UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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Aporia of *Omotenashi*:

Hospitality in Post-Oriental and Post-Imperial Japan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Anthropology

by

Ryoko Nishijima

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

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Professor Mariko Tamanoi, Chair

The Japanese tourism industry, from its formation in the early 20th century to today, bears in many ways the postcolonial contradictions of Japan as a nation that has been at once the colonizer and the Orient. Engaging with the complex power dynamics inherent in the seemingly friendly gestures of "hospitality," my dissertation analyzes the inconsistent ways in which the Japanese tourism industry has defined and dealt with foreign visitors, comparatively looking at tourists from the "West" and "Asia." I divide the dissertation into four chapters: "Hospitality Infrastructure: Pursuing the Civilized," which uncovers the mixed sentiment of national pride and shame behind the ardent discourse of hospitality in Japan, "Tourist Gaze: Searching for the Oriental," in which I illustrate how Orientalist imaginings of Japan have continued to transform and endure in the tourist gazes today, "Roles of a Host: Performing the Hospitable," which takes an ethnographic look at social relations between hosts and guests, and "Guests from Greater China: Welcoming the Ex-Colonized," where I identify the legacy of Japan's colonial history in the increasing number of visitors from the Greater China Region.

KEYWORDS**:** Tourism, Japan, Postcolonialism, Techno-Orientalism, Hospitality

The dissertation of Ryoko Nishijima is approved.

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Introduction

A tale of hospitality, sacrifice, and destruction appears in the Book of Genesis. Lot, nephew of Abraham who lives in the city of Sodom with his wife and daughters, is visited by two angels, whom he cordially invites into his house and provides with food and shelter. After dinner, the men of the city, young and old, come surrounding the house and demand, "Bring them out unto us, that we may know them," implying that they will rape and sodomize the guests. Lot pleads with the townsmen not to do such wicked acts, and instead suggests, "I have two daughters which have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as is good in your eyes: only unto these men do nothing; for therefore came they under the shadow of my roof." Lot's offer to sacrifice his daughters in order to protect his guests only further infuriates the mob. The angels reveal that they were sent by the Lord to destroy the city, and urge Lot to hurry and leave Sodom with his family. As Lot escapes to a small town nearby, rain of brimstone and fire reduces the city and people of Sodom to rubble.

I cannot help but imagine an overlap between this biblical fate of Sodom and the trajectory of Japan, from 1854, when the Edo bakufu *welcomed U.S. ambassador Commodore Perry into the nation, to 1945, when rain of brimstone and fire over East Asia brought destruction down upon the region. The dilemma which Lot, the "host" and the master of the house, faced, to sacrifice his own daughters to protect his guests from his own townspeople, arguably reflects Japan's failed attempt to play the role of responsible host to guests from the West, a role they believed entailed a sacrifice of "us" to accommodate "them," and one that eventually resulted the country's own destruction by both "us" and "them."*

On September 7, 2013, the Japanese delegation at the 125th IOC Session makes the final pitch to win the bid for Tokyo Olympics 2020. Following the speech by the then-incumbent mayor of Tokyo Naoki Inose, former news anchor Christel Takigawa, appointed "Cool Tokyo Ambassador" of the bidding team, takes the podium. With a gracious smile and fluent French – showcasing her multicultural background in both Japan and France – Takigawa speaks to the audience: "We will offer you a unique welcome. In Japanese, I can describe it in one unique word: o-mo-te-na-shi, *omotenashi*," she bows, her hands tightly clasped (Takigawa 2013). With the international bidding committee as well as future visitors to Japan as her audience, Takigawa's performance could not have been any more self-Orientalizing. This speech triggered a viral outbreak of an *omotenashi* discourse across Japan. "*Omotenashi*," which roughly translates as "hospitality," became a ubiquitous sound-bite obsessed over in popular media. The term, exotically performed with an accompanying Oriental bow, became the de-facto slogan for promoting Japan's tourism industry. Smoldering behind this ardent celebration of Japanese hospitality was a strong sense of nationalistic and narcissistic pride, that modern Japan could provide a clean, convenient, and safe environment of welcome to the guests.

In 1913, a century before *omotenashi* became a buzzword that swept through the nation, Ikuno Danroku, the head of the newly inaugurated Japan Tourist Bureau, was overwhelmed with a strong sense of shame and insecurity about the lack of civilized hospitality infrastructure in Japan. Ikuno laments the unwelcoming Japanese toilet in his essay; "We might as well call the remarkable stench the unique characteristic of a Japanese-style toilet, and even us Japanese also find it hardly bearable, so the level of suffering the foreigner must feel about it is unimaginable," (Ikuno 1913:9-10). Similarly, Iida Kirō complains about the quality of local hosts who work at the inn, a "lowly servant with stinky hair, dirty clothes, and no training" who would "give a sense of

unpleasantness to the guests" (Iida 1921:16). At the turn of the 20th century, the ever-increasing inflow of international tourists had pressured Japan into establishing a proper travel infrastructure. The discourse of hospitality in the historical trajectory of Japanese tourism industry, especially in its emerging stage in the early 20th century, was laden with shame. This project was largely motivated by a sense of urgency among Meiji and Taisho elites who found it highly embarrassing to expose Japan's uncivilized ways to the foreign gaze.

Little did they know that, in 100 years, the premodern Japan they found so shameful would transform into a super-modern one. The proud celebration of *omotenashi* in 2013, a phenomenon heavily tinted with nationalism, seems to suggest that the goal of Japan's earlier tourism organizations – to catch up with the West – had been achieved. Yet, this seemingly linear progress had in fact made an ironic U-turn at one point, slightly missing the "civilized technologies" of the West they had desperately chased, and boomeranged back to the East, eventually evolving into a whole new form of Oriental Japan. Dirty bathrooms and unprofessional tourism workers were replaced with oddly hyper-clean toilets and superefficient receptionists, and Japan remained the equally disorienting Other.

It was in the spring of 2005. David, a dormmate of mine, ran up to me excitedly one evening to show off a photo album from his trip to Tokyo, which was his first time ever visiting Japan. I was amused, and somewhat perplexed, upon noticing that the very first picture he took in Tokyo was of neither the beautiful cherry blossoms nor the urban metropolis of Shibuya, but the bidet buttons on the toilet seat at Narita airport. It was not until much later that I learned that the "Japanese Toilet" had strangely become a must-see spot among tourists to Japan. The odorless and mechanical toilet seat is one of the many tropes that has surfaced in what I call the "Weird Japan" cultural brand that flourished in the 2000s.

"Japan is weird, cool, and perverted," the internet informed me. Well into the mid-2000s, as typing keywords in search engine boxes became a standard method of information search, a popular trend to joke about the Google-suggest function emerged; I have shared a good laugh with quite a few people over some of the inappropriate things search engines often suggested. One day, Google suggested to auto-complete my search box with the phrase, "Japan is so weird," simultaneously offering a variety of other possible adjectives like cool and perverted. This "weird Japan meme" is arguably an alternative form of Orientalism in the new century, influenced by the ways in which images of and information about Japan circulate via the internet. Curiously, these gazes from the West have been oddly complicit with Japan's own sense of national pride. The international circulation of "Weird Japan" among Western guests had continued to be conveniently mistranslated by the Japanese hosts as "Cool Japan," where the idea of "They're different (weird)" constantly gets interpreted as "Yes, we're different (cool)." The narcissistic Cool Japan discourse and the chuckle-inducing Weird Japan discourse resonate with each other in an awkward harmony.

The Japanese tourism industry, from its formation in the early 20th century to today, bears in many ways the postcolonial contradictions of Japan as a nation that has been at once the colonizer and the Orient. Engaging with the complex power dynamics inherent in the seemingly friendly gestures of "hospitality," this dissertation analyzes the inconsistent ways in which the Japanese tourism industry has defined and dealt with foreign visitors, comparatively looking at tourists from the "West" and "Asia." Facing the West, Japan continues to respond to the Orientalist gaze with fawning hospitality, to treat and please them as guests. On the other hand, there isn't as much urgency in the efforts to welcome tourists from Greater China Region. I will map the ambivalent power dynamics between the host and the guest onto the legacy of

asymmetric relations between the West and Asia in Japan, and interpret the double standard of Japan's seemingly friendly welcoming of the West and violent invasion of Asia using the aporia of hospitality.

I use two theoretical pillars to frame the various phenomena in Japan's tourism landscape: "Orientalism," to discuss the image and identity construction of the East as the imagined counterpart of the West, and "Hospitality," to discuss the politics between the hosts and the guests in the transnational migration of people. Orientalism as a postcolonial critique may have become too hackneyed a framework that it has increasingly been rejected in recent academic discourse. There is a sense of obsoleteness to the term, yet I cannot simply overlook the term when interpreting the current situation of Japan's tourism industry. By labeling the "Post-Oriental," I update the usage of Orientalism from the original connotation in Said's scholarship, thus making it relevant to contemporary Japan. First, I reexamine a new branch of Orientalism which David Morley and Kevin Robins (1995) call Techno-Orientalism. Shifting from the traditional sense of the term, the Weird Japan trend that we see in the new millennium represents the possible transformation of how "the barbarians have now become robots" (1995: 172). Under such a representation, the technologically-advanced Orients continue to remain the cultural others of the Occident, not as barbaric savages, but rather as a distanced android, hyper modern yet not quite human. It is also important to realign the term Orientalism within the context of the tourism industry, which capitalizes on cultural difference. The uniqueness of the "Orient" is a necessary factor for tourism in Japan to be a viable industry, to be able to continue providing value for visitors to consume. I will interrogate self-Orientalism as a form of nationalism and regionalism, and discuss its applicability to the contemporary tourism industry in Japan.

Another key concept I explore in this dissertation is the ambivalence of hospitality. Jacques Derrida refers to it as a term of "troubled and troubling origin, a word which carries its own contradiction incorporated into it, a Latin word which allows itself to be parasitized by its opposite, 'hostility'" (Derrida 2000:3). Derrida traces back its etymological origin to "hospes" which simultaneously indicates both the "host" and the "guest," and even the "enemy." The contradiction inherent in the term implies that the act of welcoming a guest is not necessarily a straightforward altruism born from genuine friendship, but rather a political negotiation entangled in power dynamics between the host and the guest, as well as the hierarchy of hosts; hostility is constantly present in the acts of hospitality.

