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Reforming Heritage and Tourism in Occupied Kyoto (1945-1952)

How to Create Peace when Surrounded by the Atmosphere of War

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Abstract: This paper investigates the process of creating Kyoto's cultural value as heritage during the occupation period (1945-1952). Investigating tourism, the paper reports on the practices of various actors, including SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers), the national government, Kyoto's local government, Kyoto's tourism industry, and American soldiers, and considers tourism as a contributor to the process of creating the cultural value of "peace." By focusing on the touristic dynamism of "staging peace" and "gazing peace," the paper highlights the characteristic of "virtual peace" that acted as a cultural representation of the dichotomy of war and peace in a chaotic post-war space.

Previous researches on the occupation period presupposed a one-way relationship between the occupiers and occupied, which makes it impossible to explain how Kyoto remained a famous tourist destination at a time when "Japanese culture" was prohibited by SCAP. This research found that, from a tourism perspective, there was in fact a collaborative process at work. While SCAP expunged the former imperialistic and militaristic concept of heritage, they replaced it with the dominant global heritage discourse where other elements of Japanese heritage were admissible.

The paper discusses why people travelled to Kyoto at this time. Occupier personnel selected Kyoto for tourism because they felt it was less ravaged by war than other places in Japan. Kyoto was able to position itself as a tourist location with a thousand years of history because, in fact, the city did suffer less damage from the war. Finally, I conclude that the peace in post-war Kyoto had the characteristics of "virtual peace," which was staged by the tourism industry and gazed by tourists, while also hiding and allowing an escape from the war.

Keywords: post-war Japan's history, history of tourism, U.S. soldiers, Kyoto, peace

Introduction

Kyoto has hosted many tourists both from abroad and Japan since the 1930s (Kudō 2008a). With a long history as a tourist city, in 1950 the Kyoto city government established a law that permitted them to acquire financial support

for tourism development from the Japanese government. At the Diet, the mayor maintained that Kyoto was the world's most appropriate city for tourism because it was only one which had kept a record of its thousand-year history.

Kyoto was remembered as an ancient capital in the world alongside Rome, Pekin, Thebes, Athens, and Pyongyang. When Rome, Pekin, and Pyongyang suffered from wars and disasters and became devastated as they are today, our Kyoto was the only capital for cultural tourism in the world with a thousand-year history. It is an unbroken international cultural city that was protected by a respectable American hope that tried to keep human culture from a holocaust (Sangiin Kaigiroku 1950, p. 10).

However, it seems strange that this law was promulgated Japan was still under American military occupation. After the Japanese defeat in World War II, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) occupied Japan and recreated Japanese political, economic, and cultural systems in order to change Japan from an imperialistic nation to a pacific and democratic one. As a part of their project, they prohibited Japanese people from expressing positive opinions about imperial Japan, as well as its symbols, including Mt. Fuji and the Samurai (Eto 1989). Under these social conditions, how could the Kyoto government claim their city's cultural value as heritage so aggressively, as exemplified in the quote above?

The initial aim of this paper is to investigate the process of creating Kyoto's cultural value as heritage during the occupation period (1945-1952). By investigating tourism, this paper reports on various actors' practices, including SCAP, the national government, Kyoto's local government, Kyoto's tourism industry, and American soldiers - each of whom played a part in the creation process. This investigation of various tourism practices leads to a hypothesis on the content of the cultural value of Kyoto in this period. A secondary aim is to consider a role for tourism in the process of creating the cultural value of "peace." By focusing on the touristic dynamism of creating the peace, I highlight the characteristic of "virtual peace," a concept advocated by Richmond, that acts as a cultural representation of the dichotomy of war and peace in a chaotic post-war space (Richmond 2005).

Literature review

The American occupation period was important with regard to post-war Japanese military, socio-political, and cultural systems. However, the roles in the reform process of various actors, including the Americans, are not explored in the existing literature, as researchers focused on the Japanese. For example, joint research by Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai, which was the first full-scale study of the period, asked “what was the occupation for us” and set the agenda of “turning the spotlight on Japanese people ourselves by researching the occupation period” (emphasis added) (Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai 1972, p. 4). Afterwards, these discussions, which assumed a one-way relationship between the occupiers and the occupied, were criticized and replaced by the idea of an interactive relationship (Dower 1999; Sodei 1986). Urban conditions in the occupation period were then researched in order to reveal an interactive U.S-Japan relationship from the perspective of popular culture. S. Yoshimi researched how post-war districts in Tokyo, which were considered to be fashionable, were created through Japanese people’s voluntary acceptance of and assimilation to the American way of life. Besides, being disillusioned about their nation, Japanese people became fascinated with things about the American way of life - the behavior of American soldiers and their language, kitchens and jeeps, the way they danced and kissed, and their chocolates and chewing gums (Yamamoto et al. 2009; Yoshimi 2007). Although this work considered the U.S-Japan cultural relationship in terms of Japanese desire for the American way of life, it still inherited the previous framework that focused only on Japanese experiences.

