in a different context.

While experiencing this disorientation, I went through the process of 'becoming' like the people in the community where I stayed. In this 'becoming' I began to learn and absorb the perspectives of people who lived there. Subsequently, the way in which I interpreted or represented Japanese culture changed. Then, when I went home I had to go through the process of 'becoming' in my own culture, in order to represent other countries. I became partly a 'stranger' to Japanese culture after staying and participating in another culture.

Being a student of Indonesian studies, the experiences above cumulated with the experience of travelling to Indonesia, making me conscious of the process of individual representation or interpretation of Indonesia. Being a tourist in Indonesia by myself on several occasions and under different conditions, I experienced and saw different 'Indonesias'. Staying in a hotel and sightseeing with guidebooks was different from staying with an Indonesian family. Travelling with friends was different from travelling alone. What I saw there, after flying from Japan with Japanese expectations, was different from what I saw after knowing Australian culture and flying there from Australia. What I saw there, after studying Indonesian culture
and language, was different from what I had seen before with less knowledge. These conditions not only affected the way I saw, but further the way the people at the destination saw me, and consequently the interaction between themselves and myself.

One TV advertisement of Garuda Airlines which I admired and was attracted to also made me think about the construction of the Other through media in the context of tourism. The advertisement was broadcast in Australia in 1987, and it created the image of a luxurious and romantic ‘Indonesia’ within 30 seconds, in order to attract the Australian viewer. The narration was as follows: ‘This is the beach where Mick Jagger played his guitar under the full moon. This is where Lord Lichfield photographed his models. This is the hotel where President Reagan stayed. This is where Ringo Starr went sightseeing’. The advertisement showed luxurious and romantic visual pictures together with the above narration. It was just one of the representations of Indonesia, and constructed ‘Indonesia’ as a luxurious and romantic place, which I had never seen in Indonesia. My Indonesian friends also said that they had never seen their country from that perspective.

I was at the same time surprised not only by the way Indonesia was attractively constructed for prospective tourists, but also by the way it was represented following the meaning system of the viewer’s society: its attractiveness depended on the ways in which it was constructed in terms of the meaning system of the viewer. It does not necessarily represent the meaning system of the Indonesian people.\(^4\) I, as a viewer, was watching this from perspectives both of ‘a student in Australia’ who partly shares the meaning system of Australia, and ‘a student born in Japan’ who partly shares the meaning system of Japan. Seeing this advertisement from two different perspectives, I realized the use of ‘orientalness’ in that particular romantic way was only not the way Indonesians would perceive it, but also not the way Japanese would perceive it.

For example, the scene which shows a rice terrace signified ‘romantic’ and ‘mysterious’ with an ‘orientalness’ which appears unfamiliar for the Australian viewer, while for the Japanese viewer, it is familiar and only signifies the ‘rural farming area which is not very exotic’.\(^5\) The same symbol is interpreted to mean different things in different cultures.

When I began to write this thesis, these personal experiences caused me to question the way in which I saw and represented Indonesia. Being at university, I was supposed to be ‘objective’ or ‘transparent’, but just as I had been frustrated with

\(^4\) I interviewed several students who are from different places from Indonesia, and they said the representation of ‘Indonesia’ is not the way they see Indonesia.

\(^5\) I showed the advertisement to Australian friends and Japanese friends and asked for their opinion as well as seeing it myself.
representing Japan, the more I tried to represent 'Indonesia', I felt as though I was once again creating it out of the available truth. In area studies, which are studies about other people living at intersections of time and geographical situations, it is often said that one should see things from the perspective of the people whom one is studying. Sometimes the 'insider's' perspective is regarded as more precious and accurate than that of 'outsider's'. The 'outsider's' perspective which claims to represent an 'insider's' perspective is held to be more meaningful on the grounds that the meaning system of the Other is well translated to that of the Self. Are any of these perspectives free from 'creation' or 'invention'? This is unlikely.

This thesis does not intend to create 'Indonesia' but rather question the way in which 'Indonesia' is constructed in relation to the viewer or the observer's meaning system. This is studied only through a case study of 'Indonesia' as represented through Japanese travel brochures. It does not intend to create 'Japanese tourists' either. This case study itself is presented from a standpoint 'betwixt and between' the perspective of an 'insider' and an 'outsider', for the standpoint of this study is also, in itself, merely one of the possible representations, and thus is concerned to be conscious of its position.

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The organization of this thesis is as follows. The first chapter is an introductory chapter which overviews the study of tourism in anthropology.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 comprise the main argument; together they look at the representation of 'Indonesia' in Japanese travel brochures. Chapter 2 is a study of the self-image of Japanese tourists as kokusaijin (international citizens). The concept of kokusaika (internationalization) began to appear in the 1970's and became popular in the 1980's. It is the process of seeking Japan's identity in the world context. In the time of kokusaika, the Japanese people are attempting to become kokusaijin. Tourism is one of the areas in which Japanese seem to perceive a measure of success in achieving kokusaika.

Kokusaika, in general, embodies a paradox. Kokusaika, on the one hand, takes the form of 'trans-nationalism' whereby the Japanese aim at opening themselves to other nations on an equal basis and achieving a mutual-understanding with the Other by becoming like the Other. On the other hand, kokusaika takes the form of 'nationalism' whereby the Japanese feel the necessity of reaffirming their Self as 'unique'.
Chapter 3, as a case study, analyzes the representation of 'Indonesia' in Japanese travel brochures in relation to the self-image studied in the previous chapter. 'Indonesia' is shaped by the Japanese for the Japanese; the self-image of Japanese people via a juxtaposition of that Other with the Self. This packaged representation of 'Indonesia', not only reflects the self-image of the Japanese, but has the 'function of reconciling the contradictions which cannot be resolved on the real plane' (Sturrock 1986). 'Indonesia' as an imaginary plane resolves the contradiction of *kokusaika* for the Japanese by presenting themselves to themselves.

This imaginary plane consists of two levels. On the surface, it offers the realization of *kokusaika* as a form of 'trans-nationalism'. However, on a deeper level, it reassures the Japanese of their identity as 'uniquely Japanese' which represents a form of 'nationalism'. This resolves the Japanese dilemma in the paradox.

There is hardly any realistic representation of Japanese tourists in the brochures: only the representation of 'local Indonesians' and 'Europeans' in the role of tourists in the Japanese brochures. There are also some cartoons which represent the role of tourists. The local Indonesians are in the role of 'being observed by' or 'serving' others, while the tourists who are represented as 'Europeans' are in the role of 'observing' or 'being served' by the Indonesians. The Japanese viewer of the brochures is invited to place himself in European shoes.

The manipulation of the Other creates an imaginary plane. It enables the viewer to transform himself from his daily life self to his ideal self on this imaginary plane.

The last chapter is a conclusion which overviews the case study and comes back to the question of the representation of culture. As seen in the material in Chapters 2 and 3, the representation of the Other symbolically reflects the ideal self-image of the Self. In the context of tourism, the aspect of 'trans-nationalism' disguises the aspect of 'nationalism'. The representation of the Other becomes a justification not only of the ideal self-image, but also of the perspective of others which flows from this ideal self-image.

While the thesis itself might be one of these 'inventions', it does attempt to question the process of 'invention' rather than ignoring it altogether, which will at least help to highlight and therefore lessen the unintentional creation and misuse of other peoples lives and and their cultures.

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I also wish to thank my parents for their support and to thank my sister Sae who shares the experience of being 'betwixt and between' in the cross-cultural context and enthusiastically encouraged me to complete this thesis.
Chapter 1
The Study of Tourism

The study of tourism has been regarded in social science as 'unserious'. Tourism is a leisure activity, hence the study of it tends to be regarded as unimportant. Today, the study of tourism has not only been legitimated but is becoming a growing field of research. The study of tourism can be broadly divided into two foci, one is the study of the 'hosts' who live at the tourist destinations, and the other is the study of the 'guests' who travel to these destinations. While studies of the 'hosts' are 'interested in assessing the range of empirical effects that tourism has upon the sociocultural systems of host societies' (Lett 1989:276), studies of 'guests' explore 'the culturally defined meanings that the experience of tourism holds for the tourists and those he or she encounters' (ibid). However, the 'hosts' and the 'guests' are interdependent and interact with each other.

1.1. Who are Tourists?

The definition of 'tourist' itself has been problematic and much discussed in the study of tourism, as reviewed in the article of Nash (1981:461-463). The World Tourism Organization adopts a simple approach describing tourists as people who stay away from their usual place of residence for one or more nights. Tourists who cross a border are international tourists; those who do not, are domestic tourists. The United Nations conference on International Travel and Tourism at its meeting in Rome in 1963, defined 'tourists' as temporary visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country visited for the purpose of leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, sport) or business, family visits and conferences (Pearce 1982:3). There are also other attempts to define tourists and categorize them (Cohen 1974, Leiper 1979).

Within this thesis the word 'tourist' will be loosely used to refer to people who travel to other places by their own choice. Since this thesis analyses travel brochures, 'tourists' included the viewer of the brochures who are the 'prospective tourists'. In an extended usage, it refers to the Self who is involved in the process of seeing and representing the Other, which includes not only the viewer of the brochures but also the travel companies who produce the brochures. Further, it refers to people in
general in the 'society' which produced these 'viewers' and 'travel companies' as well as travel brochures.

1.2. The Anthropology of Tourism

The anthropology of tourism is a 'recently developed field for the study of phenomena of tourism in all guises' (Graburn 1983:10). It is not until recently that the term 'anthropology of tourism' has been used in some works. In literature, it has been expressed as 'tourism as an anthropological subject' or 'the anthropological study of tourism' (ibid), 'the anthropological analysis of tourism' (Aspelin 1977) 'tourism and anthropology' (Pi-Sunyer 1981), 'anthropology and tourism (Smith 1980), or 'touristic studies in anthropological perspective' (Nunez 1978).

The first national symposium on tourism in anthropology was held in Mexico City in 1974 at the meeting of the American Anthropological Association (Pi-Sunyer 1981:276). This symposium was dedicated to 'the goal of legitimating the study of tourism as an academic sub-discipline' (Smith 1978:1), and led to the publication of the book Hosts and Guests: the anthropology of tourism.

The sub-title of this book seems to be one of the earliest uses of the words 'anthropology of tourism'. Graburn (1978:17), in the first chapter, legitimates the study of tourism by arguing that it rests upon sound anthropological foundations and has predecessors in previous research on rituals and ceremonials, human play, and cross-cultural aesthetics. The book offers a sampling of the variety of anthropological research on tourism' (Smith 1978:1) and 'suggests lines of inquiry' (ibid). However, it did not find it 'possible to outline a systematic methodology of touristic research or present an overview of all types of host-guest relationships' (ibid).

In 1983, Annals of Tourism Research published a special issue the title of which was Anthropology of Tourism. This volume seems to have raised more interest in the study of tourism and helped it to acquire recognition as one of the sub-disciplines in anthropology. Edited by Graburn, this volume introduces the diversity of possibilities for studying tourism in anthropology, and indicates 'an expanding role both at the theoretical and applied levels' (1983a:3) for the study of tourism.

In 1989 the second edition of Hosts and Guests was published. In the preface of this book, Smith overviews the development of the anthropology of tourism in the decade between the two editions, and remarks that the number of studies of tourism became 'almost greater than the growth of tourism itself' (Smith 1989:xi). In the

1 The symposium was followed by two more meetings of the Association, one in 1975 at San Francisco, and the other in 1976 at Washington D.C. (Pi-Sunyer: 276).
epilogue of this book, Lett expresses the view that the study of tourism has not only achieved legitimacy and respect within anthropology in this decade, but is 'recognized and accepted as a primary area of interest and research for a growing number of anthropologists' (1989:275).

1.3. Anthropologists and the Study of Tourism

There are several reasons why anthropologists have not studied tourism in the past. Firstly, the phenomenon of mass tourism itself is so new that it only recently became an obvious research topic. Whereas anthropology emerged as a study of 'remote and exotic peoples and places' (Keesing 1985:3) from a European perspective the study of tourism is a modern phenomenon, and modern phenomena 'only recently---[have] acquired anthropological legitimacy' (Nash 1981:461).

Secondly, because tourism is a leisure activity the study of tourism itself has been regarded rather less seriously as an object of study. ' "Academic" temperaments are predisposed not to see leisure as an object of serious study' (Crick 1985:77).

Thirdly, tourists themselves were regarded rather as obstacles for anthropologists who worked in the field. Tourists did not belong to the places they researched, but rather disturbed and changed the environment, or even seemed to be destroying it. Although 'there is virtually nowhere an anthropologist can now do fieldwork that is not, to some extent, affected by tourism' (Crick 1985:77), this hardly seems to be a 'legitimate reason for failing to study it' (Pi-Sunyer 1981:272).

Fourthly, anthropologists resented tourists. Sometimes in the field where an anthropologist is researching he 'is likely to be identified with the tourist population, stereotyped and classified as a member of a group or category of outsiders' (Nunez 1978:212).2 For an anthropologist who is undergoing hardships while conducting his/her research, being identified as a tourist is not a pleasant experience.

Fifthly, not only do anthropologists prefer to distinguish their status from tourists during their research, they also want their work, ethnography in the form of writing, photographs and films, to be distinguished from those of explorers or tourists in the form of travelogues, leisure photographs, and films.

Ethnographies as a genre had similarities with traveler and explorer accounts, in which the main narrative motif was the romantic discovery by the writer of people and places unknown.

2 On the other hand, some tourists 'tend to think about themselves as intrepid field workers' (Nash 1981:461).
to the reader. While ethnography encompassed some of this sense of romance and discovery, it also attempted in its scientific aims to distance itself from the traveler's account and the amateur ethnographer. (Marcus & Fisher 1986:24)

This attitude of distinguishing anthropologists' work from that of tourists is seen, for example, in Tristes Tropiques by Lévi-Strauss. This book begins with the sentence; 'I hate travelling and explorers' (1973:17). Explorers' work consists 'of covering a great many miles and assembling lantern-slides or motion pictures, preferably in colour, so as to fill a hall with an audience of several days in succession' (ibid:17-18) while anthropologists' work consists 'in discovering hitherto unknown facts after years of study' (ibid:18) which is less appealing to an audience.

Despite the similarity between tourists and anthropologists seen above, Peacock says there is a difference (1986:56). Although both conduct travel and move to new places, the latter are involved in the process of 'establishing an identity' in the new place. There is the emphathetic traveller 'who has a knack for hanging up his hat and staying' (ibid:54) who even tries to establish his identity at the destination, but the anthropologists are different from them and 'cannot simply hang around or get absorbed' (ibid); anthropologists must 'record, describe, analyze and eventually, formulate as best he can, the culture' (ibid). This step of 'establishing one's identity' in the community leads anthropologists onto engage in 'interpretation' (ibid).

While tourists take photographs through the lens of their cameras, the anthropologists write ethnographies through their anthropological lens. In this focusing, the anthropologist 'rather than focus narrowly on the object,...blurs the boundary between object and milieu so as to include not only the object but also its background, side-ground, and foreground; this perception of the total milieu we call holism' (ibid: xii). These 'holistic' studies of anthropologists include the 'perceiver as well as the object perceived', while tourists are primarily interested only in the object perceived.

1.4. 'Hosts' and 'Guests'

For decades, anthropologists neglected the study of phenomena that increasingly involved both their friends at home and the peoples they were studying in their field works. For anthropologists, it seemed more legitimate to study the people in the society where they undertook research by neglecting the existence of the tourists who did not belong to that society. The influence of the tourists on the society seemed to be a kind of 'pollution' which should be avoided. Therefore, although some
anthropologists were aware of the existence of tourists and the impact of tourism on the area where they undertook their fieldwork, they 'buried their data in field notes and only occasionally published peripheral articles' (Smith 1978:1) as if tourism were not a scholarly subject.

When anthropologists began to study tourism, the primary focus was on the study of 'hosts' or those who lived at the destinations. Firstly, it seemed that the 'hosts' stayed at the destination while the 'guests' came and went. Therefore the contact was continuous in the life of the 'hosts', while it was only a temporary experience for the 'guests'. Secondly, the 'hosts' were the people that anthropologists stayed with, and so anthropologists became more conscious of the 'hosts' than of the 'guests'.

The study of the 'hosts' focused on the way they change in the 'contact between cultures or subcultures' (Nash 1981:461). Anthropologists pursued investigations of acculturation or development in their research field. Such studies of the 'hosts' tended to be 'accidental "discoveries" while researching other or unrelated topics or problems' (Nunez 1978:207) in the field work. The study by Nunez (1963), for example, which was one of the early case studies of tourism, is about rural-urban contact. It suggests that tourism could be studied within the general framework of acculturation theory, and that 'urban tourists may be thought of as representing the "donor" culture, while the host population may be viewed as the "recipient" culture' (ibid:347). In this 'donor-recipient' relationship, the focus was rather on the 'recipient'.

It was largely the book Hosts and Guests that drew attention to the 'guests' as well as to the 'hosts'. Anthropologists became aware that they must examine both parties within the situational nature of contact if a more complete understanding of the phenomenon were to be achieved (Nunez 1978:209). In such holistic studies, they were 'beginning to realize that the tourists themselves...must also be studied' (ibid).

One example of the study of the 'guests', in this volume, develops one of the frameworks that tourism is a means to fulfil the human need for recreation (Grabhum 1978). In this study it is suggested that the study of tourists is located in the contrast between the 'sacred/nonordinary/touristic' and the 'profane/workaday/stay-at-home' of which our lives consist.

In the special issue of Annals of Tourism Research in 1983, entitled 'Anthropology of Tourism', 'guests' are studied in terms of 'social semantics' (Thuros 1983) or the 'matrix of symbols and meanings' (Grabhum 1983a:26) in which tourism is a part of the structure of the life of 'guests' in the modern world, and 'tourist behavior and aspirations are direct or indirect indicators of what is significant
and meaningful in people's lives, of their self-perceptions, their class or group identity, and their social aspirations' (ibid:29). The study of tourism is regarded as appropriate for research into the social semantics of the modern world on the grounds that tourism is a 'short section of life in which people believe they are free to exercise their fantasies, to challenge their physical and cultural selves, and to expand their horizons' (ibid:).

1.5. The Anthropological 'Self' and the Tourists

In some research works focusing on the 'guests', the 'anthropologist/tourist comparison' (Crick 1985:76) is drawn as part of the research into social semantics. MacCannell in his book The Tourists (1976), suggests a meta-inquiry toward social science itself through the study of tourists.