This bilateral tension of hospitality – between the host and guest – can be applied as a helpful tool to complicate the critique of Orientalism – between the East and West. The dominant discourse of Orientalism tends to perceive it as a unilateral offense of the West subjugating the East. My intention in this dissertation is not to criticize the lingering Orientalist tendency of simplistic and negative stereotyping of Japan, but rather to add a bilateral dimension in understanding this relation. The case of the tourism industry shows that Orientalistic representations of Japan by Western tourists are often met by the Japanese, not with resistance, but with a perverse embrace. There is an overlap between the West's Orientalist gaze, looking at Japan as unique and different from the West, and Japan's self-Orientalism, where Japan actively and willingly present itself as unique and different from the West. This relationship is comparable to the tension of hospitality; the appearance of mutual friendship and playfulness hides the political power dynamics at the core. I challenge the common notion that the power relations between the Orientalist West and the Orientalized East is that of an aggressor and victim, and suggest that it is rather akin to the tension between host and guest.

In addition to the presence of hostility between the host and guest, Derrida also refers to the position of the host as the "master of the house" who must hold the grounds of his territory while inviting in strangers as guests to the house. Derrida further discusses the relationship amongst the hosts through biblical examples in the Book of Genesis where Lot, as the master of the house in charge of hosting his guests, offered to sacrifice his daughters in order to protect his guests. Derrida's reference to the relationship between the master of the house and his daughters, is an important framework to metaphorically reflect upon the pluralism and hierarchy among the hosts. Instead of looking at the host and guest as a binary, I will look at it as a triangular relationship between the guest, the master of the house, and those who are subordinate to the master, such as the allegorical daughters and servants. While hosts and guests negotiate their power over the other to achieve a power equilibrium, the host must simultaneously be in control of the domestic as the master of the house.

The ambivalent power dynamics of hospitality are visible in the daily interactions between the host and the guest in the contemporary tourism industry. Through ethnographic studies of a wide range of workers and volunteers in the tourism sector, I destabilize the category of the host as a solid category that relates to the guests in one particular way. Rather, the role of host oscillates in relation with the guests, from a servant responding to the needs of the guests, to a knowledgeable master teaching the ignorant newcomer.

In 2014, I conducted fieldwork in the Tokyo tourism industry and worked as a host in varying capacities, simultaneously affiliated with different tourism organizations. My first site was the Shitamachi Tourist Information Center, where I worked as the information counter staff. "*Irasshaimase*," – "Welcome!" – we would call out everyday, with the same gracious smile and bow as Takigawa, towards the tourists who would walk into the information center in search of

multilingual assistance. Being the information lady was like being the human Google. "How can I get to this hotel?" "Anything happening in Tokyo this weekend?" "Will it rain at Mt. Fuji tomorrow?" We were simultaneously a map, a phonebook, timetable and a weather forecast. This must be what search engines feel like every day, I thought.

My other fieldwork was at Shitamachi Culture Centre, a privately-owned community center that provided traditional Japanese culture classes where tourists could learn the history and philosophy of traditional Japanese cultures from the *sensei*, or teachers. One summer afternoon in 2014, Mr. Furusawa, an established *sensei* of tea, lectured to Daniel, a Canadian tourist taking a tea lesson, about the architecture of the tea room. Mr. Furusawa explained that the idea of the *nijiriguchi*, the inconveniently small, one-yard-square entrance to the tea room, reflected the egalitarian philosophy of Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591), the father of the way of tea. The selected few who entered from the narrow door, Mr. Furusawa lectured on behalf of Rikyū, were all equal inside this sacred space of the tea room, regardless of the power dynamics in the secular world. The tea room was thus a manifestation of Rikyū's ideal that the host and the guest should interact on equal footing.

Mr. Furusawa's lecture to Daniel regarding how ancient acts of hospitality in Japan conceptualized the hierarchy and relation between the host and the guest provided an ironic meta narrative; he was giving a lecture about the ideal host-guest relationship in Japan's traditional hospitality practice, while he was himself the host, lecturing Daniel, the guest. In this contemporary touristic encounter, the power dynamics between Mr. Furusawa and Daniel were not quite equal – they resemble that between a teacher and student. The host, the knowledgeable master, was in a more dominant position lecturing to the guest, the ignorant newcomer. However, the reverse is true at the tourist information center, where information ladies are in the

position of hostesses serving guests by responding to their requests and satiating their thirst for information. In this mode of encounter, the host-guest relationship is similar to that between a servant and guest. There is a plurality of hosts and host-guest relations, and of the power dynamics, or hierarchy within the hosts. The "host" is not a singular, solid category, but relates to guests in multiple ways. The plurality of the host roles raises the question of whether and how the power equilibrium between the host and the guest is to be maintained successfully.

The ambivalence of hospitality also manifests itself in Japan's dual stance toward the West and Asia throughout the 20th century and until today. In 1895, Japan successfully revised the unequal treaties it had previously signed with the Western powers. In response to the treaty revision, the Meiji Emperor delivered an imperial rescript encouraging the people to "intermingle with foreigners" and "maintain the dignity of the national people" (Meiji Emperor 1899). In order to develop friendly relations with visitors from other nations while preserving Japan's own independence, it was necessary to showcase Japan's respectable cultural status in the eyes of foreign guests. What fueled the momentum for civilizing the hospitality infrastructure was Japan's political desire to establish equal power relations with the West.

In the same year, following the defeat of the Qing Dynasty by Japanese military forces equipped with modern technology, the Shimonoseki Treaty was signed between Japan and China, which included the forceful ceding of Taiwan to Japan's colonial occupation. The two unequal treaties, one revised and the other newly signed in 1895, represented the pivoting of Japan's political position in relation to the West and Asia. Facing towards the West, Japan pursued approval as a first-rate nation; facing the other way towards Asia, it began its colonial expansion.

In the early 20th century, hospitality became a tool for Japan to successfully open up the doors to the outside world in a public, full-scale manner. Urgent requests by the Meiji and Taisho

elite to establish a civilized hospitality infrastructure came from their desire to convince the world that Japan was on par with the other modern nations in terms of technology and civilization. The sudden influx of tourists from the West resembled unexpected guests, and potential invaders, who must be dealt with regardless. To welcome them with decorum was a way to protect the Japanese culture from being subsumed by the Western powers. The sense of hospitality in Japan was accompanied by a constant undercurrent of hostility. The hospitality discourse at the turn of the 20th century also saw a manifestation of Japan's dual stances towards the West and Asia in the form of two different yet interrelated kinds of hostility. While hospitality towards Western guests was motivated by insecurity and rivalry, there was a certain dismissal of visitors from places like China and Korea, who were not considered guests to which the same level of welcome must be extended. The sense of inferiority towards the West and arrogance towards Asia that emerges in the discourse of hospitality reveals a complex power dynamics that were operative in the formation of Japan's national identity, and provides an additional perspective on Japan's colonial expansion towards East Asia and eventual march towards the Pacific War.

Through this discussion, I hope to interrogate the similar dilemmas and contradictions inherent in the acts of hospitality and colonialism: How can the power dynamics of the Host and Guest overlap with the Colonizer and the Colonized? More specifically, when does the host who invites outsiders into their home become colonized by the guests? Especially given the history of Japan's ambivalent position as both the colonizer and the Oriental subject, I focus on the similarity of Orientalism and Asianism as two concepts that designate the East, the former eticly categorizing the other while the latter emicly identifying oneself. Just as I expand the concept of hospitality, from a host-guest binary to a triangular relationship between master of the house, subordinate servants and guests, I expand the binary concept of Orientalism/Asianism of

East-West to a triangular relationship between Japan, Japan's colonies, and the West. I explore how host-guest ambivalence can be mapped onto the question of East-West; just as there is a plurality of the hosts, there are a plurality of Easts, but this has often been dismissed in the simple, binary understanding of "East hosts West." My fieldwork reveals the plurality and hierarchy among the hosts in the same way there are a plurality of Easts. It is important to unpack the complicated power dynamics in the brotherhood and hierarchy, in the discourse of Asianism and Japan's colonial relations with other Asian nations: patriarchally related, yet united in the idea and ideals of the united East Asia in opposition to the West.

The legacy of Asianism and Colonialism resurfaces today in the mundane nature of visitors from Asia to Japan. Today, tourists from the Greater China Region continue to represent the largest group of visitors to Japan. "More than Everyday, Less than Travel" – Minnie, a Taiwanese tourist to Japan, so entitled the Facebook album of her visit to Japan in June, 2010. The patterns and attitudes apparent in the itineraries of Chinese and Taiwanese tourists suggest that they do not necessarily register Japan as a foreign land of weird, cool, and extraordinary things. Rather, Japan is a trivial, mundane presence in the realm of the extended "domestic." It is in the everydayness of Chinese visitors to Japan that we can catch a glimpse of Japan's relationship with the Greater China Region and its legacy from the past. Even the Japanese bidet toilet, that was seen with such exoticism by the Western gaze, exists naturally and unmarked in the everyday landscape of Taiwanese people's lives. In many cases, Chinese students and immigrants are even hired in the hospitality industry to host Chinese tourists in their native tongue. The colonial legacy is undoubtedly present in Japan's relations with other Asian nations today. Unpacking the history of "Chinas" and their relations with Japan becomes necessary for understanding the complicated Chinese ethnoscape — from tourists to students and immigrants — in contemporary Japan.

Research Context

It feels inadequate to contextualize the course of this dissertation without providing some background about myself, the ethnographer. A healthy dose of fiction had always been an essential ingredient for me to enjoy the mundane realities of life. Growing up in Japan, my primary supplier of this fix of fantasy had been the United States. As a teenager, I immersed myself in Hollywood movies, fondly longing for a faraway place called California. Physically located in the comfortable yet unexciting city of Fukuoka on the periphery of Japan, fragments of images I absorbed from movie clips slowly constructed a wildly imagined America. I was captivated by my own creation of Americana, where exciting things and people mingled under blue skies and palm trees. It was solely this grossly Occidentalist image of America that strongly motivated me to study for the TOEFL and flawlessly complete my personal statement to begin my college life in California. I would not be here today, writing this dissertation in Los Angeles a decade later, if it were not for the blindly romanticized fantasies about this place that I initially held, and even still continue to hold at times.