In contrast to these previous studies, this paper emphasizes the importance of thinking about various actors’ experiences and practices, including the experiences and practices of the Americans. This period of Japanese history was marked by an influx of diverse people, including, for example, American soldiers, whose numbers reached 450,000, stationed all over Japan, as well as their families and civilians who came to and lived in Japan. The Americans stationed at army bases across the world after WWII were granted much more authority and privilege, political, economical, and cultural, than the locals, and their lives were prioritized over the locals (Dower 1999). There are only a few studies that examine the everyday practices of such people, the cultural communications between them and the locals, and their influence on the places

where they lived and traveled. To overcome the one-way perspective of the U.S.-Japan cultural relationship of the period, we have to consider not only Japanese experiences but also the cultural exchanges between the two sides. By doing so, whereas previous studies have discussed the “Americanization” of Japanese cities in case studies about Japanese experiences (Yamamoto et al. 2009; Yoshimi 2007), this paper investigates the collaborative process of creating a shared representation of a city of Kyoto.

Although there are few studies on occupied Kyoto, recent research on this topic has touched on previously unknown characteristics of the process of cultural reconstruction. These studies not only revealed spatial conditions - the occupation of spaces and buildings in Kyoto - but also indicated aspects of the cultural communication through which American soldiers recognized Kyoto’s Japanese culture. Moreover, studies on literature and empirical studies about Kyoto acknowledged the importance of these conditions and communications to the cultural reconstruction of the city (Nam 2014; Nishikawa 2017). These discussions help overcome the concept of the one-way cultural relationship between the U.S. and Japan by investigating the interactions in occupied Kyoto. In this paper I examine the interactive cultural exchanges by investigating the process of tourism creation through various actors’ practices in Kyoto.

What value was communicated and created in occupied Kyoto? I propose that it was “peace.” The proposition that there was a cultural sphere of peace that was imagined, narrated, and practiced by various American and Japanese actors is an alternative theory in cultural studies about post-war Japan for two reasons. First, prior studies about Japanese experiences during the occupation period focused on Japanese consciousness and their practices of the American way of life (Yamamoto et al. 2009; Yoshimi 2007), leaving out the concept of peace in the cultural sphere. Second, though peace studies about post-war Japan have focused on peace, anti-war movements, and the statement of pacifism in the Japanese constitution (Michiba 2005; Oda 2002; Yamamoto 2006), tourism practices that created the representation of peace in a place have not yet been discussed. By investigating various actors’ tourism practices, this paper aims to overcome the limitation of the current framework regarding the occupation period, to find a collective representation of peace and to consider the characteristics of peace.

Methodology

According to recent debates that look at heritage not as a “thing” but as a cultural “process” of various actors’ performances (Smith 2006), Kyoto should not be regarded as an exceptional case. As Y. Kudō illustrated, the reasons Kyoto began by insisting on heritage as its value and proceeding with tourism development were threefold - first, economic interest; second, the matter of cultural identity after the Emperor’s transfer from Kyoto to Tokyo; and third, the changing industrial structure during the early period of modernization (Kudō 2008a). Thus, the discourse that highlighted Kyoto as a place of traditional Japanese culture was created, which helped establish related laws, institutions, and representations. This discourse on heritage, as L. Smith advocated, which was usually supported by government and professionals, normalized the meaning of a place as a permanent one (Smith 2006). However, the defeat in the war changed the discourse because “Japanese culture” typified by the ideology of State Shintoism was prohibited and lost popularity. Thus, the question becomes: what discourse in Kyoto’s heritage was recreated in the early post-war period? In order to answer this question, this paper investigates the practices of creating the meaning of the place in the period.

This paper focuses on the value of “peace” as the factor that generated the actors’ practices, which in turn created the collective cultural value of Kyoto. After WWII, people shared a pacifist sentiment and many constitutions, institutions, and movements for peace were established. Soon after WWII, the U.S. in particular became the global leader of such pacifism, and the Constitution of Japan strongly reflected this idea (Oda 2002; Richmond 2005).

By considering “peace” from a tourism perspective, we can think about how the peace was practiced by people who were not usually regarded as actors in the peace movement. In addition, we can think about peace as a characteristic of cultural representation by using theories from tourism studies that have investigated the mechanism of cultural production of a tourism space. First, tourism stages peace. The tourism industry, which is usually related to national and local organizations, tends to create - physically and symbolically - a purified tourism space. To this end, various practices such as media representation, development and segmentation of the place, and guiding and

interpreting, are conducted. Simultaneously within this process, the tourism industry tries to eliminate things that are thought to be ill-suited to the theme of the place (Edensor 2000). Therefore, staging peace entails the practice of hiding the symbolically opposite thing - war. Second, tourism “gazes” at peace. In J. Urry’s discussion on the “tourist gaze,” tourism has a socialized framework of recognitions. This “gaze” is characterized by its construction as an opposite of the everyday social experience and consciousness. While the gaze has the effect of revaluing a place through the touristic practices of media representation, development and segmentation of the place by the tourism industry and media, it also focuses on tourists as the subjective actors who bring new values into a place. They spontaneously travel to see non-everyday things, and their practices of consuming, writing, and communicating with locals recreate the value of the place (Urry 1990). So what value was created by the tourist gaze in Kyoto in the period? This paper hypothesizes that the tourist gaze was looking for “peace” during the occupation period soon after WWII and during the Korean War - because traveling at that time allowed people to see peace and escape from places of war, both physically and symbolically.