Tourists are criticized for having a superficial view of things that interest them---and so are social scientists. Tourists are purveyors of modern values the world over---and so are social scientists. And modern tourists share with social scientists their curiosity about primitive peoples, poor peoples and ethnic and other minorities. (ibid 5)

Crick 'takes a somewhat quizzical look at the contemporary anthropological self' (Crick 1985:71). The paper traces 'anthropological self with the help of some of the overlaps which exist between the areas of tourism and field research' (ibid). Tourism is play and fieldwork is work: 'tourism is profane---sun, sex, sand, sea,---and so on; anthropology is a serious quest for knowledge about the human condition' (ibid 81). Despite this difference tourists 'act like a cracked mirror in which we can see something of the social system which produces anthropologists as well as tourists' (ibid:78). Tourists and anthropologists 'both work with images' (ibid:80) which are influenced by the social semantics of the society to which they belong.

1.6. The Study of Both Sides

The relationship between Self and Other has been discussed in social science as a part of the inquiry into representations of social 'reality' (Crick 1987, Dwyer 1982, Marcus & Fisher 1986). In anthropology, the 'contemplative' premise of the scientific attitude, in which an 'object' can be observed by the subject, was once central to the discipline: 'in anthropology's case the non-western Other...would be "observed" by the subject, the western Self' (Dwyer 1982:256). Behind this
assumption, both the 'observed' and 'observer' are regarded as independent, making objective observation possible.

However, the Self and the Other confront and interact with one another. In our life, we 'depend upon the participation of others in our lives, and upon our participation in the lives of others' (Wagner 1981:7). Further, this interdependence of Self and Other is produced in a 'particular cultural and historical terrain' (Dwyer 1982:272). In this dialectic process, anthropologists, instead of neglecting the confrontation of Self and Other in which both interact with one another, must 'begin to demonstrate the tie between an Other that is created as a relation to Self, and a Self that emerges in its encounter with the Other' (ibid).

Tourism is one social activity which 'creates historically and culturally conditioned encounters that produce an interdependent Self and Other' (ibid). As one of the interactions, the study of tourism gives us an opportunity to study the process of the interdependence of Self and Other.
Chapter 2
Self-image of Japanese Tourists: tourists as kokusaijin

Japanese see the present as the time for kokusaika (internationalization) and want to see themselves as kokusaijin (international citizen). Kokusaika, an imperfectly defined but attractive goal, embodies contradictory aspects: on the one hand, 'internationalization' has an aspect of 'trans-nationalism' in which the Japanese feel the urge to open themselves and become like the Other in the international context, and on the other hand, 'internationalization' has an aspect of 'nationalism' in which they feel the necessity of strengthening their self-identity as Japanese. Overseas tourism is one of the areas in which the Japanese feel they are achieving kokusaika successfully. Their self-image as kokusaijin is assured through overseas travel for it gives them an opportunity to be the 'idle rich' on what is believed to be a 'manifest international stage'.

The construction of this chapter is as follows. Firstly, the relation between Japanese overseas tourism and the notion kokusaika is explained. Secondly, Japanese overseas travel is generally described. Thirdly, the notion kokusaika and kokusaijin is studied. Finally, the self-image of Japanese tourists as kokusaika is discussed.

2.1. Tourism and Kokusaika:

The number of Japanese travelling abroad reached 6,829,338 in 1987 (Asahi-nenkan 1989:697), which is a great increase from 158,827 in 1965 when restrictions of overseas travel were greatly eased (Ministry of Transport 1987:9). The rate of increase has been rising sharply, especially in the 1980's: from 1986 to 1987 it was 23.8 per cent, which was an increase of more than 1 million travellers. Among all travellers, tourists whose purpose was sightseeing, made up 82.6 per cent in 1987 (Asahi-nenkan 1989:697).

However the ratio of Japanese tourists to the total population was only 5.6 per cent annually in 1987 (Ministry of Transport 1988:2). In comparison with other nations the ratio of tourists to the total population of Japan still remains low; ie.
England (44 per cent), West Germany (35 per cent), France (18 per cent), the United States (12 per cent), and Australia (10 percent) (ibid).

Individuals are becoming keen on overseas travel due to the high value of the yen. According to research by Hakuhōdō, a leading advertising company in Japan, overseas travel is an aspect that people are most hopeful about in their lives (Hakuhōdō 1988:5).

The Japanese government today also encourages overseas tourism. In 1987, the Ten Million Program was launched by the Ministry of Transport. This is the 'first known example of a government advocating foreign tourism' (Smith 1989:4) in the world. It plans to double the number of Japanese tourists to reach ten million by 1991. This project aims to promote Japanese overseas travel in order to '[solve] the imbalance of international payments between Japan and other countries' (Ministry of Transport 1988:2), as well as to develop 'mutual understanding and a sense of international citizenship' (ibid).

The 1980's was the time that Japanese saw as kokusaika no jidai (the time of internationalization) in which they claim to be kokusaijin. Literally translated, kokusaika is 'internationalization' and kokusaijin is 'international citizen'.

The word kokusaika, a yet-undefined but nonetheless attractive-sounding goal (Campbell 1987:47), is a process of searching for 'Japan's identity in the context of its role in the international community' (Yano 1987:10).

The concept of kokusaika is used diversely in large aspects of Japanese society, just as the word kindaika (modernization), and seiōka (Europeanization) or seiyoka (westernization) were previously. It is used at different levels of Japanese life in various ways, ie. in governmental policies, in politics, economics, or even in educational reform as if it is a national goal at which to aim. In business enterprises, for companies or individual business-men, kokusaika is used to represent the situation that they are facing and that they are working towards. In educational reform the kokusaijin is set up as an ideal for the students. It is used in daily life in commercial commodities such as food or clothing; it can be used as a catch word as if the purchase of certain products would transform the consumer into a kokusaijin who would be regarded as more worthy in Japan today.

For example, kokusaika is used as in the following, 'kokusaika suru' (become internationalized); 'kokusaika wo mezasu' (aim at internationalization); 'kokusaika ga susumu' (the success of internationalization). Kokusaijin is used as 'kokusaijin ni
The word *kokusaika* which is used in Japan today seems to have a broader meaning than the English word 'internationalization' as found in the dictionary. It also embodies her self-image in the world-wide context today: Japan as 'no longer...a struggling follower of other civilizations or a lonely pioneer of adaptation, hybridization and modernization' (Mason and Caiger 1988:313), and now 'one of the acknowledged centres of a new and advanced world civilization' (*ibid*:313) while still remaining uniquely Japan.

In this context of time, the Japanese perceive that overseas tourism is one of the areas where Japanese are succeeding in *kokusaika* (internationalization) among many other aspects of their life, according to an opinion poll by the *keizai-kikaku-chō* (Economic Planning Agency) in 1986 (*Yomiuri Shinbun* 27 Sep. 1986).

The self-image of Japanese tourists is studied here in terms of the notion *kokusaijin*. The notions of *kokusaika* and *kokusaijin* are used as a means to describe an aspect of the self-image of the Japanese today, rather than to define these terms themselves.

2.2. Japanese Overseas Tourism

2.2.1. Historical Development of Japanese Tourism

*Domestic Tourism*

As in other countries, travel in Japan seems to have originated in the idea of pilgrimage. The word *tabi-bito* (traveller) derived from *tabe-bito* which could have meant 'a wandering ascetic, a stranger who would ask for food, who could have been a (Buddhist) holy man asking for alms, or a despised beggar' (Graburn 1983:50). By the tenth century, temples and shrines established organized travel for the faithful (*ibid*:52). Since it was expensive to travel, members of *kō* (the neighbourhood) cooperated with each other and went singly, or in pairs, on a pilgrimage. The members of *kō* gave *osenbetsu* (money) and prepared the trip of the person who was going to make a pilgrimage. In turn, he would pray for all the members in the temples or shrines and bring *omamori* (charms) and *omiyage* (souvenirs) back home (*ibid*:58). This *osenbetsu* and *omiyage* relationship still remains in tourism today.

It was in the Edo period (1603-1867) that travel became widely open to the public. In the feudal system, *sankin-kōtai* (alternating residence) was introduced in which *daimyō* (provincial lords) had to travel to Edo from their provinces and live there
every alternate year. Under this system, the network of roads, transportation, and accommodation was improved. These improvements made travel easier. In spite of the fact that the sins of idleness and indulgence in amusements were condemned by the rulers and that to enjoy leisure was considered to be morally wrong from the beginning of the Edo period, leisure became increasingly popular (Yokoyama 1978:4). By the early nineteenth century, there was a substantial increase in wages and leisure time, and travel among common people increased (ibid:3). Pilgrimage came to be regarded as an aspect of leisure or education. The proverb 'kawaii-ko ni wa tabi wo saseyo' (send your beloved child on a trip) appeared in the seventeenth century with the emergence of the trip for educational purposes (Kasama 1987:288).

The prevailing ethic of Confucianism and later the upheavals of the Meiji period slowed down the further development of tourism as leisure, and there was an idea that 'any free time that came one's way should be used for work', which was widely held until the end of World War II (Tokusha 1980:129).

It was after World War II that the awareness of leisure changed, and people gradually realized that 'the individual must seek mental and physical recreation and fulfilment in his own life' (ibid:129). Today, leisure is an important part of life and more people are finding the importance of both work and leisure. Recently, leisure is sometimes regarded as more important in life even than work, especially among young generations (Asahi Shinbun 25 April 1984).

Overseas Tourism

The Edo period is known as the time of seclusion and travelling overseas was prohibited. In the Meiji period, when seclusion was over, the privileged aristocratic traveller went overseas and these intellectuals brought back foreign influences to Japan (Fields 1985:136). After the Meiji Restoration, Japan aimed to modernize herself and catch-up with western civilization through her 'westernization' and those privileged people formed an elite to lead the country.

It was after 1964 that overseas tourism became widely open to the public. 1964 was the time of the monetary liberalization of overseas travel (Ministry of Transport 1987:8). Between World War II and 1964, travelling was limited to those who had a special purpose such as business or research. This restriction was due to the lack of foreign currency. From 1955 the foreign currency situation improved (Tokusha:137), and in 1964 it was liberalized for tourists. 1964 was also the year of the Tokyo Olympic Games, which was a monumental event for the Japanese who had recovered from the damage of the war, and the middle of the period of rapid economic growth.
1965 to 1969 was 'the period of the packaged tour symbolized by JAL PAK tours' (ibid:138), and this signalled the emergence of overseas tourism for pleasure. JAL PAK was introduced in 1964. Before these package tours, overseas travellers were the 'better-off and those well informed about "abroad"' (ibid:138). Packaged tours relieved the 'uncertainties and anxieties associated with foreign travel' (ibid) and the group-travel discounts on air fares helped to promote the packages. The number of overseas travellers tripled during this period. In 1968 41.4 per cent of travellers were tourists (for the purpose of sightseeing) which was an increase from 31.1 per cent in 1966.

1970 to 1973 was the period when larger jet aircraft were introduced (ibid). This brought a reduction of air fares for packaged tours, and subsequently the price of the tour became relatively cheap. During this period, the value of the yen also rose and travelling overseas became progressively cheaper. By 1972 the percentage of tourists among the total number of travellers had risen to 55.4.

1973 was the year of the oil crisis and the number of the tourists remained the same as the previous year for the first time since 1964. But in 1974, it started to increase sharply again. Then from 1978 to 1982, the rate of increase tapered off before rising again after 1983. The number of travellers started to increase sharply with the higher appreciation of the yen. The number reached over 5 million in 1986 and the increase during the year was over 1 million.

In 1987, the total number of Japanese travelling abroad was 6,829,228, and among them 82.6 per cent were tourists for sightseeing; 12.9 for short business trips, and the rest were for studying abroad (0.8 per cent); accompanying the family (1.1 per cent), posted to overseas branches (1.0 per cent); residing permanently (0.6 per cent); scientific study and research (0.4 per cent); government business (0.4 per cent); rendering services (0.2 per cent); and diplomacy (0.1 per cent). (Asahi-nenkan 1989:697) The percentage of tourists was a large increase from the 31.1 per cent in 1966, just before travelling overseas became popular.

The Japanese government today encourages overseas tourism to 'offset the international trade imbalance by letting the tourism deficit counterbalance part of over $80 billion annual trade surplus' (Look Japan 1988:30). In September 1987, the Ten Million Program, a project which aims to double the number of Japanese travellers by 1991, was set forth by the Ministry of Transport. In this program the promotion of Japanese overseas tourism is said to be...

...effective not only in developing mutual understanding and a sense of international citizenship, but also in contributing to the economic growth of other countries and solving the imbalance of international
payments between Japan and other countries. (Ministry of Transport 1988:2)

Overseas tourism, which was restricted until 1964, has not only became popular among Japanese by the late 1980's but it is now promoted by the government.

2.2.2. Who are the Japanese Tourists Today?

The Japanese today regard themselves as middle class, and overseas tourism seems to be an act of re-assurance for Japanese who have achieved rapid economic growth after World War II. Japanese began to see themselves as 'middle class' from the mid 1970's, and the phrase 'ichioku sou chu-ru' (all of the population of 100 million belong to the middle class) became popular. This self-image was a remarkable shift from that of right after World War II. From 1945 to 1950, people struggled for recovery from the damage of the war and saw this period as 'post-war'. In 1956, the phrase 'mohaya sengo dewa nai' (it is not the post-war period any more) became popular on the grounds that the Japanese perceive themselves achieved the economic recovery and growth.

90 percent of the Japanese who were researched thought that they belonged to the middle class, according to an opinion poll by Sori-fu (Prime Minister's Office) in 1984 (Asahi Shinbun 27 Aug. 1984). Those who regarded themselves as 'upper class' were only one percent, 'upper-middle' 8 percent, 'middle' 55 percent, 'lower-middle' 27 per cent, 'lower class' 7 percent, and the rest answered 'not sure' (ibid).

Overseas tourism seems to be one of the activities of the 'middle-class', who have achieved rapid economic growth after World War II. Overseas tourism bridges the present lifestyle of the 'middle class' to their ideal lifestyle of 'upper-middle class' and gives them the feeling of achievement. It re-assures them of their self-image as successful 'middle-class'. It also gives them an up-lifting feeling during the travel since they are able to afford what they are not able to attain in their ordinary lives back home, such as luxury accommodation and eating out, being served by others instead of serving. Hence they feel as if they were going up one class during their trip.

Also by defining themselves in relation to those privileged in the past, the middle class in the present experience an up-lifting feeling. Travelling overseas in Japan, as well as in other countries, was once open to only the privileged people and travelling overseas makes the middle class people feel similarly privileged. It gives them an opportunity to see themselves as more desirable people.
Looking at the ages of the groups constituting the travelling public (not only tourists but all travellers), males over 50 years old are the largest group which is 16.6 per cent, followed by males from 30 to 39 (16 per cent), females from 20 to 29 (15.7 per cent), males from 40 to 49 (15.1 per cent), and males from 20 to 29 (11.9 per cent) \( \text{(ibid).} \)

The major groups of tourists for the purpose of sightseeing are youth travellers (OLs, honeymooners, and university students) and older travellers called silver travellers. OL is an abbreviation of 'office ladies' and it is used commonly to refer to 'unmarried women mostly from white collar occupations' \( \text{(ibid:38).} \) The word silver travellers is used 'variously to cover pleasure travellers aged 50 and over' \( \text{(ibid:39).} \)

The young travellers prefer tours which include more active and adventurous leisure activities in their itineraries (Mcgown, Todhunter, Chalmers, and Platt 1987:41). The travel duration is often longer than that of older travellers. The silver travellers are older, often retired, and favour up-market and comfortable trips.

OL's are the group leading the recent growth of Japanese overseas tourism. Although they are young they have both time and money for their trip compared to other groups of both young and old travellers, and they prefer the up-market trip, staying in a luxurious hotel, buying expensive souvenirs. They typically live with their parents and that enables them to save money \( \text{(ibid).} \) In a magazine targeted to OL's, they are described as follows; 'these days the great financial power of OL's is not only taken for granted in Ginza and Roppongi, but is also recognized in foreign lands' \( \text{(Hanako vol.57 1989:95).} \)

While the OL earns substantial money, she is in a subordinate position both at work and home. At work, being a young female in a male oriented organization based on the life-time employment system, she is lower in the hierarchy without any prospect of promotion, and is expected only to work until she gets married or has a child. At home, being a daughter she is still expected to be dependent on her parents.

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1 The word Hanako appeared in 1988, referring to a new type of OL's who are aiming at the life style of 'upper-middle class'. Hanako is a single rich female around 27 years, who has a university degree and has worked at the recognized companies for more than three years (Gendai Yögo-no Kiso Chishiki:1990). (The date of the publication of this annually-published dictionary is printed on the cover as 'First of January 1990'. It would appear as a contradictory to the reader of this thesis to find a reference book published in 1990 in this thesis written in 1989. However, the dictionary was sold in Japan already in November 1989, which made the author of this thesis possible to quote from this. The same section of this dictionary is also quoted in Hanako No. 78 which was printed and sold in December 1989.) The word Hanako is derived from the title of a weekly magazine 'Hanako' which was published in 1988 targeting the new 'upper-middle' OL's. This magazine was targeted at the existing 'upper-middle' OL's at first, then became the popular ideal figure of the OL's to the extent that the word represents the present trend of OL's. Hanako's hobbies are 'such as playing golf, appreciating cuisines, travelling overseas, which males of the same age group could not afford to enjoy due to the limitation of time and money' \( \text{(ibid).} \)
For these OLs, overseas travel is an opportunity for self-actualization where they can be independent. Being overseas where they are away from both work and home, they can be free from the tension of the traditional values of their families and society which restrict them to the role of 'submissive, powerless' female. Taking advantage of their less responsible positions in the work-force, they can afford to have longer holidays than males who are in more responsible positions. They are also less responsible at home being dependent and, taking advantage of that, they can afford to spend their money on themselves for overseas travel instead of supporting their families.

Overseas travel is also an opportunity for these OL's to appreciate their power through spending the money they have earned in order to purchase expensive material goods and exciting experiences. They buy expensive souvenirs such as hand-bags, clothes or cosmetics of certain prestigious brands that are not available, or more expensive, in Japan. They prefer to be more refined tourists after closely studying the Japanese female magazines which introduce travel destinations, and through which they know about luxurious shops where they can buy goods, hotels at which to stay, restaurants to eat out at, and so on. Experiencing these with money they earned by themselves makes them feel more worthy people.

The honeymoon provides one of the major opportunities for the Japanese to travel abroad today. More than two thirds of honeymooners choose overseas destinations for their honeymoons instead of domestic destinations. Hawaii and Guam used to be the most popular destination for honeymooners, but Australia is becoming more popular.

Among those who choose overseas destinations, from 80 to 90 percent of the couples participate in group tours (ibid:49). There are packaged tours, especially arranged for honeymooners, advertised in every travel brochure, or advertised in separate brochures for honeymoons. Tours for the honeymooners include upmarket accommodation with what is called 'romantic dinner' for two. Some of the tours include souvenir services.

