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On the Publication of IJCT Volume 1
IJCT vol.1の刊行にあたって

IJCT（International Journal of Contents Tourism）は、コンテンツ・ツーリズムの諸相を明らかにすることを目的に、2016年1月からweb上で刊行しているオープンアクセス・オンライン・ジャーナルです。Web上では、論文・研究ノート・総説・書評を一篇ずつ不定期に掲載していますが、より幅広い読者に向けて研究成果を還元すべく、ここに2016年1年間に発表した論文等をひとつの冊子体にとりまとめ、IJCT vol.1として出版する運びとなりました。

情報通信技術（ICTs）の高度化、メディアの多様化に伴い、電子メディア空間と現実空間の交錯、コミュニケーション様式の変容、大衆文化を中心とした文化の越境と受容といった現象が、現在、ボーダレスな形で急速に進んでいます。さらに同時に進展している、国際的な観光交流人口の爆発的増大、人のモビリティの高まりは、こうしたボーダレスなコミュニケーションや文化越境の進展を、具体的場所に結びつけながら加速させています。

こうした状況下、「ものがたり、キャラクター、舞台（ロケーション）など、ポップカルチャー作品を構成する創造的要素によって、全体的にあるいは部分的に、動機づけられた旅行行動」としてのコンテンツ・ツーリズムにかかわる諸現象・諸課題は、極めて複雑な様相を呈するようになっています。IJCTは、こうした現象・課題に取り組む研究者、実践者が、既存の分野や国籍・所属を超えて、知見や成果を報告し、議論を深め合う、国際的・学際的プラットフォームとなることを目指したいと思います。

なお、IJCTの開設・運営・刊行には科学研究費助成事業・基盤研究(A)26243007から、今回のvol.1刊行には北海道大学メディア・コミュニケーション研究院から、多大なるご支援を頂きました。記して感謝の意を表します。

2017年3月1日　IJCT編集責任者
山村高淑、シートン・フィリップ

The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* (IJCT) aims to publish research about the various aspects of the phenomenon of contents tourism. It was launched as an open access online journal in January 2016 and publishes research articles, research notes, review articles and book reviews, which are uploaded as soon as they have passed the refereeing process. In order to disseminate the research in the journal further, we have collected together here the various articles published during 2016 as Volume 1 of the print edition of the journal.

Amidst rapid advances in Information and Communication Technology and diversification of the media, various phenomena are emerging rapidly in a largely borderless fashion, such as the intermingling of digitized and real spaces, changes in forms of communication, and shifts in the boundaries of popular culture. At the same time, international tourism flows are increasing rapidly as individual mobility increases. As borderless communications and forms of culture progress, this accelerates the connections made by people with real places.

In this context, the various aspects of contents tourism, defined as ‘travel behaviour motivated fully or partially by narratives, characters, locations and other creative elements of popular culture forms, including film, television dramas, manga, anime, novels and computer games’, are becoming more and more complex. We hope that IJCT will become an international and interdisciplinary

academic platform for researchers and practitioners alike to present research findings and engage in debate.

The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* is supported financially by a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science grant (Kiban A, number 26243007), and for the publication of this print edition we also gratefully acknowledge the support of the Research Faculty of Media and Communication, Hokkaido University.

1 March 2017, The Editors-in-Chief
Philip Seaton and Takayoshi Yamamura

International Journal of Contents Tourism

Volume 1.1 Research Article

International Journal of Contents Tourism

Center for Advanced Tourism Studies
HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY
北海道大学 観光学高等研究センター

French Anime and Manga Fans in Japan: Pop culture tourism, media pilgrimage, imaginary

Clothilde Sabre

Abstract: Japanese pop culture, particularly anime and manga, have been an important part of the French cultural scene since the 1980s. French fans have created communities that share references about this pop culture and more generally about Japan. This specific imaginary drives some fans to travel to Japan to discover the actual places which appear in their favourite manga/anime. Focusing on the travel experiences of French tourists, this article introduces the notion of media pilgrimage as a useful way of conceiving such behaviour. Taking an anthropology of tourism approach, the article details the processes that guide the tourist experience on trips induced by media-contents-related imaginaries. This clarifies the connections between media-related images, perceptions of Japan as a tourist destination, and the concrete activities of foreign tourists during their stay. The article also identifies a gap between the Japanese perception of Western tourists, as indicated by the 'Cool Japan' campaign, and the tourist experiences of French visitors. Places chosen as sites for media pilgrimage by French fans are heavily influenced by the ways in which the Japanese contents were first viewed and consumed in France, but there is little evidence of awareness of this in Japanese promotional materials aimed at French tourists.

アブストラクト：日本のポップカルチャー、とりわけアニメやマンガは、1980年代より、フランスの文化シーンの重要なパートのひとつであり続けている。フランスでは、日本のポップカルチャーおよび、より一般的な日本についての情報をシェアするファン・コミュニティが構築されてきた。こうした具体的なイマジナリーが、彼ら・彼女らの多くを日本に赴かせ、好きなマンガやアニメに登場する実際の場所への訪問を生んでいる。本稿では、フランス人旅行者の旅行経験に注目することを通して、「メディア巡礼」という概念が、こうした行為を考えるうえで有効であることを示す。そして、観光人類学的アプローチにより、メディアコンテンツに関連するイマジナリーが旅行者経験をどう誘発するのか、そのプロセスを詳細に記述する。そのうえで、メディアに関連するイメージ、旅行目的地としての日本に対する認識、外国人旅行者の日本滞在中の具体的活動、といった事柄間のつながりについて明らかにする。また本稿では、クールジャパンキャンペーンに示されているような、外国人旅行者に対する日本人の認識と、フランス人訪日旅行者の旅行経験との間のギャップについても明らかにする。現在のフランス人旅行者のメディア巡礼地選定に際しては、フランスにおける過去のある時期の、日本のコンテンツの消費形態が大きく影響している。しかし、こうした点は、日本の対フランスプロモーション素材を見る限り、日本側はほとんど認識をしていないように思われる。

Keywords: fans, tourism imaginary, pop culture tourism, media pilgrimage, interculturality.

Introduction

August 2008, Akihabara, Tokyo: Near the train station, a group of French tourists is posing for a photo with a young Japanese woman. She is dressed in a maid costume and has just spent two hours guiding the group around Akihabara and presenting the essentials of 'otaku culture': Japanese subculture primarily related to manga, anime, video games and idol music. This is one of the many tours I have joined as an ethnographer studying the connections between the success of Japanese pop culture in France and the trips of French fans in Japan, initially as a participant observer and later as a guide.

This research began when I joined a French manga-themed package tour in July 2007 organised by the travel agency Autrement le Japon and the French manga publishing house Pika. We went to Comiket (Comic Market, the biggest manga convention in Japan, which is held twice a year in Tokyo), on walks in Akihabara, on a visit of the Ghibli Museum and, as an 'exclusive experience', on a guided visit into the building of the Kodansha publishing house, which publishes some of the leading manga magazines such as *Shūkan Shōnen Magajin*. Later, I joined other groups of tourists and also had the experience of being the guide, leading tours to Akihabara for French tourists and creating the programme of package tours dedicated to manga.



Figure 1: Chūō dōri, the main street in Akihabara

These trips allowed me to collect data about what may be called pop culture tourism or 'contents tourism' (Seaton and Yamamura 2014). In this article I develop the analysis of this phenomenon through the specific case of French fans of manga and anime travelling to Japan. There have been various studies of contents tourism (Okamoto 2014; Seaton 2014; Sugawa-Shimada 2014; Yamamura 2014), but the focus was on Japanese fans visiting Japanese sites. To study international contents tourism, we need to consider the intercultural dimension of the diffusion and reception of contents because the ways that fans (and general audiences as well) appropriate the contents through the prism of their own cultural background play a large part in their tourist experience.

Indeed, France, where Japanese pop culture is very popular, provides a case of diffusion with a distinctive context and implications for the way French fans picture and visit Japan.[1]

I will examine contents tourism by French fans as a 'media pilgrimage', and I will make the link with the anthropology of tourism through analysis that connects imaginaries and pilgrimage to travel (Amirou 1995; Graburn 1983). The notion of media pilgrimage is useful for describing the behaviour of people who are attracted to Japan by an imaginary based on their affinity and love for its pop culture. Nick Couldry has defined media pilgrimage as 'specific journeys to points with significance in media narratives' (Couldry 2005, p. 72). Couldry bases his arguments on fieldwork conducted on the set of the long-running British soap opera *Coronation Street* and he argues that visiting a place strongly linked to media images is a way of connecting media experiences to concrete ones. Consequently, I will introduce the French fans' community and their common imaginary of Japan in order to present and analyse the activities and feelings of fans when they visit Japan as tourists.

This endeavour requires critical reevaluation of the 'Cool Japan' strategy, a nation-branding campaign through the active promotion of cultural industries and contents (see Daliot-Buhl 2009; Valaskivi 2013). The Cool Japan strategy has been built on the idea that soft power emanates from the success of Japanese contents abroad and was inspired by Douglas McGray's 2002 article 'Japan's Gross National Cool'. After this article was published, the idea of a 'national cool' emerged and was taken up by the Japanese authorities and other organisations (like public broadcaster NHK) to promote Japan internationally.

Cool Japan has been vigorously debated by academics, who question its impact and the way it distorts or simplifies the many aspects of Japanese pop culture and presents an artificial image that has nothing to do with actual practices of Japanese fans (see Daliot-Bul 2009; Galbraith 2010; Iwabuchi 2010; Miller 2011; Valaskivi 2013). Cool Japan has enhanced the status of Japanese pop culture from 'low culture' to a kind of national art and testament to the cultural creativity of Japan. It 'legitimises' pop culture in order to take advantage of the alleged soft power it generates. Analysis of this policy has questioned its effectiveness from the basic observation that 'official cool' is not 'fan cool', so ultimately the branding process manipulates and transforms the real practices of fandoms.

In this article, I examine Cool Japan from an outside perspective and consider how French fans and tourists are integrated into this promotion. Fieldwork among French fans shows that there is a considerable gap between contents tourism as conceived and promoted officially, and the references of the fans visiting Japan. Looking at this gap provides a means to understand the intercultural appropriation of foreign audiences, and therefore to show that the tourism imaginaries of French tourists, if related to contents, are more influenced by the fandom's local appropriation of the contents than by any official promotion.

Ethnographical methodology

The local promotion of Japanese contents will be discussed later, but our starting point is understanding how French fans are attracted to Japan through these contents and how they choose specific places as sites of media pilgrimage. The research is based on fieldwork conducted in France and Japan among fans of Japanese pop culture and tourists.

Participant observation was the main method of data collection, particularly during trips I joined with French tourists. These trips were intense periods of fieldwork, which included sharing the activities of tourists and talking about their feelings. I joined 'manga package tours'[2] as a tourist

(August 2007) and as a guide (August 2009, December 2013, July-August 2015), and joined groups of tourists who were spending one month in Tokyo (July-August 2008, July 2014). Data was collected through participant observation, interviews and questionnaires.[3] This research grew out of a hypothesis that there was a connection between the massive success of Japanese pop culture in France (see Ratier 2011) and the rise in French tourists in Japan. The number of French tourists grew from 85,179 in 2003 to 214,228 in 2015, a steep upward trend only interrupted by the 2008 financial crisis and tsunami of March 2011. The creation of a package tour dedicated to manga culture seemed to epitomise the connection and provided an opportunity to investigate the link between French fans of manga and French tourists in Japan.[4]

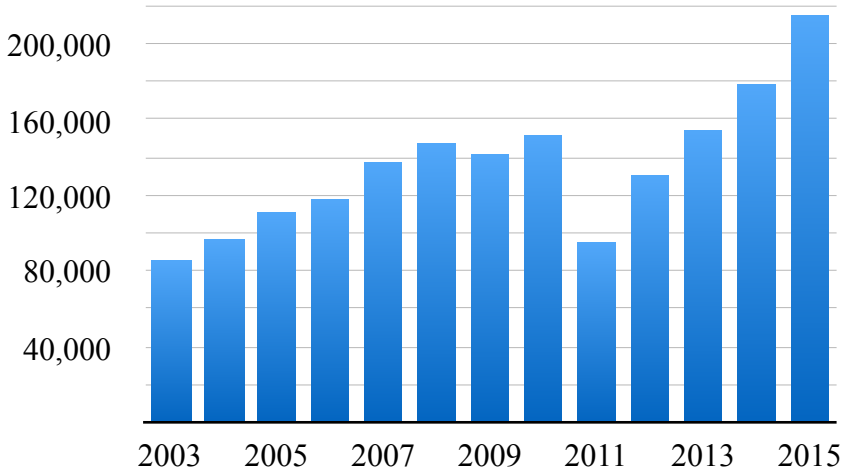


Figure 2: French Visitors to Japan, 2003-2015
Source: Japan National Tourism Organization (2016)

The tours were organised by Autrement Le Japon ('Japan differently', hereafter ALJ). ALJ is not a travel agency in the common meaning of the term and its position in the French tourism market is unique because it is the only travel agency in France offering these kind of 'manga tours'. This tiny company was founded in 2002 by a French-Japanese couple who are passionate about Japan and know the manga industry well. The company has no office in France and operates almost exclusively over the Internet (www.autrementlejapon.com). ALJ runs an online newsgroup and since 2011 a Facebook page where former and future travellers can communicate freely to showcase ALJ and maintain the ALJ community. ALJ built its reputation by attracting young French people who want to visit Japan and are passionate about its pop culture (particularly manga, anime, video games and music). A feeling of community is a characteristic of ALJ and is evident in the participation of 'ALJistes' (as the travellers call themselves) in the newsgroup and Facebook page. Moreover, long-term observation of the newsgroup suggests that there is a strong bond with Japanese contents. Therefore, ALJ and its online community constitute a valuable case study of pop culture tourism in Japan.

The French context: creating the conditions for media pilgrimage

Before examining further the attitude of French fans and tourists in Japan, it is necessary to outline the reception of Japanese pop culture in France. This context demonstrates how fans discover the Japanese contents they like and how the contents drive pop culture tourism.

The worldwide success of Japanese pop culture dates to the 1990s, in particular the massive hit Pocket Monsters (Pokémon) (McGray 2002; Tobin 2004). However, the popularity of Japanese pop culture in France has a longer history. Japanese animation was first broadcast on French television in 1972 (*Jungle Emperor*, translated as *le roi Leo*) and was occasionally offered to young audiences until the mid-1980s. After that, changes in the television sector encouraged broadcasters to air mainly Japanese animation because of its low price and the huge choice of different titles. Many famous series were shown, including *Dragon Ball*, *City Hunter*, *Ranma 1/2* and *Sailor Moon*. The series were enjoyed by children, but were harshly criticised by some adults who denounced the violence, mediocrity, silliness, eroticism and general 'harmfulness' of the programmes. Everything was 'westernised' and translated to resonate with its young audience, but mistrust of foreign contents, some tasteless programme choices by broadcasters and sub-standard translations precipitated moral panic regarding manga imports for many years (Sabre 2012).

Despite these difficult beginnings, the seeds had been sown for the success of Japanese pop culture in France. Manga followed on from anime's lead during the 1990s and became a huge part of the comics sector. In recent years the annual records compiled by the French journalists' association ACBD have indicated that translated manga now comprises about forty per cent of the French comic market. Today, manga and anime are an established part of the French cultural scene. Not everybody is interested in them, but manga and anime have a large fan base. Many events are organised, such as Japan Expo, which is the world's biggest anime and manga convention outside Japan (Silverman 2012). Japan Expo attracts more and more visitors every year and had 247,473 attendees in 2015 (Chao 2015). Japanese pop culture, therefore, has become an established part of the French cultural landscape. There is large media coverage for some artists, including Miyazaki Hayao, Kitano Takeshi and Taniguchi Jirō. The French public is still divided between lovers and detractors. An exhibition of artworks by Murakami Takeshi at the Palace of Versailles in 2010, for example, was denounced with a petition against the exhibition named 'No to manga. Against degrading exhibitions in Versailles Castle' (Libération, 2010). But the fans are a strong community of people who share a common past. A large number of anime series were broadcast from 1986 to 1997, when Japanese animation then disappeared from television screens until it came back with Pokémon. Nowadays, animation is mainly on specialist channels – although massive hits like *Naruto* were broadcast on public television - but all fans in their twenties to forties remember the heyday of Japanese animation with nostalgia. The main show which broadcast anime was called *Club Dorothée* and the expression 'Club Dorothée generation' is commonly used by individuals and the media to refer to the generation that grew up with Japanese animation and to explain why Japanese pop culture is now so popular in France.

Speaking with both fans and those not interested in Japanese contents, the reaction is always the same: 'these are the cartoons of our childhood!' The difference between fans and non-fans lies in the levels of knowledge developed by fans (for example, Japanese titles, differences between the original and the French version) and how it is applied to their activities, but for all in this generation, Japanese animation is strongly associated with childhood. They feel nostalgia for this period, as is regularly acknowledged by merchandising that targets this specific feeling of nostalgia for childhood through the contents which were popular at that time. Some TV shows also tap into the nostalgia, for example, *Génération Club Dorothée l'incroyable histoire d'une émission culte* (broadcast on 16 December 2014 on French channel D8), which was watched by more than one million viewers (Murgue 2014). Moreover, recent fieldwork with younger fans (teenagers and people in their early twenties) shows that even those who were too young to watch these programmes are also sharing these references and the idea that this period is part of the history of manga and animation in France.

The fandom and its common references

The fandom, as a gathering of people passionate about the same thing, can be considered as an 'imagined community' in the sense that Benedict Anderson (1983, p. 224) gave to the term: namely, the members do not know each other directly, but they know that they exist and share the same ideas, tastes and references. As Henry Jenkins has shown in *Textual Poachers*, fans constantly come back to the contents they enjoyed, and they select some elements which become the 'community's particular interpretative conventions' (Jenkins 1992, p. 89). By doing so, fans elaborate common understandings and judgments about the contents they love, and they share common references that are available to every member of the community. These include details regarding the contents (such as narratives, characters and sets), judgments about the origins and production of the work, and interpretation and discussion about the meanings (explicit or implicit) of the work. Moreover, these references serve as the basis for both collective and individual appropriation of the works: fans elaborate their own universes filled with all the details that circulate within the community and create their own personal imaginary worlds built on collective references. This process spans both the collective and individual levels and shows how being a fan consists of both feeling that one is a member of a specific community and also owning a personal and intimate universe drawn from the admired work into which all fans can project their own fantasies. This idea of what I would call 'fantasised Japaneseness' is close to what Susan Napier (2007, p. 11) calls fantasyscapes, defined as 'inherently liminal worlds, temporary alternative lifestyles that exist parallel to the mundane, which people enter and exit when they please.'

Picturing Japan

Napier is describing what Appadurai (1996, p. 25) called 'the work of imagination', the process by which people appropriate cultural (media) elements to create their own representations and, consequently, fantasy worlds. It is through the work of imagination that fans make the link with Japan as a country they like and want to visit. As mentioned above, the shared references are based on the contents admired by fans. Japan becomes presented as the country from which manga, anime, video games and other items come, but also as the cultural context in which the contents are produced. Japan, the nation, therefore, becomes an essential element which gives specificity to the contents the fans enjoy.

This is the key to understanding how French fans picture Japan through its pop culture: they view Japan as a major reference they need to know in order to enjoy the contents properly. All the fans I have met told me that they felt the need to be familiar with Japanese culture and mentality to really understand manga and anime. Furthermore, in that schematic process Japan is also a setting for a fantasyscape and fans feel intimacy with the places and culture with which they are familiar because they see them constantly in the contents they like. The link with a trip to Japan, therefore, becomes clear: once fans have integrated the country into their fantasyscape they have a concrete place to dream about and a place that they can visit to experience it for real.

Another attractive facet of Japan is its exotic appeal. In France, Japan is pictured not only as a distant and different culture, but also as a rich nation which is at the same developmental level as western nations. In that conception, the paradox of tradition and modernity co-existing in Japanese everyday life is the main paradigm which explains the uniqueness of Japan. This is the basis of the exotic structure which frames perceptions of Japan in France and this perspective is part of the

French fans' interest in Japan as they picture the country through the contents they like. Exoticism is understood here in its common meaning, as an interest for what is far, different and picturesque (Sabre 2013).

When dreaming about Japan and going to visit Japan, fans are guided by the specific imaginary composed of elements selected from pop culture, a process that characterises the appropriation of the contents by fans. This imaginary is then shaped by the exotic filter which determines their perception of the country. This exotic aspect plays a large part in the pleasure the fantasyscape can bring. Since fans are constantly immersed in the universe of Japanese pop culture they feel a strong intimacy and familiarity with Japanese culture, even if they have never visited the country. They have a strong longing for Japan, a kind of nostalgic and projective desire that comes from their personal fantasy of Japan and that pushes them to travel and experience the 'real' country.