In previous researches of tourism studies, peace is thought of as a premise of tourism, a traditional definition of tourism being that it is a “peacetime movement” (Greenwood 1976). But this paper posits an opposite phenomenon - peace created through tourism. With this regard, I would like to discuss how the characteristic of “peace” was not substantial and proactive peace but rather a “virtual peace” (Richmond 2005). Traditionally, for peace studies and practitioners of peace movements there is no doubt about why creating peace is good for a place as they assume that being at peace is always good. On the other hand, Richmond argued for an aspect of “virtual peace.” One prong of his argument focuses on the similarity of “virtual peace” to E. Said (1978)’s theory of Orientalism. Richmond focuses on peace movements as western practices, creating a dichotomy between peace - which belongs to Westerners - and conflict - which belongs to others. In addition, this process of peace building carries with it a hegemonic characteristic - western military intervention to impose peace on others - because the actor of this movement (re)produces political, social, cultural, and legal frameworks that judge the world according to this dichotomy (Richmond 2005). Moreover, we can suppose, from the implication of the word and his attention to Said’s idea, that the role for the practice of peace was to create the boundary between “peace”

and “war” as cultural representation (Said 1978). But why in Kyoto did people create this peace? What interactions took place between SCAP, the Japanese government and tourism industry, and American and Japanese people?

Before answering these questions, let us look at the process of creating Kyoto’s cultural value as heritage in the occupation period. This paper reviews how the ideology on heritage about “Japanese culture” was transformed in the period. In the section heritage discourse reform, I discuss the formation of legitimized discourse about Japanese heritage. Firstly, I debate how the Imperial Japanese government legitimized, as well as encouraged, heritage and tourism. I then examine how SCAP reformed the heritage discourse. In the section the popularity of tourism in Kyoto, I consider people’s practices when traveling to Kyoto from the gazing at peace point of view. I first argue how occupiers felt about Japanese scenery through their experiences of occupation during that period. I then debate the occupiers’ practices of travel to Kyoto. Third, I discuss how Japanese people recognized the value of heritage during the period. In the section the post-war reconstruction and heritage tourism in Kyoto, I examine the tourism industry’s practices during that period from the staging peace point of view. First, I discuss the practices by the Japanese national tourism industry. Then I argue the case made by the Kyoto city government. After summarizing findings, I consider the cultural character of this Kyoto tourism as the “virtual peace” from the dynamism of “staging” tourism and “gazing” tourism point of view.

Regarding data collection, I investigated various documents on tourism and heritage in Japan and Kyoto in the occupation period. The subjects I researched are, as the flow of this paper shows (1) SCAP as the actor of policy making (2) American tourists (3) Japanese locals (4) Japanese tourism industry and (5) Kyoto tourism industry. Information on SCAP’s policies, Japanese locals, and the Japanese tourism industry was mainly investigated through previous researches, while supplementary research was provided by a memoir written by a policy-maker in SCAP, and newspaper and magazine articles about Japanese locals and the tourism industry. The experiences of American tourists were investigated through their travel writings. Information on the Kyoto tourism industry was found in documents from sections in Kyoto city government which related to tourism.

Heritage Discourse Reform

Heritage Tourism in Imperial Japan

Religion was regarded as an essential part of politics in Imperial Japan, while the post-war constitution prescribed that the two be separated. The Japanese government dominated religious institutions and created the State Shinto, which placed the emperor at the highest level of religious legitimacy. They prohibited putting things of Buddhist origin in shrines. In addition, 40 percent of the historic sites designated by the government were places related to the Meiji Emperor (Morimoto 2010, p. 437-445).

The Imperial Japanese government and tourism industry, including the Japan Travel Bureau (JTB), actively invited international tourists to travel around Japan. During their guided tours, they saw some representative shrines, such as the Yasukuni Shrine and the Meiji Shrine (Sand 2015). The government also encouraged Japanese people to travel and sightsee at shrines and historical sites related to the emperor (Ruoff 2010). In addition, statues were erected to commemorate people with accomplishments during the war (Morimoto 2010). In summary, heritage in Imperial Japan was an instrument that showed Japan's national religious and militaristic power, while tourism was an instrument to tell people from inside and outside Japan about these things.