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2 The reason that overseas travel is chosen for the honeymoon is because it is one of the few opportunities for Japanese to take a long holiday (approximately 7 to 10 days) without any guilty conscience. It is often the first and the last opportunity for the couple to travel together before the husband retires, although this has been changing with the encouragement of leisure in the late 1980's. Since this long holiday might be 'once in a lifetime' (Honeymoon, Happy Tour 1987 October-1988 June) they prefer to make the most of it. There are paid holidays which were 15.2 days per annum average in 1985, but only half of them were consumed (Ministry of Transport 1987:3), and even if they are taken, it is advised not to take them all at once.

3 Couples are expected to buy souvenirs for go-betweens, relatives, colleagues, and friends. For the couples who do not have enough time to do shopping or have not enough room in their luggage to carry these, the travel company provides catalogues of souvenirs, which enables them to order them
Japanese marriage was traditionally a *miai* (arranged marriage), but today only 20 percent of marriage are *miai* in which the couple are introduced to each other by a *nakōdo* (go-between) (Tanaka 1987:94). The average age of the bride is 24 and that of the groom is 27 (*ibid*). They spend around 5 to 6 million yen on average for their wedding, including the honeymoon and the cost of moving into new accommodation (*ibid*).

'Lucky days' are preferred for weddings, therefore departures for honeymooners are preferred on the 'lucky days' or the day after. From the calender, one can find out when a 'lucky day' falls on Saturdays or Sundays, and travel companies can predict the times of rise and fall of the number of honeymoons.

Overseas tourism for their honeymoon confirms Japanese perceptions of marriage and of their lives as prospective middle-class. Travelling overseas for the honeymoon is already becoming popular and movie stars, singers (who are very influential on an ideal of upper-middle class life) or even neighbours, who travel overseas for their honeymoon strengthen this preference.

University students are the most adventurous group of tourists and stay longer at their destinations than other groups of travellers. After studying hard preparing for the entrance examinations for higher education, university is a place to relax and enjoy themselves rather than to study. They save money by *arubaito* (part time jobs---derived from the German word *arbeit*) , and spend it on leisure. Overseas travel is the highlight of their university lives after earning the money and planning for it.

They usually travel during the summer holiday from mid-July to early September. The spring vacation from mid February to the end of March, or the winter vacation from the last week of December to the first week of January are also times for overseas travel. *Sotsugyō-ryokō* (graduation trip) is becoming popular, and the students travel after their final exam in late February before they start working on the first of April.4

These young university students have comparatively smaller budgets for travel, although they have longer holidays, and 'have an increasing urge for adventure and a desire to experience' (*ibid*:42). These students still travel in groups, but an increasing number of them seek individual travel today.

Overseas tourism is a realization of their freedom to the full extent: being a university student means that one has no more study pressures, nor does one have any

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4 The fiscal year in Japan begins on the first of April and ends on the 31st of March.
work pressures in society. For these students, overseas travel is a treat and a break after the long competition to get into preferred universities. It also re-assures them of their future by enabling them to see themselves as successful middle-class who would not be merely one of the workers but would become a respectable person who has been overseas and seen, and known, about other parts of the world.

The silver travellers constitute the new segment of the tourists boom in the 1980's. These travellers prefer 'up-market all-inclusive tours with superior accommodation, meals and local sight seeing' (ibid).

Overseas travel was only a dream for them when they were young. It is a realization of a luxurious dream which enables them to reflect on their achievement and re-assure themselves of their hard-won elevated prestige.

2.2.3. The Way the Japanese Tourists Travel

Packaged Group Tours

Although more people are travelling individually, the packaged group tour is still popular. Because of the language barrier and unfamiliarity of the destination, the Japanese feel safer travelling to their destination on a tour in which they are assured of good service and safety. There is also a notion that the procedure of going overseas is so complicated and time consuming that it is easier to choose a ready-made tour.

The tourists choose one out of many tours, packaged and represented in the brochures by travel companies. The length of their holiday is rather short, and they want to get the most out of their travel. However, most of the tourists are unfamiliar with the destination and do not know what is worth visiting and what is worth investigating. Choosing tours in which the travel companies already have already arranged the best plan for the customer, assumes the tourists of value-for-dollar. The price of travel is often cheaper in the packaged tour than if one booked the air ticket and accommodation by oneself. Some brochures even introduce associated loans for the tours. After paying, they receive a detailed itinerary, guidebooks specially prepared by the tour company, and a travel bag or button with the name of the tour. Before the departure, there is a meeting to explain the tour. This meeting is often held in the airport at the check-in counters or at the departure gates.

5 These tours are called either 'silver tours' or 'full moon tours'. The word 'full moon travel' was used for the first time in the advertisement for the Japan National Railways in 1981. This advertisement was for domestic travel, however it had an impact on the public and created the admirable image toward travelling together for elder generations. It is targeted for couples after their retirement.

6 In advertising, such as in brochures or in radio advertisements, the good service and care by the tour conductor is emphasized.
Tourists are 'taken' from place to place rather than 'going' on their own initiative. During the trip, a tour conductor or a guide accompanies the group. In an expensive tour, a conductor accompanies the group from the place of departure and for the duration of the tour, while in a less expensive tour, a local guide joins them at the destination. Most of the activities are packaged; optional tours are prepared even for free time. In effect, one can travel without needing to make any effort to speak the local language.

Today, a number of prospective tourists, especially young travellers, are dissatisfied with the existing pattern of group tours in which they do not have any choice. They are interested in individual tours. In domestic tourism, ANA (All Nippon Airline) has been successfully selling a tour which is packaged with airline tickets and free coupons for accommodation, meal, and transportation between the destinations. With these coupons, tourists can plan their tour by themselves according to their preference and interests. This tour is a combination of the benefits of both packaged and individual tours. It gives a feeling of security, and has a lower price. There is less time to organize, but there is room for individual planning. These 'individualistic packaged tours' sold well in the last two years and are predicted to increase their market start in domestic tourism (*Nihon Keizai Shinbun* 8 June 1989).

In overseas tourism, packaged tours are also developing variety and range to choose from. Unique, yet packaged, tours have already been introduced, such as a tour to Australia to join tri-athlon competitions, a tour to Europe to stay in a mansion, learn table manners and enjoy horse riding, or a tour to Guam or Thailand to obtain a scuba-diving licence. Although popularity has led to an increase in the demand for a variety of activities in overseas tourism, travel still remains 'packaged' while the range of the choice of tours is to be increased.

*The Development of Japanese Group Tours*

Japanese are often criticized for their group behaviour at the destinations of their travel, and the pattern of the group travel of Japanese might have a relationship with pilgrimages in the past and *shūgaku-ryokō* (school excursions) in the present.

As has been mentioned, group tours have roots in the tenth century in pilgrimages. Temples and shrines established 'organized travel to the faithful members of the various sects of their sanctuaries' (Graburn 1983:52).

*Shūgaku-ryokō* is organized in 95 per cent of all junior and senior high schools today, and the participation rate is high (Kasama 1987:287). The very first *shūgaku-ryokō* was organized by Tokyo Normal School (now Tsukuba University) in 1886.
(ibid:289). It was influenced both by the on-site educational philosophy of Johann Heinrich Pesta that Takamine Hideo learned at Oswego Teachers College in New York State, and the Edo period enthusiasm for group travel to famous shrines (ibid). This first shūgaku-ryokō was supervised by Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education at that time, and with strong German influence under Bismark, he wanted to install patriotism and institute a sort of military training in it. Takamine, although partly taking up the military training, planned it to offer practical on-sight education in geography and science (ibid). Today in shidō-yōryō (guidelines for teaching published by the Ministry of Education) its aim is 'to broaden knowledge and experience and at the same time learn the discipline of group activities and public manners'. In shūgaku-ryokō the schedule is set and organized by the school, and students are led by the teachers, and learn to travel in a group.

**Omiyage (souvenir) and Photograph Taking**

Omiyage is a souvenir that a Japanese brings back home for himself and his family, colleague or friends, and it has its origin in pilgrimage. There are two different kinds of omiyage purchasing. One is an obligation as other gift-giving customs in Japanese life which is gifts for people other than the tourist himself. Those who travel are given osenbetsu (money) before the departure from acquaintances as farewell presents with their best wishes. In turn, they bring back omiyage to whoever gave osenbetsu. Even when one does not receive osenbetsu, it is considered that it is polite to buy something for an acquaintance who knows about one's trip. For these obligatory omiyage some travel companies even prepare special brochures with order forms through which one can order before the trip.

The other category of souvenir is for the tourists themselves. Firstly, by purchasing the souvenir for himself, they capture the memory of the trip and possess the experience. Secondly, by purchasing the gift, a tourist has the opportunity to take part in the life of the local people who produce these gifts, and fully experience the local culture. Thirdly, by being able to afford the purchase, one assures his economic power. Souvenirs also become a proof of 'being there', and later help them to remember the trip.

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7 Befu (1974) explains that there is an concept of *giri* as an important motivating force behind gift-giving (ibid:212). 'Giri is bound up with the institution of gift-giving in another way, namely, reciprocation. To the extent that one man's relation to another...is defined in reciprocal terms' (ibid).

8 For example, Look tour has a shop called Look Ginza and provides brochures for different destinations. One can order omiyage through the brochures before the trip and they will be delivered home on the date requested.
Taking photographs seems to be related to *hankochō* (a notebook for stamps) 'on which one got stamped upon one's arrival at each culturally approved site in the circuit' (Graburn 1983:49), as a proof of being there. A traveller in the past would have gone back home and showed it to others as proof of being there. Today, Japanese are known as 'photomaniac' tourists, and criticized for their way of taking photographs even without seeing the sights. Taking photographs is important for them as *shōko* (proof) to take back home to show others as well as to keep their personal memories. Since it has to be *shōko*, they have to be in the photograph by themselves with a background of the sight they have visited. In a group tour, people take turns in photographing each other, and if a whole group wants to be in a photograph, they ask the tour guide or someone around to take photographs of them.

Today, through buying souvenirs and taking photographs, tourists also enjoy capturing both the image of the destination and of themselves. By this action, they can take back the admirable image of the destination which they have experienced, and the admirable self-image of themselves at the place where they travelled. With these materials, tourists not only take their experience and memories back home but also proudly share them with families, colleagues, and with friends.

*The Length and the Timing of Overseas Travel*

The length of overseas travel is rather short with the average being 8.7 days in 1985 (Prime Minister's Office 1987:64). It is slightly longer than 7.8 days which is the average paid holiday that was actually taken (Ministry of Transport 1987:3). The average paid holiday per annum is 15.2 days, but only 52 per cent of what was available was taken (ibid). Even if paid holidays are taken it is hard to take them continuously due to work pressure. The attitude toward holidays is changing recently with pressure from outside Japan in relation to their long working hours and trade surplus. It is also changing from within the country in that younger generations are more willing to have holidays. With the changes in leisure and holiday attitudes, the length of time Japanese tourists spend overseas might increase in the future.

Because of the limited amounts of time available to them, Japanese tourists wish to make the most of it. They expect a high quality tour with good service and security, and they also expect to see as much as possible. They do not appreciate changes in the schedule, and prefer everything to be exactly as described in the itinerary.

Overseas tourism has its peak in three different seasons: around New Year, *Golden Week*, and *Obon*. New Year and *Obon* are the times that Japanese are traditionally allowed to leave their work for recreation and for the family gathering.
After Christmas until the third of January, the number of tourists travelling overseas increases. *Obon* is mid August, which follows the Buddhist tradition, and the souls of the ancestors are believed to come back to this world during this time. In *Obon*, a large number of companies have summer holidays. *Golden Week* is from 29th of April to the fifth of May when there are three national holidays within a week, and, combined with Sunday and Saturday, this period becomes a holiday time. (April 29 used to be the former Emperor's Birthday, May 3 is Constitution Memorial Day, and May 5 is Children's Day.) These three periods are the peak season, and the price of the tours go up, which necessitates early bookings.

*Where Do Japanese Tourists Travel?*

In 1987, 47 per cent of travellers went to other Asian countries, and 35.3 per cent to North America, 10.4 per cent to Europe, 4.7 percent to Oceania and 0.5 per cent to both Africa and South America (*ibid*).

Travel brochures in Japan do not necessarily categorize the destination according to conventional geography. The world is divided in the brochures under titles such as 'Hawaii and Guam', 'America', 'Canada', 'Europe', 'Asia' (or sometimes 'Southeast Asia' to cover almost the same region), 'China', 'Australia & New Zealand'. China, although geographically categorized as Asia, is separated from other regions of Asia and constitutes another brochure. The rest of the Asian countries are in another brochure which is either under the title of 'Asia' or 'Southeast Asia'.

2.3. *Kokusai*ka

*Kokusai*ka, being a process of seeking identity in the international context, has a dual structure. On the surface level, it aims at 'internationalization', an aspect of 'trans-nationalism' (Sofue:184) in which Japan seeks to cope with other nations on an equal level with deeper understanding of others as well as itself. This surface level is what the Japanese believe to be the ideal of *kokusaika*. But this cannot be achieved easily because of the paradox between 'trans-nationalism' and 'nationalism' (*ibid*). In order to cope with other nations on an equal level, one has to learn about people in other nations, feel empathy for them, and make an effort to 'stand in their position' in the international context. However, this process causes a feeling of anxiety about losing their sense of 'being Japanese', which in turn makes them feel the necessity to re-assure themselves of their identity as 'unique' Japanese. Thus, on the deeper level, *kokusaika* takes on an aspect of 'nationalism', which contradicts *kokusaika* on the surface level.
The former aspect of kokusaika disguises the latter. Kokusaika, which has the above double structure, involves the possibility of being used as a justification of Japanese superiority in terms of their uniqueness. The historical background is explained first, before kokusaika in the present.

2.3.1. Historical Background of Kokusaika

This is not the first time that Japanese have searched for their identity, which has been discussed in different contexts at different times. It seems that Japan has experienced extremes of both 'westernization' and 'nationalism', which although seemingly incompatible at first, have both been faces of the dilemma of modernization in Japan.

As other countries in Asia faced an identity crisis, Japan has been facing the dilemma between westernization and her traditional values: whether to modernize by totally westernizing, or to stay as 'uniquely' Japanese while partly westernizing in order to modernize.

After the Meiji Restoration, Westernization was used as a means to acquire an equal position to the West, trying to catch-up with them as a late-comer after seclusion in the Edo period. To be recognized and treated equally in the international context, Japan needed to modernize and industrialize and acquire western civilization. In order to achieve this, westernization was pursued, yet westernization itself was not the prime object but a means to be powerful via modernization. Modernization was intended to allow Japan to be recognized as one of the advanced countries as represented by European countries in the international context. Japan has been caught up in the dilemma of wanting to change by westernization, but at the same time, remaining as uniquely Japanese.

As Japan followed Europe as a model after the Meiji Restoration, she followed the United States after World War II. Today, the Japanese feel that they have attained the goal which they set for themselves. The economic statistics, such as the growth of G.N.P. convinces them of their achievement. However, they are dissatisfied for not enjoying what they had thought they would attain with the achievement, while feeling insecurity at losing both the model to follow and the traditional values that they once had.
Kokugaku

The discussion of 'Japanese uniqueness' goes back to kokugaku (national learning) in 18th century. Kokugaku concentrated on things Japanese, rather than Chinese in the area such as history, literature, and religious traditions and so on (Mason, Caiger 1988:204). For example, Mabuchi studied the Manyo-shu with the aim of making that ancient anthology intelligible to eighteenth century readers' (ibid). Motoori Norinaga up-dated and interpreted the Kojiki. Before this, studies in Japan, including Japanese literature and history, were under the influence of Chinese tradition, applying disciplines which were learned and borrowed from China. Literary style was based on the Chinese writing system.

Although kokugaku was significant with its determination question the general application of Chinese and Chinese perspectives in studies in Japan which previously existed, and determined to develop Japanese studies 'uniquely' from the Japanese perspective, some of these involved went further and developed 'unnatural enthusiasm for things Japanese' (ibid) which was used for the justification of the Japanese 'uniqueness'. Hirata Atsutane, whose speciality was Shinto, for example, became 'so anxious to demonstrate the inherent racial superiority of the Japanese that he became completely xenophobic, holding up what he knew of the West as well as China to general ridicule' (ibid).

Modernization of Japan after the Meiji Restoration

The modernization of Japan in the Meiji period was undertaken so as to result in the revision of the un-equal treaties with European countries.

The Bakufu's seclusion in the Edo period ended with the treaties with the U.S in 1854 and 1858, and other treaties with European countries in the 1860's. The provisions of the treaty were one-sided and un-equal 'because they prevented Japan from levying more than token cusums duties on foreign imports, and because they removed resident foreigners from Japanese jurisdiction, subjecting them to their own country's laws as enforced by special consular courts' (ibid:220). The provisions were 'concessions no Western State would have made to another Western State' (ibid).

When this treaty was entered into at the end of the Edo period, the Sonnō-jōi movement, 'revere the emperor expel the barbarian' (Mason, Caiger 1988:204), emerged. This movement subsequently related to the weakening of the bakufu.

The Meiji period began with the aim of revising the treaties. The revision of the treaties seemed possible 'only if Japanese legal and political institution resembled
those in the West' (ibid). While modernization might have happened by itself toward the end of the nineteenth century, it was encouraged by forces from outside.

Attaining recognition from European countries had become a primary object, in which 'modernization' was regarded as a synonym of 'westernization'. In order to be recognized by the West in equality with the European countries, Japan not only domestically aimed at 'westernization' of her legal and the political institutions, but also tried to give a 'westernized' impression of her life in general to the European countries. For example, Rokumeikan was a pavilion hall which was built in the 1880's for the particular purpose of giving a westernized impression of Japan to the West so as to be recognized as a nation 'civilized' enough for the revision of the treaties. Dance parties were often held to entertain Westerners and Japanese dressed up and following western etiquette.

Expansion in Asia was not only to increase Japan's power, but was also to get recognition and approval from the West as a nation which was equally powerful with the European countries. At this time, the world was divided between nations which acquired colonies and nations which were colonized, and the West was the former, and the achievement of 'westernization' meant to be in this group. Japan aimed to join it, and acquired Taiwan in 1885 as a result of the war with China, and Port Arthur and Sakhalin as a result of the Russo-Japanese war. In 1910, Japan also annexed Korea. Datsua-nyūō (escape Asia and enter the West) became the slogan.

Under the slogan of fukoku kyōhei (enrich the country, strengthen the army) the industrialization of Japan was promoted. These two, industrialization and militarism were both sides of modernization in this period. In order to enrich the country and industrialize, Japan had to expand its military power in Asia to acquire the resources, but on the other hand, in order to expand its power, there was a need to industrialize to produce armaments locally instead of importing them.