Longing for Japan through its pop culture

The discussion thus far has sought to explain how fans act as tourists. In tourism, what precedes the trip is as important as the trip itself for comprehending the world views which guide the travel and which give the travel its collective and intimate meanings. This point is illustrated by the voices of travellers who posted comments on the Autrement le Japon newsgroup website.[5] While speaking of what gave them the desire to go to Japan, many clearly identify pop culture as a fundamental reason for their broader interest in Japan. The following comments express clearly the path from an interest in pop culture to a longing for the 'authentic' Japan, with constant cross-references between pop culture contents and everyday life:

> I have to say that I have been attracted to Japan since I was a child, in fact ever since I became interested in anime. Then, I began to gather information on everything about the country: religion, temples, food, and language, but, above all, the lifestyle. Reading manga allowed me to learn a lot about everyday life and Japanese youth (especially high school life, which was the stage my life was at in France at the time). Being young and a dreamer, I was longing for a kind of 'Japanese way of life', if you know what I mean. At that time, I was already thinking of going to Japan, but I was prevented by it being 'too far', 'too expensive', or 'too complicated to organise'. But as much as I love manga and anime, it was no longer enough to know Japan only through these images from the media. I was afraid of being manipulated, of being ignorant, and having a false vision. It is then that I said to myself: 'I should go there to see it for myself.'
>
> (Male, 4 July 2008).

We can see here a good illustration of the process by which an interest in contents leads to interest in the country as a whole. This example is also consistent with comments by tourists made during the participant observation fieldwork I have undertaken. During trips organised by Autrement Le Japon, I observed how the tourists were constantly making the link between pop culture references and what they were experiencing in Japan. Moreover, the majority of these tourists were in the eighteen to thirty-five age range, namely the generation who discovered manga and anime on French TV and who share the same common references about what they used to watch during their childhood.[6]

Media pilgrimage in Japan: French fans becoming travellers

In the first part of this paper, we saw how fans picture Japan through the references from pop culture and how it makes them dream of the country. Now we will follow them to Japan in order to see what happens during their stay when the fantasy meets the concrete experience. Media pilgrimage in Japan can be defined as a trip undertaken because of a tourism imaginary stemming from pop culture references, which are common to the fans and which give them the desire to have concrete experiences of the place. In media pilgrimage, the passage from fantasy to concrete reality occurs during the stay as the fans can anchor their references in material places. The previous imaginary, built by fans through their love for pop culture contents, then acts as a prism, a code that gives orientation and frame to the discovery of Japan. Rachid Amirou (1995) calls tourism a 'quest of meaning', arguing that travel destinations are always chosen based on some pictures, dreamy images and exotic representations. In media pilgrimage, these images are drawn from contents. Consequently, once in Japan the fans are constantly mobilising their specific references in the superimposition of the fantasyscape on their concrete experiences. Once they are in the country they have dreamt of for so long they use their previous images to understand what they actually see and perceive, which gives them a feeling of closeness, or at least of understanding, of the concrete reality they experience. Everything can be spontaneously associated with pop culture references: 'It is *Sailor Moon* everywhere', said one traveller about the ubiquitous schoolgirl uniform; 'I thought that the characters in *Nana* were so thin, but indeed Japanese people are really like that!', stated another; and while seated at the fancy bar of the Tokyo city hall, a young man remarked 'It feels like being in *City Hunter*.'

There are many such examples, although they are actually difficult to isolate precisely: even if the tourists are passionate about pop culture, the majority of them do not experience their trips simply focusing on contents. Long before the actual stay they have elaborated their own and intimate imaginaries of Japan, which are fantasyscapes built on references from contents but also enriched with other elements of Japan and its culture. Consequently, a tourist exclusively concentrating on pop culture would be engaging in a pure form of pop culture tourism, but 'pure pop culture tourism' is inevitably diluted by other general attitudes common to every kind of tourist. Nevertheless, the purer form plays a major part in the way French fans of Japanese pop culture comprehend the reality they discover. It is expressed in the following comments:

> Fiction has met reality, or rather it is reality which has finally met fiction! Here you have passed through the TV screen!
>
> (Female, age 26)

> You build some images [through manga and anime] and then, without clearly noticing it, you have built a whole image of a country. When I first came here the question was always, 'Is it true or not?' I was searching for how much of the inspiration for the manga and anime came from reality and I realised that it was quite large.
>
> (Male, age 30)

> Since arriving, I still have the music of *Spirited Away* in my mind. I feel like I am Chihiro. I am discovering another world, which is both familiar and strange.
>
> (Female, age 25)

Tourism and pilgrimage as extra-ordinary moments

When asked about their feelings during the trip, fans use many hyperbolic expressions like 'dream', 'magical', 'fantastic' and 'wonderful'. This feeling of living a dream can be related to what the anthropologist Victor Turner called the *liminoid* period. Turner has described pilgrimage in traditional and modern societies in terms of a three-step structure and draws a parallel with the rite of passage, which consists of three phases: separation from the society, a moment where the pilgrims are outside the rules of everyday life, and the reintegration of the individuals to the society having been changed by the experience (Turner 1969, p. 1974). The second period, when the usual rules are abolished and members of the group are separated from their everyday life, is qualified as 'liminal' and changed to 'liminoid' when applied to contemporary societies.

Turner's analysis has been incorporated into the anthropology of tourism, for example in the works of Nelson Graburn (1983) and Rachid Amirou (1995), who saw in pilgrimage and leisure travel a 'symbolic and common skeleton, which is the rite of passage' (Amirou 1995, p. 139). All these extra-ordinary events – rites of passage, pilgrimages and trips – are processed in the same way with three temporal stages (before, during and after) and each moment corresponds to a particular phase of the process. A tourist trip follows the same three temporal stages as pilgrimages and rites of passage, but the contents and the meanings of each phase are different; in other words, the structure of the process is similar but not the substance.

Consequently, the religious aspects of pilgrimage can be set aside if the notion is untied from the strict idea of a trip to religious sites, such as temples, shrines and churches. Some studies have developed this conception of 'pilgrimage', such as *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture* (Reader and Walter 1993), which uses the framework of 'pilgrimage' to analyse contemporary interest in specific sites like Graceland for Elvis Presley fans, Glastonbury for those interested in the tale of King Arthur, or the battlefields of the First World War. The notion of 'pilgrimage' here is not directly associated with a religious narrative but with a story which creates the desire to undertake and which gives meaning to the travel.

The idea of a founding myth, a narrative which forms the paradigm of the trip, is also explicitly made in the research of French sociologist Gabriel Segré (2003) about French fans of Elvis Presley travelling to Graceland, Presley's former residence in Tennessee and also the site of his grave. The case described by Segré is strikingly close to media pilgrimage, as it is based on the charismatic character of a famous singer, an archetypal celebrity who is praised and idolised in pop culture contents and media entertainment. Fans express their love for Presley, share a mythical (and official) history about 'the King' and his life, and then participate in certain activities, among which is the pilgrimage to Graceland. Fans have a code, a common imaginary fed by the references spread as myth, and these images are the basis for the intimacy they build with Elvis as they picture him and feel closeness with those images.

These examples mirror the general characteristics of travel by French fans in Japan: trips to places that appeared in contents are motivated by strong imaginaries related to a site that induces strong positive emotions. Going back to the idea of an extra-ordinary experience, we can insist on the importance of the imaginary: previous pictures and fantasies of the fans trigger the trip to Japan but it also give meanings to the activities related to the 'media pilgrimage'. The feeling of 'leaving a dream' can be understood as an emotional expression of the experienced encounter between fantasyscape and concrete reality during the liminoid period.



Figure 3: French tourists posing in front of the Pokémon Center, Tokyo

A mythical fantasy map

Returning to the example of trips to Graceland described by Segré, we can make the link between the narrative and the concrete places: 'The city of Memphis, where Elvis lived, constitutes a sanctified place in fans' eyes' (Segré 2003, p. 207). According to Segré, Graceland and all the places visited by fans are made sacred because they are part of the mythical history of the King: 'the place where "everything began" is presented as sacred by fans. Memphis, Graceland and Tupelo are evoked with a lot of respect and emotion and are given a specific aura, a singular, magical charm because it was where Elvis lived and evolved.' (Segré 2003, p. 199).

In the same way, for fans of Japanese pop culture some specific places are included in the shared narrative references: the hometown of a famous person, the setting of a story, or the place where the contents are produced. When they travel to these sites, fans are guided by their common and previous images and they experience the travel as the connection and superimposition of fantasy with real life. As with Elvis fans in Graceland, all the images they have integrated are mobilised and they operate as a prism or a filter which gives meaning to the visit. As there are multiple references associated with any given place, fans can choose various and different types of sites, depending on the references that feature most prominently in their personal fantasyscapes.

First, shops and places explicitly dedicated to manga culture are the most obvious sites to visit. Places like the Ghibli Museum, Comiket (Comic market) or the Kyoto International Manga Museum exhibit artefacts and give insights into the cultural industries world, while maid cafés epitomise the quintessence of 'otaku culture'. In shops, travellers may want to buy things, but they will also stroll around shops as if they were in a museum. Many even try to take photos (although it is usually forbidden) and make comments about everything they see. In other words, their behaviour mixes the attitudes of being a customer and being a visitor and demonstrates that shops are for them tourist sites that allow physical immersion into their fantasyscape.

Second, areas like Akihabara, Harajuku and Shibuya are incorporated into tour itineraries because they symbolise youth and otaku culture in the eyes of French tourists who want to be immersed into the youth subcultures of Japan.

Third, there are places like Tokyo Tower, the University of Tokyo, and Lumine (a department store in Tokyo). These places have appeared in famous series and it is their roles as locations that make them important for visiting fans. The purpose and meaning of the visit is only significant for those who share the imaginary. For example, Tokyo Tower is significant for the crucial role it plays in the manga released by Clamp, while many fans visit the University of Tokyo because in the hit series *Love Hina* the hero is endlessly trying to be admitted to that prestigious institution. And My City, a department store in Shinjuku, used to be a popular site because it was the mysterious communication point for the detective hero in *City Hunter*, which ran during the 1980s. The store was renamed Lumine in 2006, but French people are always trying to find it. One interviewee also told me that she decided to visit all the 'Kekkai' which appear in *X 1999*, a famous science-fiction manga and anime. 'Kekkai' are sites invested with magical power hidden in Tokyo buildings: Tokyo Tower, the Diet (Japanese parliament), Shinjuku's skyscrapers, Sunshine 60 (a building in Ikebukuro) and Shibuya 109 (a famous building full of fashionable shops for teenagers that appears in numerous manga and anime).

All these otherwise 'ordinary' places become important sites for fans and the deeper meaning of the visit is only shared by them. Moreover, the sites visited are not always explicitly related to pop culture or even to tourism per se. Fans are unifying a territory through the specific prism of their imaginary. They create a fantasy map, composed of highlights which are meaningful only with the comprehension key provided by the fans' knowledge. In the same manner as pilgrimages to Memphis by fans of Elvis, places become sacred sites because of their significance within the myth, the story and interpretations which guide the 'pilgrims' to those specific places. The visit has significance only if it is understood through the prism of the fantasyscape, the imaginary built before the stay.

Cool Japan and the gap between official promotion and fans' media pilgrimage

Consequently, for those who possess the code simple places become important sites and they have a specific aura due to their meanings and connotations within the context of the common narrative of the fandom. As a result, the more important a place is for fans the more likely it is to become a tourist site. But, to be fully recognised tourist sites also need to be officially identified and promoted.

This process by which mundane places are converted into tourist sites can be related to the idea of sacralisation of sites (MacCannell 1976). Sacralisation, like the term media pilgrimage, has explicit religious connotations. Places become sacred because they are of particular spiritual importance for people who share the same references. These sites can be global icons, such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris or the Egyptian pyramids, or significant to a narrower group of passionate people, such as Graceland for Elvis fans. This process of sacralisation in the context of the creation of tourist sights has been described by Dean MacCannell as a process in five stages: the naming phase, framing, elevation, mechanical reproduction and, finally, social reproduction. The place is then 'marked off from similar objects as worthy of preservation', displayed, duplicated on various goods (like postcards), and finally recognised as a special sight, a tourist sight (MacCannell 1976, p. 44).

In pop culture tourism the first stage of sacralisation is the recognition of the location by the fans. But, to be more than anecdotal this recognition has to be made official by actors within the tourism sector. The concrete development of pop culture tourism lies in the dialogue between fan-travellers and local actors. In the case of French fans there is an interspace created by the gap

between the official promotion and the fans' celebration of different places. Not everything matches, as we can see by comparing the experiences of the fans when they visit Japan with the official sacralisation through the label of Cool Japan.

Mapping Cool Japan: local actors' initiatives

Cool Japan is an official (and controversial) campaign that aims to promote Japanese contents and improve the image of Japan based on the international success of Japan's contents industries. The Cool Japan theme has been progressively integrated into the discourses of the main actors of the tourism sector. These include the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) and the Japan Tourism Agency (JTA). These two organisations have complementary roles: JTA (created in 2008) coordinates tourism development, while JNTO is in charge of communication with tourists. Their aim is to attract foreign visitors who like Japanese contents and to give them information about tourist sites. These efforts give visibility to and concretise pop culture tourism.

The focus on Cool Japan is part of a larger investment in tourism. Japan has always tried to increase foreign visitors, but a new era began in 1996 when the entire tourism sector was reorganised. The objective was to welcome ten million people by 2010, a goal finally achieved in 2013. The targets have been regularly renewed: 20 million for the Tokyo Olympics in 2020, and then upgraded to 30 million as the number of foreign visitors exceeded expectations (The Japan Times 6 November 2015). Part of this policy, the Visit Japan campaign, was launched in April 2003 under the slogan 'Yōkoso Japan!' The Cool Japan campaign fits into that broader publicity effort, as described in the 2008 JTA White Paper (Japan Tourism Agency 2008, p. 51). The Yōkoso Japan campaign ended, but Cool Japan is still linked to new efforts to promote tourism (see Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry 2015).

Signs of sacralisation can be found in JNTO websites, where information is provided about sites related to pop culture and contents. The most striking example is the map for 'Pilgrimage to sacred places' (Japan National Tourism Organization n.d.). This combines traditional shrines such as Ise jingu and Izumo taisha with sites directly related to pop culture: locations of dramas and movies (including *If You Are the One* and *Tokyo Love Story*) and places related to manga and anime (including *Lucky Star* and *Crayon Shin-chan*). There is also the 'Japan Anime map', which introduces 'pilgrimage sites' related to famous anime like *Sailor Moon* or *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (Japan National Tourism Organization 2014). We can see here a concrete example of the sacralisation of sites. These maps 'officially' acknowledge the Cool Japan territory.

This reveals a will to promote the kind of pop culture tourism observed among French tourists, even if many sites that are highly regarded by the majority of French fans are not listed by JNTO. Indeed, on JNTO's French-language website, the information is less detailed and more factual. The idea of pilgrimage is evoked in the introduction: 'For all amateurs of anime and manga, Japan is a paradise. Nowadays more and more fans are coming on a "pilgrimage". Here are the places not to miss' (Office National du Tourisme Japonais 2015). However, many places favoured by French tourists are not mentioned, neither are the sites mentioned by the maps in English. The idea of pilgrimage is not associated with many places favoured by fans (such as the University of Tokyo, Tokyo Tower or Lumine department store) and the information delivered to French fans is more a list of shops and museums about manga.

French fans are on their own, therefore, if they want to find places related to their shared references. Of course, some travellers search for information on English-language websites, too, but the list of anime and manga series in English does not cover the references shared by French

tourists. This is where actors like Autrement Le Japon, traveller networks or dedicated websites play their part by spreading knowledge about interesting places. The most famous example of this is Akihabara.

Filling the gap, the Akihabara case



Figure 4: Tourists photo spots in Akihabara

Akihabara is a neighbourhood in downtown Tokyo, formerly known for selling electrical and electronic goods. The area became the place where Japanese fans of manga and animation gathered during the late 1990s and Akihabara became popular as an 'otaku place' during the 2000s. This phenomenon has been nicknamed the 'Akiba Boom' (Galbraith 2009) and it is connected to the success of the book, drama, movie and manga *Densha otoko*, a funny love story which features Akihabara and its otaku culture, like figurine shops and maid cafés (Freedman 2009). As the story grew more popular, Japanese people began to go sightseeing in Akihabara (Galbraith 2009). After the broadcast of the *Densha otoko* drama and the peak of the series' popularity in 2005, tours started to be conducted in Japanese and then in English, too. Some non-Japanese did visit Akihabara before the Akiba boom, but there were no tours, no formal guides and very little information available. By contrast, during my fieldwork in the summer of 2009, there were at least three regular Akihabara tours, one in Japanese and two in English, more or less following the same route and showing the key spots of Akihabara culture: shops specialising in contents-related merchandise in specific fields (such as manga, anime, cosplay, idols and dolls), old shops for electronic goods, *gashapon* (capsule toys), duty-free shops and maid cafés. During more recent fieldwork in Akihabara in 2014-2015, the number of tours on offer was more or less the same, only run by different companies.

By creating a common route for tourists to see Akihabara culture, these tours formalise visits to Akihabara and then fix its image. This image can be used by foreign travellers to inject 'reality' (namely the concrete experience of 'being there') into their own fantasyscape. Moreover, the area has changed a lot in recent years. New buildings have been built while others were closed

and renewed. Galbraith writes: 'today, the area is being redeveloped into a tourist destination and a showcase of cool Japan' (2009, p. 17). This achieves touristification (defined as 'the process by which a tourist space is built' (Dewailly 2005, p. 31) via the collaborative efforts of various actors who have agreed to develop and enhance the pop-culture-related aspects of Akihabara and to develop them as tourist resources.

But what about the French fans? As the emblematic site of Japanese pop culture, Akihabara is an important reference for them, too, and I followed French tourists visiting Akihabara at various periods from the beginning of the Akiba boom to the summer of 2015. First, we can consider the touristification as a successful on-going process. Many of the places and activities French fans enjoy (like the manga- and anime-related shops, maid cafés, arcade games and cosplay) are located in the area, which is also the setting for many popular manga and anime. Akihabara, therefore, is completely integrated into the media pilgrimage as one of its highlights. But I have also noticed that even if fans have gathered a lot of information about Akihabara, once there they feel lost and find it difficult to access interesting spots without someone to guide them. I met a young man in 2008 who wanted to find the building where the hero of *Densha otoko* went whenever he felt sad, but had no idea how to find it.

This is where the gap lies between Cool Japan tourism development and fans' media pilgrimage: once in Japan, fans do not find the exact images they had in mind; or they feel lost and local tourism initiatives sometimes fail to guide them. As one couple told me in the street of Akihabara, 'It seems to be easier to find information about manga culture in France than here in Japan', meaning that information in French produced by French people was more accessible to them. Actors like ALJ are trying to fill this gap by adapting their services to what the tourists want to see, which means being aware of the references and the related sites that matter for French fans.

Generally speaking, Akihabara can be consider a successful example of touristification through pop culture and contents. But, on closer examination we can see the same gap in Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) websites. The media pilgrimage of French fans is based on an interaction between the reception and appropriation of the Japanese contents by a foreign audience and the Japanese initiatives to brand the country through contents and otaku culture, and interstices are left to an intercultural negotiation of what Cool Japan is. As a guide and tour organiser collaborating with Autrement Le Japon, I had to fill this gap myself by creating an itinerary that fits French fans' interests with activities like visiting Azabujūban, an area in Tokyo related to *Sailor Moon* and not officially listed by JNTO. It also meant helping tourists to find the places they wanted to see, like the quest in Shinjuku station to find the typical message board that appeared in *City Hunter* on the request of some travellers. In these ways, media pilgrimage is built on intercultural negotiations between official images from inside Japan, personal and collective appropriations by appropriations by fans from outside Japan, and multiple private initiatives within Japan.

Conclusion

From specific tourism imaginaries to media pilgrimage, the example of French fans travelling in Japan shows the creation of a tourism territory specifically connected to contents and pop culture. Examining this process through the lens of the anthropology of tourism, we can see the importance of the tourism imaginary that gives fans the desire to travel to Japan and shapes media pilgrimage. This connection between media contents and tourism imaginary is the central aspect of contents tourism and the analysis of media pilgrimage between France and Japan gives us details about the process of experiencing a tourist destination relating to media contents. Moreover, the intercultural

perspective informs us about the context of the reception and appropriation of contents-related elements as tourism images and we can see that intercultural appropriation and negotiation are at stake here.

The idea of a 'specific nostalgic picture' of Japan, shared by French tourists who were familiar with Japanese animation on television and inspired by these memories of childhood, is a good example of these specificities. All the French fans share this idea of a golden age of Japanese animation in France and tend to look for the references associated with this period once in Japan. But it is an experience that is also interesting for non-fans, like a French couple I met at the Kyoto International Manga Museum. They were looking for books related to the cartoons broadcast during their childhood. As non-fans they were quite lost as they did not know the Japanese titles, only the westernised ones. These two visitors were not in Japan because of a passion for pop culture, but they shared the same common references with fans, a memory of childhood strongly linked to Japan. In various places, from this manga museum to the streets of Akihabara, I have met lots of French tourists who were non-fans but shared the same images about Japanese pop culture. Many were disappointed as they were not able to find these references through Japanese tourism information on pop culture.