System and Policy of Reformation by SCAP

Although various practices by various actors were related to the reconstruction of Kyoto's cultural value, it was SCAP that had the most power with regard to laws and institutions. The occupation forces were multi-national, but all of the SCAP members were American. In addition, General D. MacArthur, Supreme Commander, had the right to refuse proposals from other countries' armies. The reforms were conducted almost entirely by American civil servants and military personnel. SCAP's policy for reform changed dramatically between the early days of the occupation and the later days because the international political situation during that period changed every year. With regard to the early part of this period (1945-1946), which is the most relevant to this study, SCAP officers had great confidence in the full reconstruction of Japan by American leadership because many of them learned from the successful experience of the 1930s New Deal, which reconstructed the U.S after the

Great Depression through public programs. Reform policy was designed “to ensure that Japan would not again become a menace to the United States or to the peace and security of the world” (Dower 1999).

In order to do that, SCAP abolished the Japanese military, and implemented a wide range of policies to eliminate the root causes of Japan’s entry into the war, such as dismantling combined Japanese financial groups that had monopolies, enacting women’s suffrage and releasing farmland to make it available for tenant farmers (Dower 1999).

In order to create a system that oversaw Japanese national/local government offices as well as companies, SCAP was organized into nine departments, although this number went up and down with frequent reorganizations.

The Civil Information and Education Section (CI&E), which was the main actor in SCAP as regards this study, was in charge of directing the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. They changed and censored the contents of Japanese textbooks, books, movies, and theaters, and promoted movies made by SCAP (Takemae 1983).

Disembedding/Embedding Heritage Discourse

In addition to the many civil servants in SCAP, there were also specialists brought in from the United States including academics specializing in Asian and Japanese studies. Their studies of the characteristics of Imperial Japanese society, conducted during the war, were utilized to justify the occupation and reformation. Their analysis of the cause of Japan’s aggression concluded that the Japanese government and army, rather than the presence of the Emperor and reverence for him as a figure, exploited religion for super-nationalism. Based on this conclusion, SCAP dismantled the Japanese armed forces and cut the bond between the government and religion. SCAP and the Japanese government enacted a new constitution entrenching both these decisions. SCAP also restricted Japanese media from presenting positive opinions about the Japanese armed forces and State Shinto (Woodard 1972).

At the same time, reforms were enacted to dissembled heritage discourse about Imperial Japan. Between July and September 1946 CI&E researched monuments in Tokyo, following which the Japanese government declared that

local government offices had to remove monuments which were thought to be militaristic and imperialistic. They also prohibited public institutions from new construction of these kinds of monument and the provision of funds to build them. Seven thousand monuments around Japan were removed under this order. In addition, CI&E decided that 357 monuments related to the Meiji Emperor were to be stripped of their designations as cultural heritage (Morimoto 2010, p. 716-722).

Having disembedded the discourse of heritage about Imperial Japan, SCAP embedded a new discourse related to the globally institutionalized heritage discourse of the early 20th century, which considered heritage to represent skills and the expression of the sense of beauty that humans have shared over their long history. The United States and Japan signed the Hague Convention in 1907, which prohibited plundering and destroying heritage, even during war-time. During WWII, the American government established the Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, often called the Roberts Commission. The group investigated cultural heritage in Europe and aimed to exempt relevant areas from air-raids (Morimoto 2010, p. 616-626). One member of the Roberts Commission, Lt. Commander George L. Stout, became a member of the Arts and Monuments Branch (A&M) in the Religion and Cultural Resources Section of CI&E. He invited Lt. W. D. Popham, who was a co-worker with Stout in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard, to be chief of A&M alongside L. Warner, who was the director of the Fogg Art Museum and a professor at Harvard University. Warner was fundamentally concerned with Japanese art due to his work with early protagonists T. Okakura and Ernest F. Fenollosa (Scott 2003, p. 354-347).

Popham declared the policy of A&M in a meeting of the Roberts Commission in August 29, 1945.

The occupying army is cognizant of the fact that the age-old cultural and artistic monuments in the lands to be occupied are a part of the cultural heritage of all peoples, and it is a fundamental policy of the army to protect and preserve in every way possible these monuments (Scott 2003, p. 354).

A&M was specifically responsible for:

...initiation and recommendations regarding management and finance of numerous projects for the protection, preservation, restitution, salvage, or other disposition of works of art, antiquities, cultural treasures, museums, archival repositories, historic and scenic sites, and historical and natural monuments (Scott 2003, p. 353).

First, they recreated the lists of the national treasures and historic sites that the Japanese government burned after their surrender and reconstructed the system of national parks that was abandoned after the war. Ise Shima National Park was designated in 1946 and the National Park Acts was established in 1947. In addition, as they left responsibility for preserving cultural properties with the Japanese government, the Cultural Properties Protection Law was enacted in 1950 (Murakushi 2008a, 2008b; Scott 2003).

SCAP was the actor empowered to bestow legitimacy on heritage until Japan joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in 1951. Previous research showed that one aspect of the reforms was that in which cultural representation of anything thought to be related to Japan was prohibited by SCAP. The focus on heritage, however, reveals that SCAP embedded global heritage discourse, which recognized Japanese heritage at the same time as it disembedded heritage discourse regarding Imperial Japan. In other words, they made a new framework of Japanese heritage rather than abolishing all heritage in Japan.