This is only but one example of how my life has been a sequence of decisions fueled by fictions. The imagined and the real had always been inseparable for me, which is why I have felt a certain degree of discomfort towards a fastidious rejection of Orientalism. Correcting inaccurate, whether Orientalist or Occidentalist, representations of a distant place, while rightfully eliminating negative stereotypes of the cultural Other, also inhibits all potential for the very real consequences they may have. To what extent should we condone our imaginations to trickle into our real-life perceptions and actions? This question has always bothered me, and perhaps this is why I resonate with the field of anthropology, which Eric Wolf once famously quoted Alfred Kroeber as calling, "the most humanistic of the sciences and the most scientific of the humanities" (Wolf 1964:88).

Anthropology, as a human-science, accepts the mutual dependence of fiction and reality, neither excluding the other. It was this philosophy that informed my academic interest in how travelers are constantly caught between the endless chase of the imagined and the real, which will be one of the larger conceptual explorations of this research.

The broader ethnographic field of this dissertation is defined through my personal experience. The time frame during which social trends took place and episodes from which this research draws span across the decade of 2004-2014, which corresponds to my personal time line as an anthropologist, from taking my first "Introduction to Anthropology" course as an undergraduate student in 2004, to completing the fieldwork for my PhD in 2014. The spatial border of my ethnographic field spans across Tokyo (2013-2014 as well as multiple short visits), California (Stanford 2004-2008; Los Angeles 2010-2017), and Taiwan (multiple short visits from 2007-2013, and dense contacts with globally fluid Taiwanese communities in California and Japan). Anthropologists in the globalizing world have reconsidered the notion of the bounded field.[1] James Clifford has suggested that despite the old notion that anthropologists must "dwell" just like the locals who are fixed in one place, the locals have always been "on the go," or, travelling. Accordingly, anthropologists should not have to remain in one fixed space; joining the "local" people's global travelling network can also be considered a field. In this research, the ethnographic description will interweave inserts from the ethnographer's memoir.

For a more focused field research on the contemporary tourism industry in Japan, I conducted participant-observation field research in Tokyo from October 2013 to December 2014, using English, Mandarin Chinese and Japanese. I worked at a major tourist information center as the information counter staff member, and participated in volunteer opportunities at local tourism organizations as an informal walking-tour guide and translator. Additionally, I participated in a

weekly Chinese-Japanese language exchange circle with language students and part-time workers from mainland China. This meeting often turned into an organic interview session about their everyday experiences in Japan. Regarding visitors from Taiwan, I maintained regular contact with informants from my previous research. I conducted follow-up interviews during their visits to Tokyo. The ethnographic method has been useful in capturing the simultaneity of this mutual exchange of gazes and chaotic traffic of people.

Additional data are taken from multiple forms of comparative media analysis and archival research. During my stay in Tokyo, I collected archival materials – journals and newspaper articles published in the early 20th century – to analyze the discourse of hospitality when the international tourism industry first emerged in Japan. This primary source will be the main data source for the historical research on Japan's tourism industry explored in Chapter One. Furthermore, regardless of where I was physically located during this period of time, I was constantly connected via cyberspace. Online media analysis, whether concurrently – online ethnography – or retrospectively digging through massive amount of online archive, is the main methodology for Chapter Two, in which I discuss online representations of the "Weird Japan" meme.

The theoretical framework of this project largely draws from three bodies of literature: tourism and migration, Japan and postcolonialism, and new media and technology. First, this research aims to complement the vast body of scholarly works on the anthropology of tourism. The practice of traveling itself has a long history, most significantly associated with the "Grand Tour" in which European colonists in the 17th -19th centuries traveled to the colonies for educational purposes. This practice of travel was reserved for the elite, upper-class young men, for whom travel was considered a rite of passage. Travelogues of this era have been extensively

studied by literature scholars and historians. James Clifford (1988) uses old anthropological texts to explore the intersection between the history of travel and anthropological research practice itself. Studies of classical travel literatures display a tension between the rhetoric of the elitist "travel" pursued by White, colonial, men, and the denigration towards mass-commodified "tourism" that emerged in the mid-20th century. Mary Louise Pratt (1992) traces the history of travel writing from the perspective of a literary scholar. Following the 1960s and 1970s when "exoticist visions of plenitude and paradise were appropriated and commodified on an unprecedented scale by the tourist industry," many traditional travel writers were beginning to display nostalgia for "lost idioms of discovery" in their bitter laments towards the "tastelessness of tourism" (1992:221,224). It was not until Dean MacCannell's seminal work *The Tourist* (1976) that social scientists began to approach tourism and systematically theorize it as a mass social phenomenon. Nelson Graburn (1983) brought the discussion to the discipline of anthropology which culminated in Valene Smith's edited volume, *Host and Guest* (1989). Tourism studies, especially in relation to media and image, was further developed in John Urry's concept of the *Tourist Gaze* (1990).

Classical works on the anthropology of tourism are reviewed by Malcolm Crick (1989) and more recently by Amanda Stronza (2001). Noticing a shift towards the end of 1990s, Stronza argues that "the current literature on tourism may be divided conceptually into two halves, one that focuses on understanding the origins of tourism and one that aims to analyze the impacts of tourism" and that "the problem is that many studies about the origins of tourism tend to focus on tourists, and much of the research directed at the impacts of tourism tend to analyze just the locals" (2001:262). Accordingly, there has been an increasing amount of ethnographic studies since the early 2000s that take a more holistic approach by looking at tourism practices from

both the host and the guest ends.

Today, most ethnographic works on tourism are done in the context of Third World development. Common tropes are the study of tourists in pursuit of "sun, sex, sea and sand" in Latin American tourist resorts, and romanticized views of the "primitive savages" and tribal culture in Africa and Asia.[2] There is "heritage tourism" or "roots tourism," in which immigrants and diaspora communities travel back to their homeland in order to trace their ethnic or religious roots and routes.[3] Roots tourism is studied most prominently in African-American tourists to Africa but we have yet to see a scholarship on Asian-American tourists to Asia in search for ethnic heritage.

While these seminal works played a crucial role in the establishment of the anthropology of tourism, it is important to note that they derived heavily from anglo/andro-centric concept of travel. Although there have been some studies on domestic and intra-regional tourism,[4] the majority of these recent literatures have been a lopsided representation, focusing only on Western tourists in the non-West. Interestingly, the countercurrents of travelers from the non-West to developed nations are almost always studied in the framework of migration studies, as migrant workers instead of tourists. In mainstream academic studies, subjects have been labelled stereotypically, with Western travelers as tourists and Third World people as either native hosts or migrants.

In this mainstream discourse of the anthropology of tourism between the Western tourists and Third World natives, no anthropology of tourism study has studied Japan as a tourist destination. As a First World country located in the East, Japan falls into a rather awkward gap, not quite fitting into any typical patterns of tourism such as heritage tourism or Third World tourism. My study complements previous tourism studies by first looking at a non-Third World

country as the destination of travel. In Japanese tourism in particular, much remains to be studied, especially in English language scholarship.[5] Another novel point I wish to make is to interrogate the line between tourist and migrant by studying visitors to Japan from its previous colonies in Asia as tourists, not as migrants. While there are studies that look at the topic of immigration in Japan, studies on Asian tourists have been limited to Japanese scholarship; the English-language literature lacks in-depth ethnographic research on this topic.[6] While "hospitality" is a crucial keyword in the discourse of tourism, previous scholarship has yet to extensively apply Derrida's discussion of hospitality to the dilemmas and tensions of tourism. This study is the first attempt to apply Derrida's exploration of the term as the key theoretical point to analyze the political undercurrent in tourist encounter. Within the framework of postcolonial studies, it is important to emphasize the uniqueness of Japan as a double-edged sword, as both subject to Orientalism and a nation with an imperial past. While tourism is not eminently tied to the nation's development today, it is not completely devoid of exoticization either. Orientalist sentiments towards modern Japan have been explored in the representation of Japan in literature and media, but not in the form of tourism.

This research also highlights the history of the inbound international tourism industry in Japan. Studies on Japanese tourism have focused on pilgrimage, domestic tourism or outgoing tourism.[7] There have been some isolated cases of foreign visitors to Japan during the over 200 years of isolation such as visits of missionaries to Nagasaki and other port cities in the 15th and 16th centuries. However, the notion of international tourism geared towards foreign visitors did not officially appear until the Meiji and Taisho period. The wave of modernization following the Meiji Restoration is a unique moment of rupture that has been studied extensively by scholars of modern Japan. My research contributes to the discourse of Meiji-Taisho Japan by shedding light

on the earliest state of the tourism industry in Japan at the turn of the 20th century. While general information on these organizations has been compiled in Japanese, it has rarely been studied in English scholarship. There is a lack of English scholarship about organizations such as the Welcome Society and Japan Tourist Bureau, and on how the inbound tourism industry came to be established in Japan.[8]

Finally, I look at the question of media and communication in the age of Web 2.0. The final theoretical framework that supports my project centers on the question of mediation and communication. I look at the multiple layers of mediation that exist between the consumed place and the tourist. Digital *mediascape* allows tourist photos to be taken out of context, disproportionately mass-reproduced and "Photoshopped" easily, thus intensifying the ambivalence between the real and the imagined. One important aspect that distinguishes this new media from traditional media is its fragmented nature, easily de-linked from embodied personal memories. This study thus serves as an ethnographic application of emerging theories on tourism and new media. In the process of remembering one's travel experience through digital media, place memories are decomposed into bits and pieces of snapshots or segments of travel stories.

Chapter Outline

I. Hospitality Infrastructure: Pursuing the Civilized

The first chapter follows the discourse of hospitality among the earliest organizations dedicated to the development of the tourism infrastructure in Japan in response to the ever-increasing number of tourists from abroad. The trajectory of the development of hotel amenities narrates an interesting tale of Japan's diligent pursuit of the "civilized West" throughout the 20th century, and suggests how nationalism and Orientalism share much in common. I argue

that Japan's hospitality infrastructure today is a product of the sense of shame held by Meiji and Taisho policymakers concerning the primitive qualities of Japanese-style inns.

The written works of tourism organizations in Japan such as the Welcome Society (1893-1912) and Japan Tourist Bureau (1912-present), prominently feature the discourse of shame regarding Japan's uncivilized facilities — privacy-less rooms, lock-less doors and cover-less toilet bowls. JTB's organizational journal archives the process by which members of these organizations had attempted to reproduce the "civilized" facilities seen in Western hotels. What motivated this movement was not necessarily an altruistic wish to prepare a comfortable space for the visitors, but rather, a self-consciousness that it is a national shame to be unable to provide a comfortable space for visitors.