The example of French fans on contents-related trips to Japan reveals that there is often a gap between the sites of media pilgrimage for French tourists and the sites that are presented as pop culture highlights by JNTO. This gap is not anecdotal. France is one of the countries where manga and Japanese animation have been popular for a long time. So, we might expect that the history and references linked to this diffusion would be a basis for the Cool Japan initiative. Instead, we have seen that French fan references are partly ignored, a fact that points to a lack of intercultural consideration in the elaboration of this campaign. It shows that Japanese initiatives are probably not paying attention to the process of intercultural appropriation by foreign fans and tourists, a process that is the basis of their interest in Japan. It may not prevent them visiting Japan, but it is another weakness of the 'Japanese national cool' promotion, not only from an insider perspective but also from a foreign one.

Finally, this particular example of media pilgrimage is helpful for understanding contents tourism, a new field in tourism research in which tourism imaginary is closely related to media and pop culture. This example shows that contents tourism results from a sophisticated process and is related to many issues within the anthropology of tourism and media studies. Pop-culture-related tourism is not limited to fans, who may also be interested in other aspects of Japanese culture, while other non-fan tourists can be also interested in contents tourism and media pilgrimage. My discussions with non-fan travellers in Kyoto and Tokyo have revealed how they consider pop culture and contents as a part of Japanese culture that deserves their attention, even if they are not specifically interested in it. This indicates how contents tourism fits into the broader visions and motivations of French tourists on visits to Japan. So, it appears that media pilgrimage is a pure form touristic behaviour subsumed within a larger and more complicated conception of the trip. Fans are the most obvious tourists undertaking media pilgrimage, but this does not mean that other visitors will completely exclude pop culture tourism aspects from their trip. Contents tourism is not only for fans. It deserves to be treated not only as a specialist activity and more as part of general tourist behaviour.

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Notes

[1] There is various evidence for the popularity of Japanese culture in France. For example, since 2005 it has often been said that France is the second market for manga after Japan. Precise numbers are difficult to find but this is regularly repeated in French media, for example in a special radio report from France Culture (2014). Due to the popularity of manga, Japanese has been the second most common language translated into French after English since 2008 (Manganews 2008; Damasco 2015).

[2] These trips are exclusive to Autrement le Japon, in collaboration with the French manga publishing house Pika. They include the exclusive visit to Japanese publishing house Kodansha.

[3] Participant observation was the main ethnographical method used during every period of fieldwork. Recorded interviews were made during the summer of 2008, and questionnaires were collected during the summer of 2009 (research stay at the Kyoto International Manga Museum) and in December 2013, April 2014 and August 2014 (fieldwork in Akihabara).

[4] This qualitative research does not aim to prove the connection between the success of manga and the rise in numbers of French tourists in Japan. Nevertheless, the popularity of Japanese pop culture in France is an important context for understanding interest in Japan as a tourist destination among French people.

[5] Messages were collected from various sections of the newsgroup website: a) in the section dedicated to specific trips, including the two I joined: The manga package tour (July 2007) and Staying one month in Tokyo (summer 2008); b) in a section where members introduce themselves to the community (two topics called ‘Espace de presentation pour les nouveaux membres!’and ‘Petite fiche pour mieux se connaître et délirer’); and c) in a section created by the author in the spring of 2008 to ask explicitly the motivations of travellers, ‘Vos motivations pour cet été?’, which was included in the section dedicated to the trips during the summer of 2008. Comments are from travellers who were on trips I surveyed and who I met during the fieldwork. Quotations are abridged but exemplify the general discourse. All quotes are translated from French by the author.

[6] I am referring here to the trips made from 2007 to 2009; the youngest tourists I met in 2013-2015 were too young to be part of the Génération Club Dorothée, although it is important to stress that they knew the reference and the anime series from this period.

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About the *International Journal of Contents Tourism*

The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* (www.cats.hokudai.ac.jp/ijct) is an open-access, refereed scholarly journal exploring the phenomenon of 'contents tourism', defined as travel behaviour motivated fully or partially by narratives, characters, locations and other creative elements of popular culture forms, including film, television dramas, manga, anime, novels and computer games. IJCT publishes articles of various lengths, from original research papers through to short blog entries. It is based at Hokkaido University, Japan, and the editors-in-chief are Professor Philip Seaton (Research Faculty of Media and Communication) and Professor Takayoshi Yamamura (Center for Advanced Tourism Studies).

International Journal of Contents Tourism

1.2 Research Notes and Review

International Journal of Contents Tourism

Center for Advanced Tourism Studies
HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY
北海道大学 観光学高等研究センター

Viewing a Myriad Leaves: *Man'yō* Botanical Gardens in Japan

Thomas McAuley

Abstract: This paper describes a current research project examining botanical gardens in Japan which exhibit the plants referenced in the eighth century *Man'yōshū* poetry anthology. This anthology contains approximately 4,500 poems, of which 1,600 refer to one or more of about 160 different species of plants, making botanical references and imagery one of the most significant features of the work. Despite the chronological distance separating the *Man'yōshū* from the present day, there are currently thirty-seven botanical gardens throughout Japan dedicated to exhibiting the plants of the collection, accompanied by representative selections of poems. These establishments vary widely in type: some are part of larger public parks, some are attached to shrines or temples, some are attached to museums of various types, and some are independent. But, all are clearly intended to act as facilities to attract visitors to localities or institutions. They are, therefore, stimulators of literary contents tourism. By being dedicated to the objects referenced in poetry, the gardens form an unusual type of contents tourism facility which is focussed on the resources of, and stimulants for, literature, rather than the literary work itself.

アブストラクト：本稿は、日本国内の万葉植物園の調査に基づく現行研究について報告する。万葉植物園は、八世紀に編纂された万葉集に登場する植物を展示するものである。およそ4,500首の和歌を収めた万葉集のうち1,600首が160余種の様々な植物について歌っており、植物に関する引用や修辞的表現は、万葉集の最も顕著な特質となっている。現代と万葉集の時代との大きな時空的距離にも関わらず、代表的な和歌をあしらって、そこに登場する植物の展示に特化した万葉植物園が、現在日本各地に37園存在する。これらの施設は多様な様式を取っており、公共の広域公園の一部であったり、神社や仏閣、または各種博物館に併設されていたり、あるいは、独自に運営されている。しかし、これら全てに共通して見られる目的は、地域や公共・民間施設への訪問者勧誘である。つまり、万葉植物園は、文学的コンテンツツーリズムの活性化に貢献するものと言えよう。それらは、和歌に歌われている植物に特化する事で、文学作品そのものよりも、文学の刺激となり作品を生む資源となったものに焦点を当てた非常に珍しいコンテンツツーリズム施設を提供している。

Keywords: *Man'yōshū*, poetry, botanical garden, plants, tourism.

Introduction

This paper is a report on a project to study Japanese *Man'yō* botanical gardens (*man'yō shokubutsuen*), which exhibit plants referenced in the eighth century *Man'yōshū* ('Collection of a Myriad Leaves') poetry anthology and selections of the poems which mention them.[1] There are thirty-seven facilities throughout Japan, of varying sizes and environments, and they display varying degrees of emphasis on the literary and botanical aspects of their activities. All, however, are institutions which draw on a literary source to inspire touristic activities: visits to the gardens to enjoy the displays of plants, the natural environment and the poems themselves. Visiting them, therefore, can be considered a form of literary contents tourism, although in some cases (as will be described later) the literary aspects of the visits are less significant.

The original stimulus for this research came, perhaps unsurprisingly, from a tourist activity of my own: a visit in 2012 to the oldest *Man'yō* botanical garden in Japan, Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen, in the grounds of Kasuga Grand Shrine in Nara. This visit was made purely as a tourist-cum-guide accompanying family members on their first visit to Japan. While the younger members of the party were more interested in the chance to feed the carp in the central pond, the pleasure derived by the older members from viewing the site, despite the lack of English language information, was remarkable. In fact, this garden was the one place in Nara to which a second visit was requested when we returned there two years later. My initial research question, therefore, focussed on determining the extent to which *Man'yō* botanical gardens sought and provided for foreign, English-speaking tourists. However, it has since broadened to consider the reasons for their establishment; their differing natures, both in terms of their physical environment and the balance between the literary and botanical aspects of their activities; their clientele; and the issues which currently face them. Fieldwork for this research was conducted in July 2015 and consisted of visits to a number of gardens, interviews with staff and materials collection. This paper summarises some initial empirical findings.

The *Man'yōshū*

The *Man'yōshū* is Japan's oldest and largest anthology of poetry. In modern editions it contains 4,516 poems spread across 20 'books'. Unlike the later imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū*), which were dominated almost exclusively by the 5-7-5-7-7 syllable *tanka* form, the *Man'yōshū* has more variety, with 265 *chōka* ('long poems') and a smattering of works in other forms, including in Chinese. The exact editorial process is unknown, but the consensus of modern scholarship is that Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-785) played a major role and completed the work at some point after 759, which is the year to which the latest poem in the collection can be dated (Brower and Miner 1961, p. 80). It is a work of the highest significance, both linguistic and literary, because not only does it form the largest available corpus of Old Japanese language material, it also serves to demonstrate that by this period in Japan there was 'a literary scene, literary movement and a conscious literary tradition' (Brower and Miner 1961, p. 96). Later poets were to find much in it to both imitate and disagree with for centuries. In particular, after the Heian period (794-1185), it was frequently championed by poets who sought to oppose the prevailing courtly style of *tanka* poetry, most notably by Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769), and finally by the great *tanka* reformer Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902) (Beichman 2002, p. 81). This has

contributed to a popular view of its poetry as somehow fresher and more vital than that of later court-based poets, despite the remoteness and difficulty of much of its language.

That language, Old Japanese, while broadly similar to the Japanese of later periods, displays differences in terms of verb morphology, particle usage, lexical range and phonological structure, all of which can make its texts opaque to modern readers.[2] More significant, however, is the fact that the script used to write Old Japanese, *man'yōgana* – so called because it is used to write the *Man'yōshū* – consists entirely of Chinese characters, some used semantically, and some used phonetically. This script can only be read after lengthy study and even today some passages remain opaque to scholars, which means that reading the poems of the *Man'yōshū* in the form in which they were originally written is impossible for all but a small number of Old Japanese specialists. Most encounters with them are in modern orthographic versions, where the phonetically used Chinese characters have been replaced by phonetic *kana* characters, and syntactic elements which need to be inferred from the context have been inserted. Thus, MYS X: 1903 (see Figure 6 below) on the asibi (Japanese Pieris; pieris japonica) was originally written:

吾瀬子尓 吾戀良久者 奥山之 馬酔花之 今盛有 (*Man'yōgana*)

A modern transcription and translation would be:

我が背子に我が恋ふらくは奥山の馬酔木の花の今盛りなり

wa ga seko ni	My darling,
wa ga kopuraku pa	Hidden in my loving heart:
okuyama no	In the mountains deep
asibi no pana no	The pieris blooms
ima masarinari	Have reached their peak.

As befits such a major work, the *Man'yōshū* has been studied extensively by Brower and Miner (1961), Konishi (1984), Keene (1999) and Duthie (2014). Japanese scholarship has been voluminous, with major contributions from Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (1976) among many others. The anthology has long been a subject of English translation, including Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai (1965), Levy (1981), Cranston (1993) and McAuley (2001), although none of these is complete. An on-going project by Vovin (2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2013; 2012; 2015) to translate the entire work and provide a detailed linguistic analysis of its content has completed only six of the twenty 'books' of the anthology to date.

Botanical references form a substantial part of the anthology's repertoire, with one or more of around 160 plants being mentioned in approximately 1,600 of its poems. The numbers remain approximate because despite the best efforts of modern scholarship, the identities of some plants remain obscure, as do the references in some poems, although Suetake (2003, p. 174) gives the figures as 162 different plants, consisting of seventy-five types of tree, eighty-three types of grass or flower, and four types of bamboo; with the plants varying in usage between foodstuffs, medicines, dyestuffs and plants used in construction, handicrafts or clothing. Botanical references, therefore, are made in approximately one third of the *Man'yōshū's* poems, and plants clearly played a vital role, both as sources of poetic allusion and imagery, as well as in the everyday lives of the people of Japan at the time.

Man'yo shokubutsuen

In 2015 there are thirty-seven *Man'yō* botanical gardens throughout Japan, although only twenty-seven are open to the public and can be described as tourist facilities.[3] The remainder are either under private ownership with access at the owner's discretion, or else attached to educational institutions such as schools and universities. At this stage of my research, I have not investigated the non-public gardens and so will not consider them further in this paper. The tourist-focused gardens can be subdivided into a number of different types, principally: stand-alone facilities; those attached to religious institutions (either shrines or temples); those attached to museums or other facilities; and those attached to public parks or general botanical gardens. A full listing of these gardens, ordered by type and alphabetical order of prefecture, is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Man'yō botanical gardens in Japan

Type	**Prefecture**	**Botanical Garden Name**
Botanical Garden	Fukui	Fukui sōgō shokubutsuen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Tokyo	Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen
Facility	Yamaguchi	Yamaguchi seminā pāku man'yō shokubutsuen
Museum	Wakayama	Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen
Park	Fukushima	Adara man'yō shokubutsuen
	Kanagawa/Shizuoka	Ashigara man'yō kōen
	Miyagi	Hayamizu kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Nagano	Kokubunji shiseki kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Nara	Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro
	Saga	Matsu'ura kahan kōen man'yō no michi
	Saitama	Man'yō shokubutsuen
	Shimane	Shimane kenritsu man'yō kōen
	Tochigi	Tenpyō no oka kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Tokushima	Man'yō shokubutsuen
	Toyama	Kurikara kentei kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Toyama	Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
Shrine	Ehime	Ehime man'yōen
	Nara	Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen
	Shizuoka	Kataoka jinja man'yō shokubutsuen

Stand-alone	Chiba	Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen
	Fukushima	Michinoku mano man'yō shokubutsuen
	Miyagi	Shōwa man'yō no mori
	Shiga	Funaokayama man'yō no mori
	Shizuoka	Man'yō no mori kōen
	Shizuoka	Fuji man'yō shokubutsuen
Temple	Kochi	Tosa toyonaga man'yō shokubutsuen
	Tokyo	Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen

Having a *Man'yō* botanical garden as one part of a larger park or botanical garden is the most common form of facility with fourteen of the total being of this type; this is followed by six stand-alone facilities; five attached to religious institutions; and two attached to museums or other institutions. Geographically, they are mostly located in western Japan, or around Tokyo, with only a few in the more northerly prefectures and none in Hokkaido. One of the major stimuli for the establishment of a *Man'yō* botanical garden appears to be a pre-existing *Man'yō* link to an area – either through poems in the anthology referring to it or a poet being known to have visited it – and it was rare for the people of the court to travel to Japan's north.

In this article I consider: (1) the degree of the gardens' integration with the other facilities with which they are associated; (2) their level of landscaping; and (3) the extent and type of *Man'yō* poetry information provided. These differences cut across the classification of *Man'yō* botanical garden types listed above, and so there is a considerable degree of variety amongst them. These differences are, perhaps, easier to explain with concrete examples and images.

Degrees of integration

A visitor to the Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen (Tokyo) immediately notices that the botanical garden is the entirety of Musashi Kokubunji temple precinct, with the exception of the temple building itself. There is a full integration of the garden with the institution which hosts it, to the extent that it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between the two.[4] By contrast, Ehime man'yōen, despite being connected with the Ehime-ken gokoku shrine, maintains a separate entrance with the result that it would be possible to visit the shrine without visiting the garden, and *vice versa*.[5] A similar situation applies to the Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara), which occupies a walled compound some distance from the buildings of Kasuga Grand Shrine itself. It is only the garden's name which informs the casual visitor of the link between the two.[6]



Figure 1: Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen

Types of landscaping

A further variation between the gardens is in their degree, and type, of landscaping. Categories of those gardens visited to date and representative examples are indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: Man'yō botanical garden landscaping types

Landscaping Type	**Garden**	**Figure**
Formal Japanese gardens	Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba)	2
	Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara)	3
Close to natural forest (paths	Futgami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama)	4
tarmacked or gravelled)	Shōwa man'yō no mori (Miyagi)	5
Other gardens	Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen (Wakayama)	7
Other	Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen (Tokyo)	6

Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba) has been constructed to replicate the appearance of a formal Japanese garden (Figure 2). These gardens contain the manicured lawns, gravel paths, and combination of plants, stones and water features which would be familiar to anyone with a passing familiarity with Japanese garden design, and the *Man'yō* plants and poetry are integrated into this whole. By contrast, Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Figure 3), while still landscaped as a formal garden, foregrounds the *Man'yō* plants and poetry to greater extent, by presenting them in individual, discrete containers with associated labels.



Figure 2: Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen



Figure 3: Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen

Other gardens, however, take an entirely different approach, and utilise minimal landscaping. This approach is particularly common among those facilities which are located in larger 'parks' whose function is to allow visitors to enjoy the natural environment by driving or hiking through it. For example, a visitor seeking Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama) needs to drive some kilometres up the mountain in order to locate the entrance to the botanical garden, while the garden itself consists of a trail through a section of the mountain with the paths simply marked, and the *Man'yō* plants fully integrated into the other foliage, with only the plaques identifying them to pick them out from their surroundings (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen

A similar approach to this can be seen at Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro, although the path is somewhat more clearly defined at the latter, and also at the stand-alone Shōwa man'yō no mori, where the landscape is somewhat less steep.



Figure 5: Shōwa man'yō no mori

Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen combines tarmacked paths leading to and around flower beds containing Man'yō plants, with a number of 'set-piece' areas displaying specific poems (see Figure 7), and a somewhat less formal trail leading up through a wooded area at the rear of the garden to a viewpoint over the Wakayama region. The plants at Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen are organised by type with different sections devoted to those native to marshes, meadows and mountains. Paths in the garden lead to each of these sections in turn.

Man'yō poetry information

The gardens also have differing methods of displaying the poems to accompany the plants in their collections, and provide different levels of commentary and supplementary information. All the gardens provide both the plants' names in *Man'yō* times and in modern Japanese, but one can draw a distinction between whether: (1) the collection contains all the plants mentioned in the *Man'yōshū*; (2) all the plants in the collection are marked; (3) the botanical family is provided; and (4) additional information is presented, such as full scientific name, flowering period, or usage in *Man'yō* times is provided. With regard to the display of poems, all the gardens provide a modern Japanese transcription, the name of the poet, and the poem's reference number in the anthology, but there is variation in: (1) usage of *man'yōgana* in the garden; (2) presence of an explanation of poems' meanings; and (3) whether all plants have poems provided.

For example, Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen presents the poems in the format indicated in Figure 6.



Figure 6: Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen

The plaque gives the name of the plant in modern Japanese, its name in the *Man'yōshū*, a sample poem in modern orthography, and the poem's reference by volume and number in the anthology. There is no explanation of the poem's meaning for visitors unfamiliar with Old Japanese grammar or poetic expression, although generally the choice of poems is such that their general sense can be grasped without extensive background knowledge.

A contrasting approach can be seen at Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen. Here, the poem is presented in a calligraphic script, although in modern orthography. There is no other information provided to distract from the poem. It may be difficult to read for visitors unfamiliar with this type of writing. The stone plaque, therefore, is accompanied by an explanatory plaque (Figure 7). The explanatory plaque gives the name in Chinese characters of the poet, as well as how these are read, the text of the poem in a printed modern script, the poem's *Man'yō* reference number, a summary of the poem's meaning in modern Japanese, its *Man'yō* and modern name, and scientific information. This enables visitors who may only be able to interpret the calligraphic version of the poem as an

aesthetic, rather than textual, object to understand the poem's contents as well as information about the plant to which it refers.



Figure 7: Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen stone and explanatory plaques

Regardless of the style – calligraphic or printed – poems are almost always presented in modern script. However, as indicated above in some gardens there are a few examples of poems being presented in *man'yōgana*. Poems presented in this manner, however, rarely contain botanical imagery, but instead usually refer to the area in which the garden is located; simultaneously, it is more common for these poems to appear on larger, monumental objects. This suggests that the *man'yōgana* versions of the poems are being used to provide a physical link between literature and geography, thus tying the garden and its location into Japan's cultural literary history.

For example, at Man'yō no mori kōen (Shizuoka) there is a large stone slab (Figure 8) and a smaller stone plaque.



Figure 8: Man'yō no mori kōen *Man'yōgana* monument

The slab presents a poem's text carved onto the surface of the stone in the original script. Both of the poems thus displayed are known to have been composed in the local area, and there are a further three large carved stones of this type situated elsewhere in the municipality to emphasise its *Man'yō* links. It is clear, however, that this is not expected to be comprehensible to the visitor, as the stone is accompanied by a smaller explanatory version. This provides the text of the poem in modern script, a summary of its meaning, and a brief passage recounting the emotional response of a professor at Kokugakuin University to the poem, with this response triggered by his handwritten *man'yōgana* version of the poem being chosen to be immortalised in stone.

There is a similar, monumental urge in the use of poems in their original script at Ehime man'yōen, where the only poem presented in this form is carved onto a polished stone slab attached to a much larger piece of rock. The importance placed on this particular poem is emphasised not only by both its physical positioning with substantial clear space around it, but also by the fact that it is accompanied by a large stone explanatory plaque (Figure 9). This plaque gives detailed background information on both the poem and the original *man'yōgana* plaque's production. It is accompanied by a smaller, painted, wooden plaque. This provides the poem in modern script, the name of the poet, biographical information about him, a summary of the poem's meaning, and brief information about the origin of the text used to produce the *man'yōgana* version of the poem for the original plaque. As in the case of the Man'yō no mori kōen monument above (Figure 8), this poem, too, makes no reference to a plant, and the importance placed on the poem comes from its association with the locality.