The Popularity of Tourism in Kyoto

The Occupiers' Focus in a War-Wasted Land

In addition to the members of SCAP, there were many G.I. soldiers and their families as well as journalists and other civilians. The number of soldiers peaked at 450,000 in December of 1945 and bottomed out to its minimum of 100,000 in 1948 (Aoki 2011). 1,400 soldiers' family members came to Japan in August 1946, 7,200 families were in Japan in September 1947 (Sato 2006). There were also journalists from allied countries, nurses who worked in Red Cross hospitals, and civilians who were in charge of services at military bases.

Previous research about the occupation did not focus on their experiences, but their feelings are important from a tourism point of view. In the war-time period in the United States, the media worked to evoke hostility against Japan. They published and broadcast militaristic and Emperor-centric characters from Imperial Japan with exaggerated expressions - combined stereotypes about race and culture created by American media (Dower 1999). The visitors' impressions of Japan's environment, evident from many written accounts, are derived from this differentiation between "them and us". M.F. Brown, a journalist as well as a family member of military personnel, expressed the feeling of an alienation from the environment when she arrived at Yokohama port in August 1946.

Encircling it was a thick stream of Japanese men and women I hadn't noticed before. There were dock-workers in gray rags picking up cigarette butts, loading flat cars, bent under tremendous packloads. Stunted, sharp-faced porters jockeyed in line to carry passengers' luggage. Others, supremely indifferent, sprawled in the sun. These were the people of Japan, I realized, and we were foreigners, the alien element (Brown 1951, p. 2).

The Americans evoked their anxiety from the ravages of the war that remained during that period. Japanese cities were bombed out air-raided by American air-raids from March to August of 1945. Half the areas of five cities - Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka and Kobe - were burned out by June 1945, and many local cities, including Hiroshima and Nagasaki which were attacked with atomic bombs, were bombed out afterwards (Matsuura et al. 1985, p. 3-4). Many people lost their houses and property in these cities.

Journalist M. Gayn depicted a road on the way to Tokyo from Yokohama port.

But the closer we came to Yokohama, the plainer became the gravity of Japan's hurt. Before us, as far as we could see, lay miles of rubble. The people looked ragged and distraught. They dug into the debris, to clear space for new shacks. They pushed and dragged carts piled high with brick and lumber. But so vast was the destruction that all this effort seemed unproductive. There were no new buildings in sight. This was all a man-made desert, ugly and desolate and hazy in the dust that rose from the crushed brick and mortar (Gayn 1981, p. 1-2).

While SCAP's policy was idealistic, for the people who physically lived in Japan, it was a place that still had the mood of the war. There were two ways to escape from the mood. One of the ways was to be at the occupation center, where there were buildings used by SCAP and they could always feel the presence of occupiers and jeeps. This deemed "Little America" was, however, so tiny a place that people had no choice but to go to other places where Japanese people lived.

Little America lulled us into a sense of security at first. We could walk from one end to the other without being out of sight of an American face or an American vehicle. But the security vanished as we tried to find our way around Tokyo, the great city that lies beyond. Here a jeep is essential. Iron nerves and a sense of direction also help (Brown 1951, p. 19).

Every Allied man and woman in Japan must sooner or later become accustomed to this unrelenting almond-shaped public eye constantly focused upon him or her. It is true that the Japanese around such well-established international centers as the ports of Kobe and Yokohama, and also in downtown Tokyo, are used to the sight of Westerners; but a couple of blocks off the main metropolitan streets and throughout the countryside an Occidental is a rarity. If you are going to Japan, be prepared to be stared at. It can be ignored if you keep moving; but stop to price something in a shop, or park to fix a tire, and you might as well be an insect caught under glass (Crockett 1949, p. 6).

The Occupiers Discover Kyoto

Later, occupiers started to see a second way to escape from the ravages of the war: tourism.

The first thing that struck me about Japan was how extravagantly[sic] in character it is. Once you get out of the big-city areas, and away from the bombed towns, you're strolling through a setting for the Mikado, or sitting plumb in the middle of a Japanese woodprint (Crockett 1949, p. 28).

Some of cities suffered less damage from the air-raids. While Tokyo lost 713,366 houses, Kamakura, Hakone, and Nikko were barely hit by air-raids (Ishii 2013). Nara lost only 92 houses, and Kyoto lost 531 houses (Mizutani and Oda 1975, p. 17; Sakuda 1979, p. 646-651). Occupiers actively traveled in these cities. While they often joined tours planned by SCAP and JTB, they could travel by themselves by train and in their jeeps (Crockett 1949)¹.

Kyoto, in particular, attracted the occupiers.