While westernization was pursued to modernize and to be equal to the West, the nationalistic ideology kokutai was established by the Meiji Emperor's death in 1912 (ibid:247). Kokutai meant 'the distinctive character of Japan's institutions and process of government' (ibid:248) which had the 'general effect of promoting national solidarity' (ibid). In 1937, Kokutai no Hongi (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan) was published by the Ministry of Education. It attacked individualism on the ground that it would lead to 'ideological and social confusion and crisis' (ibid:272). It 'set out to elevate the figure of the emperor in the minds of Japanese youth, while deliberately neglecting to draw attention to the real forces that manipulated his authority' (ibid:273).
After World War II: from Americanization to Kokusaika

From 1945 to 1950 was the time of recovery from the war. It was an extremely chaotic time for the Japanese, losing both their identity and self-esteem. The reformation, which was with the help of the United States, covered areas such as 'administration of law, local government, the police, education, labor relations, rural land-holding and big business' (ibid:300).

Americanization became the model to follow for Japanese. The shift from the extreme nationalism during World War II to the extreme Americanization after the war seems puzzling at first, but as westernization was a means to become powerful and equal to the West after the Meiji Restoration, the Americanization of Japan after World War II was for economic development and to attain recognition from other countries.

Under this reformation and recovery, the American dream, with its democracy, freedom and wealth symbolized by material consumerism, was adored by the Japanese. The American dream was transformed into the Japanese dream, and placed into the Japanese context. The Japanese dreamed of attaining the American dream via their hard work, and dreamed of improving their standard of living to 'what the Japanese perceived as that of the 'idealized' middle-class American.

Respect for American democracy and admiration of the American lifestyle resulted in the United States being perceived as a concrete model for the Japanese during the time of 1945 to 1955 (Sofue 1988:40). The cartoon Blondy is one of the examples which introduced the style of American middle-class lives (ibid).9 For the Japanese who were in their takenoko-seikatsu10 (the life of eking out a livelihood by selling one's belonging), this life of middle-class Americans, represented through the media or the real lives of the occupation troops, was a symbolization of the American Dreams to the Japanese.

Blondy first appeared in Shukan Asahi (a weekly magazine) from June 1945, and from 1949 it appeared everyday in Asahi Shinbun (newspaper). In the cartoon the Bumstead family lives in a suburb of an American city, and the husband Dagwood goes to work everyday while Blondy stays home as a good mother and a wife. 'In spite of their hard daily life their life [was] not wealthy' (Imamura 1959: 93). But their life with washing machine, TV and a large refrigerator in which a large sandwich is kept, appeared to the Japanese in 1946-1947 as an ideal middle-class life to attain. Blondy is discussed in Chapter 3 again (p. 59) in relation to the use of Blondy in contemporary travel brochures. Blondy was used on the title pages of brochures of JAL PAK in 1989 which never appeared in the brochures.(See Figure 13). 'Blondy' with the Japanese translation is also published again in 1989 as 'Blondy--Coming back!' (Hanako No. 78 1989 :159).

The Dagwood family is originally represented as 'middle class' in the United States. This is put in the Japanese context after World War II as an enviable life of 'upper middle class'. Then in 1989, the cartoon appears again in Japan in the context of kokusaika. Today, the Japanese regard themselves achieving the lifestyle of the 'upper-middle class' which they looked upon as enviable after World War II.

10 Literally translated, it means 'the life of bamboo shoots in which belongings were sold one by one as if peeling the bamboo shoot'.
Everything from the U.S. during that time brought to Japan the dream of its future.

The energy [toward the dash into the economic growth in Japan] was supported by the dream; 'I want to live a life of a standard of those Americans' (Chikush 1988:20).

In 1950, the Korean War bought life to Japanese business and helped the recovery of the economy. In 1956, the white paper on economics pointed out that it was no more the post-war period. This meant that Japan had already recovered from the war, and started its development.

From 1960, shotoku baizō-keikaku (income doubling plan) was proposed by Prime Minister Ikeda and this was the time Japan began its rapid economic growth. In 1964, the Tokyo Olympics were held and this was also the year the bullet train was opened.

The 1970's began with the Expo in Osaka whose theme was 'progress and harmony' (Gendai Yōgo-no Kiso Chishiki 1989:4). By the middle of the 1970's, large numbers of Japanese saw themselves as middle class. The oil crisis affected Japanese economic growth as well as other countries. By the late 1970's the yen began to be evaluated higher. In 1979, the book Japan as No I by E. Vogel attracted Japanese by its title, not necessarily by what was written, and became a best seller in Japan. The title of this book, rather than the book itself, became influential, and it was interpreted by Japanese as if they were achieving the goal of modernization by Americanization and even having the possibility of superseding it, although Vogel would not have intended to say so.

The 1980s began with trade friction. The free trade system which was led by the U.S. enabled the rapid economic growth of both western Europe and Japan.

The 'Europeanness' and 'Americanness' which had been presented as an ideal model for modernization began to fade away as a model to follow. In this context of transition, neither 'Westernization' nor 'Americanization' was heard any more. But instead kokusaika appeared.

2.3.2. Kokusaika in the Present

Kokusaika is used diversely and it is impossible to cover all of its nuances in this section. Some of the statements by the former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone (1982-1987) are studied as one example of kokusaika, since the word kokusaika became popular at the time he was Prime Minister. Further, he himself put forward
the word *kokusaika* by advocating the construction of *Kokusai Kokka Nihon* (International State Japan).

This study does not aim either to study Nakasone's policies or to generalize or define *kokusaika*; it explains only one example of *kokusaika*. Through this example, the surface level and the deeper level of *kokusaika* is indicated.

*Kokusai Kokka Nihon*

Nakasone emphasized the importance of constructing a 'real' *Kokusai Kokka Nihon*, (International State Japan) which would contribute to world peace and prosperity toward the 21st century.11 This 'construction of *Kokusai Kokka Nihon*' was used in his speeches, and is a process of Japan's finding her own path and model, and also her own place in the world, which indicates the ideal.

The ideal of the *Kokusai Kokka Nihon* is explained as follows:

...at the east coast of Asia, a prosperous Pacific nation, is working toward the construction of a new civilization by combining both Eastern and Western civilizations (*Asahi Shinbun, Yūkan*, 6 February 1984:3).

The ideal individual life of the Japanese people in this *Kokusai Kokka Nihon* is described as follows:

That moment around seven in the evening when the family, reunited, savours the satisfaction of another day spent in good health, when a sense of warm intimacy pervades the heart---this surely, is what happiness is all about (Nakasone 1983:15).

*Background of Kokusaika*

Certain anxieties and a sense of crisis comprise the background to this ideal.

A large number of Japanese today have a feeling that the nation is plunging ever more deeply into a period of crisis and confusion such as has never been experienced before (*ibid*:12).

The state and society of Japan and all of the Japanese people seem to be standing at a turning point in history---an historic watershed---faced with a choice of courses that will determine both their own immediate future and the future of their descendants (*ibid*).
This crisis is felt 'both at home and in the field of international relations' (ibid). This crisis in both contexts embodies the uncomfortable feeling of an identity torn between the 'West' and 'Asia' and the necessity the Japanese feel for finding their own path themselves.

In the domestic context, the Japanese are worried that they are losing the West as their model to follow, and at the same time, losing their traditional Japanese culture in the process of Westernization.

This process of losing the West as their model is explained as follows. Throughout one hundred years after the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese followed 'the advanced nations of the West...on which the Japanese fixed their gaze unswervingly as they toiled upward' (ibid:14). However, Japan today sees herself as having 'entered the age of advanced technology' (ibid) and, in terms of economic and technological aspects, as having caught up with the West. She cannot consider the West as the goal anymore, and is searching for her own path.

...not only did the Japanese lose their goals and their models, but their own society came increasingly to suffer the side effects of rapid growth, so that today many people speak of their perplexity and loss of sense of direction, of their uncertainty as to how to behave in a mature, low growth society' (ibid).

In this low growth society, the betterment of life is not no longer synonymous with 'the materialism engendered by high economic growth' (ibid:18), even though it once brought betterment of life after World War II when people were half-starved and living in makeshift dwellings (ibid:18). People began to ask themselves 'what is it within our postwar civilization that we have worked so assiduously to build and are still building?'(ibid). After the Japanese had acquired the material affluence, they came to realize that the material goods would not fulfil their happiness. People are looking for a 'more dignified, more spiritual, more complete society (ibid). In order to acquire internal fulfilment, the Japanese are in search of their own traditional values.

In the international context Japan finds herself uncomfortable being between the West and Asia. As Japan has become economically powerful, she expects to play a responsible role in the international context. On the one hand, Japan considers herself as a member of the European countries after achieving rapid economic growth in terms of westernization. However, as one of the 'late-comers', she does not know how to behave after losing the model to follow. Furthermore, as Japan increases her trade surplus, criticism from the West is increasingly accusing Japan of her "unfair"
predominance of exports over imports in trade (*ibid* 1983:17). Thus Japan wants to be a member of the European countries, but is not confident in this role.

On the other hand, Japan wants to see herself as a member of Asia, in terms of geographical and historical perspectives. As one of the Asian nations, Japan advocates mutual-understanding as one of the neighbours, and feels a responsibility to contribute to the peace and the prosperity of the Asian region. However, Japan is feeling the pressure from other Asian nations of the danger of her militarism. Japan has been criticized by other Asian nations for her behaviour in the past. Recently, for example, Japanese textbook revisions have been attacked by China, South Korea, and the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and other nations as a revival of Japanese militarism (*ibid*:16).

The Paradox: 'trans-nationalism' and 'nationalism'

In order to find Japan's own path in the future, *kokusaika* has become the central aim. However, *kokusaika* has two contradictory aspects: 'internationalization' as a form of 'trans-nationalism' and 'internationalization' as a form of 'nationalism'. This paradox is seen both in the domestic and international context, which are inter-related.

In the domestic context, on the one hand, *kokusaika* is expressed in the form of 'trans-nationalism'. For example, in educational reform, the importance of the 'personal character, the nation, the international scene, practical ability, and regional interests' (*ibid*:15) are emphasized. In order to achieve mutual understanding and respectful of the creative freedom and essential equality inherent in all human beings' (*ibid*). The respect for the cultural aspect in education through the acquisition of Japanese traditional values would help to 'transcend barriers of race and nation, attaching value as a matter of course to internationalism, or peace, coexistence and cooperating among humankind' (*ibid*).

However, on the other hand, it is also expressed in the form of 'nationalism' by using the contrast between Western and Japanese civilization. Nakasone contrasted Western civilization and 'unique' Japanese civilization. Western civilization is identified as the culture of 'individualism' and 'materialism'. Japanese civilization is identified as the culture which respects 'the cooperation with others' instead of 'individualism' and 'seeks internal fulfilment' instead of outer 'materialistic' fulfilment. (*ibid*) By negating 'individualism' and 'materialism', which are seen as characteristics of Western civilization, approving the 'cooperation with others' and the

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12 The word 'shinryaku' (invasion) was changed as 'shinshutsu' (progression).
'emphasis of the internal fulfilment' which are seen as characteristics of Japanese traditional civilization, Nakasone succeeds in expressing the necessity to respect traditional Japanese values over and above Western values.

The negative aspect of 'individualism' is explained skilfully as follows. 'Individualism', if manifested and developed within the broader individuality of the people or nation, would diminish consideration toward other nations, which has the possibility of leading to nationalism on the grounds that it lacks a sense of consensus and consideration of others, and in the extended sense of other nations (ibid) Nakasone emphasized the 'respect for cooperation' in traditional Japanese values, bringing the community together, not only in the domestic context but the international context. 'Materialism' would not bring happiness and fulfilment unless spiritual fulfilment accompanied it. Respect for the spiritual aspects of humanity would enable Japanese to discover happiness.

This granted; the construction of 'a nation of dynamic culture and welfare' (Nakasone 1983), is advocated, in order to achieve kokusaika, which justifies the 'nationalistic' aspect. This is justified more skilfully by Nakasone in saying that it is not 'nationalistic' at all because the construction of the 'nation of culture' itself is a 'spontaneous reaction against the militarism and ultranationalism of the pre-war days' (ibid:18). Hence it was a reaction toward the militarism and ultranationalism in the past. The present aim of a 'nation of culture' is justified in that it does not take the form of ultranationalism.

The nationalistic aspect which emphasizes the betterment of life by retaining Japanese uniqueness is explained as follows:

...We must recover the good aspects of the Japanese scene that were thrown overboard so lightly in the process of modernization. It is our duty for the sake of the next generation to create towns and environments that people can relate to as their spiritual home and that foster a sense of community (ibid:16).

In the international context, as in the domestic context, the paradox of 'internationalization' is seen. On one hand, kokusaika is expressed as 'transnationalism' with the emphasis on mutual-understanding with other nations on an equal base. In this mutual-understanding with other nations, the importance of respecting the variety of value systems and ways of living in the world is emphasised. In order to mutually exist with another country, understanding one's own culture is emphasized through the study of the past and traditional values (ibid).
However, on the other hand, this is transformed into a form of 'nationalism'. Understanding of Self (the culture, history, or traditional values of the Japanese themselves), is of course, important in understanding the Other (other people's lives and culture). But the study of Self proposed by Nakasone in his speech (*Asahi Shinbun Yūkan*, 26th January 1987:3) primarily emphasises the aspect of 'being understood' by others rather than 'understanding' others. The understanding of the Other by the Self is less emphasised. 'Internationalization' in terms of 'understanding' the Self, and 'being understood' by the Other is explained as follows:

To try to deal with the people of other nations via the traditionally taciturn and intuitive Japanese approach can only invite misunderstanding and distrust. If only the Japanese tried for a greater eloquence, one would hear fewer complaints from abroad of the impenetrability of the Japanese policy making process in government and business, which would mean in turn a major step toward removing sources of friction (Nakasone 1983:14).

In what is called 'mutual-understanding', Japan is more conscious of wanting to be 'understood' for her own 'uniqueness' in order to stress it to, not only to Self, but also to Other.

In order to be 'understood' and to emphasize her own 'uniqueness' to the Other, Nakasone asserts that 'scientific analysis which is highly academic has to be pursued' (*Asahi Shimbun, Yūkan*, 26th January 1987:3). As one of the means, Nakasone explains the importance of the establishment of *Kokusai Nihon Bunka Centre* (The International Research Center for Japanese Studies) as a means for the Self to understand itself, its culture and its history.

The following example also indicates the 'nationalistic' aspect. Nakasone, the very person who emphasized the importance of mutual understanding on an equal base made a racial statement in his speech on 22 September 1986 at a meeting of a Liberal Democratic Party study group on political parties in Japan.

> [after the analysis of the result of the election which the LDP had won]...Politics today has to make the time to appeal to the citizen.

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13 It was established in May 1987 in Kyōto. "Japan in the World" was set as the common theme for the first three years. This theme is explained as 'timely since Japan is no longer allowed to isolate itself from the rest of the world and is being increasingly asked to play an international role' (*Nichibunken Newsletter* No3, July 1989, p1) (ibid).

The first symposium was held in Kyōto in March 1988 under the subtitle "The paradigm of Japanese Studies". Three key note speeches were given by Claude Levi-Strauss, Donald Keene, and Takeshi Umehara. It was reported in the newsletter that 'they spoke on the significance of Japanese culture, literature and religion for world civilization in a most pertinent way, and suggested a direction for Japanese studies in the future' (ibid).

14 This study only deals with what Nakasone said and the way he explained about the Kokusai Nihon Bunka Centre in his speech. The author does not intend to refer to this centre itself.
...The citizen of Japan has become intelligent being highly educated, and the level of intelligence is probably higher than that of Americans on average...because they include a number of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans who would lower their average (translated from Asahi Shinbun 27 September 1986).

[on talking about Japanese identity and traditional culture] Japan has a mature and unique culture. By the Edo period the rate of literacy was already nearly 50 percent, while it was only 20 to 30 percent in Europe at that time. Compared to this, in the United States today, there are still a number of Blacks who are illiterate (ibid).

This statement did not get any attention at all in Japan until the United States quickly responded in a critical fashion. Nakasone sent a message of apology to the United States saying that he did not intend to be racially discriminatory.\(^{15}\)

Although Nakasone aimed for a mutual relationship with other nations, he left the possibility of a one-sided understanding with others. The understanding of Self is important when understanding the Other, as Nakasone said. Yet, understanding of Self has the possibility of falling into justification of Self by justifying its own prejudices towards others. It might become an act of imposing a self-image on others and a justification for so doing, while still believing it to be mutual understanding.

### 2.4. Tourists as Kokusaijin

Tourists as kokusaijin, as one of the aspects of kokusaika, embody two different aspects of 'internationalization': 'trans-nationalism' and 'nationalism'. As an ideal, the Japanese want to achieve both of these at the same time; achieving 'trans-nationalism' by coping with other countries and opening up themselves to them on an equal level, while retaining their cultural identity as uniquely Japanese. But in reality, these two contradict each other and are hard to achieve at the same time. The Japanese are moving between the former and the latter, in between the process of becoming the Other (trans-nationalism) and maintaining the Self (nationalism).

In overseas tourism, an aspect of the 'trans-nationalism' of kokusaika is not pursued successfully: as mutual-understanding with the Other (people in other nations) on an equal level, such as advocated in the Ten Million Program, is not achieved at the present. An aspect of 'nationalism' is preferred while 'trans-nationalism' is neglected.

\(^{15}\) In the United States, it was partly enlarged in the context of emerging anti-Japanese feeling.
The preference for the aspect of 'nationalism' is observed in the following examples. The first example is seen in the recent criticism toward young females who stay overseas for longer periods in study tour programs. This became a social issue in Japan in 1988 and 1989. The negative opinion toward 'becoming like the Other' is observed in newspapers and other mass-media in Japan. One article, for example, discussed it with a heading 'experience overseas creates a barrier with the family: came back from overseas but...' (Nihon Keizai Shinbun, Yūkan, 14 Sep. 1989). Young females, who are the marginal in Japanese society, are more mobile than those who are at the 'centre' of the society. This enables them to learn the meaning system of other cultures, in which one begins to 'become like the Other'. When a member of society begins to 'become like the Other' transforming the Self too far, the person is regarded as problematic for society on the grounds that they are losing the identity in the society to which they should belong. The person is not only regarded as a problematic, but also gives rise to fear in the society.

The other example is seen in the result of an opinion poll concerning kokusaika. The Japanese find kokusaika preferable in the area of materialistic exchanges, such as trading and mass-media. Kokusaika which involves the process of 'becoming like the Other', is regarded as undesirable. This includes 'being posted overseas with children', or 'cross-cultural marriage' which requires the 'transformation of the Self in the interaction with the Other'. Kokusaika is only regarded as preferable to the degree that it does not require the 'transformation of the Self'.