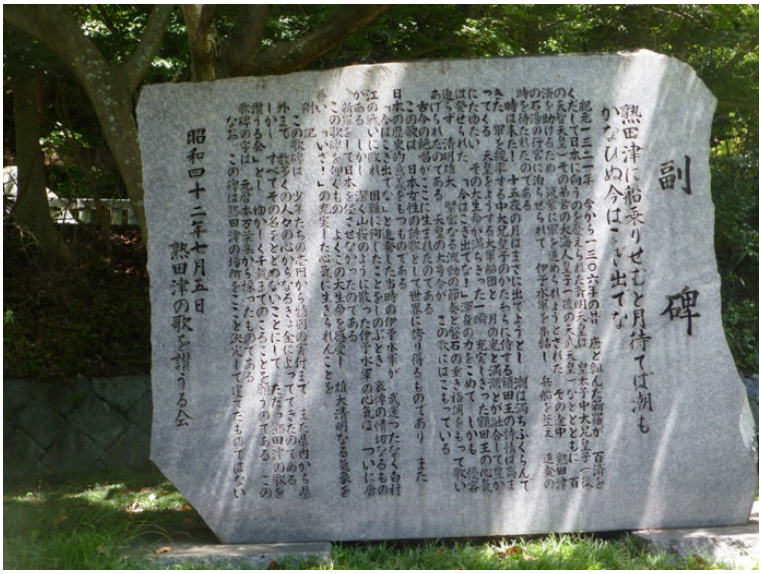


Figure 9: Ehime man'yōen explanatory stone plaque

It can be seen from the above that there is considerable variety in both the manner in which the plants and poems in the various gardens are displayed and in the quantity of explanatory information which is provided to visitors. The result is that the visitor obtains a range of different experiences, depending upon the garden visited and, of course, his or her personal background.

Man'yō botanical garden visitors

Given the varied locations and types of *Man'yō* botanical garden, it is inevitable visitation rates vary. Precise data is difficult to obtain because of the ten gardens visited during my fieldwork, only two (Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen and Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen) charge for entry and have records of visitor numbers. In fact, for Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen, the charge is actually for entry to the museum, rather than the garden specifically, so it is possible for visitors to enter the museum without going to the garden. Of the remaining eight gardens, three (Ehime man'yōen, Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen and Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen) are permanently open and have no staff observing who visits. Numbers for the remainder could only be estimated by the staff, where they were willing to do so. With these caveats, however, visitor number figures are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Man'yō botanical garden visitor numbers

Garden	**Visitor Numbers**
Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba)	15,000
Ehime man'yōen (Ehime)	No data
Shōwa man'yō no mori (Miyagi)	40,000
Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro (Nara)	800,000-810,000
Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara)	60,000
Man'yō no mori kōen (Shizuoka)	No data
Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen (Tokyo)	100,000
Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen	No data
Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama)	No data
Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen (Wakayama)	160,000

The figures for both Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro and Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen refer to the entire historical park and museum respectively. Particularly given the size of the former, numbers of visitors to the *Man'yō* botanical garden are likely to be significantly fewer.

But who are these visitors? This is equally difficult to be precise about, but in the course of my fieldwork interviews, the personnel of the ten gardens consistently described their garden's visitors as 'elderly', meaning older than sixty years. Visitors tend to visit either individually, or as married couples, although there was also mention made of grandparents visiting with their grandchildren on occasion. The visitors' motivations for coming to the gardens were also not precisely recorded as no gardens had conducted any survey work, but in the course of fieldwork interviews, the staff of eight gardens stated that the impression they had gained from conversing with visitors was that the majority were motivated by a desire to experience nature, or a love of plants, and not specifically

out of an interest in *Man'yō* poetry. This suggests that, as tourist facilities, the majority of the gardens should be seen primarily as botanical or environmental rather than literary destinations. However, there are exceptions such as Man'yō no mori kōen (Shizuoka), which has a small museum of *Man'yō* culture on its grounds and conducts an annual *Man'yō* poetry festival; and Shōwa man'yō no mori (Miyagi) provides tours to visitors to explain the poems in the garden on an approximately quarterly basis.

There are also variations in the reasons why gardens were established: for example, Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara) was originally established as a result of a local campaign accompanied by media promotion to solicit public donations (Kuroiwa 2008) and, given its location in Nara, remains a spot listed on maps aimed at domestic and international tourists. By contrast, Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen (Tokyo) was created as a purely personal project by Hoshino Ryōshō, the head priest of the temple at the time, out of a desire to provide people in the local area with a taste of *Man'yō* period culture (Hoshino 1986). It conducts no promotional activities at all.

A common motivation for a garden's establishment was to emphasise a local connection with the *Man'yōshū* and its culture: both Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba) and Man'yō no mori kōen (Shizuoka) were established to mark the fact that poems in the anthology were either known to be composed in the locality or refer to it. This also applies, to some extent, to Shōwa man'yō no mori (Miyagi), although there an additional motivation was to create a facility to mark the sixtieth anniversary of Emperor Shōwa's accession to the throne in 1985. In all of these cases, however, it seems likely that the local link to the *Man'yōshū* is little known and is only discovered by visitors when they come to the gardens or read information about them.

By contrast, however, Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama) is fully integrated into the tourism strategy of the local city, Takaoka, which presents itself as a '*Man'yō* town' (*man'yō no machi*) and uses the *Man'yōshū* extensively in its branding and promotion. For example, the local streetcar line is the 'Man'yō line' (*man'yōsen*), there is an annual festival in October to recite the whole *Man'yōshū* aloud, and the city also runs a Man'yō Historical Museum. The museum contains a research library of texts on the anthology for use by visiting scholars and displays of Nara-period materials. The motivation for this use of the *Man'yōshū* for promotional purposes results from the fact that from 746-51 Ōtomo no Yakamochi served as the governor of the province of Etchū, where Takaoka is located, and he is known to have composed some of his poetry while there.

The above discussion should serve to outline the extensive variety that exists between *Man'yō* botanical gardens in Japan, in terms of their locations, displays of poems and plants, motivations for establishment, and degree of integration into broader tourism strategies. As the research project progresses further, there will be more detailed analysis conducted of these features from a variety of disciplinary perspectives in order to provide a fuller picture of these facilities' natures and roles.

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Notes

[1] The translation of the title of the anthology is my own, and is deliberately poetic rather than prosaic. The original Japanese title consists of three elements: *man* '10,000', *yō* 'leaf/leaves', and *shū* 'collection/ anthology'. *Man* is not intended to be taken literally, but simply as a reference to a number too large to count easily, while *yō* is the Sino-Japanese pronunciation of one of the characters used to write *koto no pa*, the Old Japanese expression for 'word'. An alternative translation would thus be 'The Anthology of Countless Words'. Given 'myriad's' original meaning of 'a unit of 10,000', but more common contemporary meaning of 'countless', it seemed a suitable equivalent for *man* in this context.

[2] See Bentley (2001) and Vovin (2003) for detailed accounts of the language.

[3] There are other places where it is possible to view some *Man'yō* plants and associated poems, many of which are associated with *Man'yō* museums. Due to their limited size, however, I have not included them here. See Taiyō (2011) for a reasonably comprehensive listing.

[4] Emperor Shōmu ordered the founding of a network of *kokubunji* ('national temples') in the mid-700s in order to provide the protection of the religion to his realm. Musashi kokubunji dates from this period, although the original buildings were razed to the ground in 1333 and the oldest extant buildings on the site now date from the mid-1700s. The *Man'yō* botanical garden was begun as a personal project by the chief priest in 1950, and completed in 1963 (Hoshino 2015).

[5] *Gokoku jinja,* 'nation-protecting shrines', were established throughout Japan after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 in order to apotheosise the souls of local war dead. Ehime-ken gokoku jinja is one of these, and the botanical garden was originally established in 1953 to provide consolation to the spirits of the dead in World War II. It was only later that a stone inscribed with a famous *Man'yō* poem was placed in the garden, and it was decided to collect the plants of the *Man'yōshū* to accompany it. The original garden was re-named the Man'yōen in 1968 (Fujiwara 2015).

[6] Kasuga Grand Shrine was established in 768 as the family shrine of the Fujiwara family. Due to the family's close marital connections to the imperial family it became the object of imperial patronage from the mid-900s. Even today imperial messengers are still despatched to report on important matters to the shrine's deities.

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The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* (www.cats.hokudai.ac.jp/ijct) is an open-access, refereed scholarly journal exploring the phenomenon of 'contents tourism', defined as travel behaviour motivated fully or partially by narratives, characters, locations and other creative elements of popular culture forms, including film, television dramas, manga, anime, novels and computer games. IJCT publishes articles of various lengths, from original research papers through to short blog entries. It is based at Hokkaido University, Japan, and the editors-in-chief are Professor Philip Seaton (International Student Center) and Professor Takayoshi Yamamura (Center for Advanced Tourism Studies).

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Manga/anime Conventions in Poland: The Example of Japanicon 2015

Aleksandra Jaworowicz-Zimny

Abstract: Events organised for fans of Japanese culture are enjoying growing popularity all over the world. This research note examines the organisation of conventions in Poland, where the scale of such events is considerably smaller than in Western Europe. It focuses on the example of Japanicon 6 – a convention that took place in Poznań in October 2015 and the general activities of its organising company. A participants' survey reveals who the convention's visitors are, what aspects of Japanese culture they find most interesting, how they gain knowledge about Japan, and finally how visitors' profiles influence the way conventions in Poland are organised.

アブストラクト：現在、世界各地で、日本文化ファン向けのイベントが活発に開催されている。本稿では、西ヨーロッパ諸国における同様のイベントに比して、規模の小さいポーランドにおける日本文化ファン向けイベントの参加者の実態について、具体的事例としてJapanicon 6を取り上げ論じたものである。Japanicon 6は、ポーランド西部の都市・ポズナンにおいて、2015年10月に開催された。同イベントでの実地調査ならびに参加者へのアンケート調査の結果、Japanicon 6の参加者について、基本的な属性や、日本文化のどういった側面に参加者が関心を有しているのか、日本に関する知識をどのように得ているのか、などといった点を明らかにした。そのうえで、参加者の属性がポーランドにおける日本文化関連イベントの企画や構成にどのような影響を与えているのかについても論じた。

Keywords: anime, manga, conventions, leisure, Poland.

Introduction

Amid the growing global popularity of Japanese pop culture, many countries now have fan events and conventions for fans of manga, anime and other aspects of Japanese popular culture. These events range from huge conventions – such as Japan Expo in Paris, which attracts over 200,000 visitors each year – to small-scale niche events attracting only a few tens or hundreds of people. This trend is also visible in Poland, where events for fans of the broad genres of fantasy, science fiction, games (including live action and traditional role-playing games) and Japanese culture are relatively popular. In 2015 there were more than thirty general fan events that catered to manga and anime fans, and twenty-one events dedicated only to manga, anime and Japanese culture (Informator Konwentowy 2015).

The manga and anime market in Poland can be dated back to the early 1990s, when the TV channel Polonia 1 began airing titles like *Yattaman*, *Captain Tsubasa* and *Tōshō Daimos (‘Brave Leader Daimos’)*. The first really popular title, however, was *Sailor Moon*, which was broadcast from 1995. Its popularity made possible the publication of the first Polish magazine dedicated to manga and anime, *Kawaii*, which was launched in 1997. With no widespread access to the Internet at the time, *Kawaii* was the heart of the first generation manga community in Poland. It became the main source of information about manga and anime titles and Japanese culture. It supported the community by publishing a pen pal column, advertising conventions and publishing articles disputing the criticisms of manga that were present in mainstream media until the late 1990s. A split in the editorial board and a drop in sales (resulting from greater access to the Internet rather than fans losing interest) meant that *Kawaii* ceased publication in 2005, but both the Polish manga market and the fandom kept growing nevertheless.

Japanicon 2015

Four of the Japanese pop culture events in Poland, including the biggest one (Magnificon in Kraków), are organised by MiOhi, a one-person company based in Kraków and run by Marta Oleksy. Her involvement in organising events began in 2002. She is interested in Japanese pop culture herself and, inspired by other events she attended, organised her first convention at age eighteen for about 150 people (Oleksy 2015). While many (particularly one-off) events are organised by various fan groups or associations, in 2015 MiOhi was the only full-time Polish company organising manga/anime events and it has events in all the biggest cities nationwide. The conventions organised by MiOhi are: Magnificon in Kraków (around 3,500 participants), Japanicon in Poznań (around 2,500 participants), Love in Wrocław (for Valentine’s Day, around 1,500 participants) and Mokon in Warsaw (around 1,500 participants). These conventions are yearly events and started in 2010, so each of them held their sixth event in 2015. When not organising her own events, Oleksy visits other conventions in Poland and abroad (particularly Lithuania, the Czech Republic and Slovakia) and runs a booth selling manga goods.

While Marta Oleksy is the only employee of MiOhi, every event is organised by about fifteen people, mostly from Kraków, but also local coordinators. MiOhi has organised similar events in other cities, like Gdańsk and Łódź, but there was not enough interest among fans. According to Oleksy, it is only worth organising an event in a particular city when 70 to 80 per cent of participants live in the area. In the above-mentioned cities, around 80 per cent of participants came

from other regions, so MiOhi decided not to repeat these events. While some people travel long distances to attend manga events, sometimes using the occasion for other sightseeing in the convention's host city, as indicated by the participants' survey discussed below most attendees at MiOhi events are locals and convention attendance resembles leisure more than tourism.[1]

I attended the sixth Japanicon event in Poznań on 10-11 October 2015 at the Józef Tischner General Education School Complex. Apart from the biggest events – such as the multigenre fantasy convention Pyrkon in Poznań, which attracts over 30,000 people – Polish conventions are held mostly at schools for the simple reasons of availability and the cost. Usually no events other than elections are organised on weekends at schools, so on most Saturdays and Sundays these buildings can be rented out to convention organisers. Also the cost is much lower than major convention centres.

According to the organisers, Japanicon uses a standard format and the organisation is basically the same at each event. Although Japanicon 2015 did not start until 9 am on Saturday 10 October, the preparations began around 5 pm on the Friday. The school was officially handed over to MiOhi for the weekend and the organising team, which had arrived by bus from Kraków, started setting up the event. Not much equipment was necessary. Another advantage of using a school is having computers, projectors and speakers in every room that can be freely used. The rest of the equipment – including big screens, the sound system, gaming consoles and dancing pads for music video games – was brought by the organisers from Kraków and placed in dedicated classrooms on the Friday evening.

The MiOhi organising team at Japanicon consisted only of about twelve people, but 'helpers' also play a big role during the preparation of events. Around fifty volunteers took part in Japanicon. They did not pay the entrance fee, but supported the organisers throughout the event. The helpers began work on Friday by carrying the chairs, tables and other equipment to designated places or pinning up posters; during the event they helped look after participants; and afterwards they helped to clean up the school. They were mostly manga/anime fans between fifteen (no younger people are allowed) and nineteen.

The participants started arriving on Friday evening. People who lived more than 150 kilometres from Poznań were allowed to come to the convention earlier and stay over on the Friday night, while all other attendees came on the Saturday morning and stayed at the convention only on Saturday night. Attendees stayed in 'sleep rooms', empty classrooms where participants could lay down mattresses and sleeping bags. That was the option used by most participants, and even many people living in Poznań decided to stay at the convention rather than to return home for the night.

Another group that arrived early was the manga publishers and vendors, who started setting up their booths in the hall right next to the main school entrance early in the evening. All the main manga publishers in Poland were present at Japanicon, except for Hanami (a company that targets adult readers) and Dango (the youngest Polish publisher that had only just been established). Several booths selling goods like pins, posters, T-shirts, mouse pads, coasters, key chains and figurines were also present. However, food was relatively hard to find. One booth next to the booths selling anime goods offered Japanese snacks, like Pocky (see Figures 1 and 2).[2] There was also a small sushi corner, and *taiyaki*, tapioca bubble tea and brownie booths. Most participants either brought their own food or bought sandwiches in the school cafeteria.

The main event begun at 9 am on Saturday. People who pre-ordered tickets could get in faster (and cheaper – 45 złoty, around 1,400 yen, for two days). Those without tickets needed to wait up to four hours to get registered and enter the convention (their fee was 55 złoty, around 1,700 yen). The organisers said that compared to other cities, normally few people in Poznań purchase tickets in advance. At Japanicon 2015, about 1,100 tickets were pre-sold. The participants waiting in the long

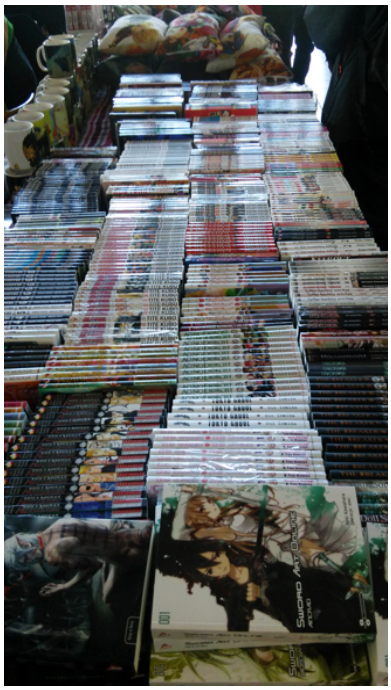






Figure 1 (left): Manga published in Polish
Figure 2 (middle): Japanese sweets sold at Japanicon
Figure 3 (right): The queue outside Japanicon 2015

queue (Figure 3) said, however, that for many of them it was a deliberate strategy. They did not want to enter the convention too quickly because the queue is a place to socialise. People have time to talk to each other, dance, play musical instruments, and take pictures with cosplayers. By the time they enter the actual event, they have become friends with many people and this lets them enjoy the convention more than if they had entered the building with pre-purchased tickets.

Tickets to most Polish conventions can be pre-ordered via Nagato-system. All Polish conventions organisers use this webpage to register their events and sell entrance tickets, while helpers, publishers and vendors can contact event organisers and offer to help or book vendor spaces. The system also keeps all people involved updated about the status of the event.

During Japanicon 2015 there were eighteen rooms providing different types of attractions. Eight rooms were dedicated to various activities including traditional Japanese games, console games, karaoke, the rhythm game osu!, the dance video game DDR, origami, and kanji writing. There were quizzes in two rooms (for example, recognising voice actors or opening songs, and *One Piece* knowledge). In the remaining six rooms there were various presentations, including about student life in Japan, Japanese mythology, anime from the 1970s, and the reasons why soon-to-be-released computer RPG game *Fallout 4* would be a disappointment. One room was used by the Third Mercenary Japanese Infantry Division (Trzeci Najemny Oddział Piechoty Japońskiej), a historical re-enactment group specialising in battles from fifteenth and sixteenth century Japan. While the main activity of this group of Sengoku (Warring States) Period enthusiasts is staging historical re-enactments, at Japanicon they organised several presentations and workshops. Finally, the biggest room (the gym) was where the main events took place, including cosplay, idol concerts and anime music video contests. Apart from the musical attractions, like karaoke and rock band games (where the player pretends to play musical instruments), there was no night break. The contests and presentations continued from the Saturday morning all through the night until Sunday at noon.



Figure 4: Main hall with merchandise booths

On the Saturday evening in the main room there was a concert by LeChat. This relatively unknown Japanese idol, dressed-up as an anime character, performed anime and Vocaloid songs. Later during the night there was the final of the Polish Anime Music Videos contest (KTA2K15), featuring montages of anime scenes with music, often created with professional video editing software.[3]

One of the main attractions that encouraged people to come to Japanicon was cosplay. It was a preliminary selection round for the Japan Expo 2016 cosplay contest and supervised by one of the French organisers. Many people dressed up just for fun and enjoyed walking around as their favourite character, or perhaps just in a costume that was easy to make. Others took part in the less formal cosplay show, and thirteen groups competed for the right to attend the European Cosplay Gathering as part of Japan Expo in Paris. In the questionnaire conducted among Japanicon 2015 attendees, 34 out of 554 respondents listed cosplay among their main reasons for coming to Japanicon. For the cosplayers, taking pictures together and having their pictures taken by others were key attractions. Many Polish cosplayers come to such events already in their costumes, so they also walk around the city in their outfits. They do not mind having their pictures taken and posted on social media. Japanicon even had an official photo studio, where participants could have professional pictures of them taken and then posted on the event's Facebook page. The event's fan page is full of pictures uploaded by participants, often by people looking for the contact details of the cosplayers in the pictures.



Figure 5: Fans enjoying the cosplay show

Participant Survey at Japanicon 2015

During Japanicon, I carried out a survey of participants and attendees. Questionnaires were handed out to people standing in the queue to enter the event on the Saturday morning and afternoon, so most answers were given before visitors had entered the actual event. Almost all the waiting participants were asked to fill out the survey. Most people approached readily agreed and many even asked for questionnaires when they saw others filling it out. In total, 554 people out of about 2,300 participants (helpers and organisers included) filled out the questionnaire (excluding incomplete ones). This sample (24 per cent of the total number of participants) can be assumed to provide a broadly representative picture of the participants at the event.