The town that is the number one attraction for souvenir seekers and sightseers is Kyoto, the only major city spared by the B-29s. The capital of Japan until a hundred years ago, Kyoto is still the center of religion, education, arts, crafts, and, in short, all culture. The best of everything seems to come from Kyoto: the finest roof tiles are made here, also the most beautiful brocades; the oldest and most classically beautiful gardens - even the prettiest geisha.Occupation tourists are impressed mainly by the lack of rubble and ruins. The clean streets, on which the clop-clop of wooden geta is often heard in place of wheeled traffic, unfold between pretty, stage-set houses..... (Crockett 1949, p. 58-59).

As three of the four hotels in Kyoto were taken up by occupation forces, Rakuyō Hotel was the only one available for travelers. More than 6,000 tourists stayed there in 1949 (Kyotoshi Shichōkōshitsu Tōkeika 1951, p. 267). In addition, Kyoto attracted soldiers who were on leave from the Korean War. The American army established Rest and Recuperation (R&R) in December 1950, a system in which soldiers at war in the Korean peninsula came to Japan for five days' recreation. R&R accommodation was provided in Osaka, Nara, and Kobe, but many R&R soldiers came to Kyoto, where hotel guests increased by more than 28,000 in 1952 and by 50,000 in 1953. 60% of these guests were R&R soldiers. Day trippers also increased from more than 18,000 in 1951 to about 135,000 in 1953 (Kyotoshi Kankōkyoku 1958, p. 84-87).

The Absence of Attention to Heritage by Japanese People

During the occupation period, many Japanese people thought there was no help for abandoned heritage (Scott 2003, p. 375). Many Japanese people lost their houses and jobs. Nearly all hotels were taken over by occupiers. There were not enough trains for travel because the trains were in use for withdrawals from former Japanese colonies and battlefields, bringing in food

from rural areas, and occupier business. This made travel difficult even for relatively affluent Japanese people (Kawahara 2000; Muraoka 1981).

In these conditions, Japanese people could not afford to take care of their culture. An A&M officer, Popham, claimed that people grew food in national parks (Asahi Shinbunsha 1946). A Japanese hotel owner complained to SCAP that it was inconvenient that one of the hotel's rooms was designated an Emperor's historic site. SCAP started to consider releasing all of these sites from designation as historic sites (Morimoto 2010).

Japanese people who went through the defeat and occupation thought that the former national system should be completely reformed. This change of attitude about the nation reflected the places they visited. When SCAP prohibited the Japanese government from giving funds to Yasukuni and Meiji shrines, visitor numbers to these shrines greatly decreased, and priests planned to build amusement parks in these areas (Nakamura 2007). Japanese people who had a negative image of former Japan went to Little America to feel the American mood that was symbolized by American soldiers, jeeps, and post exchanges (PX), where goods were sold for the occupiers (Yamamoto et al. 2009; Yoshimi 2007).

While SCAP established institutions of heritage and occupiers traveled to Kyoto to experience peace and Japanese traditional scenery, the Japanese people did not have the opportunity to encounter cultural value in their daily lives.

The Post-war Reconstruction and Heritage Tourism in Kyoto

Tourism for the Post-war Reconstruction

After the end of the war, Japanese leaders rethought the Japanese national identity. Values that related to military power, the Emperor, and colonies in Asia were prohibited, and people started to realize that they could not automatically believe in these values. The idea that the nation should appeal to pacifism and democracy emerged. This was branded as the "Cultural Nation" (Oguma 2002).

In addition, the Japanese government and companies had to figure out how to recover their economy in a society where factories and equipment related

to the military were destroyed, international trade was forbidden, and heavy industry was stopped. In this predicament, the tourism industry was thought of as an ideal business through which to acquire foreign exchange. Moreover, the tourism industry expected that it could contribute to building this “Cultural Nation” by giving good impressions to people internationally and to educating Japanese people about appreciative behavior by giving them confidence that they were being observed by people from developed nations (Endo 2017).

During this period, the business of tourism focused on supplying travel and leisure to the occupiers. Starting in September 1945, two weeks after the surrender, JTB set up shop at stations in Tokyo and Yokohama, in buildings in Little America, and in occupiers’ hotels. The Japanese Ministry of Transport started their tourism business in December 1945 (Kudō 2008b). SCAP accepted the Japanese tourism industry from the early years of the occupation, and showed a generous attitude towards it after their change in policy allowing Japan to reconstruct economically. In 1948, international buyers as well as international tourists were permitted to come to Japan (Endo 2017).

The routes of JTB-planned tours included Little America, Kyoto, Nara, Kamakura, Nikko, and Hakone, none of which were burned out by air-raids. But Yasukuni Shrine, Naigu at Meiji Jingu Shrine, and Asakusa, which were popular routes in Imperial Japan, were never included in occupation-period tours. The Japanese tourism industry showed the peaceful parts of the nation, eschewing the taints of war (Endo 2017).

Local governments and companies also started to do business in tourism. In local areas, some occupiers spent time off at resort hotels for recreation. Tourist companies earned international money by supplying tours, various leisure opportunities, and transportation. Since local governments established one tourism federation after another, the All Japan Tourism Federation was established to integrate tourism development options and plans. Its first meeting was held at Nijō-Jō Castle in Kyoto (Kankō 1946, p. 6).