In this opinion poll, overseas tourism is the only area which is regarded as preferable to pursue internationalization, other than the materialistic exchanges. This is because overseas travel is regarded as a 'quick look' at other people's lives and culture from the Japanese perspective and one never has to make an effort to 'transform oneself like the Other'. It is regarded as closer to 'materialistic exchanges' than to 'exchange of people'.

Thus, in overseas tourism, the aspect of 'trans-nationalism' disguises the aspect of 'nationalism', and travel becomes more attractive for the tourists because of this disguise. By physically travelling abroad, crossing the border of the nation, the Japanese feel as though they are achieving 'trans-nationalism' on the individual level. Yet by seeing the Other (other people's lives and culture) in a certain way the Self is re-assured as being uniquely Japanese. This disguise enables one to resolve the paradox of kokusaika because it enables one to achieve the 'nationalism' which one wants, while enabling one to believe that one is still achieving the aspect of 'trans-nationalism'.

16 This process of disguise is studied in the following chapter.
Overseas tourism not only resolves the paradox of kokusaika, but also gives an opportunity to enjoy and reinforce the self-image of successful kokusaijin who enjoy the life style of the 'upper-middle class'. By spending the money that one has saved, especially with the help of the high valuation of the yen, one can afford to become enviable 'idle rich' during the trip, which makes one more 'powerful'. This is an ideal 'upper-middle class' figure for the present middle-class Japanese: the upper middle class, who has economic affluence which enables them to appreciate their material fulfilment, and at the same time, has intelligence and sophistication which enables them to appreciate the internal fulfilment.\textsuperscript{17}

The self-image as kokusaijin is acted out on an 'international' stage. The stage is not 'home' where one lives in everyday life, but 'somewhere' which is away from home where one is given an opportunity to be different from the everyday-self and realize an ideal self-image.

\textsuperscript{17} One example of materialistic consumption accompanied with the internal fulfilment in the context of tourism is the up-grading of the tours which gives the feeling of affluence through the experience of 'luxury'. In this up-grading, the Japanese are ready to spend more money on the services they receive, rather than on the simple material goods. The accommodation and the cuisine which is included in the tours are up graded. The package tour began to introduce the upper-market tours with executive class air line tickets, and suite rooms at recognized hotels.

Another example of this consumerism accompanied with the emphasis on the internal fulfilment is the acquisition of knowledge sought in the overseas travel, in which one feels more 'cultured'. This shift from the emphasis on the material consumption to both the material and the intellectual consumption is seen in one of the books which introduce 'how to write the travelogue'.

About 10 years ago when one travelled Europe, one would always see Japanese tourists hunting down bags of exclusive brand. ...These days if you look in a shop selling exclusive brand goods, you will see they are almost empty.

When a certain brand of bag becomes popular, it loses its status symbol in no time at all and becomes 'cheap and nasty'. People have gradually came to realize that the status that comes from obtaining material goods is nothing more than this.

People instead have turned towards seeking spiritual richness as human beings through the acquisition of intelligence and refinement, as can be seen in the desire for the life-long education. (Möri 1989:14)

This book therefore emphasizes, in this time of kokusaika, that one should not waste the opportunity of travelling overseas only to gain material satisfaction, but turn this opportunity into one for internal fulfilment.

This shift from the emphasis on material fulfilment to material consumption accompanied with the internal fulfilment is also observed in a advertisement of one of the packaged 'study tours'. (Figure 15) The caption says 'Kurismasu ni hōmu-sutei kudasai': kōki-shin ha mou, tadano "okurimono" dewa manzoku dekinai'(experience home-stay at Christmas: the curiosity would not be satisfied with [materialistic] "present" any more.) These examples represent one of the post-materialistic aspects of the middle-class Japanese.
Chapter 3
The Representation of 'Indonesia' in
Japanese Travel Brochures

'Indonesia' is represented attractively in the travel brochures—but 'Indonesia' does not represent the 'manifest actuality' (Fiske, Hartley 1987:24) of Indonesia. It rather represents the ideal-self image of Japanese today through the representation of the Other. The representation of the Other reflects, symbolically, fundamental dilemmas that the Japanese are facing: for example the dilemma with kokusaika (internationalization) between 'trans-nationalization' and 'nationalization'. 'Indonesia' not only reflects the dilemma but also mediates it on the imaginary plane.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Firstly, the packaging of 'Indonesia' in Japanese travel brochures is explained. Secondly, the structure of 'Indonesia' as an imaginary plane is briefly explained on the theoretical level before proceeding to an analysis of specific travel brochures on the practical level in order to examine the way in which 'Indonesia' as an imaginary plane is constructed.

3.1. The Packaging of 'Indonesia'

3.1.1. Travel Brochures as Advertisements

An advertisement is designed to entice the consumer. A travel brochure is a form of advertisement. It is:

...always about the future buyer. It offers him an image of himself made glamorous by the product or opportunity it is trying to sell. The image then makes him envious of himself as he might be (Berger 1982:132).

The representation of 'Indonesia' in travel brochures, for example, is perpetuated between travel companies and viewers who are the potential customers. The

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1 Although the representation of 'Indonesia' might be expected to change slightly through time in the dialectic movement between the demand and the supply, in this chapter, brochures collected over three years are dealt with together.
representation in the brochures is influenced by what the viewer wants and, conversely, the viewer is influenced by what is represented in brochures. In a dialectic movement, demand creates and perpetuates supply whilst supply in turn creates and perpetuates demand.

Brochures, which are produced by travel companies in this dialectic movement, provide what the consumers want in order to attract them. They promise the opportunity for self-realization, which is attained by means of the consumer travelling to the destination advertised.

'Indonesia' as a form of tourism advertisement does not simply represent other peoples' lives and cultures per se. The Other does not exist in empirical reality, but is created in terms of the viewer's culture through the brochure. What is really represented is the ideal self-image of the viewer through the use of other peoples' lives and cultures. It promises the realization of self-transformation, while reflecting the meaning and value system of the subject's society. In this process, a brochure sells an ideal self-image via the image of other peoples' lives and cultures.

The ideal self-image of the Japanese and the representation of the Other is perpetuated. The representation of 'Indonesia' acts to reinforce this self image. In this dialectic, the advertisement sells an ideal self-image via the image of other peoples' lives and cultures. Brochures are 'selling us ourselves' (Williamson 1978:13) and we keep buying ourselves.

3.1.2. The Japanese Travel Brochures

There is a set style and repetition in the structure, and there is a repetitiveness 'not only within individual holiday brochures but also between holiday brochures' (Uzzell 1984:82). In order to be competitive with other travel companies, each travel company tries to emphasize the uniqueness and superiority of its own tours in its brochure. Yet in order to be competitive with other companies, it also has to offer brochures which are similar to other companies.

Japanese brochures consist of sets of itineraries with comprehensive descriptions in detail (see Figure 1). While Australian brochures introduce destinations attractively with larger glossy photographs and encourage prospective tourists to make their own plans through travel agencies after deciding on a destination, all the Japanese brochures introduce ready-made tours with the price, itinerary, and departure dates. The Japanese brochures are rather a catalogue of 'packaged tours', and the

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2 See pp. 17-18 about the role Japanese travel brochures play in relation to packaged tours.
prospective tourists are expected to choose one of those. Therefore the element of free choice exercized by Japanese tourists is relatively restricted by the packaging of tours presented within Japanese travel brochures.

Each of the Japanese brochures begins with an introductory section which provides general information about the tour company and the destination. They emphasize that the tour company will take care of the customer from the beginning of the tour to the end. The main section follows, listing the packaged tours in detail with photographs and written explanations concerning the destinations (see Figure 1).

Tables in the main section together with detailed fine print information written in small characters occupy more space than the photographs. Tours range from 5 days to 14 days in these tables. Explanations include information about the price of the trip, the departure date, as well as detailed itineraries.

The world is divided and packaged into several brochures as explained in Chapter 2. The world is usually divided into seven brochures in Japan: Europe, North America, Oceania, Hawaii, Guam and Saipan, Asia, and China. These destinations are packaged differently.

For example, one brochure by JAL PAK, which is especially designed for the New Year holiday in 1990, covers different destinations in one brochure, and explains each destination in different ways as described below (JAL PAK no Oshōgatsu, December 1989-January 1990, published by Ryokō Kaihatsu in July 1989). 'Europe' emphasizes elegance. It is explained as 'as if being in one of the scenes in a movie.' 'goka-ni (luxurious), yuga-ni (elegant)'. The photographs depict elegant historical palaces and buildings, such as the Arc de Triomphe. 'North America' is depicted as the centre of the world. It is explained as 'Toast to the 1990's which is a jumping board of the 21st century! Toast to America!', 'N.Y., the trendy city, which is the most attractive and exciting city in the world'. The photograph depicts Manhattan seen from a distance. In another photograph, there are some American students with a casual and friendly demeanour. 'Oceania' is emphasised for its dynamic natural scenery. It is accompanied by the caption 'The continent of Dream', 'dynamic', 'romantic'. The photograph depicts the Gold Coast and a sheep station. Hawaii is described as a holiday resort for the 'rich'. The written text says 'ricchi'(rich), 'nonbiri'(relaxing), 'yuttari' (unhurried/slow pace), 'kimamama-ni' (free). The photograph introduces the luxurious resort hotels and condominiums located near the beach. 'Guam and Saipan' emphasize marine activities for young people, eg. all the photographs are of marine sports, such as scuba diving or water-skiing.

3 See p. 21.
'Asia'\textsuperscript{4} is explained as something familiar, 'comfortable' and 'nostalgic', yet at the same time, as something unfamiliar: 'exciting' and 'exotic'.\textsuperscript{5} On the one hand, it is explained as 'comfortable' or 'nostalgic' with the explanation that a 'trip to Asia is as comfortable as if you are in the cradle. You will find nostalgia there so that you will not feel it is your first visit there'. It is also explained as 'kigaruni' (easy/light-hearted), which implies the familiarity of 'Asia' to Japanese. On the other hand, it is explained as 'exotic': 'attraction of the trip to Asia is the exoticness of the variety of their culture which is \textit{bimyoni chigau} (slightly different) to each other'.

'Indonesia' is packaged in the group of brochures entitled either 'Asia' or 'Southeast Asia' which includes Asian countries other than China.

3.1.3. The way 'Indonesia' is packaged

\textit{Japanese Travel Brochures}

'Indonesia' is packaged in Japanese travel brochures as an imaginary destination as though it does not exist in the 'real' world. It is explained as follows; '\textit{chizu-jō ni nai shima}' (islands which do not appear on the map), '\textit{toropiku rizoto no tengoku}' (heavenly tropical resort). It is also explained as '\textit{shimpi no shimajina}' (island of mystery), '\textit{kamigami no shima}' (islands where gods live), '\textit{chijyō saigo no paradaisu}' (the last paradise on earth).

Indonesia is not necessarily packaged and called 'Indonesia' as an entity as in a political or geographical categorization. Tourist resort destinations such as 'Bali' tend to represent Indonesia, although Bali is only a part of Indonesia. For example, one tour package called 'Bali' includes visits to some of the famous places in Java: 'Bali', as a packaged tour, is an established entity by itself. In some cases, tourists do not realize that 'Bali' is in Indonesia.

'Indonesia' is packaged in several tours, under different titles, in the form of tables which appear as boxes, as seen in Figure 1. They vary slightly in prices, departure dates, and in details concerning day-to-day itineraries. However, these differences only occur within pre-packaged attractions.

\textsuperscript{4} Brochures in Australia categorize Asia as a whole with a title like 'Orient' or 'Asia'. In Japan, the word 'Orient' does not appear as a title for travel brochures. Asia is divided into two; China and the rest of the Asia. The brochure for China is called 'China' and the rest is entitled either 'Asia' or 'Southeast Asia'. It seems that the way the world is divided in the context of tourism is not only different from the political and geographical divisions, but also varies according to the countries and cultures producing the brochures.

\textsuperscript{5} The contradiction of 'exotic' and 'nostalgic' is explained in the following section analyzing the representation of 'Indonesia'. 'Indonesia' as one of the destinations of 'Asia' also possesses these contradictory images (see p. 43).
In the tables of itineraries, the set of activities introduced is as follows: Kecak Dance with sea-food dinner, Barong Dance with sightseeing to Mt. Batur and Lake Batur, Besaki temple, city of Denpasar, Borobudur, Yogakarta, Jakarta. The last three are not in Bali geographically, but are often included in the tour of 'Bali'. Among these, the 'must see' sights are the city of Denpasar, Kecak Dance, Barong Dance, and Borobudur. Borobudur is one of the 'must see' sights for Japanese tourists. In one brochure, Borobudur is explained as 'the most important historical monument in Indonesia'.

Photographs and written information are presented between these itineraries. The photographs consist of facets of the above activities, and beaches. The beach activity is not included in the itineraries. However, the photographs of the beaches are attractively represented as one of the aspects of Indonesia. The photographs give more concrete images of Indonesian culture and people.

Tours are arranged from six to seven days with the price range from ¥150,000 to ¥250,000, in the case of JAL PACK in 1989. There are some discounted tours available from ¥100,000.

One of the itineraries of the tour from the brochure is packaged as follows (see Table 1). On the first day, participants leave Tokyo in the morning and arrive at Denpasar at night. The second day begins with sightseeing of the city of Denpasar and appreciating the Barong Dance. The afternoon is a free time. At night, the Kecak Dance with sea food dinner is planned. On the third day a day trip to Borobudur is planned, although it is left as optional and one can skip this. The fourth day is a tour to Besaki temple and sightseeing at Klungkung. On the fifth day, the tourists fly to Jakarta from Denpasar in the morning. After lunch, a sightseeing tour of Jakarta as well as shopping is planned. At night one leaves Jakarta, and arrives in Tokyo on the morning of the sixth day.

Comparison with 'Indonesia' in Australian Travel Brochures

In both Australia and Japan, 'Indonesia' is represented in travel brochures for the purpose of enticing the prospective tourists. Indonesia is introduced as an attractive holiday destination. However, there is a difference in the way in which it is represented and interpreted: the representations of 'Indonesia' in travel brochures are culturally constructed based on the meaning system of the viewer of the brochures.

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6 See in Figure 1.
7 Some tours to 'Bali' include a trip to Singapore, which brings the price up to ¥290,000.
8 The brochure is called 'Asia' (JAL PACK, November 89-March 90).
Indonesia is one of the closest overseas destinations for Australian tourists. As in the Japanese brochures, 'Bali' represents Indonesia in Australian brochures. However the packaging of 'Indonesia' is different from that in Japanese travel brochures. The brochures usually introduce the destination, with some information about accommodation and flights, but do not introduce packaged tours with detailed itineraries as in Japanese brochures. The prospective tourist looks at the brochures and arranges a holiday for himself with the help of a travel agency.

Some of the destinations introduced are different. Ubud is introduced often in Australian brochures, while it is not in Japanese brochures. Borobudur is usually introduced in the Japanese brochures with a photograph although it is in Java, while in Australian brochures, there is no information about it.

There are not many photographs of the 'must see sights' of local cultures. There are more photographs of beaches and swimming pools at the hotels in Australian brochures than in Japanese brochures.

The photographs of accommodation in Australian brochures emphasize the 'exotism' of the 'local-style' cottages, with swimming pool beside. When the photographs introduce accommodation, they emphasise the 'orientalness', of both the exterior of the building and the interior of the room. For example, the photograph of rooms show beds with intricate carvings covered with bedcovers of local pattern. These are interpreted as 'unfamiliar' for the Australian viewer and therefore 'worth experiencing' during the holiday. While for the Japanese viewer, the 'orientalness' does not appear very 'exciting'. Most of the photographs in Japanese brochures show photographs of the hotel rooms with emphasis on their 'western' style which is interpreted as 'good-standard accommodation' where it is worthwhile staying in during their holiday.

Even when the same photographs are used in Australian and Japanese brochures, the way in which they are used and interpreted is different in the different cultural context. For example, the way in which Indonesia is interpreted by the Japanese for the Japanese as 'exotic' and 'nostalgic' is different compared to the way it is interpreted in Australian brochures. A scene of a rice terrace is interpreted as 'familiar' and 'un-exciting' for the Japanese viewer while it is interpreted as 'oriental', 'unfamiliar', and therefore 'exotic' for the Australian viewer.

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9 See p.x concerning the representation of the rice terrace as an example.
3.2. 'Indonesia' as an Imaginary Plane

3.2.1. The Dual Structure of the Imaginary Plane

'Indonesia', while reflecting this dilemma, has 'a function of reconciling on the imaginary plane those social contradictions which cannot be resolved on the real plane' (Sturrock 1986:52). The representation of 'Indonesia' as an imaginary destination represents this dilemma of kokusaika, and offers the transformation of the Self into the ideal kokusaijin.10 As studied in the previous section, kokusaijin, as one of the self-images of the Japanese, embodies two contradictory aspects: 'trans-nationalization' and 'nationalization'.

This imaginary plane consists of two levels. On the surface, it offers the realization of kokusaijin, someone who stands on an equal level with others, both Europeans and Asians. This is what the Japanese believe in as an ideal of 'internationalization', i.e. 'tran-nationalization' which opens them up and in which they become like the Other. They feel equal to Europeans, on the ground that they have caught up with them via their own process of modernization. They also feel equal to other Asians on the grounds that they share the same cultural roots being 'Asians'.

However, on a deeper level, this realization is not on an equal level with others, but is in the form of 'nationalism', or the affirmation of Self. This emphasizes their 'uniqueness' and justifies their 'superiority' to others, vis a vis both Europeans and Asians. By standing in a 'European' position and seeing themselves as responsible for their own modernization, they feel superior to other Asians. At the same time, by standing in an 'Asian' position, they feel superior to Europeans on the grounds that they have not only attained the material and intellectual standards of Europeans but have, at the same time, also retained their own 'unique Asianness'.

The realization of the surface level disguises that of the deeper level, which makes 'Indonesia' more attractive. It makes people believe that what they are realizing is only on the surface level while actually realizing the deeper level. This structure of two levels corresponds to Japanese attitudes to kokusaika: on the surface, ideally, wanting to cope with others on an equal level, but on the deeper level, feeling in practice deep anxiety. Therefore, they feel the necessity of assuring themselves of their superiority towards others.

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10 See the previous page concerning how 'Indonesia' is explained as an 'imaginary plane' in brochures. It is expressed as follows; 'islands which do not appear on the map', 'heaven', an 'island of mystery', or 'paradise'. 
3.2.2. The Representation of the Other in the Imaginary Plane

This 'imaginary' plane appears more promising for the viewer, not through the direct representation of the Japanese tourists themselves, but via the representation of the Other, i.e. the lives and culture of the people living at the tourist destination, European models in the role of tourists, and some cartoons. There are hardly any photographs of Japanese tourists in Japanese brochures although the brochures are made by Japanese travel companies for Japanese viewers. The 'realistic' representation of Japanese tourists themselves is rare and is avoided because it reminds the viewer of ordinary life.