The survey was divided into two main parts: the first asked about the reasons and details of their visit to Japanicon, and the second investigated in more general terms their interest in Japan. Of the 554 respondents, all had Polish nationality and a slight majority were female (245 males vs. 293 female, plus 16 of unknown gender). As seen in Figure 6, the vast majority of participants were in their teens and twenties.

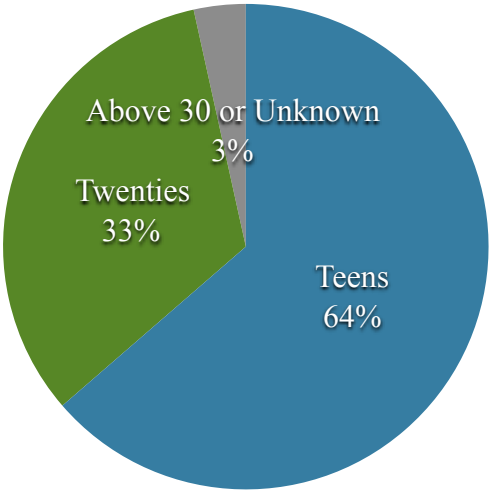


Figure 6: The ages of participants at Japanicon 2015 (554 respondents)

Given that 64 per cent of respondents were in their teens, Japanicon was an event enjoyed mostly by young people. Some people in their early twenties even said they were 'getting too old for this', and expressed doubt if they would come back the following year. The young age of participants is consistent with the profile of the 'representative manga reader' in Poland created by publishing house Waneko, which assumes around 70 per cent of its readers are under 18 (Świderski 2015). The statement about 'being too old' for manga events seems to hold for many people's interests in manga in general, too. According to representatives of both the Waneko and Kirin publishing houses (that publish manga and books about Japan), many manga fans turn at some point to American comic books, or develop a deeper interest in other aspects of Japan, or just move into grown-up life and leave manga behind as part of their teenage years (Świderski 2015; Wosińska 2015).

As most attendees are relatively young, most also have a limited budget. The majority of Japanicon visitors depend on money given by their parents. As shown in Figure 7, more than half of participants were planning on spending up to 100 złoty (3,000 yen), and only about 4 per cent were planning to spend more than 300 złoty (9,000 yen). The participants' young ages and financial

dependence influence other answers. For example, close to three-quarters of participants used public transportation, which is cheaper than private transportation and does not require a driving license or a car.

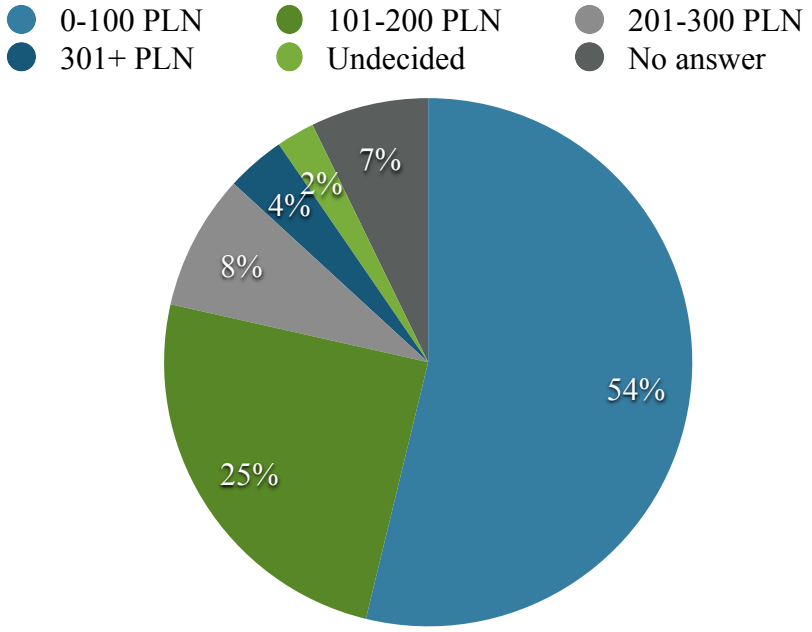


Figure 7: Planned expenditure at Japanicon 2015 (554 respondents)

The final issue related to the young age of participants and their limited financial means is the fact that most of them lived relatively near to the convention's venue. Since written parental consent for underage participants is necessary in addition to financial support, young visitors are more likely to be allowed to attend the event if participation does not require long and relatively expensive travel. As demonstrated by the time necessary to get to Japanicon (Figure 8), the majority of participants lived in the region. A few people even mentioned that the convention being organised nearby was one of their main reasons for visiting it, and others said it was a reason to come back again in the future. Consequently, MiOhi's strategy to organise events in cities where locals are interested in manga and not to rely on people from other regions seems logical.

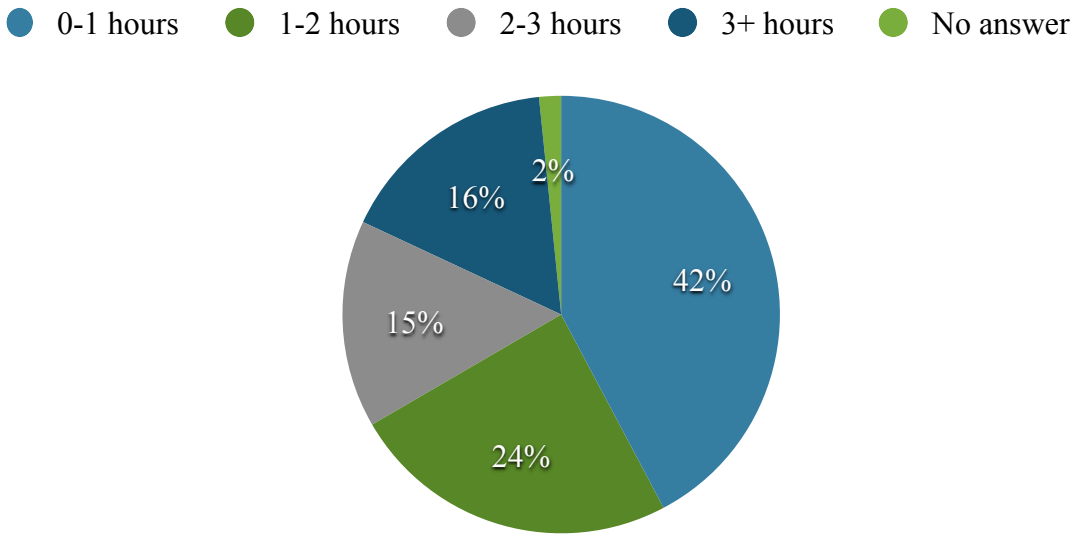


Figure 8: Time taken to get to Japanicon (554 respondents)

The second half of the questionnaire focused on attendees' broader interests in Japan. Respondents were asked to rate their interest in different areas of Japanese culture from 1 (not interested) to 5 (very interested). The average ratings (554 respondents) are presented in Figure 9.

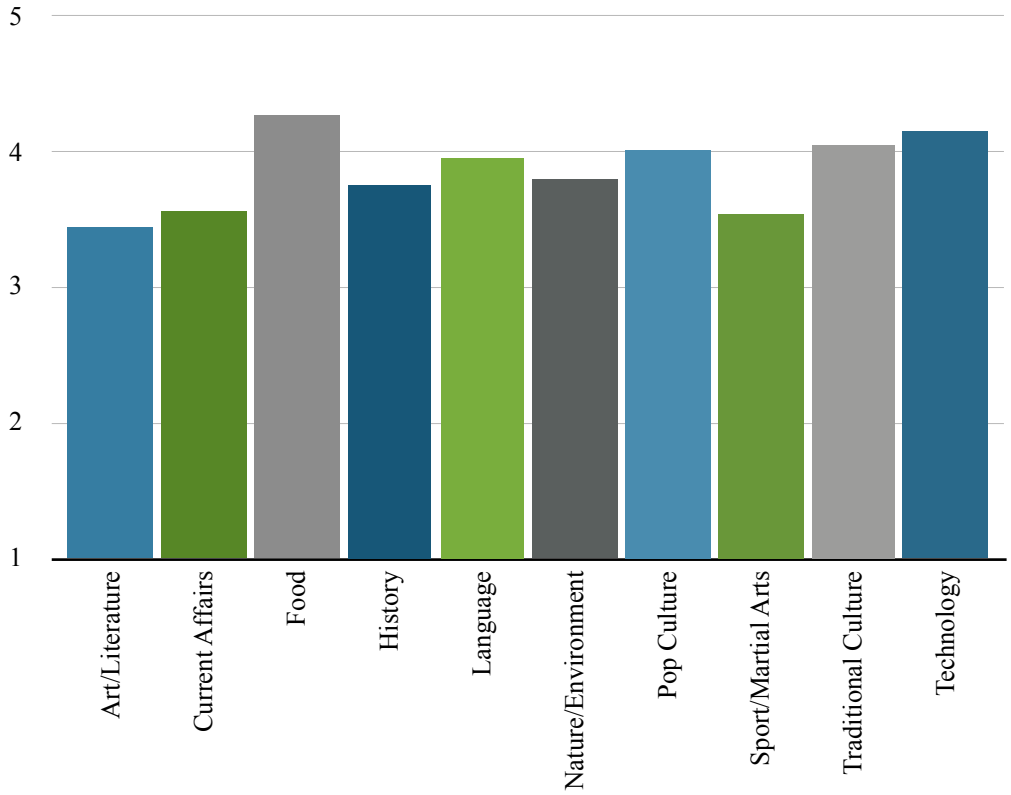


Figure 9: Levels of interest in various aspects of Japan

The interests getting the most attention were food, technology, traditional culture and pop culture. In the next question, respondents gave additional information about their interests. This question revealed big interest in and knowledge about Japanese popular culture. While many declared an interest in technology and food, they seemed to know most about Japanese entertainment. Many Japanese bands (One Ok Rock, Baby Metal, The Gazette) and manga artists (Eiichiro Oda, Masashi Kishimoto) were listed. Fans were also interested in voice actors (*seiyū*, such as Kamiya Hiroshi) and novelist Haruki Murakami, who is very popular in Poland. Some newer trends were evident, too. Some Japanicon visitors said they were listening to Vocaloid songs and cover versions published on the Internet by popular *utaite*, amateur singers who put their performances of already released songs on YouTube or the Nico Nico Dōga video-sharing site. Only a few people listed things related to more traditional aspects of Japanese culture, including the samurai and Edo culture, tea ceremony, martial arts and blade weapons. Overall, the majority of Japanicon participants seem to be first and foremost consumers of popular culture, and their general interest in Japan came second.

This conclusion is supported by another feature of the survey results. Some of the fans did not distinguish clearly between Japanese and Korean pop culture. Some fans listed among their favourite musicians bands like BigBang, Exo or Shinee, even though these are Korean artists. Respondents were either unaware of or did not mind the fact that these artists were from a different country. Publishers have also noticed this trend. Yumegari publishes a variety of *manhwa* (Korean

comics) and *manhua* (Chinese comics) alongside its Japanese manga, and according to their observations readers decide to buy a comic book based on its story and drawings rather than its country of origin (Izdebska-Filipiak 2015).

What is clearly visible in respondents' answers is the fact that while having rather limited access to both printed information about Japan and legal sources of Japanese pop cultural products, they remain highly up-to-date about popular artists and trends in Japan, especially those visible online, such as Vocaloids, *utaite* and web comics. In other words, although the manga publishing market is growing, the Polish fandom is concentrated around the Internet. Manga scanlations and anime fansub sites are booming, while Facebook pages dedicated to Japan and Japanese culture have thousands of followers. The symbiosis of the Polish manga market and Internet is a phenomenon that was broadly discussed by Świderski (2015) from Waneko publishing house. Publishers often refer to scanlation or anime streaming sites to pick new titles based on their Internet popularity, which generates sales after the title gets published. Discussion about the publishing strategies within the Polish manga market is a subject requiring further research.

Only about a dozen respondents had visited Japan, but almost all of them were interested in going. Some even had very precise plans. Out of the 423 people who answered the question about planned activities in Japan, 114 said they simply wanted to go sightseeing, but 46 were thinking of studying and/or living there for good, even though only two of these people had been to Japan before. Alongside fairly mainstream plans like visiting Tokyo, Kyoto or climbing Mt. Fuji, the image of 'weird Japan' and things that had gone viral on social media were also included in fans' sightseeing plans. Tashirojima ('cats island'), Aokigahara (known as 'suicide forest'), a toilet exhibition in Miraikan Museum in Tokyo, a seven-floor sex shop in Akihabara, a 'perverted sex club' or just a 'perverted place', even Japanese vending machines were listed among attractions that respondents wanted to see. 'Weird Japan', a common form of narrative in Polish mainstream and social media, has effectively become a form of contents stimulating interest in travel to particular locations. It is promoted by blogs, YouTube channels (one belonging to Krzysztof Gonciarz was mentioned by a number of respondents) and online articles (see for example Baranowska 2014). Judging by the survey results, for many fans sensationalist content appears to be more influential on their travel interests than texts about Japan written by specialists.

Pop culture also featured as a key motivation for wanting to visit Japan. While over 100 respondents expressed only a vague desire to 'sightsee' in Japan and another 50 wanted to do 'everything', some respondents named the type of activities they were interested in doing in Japan. Forty-two people were particularly interested in activities related to pop culture, such as visiting the Ghibli or *Shōnen Jump* museums, going to anime and game centres, buying goods, seeing anime sites, helping in anime production, learning how to draw manga, becoming *seiyū* (voice artists), visiting Japanese conventions and going to concerts in Japan. These people seem well-informed about the type of activities available for fans. While they do not exclude other activities, like more general sightseeing or trying Japanese food, their interest in Japanese pop culture can be considered a primary motivation for any future visits to Japan.

However, why are young people so fascinated with Japanese pop culture? Based on the survey results, two key issues seem to be relevant. The first is that the culture is 'different' (distinguishing it from other European or American productions); the second is the social aspect of belonging to the manga fandom in Poland. No respondent explained the nature of the 'difference' – seeing Japanese culture as different and unique seems to be a cliché that has become received wisdom.[4] Even though the manga market is growing and some anime can be watched on Poland's approximately 50 free-to-view television channels, Japanese pop culture seems not to be considered 'mainstream'. Consequently, it attracts people seeking an 'original hobby', as one respondent stated. Regarding

social aspects, more than a quarter of Japanicon visitors stated that spending time with friends and meeting new, 'alike' people were the main reasons for coming. Moreover, 20 per cent of respondents became interested in Japan through the influence of friends or family. In short, manga connects people. Fans at conventions become friends quickly, spontaneously talk to each other, offer free hugs, join other people's conversations, and are generally allowed to be themselves – open, friendly, a bit 'crazy', extremely direct and honest about who they are. This atmosphere generated by being surrounded by similar people is not something that can necessarily be enjoyed in everyday life. It featured in the survey as one of the major reasons why people wanted to come to Japanicon again in the future.

There has been no major study conducted about the Polish manga fandom, only small surveys in short articles on manga fanpages. It can be assumed, however, that while the popularity of manga lies partly in an interest in Japanese popular culture, there is also this factor of connecting people who feel they do not fully fit in, who are outsiders looking for something different, and who consider themselves not to be so mainstream. Japanicon visitors in the survey praised the convention's atmosphere and tolerance. According to another survey conducted on the biggest Polish Facebook fanpage, the highest number of respondents thought of manga as a means of escapism (Kruczek 2015). Also Marcin Grzybowski, in an article about different groups interested in manga, mentioned that some young people having difficulties in real life seek help via their hobby (Grzybowski 2005). However, the more extreme examples of troubled teenagers aside, the basic rule seems to be clear: fans of Japanese pop culture are first and foremost people attracted to things that are 'different', and are mostly young people celebrating their individualism in opposition to mainstream culture. In spite of a growing manga market, so-called 'Chinese cartoons' (an expression broadly used in Polish for anime, which is now mostly used ironically but was popular in the 1990s when many people did not distinct Japan and China and assumed anime to be of Chinese production) still do not belong to Polish mainstream culture. The fandom is a relatively liberal environment in which there is respect for other people's individuality.

One final category of attendee emerged within the survey: convention fans. About ten per cent of respondents said they had visited ten or more events related to Japan, and the highest number of conventions attended by any one individual was around seventy. These people, who are slightly older than the average Japanicon participants, travel all over the country from one event to another, not necessarily related only to Japanese culture. While their answers in the questionnaires indicate they have an interest in Japan, their goal in attending such events seems to be simply having fun at the event 'because it is a convention'. As one person answered: 'conventions are my life'.

Conclusions

The survey carried out at Japanicon 2015 illuminates the important role of manga in Poland in both creating and shaping a fan community. Manga fans are mainly young people in their teens and twenties who are interested primarily in Japanese pop culture, and only secondarily in Japan in general. They obtain their information about their interests mostly from the Internet. However, in a domestic Polish context, their limited financial resources mean that their travel behaviour conforms more to patterns of leisure than 'contents tourism'. Japanese pop culture conventions in Poland are targeted at a local fandom and are held in cities where a large enough number of people interested in such Japanese pop culture events live.

However, while the survey has indicated the limited power of conventions in Poland to trigger significant domestic tourism (and in the case of Japanicon 2015 the tourism benefits in terms of

accommodation are reduced even further by attendees sleeping within the convention venue rather than in local hotels or other accommodation), the number of respondents who expressed an interest in visiting Japan also suggests that the conventions play a role in creating a large pool of potential future visitors to Japan whose interest in the country is rooted in the pop culture they enjoyed in their teens.

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Notes

[1] Leisure, as defined by Dumazedier, is 'activity - apart from the obligations of work, family, and society - to which the individual turns to at will, for either relaxation, diversion, or broadening his knowledge and his spontaneous social participation, the free exercise of his creative capacity' (1974, p. 133). This description fits the behaviour of most Japanicon participants because they are not travelling long distances to attend the event. Tourism, by contrast, is defined more in terms of distance travelled. Smith (1988, p. 183) defined tourism as 'the aggregate of all businesses that directly provide goods or services to facilitate business, pleasure and leisure activities away from the home environment'. MiOhi consciously plans its events without consideration of their tourism potential and targets locals. Even though MiOhi conventions are not planned and marketed as events targeting tourists, a number of Japanicon participants were engaged in event tourism, defined by Donald Getz as 'a market segment consisting of those people who travel to attend events or who can be motivated to attend events while away from home' (Getz 1997, p. 16). These are the respondents who would not have travelled the distance from their homes to Poznań on these days without an active choice to attend the convention. Overall, while events like Japanicon in Poland generate event tourism on a small scale, the survey reveals that most attendees are locals and avoid travelling long distances for this type of event.

[2] Pocky is a long, chocolate-covered biscuit, which is very well known and liked among Polish manga fans, although not available in regular shops.

[3] Participating AMVs can be watched at: http://kta.net.pl/konkurs-teledyskow-anime/final-kta2k15-theoblivion6277-vs-duczmen/ [Accessed 22 December 2015].

[4] The widespread stereotype of Japan being 'different' is the subject of a recent book by Arkadiusz Jabłoński (2015). Jabłoński, a professor at Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, also runs a Facebook page discussing Polish press articles, Internet and TV news that present twisted facts about 'exotic Japan': https://www.facebook.com/JaponskiMiszmasz/?fref=ts [Accessed 23 February 2016].

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About the *International Journal of Contents Tourism*

The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* (www.cats.hokudai.ac.jp/ijct) is an open-access, refereed scholarly journal exploring the phenomenon of 'contents tourism', defined as travel behaviour motivated fully or partially by narratives, characters, locations and other creative elements of popular culture forms, including film, television dramas, manga, anime, novels and computer games. IJCT publishes articles of various lengths, from original research papers through to short blog entries. It is based at Hokkaido University, Japan, and the editors-in-chief are Professor Philip Seaton (International Student Center) and Professor Takayoshi Yamamura (Center for Advanced Tourism Studies).

International Journal of Contents Tourism

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Dishing out *Silver Spoon*: Agricultural Tourism in the Tokachi-Obihiro Area of Hokkaido

Michele M. Mason

Abstract: Arakawa Hiromu's best-selling manga *Silver Spoon*, which began serialization in 2011, kicked off an impromptu migration of fans to the story's setting, the Tokachi-Obihiro region of Hokkaido. Both local tourism officials and agricultural stakeholders quickly devised a number of strategies to capitalize on the newfound interest in their region. Their efforts only intensified when anime and film versions were released in 2013 and 2014. This article examines the ways local officials, business owners, and other constituents have pursued not only profits from *Silver Spoon*-inspired tourism, but also the chance to offer a different picture of agricultural life than is typically disseminated in the media. Below, I demonstrate how the promotion of Ban'ei horse racing, a wide-variety of agricultural products, and hands-on farming and food production experiences are at the heart of local community's attempts to appropriate the cultural capital of *Silver Spoon* to craft narratives of Tokachi identity, heritage, and pride.