The Development of Heritage Tourism in Kyoto during the Occupation Period

As the political, economic, and religious center moved to Tokyo after the Meiji Emperor’s transferrin the 1860s, Kyoto had to reform its economic

system and cultural identity. International tourism was an early recruit to the new economy. The Kyoto city government developed Heian Jingu and Kyoto Gyoen and claimed that they had a thousand years of tradition as the basis of their cultural identity (Kudō 2008a). A tourism section was established by the Kyoto city government in 1930; this was the first local government tourism section and made them the main actor in charge of tourism in Kyoto. They built up tourist information centers, published booklets, and conducted guided tours (Kudō 2008a).

With this experience to draw on, the tourism business took off rapidly during the occupation. English maps were produced, and eight information centers were built on the streets of the city on August 23, 1945, before 3,700 military personnel arrived in Kyoto six days later on August 29. The Kyoto city government distributed English booklets outlining famous spots. The Kyoto Shinbun company held guided tours to Nishi Honganji temple and lectured about Japanese prints and flower arrangements (Nam 2014; Nishikawa 2017). The Kyoto Tourism Federation was established in April 1946, and the Tourism Division was established by the Kyoto city government in March 1947. The Tourism Division was upgraded to a bureau in October 1948 (Kyotoshi Kankōkyoku 1958, p. 1; Kyotoshi Sichōkōsitsu Gyōseika 1949, p. 82-83; Kyotoshi Sichōkōsitsu Gyōseika 1951, p. 67). The bureau made movies that advertised Kyoto and showed them on American President Lines ships and Pan American Airlines and Northwest Airlines planes. For tourists on these ships and planes, they presented flowers and welcome messages and staged Japanese dance and tea ceremonies (Kyotoshi 1949, p. 56-65; Kyotoshi Sichōkōsitsu Gyōseika 1949, p. 82-3; Kyotoshi Sichōkōsitsu Tōkeika 1951, p. 266).

The Kyoto city government started to highlight Kyoto as a city with no damage from air-raids. They said that this was one of the reasons they had the oldest cultural traditions in Japan.

Kyoto, a cultural center with a thousand-year-old ancient capital, has well-known spots and traces of history all around the city... Kyoto, which was able to preserve tourism resources without any scars, recognized the importance of our mission as a tourism city... (Kyotoshi Sichōkōsitsu Gyōseika 1949, p. 82).

Another reason for Kyoto's cultural value was the SCAP's recognition of its heritage. There were many rumors about the reasons why one city was attacked by air-raids while another city was not. It was rumored that the reason Kyoto was not damaged by air-raids was because Warner fought the U.S. War Department to prevent air-raids on Kyoto, Nara, and Kamakura. This rumor was widely believed by the Japanese people (Yoshida 1995).

The reason for recognizing Kyoto was because "...It is an unbroken international cultural city that was protected by a respectable American hope that tried to keep human culture from a holocaust" (Sangiin Kaigiroku 1950, p. 10; Kudō 2007). The Kyoto Kokusai Bunka Kankō Toshi Kensetsu Law (The Law of Building International Cultural Tourism City Kyoto), which was established through discussion in the National Diet, increased national aid for Kyoto's tourism development and removed some restrictions on utilizing cultural resources for tourism. However, this law began as a Special City Building Law established in Hiroshima and Nagasaki for reconstruction from the damage caused by the atomic bombings. Famous resorts with hot springs, such as Beppu, Ito, and Atami, and cities that did not have serious damage from air-raids, such as Kyoto and Nara, applied for financial support for tourism development through this law. By referendum, the law was promulgated on the anniversary of the Emperor's move to Kyoto in 794 (Kyotoshi Sichōkōsitsu Gyōseika 1951, p. 67). All the cities which allied for the law held a referendum. Hiroshima had a 64.9 percent voting rate with 91.1 percent approval; Nagasaki had a 73.5 percent voting rate with 98.6 percent approval (Fukuma 2015, p. 148). Likewise, Beppu had a 79 percent voting rate, Atami had 60 percent, Nara had 78 percent, and Matsue had 73 percent. On the other hand, Kyoto had only a 31 percent voting rate and 69 percent approval (Kyotoshi Sichōkōsitsu Gyōseika 1951, p. 67). The people who lived in Kyoto, who suffered the various effects of the war and who could not afford to protect their heritage, were not largely among those who reconstructed the peaceful heritage of Kyoto.

Discussion

Here, I summarize the process of Kyoto's reconstruction as a tourism destination with cultural heritage in the occupation period. I show that the process was conducted by three actors; American occupation forces, American soldiers and civilians, and the Japanese national and local tourism industry.

The actor that established laws about heritage was CI&E in SCAP. They created a system to preserve Japanese antiques and nature as cultural property and national parks, while they prohibited imperialistic and militaristic monuments. Therefore, SCAP was not only the actor that prohibited Japanese culture as it was often understood in Japan, but they were also the institution which recognized Kyoto, with its many forms of Japanese cultural heritage.