Interestingly however, at some point, what was made modeling after Western civilization became the civilized East, or the Techno-Orient. Particularly in this chapter, I focus on the transition of the bathroom as representative of the civilizing process of the tourism infrastructure. The repeated discussion of the toilet by The Welcome Society and JTB is especially entertaining. Since that time, they had pursued cleanliness, odorlessness, and privacy inside the stalls. This chasing after modern technology took an ironic turn with the emergence of "supermodern" amenities in Japan today, such as the hyper-clean high-tech bidet toilet. Fueled by the popular imagination of Japan as a futuristic metropolis, I argue that the machine-like automation and excessive hygiene have achieved a new level of exoticism in the tourist gaze today. Tracing the trajectory that the Japanese tourism infrastructure has taken over the course of the past century proves insightful in delineating the process of Techno-Orientalism.

II. Tourist Gaze: Searching for the Oriental

This chapter illustrates how Orientalist imagining of Japan continued to transform and endure in the tourist gazes today. Around the early 2000s, a comical portrayal of Japan as a land of fantastic weirdness and absurdity emerged as a new cultural trend, especially among a certain subgroup of American youths. This "Weird Japan" trope began to form as the celebrated discourse of "Cool Japan" slowly deteriorated and eventually fused with enduring Orientalist fantasies. The maturation of the so-called Web 2.0 platforms further facilitated internet users' encounters with new images and ideas of Japan.

Providing visual and contextual analysis of these images, I look at the cultural and social transfer of the idea of Japan, more specifically, the processes by which images and imaginations of the nation are created and circulated in cyberspace. The aesthetic freedom granted by the digital media to copy and paste, fragment and collage, link and hyperlink separate texts and images has allowed "Japan" to be decomposed and reassembled like a mosaic-like image, constructed with both real and imaginary bits and pieces of information. I argue that this kind of illustration intensifies the Orientalist tendency of Western tourists' pursuits in Japan by ambiguating between the real and the imagined.

In his seminal work on the "tourist gaze," sociologist John Urry noted that preconceived fantasies about travel destinations often serve as an important source of motivation for tourists. By archiving their travel photos and stories on online platforms, tourists also become crucial participants in inseminating the images of Japan and circulating them among future travelers. The final section of this chapter explains how these images influence the actual tourist sites in Japan by focusing on tourists as the particular agents who participate in constructing the images of Japan. I look at online travel blogs and albums as the main platforms where certain memories of imagined

and experienced Japan are archived, discovered and eventually transmitted to other digital consumers as well as future travelers to Japan.

The English-typing netizens often enjoy "Weird Japan" digital content through intentional miscommunication or misinterpretation by way of digital circulation. One of the motifs often seen in this "Weird Japan" brand is Techno-Orientalism. In contrast with Saidian Orientalism, which criticizes the Western gaze that exoticizes the East for its antiquarian pastness, the Techno-Orientalist gaze is turned towards a dystopian futuristic society full of emotionless robots. The lack of humanness caused by excessive technological and economic advancement is now registered as a distinctively Japanese quality and draws attention from the consumers of Japanese media and tourists to Japan.

III. Roles of a Host: Performing the Hospitable

The coexistence of hospitality and hostility in acts of welcome creates an ambivalence in the position and the distance between the host and the guest. The main purpose of this chapter is to display the everyday life of the host and to explore their diverse roles. For one year in 2014, I conducted fieldwork in the tourism industry in Tokyo and welcomed visitors to Japan in various positions, as an employee at a large tourist information center and as a translation volunteer "goodwill guide." I will present an ethnography of these two sites and compare the two in order to discuss the interchangeable power relations between the host and the hosted. I point to the duality of the roles of a host that range from master to servant.

I argue that in the "guest-servant" relationship, the guest is in the dominant position, while the servant's position is to provide food, drink, and mundane information to guests. The staff working at the information center registered their acts of hospitality as part of their work. In comparison, in the "guest-master" relationship, the master presents knowledge on topics like local

geography, culture and history. While the role of the information staff at the tourist center was to mechanically provide the information demanded by the visitors, the *sensei* of Japanese culture classes and volunteer guide's stances were more like providing wisdom about Japanese geography and history to the ignorant tourists. The volunteer guides regard hosting tourists as an opportunity for English practice and international mingling. There emerges a hierarchy among the hosts between host-as-job and host-as-leisure.

Finally, I explore the role of the host as a "translator" in a liminal position. In both of my fieldsites, I was not the original source of information, but was merely passing on second-hand information I had "borrowed" from the internet or other people, such as the database or *sensei*. From the guest's perspective, it may have seemed as if the information and knowledge they were given came directly from the host. In reality, however, the information was nothing but shared knowledge, passed on from someone else. Much of the host's role can be considered as that of a cultural translator, as the role of the host is oftentimes not to provide the original information, but to mediate and reinterpret the information in different contexts.

IV. Guests from Greater China: Welcoming the Ex-Colonized

Tourists from the Greater China Region have always represented the largest group of visitors to Japan. Interviews with visitors from China and Taiwan suggest that Japan exists within the continuum of their everyday lives, in the realm of the extended "domestic." While this mundane presence of Japan implies a persisting power dynamic between Japan and the Greater China, we can also observe a curious bifurcation of the "plural Chinas" emerging within the dynamics of Chinese tourists in Japan. Zooming in further onto the different localities within this Greater China Region, namely mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, it is apparent that the types of "everyday" they experience are different. To fully understand the "ethnoscape"

(Appadurai 1990) – the landscape of human flow – in Japan, it is necessary to look at the larger migration dynamics of tourists, students, and immigrants as a broader continuous phenomenon rather than a rigid, self-contained category. The final part of this dissertation attempts to reveal the plural, disjunctive realities of the "Chinas" that are becoming visible in today's Chinese ethnoscape to and from Japan.

I expand the discussion of the emerging hierarchy and disjuncture within Asia by delving into the history of Japan and the Greater China, particularly unpacking the rise and fall of the political ideology of *Ajia-shugi*, or Asianism. The Asianists' ideals of strengthening the ties among Asian nations in order to fight back the West together, along with its romanticized rhetoric of brotherhood, is regarded today as an embarrassing propaganda used by the Japanese militaristic government as an excuse to justify its colonization projects. However, it is important to revisit the ideologies of Asianism as it first emerged in the late 19th century in order to understand the history and legacy of Japan's relations with the nations of — as well as the concept itself of — Asia. The discourses of Orientalism and Asianism are in fact quite similar, with the common aim being to generalize the uniqueness of Asia to contrast with the West. The Asianists' motivation had been to create one large Eastern Empire, to properly host the guests from the West, which simultaneously aimed to protect "Asian values" from the invasive enemy. Today, Japan's relations with other parts of Asia continue to be a "domestic" relation, as a part of the same imagined household: the familiar "us" on the host side, never a guest. The postcolonial contradiction emerges in the power dynamics of tourism industry in contemporary Japan, in the hierarchy of hosts that stands ambivalently between brotherhood on equal footing, and asymmetric paternalistic relation.

I. Hospitality Infrastructure
—Pursuing the Civilized—

"The bathroom must definitely be odorless." — The Welcome Society (1893)

Tourism Industry in Meiji and Taisho Japan

The politics of hospitality during the emergent stage of Japan's tourism industry speak with surprising relevance to the contemporary politics of Japan, which continue to vacillate between the West and Asia as awkwardly as in the past. It was at the turn of the 20th century when the tourism industry officially became a national project in Japan. The steady increase of foreign visitors since the Meiji Restoration (1868) prompted the establishment of the Welcome Society (*Kihinkai*) in 1893 as an organization for hosting these guests. The inaugural reception of the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) held in February 1913 was permeated with a sentiment of shame regarding the "completely pathetic" state of Japan's travel industry at the time (Japan Tourist Bureau 1913:3-31). Newspaper and journal articles circulated among the members of Welcome Society and JTB exude a strong sense of insecurity regarding how the uncivilized spaces of hospitality in Japan might appear in the eyes of foreign visitors. The writers also found the mannerisms of travel industry workers embarrassing, and made efforts to re-discipline the intrusive, disorganized, and impolite attitudes of hotel managers, maids and street vendors. Privacy and cleanliness, quietness and politeness were the features that Meiji and Taisho elites considered key for truly civilizing the Japanese hospitality infrastructure.

Tracing the genealogical roots of Japan's tourism industry, I begin the narrative on April 11, 1867, when the 27-year-old Eiichi Shibusawa, later dubbed the "Father of Japanese Capitalism," checked in at the Grand Hotel on Boulevard des Capucines, Paris. Leaving the country for the first

time, Shibusawa had traveled across the ocean to attend the Exposition Universelle which was held right at the moment when Japan officially opened up the nation for international trade. Marking Japan's first participation in an event of this kind, this international exposition was a site of mutual encounters where Oriental arts like woodblock prints inspired the Japonisme movement among the European impressionist painters, and Japanese encounters with post-industrial Europe left a deep impression on the young Shibusawa, who had accompanied the Japanese delegation as its treasurer.[9] Inundated with artifacts of refined craftsmanship and newly invented technologies of the West, Shibusawa comments in his diary with a mixture of awe and lament, "It is impossible for me to understand the logic behind its workings. It is deplorable that all I can do is glance over them, as if they are passing clouds and smoke before my eyes" (Shibusawa 1867 [1928]: 82). Visiting the Exposition itself was only a part of the delegation's diplomatic mission. Shibusawa's copious diary entries record the delegation's extravagant itinerary across Europe, touring from Geneva to London, hopping from one luxury hotel to another.[10] It was this trip that exposed Shibusawa to the latest technologies of the hospitality industry and inspired him to import the tourism industry into Japan.

Returning from Europe the following year, Shibusawa spent the next 20 years working for the Ministry of Finance to lay the groundwork for developing Japan's economic infrastructure. Shibusawa served as the first president of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry from 1878 to 1905 (Japan Tourist Bureau 1937:242-3). The Meiji government was officially established in 1885, and with the declaration of the Meiji constitution in 1890, Japan began its career as a "modern nation." Western technology and establishments rushed in.[11] Shibusawa had become one of the most powerful financial moguls by the time he became the manager of the Imperial Hotel in 1890. As traveling to Europe became a common practice for Meiji elites,

concerns intensified among Shibusawa's contemporaries that the Japanese tourism industry was greatly lagging behind those of European countries. In 1893, Shibusawa and Takashi Masuda, the president of Mitsui & Co., jointly established the Welcome Society as the nation's first organization dedicated to developing a hospitality infrastructure for foreign guests (Japan Tourist Bureau 1937:242-3).