アブストラクト：荒川弘によるベストセラーマンガ作品『銀の匙　Silver　Spoon』は、2011年の連載開始後すぐに、舞台地・北海道十勝帯広への作品ファンの流入を引き起こした。地元の観光行政担当者と農業関係者の両者は、新たに地域に生まれたこうした好機をフルに活かすための多くの戦略を素早く立案した。こうした彼らの取り組みが活発化したのは、2013年のアニメ版の放送、2014年の劇場版公開に依るところが大きい。本稿では、地元の行政・事業者・その他の地域構成員が、同作品に触発されたツーリズムによる利益をどのように追及したのか、さらにそうしたツーリズムを、メディアを通して広まっている農業生活のステレオタイプなイメージとは異なる、新たなイメージを提供する機会としてどのように捉えたのか、について分析する。そして、ばんえい競馬や農畜産物、実際の農畜産業・食糧生産などのプロモーションを通して、地域コミュニティがどのように、文化資本としての同作品を十勝のアイデンティティ・遺産・誇りに関する語りの生成へと結びつけていったのかを示す。

Keywords: contents tourism, *Silver Spoon*, Ban'ei racing, agricultural labor, local identity.

Introduction

The award-winning manga *Silver Spoon*, written by Arakawa Hiromu of *Fullmetal Alchemist* fame, debuted in July 2011 and continues to run in *Weekly Shōnen Sunday* to wide acclaim. This light-hearted series features the struggles and friendships of a group of students who attend Ōezo Agricultural High School in the Tokachi-Obihiro area of Hokkaido.[1] The lead character, Hachiken Yūgo, unlike most of his fellow students who hail from local farms, chose to enroll in the rural dairy program to escape a troubled family life in the big city of Sapporo. Readers follow the motley group as they learn the science and practicalities of raising animals—cows, pigs, chickens, and horses—and discover the thrill of making delicious food—cheese, bacon, sausage, and pizza—with their own hands. The endearing quirks of each student and teacher draw the audience into storylines that adroitly blend raw anguish of dreams gone awry, delightful humor anchored in human foibles, and tender moments of deepening camaraderie in this coming-of-age drama. Although dramatically different from her action-fantasy *Fullmetal Alchemist*, Arakawa's *Silver Spoon* dishes up a winning recipe that has captured the hearts and minds—and stomachs—of millions of readers in Japan and abroad.

Silver Spoon quickly drew the attention of fans and critics alike in 2011 and has sustained its popularity in the years since. It swiftly became the publisher Shogakukan's top seller and by October of 2013 had sold twelve million copies in Japan. In 2012, the series won the coveted Grand Prize of the annual Manga Taishō Award and the Shogakukan Manga Award in the youth category. Another early trend that signaled *Silver Spoon*'s reputation was the 110 per cent increase in applicants to the Dairy Sciences Course at Obihiro Agricultural High School the year after the manga debuted.[2] More recently, it numbered among the nine nominees for 2015 Tezuka Osamu Cultural Prize. Responding to *Silver Spoon*'s wide and growing following, a two-season anime series was aired between July 2013 and March 2014, and the "high-profile" show was picked up by NoitaminA, an alternative-audience, late-night programing block reserved for anime (Fuji TV).[3] Additionally, a live-action film (dir: Yoshida Keisuke) premiered in Tokyo in March 2014, with the catch phrase "A Most Outrageous Story of Youth!" Teen idol Nakajima Kento, who played the main character, rallied his adoring fans to the flic, which was viewed by over 89,000 people in just the first two days.



Figure 1: Bookstore display of Silver Spoon manga. August 2015.

More than is apparent at first, *Silver Spoon* is a work deeply rooted in place. All the main characters' names derive from districts in Hokkaido, mostly the Tokachi region. For instance, Yūgo's crush is Mikage Aki, named after the Mikage district in the northwestern part of Tokachi. The name of the young man who has to give up his dreams of becoming a pro baseball player to pay off the debts on his family's farm, Komaba Ichirō, is borrowed from the central-northern area. Likewise the family names of Tokiwa Keiji, who is destined to take over his family's chicken farm, Aikawa Shin'ichi, who dreams of becoming a veterinarian but faints when he sees blood, and the agribusiness-savvy Inada Tomoko, all derive from districts in the region. Yūgo, who is the lone character who hails from the big city of Sapporo, is named after Hachiken, the second largest ward of that municipality. Although Arakawa's decision to pay homage to the region in this and other crucial ways was not made with tourism per se in mind, it has certainly inspired and facilitated promotions that celebrate the agricultural history and bucolic flavor of Tokachi.

Now, four years after *Silver Spoon* began inspiring a unique migration to Tokachi, it seems apt to consider how this case can be understood within the framework of media mix contents tourism. The emergence of the term and active promotion of "contents tourism" began in the early 2000s at the national level in Japan as a central component of a long-term economic revitalization project. Since then there has been a concerted effort to collaborate among national, prefectural, and regional entities to capitalize on Japanese popular culture—especially manga, anime, and film—to raise awareness of and encourage tourism to specific localities. Noting the diverse and proliferating cases of tourism driven by Japan's celebrated forms of media, scholars have increasingly turned a discerning eye toward the phenomenon of contents tourism with the goal of "identifying works of Japanese popular culture that have triggered tourism and…analysing that touristic behaviour and its local impacts" (Seaton and Yamamura 2015, pp. 5-6). Local tourist agencies and stakeholders in Tokachi-Obihiro were quick to recognize the interest generated by the various incarnations of *Silver Spoon* and have astutely built on the associations between the charming characters, distinct cultural sites, and regional agricultural products depicted in the early storyline.

Not long after the release of *Silver Spoon*, when a number of enthusiastic fans showed up to farms in the Tokachi area unannounced, both local tourism officials and agricultural stakeholders responded in a number of creative ways to capitalize on the interest.[4] An energetic turn toward *Silver Spoon*-based promotion of travel to Tokachi was invigorated when Aniplex, the producer and copyright holder of the TV-anime series, reached out to collaborate on designing promotional materials with a number of constituents before the launch in 2013 and again during the filming of the movie version on numerous locations in the Tokachi region. In addition to predictable items, such as t-shirts, towels, and clear files decorated with the colorful clan of characters, locally made cheesecakes, special sauces for grilled pork rice bowls, candy, and cookies with customized packaging were created. The summer 2014 edition of *Namara*, a seasonal magazine published by the Hokkaido Tourism Promotion Organization (Hokkaidō kankō shinkō kikō), sported a special feature article on activities related to the filming locations of *Silver Spoon*. After visiting the original sites where scenes of the equestrian club practicing and Yūgo accidentally spilling a copious amount of milk were shot, a visitor can stop by recommended restaurants, cafes, or cheese and sweet shops. In the virtual world, true devotees might also channel the experience of their beloved characters through "The Pocket Dairy" App (pokketo rakunō apuri), a simulation game wherein aspiring farmers earn points by successfully raising animals, exchanging harvest bounty, making delicious goods, and shipping them to market.[5]

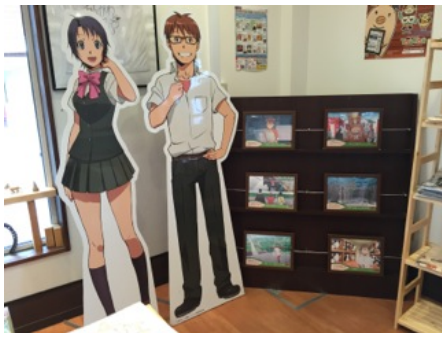


Figure 2: Cardboard cutouts of Aki and Yūgo at Tokachi Village. August 2015.

In 2015, when I conducted field research on *Silver Spoon* tourism, the visual invitations to connect the area to the manga were still abundant. Glossy posters and flyers, eye-catching cardboard cut-outs, fluttering banners of characters, promotional displays, souvenirs, and food items could be found at the Obihiro Tourism and Convention Center (Obihiro kankō konbenshon kyōkai), Tokachi Village (Tokachi mura), the Ban'ei horse racing track (Obihiro keibajō), and many other locations. The varied campaigns continue to offer visitors opportunities for experiencing hands-on and outdoor recreational activities, enjoying local delectables, viewing exciting horse racing, and visiting unique historical sites, film locations, museums, and gardens.

The following analysis of *Silver Spoon*-inspired contents tourism is informed by a variety of research methods and resources. In the summer of 2015, I conducted scheduled and impromptu interviews with tourism officials, local stakeholders, current and former students from the model high school, a service provider for the film production, and fans. In addition to reading all of the manga available by August of 2015 and viewing the anime and film versions, I collected and studied numerous promotional materials by tourism offices and local businesses. I drew from magazines, websites, and academic scholarship to contextualize and historicize this particular case of contents tourism. The central organizing component of my fieldwork was the stamp rally produced by the Obihiro Tourism and Convention Center (see Figure 5). I was able to visit all ten destinations and took part in a range of hands-on activities. These included guided tours of farms, cow milking, and ice cream, cheese, and pizza making.

This study overall is shaped by my training in cultural studies. I have previously written about historical representation and activism in manga on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and dominant discourses of colonial Hokkaido (Mason 2009; 2012). I am, moreover, keenly interested in the power of manga and anime to not only entertain but also to witness histories, provoke debate, educate, and shape transformative narratives. When researching the origins of contents tourism, I was struck by the governmental agencies' deliberate use of Japan's notable forms of "soft power" to generate revenue during an interminably long and debilitating recession. Soft power, a term coined by Joseph Nye, generally refers to the ways actors (national or otherwise) leverage persuasive power rather than coercive power to influence others and produce particular outcomes (Nye 1990; 2004). Japan's world-renowned popular culture has come to exemplify a distinct brand of soft power. The phrase "Gross National Cool" (McGray 2002), in particular, brings together the economic and cultural aspects that resonate with the push for contents tourism at the national level. My interest in this project was anchored in the ways actors at the local level attempt to appropriate the cultural capital of the *Silver Spoon* phenomenon to craft specific narratives of Tokachi identity.

A fundamental aspect of contents tourism is infusing new stories, new appeal, and new meaning into a particular place, person, tradition, activity, and/or food. The celebration of Tokachi's singular

tradition of Ban'ei horse racing and Obihiro Shrine's charming horse-shaped votive tablets (*ema*) that pay homage to this history are certainly in keeping with typical trends. Moreover, in a country so accustomed to purchasing local specialty items (*meibutsu*) as souvenirs when traveling, it is hardly surprising that advertising Tokachi's unique food items, agricultural products, and restaurants and sweet shops was at the heart of promoting this pastoral region. As with any tourism project, securing economic support for the community is a central goal.

Still, I would argue that there is also something more fundamental at stake here. It was particularly obvious that local officials, business owners, and other stakeholders have been pleased with not only the profits from the increased patronage, but also the chance to offer a different picture of agricultural life than is typically disseminated in the media. It may not have be written explicitly in the slick tourism materials, but a driving force behind *Silver Spoon*-based tourism is the desire to present the human history of Tokachi's long agricultural legacy, to deepen people's appreciation for the labor involved in bringing food everyday to their tables, and reveal the noble spirit of the farming families. Local actors are clearly invested in the benefits of rejuvenating local identity, heritage, and pride that *Silver Spoon* contents tourism offers.

Preserving Tokachi's Farming History Through Ban'ei Racing

Silver Spoon—in all its formats—lends itself to popularizing Hokkaido's agricultural history through its focus on Ban'ei horse racing, arguably one of the most distinct cultural attractions in the Tokachi-Obihiro area. This form of horse racing originated during Hokkaido's colonial era when settlers from Japan used draft horses to open and cultivate fields and haul heavy loads to market.[6] Farmers entertained themselves by showing off the prowess of their workhorses in competitions on rare days of rest. Beginning with the very first volume of *Silver Spoon*, Aki, whose family has a long history of raising horses and participating in the Ban'ei enterprise, informs the protagonist and readers alike of its origins, the particulars of this towing race, and its status as an officially designated "Hokkaido heritage" (Hokkaidō isan). In the present form of this cultural practice, the huge muscular horses pull heavy sleds along a linear sand track with two "hills" (ramps). Jockeys spur on their horses from the sleds that sometimes weigh upwards of one ton. Ban'ei horses are unlike the sleek and speedy ones of conventional flat races, but they are certainly impressive in their own way. Although speed is not the name of the game, as Aki argues, one can be caught up in its special spirit when the horses' bodies are put in motion. These formidable animals—with their overpowering size and strength—are awe-inspiring.

A core group of establishments work in tandem to promote Ban'ei horse racing specifically and its attendant agricultural legacy more broadly. The Horse Historical Museum (Uma no shiryōkan), located adjacent to the racetrack, does its part to educate visitors on the history, different breeds of horses, protocol for naming racehorses, and various transformations after the mechanization of farming. There and in the nearby Tokachi Village, a market of regional foods, the connection between the powerful *banba* (Ban'ei horses) and local agriculture is emphasized. At the latter, while buying seasonal vegetables, fresh and cured meats, or other specialty foods, a visitor can behold the impressive portrait of a draft horse made entirely of differently colored, locally grown beans (Figure 3). Obihiro Shrine, where they sell wooden votive tablets modeled on *banba*, plays a supportive role in establishing this important legacy of the region's history (Figure 4). A dignified statue of a thoroughbred horse greets visitors to this shrine that prides itself on being the only one with horse-shaped votive tablets in the country.



Figure 3: Portrait of a *banba* made of locally grown beans. August 2015.



Figure 4: Votive tablets modeled on *banba* at Obihiro Shrine. August 2015.

It is common knowledge that the popularity of this form of racing had long been waning. In 2006, a headline in the *New York Times* proclaimed, "A Horse-Racing Tradition Lumbers Into Its Final Stretch" (Onishi 2006). By that time three out of the four former Ban'ei racetracks had closed. Now Obihiro hosts the only remaining year-round track featuring Ban'ei racing. No doubt the surprise decision by Softbank, one of Japan's largest internet and cellphone providers, to bankroll the business certainly contributed to moving it from the red to black. Still, others recognize the importance of Arakawa's repeated portrayals of Ban'ei in fostering renewed interest as a factor as well. As recently as summer of 2015, the All Nippon Airway's complimentary inflight magazine included an article on Ban'ei horse racing in their "Things Japanese" series (Yoshikai 2015). This feature obliquely references Arakawa as one of a number of famous persons who produced works that helped "save" this form of racing from extinction. A free magazine devoted to Ban'ei racing, *Pommelé* (*Pomure*), reinforces the ways that media like *Silver Spoon* has boosted the reputation of this otherwise obscure sport. The mayor of Obihiro, in the opening statement of the inaugural edition of the publication (Volume 1, 21 July 2015), claims, "movies, dramas, and many other mass media have conveyed the attraction of Ban'ei horse racing to people nationwide, and every year more people visit Obihiro Racetrack, see and experience Ban'ei racing, and feel the thrill of being its supporter."

A discernible theme of community and cooperation emerge from the promotion of Ban'ei in the *Silver Spoon* works and the later tourism materials. In the original narrative, numerous scenes and storylines depicting the intense preparations for the Ōezo High School Agricultural Festival reveal the ways students helped each other to make this event a success. They volunteer their specific expertise, ideas, and labor. In particular, students work with Aki to make a Ban'ei track that meets official specs, refurbish (read "trick out") an authentic sled, and help her prepare to compete in a competitive race. Similarly, promotional materials emphasize the cooperative nature of Ban'ei racing and the agricultural life from which it derives, both among people and between farmers and horses. The summer 2015 edition of *Pommelé* carried profiles of individual horses, features on the crucial work of farriers, interviews with jockeys, horse handlers, and stable hands, and a photo collection of the many people and animals it takes to make everything run. In one pamphlet (*Silver Spoon Personal Experience Map*) this sentiment is captured in the following catch phrase: "You can't help but be excited. [Ban'ei racing] reveals how humans and horses working as one can pull out all the stops." In this way, these campaigns leverage themes of how Ban'ei racing embodies the historically deep connection between Tokachi farmers and horses and reminds contemporary generations of Japanese of a great debt owed to agricultural communities of an earlier age.

Placing *Silver Spoon* within Tokachi's "Food Valley"

If *Silver Spoon* has put a little-known, predominately rural region of Hokkaido on the mental map of millions of devotees, Tokachi's varied tourism campaigns have endeavored to spotlight the delicious delights Tokachi has to offer. Arakawa, who was born in Hokkaido and attended the agricultural school that serves as the model for her story, specifically highlights the varied features of agricultural life and has thereby produced especially fertile ground for the promotion of the unique food products of the Tokachi area. Given the combined efforts at many levels to stimulate contents tourism, it is not surprising that in 2013 *Silver Spoon* was presented the inaugural Grand Prize of the Japan Food Culture Contents Award by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries, which are conferred to anime and manga that promote Japan's exceptional culinary history and culture to a worldwide audience.

Long before *Silver Spoon* started its serialization in 2011, the Tokachi tourism bureau had coined the motto "Food Valley Tokachi" and had been promoting the diverse food products grown and produced in this productive region. The prominent items are milk, milk products, pork, beef, lamb, potatoes, corn, sugar beets, and beans. In particular, dairy production in the Tokachi region is remarkable. It is the highest single provider of milk in all of Japan, shipping out more than 1,000,000 tons across the nation each year. A variety of milk products, cheese for instance, are made from the yield as well. *Silver Spoon*'s focus on students studying in the dairy program, the many lessons learned in coming to grips with the responsibilities involved with raising animals and slaughtering (including cute piglets) for food production, and the joys of collaborative culinary projects naturally lend themselves to tourism projects in the region.

As a focal point of my research, I took up the challenge of a *Silver Spoon* stamp rally created by the Obihiro Tourism and Convention Bureau (Figure 5). Their high-quality, six-page pamphlet is headed by the catch phrase "Let's learn as we enjoy food!" Ten characters of the much-feted manga have each been assigned a specific location in the region around Obihiro, the majority of which are connected to food production. At each place—for instance, a dairy farm that sells ice cream, a cheese shop surrounded by lush forests, a garden that serves vinegar drinks made of local beans, and a café featuring mouth-watering cheese cakes—I could stamp the head of the appropriate

character. Informational sections on milking experience, cheese production, modern farming, meat making, and the pleasure of cooking your own pizza feature iconic color images from the manga that signal key scenes related to these topics.



Figure 5: Cover page for *Silver Spoon* stamp rally, Obihiro Tourism and Convention Center. Online at: http://occi.or.jp/ginsaji_web/img/common/ginsaji.pdf [Accessed 31 March 2016] Permission to use image granted by Obihiro Tourism and Convention Center.

Some of the assignments grew organically out of the character's interests. For example the rural cheese shop NEEDS (Northern Eco Economy Developing System) is naturally connected to the plucky Yoshino Mayumi, who is delightfully obsessed with cheese making. Tokachi Farmers Restaurant is given to Inada Tamako, who has a brain finely tuned for formulating winning business plans for promoting food products. The stamp of the pet dog named Vice President waited for me at Tokachi Hills, a wide garden space with stunning views of the valley below, where he might well have liked to frolic. The sometimes ill-tempered horse, Marron (whose name at least signals a food, namely chestnuts), is assigned to Obihiro Shrine, where tourists can buy votive tablets that look like draft horses. While other links between characters and place are random, all locations have been chosen to showcase the history and natural bounty of the area. Toteppo Factory is a café, walking distance from Obihiro station, famous for its wide array of cheeses and sweets. It is named after a historical railway known for carrying enormous hauls of sugar beets into the largest city of the region. At Tokachi Millennium Forest visitors can take in picturesque views of variously themed gardens and stunning natural landscapes, enjoy the gallivanting goats whose milk is used to make cheese on site, and eat meals at one of the several restaurants there.

This stamp rally and *Silver Spoon*-inspired tourism materials more broadly have a discernible emphasis on hands-on experiences connected to making, harvesting, and eating food. In addition to the tantalizing culinary-agricultural scavenger hunt, the glossy promotional guide prepared by the Obihiro Tourism and Convention Bureau details how to get hands-on experience at no less than eighteen different locations. Visitors, much like the outsider main character Yūgo, are invited to brave new experiences. These include sausage, ice cream, cheese, and pizza making. One can also milk a cow, ride and feed horses, pet farm animals, or see up close the enormous combines used to harvest crops. Some attractions allow tourists to walk the wide fields of a farm, pluck vegetables from the earth, and eat their personally-harvested bounty at a picnic. In such activities, tourists

come in contact with real people who make their livelihood in agricultural jobs, learn of the enormous knowledge-base that is required of farmers, and hear their personal stories. Through their hands visitors get some sense of the labor involved in bringing food to the tables of Japanese across the nation and may even enjoy a sense of pride and accomplishment by enjoying the fruits of their own labor.