Occupiers were interested in Kyoto for rather sentimental reasons. They were scared by Japanese land severely damaged by air raids, and by the visible poverty of the Japanese people. In this situation, Kyoto became a famous tourist spot not because it had been a destination before the war but because it had less damage from the war. On the other hand, Japanese people who didn't have homes and food had no room for thinking about Japan's land as cultural heritage or seeking to preserve it. Rather, they utilized heritage sites as places for livelihood and cultivation.

The Japanese government, including the Kyoto city government, paid attention to tourism for the purpose of demonstrating Japan's reconstruction and for promoting its status as a peaceful "cultural nation." They focused on occupiers, not Japanese, as their business target. When many "tourists" came, Kyoto started to claim its status as the only city which had escaped damage from the war, which had much cultural heritage, and which was, therefore, a peaceful city.

In this section, I analyze the creation process of Kyoto tourism as a "virtual peace" through tourism activities. I propose the peace-making dynamism idea of tourism as "gazing peace" and "staging peace." American tourists were focused on seeing the peaceful character of Kyoto - meaning the areas with less damage from the air-raids, which included the remaining traditional buildings. Their tourism practices can be thought of as gazing at peace. On the other hand, the tourism industry advocated that Japan/Kyoto was a peaceful country. For this purpose, they introduced tours that showed traditional and innocent Japanese images. These practices can be thought of as "staging peace." These characteristics of tourism during the occupation period stemmed from the concurrent globally shared representation of peace. The dynamism between the gazing and staging peace turned Kyoto into a "post-war" tourism destination.

This peace can be called “virtual peace” rather than a substantial and proactive one. First, one characteristic of this process was to create a dichotomy between peace and war. American people who wanted to gaze at peace through their travels in Kyoto were escaping from the war atmosphere and the real war on the Korean peninsula. The tourism industry, which wanted to give an impression of peace to tourists, staged peaceful images of Kyoto, while hiding the destruction that was spread throughout nearly all other Japanese cities. This staged peace was not meant to improve Japanese social conditions - it was made to give a place the cultural representation of peace for political and psychological reasons. Kyoto was the only enclaved tourism space, the concept which Edensor advocated (Edensor 2000), that enabled tourists to feel safe and see exotic local culture while anything considered to be an eyesore - in this case, the atmosphere of war - was removed. Japanese people could not join this creation process of “virtual peace” as we can see from their lack of attention to heritage and the low voting and approval rate for the law of tourism development.

Conclusion

In this research, I investigated the process of creating Kyoto’s cultural value as heritage in the occupation period by reporting on the practices of various actors, including SCAP, the national government, Kyoto’s tourism industry, and American soldiers. Although previous researches presupposed a one-way relationship between the occupiers and occupied in its discussions of Japanese experiences, this paper shows that there existed an interactive process of creating a shared representation of the city. This paper proposes that the content of this representation was “peace.” Although previous cultural studies on post-war Japan have focused on the Japanese consciousness and their practices of the American way of life, this paper argues that there was a cultural representation of peace that was imagined, narrated, and practiced by various American and Japanese actors.

The research discussed tourism as the factor creating this peace. Through tourism, peace was staged by the tourism industry and gazed at by tourists. At the same time, the theoretical consideration of tourism revealed that there were also practices of hiding war and escaping from the war. For that reason, this peace had the characteristic of “virtual peace,” which represented Kyoto as peaceful, while places that suffered from the ravages of war remained

elsewhere in Japan and wars continued in East-Asian countries. But can this be a characteristic of the so-called “post-war reconstruction” of a place that was considered peaceful? Though this cultural process of the creation of peace in the occupation period has not been discussed, it should be in the future because the concept “virtual peace” reveals a way of creating shared representation of peace in a place and its problematic characteristic.

This research calls for further investigation for thinking about the relationship between peace and tourism in post-war Japan. This research revealed how the sentiments for peace were practiced by various actors. But I didn’t discuss to what extent these practices affected the recognition “Kyoto/Japan was peaceful” in and after the occupation period. For investigating this, in further research, I need to investigate the peace images of Kyoto/Japan which were published in the United States in and after the occupation period.

Notes

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¹ The reason too many people traveled from their privileged lives in Little America was not only due to the sentiments of the American people but also the American management system for occupiers. First, the U.S army encouraged tourism from the perspective of healthy recreation. The American Army had built up a system of recreation to prevent alcoholism and engagement in prostitution (Bristow 1996). The Pacific Stars and Stripes, which was a newspaper for military people, often published articles in which people enjoyed their travels in Japan. Moreover, while various opportunities for healthy recreation were provided, tourism was thought to have a special role for American cultural politics. Post-war U.S encouraged tourism as a means to forge allied relationships with other nations by forming friendships and romantic relationships (Klein 2003). American tourism in occupied Japan was a legitimized practice.

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