The representation of the Other in 'Indonesia' is categorized as follows: firstly, the representation of the hosts or the local Indonesian people and culture, and secondly, the guests who visit there as tourists. The local Indonesian people are represented in the role of 'hosts' who are 'being looked at', while European models and cartoons are in the role of guests or tourists who are 'looking at' the locals. The Japanese viewers identify themselves with the European models or cartoons and place themselves in the position of 'looking at' the locals.

The way the Other is represented is related to the way the Japanese viewers see (or wish to see) themselves. The local Indonesian people and culture do not represent the ways in which they think of themselves. European models in the role of tourists do not represent what Europeans think of themselves. They represent what Japanese think of as Indonesian or European.

Through the analysis of photographs and written texts in brochures, the following section studies the way in which this imaginary plane is constructed. The construction of 'Indonesia' is studied through the way in which the Other is represented in relation to the Japanese viewer.

3.3. Analysis of 'Indonesia' as an Imaginary Plane

In the following analysis of 'Indonesia', firstly, the representation of hosts is studied. The local Indonesian people and their culture are represented as both

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11. The author has shown the representation of 'Indonesia' in some Japanese brochures to Indonesian students. They find the 'Indonesia' in Japanese brochures totally different from the way they see Indonesia.
12. European models have been used in a large number of advertisements and magazines in Japan. Japanese travel brochures, as advertisements, use Europeans as an ideal model. As studied in Chapter 2, the life-style of Europeans has provided a concrete model for the Asian nations in the process of 'modernization' via 'Europeanization' or 'Westernization'.

'European' here does not necessarily mean how a European see himself. It refers to what a Japanese thinks a European is. 'European' has been an abstract model for the Japanese in modernization.
'nostalgic' and 'exotic' which at first may seem contradictory. These notions of 'nostalgia' and 'exoticness' do not exist in Indonesia and in the people who live there, but exist in the perception by the Japanese viewer of Indonesia. Secondly, the representation of guests or tourists is studied. European models and cartoons are used to represent the role of tourists. These two aspects are related to each other, and are only different aspects of the same imaginary plane: they complement each other and explain the same imaginary plane but from slightly different perspectives.

3.3.1. The Representation of 'Hosts' in 'Indonesia'

'Indonesia' as 'Exotic' and 'Nostalgic'

'Indonesia', as one of the destinations in Southeast Asia, is represented as both 'exotic' and 'nostalgic' which, at first, seems to be a contradiction. In the written text, on one hand, it is explained as 'exotic' or something unfamiliar as follows: 'ekizochiku' (exotic); 'nazo ga aru' (riddling); 'fushigi ga aru' (there is a wonder/mystery); 'shinpi-teki' (mysterious); 'ekisaitingu' (exciting); 'enerugisshu' (energetic); 'kalafulu' (colourful); or 'dokoka chigau' (something different); 'jikan wo koete' (beyond time); 'chigatta jikan ga nagareteiru' (different time scale).

On the other hand, it is explained as 'nostalgic' or something familiar: 'sitashiminoaru' (friendly/familiar) or 'natsukashi' (nostalgic); 'Tōi kioku wa minna koko-ni tsunagatte-iru-yōdesu' (all the old memories of ours in the past seems to have links with things in Indonesia).

These are in a sense in contradiction: 'exotic' is something 'unfamiliar', while 'nostalgic' is something 'familiar'. 'Exotic' is defined in the dictionary as 'belonging to another country, foreign, alien', 'in narrowed sense, introduced from abroad, not indigenous', 'drawn from outside; extrinsic', 'of foreign character, alien', 'of pertaining to, or character of a foreigner' (The Oxford English Dictionary 1933 ed.). 'Nostalgia' is defined as 'a form of melancholia caused by prolonged absence from one's home or country', and 'nostalgic' is 'of the nature of, characterized or caused by nostalgia' (ibid).

These paradoxical notions together create 'Indonesia' on the imaginary plane. The way they do so is explained briefly in the following section, then after that, studied through the five examples.
**Attractive and Unattractive Exoticness, Attractive and Unattractive Nostalgia**

The study shows that 'Indonesia' embodies not only both of these contradictory images of 'exotic' and 'nostalgic', but also each of these images has two further paradoxical aspects of both 'attractive' and 'unattractive': 'attractive exoticness', 'unattractive exoticness', 'attractive nostalgia', and 'unattractive nostalgia'. By taking on the attractiveness from both 'exoticness' and 'nostalgia' it enables the Japanese to re-affirm themselves as both Europeans and Asians. At the same time, by rejecting the unattractive aspects of both 'exoticness' and 'nostalgia', it enables them to stand in a superior position to both Europeans and Asians.

These four elements interact with each other as explained below, and create 'Indonesia' on the imaginary plane. Although it is explained here in four stages, the integration itself does not follow the four stages in order, but is synchronic.

Firstly, the Japanese tourist sees Indonesia as 'exotic' from what is perceived as a 'European' perspective. This reassures him of his achievement of modernization by selectively pursuing Westernization. One sees elements of 'unattractive exoticness', such as 'primitive' or 'barbarian' elements in the representation of the local Indonesian people and their lives, which enables the Japanese viewer to see himself as a 'European'. This enables the Japanese viewer to feel equal to a European on the surface level.

Secondly, the Japanese viewer finds 'attractive exoticness' also from a 'European' perspective. This 'attractive exoticness' is something which a 'European' does not possess. This aspect of 'exoticness' appeals to the Japanese viewer as something admirable since a 'European' would see it as such. By identifying himself with that 'attractive exoticness' of the culture as perceived by a 'European', a Japanese seeks his roots in something 'Asian'. The attractiveness of being 'Asian' appeals to a Japanese viewer who is disappointed with himself in the present, of not being able to enjoy the affluence that he had expected by achieving economic and technological advancement through European-style modernization, and also feeling as though he has lost his role model to follow in the future since he cannot simply follow the West as he did before. This enables the viewer to stand in a superior position to a European on the deeper level on the grounds that he has not only acquired European modernization, but he has also maintained the mysterious and attractive 'uniqueness' that a European does not possess.

Thirdly, from this stand point, the Japanese tourist discovers 'attractive nostalgia' in Indonesia, which is transformed from 'attractive exoticness'. The Asian culture
which is seen as 'attractive' from the 'European' perspective has elements which make a Japanese remember what he had in his past. This re-assures him of his identity in Asian culture.

However, finally, he discovers 'unattractive nostalgia' such as the aspect of 'backwardness'. This 'unattractive' aspect of nostalgia justifies his feeling superior to previous generations of Japanese, and over other Asians in the present, by perceiving both as 'backward'.

Thus 'Indonesia' on the imaginary plane is created. On the surface level, the Japanese viewer re-assures himself of being equal to both Europeans and Asians, therefore becoming a real kokusaijin. Yet on the deeper level, it enables him to justify his superiority to both Europeans and Asians. The viewer is enticed to realize kokusaika on the surface level, while on the deeper level he is enticed to affirm his Japanese 'uniqueness' and therefore superiority.

**The Half-learned Knowledge and the Imaginary Plane**

The transformation of 'exoticness' into 'nostalgia', or the 'unfamiliar' into the 'familiar', is influenced by the Japanese viewer's previous knowledge about the object. When a Japanese viewer sees a facet of the representation of Indonesian culture, he begins to make connections with what s/he already knows. With that knowledge, the viewer makes the link between what he sees and what he knows; it transforms the unfamiliar into the familiar.

In order to make this transformation more successful, knowledge about the object 'should merely be reminiscent of cultural lessons half-learnt' (Berger 1982:140). If knowledge about a certain object is fully learned and is clear, it cannot be linked with another object which is in a totally different context. This ambiguity allows the old knowledge to be drawn upon in a totally different context when one encounters a situation even only fractionally similar.

The transformation happens on an imaginary plane. An example of this use of half-learned knowledge is discussed in the following example of a lion and a demon in the Barong Dance, and Borobudur and a market in Denpasar.

**Analysis of Five Facets**

Five facets of photographs are now closely studied with their written information attached: a photograph of a group of males in the Kecak Dance; a female dancer in the
the Barong Dance; a lion and a demon in the Barong Dance; Borobudur; and a market in Denpasar. These facets are studied because they are the set of photographs which appear on most of the Japanese brochures as a representation of Indonesian people and culture.

Through these examples the relationship of the four aspects of 'exoticness' and 'nostalgia' is studied in order. The Kecak Dance represents 'unattractive exoticness', a female dancer in the Barong Dance transforms the 'unattractive exoticness' into 'exotic attractiveness', a lion and demon in the Barong Dance transforms 'attractive exoticness' into 'attractive nostalgia', Borobudur represents 'attractive nostalgia', and a market in Denpasar transforms the 'attractive nostalgia' into the 'unattractive nostalgia'.

In each case study, firstly, the written and visual information is explained. Then the way this information is interpreted by the Japanese viewer is explained. While the photographs introduce different facets with different messages, the written text tends to be repetitive. This repetition shows that these facets, whether they are interpreted as 'exotic' or 'nostalgic', together create the 'imaginary plane' which is 'dreamy', 'mysterious' or 'other worldly' for the Japanese viewer.

**i) Kecak Dance**

The Kecak Dance represents 'unattractive exoticness'; it is 'primitive', 'barbarian' or 'frightening'.\(^{13}\) This enables a Japanese viewer to be reassured about the achievement of their modernization and their identity as that which the Japanese perceive to be 'European'.\(^{14}\) This, on the surface level, makes the viewer feel equal to what is perceived as 'European'.

In the written information attached to the photograph, it is explained as *monkī dance to shite shirareru* (known as Monkey Dance); *sūjū-nin no otoko-tachi ga "kechak kecak" to saru no saru-no-koe wo mane-nagara odorimasu* (dozens of half-naked males dance with their voices of "kechak kecak" which mimic that of monkeys); *'hyakunin ni chikai otokono hito ga chikara-zuyoku takibi wo kakonde odoru'* (nearly one hundred men powerfully perform around the bonfire); *'Bali no dento-teki dansu'* (traditional Balinese dance); *'Gensō-teki-na gurūpu dansu'* (fantastic or dream-like group dance); *'hiyakeshita otoko-no-hito-tachi ga saru-no koe wo manede sakebu no ha gensōteki'* (the mimicking voice of those suntanned men are gensōteki (fantastic/---\(^{13}\) This dance, in most of the tours, is packaged together with 'dinner with lobster' which is explained as 'a feast'. The dinner follows after the dance, but the brochures give the impression that one can enjoy the meal while watching the performance.

\(^{14}\) See the footnote 12.
dreamy); or 'gensō-teki na sekai ni hikikomare-masu' (you would be drawn into this magical world).

In the photographs (Figures 2a,2b) the Kecak Dance is introduced as follows. There are a group of men in torso facing inwards, pointing toward the women in the centre. Their hands are held upward with their palms facing to the centre. Their backs are facing the camera in the same posture and each dancer has his black hair adorned with a bright red tropical flower. The dance is performed outside in the evening darkness in front of the traditional Balinese gate; a flash of the camera lights up the back of the men. Between the two women in the centre is a carving with several flames on it, which is the focal point of the dance.

With this information, this dance as a whole represents 'unattractive exoticness' on the grounds that it appears as 'primitive', 'backward', 'barbarian', or 'frightening'. The suntanned back of the group of men sitting on the ground appears to be 'primitive' as 'dojin' (literally translated 'earthy people' or 'indigenous people' which means 'native' with the connotation of 'backward' and 'barbarian'). The image of a dojin is as follows; dark, naked, primitive, barbarian, possibly a cannibal who carries a spear or a bow. One of the images of dojin in Japan was represented in the cartoon Böken Dankichi in pre-war time, which became one of the stereotypes of dojin, BökenDankichi by Keizo Shimada (ed. by Kenichi Katō) was re-printed in 1970 by Kodansha, Tokyo (Yano 1982). The notion 'dojin' is not used any more in Japan just as the word 'primitive' in English is avoided. However, as seen in one of the examples in the footnote 3 in Chapter 4, some contemporary Japanese still have a tendency to regard 'Indonesians' as 'Jawa no dojin' (primitives of Java).

The word 'monkey' in written information causes the people to appear 'primitive'. A number of the men in the same posture, their hands raised up, palms pointing toward the centre, convey to the Japanese 'powerful' and 'energetic emotions', which is also explained in the written form as 'chikarazuyoi', 'hiyake-shita otokotachi ga jyōhanshin hadakade' (men with suntanned upper half of the body naked). This makes the dance more 'barbarian' or 'frightening' and makes the ritual more interesting and 'exciting' to see.

The Balinese gate, the wooden carvings with several flames, and the red tropical flowers on black hair are 'exotic' and unfamiliar to the Japanese viewer. These together with the word gensōteki create the imaginary plane.
The act of seeing this dance as 'primitive' or 'barbarian' enables the Japanese viewer to differentiate himself from the 'dojin'. The Japanese viewer is conscious that the European once perceived the Japanese as primitive. By seeing the male dance as 'dojin' or 'primitive', 'unattractively exotic', the Japanese assures himself that the fruits of Japanese modernization via Westernization have removed them from that primitive state.

The combination of a sea-food or lobster dinner, which is represented as a 'luxurious feast' in the written text, makes this act of seeing the magical ritual of 'primitive barbarians' more the act of 'civilized' people. The viewer is enticed to stand in the position of a 'civilized' person who would enjoy watching the cultural show of the 'primitives'.

ii) A Female in the Barong Dance

A female Barong Dance represents 'attractive exoticness'. This transforms the 'unattractive exoticness' into 'attractive exoticness'. This 'attractive exoticness', firstly, on the surface level, assures a viewer that he is equal to a 'European' on the grounds that both would see the dance as 'exotic' and something different. However, by seeing the attractive aspects of Asian culture, represented as 'richness of the culture' or 'delicateness of the culture', he is enticed by the 'exoticness' and empathizes with this attractive Asianness which Europeans do not possess. This, on the deeper level, enables him to see himself as superior to a European on the basis that he feels a closeness to 'attractive exoticness' which a European cannot.

The written information is as follows: 'Miru-hito wo genso-teki na sekai e to sasotte iku dentō-teki na odori' (a traditional dance which invites the viewer to the magical world); 'ayashigenamadeni-gensō-teki' (mysterious to an extent which is beyond description). The dance is also described as 'shinpiteki-na madeni ayashigena odori' in which 'ayashigena' literally means 'unknown' or 'strange' but also has a connotation of 'seductive'.

There are two different types of photographs which represent this dance. One is a close up of a face (Figure 3a), and the other is from a distance which shows the dancers' posture (Figure 3b, 3c).

In the photograph, a girl (or girls) in a colourful, graceful and sensual costume, with her body slightly inclined to the side from the waist, moves her arms slowly, her

15 The notion of dojin is discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to the self-image of Japanese as kokusaijin.
16 See the written text attached to Figure 3a.
hands are flattened palms, her fingers are spread and stretched with a slight curve. The close-up photograph focuses on her face; it focuses on her eyes which are averted. The eye-shadow and the darkened eye-brow convey to the Japanese viewer mystery in her eyes.

The visual message and the written text together represent this female dance for the Japanese viewer as 'attractively exotic'.17 In the written explanation, it is explained as 'ayashigena' which implies seductive attractiveness. The colour of the costume, golden and green, and the red tropical flower transfer the message such as 'colourful'. This 'colourfulness' implies for the Japanese viewer the 'richness of the culture' of Asia. The eyes of the girl are interpreted as the 'sensual exoticness' of Asian culture which implies the attractiveness of Asian culture. The movement of the fingers implies the 'delicateness' of Asian culture.

This 'attractive exoticness' is represented on the imaginary plane. The colourful costume, the pose of the dancer, the make-up of her face and her expression are represented as 'mysterious', as if it is an illustration or a dream in paradise. The slow movement of the arms shows the different pace of the time compared with that of modern society.

Thus, the Japanese viewer is enticed by the attractiveness of exotic Asian culture and begins to identify himself as a part of this 'attractive' culture.

iii) A Lion and a Demon in the Barong Dance

A lion and a demon in the Barong Dance represent 'attractive nostalgia' for a Japanese viewer with which he finds a link between Japanese culture and Balinese culture. The Japanese viewer identifies himself as a part of Asian culture by seeing this 'attractive nostalgia' of Indonesian cultures. This affirms the Asian identity of the Japanese viewer and on the surface level, makes him feel equal to other Asians.

This 'attractive nostalgia' is transformed from the 'attractive exoticness' as seen in the previous female dance. By linking some of this exoticness with facets of Japanese traditional dances which are familiar to the Japanese, this 'attractive exoticness' is transformed into 'attractive nostalgia', i.e. the 'unfamiliar' is transformed into the 'familiar'.

The written information overlaps with some of the text in the previous female dance because this facet is only another facet of the same Barong Dance. The

17 Each element of the information itself does not mean 'attractively exotic'. The messages are 'interpreted' by the Japanese as such.
explanation is as follows: 'Gameran no ensō no kadamasuru toropikal na yume no sekai e-to anatoa wo sasoi-masu' (we invite you to the world of tropical dreams where the sound of Gamelan echoes); 'Daihyō-teki dentō-buto no hitotsu' (one of the traditional dances); 'kamen ya kshō ga yuniku' (the masks and costumes are unique). This mysterious dance is also explained as 'gokusaiishoku no yume' (richly coloured dream) in the 'rakuen' (paradise).18

In the photograph, either the lion or the demon, or both, are depicted. A lion is descending the stairs between a Balinese gateway (Figure 4a). The lion's face is frightening with protruding eye balls. Around the lion's neck hangs a red cloth which is the same colour as the mask. The lion has a peaked dull gold spine decorated with red flowers. The sun casts its shadow on the gateway. A demon is standing in front of the Balinese gate (Figure 5a). It has long nails, a long red tongue and long fangs. The creature's eyes are protruding and seem to stare at the audience. Her body is covered with long strands of feathers. Sitting behind the main creatures are three people with less frightening but colourful masks.

On the one hand, it is interpreted as 'attractive exoticness' as seen in the previous female dance. The 'gokusai-shoku' (vivid colour) of the costume and the features of the masks show the 'exoticness' of Asian culture. The long nails of the demon, the protruding eyes, and the fangs of both the lion and the demon are 'frightening'. This emphasizes the 'uniqueness' of Asian culture which interests the Japanese precisely because it does not appear in these aspects of European culture adopted by the Japanese.