By the end of Meiji (1868-1912) to early Taisho (1912-1926), the number of foreign visitors is said to have grown to around 20,000 per year. Swift preparation of a tourism infrastructure to accommodate them had become one of the most urgent priorities on the national modernization agenda. The broader goal of the Welcome Society was to refurbish Japan as a presentable nation to the ever-increasing number of incoming tourists. In March 1893, the Welcome Society held its inaugural meeting, during which they declared their mission statement:

> The outstanding quality of our nation's natural scenery and the craftsmanship of artwork have long been praised abroad; ladies and gentlemen who come visit from thousands of miles away are increasing each day and month. Yet, the facilities to welcome them are ill-prepared, and it is deplorable that we disappoint quite a few of these visitors. Deeply embarrassed, it is our mission to welcome ladies and gentlemen who come from afar, to provide them with the pleasures of travel and convenience of tourism, and indirectly, to cultivate close relationships between us and them and encourage the development of international trade (Welcome Society 1893 [reprinted in Japan Tourist Bureau 1937:242-3]).

The mixture of national pride and shame in this statement was a recurring sentiment apparent throughout the discourse of hospitality at this time. Following this statement, they list the concrete

roles they intend to play in order to achieve this long-term vision, advising hotel managers on how to improve facilities, educating tour guides, and preparing English brochures.[12]

The Welcome Society managed to sustain its operations for the next 20 years, but it was difficult to maintain viable and consistent engagement with its activities due to the voluntary and sporadic nature of its members' commitment, aggravated by the organization's precarious budget. On February 3, 1913, 72 year-old Shibusawa officially passes the baton to the Japan Tourist Bureau at its inaugural reception held inside his very own Imperial Hotel (Japan Tourist Bureau 1913:3-31). Shibusawa's inauguration speech gives a sense of how JTB had been entrusted with the Welcome Society's incomplete goals. Following the lead of Ikuno Danroku, the inaugural president of JTB,[13] Shibusawa is welcomed to the podium. His speech projects a sense of weary resignation that the Welcome Society's contributions to the development of tourism infrastructure had been limited. Upon hearing about the contemporary situation of the travel industry in Europe, Shibusawa laments:

> Mr. Ikuno has given us an extensive account of the current situation abroad, but every time I hear these stories, I compare them to the state of our country's industry and feel completely pathetic. In comparison to how the foreign matters are so well maintained and cared for, I think it is deplorable that we had absolutely no facilities like it in Japan until now (Shibusawa 1913:10).

In his humble recollection, Shibusawa states that the Welcome Society was a "failed attempt," though he ends his speech with a hopeful outlook that his unrealized dreams are in good hands with the JTB: "Perhaps the Welcome Society is like the Chen Sheng-Wu Guang Uprising," comparing himself to the defeated Chinese peasants whose legacy eventually gave rise to the great Han dynasty (Shibusawa 1913:12). Perhaps the Welcome Society might not be a complete

embarrassment, Shibusawa humbly wishes, if his successors can take over the role of realizing its original mission.

Shibusawa's speech is followed by that of Sakatani Yoshiro, the incumbent mayor of Tokyo at the time who also happened to be Shibusawa's son-in-law. "I'll come right to the point," Sakatani's brusque manner stands in contrast with Shibusawa's rather vague musing; "The job which the 'Tourist Bureau' must take on at this moment, I believe, is the 'hotel' project" (Sakatani 1913:13). Sakatani critically remarks that the current poor financial state of hotel management in Japan is caused by a vicious cycle of deteriorating facilities and declining number of visitors. The hotels lacked resources to improve their quality, and the ill-equipped facilities inevitably repelled the guests further. The hotel industry was a low-return investment at this time, and Sakatani lobbies for state involvement, which he assures them will eventually be profitable for Japan in the long run. "It is perfectly fine to invest in various things like the cable railways in the mountains of Hakone, but as we say, 'Dumplings before Flowers (*Hana yori Dango*);' we cannot enjoy the blossoming flowers with an empty stomach. Bringing up the level of our hotels is our first priority," Sakatani firmly declares, quoting an old adage about prioritizing the essential over the extra (Sakatani 1913:16).

Housed under the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry and established with the aim of promoting international business relationships among the financial elite, the Welcome Society's vague ideals for catching up with the West often did not involve a concrete blueprint to achieve this goal. On the other hand, JTB was spearheaded by the policy makers of Japanese Government Railways who were more interested in consolidating the travel infrastructures of Japan. When JTB officially took over, the Welcome Society's larger vision was brought to the realm of practical implementation, or how exactly the hotel facilities could be engineered for improvement. Textual

archives of the Welcome Society and JTB help unpack how the members and supporters of these organizations pursued an appropriate way to host foreign visitors. While the Welcome Society did not have an official publication, newspaper articles often reported on its activities, at times serving as the organization's publicity outlet regarding the increasing traffic of international tourists. Articles in the *Asahi Shimbun* consistently supported the efforts of the Welcome Society and vocally criticized the uncivilized, embarrassing manners with which Japan's laypeople welcomed tourists. In June 1913, JTB launched the journal *Tourist*, which was circulated among travel industry workers and served as the main platform of discussion for JTB members.[14] The articles range from constructive advice to sheer complaints directed towards various aspects of the Japanese tourism industry. Recurring complaints about unlockable rooms, unsanitary utensils and unbearable odors in the bathroom suggest that remodeling the accommodation facilities stood out as one of the most urgent agendas. In the following section, I focus particularly on two facets of hospitality, ill-equipped hotels and ill-mannered hosts, to analyze how the ideals of "civilized hospitality" were conceptualized among the Meiji and Taisho elites.

Ill-equipped hotels

One of the most important roles the Welcome Society intended to play was to provide advice on improving accommodation facilities in Japan. The Welcome Society's first lecture to inn managers across Japan published in the *The Asahi Shimbun* in 1893 repeatedly emphasizes the protection of guest privacy. "Westerners usually require one room per person," they advise with the following warning, "When entering the guest room, you must first knock on the door outside the room, and open the door only after you have gotten the permission to enter" (The Welcome Society, quoted in *The Asahi Shimbun,* September 15, 1893). Securing privacy for the bathroom is enforced much more firmly. The lecture suggests that "the bathroom should be able to lock from

within," in order to allow full control of privacy to the foreign guests. Issues with bathroom sanitation are also further discussed in the end: "The bathroom should be improved by installing a bowl that can be sat on, and it must have a lock on the inside. The bathroom must definitely be odorless, and also it would be most ideal to have the dirty matters flushed away with water each time" (The Welcome Society, quoted in the *The Asahi Shimbun*, September 15, 1893). Concerns for privacy and hygiene were constantly present at the core of Meiji elites' senses of shame about Japanese accommodations, and this sentiment lingers as the society enters the Taisho period.

From its launching issue, articles circulated in the journal *Tourist* consistently expressed the need for more tourist accommodations in Japan. It is evident that JTB was seriously devoted to the "hotel project" as proposed by Sakatani in his speech. New construction of hotels was indeed part of the agenda, but what was simultaneously underway as the more feasible option was the conversion of preexisting inns in Japan. Ikuno Danroku writes the editorial at the beginning of each issue regarding the goals and agendas for the still inchoate tourism industry. In his first entry in 1913 titled "Requests for Japanese-style *Ryokans* in Hosting Foreign Guests," Ikuno gives concrete suggestions on how to physically remodel their old facilities. The piece is essentially a detailed reiteration of the Welcome Society's lecture published in the *The Asahi Shimbun* 20 years before. Highly concerned about privacy and hygiene, Ikuno lists the necessary changes that must be made:

- For the rooms allotted to foreign guests, it is best to avoid paper-made partition like *fusuma* or *shoji* and ideally, there should be a wall to serve as the partition between rooms (Ikuno 1913: 5).
- As it is the foreigners' habits to use soap in the bathtub, the used water is dirty and not appropriate for reuse. They also do not like using the bathtubs that have

already been used by others. Therefore, the water must be replaced upon each use (1913:7).

- Because foreigners generally do not like their naked bodies to be seen by others, a device must be installed to lock the bath-room from the inside (1913:7).

He thus emphasizes the necessity of locks and solid partitions between rooms to protect guests' privacy.

Ikuno continues to discuss the hygiene of hotel facilities and amenities, and that paying attention to cleanliness is something that should be obvious to any host:

- On the dining table, knife, fork and spoon should be placed accompanying chopsticks. However, those with even the slightest stains or rust must be absolutely avoided.
- On the dining table, an immaculate white napkin should be placed. It goes without saying that a used one should not be reused until washed.
- It goes without saying that everything about the *ryokan* must be based on the principle of cleanliness, but in regards to dining, preparation must be exceptionally thorough. Attention must be paid greatly to enforce cleanliness upon cleanliness (1913:6).

Careful reading of Ikuno's texts implies that maintaining the hotel amenities in pristine condition is not merely about their cleanliness, but more precisely about erasing the traces of former uses by washing them thoroughly. Echoing his advice to change the bath water each time after use, the repeated emphasis to avoid reusing broadly relates to the idea of privacy. By removing all traces of previous guests, amenities at the traveler's accommodation must appear as if for the guest's exclusive use, not shared with an unknown stranger.