Conclusion: Redefining Agricultural Work

Among the many aspects of Tokachi tourism, what emerged clearly as I conducted research was a pride of place and profession. When I conducted fieldwork in the Tokachi-Obihiro area during the summer of 2015, interviews revealed that many community members were pleased to pursue a symbiotic relationship with the producers of the multi-media forms of *Silver Spoon*. Local farmers and food producers were naturally invested in and appreciated the opportunity to educate and testify to the many satisfying aspects of their occupations and lives. To a person, everyone showed great respect for Arakawa and were grateful for the ways in which her story had offered a realistic yet humanizing depiction of Tokachi farmers and agriculture-related jobs.[7]

Hirose Fumihiko, a congenial and dedicated farmer, and his wife Mayumi run Liberty Hill Hirose Farm and Uemon's Heart Ice Cream Shop. This dairy farm, which has been passed down in the family for multiple generations, was committed to educating people about dairy farming in Tokachi even before *Silver Spoon* began attracting attention. The origin story for Hirose's educational activism began with a question from a school grader: "Do you feed coffee to the cows to get coffee milk?" Stunned by the lack of basic information in the general population, Hirose remodeled his farm to include a viewing gallery for the milking rooms and designated spaces for giving lectures and making ice cream. He is an entertaining and patient educator, who uses his custom-made handouts on milk production, replete with helpful visuals and explanations of each step of the process. I accompanied a group of students who had traveled from Shizuoka on a tour, during which we saw the grounds and barns, met the new calves, tried our hands at milking a cow, and made ice cream. On his farm homepage (http://www.uemons.com/about/), Hirose states, "First I have children and consumers come to my farm, and I have them learn by seeing the actual site where we milk the cows and feeling with their own hands the preciousness of nature, food, and life." In our interview (on 28 July 2015), he stressed that what he hoped for most was to leave a lasting impression on visitors so that when they return to their daily lives they can envision the respectable lives of the animals and people who labored to provide milk for them. "When they reach for a carton of milk on the shelf of their grocery store, I want them to know what is behind it." Also a graduate of the local agricultural school, Hirose was thankful that *Silver Spoon* afforded him yet even more opportunities to carry out this mission.

At the artisanal cheese shop NEEDS, I participated in a cheese (mozzarella) and pizza making class. A master cheese maker, Mr. Suzuki, was my teacher. In our conversation (on 27 July 2015) he was especially appreciative of how *Silver Spoon* fosters a respectful understanding of a variety of agricultural professions that are too often denigrated as the "three Ds", dirty, dangerous, and demanding.[8] When I asked what he most wanted people to know, he was quick to answer: "That we make food that people put into their mouths and that we take pride in making this. That the work is not as dirty as they think." He confirmed that the company owner did not hesitate to cooperate with the stamp rally and other promotions. They are all happy to have the help in promoting their products and changing common misconceptions of agricultural work and life.

It would be misguided, however, to paint too bright a forecast for the future of local farms and farm workers in Tokachi just because *Silver Spoon* serves up a more appealing image of agricultural labor. Reality is much more complicated. In fact, the *Silver Spoon* character Inada Tomoko may be a harbinger of things to come. Tomoko, who studies agricultural finance, is obsessed with envisioning enormous, efficient factory farms. Her dreams of creating a large-scale cattle enterprise make her delirious with fantasies of massive profits. Given that Japan has signed the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), there are justifiable anxieties about the future of farming in Japan, especially meat and dairy farming.[9] Couple this with the industrialization of farming that has already appeared on the Tokachi landscape, and one must question the power of *Silver Spoon* to dramatically change what some believe to be inevitable.[10]

Still, there is some indication that *Silver Spoon* has had positive effects the likes of which Hirose and Suzuki hope for. For instance, the greater interest in programs at Obihiro Agricultural High School was confirmed in an interview with one devoted female fan, who was inspired by Arakawa's works to study for an agricultural career. A sophomore in high school, she had traveled from Honshu to attend Obihiro Agricultural High School's open house. She intends to apply to the school and become a veterinarian. Her face lights up when I ask how *Silver Spoon*—she has enjoyed all three formats many times—had inspired this life plan. She stressed that she was profoundly moved by how the works portray a deep respect for nature and animals and appreciated the message of the importance of communication between humans and animals. There is nothing hesitant in her about moving far away from her family at a young age—just like Yūgo did—to study a profession so removed from everyday expectations. She recognizes that it will be challenging, but is in no way put off by the proverbial "three Ds." Rather, she speaks confidently of the rewards of what she knows will be a meaningful vocation.

It is impossible to predict what the future holds for *Silver Spoon*-induced contents tourism now that we are five years out from the initial serialization and Arakawa has hinted she will be wrapping up the series soon.[11] These five years, however, represent an instructive study of contents tourism. With its multiple formats, *Silver Spoon* has certainly drawn out varied fan-bases to the northern reaches of Japan and every effort by local Tokachi-Obihiro constituencies has been made to welcome visitors and aid them in finding *Silver Spoon* related activities. The various campaigns appeal to individuals of all ages and families who are keen for adventure in nature with delicious food every step of the way. Tourist promotions throw in a dash of local history as well. The manga's well-informed portrayal of agricultural work lends outsiders a rare chance to see a sympathetic view of the all-too-often misunderstood farming world. Once visitors get to Tokachi, the locals gladly put on a final relish to the tourists' education, cultivating through their dedication and craftsmanship a deeper respect for Tokachi's history and their own earnest labor that brings delicious sustenance to tables across Japan. This case suggests that economic motivations, while important, are not the only reason for pursuing contents tourism. An equally strong contender is the drive to promote compelling narratives of a unique local identity, heritage, and pride.

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Notes

[1] Tokachi is one of nine subprefectures in Hokkaido. Reaching from the inner-most area of the island to the Pacific Ocean, it is the largest subprefecture, which includes a variety of microclimates. Obihiro is the only designated city and capital.

[2] It is clear that tourist officials have been asked not to reveal the name of the model school, and it appears in none of the promotional materials. Most of the live-action film shooting related to the characters' school life took place at nearby Obihiro Agricultural University. Still, all the locals know and were not in the least reticent to name the actual school—Obihiro Agricultural High School.

[3] Scott Green (2013) suggests that *Silver Spoon* re-invigorated the programing block. "There have been some concerns about the future of alternative audience programming anime block noitaminA in light of the fact that this season's continuation of *Psycho-Pass* and *Robotics;Notes* is going be followed by a spring re-airing of White Fox (*Steins;Gate*) adaptation of Nisio Isin's historical fantasy *Katanagatari*. Well, good news fans, it's about to get high profile new material with the future addition of *Silver Spoon*."

[4] Of course, there were also concerns for the tourists' and farm animals' safety—thus, the prevalent "Field Trip Manners" (*kengaku no manā*) disclaimer on many promotional materials. One advises: "We must act in ways that prevent infecting crops and animals. When visiting sites, let's enter only when we have permission, follow instructions from the establishment, and wash our hands and disinfect our shoes."

[5] Pocket Dairy app. Online at: http://noitamina.tv/game/ginsaji/ [Accessed 31 March 2016].

[6] Aaron Skabelund (2016) offers an insightful chapter on Hokkaido war horses and memory making that has a section devoted to Tokachi, wherein he discusses Ban'ei.

[7] For an in-depth analysis on a synergetic and mutually beneficial relationship between local parties and copyright holders, see Yamamura Takayoshi's work on the contents tourism spurred by anime *Lucky Star* in Washimiya, Saitama (Yamamura 2015).

[8] In English these are known as the "three Ds," while in Japanese they are known as the "three Ks," namely *kitanai*, *kiken*, and *kitsui*.

[9] The agreement was signed on 5 October 2015. Both the small-scale dairy farmer Hirose and cheese-maker Suzuki, whom I interviewed in July of that year, expressed their concerns about TPP. For basic information on TPP and Japan see Pollmann (2015).

[10] Interview, Paul Hansen, 1 August 2015. See also Hansen's (2014) stimulating article, "Hokkaido's Frontiers: Blurred Embodiments, shared effects and the evolution of dairy farming animal-human-machine."

[11] The Anime News Network (2015) reports that in Volume 13 (June 2015) Arakawa noted, "the climax of the manga's story will be 'imminent.'" The exact date is unclear.

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Text, Context and Critique (Stanford UP, 2012, with Helen J.S. Lee)等がある。マンガについて高い関心を持ち、“Writing Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the 21st Century: A New Generation of Historical Manga” in The Asia-Pacific Journal (2009) や“Bodies of Anger: Atomic Survivors in Nakazawa Keiji’s Black Series Manga” in Rewriting History in Manga: Stories for the Nation (Palgrave, 2016, Eds. Nissim Otamazgin and Rebecca Suter)といったマンガに関する著作もある。今回の『銀の匙 Silver Spoon』に関する論文もこうした一連のマンガ研究の流れに位置づけられるものである。

About the *International Journal of Contents Tourism*

The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* (www.cats.hokudai.ac.jp/ijct) is an open-access, refereed scholarly journal exploring the phenomenon of ‘contents tourism’, defined as travel behaviour motivated fully or partially by narratives, characters, locations and other creative elements of popular culture forms, including film, television dramas, manga, anime, novels and computer games. IJCT publishes articles of various lengths, from original research papers through to short blog entries. It is based at Hokkaido University, Japan, and the editors-in-chief are Professor Philip Seaton (Research Faculty of Media and Communication) and Professor Takayoshi Yamamura (Center for Advanced Tourism Studies).

International Journal of Contents Tourism

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コンテンツツーリズムとしてのポップカルチャーイベント：TOYAKO マンガ・アニメフェスタの事例を通して

張　慶在

アブストラクト：　本リサーチノートでは、コンテンツツーリズムとイベントツーリズムの側面から、コンテンツをテーマにするイベントの特徴について明らかにする。具体的には、北海道洞爺湖町で行われる「TOYAKO マンガ・アニメフェスタ」（TMAF）に対する参与観察をもとに、参加者の参加形態を分析する。TMAF は、ポップカルチャーコンテンツをテーマとするイベントであり、2010 年からはじまった。初年度の 3 千人から年々参加者が増え、2015 年には約 6 万人が参加した。TMAF では、ポップカルチャーコンテンツが観光を誘発する要素の一つであり、そういう意味で TMAF に対する観光はコンテンツツーリズムと言うことができる。一方、TMAF はフェスティバル形式のイベントであり、イベントが観光を誘発するイベントツーリズムの特徴も見られる。TMAF に参加する観光客の実際の観光パターンからは、既存のコンテンツツーリズムとイベントツーリズムとは少々異なる特徴が見られる。TMAF において参加者は、観光客であると同時に、場の雰囲気を作るホストのような役割をする。また、伝統的にはホストに属する地域住民がゲストのような役割をすることもある。TMAF の事例を通して、コンテンツツーリズム、イベントツーリズムなどポップカルチャーイベントをめぐるダイナミックな観光の在り方が見られる。

Abstract: This research note analyses pop-culture-related festivals as contents tourism based on participant observation at the Toyako Manga Anime Festa (TMAF). TMAF began in 2010 and is an annual festival on the theme of manga and anime. There were 3,000 participants in the first year. Numbers have increased year by year and in 2015 there were almost 60,000 participants during the two days of the festival. Pop culture contents help to induce visitation to Toyako town, therefore participation in TMAF can be called a form of contents tourism. Conversely, TMAF has a festival format which includes many exhibitions, therefore participation in TMAF can also be called event tourism. Meanwhile, the behaviour of participants at TMAF consists of various travel patterns which belong to neither contents tourism nor event tourism. Attendees participate simultaneously as festival performers and as visitors to the event. Also, residents of Toyako town, who do not treat participants as tourists as in the traditional host/guest theory of tourism studies, tend to behave like tourists at TMAF. As a result, the dynamic patterns of tourism related to pop culture as seen at TMAF constitute a synergistic blend of contents tourism and event tourism.

キーワード：コンテンツ、イベント、観光、TOYAKO マンガ・アニメフェスタ

はじめに

「コンテンツツーリズム（contents tourism）」とは、「物語・作品には、必ず複数のコンテンツ（ストーリー、キャラクター、ロケーション、サウンドトラックなど）が存在する」（Beeton *et al*. 2013=2015, p.3）ことを前提に、そうしたコンテンツが誘発する観光を意味する。コンテンツツーリズムにおいてコンテンツは、直接に人を関連した場所へ導く役割をする。ところで、最近では、コンテンツをテーマとするイベントが各地で行われている。コンテンツ関連のイベントには、特定の作品の舞台となった場所など、コンテンツと関連する地域で行われることもあるが、そうではない場所で行われることも多い。イベントの形態としては、コンテンツ関連商品のプロモーションや販売を主な目的とする「コンベンション」、ファンが作った同人誌など二次創作作品の販売を主たる目的とする「同人誌即売会」、地域活性化などを目的として行われる「フェスティバル」などに分類することができる。ただし、一つのイベントに複数の形態が同時に見られることが多い。

さて、観光学においてイベントは、「イベントツーリズム（event tourism）」として研究されてきた（Getz 1991; 2005; 2008 など）。Getz（2008）は、イベントツーリズムにおけるイベントを「ビジネスイベント」、「スポーツイベント」、「フェスティバル並びにその他イベント」に分類する（Getz 2008, pp.411-413）。前述したコンテンツをテーマとするイベントやそのイベントに伴う観光は、既存のイベントツーリズムの概念に完全には当てはまらない。例えば、イベントツーリズムにおいて「フェスティバル」は、着地の文化に基づいたものを指す。しかし、コンテンツをテーマとするイベントの多くは、地域の文化・歴史などと直接関係を持たない。そういう意味でコンテンツをテーマとするイベントの場合「コンベンション」に近いと言えるが、形式からは「フェスティバル」に近いものも多く見られる。それ故、コンテンツをテーマにするイベントを既存のイベントツーリズムではっきり定義することは難しい。

本リサーチノートでは、コンテンツツーリズムとイベントツーリズム両方の側面から、コンテンツをテーマとするイベントの特徴を明らかにする。具体的には、北海道洞爺湖町で毎年行われている「TOYAKO マンガ・アニメフェスタ」に対する参与観察をもとに、参加の形態と主催者、参加者の関係について分析する。

TOYAKO マンガ・アニメフェスタ



写真 1　洞爺湖の全景（右側が TMAF が行われる温泉街、筆者撮影）

TOYAKO マンガ・アニメフェスタ（以下、TMAF と略す）は、2010 年から北海道洞爺湖町で行われているマンガとアニメをテーマとするイベントである（写真１）。毎年 6 月の週末に 2 日間行われる。TMAF は、多様なプログラムから構成されており、大きく「公式」プログラムと「協力」プログラムの二つに分類できる。「公式」プログラムは、洞爺湖の住民で構成されている TMAF の実行委員会が、直接主催する又は主催に深く関わるものであり、コスプレコンテスト、痛車展示、同人誌即売会、コスプレダンスパーティー、TMAF オリジナル劇場、アイドルステージ、公式展示が含まれる。一方「協力」プログラムは、実行委員会以外の個人または団体が実行委員会の許諾を得て開催するものであり、2015 年には、エーデルワイスカフェ、アジアフィルム上映会、天体観測などが実施された。プログラムの中には、洞爺湖地域を舞台または地名が登場するマンガ、例えば、アニメの『天体のメソッド』などに関連するものもあるが、ほとんどは地域と直接な関係を持たない。TMAF の参加者数は、初年度の 2010 年に 3,000 人から毎年増加し、2015 年には約 6 万人が参加した（Yamamura 2015, p.43）。

以上の概要とプログラムの内容から、TMAF はコンテンツが観光を誘発するコンテンツツーリズムに分類することができる。ただし、この場合、鎗水（2015）が指摘しているように、具体的な作品とのつながりが少ない場所を対象として行われる観光をコンテンツツーリズムと呼ぶことができるのかが問題となる（鎗水 2015, pp.191-192）。一方、TMAF はイベントツーリズムにおいて「テーマのある催し」と定義されている「フェスティバル」に当てはまるとも言える（Getz 2005, p.21）。しかし、この場合においても、Getz におけるフェスティバルとは、主に宗教や地域の文化・歴史と深く関連しているものであり、TMAF の場合、そうした地域とのつながりは弱い（写真２）。

さらに、TMAF では、一般的な観光における主催者と訪問者、即ちホストとゲストの関係の逆転が見られる。例えば、コスチュームプレイ（コスプレ）をする人や痛車というキャラクターを装飾した車の展示に参加する人は、鎗水（2015）が「自身がイベントのコンテンツとなる」と述べているように（鎗水 2015, p.193）、参加者であると同時にフェスティバルを構成する重要な要素でもある。そうした参加者は、空間のイメージを作ることで、TMAF 全体の雰囲気を作る役割をする。また、地域住民は、ホストであると同時に、コスプレをして参加する、もしくは様々なプログラムに観客として参加する参加者、すなわちゲストの役割をすることもある。



写真２　TMAF2014 でのコスプレ・痛車パレード（2014 年 6 月、筆者撮影）

TMAF における参加者の参加形態

ここでは、TMAF における具体的な参加形態を、コスプレイヤー、痛車参加者、その他参加者に分類する。

コスプレイヤー

コスプレイヤー（レイヤーとも呼ぶ）は、マンガ、アニメーション、ゲームなどコンテンツのキャラクターに扮して楽しむ人のことを言う。TMAF 全体の参加者数に対する割合は大きくないものの（10%以下）、会場、さらに地域全体の雰囲気を作るという点で、コスプレイヤーは TMAF において最も重要な役割を果たしていると言える。TMAF では、洞爺湖温泉街全体でコスプレが可能となっており、コスプレイヤーは身体の動き即ち観光学で言う「パフォーマンス」を通して、コンテンツのイメージを流動的に街に拡散する。

ここでは、コスプレの定義とともに、TMAF におけるコスプレ参加形態について述べる。英単語の costume と play からできた和製英語の「コスプレ（cosplay）」は、いまや世界中で定着している。例えば、Oxford English Dictionary（以下、OED）は、日本で作られた新しい英単語として cosplay について、“Originally in Japan: the **action** or **pastime** of dressing up in costume, esp. as a character from anime, manga, or video games; **performances** involving people dressed in this way”と定義している（Oxford University Press 2015. 強調、下線は筆者）。

この定義は、具体的な行動のパターンを示している点で、「漫画・アニメ・コンピューターゲームなどの登場人物の衣装・ヘアスタイルなどをそっくりそのままねて変装・変身すること」（小学館 大辞泉編集部 2012, p.1313）とされている日本の定義より詳しい。おそらく、自然発生して使われ続けた日本における和製英語の「コスプレ」と比べ、新たな概念として受け入れる際に、より精緻な議論が行われたと考えられる。本稿では、OED の定義をもとに、具体的にコスプレが如何に行われるのかについて、コスチュームとプレイ（演技“action”、遊び“pastime”、パフォーマンス“performance”）に分けて整理する。

まず、コスチュームについてである。初期のコスプレにおいては、着ることのみならず、作ることがコスプレの条件だった。しかし、今は自作を含めて既成品の一部を加工することや、完成品を購入して着ることもコスプレと見なす。一方、コスプレのコスチュームは、大きく衣装と造形に分類できる。衣装とは裁縫が中心になる制作であり、造形は発泡プラスチックなどで立体的なコスチュームを作ることである。筆者が 2014 年から香港、台湾、韓国、フランス、チュニジアで行った参与観察によると、主に地域によって好みが別れ、東アジアでは衣装を中心に造形を付加する傾向があり、ヨーロッパ、アフリカなどでは、ゲームキャラクターの造形が人気である。

次に、プレイ部分の演技(action)、遊び(pastime)、パフォーマンス(performance)について整理する。演技とは、コスプレイヤーが扮したキャラクターを完璧に再現した衣装を着て、行動、セリフなどを模倣することである。演技は、人に見せるというより、キャラクターに対する愛情を自ら表現することである。遊びは、全てのコスプレに見られる本質的な要素の一つであるが、ここで言う遊びとは、演技目的のコスプレイヤーと対比される、軽い感覚でコスプレをする人を意味する。たとえば、韓国のコスプレイヤーの行動を分析したコエランとシンミラン（2005）は、こうしたグループに対し「楽しさを追求する愛嬌集団」と表現している（コエラン・ シンミラン 2005, p.926）。このパターンの参加者は、カジュアルなコスプレを追求し、衣装の完成度やキャラクターの再現より、イベントを楽しむ要素の一つとしてコスプレをする。最近日本では、ハロウィーンイベントなどでマンガやアニメの扮装をすることが多くなっているが、そうした集団がここで言う遊びに近いと言える。最後に、パフォーマンスは、観客を想定し舞台の上で定められた時間にアニメの寸劇や創作劇を演出することである。日本を代表するコスプレイベントの一つである「ワールドコスプレサミット」は、こうした舞台での公演をメインイベントとする行事であり、世界各国で同様のイベントが行われている。

さて、TMAF では、コスチュームにおける衣装と造形、プレイにおける演技、遊び、パフォーマンスの全ての参加形態が見られる。日本でここまで多様な形態のコスプレが見られるイベントはそう多くな