Then, this 'attractive exoticness' is transformed into 'attractive nostalgia'. A Japanese viewer finds something familiar in this unfamiliarity by linking it with what he has learned in his culture.19 The lion reminds the Japanese viewer of a lion dance in Japan which used to be seen on the streets at New Year or at local festivals (see Figure 4b). However, it has disappeared in cities in the process of the urbanization resulting from modernization. The urbanization of Japan was especially rapid during the economic boom from 1955 to 1965. It is not seen at street corners anymore, yet it is well known to all Japanese either through direct experience or the media.

The demon reminds the Japanese viewer of the 'Namahage' festival in Akita in northern Japan, where young men impersonate masked, long-haired demons (see Figure 5b).20 Although the Namahage festival is a local festival, it is well known

18 See the written text printed on the photograph of Figure 4a.
19 See p. 45 about the use of half-learned knowledge in transforming the 'unfamiliar' into the 'familiar'.
20 The demon itself is popular in Japanese folk tales as Oni, such as in one of the famous tales of Momotarou, in which the hero goes on a journey to Onigashima (Island of Demons) to fight demons.
through television, photographs and books. It is so well known that it is often mentioned in travel guide books for both Japanese tourists and overseas tourists.

This demon also reminds the viewer of the Kagemijisi\textsuperscript{21} in Kabuki or Yamamba dance\textsuperscript{22} (Figure 5c) in Nō plays in Japan. These dances are not popular among the Japanese at present, yet these are found through television broadcasting, photographs, paintings, and education. These figures with their long white hair, with a mask or make-up, are part of the cultural upbringing of young Japanese.

With this peculiarly Japanese cultural knowledge, the 'unfamiliar' or 'exotic' is transformed into the 'familiar' or 'nostalgic', and this transformation is in the 'rakuen' (paradise) which exists in the imaginary world. In this transformation, the Japanese viewer is reminded of what he had in the past as part of Asian culture. It reminds him of what he has lost. Then, through the act of seeing it, he has the assurance of regaining what he once had. This transformation is represented on an imaginary plane as 'mysterious', or a 'tropical dream'.

iv) Borobudur

Borobudur, as in the lion dance seen above, also represents 'attractive nostalgia'.\textsuperscript{23} The Japanese viewer makes the link between himself and Borobudur through his knowledge of Buddhism, which causes Borobudur to seem 'nostalgic' to the Japanese viewer. Borobudur is represented as 'Indonesia wo daihyō-suru iseki' (an historical monument which represents Indonesia) in the written text. Borobudur makes the Japanese viewer feel as if he has regained his traditional cultural value as 'uniquely' Japanese among Asians.

In the written explanations, Borobudur is explained as 'impressive', as 'shōgai wasurerarenai samazama-na kandō wo yobiokosu' (impresses you so much that you would not forget it all through your life). It is explained as 'grand', with the written information such as 'sōgon' (grandeur), 'kandō-teki' (impressive), 'sekai saidai ni-nshite sekai saiko no bukkyō iseki' (largest and oldest Buddhist ruin in the world).

\textsuperscript{21} The story is as follows. As the court lady, Yayoi, dances at the New Year's celebration with a lion puppet-head on her hand, the head takes possession of her soul and she begins to dance wildly. After an interval, Yayoi returns to the stage in the guise of a lion (Leither:1979:155).

\textsuperscript{22} The story itself is not well known among contemporary Japanese, yet the dancer with the long white hair in this scene is 'half-learned' as one of the famous Kabuki dances

\textsuperscript{23} As described in p. 39, Borobudur is one of the highlights of sightseeing in Indonesia for Japanese tourists. Even tours titled as 'trip to Bali' include Borobudur.
It is described as 'Jawa no jangru ni kakomareta' (surrounded in a jungle in Java), and 'nazo ni tsutus-mareta iseki' (a construction covered with mystery). It is also explained as 'dreamy' and 'other-worldly' as '1814-nen ni hakken-sareru made Wennen mo-no nemuri ni tsuite-ita' (awoken from a thousand years of sleep when it was discovered in 1814) in which 'hotoke tachi ha sono nagai nengetsu ni nani wo mitekita node-shou' (what the statues of Buddha have dreamt about during that long time). With its mysterious power, it is 'otozureru hito wo roman no sekai he to izanau' 'invites the visitor to the romantic world' or 'hundreds of towers and religious bas-relief on each terrace would invite you to a mysterious world'.

In this mysterious place, the viewer is invited to attain spiritual awakening. The process of the transformation of the Self is explained as 'chikaku ni tateba...kokoro arawareru kimochi' (if you stand closer, you will feel as if your mind would be washed off which means that one feels as if one is attaining a spiritual awakening), or 'Satori no kyochi e dai-ippo' (first step to attain Satori, or spiritual awakening).

The photographs of Borobudur in brochures are categorized into three facets by the way they focus on it (see Figure 6a, 6b, and 6c). The first photograph (Figure 6a) is taken from a distant perspective on an ascending angle. It shows that Borobudur is constructed throughout with blocks of stones. The temple has terraces up which people can climb. These terraces consist of a myriad of intricately detailed carvings. There are stairs dissecting an ascending series of terraces which lead up to the top. Some tourists, whose figures seem so small compared to this massive construction, are standing in front of the stairs, and some of them are climbing to the top. The main body of the temple and the sky are separated by the intricate shape of the top with its peaked turrets.

The second photograph (Figure 6b) shows the top part of Borobudur. This facet most frequently appears in the brochures as a representation of Borobudur. It is taken from a sufficiently close distance and shows a close-up of a number of bell-shaped stupas, one foregrounded. These bell-shaped stone formations have tall narrow peaks pointing up heavenward into the immense sky. In each stupa, there are evenly spaced holes. In some photographs which foreground the stupas in this way, Japanese tourists, who look comparatively small between these large stone formations, are walking around or touching these bell-shaped stupas. This is one of the few photographs where Japanese tourists appears as 'Japanese'.

The third type of photograph (Figure 6c) shows a close up of the terrace carvings. This is represented as Buddhist mythology. The intricate bas-relief shows the ancient
life of people in their foreign clothes. The carvings are weather-worn, and have become partly white.

With both the written and the photographic messages, Borobudur is represented as being 'attractive', as being 'grand', 'sacred' and 'mysterious'. The 'grandeur' is indicated by the size of the construction, its history, and the amount of work involved in its intricate detail. Its immensity is highlighted by contrast with the size of the tourists. The photographs are focused looking upward, emphasizing its height, and inviting the viewer to climb to the top. It is also represented as 'sacred', as being related to a religion, Buddhism, and to Buddhist mythology, through the statues of Buddha and the reliefs. The towers also repetitively point skyward and indicate the eternal continuity of something 'sacred'. It is represented as 'mysterious in the unfamiliar shape of its construction and carvings, its location in a jungle of palm trees, its lost history, and its grand appearance'.

Whilst it is interpreted as 'attractive', it is also interpreted as an object of 'nostalgia'. The Japanese viewer has at least a knowledge of Buddhism and Borobudur. Japanese believe in both Buddhism in its indigenous form and Shinto, and are brought up in a culture where Buddhism is somehow familiar in their lives, as a part of their own culture no matter whether or not they believe in it.

Borobudur itself is introduced in Japanese high school text books and one learns briefly about it in education. For example, one of the text books Shōsetsu Sekaiishi by Yamakawa Shuppansha (1986) introduces Borobudur with a photograph in the section concerning the transmission of Buddhism throughout Asia. The photograph is accompanied by the written explanation that 'Buddhist ruins which remain in the middle of Java consist of terraces which are designed on both a square and circular plan while keeping geometrical balance (ibid:62-64).

Borobudur is thus represented and interpreted as 'nostalgic attractiveness'. With half learned knowledge, Borobudur is not only 'attractive' but also 'nostalgic' as something familiar given the cultural upbringing of the Japanese. It is 'mysterious', being not fully known yet at the same time familiar, which makes the following transformation possible.

24 In interviews on the Australian National University campus, Japanese students who in general were not particularly keen on Buddhism or traditional culture established that they could easily recognize that this construction was at least related to Buddhism even when they did not recognize it as 'Borobudur'. A large number of Australian students (except those who have a background in studies about Asian culture, Indonesia or of Buddhism) found it hard to recognize that it was related to Buddhism; to them it appeared as a 'mysterious' and 'exotic' construction.
By visiting Borobudur, one is invited to attain spiritual awakening as explained in the written text. This process of spiritual awakening is indicated by the tourists' act of ascending the stairs in the centre of this 'grand' construction, which implies for the Japanese viewer the inner betterment of oneself though the physical act of ascending higher. The Japanese tourist also feels as though he is regaining something sacred which touches on traditional values through physically touching the 'sacred' stupa.

In this self-betterment, the tourist not only feels as though he is regaining the spiritual fulfilment which has been lost in his materialistic modern life, but that he is regaining inner fulfilment through revitalization of traditional Japanese values and culture. In this process, the Japanese tourist is reassured of the 'uniqueness' of himself in an Asian context.

v) A Market in Denpasar

The market represents for the Japanese viewer 'unattractive nostalgia' which is transformed from 'attractive nostalgia'. At first, it represents 'attractive nostalgia' through feelings such as 'cosy', 'warm and close relationship with others' and 'slow and simple rural life' which remind the viewer about the 'good old days' by showing attractive aspects of what he lost in the process of modernization. This makes him feel as though he can regain what he has lost in the past. However, at the same time, this 'attractive nostalgia' is transformed into 'unattractive nostalgia' representing 'backward', 'primitive' or 'hard life'. It reminds the viewer of the hardships of life in the past. By remembering that these were overcome by modernization, he justifies the path of modernization his nation has taken.

The written text is as follows.\textsuperscript{25} It explains the simple life as 'mada kurai uchi kara machi wa okihajimemasu' (the town wakes up while it is still dark) and will 'yatai' (food stalls \textsuperscript{26}). It is also described as lively with 'papata to baiku no hashiru karui oto, keiteki, shan-shan to suzu no oto, hizumeno hibiki, hitobito no hanashi-go' (the sound of motor bike engines, whistles, bells, the clatter of hoofs, voices of people on the streets). The liveliness of the market is also described as 'tsumitate no yasai ya kōshin-ryo, niwatori ya ahiru, nichiyō-zakka to samazama-na mono ga urareteiru' (full of fresh vegetables, spices, chicken and duck and everyday necessities). It is also described as crowded and unorganized as 'tō no kago wo atamani katuida hito-bito ga miugoki-torenai-hodo no zatto no nakawo...kaumono wo kimete-iku' (people with

\textsuperscript{25} Quoted from the written text attached to Figure 7a.
\textsuperscript{26} In Japan, traditionally there have been numerous noodle stalls, which are disappearing in the process of modernization.
cane baskets on their head shop around the crowd, where one can hardly move around).

In the photograph (Figure 7a), women wearing colourful traditional clothes are seen sitting informally on the ground amongst their fresh produce. One woman is helping another woman balance a bag of fruit on her head. Another is smiling. In the background people are busy going about their business, carting fruit in baskets, arranging the produce and setting it up on the ground ready for sale. A variety of fruit is piled high in woven cane baskets almost to the point of overflowing, where the women are sitting.

On the one hand, it suggests 'attractive nostalgia': it reminds the tourist of what he has lost in the technological and economic advancement of modernization. The warm relationship of people is expressed through the clumsiness of the situation, friendly expressions on the faces, and the interaction between people. The liveliness of their market is expressed through the vivid colour of the clothes, the busy movement of people, and the noise on the street. The simplicity and the purity of the life, which is 'natural' in comparison to life in modern society, is interpreted through the traditional clothes, the cane baskets, the way the people carry the products on their heads with the cane baskets, and the way they sell the products. Abundance and the variety of life is interpreted through the variety of the fruit piled high in the baskets and through the colourful variety of clothes.

Yet, on the other hand, it conveys 'unattractiveness' and transforms the above 'attractive nostalgia' into 'unattractive nostalgia'. It is represented as noisy and un-organized which is 'primitive', 'backward' and 'inefficient'. People are sitting on the ground clumsily, and the market is not organized from the perspective of a modern system of business. The street is full of confusion with noise, people, and products.

This 'unattractive nostalgia' reminds the Japanese viewer of the open-markets in Japan following World War II (compare Figure 7c and 7d, Figure 7e and 7f). This was the time when the Japanese set off on the path to modernization using the United States as their model. This is 'nostalgic' yet the memory is related to the 'hardship of life' of the time when Japan aimed at modernization.27

This transforms the 'attractive nostalgia' into 'unattractive nostalgia' which justifies the modernization that one took. It justifies modernization which brought material affluence through achieving technological and economical advancement. Thus, this facet of representation, on the one hand, assures the viewer of the

27 See Chapter 2 (pp. 25-26) about the life of the Japanese at that time.
traditional values and the way of life of 'unique' Japanese as Asians, yet on the deeper level, it assures the viewer of his superiority to, not only the Japanese themselves in the past, but also to other Asians in the present.

Thus, as studied in the above five facets, the representation of Indonesian people and culture, on the imaginary plane, affirms the Japanese of their identity as kokusaijin: on the surface, realizing the 'trans-nationalism' of a relationship with both European and Asian, while on the other hand, strengthening the 'uniqueness' of the Japanese. The paradox of 'becoming Other' and 'retaining Self' is achieved on this imaginary plane in which the former disguises the latter.

3.3.2. The Representation of the 'Guests'

While the 'hosts' are represented with Indonesian people and culture, the 'guests' are represented with 'European' models. The Japanese viewer identifies himself with the model, which makes him become a 'quasi-European'.

The 'European' models are used to represent the ideal self-image of the Japanese at the destination. In the brochure, the representation of the 'guests' changes its form: from the appearance of 'Japanese' before the departure, to the appearance of 'Europeans' at the destinations, or as cartoons which 'Europeanize' the Japanese figure.

The representation of the Japanese as 'guests' is studied as follows. First, the 'hosts' and the 'guests' relationship in the representation is studied, in which the 'Indonesians' play the role of 'hosts' and the 'European' plays the role of 'guests' or tourists. Secondly, the way 'European' tourists are represented is studied in relation to the self-image of the Japanese. Finally the way the Japanese are invited to transform themselves into kokusaijin is explained.

The 'Hosts' and the 'Guests'

The 'hosts' and 'guests' are represented separately in most of the photographs, and when they are represented together, the 'hosts' are in the role of 'serving' the 'guests', and the 'guests' are in the role of tourists who are 'served' by the 'hosts' (Figures 8a,8b,8c, and 10).

The 'hosts' and 'guests' relationship is represented as follows. Firstly, 'guests' are represented as the customers at the hotels or restaurants (Figure 8a). In this relationship, the 'host' is emphasized: his smile, politeness, and friendliness. The 'guests' are represented as happily enjoying their holiday. Through this
representation, the viewer is assured of good service at the hotels and restaurants at the holiday destination, and also close, friendly contact with local people.

Secondly, the 'guests' are represented on boats while the 'host' is at the helm (Figure 8b). In this relationship, usually more than two 'guests' are on the boat, in the centre of the photograph, while only one Indonesian male is at the helm. The 'host' is looking down without any expression, indicating that he is 'working' like a machine, while the 'guests' are enjoying themselves. The 'host' does not have a relationship with the 'guests' but experiences a separate existence, almost as a part of the boat. This implies to the viewer that the 'hosts' will work for the 'guests', while the 'guests' enjoy themselves.

Thirdly, on the beach (Figure 8c), the 'host' is holding an oar for the 'guest' while looking toward the 'guest'. The 'host' is following the 'guest'. The distance between the 'host' and the 'guest' indicates that there is a wall between the host and the guest; the 'guest' is predominant in this context.

The Representation of 'European' models

'European' models are used to represent the ideal self image of the Japanese at the destination. Through the process of modernization after the Meiji Restoration, the lifestyle of the European was an abstract model for Japanese people. A 'European' lifestyle was a symbol of the 'better life'. At the holiday destination, the Japanese are represented in the situation of what the Japanese perceive as 'European'.

The first representation is the representation of a female lying on the beach or playing sport (Figure 9a, 9b). The model always wears a swimming costume which emphasizes the attractiveness of her figure. The model is always alone on the beach, and she is not facing the camera: she is taken from the back or from a distance or she wears sun-glasses. The male Japanese viewer puts himself beside her and imagines himself becoming attractive to the attractive female. The female viewer projects herself onto the model and imagines herself being as attractive as the model in the photograph. The fact that the model is not looking toward the camera makes the existence of the model more abstract, and makes it easier for the Japanese viewer to transform himself or herself into the appropriate model within the situation.

The second photograph is a photograph of a couple (Figure 9c). The couple are at the pool side and happily smiling at each other. The viewer imagines a romantic time at the holiday destination. If the viewers are a couple who are thinking about travelling together, they expect this close relationship with their partner at the holiday
destination. If a viewer is travelling alone or with friends, this implies that there will be opportunities of meeting someone at the destination.

The third photograph is a group of models drinking beer at a table on the beach or at the bar by the pool (Figure 9d, 10). The Europeans are depicted almost like part of the scenery of Bali, which gives the Japanese viewer the impression that Bali is an 'international' resort. The viewer either projects himself onto the 'European' model or puts himself at one of the tables, and so imagines himself in the scenery. For example, in Figure 9d, the closest table, where the viewers are invited to fill the seat by themselves on the imaginary plane, is empty. In this 'international' resort, the viewer expects to become an 'international citizen'.

3.3.3. The Transformation into Kokusaijin

The process by which a Japanese transforms himself into a kokusaijin, is examined through the way in which tourists are represented. Before the trip, such as in photographs at travel agencies, the appearance of tourists (or the prospective tourists) is obviously 'Japanese' (see Figure 11a). In the aeroplane, the appearance of the model is still 'Japanese', and one is served by the 'Japanese' stewardess (see Figure 11b). At the destination, the representation of the Japanese is taken over by cartoon figures (Figure 11c and 11d), or by 'European' models as represented in Figures 8a, 8b, 8c, 9a, 9b, 9c, 9d, and 10. The cartoons always depict European features mixed with Japanese features. This ambiguous representation of the Japanese is not only an 'imaginary' representation in which the tourist daydreams about himself at the destination, but is also a bridge to the 'European' models at the destinations. The tourist is transformed into the imaginary cartoon with both European and Japanese features, on the way to a total European transformation.

This process of transformation indicates that Japanese tourists see themselves as Japanese yet partly with European features. On the one hand, Japanese tourists want to book a tour or aeroplane run on Japanese standards in which one would be taken care of by Japanese tour conductors or stewardesses. Japanese tourists would safely stay within the meaning system of the Japanese. On the other hand, at the destination, the Japanese want to become Europeans. The European lifestyle has become a model for a better Japanese lifestyle.