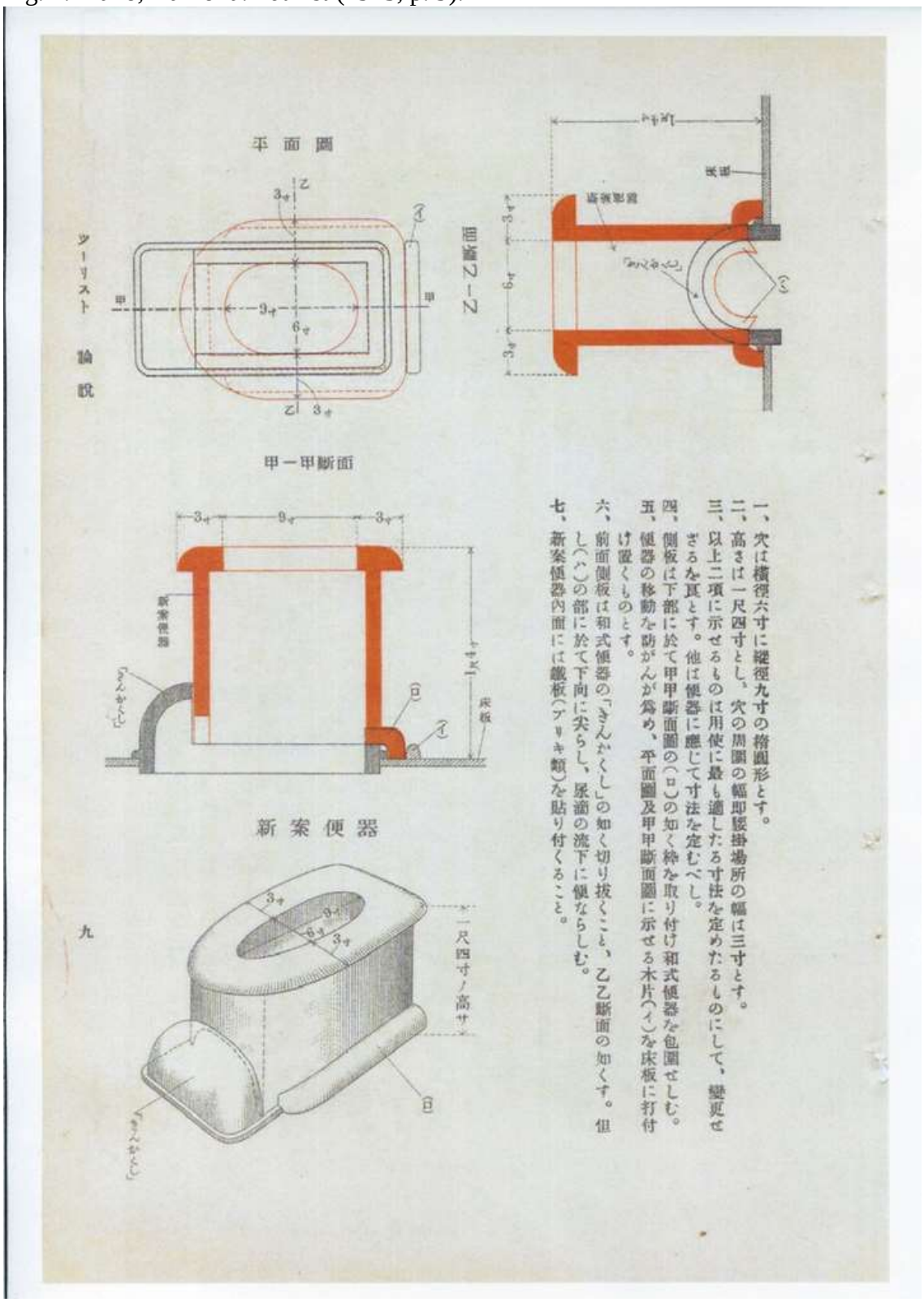
> Ikuno's guidelines for bathroom engineering go further in depth. He begins: Because foreigners have a different domestic lifestyle from the Japanese, they are not able to bend their knees as freely as the Japanese. For this reason, the toilet at a Japanese *ryokan* is what the foreigner feels to be one of the biggest inconveniences. Therefore if possible, even though it is not like remodeling it into a purely Western style toilet, it is acceptable to install a temporary measure as per the illustration on the left (1913:8).

Complete with an elaborate blueprint of his very own design, he provides the illustration of his "newly suggested toilet bowl" in which he notes with all earnestness the optimal measurements to install a chair-like apparatus over the existing one to serve as a cover (Fig. 1).

> In addition to fixing the shape, Ikuno's request continues regarding the smell: We might as well call the remarkable stench the unique characteristic of a Japanese-style toilet, and even us Japanese also find it hardly bearable, so the level of suffering the foreigner must feel about it is unimaginable. Therefore, it is crucial to either install a deodorant device, or spray a deodorant at least once a day, and try to keep the smell from spreading (1913:9-10).

While the necessity for a sitting toilet is ascribed to the different physiology between the Japanese and the foreigner, he grieves about the olfactory unpleasantness as a universal nuisance. From the type of facilities he deemed appropriate for Western tourists, we can infer how Ikuno drew the cultural boundary between "Japanese" and "foreigners," and conversely, what he conceptualized as universal human comfort.

Fig. 1. Ikuno, Danroku. *Tourist* (1913, p. 9).



一、穴は横徑六寸に縱徑九寸の楕圓形とす。

二、高さは一尺四寸とし、穴の周圍の幅即腰掛場所の幅は三寸とす。

三、以上二項に示せるものは用使に最も適したる寸法を定めたるものにして、變更せざるを眞とす。他は便器に應じて寸法を定むべし。

四、側板は下部に於て甲甲斷面圖の(ロ)の如く枠を取り付け和式便器を包圍せしむ。

五、便器の移動を防がんが爲め、平面圖及甲甲斷面圖に示せる木片(イ)を床板に打付け置くものとす。

六、前面側板は和式便器の「きんかくし」の如く切り抜くこと、乙乙斷面の如くす。但し(ハ)の部に於て下向に尖らし、尿適の流下に便ならしむ。

七、新案便器內面には鐵板(ブリキ類)を貼り付くること。

Another piece titled "*Yadoya* and the *Hoteru*," written in 1921 by Iida Kirō[15] provides a rich text to further examine the nuanced ways in which Japanese and Western styles were marked during this time. His article is a radical and comical reiteration of Ikuno's list of things to improve, in the form of an endless stream of complaints for the *yadoya,* intermixed with his appreciation for the *hoteru*. Embarrassments related to lack of privacy, filth, and odor identified in previous discussions converge in this article under the general concern for the *yadoya*'s openness. First he criticizes how the "paper-made" Japanese houses, alluding to the thin-paper partitions between rooms called *fusuma* and *shoji*, violate the auditory privacy of the occupants. He writes, "You can't even talk in the room. You will hear the talking and noise of your neighbors as if you are in the same room. It is conventional for newlyweds to travel for their 'honeymoon,' but […] Japan would not be appropriate for a honeymoon" (Iida 1921:15). Iida takes the following discussion to fundamentally rethink the boundaries between public and private spaces in and of the *yadoya*. He is bothered by the fact that many guests do not seem to mind leaving their doors unlocked at the *yadoya*. He suggests, "if you perceive the hallway as the street and the room as each house, then it is natural to lock the doors," urging the readers to shift their mindset and start registering the *yadoya* as a public establishment. He argues;

> Even under the same roof, an inn, which is a crowd of misfit strangers of questionable origins, must be made so that one can feel safe. A room in a foreign country (not merely at hotels, but any given "room" in a house) always has a lock. The room is your own castle, you can feel safe both inside, and going out. The Japanese-style's leave-it-open philosophy (*akeppanashi shugi*) has gone too far (1921:14).

Repeatedly stressing that hotel rooms are fundamentally different from how rooms within a single house are conceptualized in Japan, Iida seems to extend his criticism to the ways in which Japanese architecture can be quite liberal when marking the inside and the outside of the building.

His irritation for *yadoya*'s publicness erupts as he provides a detailed account of his own experience in the bathroom. He writes, "Since many do not have locks from inside, some random stranger would suddenly barge in at the middle of your business; you're so startled that not only your hiccup might stop, even your bowel movement is also interrupted, sometimes. You don't feel safe at all to take care of your business" (1921:17). He echoes Ikuno's request to fix the stench and filth; "You go to the toilet, you see the pool of exposed human waste infested with maggots, sometimes they splash" and notes with disgust, "you can even smell the odor from few guest rooms away" (1921:16-17). The excerpts displayed above show that it was the lack of private and sanitary spaces that these writers found inadequate about the accommodation facilities in Japan.

Ill-mannered hosts

Another aspect of the hospitality infrastructure which these organizations called for improving was the professional attitudes of workers in the travel industry. Improving the ill-equipped hotel facilities centered on the physical erasure of the traces of bare human activities by building technologies for locking, flushing, and deodorizing. Civilizing the ill-mannered hosts involved disciplining the local people to engage in social encounters with the guests with politeness and order. In particular, the process introduced a systematic distance between the host and the guest in order to keep any form of intrusion on or disturbance of the guests to a minimum level.

Several articles in the *The Asahi Shimbun* summarize the sense of criticism among Meiji elites on the issues of impolite hosts, such as merchants swindling foreign visitors. An anonymous opinion piece from May 8, 1906 titled "Hosting Foreign Visitors" begins as follows:

> It has been seven years since the promulgation of the imperial rescript regarding the conciliation of foreigners. How can we dare say that we have successfully tamed the foreigners? The preparation of the hotels is grossly insufficient. During years like this when foreign tourists number in the tens of thousands, it is despicable that several hundred of them do not even have a house to stay in, miserably wandering on the street (*The Asahi Shimbun*, May 8, 1906).

The article refers to the imperial rescript delivered on June 30, 1899 by the Meiji Emperor, in which he requests the people realize his ideals of constructing a modern, open, and civilized empire. He wishes that the tens of millions of his people will "unite and become one" and work hard to "intermingle with foreigners, maintain the dignity of the national people, and elicit the imperial illumination" (Meiji Emperor 1899 [1907]: 22).

The imperial rescript was in response to the revision regarding Japan's so called unequal treaty. The diplomatic desire to establish equal political relations with modern nations in the West had reached its peak at this time. *The Asahi Shimbun*'s article rephrases the emperor's original request to intermingle with foreigners and to protect the imperial dignity as "conciliating" (*kaiju*) the visitors from far away, critically remarking that the reality of Japan's tourism industry is far from his majesty's ideal. The author gives an example by describing a common scenario of an encounter between the local host and the foreign guest:

> At the mere sight of a foreigner, the local host pulls up the price, deals with them with carelessness, does not properly provide them with the information that they

> should. The fact that we welcome these rare guests (*chinkyaku*) who happen to sail all the way here with numerous inconveniences and unpleasantness must change (*The Asahi Shimbun*, May 8, 1906).