い。その理由として、自由な雰囲気の地域祭として TMAF を作っている主催者の企画があげられる。一般的に日本のイベントでのコスプレは、コスプレが可能な区域が厳しく制限されている。野外でコスプレをすることを禁じる法律があるわけではないが、日本社会ではいわゆるオタクと呼ばれるコンテンツファンに対する否定的な認識があり、主催者は自主規制としてコスプレの空間を制限している。そうした空間の制限は、コスプレイベントを閉鎖的なものとし、参加のハードルを上げる。一方、TMAF は街全体でコスプレが可能なフェスティバルである。空間が自由になることで、自然に参加のハードルも下がり、コスプレの経験のない人でも、遊びのように、即ち前述の分類における「遊び」としてコスプレができる雰囲気が定着した。また、これまで制限された空間でコスプレをしていた演技・遊び目的のコスプレイヤーにとっても、開放的な TMAF の雰囲気は、より良いコスプレ、そして写真撮影の環境を提供する（写真 3）。さらに TMAF の主催者には、演劇に興味を持つ人がいて、毎年パフォーマンスに興味を持つ北海道のコスプレイヤーと協力し、主催する住民が書いたオリジナル演劇を上演している。こうした住民主導の劇企画は、他のコスプレイベントではあまり見られない TMAF の特徴であり、パフォーマンス要素を高めると同時に、形態としては、住民が企画・制作した歌舞伎などを公演していた日本の伝統的な地域際とも類似する。



写真３　TMAF2010 でコスプレイヤーを撮影する参加者（2010 年 6 月、筆者撮影）

TMAF のコスプレ参加の特徴を表す具体的な数字として、コスプレイヤーが集まるソーシャルネットワークサービス（以下、SNS）への参加表明人数と実際の参加人数の比較が挙げられる。コスプレイベントなどポップカルチャー分野の専門ライターである竹馬靖明氏は、一般的にコスプレイベントに参加するコスプレイヤーの数は、SNS に参加を表明した人数の 1.5 倍程度だが、TMAF の場合、SNS に参加表明をした 2 倍以上のコスプレイヤーが参加すると述べた（2015 年 6 月 28 日に行った聞き取りより）。実際に TMAF2015 では、コスプレ SNS である「アーカイブ」を通して参加表明をした人が 1,487 人だったのに比べ、2 日間で約 3 千人（主催者発表）のコスプレイヤーが参加した。SNS で参加表明をしていないコスプレイヤー参加者の参加形態や目的については、まだ完全に明らかになってはいないが、一つ考えられるのは、「遊び」を目的とする地域住民や家族のコスプレである。

まず、地域住民のコスプレについてである。コスプレで参加する地域住民は、TMAF の主催に関わる人とかかわらない人の両方を含む。住民のコスプレ参加は、TMAF の独特な雰囲気を作ることに貢献する。住民のコスプレには、いくつかのパターンが見られる。まず、主催者によるコスプレである。主催

者には、コンテンツに非常に興味を持っている人がいて、そうした人はキャラクターを忠実に再現した衣装または造形のコスプレをする。次に、地域の商業施設、公共施設関係者によるコスプレである。TMAFの期間中には、洞爺湖温泉街全体がコスプレ可能な区域となり、雰囲気を盛り上げるために地域の各施設関係者がコスプレをする。例えば、地域の郵便局、ホテル、コンビニの店員によるコスプレなどが見られる。こうした施設関係者のコスプレの中には、キャラクターと関係のないコスプレもある。2014 年に行われた TMAF2014 では、焼酎ブランドのイイチコのパックをモチーフにした造形を作って参加した温泉街の宿泊施設の従業員がいた。この場合、厳密にコスプレとは言いがたいが、住民（に準ずる従業員）が積極的に参加したことから、むしろ他の参加者からも好評を得た。

次に、家族コスプレである。TMAF では、スーパー戦隊シリーズや『きかんしゃトーマス』、『ワンピース』、『魔法少女まどか☆マギカ』、スタジオジブリの作品などのコスプレを家族全員で行っている例が見られる。そうした家族コスプレには、住民ではない参加者家族のコスプレも見られ、その数は毎年増えている。その原因は明らかではないが、気軽にコスプレができる雰囲気が作られ、その情報がメディアを通して北海道内に拡散したことが一つの理由として考えられる。こうした子供、家族コスプレは、他の日本のコスプレイベントでは例の少ない、TMAF のコスプレ参加の特徴である。

ただし、こうした層の中にも SNS で参加表明をした参加者がいると思われるし、そもそも竹馬氏が指摘しているように、SNS で参加表明をする目的が完全に明らかになってはいないため、今後さらなる検証が必要である。

痛車参加者

次に、痛車参加者についてである。痛車は、マンガ、アニメ、ゲームのキャラクターのデコレーションを施した車のことを言う。辞書的な意味として、デジタル版イミダスは、「痛車とは、アニメやゲームなどのキャラクターのステッカーを貼ったり、それらのペイントや、改造を施した車のこと。東京の秋葉原や、コミックマーケットなど大規模な同人誌即売会の駐車場などに出没する」と定義している（集英社 2015）。一般的に、広報やプロモーション目的の車は含まれず、ファンが作った個人用の車のみ痛車と呼ばれる。痛車はコスプレと比べ海外には普及、定着していない。筆者の参与観察によると、韓国で最も大きいイベントである「ソウルコミックワールド」では、駐車場に数台の痛車が展示されている程度で、台湾の高雄市で行われている「Wingstage」イベントにおいても、自動車ではなく原付（原動機付き自転車）にマンガやアニメのキャラクターを装飾したものが、駐車場と会場に数台展示されている程度だった。TMAF2015 の痛車展示に登録して参加した痛車は、1 日 60 台である。自動車愛好家が集まる SNS「みんから」内に登録されているグループ「北海道・痛車の友の会 (itaho)」のイベントを分析すると、イベントでの平均参加台数は 30〜40 台であり、TMAF2015 における一日 60 台は、北海道内ではほぼ最大の水準である（北海道・痛車の友の会, 2015）。

痛車は、車主の嗜好にはよるが、自己満足として装飾することと積極的に見せるために装飾するパターンが挙げられる。TMAF における痛車参加者には、積極的な参加が見られる。TMAF の実行委員会は、北海道の痛車サークルと協力し、2 日間痛車の展示と授賞式を行う。参加者は、会場に自分の痛車を公開し、一部の痛車オーナーはキャラクターグッズを飾るなどより痛車が目立つように見せ方の細工をする。そして、夜間には、LED など照明を設置する人もいる。さらに、初日の開会式では 24 台の痛車が TMAF のオープニングパレードの先頭に出るなど、実行委員会と協力し一緒に場を盛り上げることが見られる。こうした展示での参加や公式イベントでの参与を通して、痛車は TMAF を構成し、場の雰囲気を作る要素となる。

一方、痛車は移動手段でもあり、北海道外から痛車で TMAF に参加する人も増えている。こうした参加者のなかには、北海道旅行を兼ねて TMAF に参加する人もいる。2015 年 6 月 27 日に洞爺湖文化センターの痛車展示場で行った痛車参加者への聞き取りによると、東京と大分からそれぞれ TMAF2015 に参加した男性 2 人は、TMAF の 1 周間前にフェリーに車を乗せて北海道に来て、痛車で北海道全道を旅行したと述べた。TMAF は彼らの最後の旅行目的地であり、イベントが終わるとまたフェリーで東京・大分へ戻ると言う。

その他参加者

TMAF には、コスプレや痛車参加ではないコンテンツのファンも参加する。こうしたファンの目的は、同人誌の頒布や、その年に参加する声優やアイドルのイベントに参加することである。例えば、TMAF2015 では、人気アニメ『名探偵コナン』と『ワンピース』の声優がゲストとして参加した。ただし、同人誌頒布やゲストイベントを目的とする参加は、観察を通して見る限り、コスプレや痛車参加者に比して、相対的に少ない。

他にも、マンガやアニメのファンではない、フェスティバルとしての雰囲気を味わうために参加する人や偶然洞爺湖に来た観光客が TMAF に参加することもある。洞爺湖は、北海道の有名な温泉観光地であり、旅行中に TMAF に参加するパターンである。2015 年 6 月 28 日に洞爺湖文化センター2 階で行った聞き取りによると、千葉県から来た 2 人の夫婦は、旅行中に偶然 TMAF の開催を知って参加したと述べ、展示や屋内イベントを中心に TMAF 会場を周る予定であると述べた。また、6 月 27 日に温泉街周辺の湖畔では、韓国人の団体観光客十数名が、温泉街を散歩しながらコスプレ参加者と写真を撮る姿が確認された。

おわりに

本稿では、コンテンツをテーマにするイベントの特徴について、北海道洞爺湖町で毎年行われている「TOYAKO マンガ・アニメフェスタ」（TMAF）における参与観察にもとづいて分析した。TMAF は、マンガとアニメなどコンテンツをテーマとしているが、一般的なコンテンツツーリズムのように、特定のコンテンツが、そのコンテンツに関連する場所へ旅を誘発するわけではない。むしろ、コンテンツは毎年変わると言っても良いほどだ。一方、イベントツーリズムにおけるフェスティバルのように、地域文化や歴史が誘発する観光の形態とも言いがたい。

TMAF の特徴としては、第一に、参加者が、結果的に観光の対象になることである。鎗水（2015）が述べているように、コスプレイヤーや痛車の集合は、それ自体がコンテンツとなって人を呼び寄せる（鎗水 2015, p.193）。ただし、そうした状況は、主催者が意図したものではなく、年々TMAF が回を重ねる毎に自然に作られてきたものである。第二に、TMAF では、他の日本のコンテンツ関連のイベントではあまり見られない、いわゆる初心者や家族の遊び目的のコスプレ参加が見られる。その理由としては、コスプレが可能な空間を街全体に設定したこと、そのうえでさらに関係者や住民が積極的にコスプレをすることで、自由な雰囲気でコスプレができる文化を作ったことなどが考えられる。

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ジャン・ギョンゼ： 北海道大学観光学高等研究センター博士研究員。博士（観光学）。専門はオーセンティシティ論。観光空間におけるオーセンティシティの形成について、コンテンツ・ツーリズム、先住民族ツーリズムなどの事例を通じて、理論的・実証的研究を行っている。

*International Journal of Contents Tourism*について

International Journal of Contents Tourism（http://www.cats.hokudai.ac.jp/ijct）は、「コンテンツ・ツーリズム」現象に関する論文、研究ノート、書評等を掲載する、オープンアクセスのウェブ・ジャーナルです。本誌では「コンテンツ・ツーリズム」を、ポピュラー・カルチャー（映画、テレビドラマ、マンガ、アニメ、小説、ゲーム等）が内包する、様々な創作的要素（creative elements。例えば物語、キャラクター、舞台等）が、主たる、あるいは部分的なきっかけ・動機となる旅行行動と定義しています。本誌の編集・運営事務局は北海道大学観光学高等研究センターに設置され、共同編集責任者をシートン・フィリップ（北海道大学メディアコミュニケーション研究院教授）と山村高淑（同観光学高等研究センター教授）が務めます。

International Journal of Contents Tourism

1.3 Book Review

International Journal of Contents Tourism

Center for Advanced Tourism Studies
HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY
北海道大学 観光学高等研究センター

Book Review

森岡　毅 (Morioka Tsuyoshi).『USJのジェットコースターはなぜ後ろ向きに走ったのか？』 *(Why does a roller coaster at USJ run backwards?).* Tokyo: Kadokawa, 2014. 256 pp. ¥1,400 (+tax), ISBN 978-4041106976.

Reviewed by: Philip Seaton (Hokkaido University).

Morioka Tsuyoshi is the chief marketing officer widely credited by the Japanese media with turning around the fortunes of Universal Studios Japan (USJ). USJ visitor numbers dropped from eleven million, when it opened in 2001, to between seven and eight million in 2009-2010. Morioka joined USJ from cosmetics giant Proctor and Gamble in 2010 and was the marketing brains behind a number of innovative attractions which saw visitor numbers climb steeply in the period 2010-2014 back to over ten million. These included the idea, as in the book's title, of having a roller coaster that ran backwards (Hollywood Dream – The Ride – Backdrop), but also the introduction of horror attractions during Halloween, the development of an area for young visitors (Universal Wonderland), and The Wizarding World of Harry Potter, a forty-five billion yen attraction that opened in 2014.

While this is not an academic book, Morioka is a tireless researcher of his target markets and the contents/brands associated with USJ attractions. Furthermore, he presents a clear method/framework for generating business ideas and putting them into practice. As such, it is a hugely important book presenting corporate perspectives on contents tourism written by a leading practitioner. Written in an accessible style for a general audience, it gives a fascinating insider account of how contents tourism is designed, managed and marketed at one of Japan's top theme parks.

Morioka starts by debunking media representations of him as the man who turned around USJ. He credits Glenn Gumpel, the CEO who hired him, for starting the turnaround. The book focuses on the period after Morioka arrived and how he got the ideas for new attractions that resulted in home run after home run (this baseball analogy appears repeatedly throughout the book). In Chapter 1, he describes three 'rockets', or fundamental aims: first, making USJ appealing to a wider audience than just film fans; second, introducing the 'wow' factor by creating spectacular, unforgettable attractions; and third, shaking up USJ corporate culture.

Chapter 2 describes Morioka's battle to change corporate culture. He wanted to continue a strategy begun by Gumpel of making USJ more than just an American film theme park. For Morioka, film was only one format among many. He saw USJ's role as being a site of entertainment using the best brands and attractions available. This required shifting the corporate culture from brand name (Universal) to brand quality (world-class entertainment) (p. 43). In effect, this changed USJ from a site of American-film-induced tourism to a site of American film plus Japanese contents tourism. Morioka's first full year at USJ, 2011, was the park's tenth anniversary year, but the mood of 'self-restraint' (*jishuku*) following the 3/11 disaster caused a massive drop in visitor numbers. However, a successful campaign of allowing children to enter for free (supported by local politicians also keen to break the mood of self-restraint) and the introduction of horror attractions, such as zombie actors wandering the park after dark, during the Halloween season later in 2011 proved highly popular.

The next three chapters introduce various case studies. Chapter 3 describes the development of the Monster Hunter attraction based on a Japanese computer game. The hundreds of hours Morioka spent playing the game in order to understand fans' perspectives indicate his dedication to fan/guest research. Chapter 4 describes the achievement of the first 'rocket' of making USJ a park for all ages by having a themed zone especially for three- to six-year-olds: Universal Wonderland. Chapter 5 describes how USJ sustained growth in visitor numbers into 2013 despite very little cash being available (The Wizarding World of Harry Potter was by now under construction) by successfully renovating The Amazing Adventures of Spider-man - The Ride 4K3D and introducing the backwards roller coaster.

Having introduced these case studies of successful attraction development (albeit not without opposition to Morioka's ideas from some USJ employees, and often at the cost of great personal stress for Morioka), in Chapter 6 he introduces his 'innovative framework'. This is the practical heart of the book, which is sold as a how-to manual for business people seeking good business ideas. There are four keywords: framework, reapply, stock and commitment.

The framework section introduces three methods: the first is a strategic planning approach in which goals are set, a strategy to achieve them is considered, and then the plan is put into action; the second is a numerical approach in which the solution is found by a process of elimination and deduction; and the marketing approach focuses on building brand recognition. Meanwhile, 'reapply' means not being afraid to borrow/adapt ideas of other people that have worked; 'stock' refers to developing a large reservoir of experience; and 'commitment' speaks of the need to not give up. While none of these techniques are particularly revolutionary, they need to be well planned and methodically applied. Furthermore, not all good ideas result in complete success. The chapter ends with Morioka describing some of the practical problems faced when creating the critically well-received but financially unsuccessful Biohazard The Real attraction.

Chapter 7 is really a preview of the soon-to-open Wizarding World of Harry Potter (the book came out around the time the attraction opened). This chapter is more promotional than analytical, but restates the commitment of USJ to producing attractions of high quality with meticulous attention to detail. The conclusions restate the main points of the book and Morioka's commitment to push continually for new, innovative ideas and to open new markets.

In sum, this is an accessible and engaging first-hand account by someone who has had considerably more big hits than misses when creating contents tourism attractions. It is a salient reminder to academic researchers that theory does not need to be complicated. Sometimes simple concepts and methods work best. Morioka's numerous successes demonstrate that the real skill is being able to apply simple theory well in practical situations.

About the *International Journal of Contents Tourism*

The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* (www.cats.hokudai.ac.jp/ijct) is an open-access, refereed scholarly journal exploring the phenomenon of 'contents tourism', defined as travel behaviour motivated fully or partially by narratives, characters, locations and other creative elements of popular culture forms, including film, television dramas, manga, anime, novels and computer games. IJCT publishes articles of various lengths, from original research papers through to short blog entries. It is based at Hokkaido University, Japan, and the editors-in-chief are Professor Philip Seaton (Research Faculty of Media and Communication) and Professor Takayoshi Yamamura (Center for Advanced Tourism Studies).

International Journal of Contents Tourism

Constitution

International Journal of Contents Tourism

Center for Advanced Tourism Studies
HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY
北海道大学 観光学高等研究センター

IJCT Constitution

About IJCT

The *International Journal of Contents Tourism* (hereafter IJCT) is an open-access scholarly journal exploring the phenomenon of "contents tourism".

IJCT has three main aims:

1. To publish scholarly research into the theory and practice of contents tourism from an international perspective.
2. To provide a bilingual forum in which researchers, tourism- or media-industry practitioners and fans can all contribute writings on contents tourism.
3. To integrate an analytical concept that emerged in Japan into global discourses on the linkages between popular culture and tourism.

IJCT publishes articles in 4 formats:

1. Original Research Articles: These are articles of around 8,000 words inclusive of endnotes but excluding the bibliography. They can include cases studies and conceptual pieces. They are fully referenced using the Harvard citation system. The research must be original work that has not been published anywhere else.
2. Research Notes and Review Articles: These are articles of around 2,000-4,000 words inclusive of endnotes but excluding the bibliography. Research notes describe current/ongoing research projects. Review articles discuss trends and issues in the contents tourism literature. They are fully referenced using the Harvard citation system.
3. Book Reviews: These review important books connected to contents tourism. They are 800-1000 words.
4. Postcards: These are short pieces of 100-300 words accompanied by a photograph. They are blog-style articles and may be submitted by anyone worldwide regardless of academic credentials.

The journal is bilingual. Articles may be published in English or Japanese. All original research articles, research notes and review articles must have abstracts both in English and Japanese.

The journal has been established and is maintained as part of JSPS Grant (Kiban A) Number 26243007, International Comparative Research into the Reception and Transmission of Culture via "Contents Tourism", grant period 2014-2019.

Research Ethics

Articles of any type must be the original work of the author. Articles that are slanderous, libelous, or offensive beyond the reasonable bounds of critical scholarly discourse will be rejected. Following publication, if any evidence of research malpractice by contributors is discovered (including plagiarizing the work of others, falsification or fabrication of research results, and copyright infringement), the article will be removed from publication and the author will be banned from contributing to the journal in the future.

Editorial Committee

IJCT is based at Hokkaido University and hosted on the website of the Center for Advanced Tourism Studies. The Center for Advanced Tourism Studies acts as auditor for the journal and ensures that IJCT is run according to its constitution.

The two editors-in-chief of the journal are Professor Philip Seaton and Professor Takayoshi Yamamura. They are responsible for the day-to-day running of the journal and have final decision-making authority regarding the academic content of the journal.

Members of the International Advisory Committee advise the editors-in-chief and referee papers in their areas of expertise. As of April 2015, the members of the International Advisory Committee are (in alphabetical order):

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New members of the International Advisory Committee may be appointed by the editors-in-chief.

Revisions to the constitution of IJCT are suggested by the editors-in-chief and approved by the members of the International Advisory Committee and the Director of the Center for Advanced Tourism Studies.

Refereeing Process

IJCT is a fully refereed journal. All publications (including those by the editors-in-chief, members of the International Advisory Committee or the Center for Advanced Tourism Studies) must pass the following review process.

Upon receipt of an article submitted to IJCT, it is assigned to a managing editor. The managing editor is either one of the two journal editors-in-chief, or a member of the International Advisory Committee nominated by the editors-in-chief. The managing editor is responsible for taking the article from submission through to publication, or final rejection.

Articles are published following a decision to accept the article by the referees and managing editor. The refereeing process does not follow a simple accept/reject model but is constructive: articles whose content is considered to be of relevance to the journal but require a longer process of review and resubmission may go through multiple refereeings.

Original Research Articles:

1. Open refereeing by the managing editor
2. Double-blind refereeing by one referee (the author and referee do not know each others' identities)
3. Refereeing by one other person (open, blind or double-blind at the discretion of the managing editor)

Research Notes and Review Articles:

1. Open refereeing by the managing editor
2. Refereeing by one other person (open, blind or double-blind at the discretion of the managing editor)

Book Reviews:

Book reviews are commissioned by one of the editors-in-chief, who acts as managing editor. However, the editors-in-chief will consider offers to review a particular book from potential reviewers and reserve the right to reject reviews that do not meet the journal's standards.

Postcards:

Postcards are not constrained by academic conventions (although the text must be the original work of the contributor) and are equivalent to a blog posting. Postcards are reviewed by the editors-in-chief before publication.

Publication Process

After acceptance of an article, it is formatted using IJCT style and converted into a pdf file.

The proofs are sent to authors for final checking. Revised proofs will be sent to authors until there are no further corrections.

The article is uploaded and announced via IJCT's social media.

Any revisions to articles by authors after final publication must be accompanied by an erratum statement.

At the end of the calendar year, all Original Research Articles, Research Notes, Review Articles and Book Reviews are published as part of the Center for Advanced Tourism Studies journal series. Once the print version has been published, no further revisions to the online article will be accepted under any circumstances.

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