28 In interviews with Japanese students who have not been to Bali before, the viewers were impressed that Bali is a place where 'European' tourists take glamourous holidays. The presence of European tourists improved their opinions of Bali. It implies that 'international' destination for a Japanese tourist means a destination, not necessarily with Asian tourists, but with 'European' tourists.
3 4. *Kokusaijin* and the Representation of 'Indonesia'

Through the study of the brochures, it can be seen how Japanese tourists see themselves as *kokusaijin*, 'attractively' Japanese and temporarily European while remaining 'uniquely' Japanese in the long-term. Westernization was only a means to achieve modernization, a means to attain a better upper-middle class life style which the Japanese set as a goal on the imaginary plane. The transformation of the Self into a European one is only a means to become more attractively Japanese.

The successful transformation of the tourist's life and self-image into the better upper-middle class life is represented, for example, in the photograph of the beach. (Compare Figure 12a and 12b) In comparison with Japanese beaches, the beach in Bali is represented as 'quiet' and 'relaxing' to the Japanese tourist. There is hardly anybody around. While on the Japanese beach, the tourist is one of the masses on the beach, in Bali the tourist becomes a carefree individual.

The cartoon *Blondy* was used as a cover for *JAL PAK* for 1989 (*Figure 13*). The Dagwood family is originally represented as 'middle class' in the United States. This is put in the Japanese context after World War II when it appeared in a newspaper, and it became an enviable life of 'upper-middle class'. *Blondy* was taken over by Japanese comic *Sazaesan* in the newspaper in 1951, and gradually disappeared from Japanese life (Ono 1985:182). Then in the late 1980's, *Blondy* appeared again in Japan in a few advertisements in the context of *kokusaika*. The comic itself was re-printed in 1989 in three volumes (*Hanako* No. 78 1989:159).30

Today, the Japanese regard themselves as achieving the lifestyle of the 'upper-middle class' which they looked upon as enviably after the World War II. The *Blondy* in Japan after the war was a representation of the life which people admired as an ideal that one could never reach. In the 1980's, it became a representation of the life which is still enviable with the connotation of 'upper-middle' in the Japanese context, yet advertised as if it is attainable.

*Kokusaika* enables the Japanese to enjoy the life-style of idealized Europeans. But this does not necessarily mean they wish to become 'European'; the Japanese rather enjoy the image of the European lifestyle perceived by the Japanese and

29 *Blondy* was first introduced in the United States in 1930. Dagwood was a son of a millionaire who owned a rail-road company. Dagwood was disowned by his parents because of his marrige to Blondy to which his parents did not consent (*Hanako* No. 78. 1989:159). The Bumsteads were a representation of a family who is trying make a middle-class life. They could not afford to buy a car, and they were never an 'upper-middle' in the context of the U.S. when it was introduced. However, when it was introduced in Japan in 1946, it rather became the representation of the 'upper-middle' in comparison to the lifestyle of the Japanese in those days (see footnote 9 in Chapter 2).

30 The three volumes of the comics are advertised as follows; 'represent the American life', 'you would feel as if you are staying with Bumstead on a "home-stay" program' (*Hanako* No. 78 1989:159).
consume this image while remaining 'uniquely' Japanese. While enjoying the European lifestyle the Japanese reassure their traditional self-image as Japanese in which one feels 'unique', and different from Europeans. Yet while enjoying the lifestyle of the Europeans, the Japanese also feel different from Asians. Thus, the Japanese remains Japanese, but become more admirable Japanese who belong to the 'upper-middle class'.

'Indonesia' on the imaginary plane is a creation based on this self-image of being partly European yet remaining uniquely Japanese. Both the Indonesian people and the Western models are manipulated in the representation in the way Japanese see themselves. The viewer not only creates the image of the Other, i.e. both Europeans and Indonesians, but also consumes this image in which he is reassured of his self-image as enviably 'Japanese.'
Chapter 4
Conclusion

As seen in Chapters 2 and 3, in the case study of the representation of 'Indonesia' in Japanese travel brochures, overseas tourism gives the Japanese an opportunity to realize kokusaika (internationalization) and resolve the paradox of 'internationalization' on an imaginary plane. 'Internationalization' involves two contradictory aspects: 'internationalization' as a form of 'trans-nationalism' in which the Japanese try to open up to the world and 'become like other countries', and 'internationalization' as a form of 'nationalism' in which they try to maintain an identity as 'uniquely' Japanese. This is not only embodied in the representation of the Other but also resolved in the use of the Other: firstly by creating the image of the Other, and secondly by consuming this image.

Kokusaika, in the context of tourism, reinforces an aspect of 'nationalism' than 'trans-nationalism'. Tourism gives a false feeling to the Japanese that he is achieving 'trans-nationalism'; i.e. he is physically being in a foreign country, and enjoying the role of 'idle-rich' with the help of high valuation of yen. Yet, the Japanese would rather ensure the superiority of the Self via the reinforcement of the 'uniqueness' of the Self than open up themselves and understand others on the equal level. The aspect of 'nationalism' is disguised by the 'trans-nationalism', which makes overseas tourism more attractive on the grounds that one can become an attractive kokusaijin only by going to the destination concerned.

Although a study of travel brochures deals only with a minor component of tourism, it can be concluded that tourism is not simply a leisure activity. It can be an act of self-assurance via self-justification through the use of the Other; creating other people's lives as 'exotic' or 'nostalgic', and then 'consuming' this image of the Other. Tourism thus can become an opportunity to justify the Self while disguising it with the belief that one is 'understanding' the Other.

Travel brochures are one of the most influential elements in modern tourism; they not only reflect the prospective tourists' expectations, but also create expectations concerning destinations. Without an awareness of the relationship between the Self
and the Other, travel brochures would not assist in mutual understanding and they might even increase or reinforce mis-understandings.

The limited scope of this study of 'Indonesia' through Japanese travel brochures, aims to identify the ways in which travel brochures represent the other people's lives and cultures based on the meaning systems of the tourists. The representation of the Other involves the relationship between the Self and the Other. The 'Self, unchallenged, continues to promote the illusion of its own invulnerability' (Dwyer 1982:265).

***

The self-image of the Japanese in the context of tourism as discussed above perpetuates itself in other aspects of the life of Japanese. The 'experience of overseas travel' begins to contain the connotation of the 'enviable kokusaijin' as a lifestyle of an 'upper-middle class', i.e. overseas tourism is not only advertised as an opportunity to attain "international status", but overseas tourism itself is used as a means to sell the commercial products through its association with self-transformation.¹ In this process, the self-image of kokusaijin is perpetuated as part of the lifestyle of the ideal upper-middle class Japanese: 'experience of overseas tourism' is used as a tool to represent the lifestyle of the 'upper-middle class' or the valued self-image of those who belong to the 'upper-middle class'. Overseas tourism is projected as a measure of a higher lifestyle.

As the self-image is perpetuated in relation to status, the image of the Other is perpetuated in relation to that self-image. The image of the Other in relation to the

¹ For example, in one of the advertisements for shoes (Figure 16), the experience of travelling overseas is represented as a transformation of the self.

...'Mr Fuji who was not at all trendy before,....the way he worked on his desk looked rather hill-billy. That was when he came back from his trip to Italy when he has totally changed. ...he became consciously aesthetic [or sophisticated] in the way he works, in the way he dresses.... It even affected the way he spent his leisure time in which he became more enthusiastic, and began to make a canoe by himself, going to operas. This Mr. Fuji today is wearing summer-wool trouser with the original shoes [from this company advertised] (Shukan Asahi, 16 June 1989, p.35).

This advertisement subsequently tells the viewer that one can become admirable by travelling overseas, and associates the shoes which are advertised with the lifestyle of a kokusaijin. Another example is seen in the advertisement of a shopping centre which is selling the image of 'hai sutairu dezairi' (high style design).

The view of women who have been here and there around the world increasingly captures a refined 'Esunikku' (a noun derived from English adjective 'ethnic'). They fully appreciate their 'bakanse' (vacations, from the French word vacances) with their 'kosumopolitan' (cosmopolitan) good taste (Hanako No. 57 1989:109).
self-image can be related to two concepts: 'esunikku', a new concept derived from an English adjective 'ethnic', which appeared at the same time as kokusaika; and 'dojin' which is a traditional concept used to denote the peoples in the 'remote' places perceived from the Japanese viewpoint.

'Esunikku' is something which is highly regarded by the Japanese because it identifies things indigenous to other places and 'exotic' to Japan. Esunikku-na clothes or foods are enjoyed by people who are regarded as kokusaijin.

Enjoying 'esunikku' does not necessarily lead to the understanding of other countries on an equal level. It is a self-assurance for the Japanese who see themselves as the achievers of modernization via westernization; i.e. by being able to see other non-western cultures as 'esunikku' makes the Japanese feel that they are a part of western civilization. The act of enjoying 'esunikku' gives the Japanese a false feeling of 'getting to know other people's culture and lives', yet it contains the danger of reinforcing the evolutionary perspective in which the Japanese see themselves as superior to other peoples.

The notion of dojin\(^2\), which is based on this evolutionary perspective, persists in this time of internationalization in which Japan aims to achieve mutual understanding with other nations. The notion of dojin essentially embodies a negative perspective as if dojin are primitive and inferior.\(^3\)

Thus the way in which one sees the Other is related to the way one sees oneself. Both the self-image and the image of the Other fail to contribute to the understanding of the Other, but instead reinforce an ideal-self image and image of the Other in which

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\(^2\) Literally translated 'earthy people, or indigenous people' with the connotation of 'backward' or 'primitive'. See Chapter 3 (pp. 46-47).

\(^3\) The attitude toward dojin in the past is observed in the following example which shows that the Japanese saw themselves as different from dojin, that they felt superior to them. In the Japanese translators note to *The Chrysanthemum and Sword* (1951) by Ruth Benedict for the paper back publication of the Japanese translation, one can see how Japanese disliked to be categorized as dojin.

Sometimes Japanese readers [of The Chrysanthemum and Sword] become upset believing that they had been treated [by Ruth Benedict] like yabanjin (barbarians) on the grounds that the Emperor had been compared to spiritual leaders often seen among dojin (natives/primitives) of Pacific islands. However Ruth Benedict herself had no intention to regard Japanese as such (Hasegawa 1951:227) (translated from Japanese).

In the 1980s, the time of kokusaika, when the Japanese are aiming at mutual understanding, the notion of dojin still remains, as seen in the following examples from a translator's note from an Indonesian book.

We [the Japanese translators of the book] returned to Japan after spending a number of years in Indonesia. Although kokusaika (internationalization) appears to have progressed far in Japanese society, there still persists an attitude of ignorance and disinterestedness toward Asians. We sense an attitude toward Indonesia in which it still remains as Jawa no Dojin (primitive Javanese) (Funachi & Matsuda 1982).
the Self remains 'uniquely' Japanese. This enables the Japanese to feel superior to others rather than enabling them to understand other people on an equal level.

As a stage for the Japanese tourists, countries outside Japan represent an imaginary world: the destination is away from 'home' and everyday life in Japan. In this imaginary world, self-transformation becomes most attractive.

As one of the destinations, Asia enables Japanese to become both what is perceived as 'European' and 'Asian': i.e. to take on the characteristics perceived by the Japanese as 'European', and yet to remain 'Asian'.

Asia is represented as a destination where Japanese can appreciate familiar feelings, such as 'shitashimi no aru' (friendly) or 'natsukashi' (nostalgic), where they can re-assure themselves of their cultural identity as Asians. In Asia, Japanese remind of what has been lost in their past in the process of modernization. By perceiving their past in the destination, they feel nostalgic and re-assured of their cultural identity. At the same time, by comparing their present destination with their past in the evolutionary perspective, they feel superior not only to other Asians, but also to their own past.

This thesis analyzes how the Other is constructed in relation to the self-image of the tourists in a limited way. It shows why the representation of the Other via travel brochures does not necessarily help the understanding of the Other, and might even lead to 'misunderstanding' of the Other by reinforcing an image of the Other which actually flows from an idealized self-image.

However, tourists usually do not intend to 'misunderstand' other people. Tourists go to a destination for a holiday, but they are also willing to attempt to understand other people's lives and culture as Smith points out;

Many tourists genuinely want 'to get to know the people', and given the ideal circumstances of infrequent visitors who share mutual interests and a common language, tourism can be a bridge to an appreciation of cultural relativity and international understanding (1978:6).

Understanding of the Other is achieved only when the Self becomes sensitive to the meaning system of both the Self and of the Other. Examination of travel brochures constitutes one method of studying the concealed meaning system of the 'guests' which is a determinant part of the relationship between 'hosts' and 'guests' in the world of international tourism.
Appendix

Photographs (Figure 1, Table 1, Figure s, 2b, Figure 3a, 3b, 3c, Figure 4a, Figure 5a, Figure 6a, 6b, 6c, Figure 7a, 7b, 7c, 7e, Figure 8a, 8b, 8c, Figure 9a, 9b, 9c, 9d, Figure 10, Figure 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, Figure 12a Figure 13) are chosen from Japanese travel brochures listed in Bibliography.

Photographs other than above those are chosen from books and magazines. They are from references listed below.

1. Figure 4b (Misumi 1964:192)
2. Figure 5b (U.S. and Japan Marketing Center 1986:98)
3. Figure 5c (Bethe & Brazell 1982b)
4. Figure 7d (Konishi 1961:182)
5. Figure 7f (Nihon-kindai-shi-kenkyü-kai 1980:104)
6. Figure 12b (U.S. and Japan Marketing Centre 1986:11)
7. Figure 14 (Tarzan No. 57 1988)
8. Figure 15 (Non-No 20th September, 1989)
9. Figure 16 (Shukan Asahi 16th June 1989:35)
Figure 1
(An example of pages in the Japanese travel brochures)
### パリ島8日間

#### 3コース共通の出発日とスケジュール

| 出発日 | 11月 | 2・4・6・9・11・13・16・18・20・23・25・27・30日 |
| 出発日 | 12月 | 2・4・7・9・11・14・16・18・21・23・25・28・30日 |
| 出発日 | 1月 | 1・4・6・8・11・13・15・18・20・22・25・27・29日 |
| 出発日 | 2月 | 3・5・8・10・12・14・17・19・22・24・26日 |
| 出発日 | 3月 | 29・31日 |

#### スケジュール

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<td>朝食。</td>
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### パッケージ

| 食事 | 4回 |
| 旅費 | なし |

(An example of the packaged tour to 'Bali')

Table 1
Figure 2a

(Kecak Dance)

Dozens of half-naked males perform a dance which mimics monkeys. Your mind would be attracted to the mysterious world which is unique to Bali.
見る人を幻想的な世界へと誘っていく伝統的な踊り、バロンダンス。

バリでは毎朝9時からバロンダンスタイム、それともいうのも人類の守護神バロンと悪魔ラングが朝の9時から戦いを始めると魚の人々が隠しているから、この善悪と悪魔との永遠の戦いを表わしているバロンダンス。その神秘なまでにあやしげな踊りを見ていると、いつしか幻想の世界へ引き込まれてしまいます。

Figure 3a
(A close-up of a female in the Barong Dance)

Figure 3b
(A female in the Barong Dance)

Figure 3c
(Two females in the Barong Dance)
Figure 4a
(A lion in the Barong Dance)

Figure 4b
(A lion dance in Japan)
Figure 5a
(A demon in the Barong Dance)

Figure 5b
(Namahage Festival of Akita in Japan)

Figure 5c
(Yamamba in No play)
世界七不思議のひとつ、
ボロブドゥールの遺跡を体験。

ボロブドゥールは、128の四方の階をなすという
ヒンドゥー教で、彫刻がかった仏塔が作られ
おり、石壁には850のプラタが1,500個
安置されている仏像が267体、8世紀世
紀に造られたと伝えられていますが、
何にもかかわらず訪れる人を
ロマンと世界へといいます。

千年の歴史から見めた仏教遺跡 ボロブドゥール

（Stupas at the top of Borobudur）

（A close-up of Borobudur）
バリの朝市は一見の価値あり。

バリは、朝早くから見渡せます。午前は忙しく、朝から人が集まり、物販店が立ち並びます。朝の朝市は、美味しい朝食を求める人々の声や、音楽の旋律で出店されます。朝市には、新鮮な野菜や果物、ドリンクやお土産、日用品など、あらゆるものが揃っています。朝市では、早朝が一番活気があり、物販店のカゴを頭にかぶった人々が、身動きの取れないほどの雑踏の中を、手軽に Dagger や木の実等を買う瞬間を切っていきます。午前中は営業があり、午後からはフードや店舗を活気づいたりと、新しい物販店が立ち並びます。バリの朝市の魅力は、その早朝優しさや、豊かな食材の豊かさにあります。朝市を観光の一部として楽しむことも一つの楽しみ方として、ぜひお試しください。
Figure 7c
(A contemporary market scene in Denpasar)

Figure 7d
(An open market in Japan around 1945)

Figure 7e
(A contemporary market scene in Denpasar)

Figure 7f
(An open market in Japan around 1945)
The 'Host' and the 'Guest' Relationship

Figure 8a

Figure 8b

Figure 8c
Figure 9d
Figure 10
('Resort in Asia': a page from a Japanese brochure)
The Transformation of the Japanese into *Kokusaijin*.

*Figure 11a*
(At the travel agency)

*Figure 11b*
(In the aeroplane)

*Figure 11c*
(At the destination)

*Figure 11d*
(At the destination)
Figure 12a
(Bali on a imaginary plane:
A beach in Bali represented in a Japanese brochure)

Figure 12b
(Reality in Japan: 'summer beach in southern Japan')
Figure 13
(A cover of a travel brochure: the use of 'Blondy' in the Japanese context)
Figure 14
(A cover of a magazine: one of the images of *kokusaijin* )
クリスマスホームステイ特別企画

ISA20周年記念スペシャル
クリスマスホームステイ
F設計事務所5年目の藤井くんは、最近カッパーナとワシントンです。

Figure 16
(An advertisement of shoes: selling an image of kokusaijin.)
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2 Brochures are advertisements, and the information about the publication of brochures is printed on them differently compared to that in academic literature in general. On the front cover page, the title of the brochure, which is the destination, is written together with the brand name of the tour and the period of which the brochure is valid. The same travel companies often introduce tours with different brand names according to the content and the price of the tours. For example, JTB World sells 'Palette Tours' and 'Look JTB tours'.

The information about a brochure is listed in the following order in this bibliography: a) title of the brochure, b) brand name of the tour, c) the place of departure (only when it is defined), e) the period for which which the brochure is valid, f) the name of the travel company, f) the place where the company has its main office. The title of the brochure, the brand name of the tour, the period in which the brochure is valid, the name of the company which is responsible in selling the tours, and the place where the company has its main office.


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