While the author of this essay is unknown, we can get a sense of his elite social standing through his mentions of personal relations with foreign visitors. Personally collecting complaints from his foreign acquaintances in the military and consulate general, the author reports on their uncomfortable experiences in Japan, such as rudely receiving "pointing fingers" on the streets "as if they are a Gaul hostage pulled around the city of Rome," or the fact that whenever a foreign traveler buys a souvenir, the cost is always 10% or 20% more expensive than the local price, and that some souvenir vendors even set a higher price at the mere site of a foreigner. "How can we dare say that we have successfully tamed the foreigners?" he questions. Listing the rude treatments that have made the guests feel unwelcome, he critically points out Japan's failure to respond to the emperor's wish to "conciliate" the incoming visitors (*The Asahi Shimbun*, May 8, 1906).

In a similar opinion piece published two months later titled "Foreigner versus Merchant," the author signing with the name Shōtei begins by commending the Welcome Society's wonderful efforts in providing a satisfactory stay to foreign visitors. He claims, "To have many foreigners come into our Japanese domestic territory and complete their travel pleasantly is something we all hope for in the nation equally, from high to low to ordinary" (Shōtei 1906). The author warns that this however should not be seen as an opportunity to make "unreasonable money (*fujori no kane*)," as some merchants appear to believe, "still thinking that all they should do is to just swindle an exorbitant amount of money from foreigners, using all possible tactics to put money in their own pockets." Shōtei narrates an anecdote of when he accompanied his British friend around the city.

The social, cultural, and linguistic capital he has for being a "friend" to such British expat again suggests his high social standing within Japan (Shōtei 1906).

On this particular occasion, he accompanied the British guest to a theater to watch a stage performance, where they were charged twice as much the regular fee. Shōtei, as a good friend and host, argues with the theater manager but the manager justifies himself by saying, "Some guests don't like it when foreigners sit next to them, foreigners have a larger body size." The manager then follows up with friendly advice to the author, the Japanese host: "Foreigners aren't stingy so you should take advantage of him too." Shotei observes that "the audiences (at the theater) seem to be enjoying the dispute between the manager and myself rather than the actual performance itself," and having nothing else he could do, ended up giving up on the negotiation. "When I accompany said British man to a shop, I see a couple lolling around at the back of the shop." He continues, "Rickshaws are a few times more expensive, haircuts are a few times more expensive, oh my oh my." In the end, he again endorses the activities of organizations like the Welcome Society for making great progress in improving Japanese tourism industry, but points out its double standard that on the other hand, "we give the discontent and unpleasantness as shown above" (Shōtei 1906).

Regarding the interaction etiquette between the hosts and the guests, establishing a clear pricing system was one of the points Ikuno also briefly mentions in his editorial piece. "Foreigners would generally tip the maids and boys, but they would not leave a service fee (*chadai*) at the *ryokan*. For this reason, you must set the accommodation price accordingly and leave a sign that clearly states that service fee is not necessary for the *ryokan* (Ikuno 1913:7). Additionally, Ikuno touches upon his concerns regarding the noise level at the accommodation, requesting both the workers and local guests to keep quiet in order for the foreign customers to enjoy a tranquil environment. "Japanese hotels have widely gained a reputation among foreigners for being so loud

that they cannot sleep well at night. Therefore, it is important to keep quiet at night in the hallway and rooms next door, and also be careful when opening and closing the *amado* (the wooden exterior door)" (1913:7).

Iida's essay picks up the points Ikuno made and expands them in the typically disgruntled persona of his. With a livid tone, he complains about his unpleasant experience with the Japanese inn's noisy environment. "They open the *amado* by your head and at the terrace so noisily — *gara-gara* — while people are still asleep in the morning without a single nod of greeting or a hint of consideration. What is this!" His rant continues, sprinkled with an array of vivid onomatopoeias:

> I'm lying there, hoping to have a good night sleep, in the comforts of an early morning, when they come and destroy your good night's sleep. Who asked you to open that door? Why do you have to wake me up like that? Here and there, all over the house, *gara-gara-gara-gara* they walk all over the *ryokan*, stomping all the hotel guests awake. What an unbelievably heartless deed, or should I say, violence. Sleepyheads can't even sleep in. You end up waking up in so much annoyance. […] You pretend you didn't hear the noise and try to go back to sleep. Suddenly a boy or a maid would barge into your bedroom without notice — with no consideration for whether you're sleeping with your wife or lover (Iida 1921:13).

He then turns his complaints towards other Japanese guests in the subsection titled "Midnight Party Next Door (*don chan sawagi*)." The fact that he also targets fellow guests in addition to the hotel workers as a source of uncivilized hospitality suggests that he categorizes domestic guests as hosts rather than guests.

> Because there is only a single thin layer of *fusuma* or *shoji* partition between you and your neighbor, it is a serious problem when your neighboring guest starts a drinking party, or invites a geisha. There is no way you can sleep until very late at night. The ground shakes from them jumping up and down. Some might start singing a boorish song or begin having vulgar conversations, seriously bothering the other guests (1921:19).

Iida moves on to critique the unprofessional appearance and attitude of the workers:

> On the rare occasions where a server actually appears, it is usually a lowly servant with stinky hair, dirty clothes, and no training. They would rather give a sense of unpleasantness to the guests. It is this ultimate lack of attention and care that makes for an unpleasant stay to the guests, instead of a pleasant one (1921:16).

In Iida's comparison of the *yadoya* and the *hoteru,* he suggests that the master of the inn at a Japanese *yadoya* lacks the professional decorum of that of a successful manager of the *hoteru*. The article ends with Iida's attempts to elevate the quality of the *yadoya* by equating it, definitionally, with the *hoteru*. He mentions how "the *yadoya* has long been considered an inferior business" that even those running them have not taken very seriously (1921:21). On the other hand, the *hoteru* "is a highly regarded industry," and he proves his point by referring to "Mr. Shibusawa," the high profile hotel manager who had by then become a symbol of prosperity. Iida admonishes; "*The yadoya is the hoteru*. The owner is not just a good-for-nothing 'master of the house' or a 'daddy,' (*oyaji*) but a regular businessman" (1921:21). By equating the two terms, Iida underscores the fact that the Japanese-style *yadoya* is not inherently inferior to the Western-style hotel. He claims that the *yadoya* must strive to become an establishment as respectable as the *hoteru*, and the owners as professional and successful as Shibusawa himself.

Tourism Infrastructure: Heterotopia, Civilization, and Hospitality

The previous section traced the voices of the members of The Welcome Society and Japan Tourist Bureau who cried out for a proper establishment of hospitality infrastructure by improving the quality of hotels and hosts. In the following section, I dissect the ideas of civilization and hospitality that surfaced in the particular complaints and suggestions they made. First, I direct my attention to the hospitality infrastructure as a unique space that is limited in time. I borrow the term "heterotopia" (Foucault 1986), a space where different types of space mix and clash in an uncanny dissonance, and will look at the concept of the "hotel chronotope" (Clifford 1997) as a particular example of such a heterotopic hospitality infrastructure — a space limited in time that simultaneously involves both traveling and dwelling. Next, I interpret the development of the Japanese tourism industry in accordance with what Nobert Elias (1978) calls the "civilization process," and argue that the clash between "civilization" and "culture" occurred in the hospitality spaces. Finally, I will consider the question, "Why did they so urgently pursue such 'civilized hospitality'?" by looking at the dilemma of power dynamics inherent in the concept of "hospitality."

The fleeting nature of the hotel space has been much discussed by the thinkers of space and place. Hospitality spaces are temporary spaces that can exist only within the duration of the traveler's stay. The construction of hotels was not a project of Japan's permanent Westernization, but rather, a construction of a Western time-space. Michel Foucault (1986) uses the term "heterotopia" to describe spaces of contradiction, a single real space in which several incompatible spaces are juxtaposed, such as the cinema, theater, fairgrounds, vacation villages and motels. The hotel room for the traveler could be categorized as what he calls the "heterotopia of the festival," the empty spaces linked to time, temporarily filled with transitory, precarious events (1986: 25).

James Clifford (1997) challenges the traditional binary of dwelling-as-permanent and traveling-as-transitory by calling attention to the "hotel chronotope" as a site for simultaneous dwelling *and* traveling. The hotel is the visitor's home away from home. It only becomes a home during the visitor's travel, much like the theatrical stage that can exist only within the duration of its performance.

Foucault defines theater and the cinema as heterotopias under the principle that "the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (1986: 25). Theater fits this principle because it "brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another" and by a similar logic, cinema is also a heterotopia for it is a "very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space" (1986: 25). It is quite insightful to make an analogy between the hotel and the theater. If tourists are comparable to the theater-goers who came to watch "Japanese culture" being performed on either a stage or screen, whatever that happens in the performance should be radically different and original; it is this cultural uniqueness that the audience came to see. Yet, it is not so much the uniqueness but rather the quality that is pursued for all the off-stage infrastructures of the theater itself, such as the visual quality, sound-mixing and lighting technology or the comfortable seats. The infrastructural quality of the theater plays an invisible yet crucial role in supporting the performance on stage. An ideal infrastructure is an unnoticeable one; it is only when they experience a technical difficulty or a broken seat that viewers experience interruption. The hotel is similar to the theater. Tourism infrastructures are invisible spaces that support the behind-the-scenes of cultural performance, and facilitate the tourist's travel itinerary without inconvenience. The hotel project, as well as the entire tourism industry campaign of the early 20th

century was in a way similar to building the state-of-the-art theater with modern technology, so as not to interfere with the ethnic, cultural performance on stage. It is in this way that "culture" as a performance on stage, and "civilization" as the offstage infrastructure, bifurcated in the development of tourism industry.

The very first projects in Japan for building new hotels for Western travelers resulted in the making of a heterotopia, where Western and Japanese values, architectural design, and people cohabit. This was not a full-scale Westernization project of Japanese domestic lifestyles, but rather was an importation of a slice of Western time-space. It was a space that is inherently temporal and necessarily private; the dwellers are transitory travelers away from home, but they engage in the most intimate, domestic activities in it. It was the crafting of space in Japan that momentarily allowed for a Western private life.

Crafting a "home away from home" requires a delicate balance. The traveler should not completely feel at home as they are in in-between travel, but a certain level of basic comfort must also be provided. While one's motivation to travel may be to experience something radically different from one's ordinary everyday, the temporary residence is also where the traveler's most private, domestic activities take place. It is like a haven for tourists that provides semblance of the familiar amidst a sea of unfamiliar cultures. Balancing between the familiar home and the exotic away, the hotel owners must ask the following question: To what extent should the tourists "feel at home"? To what extent should they be reminded that they are in Japan? The hotel heterotopia is an artifact of this tension between the comfortable and the unfamiliar.

The Japanese hotel's attempts to civilize = Westernize its bathrooms in particular represent this dilemma of the hotel. The tourist may be an outsider to the local culture, but they, in line with universal human nature, are by no means exempt from "nature's calling." The

bathroom is one of the most important components of the hotel infrastructure that is an absolute necessity for the tourist, and where comfort is prioritized over cultural uniqueness. Unlike touristic destinations where the branding of Japaneseness is pursued, infrastructural spaces were never meant to be culturally branded. Particularly for basic amenities such as the bathroom, more effort is made to improve its overall quality than to make it a unique attraction for tourists.

As Norbert Elias points out in his seminal work *The Civilizing Process* (1978), civilization as a "ready-made possession" (Elias 1978: 59) of the West had become a common assumption by the mid-20th century. Rethinking this simplistic equation of civilization and the West, Elias takes a careful look at the processes by which civilized behavior came to be defined and acquired. In particular, he calls attention to forks, handkerchiefs, and sleep gowns as some of the iconic items that emerged out of the "barbaric" state of the European Middle Ages. Hygienic management of food preparation, bodily fluids like snot and spit, and nudity were the particular arenas where he observed the rise of civilization in the 16th century Europe. Elias describes it as the "invisible wall of affects which seems now to rise between one human body and another, repelling and separating, the wall which is often perceptible today at the mere approach of something that has been in contact with the mouth or hands of someone else, and which manifests itself as embarrassment at the mere sight of many bodily functions of others, and often at their mere mention, or as a feeling of shame when one's own functions are exposed to the gaze of others" (1978: 69-70). It was the erection of such an "invisible wall" between human bodies and the sense of shame regarding one's bodily functions that served as the core of various behavioral changes in the civilizing process.

The exact same process is repeated in Japan's hospitality industry in the early 20th century. The "walls" manifest in a much more literal sense as the construction of solid partitions between private rooms. As we have seen, members of the Welcome Society and JTB defined an ideally

civilized hospitality infrastructure as having specific qualities, such as private and pristine space, as well as polite and professional people. The pursuit of hygiene and privacy in the hotel could be understood more specifically as the safe removal of primal, intimate activities to a personal space: sleeping in one's private room, naked bodies in the bath-room, human waste and odor in the bathroom. It was considered uncivilized to have private human bodies and activities be exposed, interrupted, and shared with strangers. Broadly speaking, it was the openness in the Japanese accommodation that was frowned upon as shameful and barbaric. Civilized accommodations were to have the technologies to erase the traces of bodily human matters built into the architecture: locking, flushing, cleaning, and deodorizing. Allen Chun, in his study of the development of Japan's toilet, writes that originally, the development of the bathroom in the West was to "control and domesticate otherwise primal human behaviors," and he claims that "there is a clear association between toilets and civilizing processes" (Chun 2002:155). Even though it is the most primal bodily function of humans as animals, it is something to be segregated, dismissed, and put away from sight, as something disgusting. Civilization meant removing the toilet from site and sight, to dismiss and remove the most primal bodily function of humans.

Following a similar logic, open and frank communication between hosts and guests was also considered a social faux pas. Hosts were requested to behave with polite mannerism and etiquette in order to maintain a social wall between themselves and the guests. It was considered unprofessional for the hosts to invade the guests' privacy. Writers like Ikuno and Iida repeatedly urge both the local hosts and other domestic guests at the inn to keep quiet so as not to interfere with the guests. This problem of intrusiveness is directly tied to the physical architecture of the Japanese accommodation, such as the inability to lock the doors and the thin partitions between rooms. In addition, members of the Welcome Society and JTB requested the establishment of an

organized pricing system so that the hosts and guests need not deal with haggling and negotiations face to face. In this way, projects of civilizing the tourism infrastructure were about systematically concealing human traces, both materially and socially. Iida's critique of Japan's "leave it open philosophy (*akeppanashi-shugi*)" (1921:14), embarrassment for the paper partition instead of a solid wall, and an urge to reconceptualize the hotel as a public establishment, all point to the basis of his idea that to become civilized is to become closed — closing the doors, windows, and even the toilet lid.

As many of these authors involved in the construction of modern Japan were equipped with a European education, their standards for civilized hospitality appear to be modeled after the facilities and services of a European hotel. Yet, rather than simply equating civilization with Western culture, the authors implicitly draw a line between "culture" and "civilization": culture is something that allows uniqueness, while civilization is something that exists on a unilinear trajectory of progress and improvement.

Ikuno's opening remarks in his editorial articulate this distinction when he proposes the selective adoption of certain qualities of the Western hotel industry into the existing Japanese establishments:

> What I am about to discuss here is rather the refurbishment of the Japanese-style hotel. It seems like many foreign travelers intentionally choose a Japanese-style *ryokan* to stay in, and this trend continues to grow as the number of foreign tourists increases. On the other hand, there are certain places where foreigners visit, but due to the lack of hotel facilities, they stay at a Japanese *ryokan* out of necessity; it is not uncommon for them to be given no choice. However, in either case, there is no way a foreigner can tolerate a purely Japanese style (*jyun wafū*).

> We must implement the appropriate improvement to its facilities and add a bit of Western style (*"tashō yōfū wo kami shite"*) to facilitate convenience for the foreigner (Ikuno 1913:4).

According to Ikuno's plan, to improve a "purely Japanese-style inn" is to "add a bit of Western style" to certain parts of its facilities. It is clear that Ikuno distinguished between the good:cultural aspects of Japan which should be retained, and bad:uncivilized aspects which must be changed.

The same idea can be found in Iida's essay comparing *yadoya*, the Japanese inn, and the *hoteru*, the Western hotel. Despite presenting a series of episodes belittling the *yadoya*, Iida is not suggesting that all Japanese *yadoyas* should be entirely replaced with a *hoteru*. He writes;

> It is my wish, and customarily should be, to let the Westerners who visit Japan stay not only at a *hoteru* but at a Japanese *yadoya.* However, it is utterly regrettable that the Japanese *yadoyas* are completely pathetic. We all realize that we do not have enough pure Western-style *hoteru*, but if only we had well-furnished Japanese *yadoyas*, the paucity of *hoteru* is not necessarily embarrassing. Yet, because most Japanese *yadoyas* are of the quality I described above, it is truly shameful (Iida 1921:18-19).

At the time when the Japanese tourism industry was suffering from an accommodation shortage, Iida concludes that they would suffice as long as the *yadoyas* were better equipped. In fact, he seems to believe that the *yadoya* would even be preferable, if only their facilities were not as embarrassing as they are now. Instead of completely rejecting the Japanese-style *yadoya* as backward, he encourages the *yadoya* to transform into as respectable and civilized an establishment as the *hoteru*.

The hotel, an iconic space of hospitality, is a site of dilemma between civilization and culture. Sakatani's reference to the saying "Dumplings before flowers" suggests how he compared the hotel infrastructures to "dumplings," the necessary sustenance for the tourists to comfortably enjoy the "flowers," the additional entertainments of tourist attractions (Sakatani 1913:16). The authors of the texts considered filth and odor in the hotels and loud and greedy hosts to be universally unpleasant, not culturally relative. By the same logic, clean, quiet, and morally upright hospitality were not considered to be particular to Western culture. The civilization process of hospitality infrastructure was not a monolithic Westernization project across Japan. Rather, it carefully selected which aspects of Western civilization to be adopted and which aspects of Japanese culture to be retained. In this way, analyzing the civilization discourse also serves as a way to accentuate the implicit discourse of culture.

The Welcome Society and Japan Tourist Bureau attempted to elevate the quality of Japan's hospitality infrastructure, particularly focusing on hotels and hosts as the subjects of improvement. Both projects, one focusing on the physical shortcomings of accommodation and the other on the lack of professional decorum of workers in the tourism industry, fall under the category of civilization process. The texts repeatedly display the Meiji and Taisho elites' insecurity regarding the yet primitive state of the Japanese travel industry. From the discourse that called for improving the hospitality infrastructure, in the concept of "civilized hospitality" that surfaced in the complaints and suggestions these authors made, we can observe a messy entanglement between the ideas of "culture" and "civilization," and between "Japan" and the "West." While the practical matters involved in the processes of civilization were identical in Europe and Japan, policymakers and business people in attempts to improve Japan's tourism industry faced an interesting dilemma, which was to civilize Japan without Westernizing it, to accommodate the guests from outside

while remaining in control of the domestic. On the one hand, aligning the infrastructural qualities to Western standards appears rather pandering to the satisfaction of Western visitors. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as a chauvinistic display of power to boost the strength of modern Japan in the gaze of foreign visitors. Policymakers of Japan's hospitality infrastructure had to distinguish between civilization and culture in order to incorporate new technologies from the West while protecting what they defined as Japanese culture.

At the most practical level, Japan's civilizing process at the beginning of the 20th century repeated the exact process of civilization in the late 16th century Europe as examined by Elias. However, the seeming conflation of civilization with Westernization complicated the identical process into a much more delicate one. In contrast to Europe, where the civilizing process was simply recognized as a temporal progress from the barbaric past to civilized future, there was an added dimension of spatiality in which the "ready-made" civilization from the West appeared to be geographically and culturally transported to Japan. The fact that it occurred under the context of tourism further played a role in translating this civilization discourse into a cultural one. The sense of shame accompanying the emergence of civilized sensibility was reinterpreted as the "national" shame in particular; invisible walls were constructed not merely to prevent any embarrassing encounters with strangers, but especially to protect Japan from the foreign tourist's gaze. As the civilizing process occurred alongside the encounters with cultural others, the discourse of culture snuck into the discourse of civilization.

The messy entanglements mirror the very origin of "culture" and "civilization." Tracing the sociogenesis of the terms, Elias explains that the etymological definition of civilization "refers primarily to the form of people's conduct or behavior" which, in the view of its bearers, should be "common to all human beings" (Elias 1978:5). This is unlike the concept of culture which "places

special stress on national differences and the particular identity of groups" (Elias 1978:5). This distinction is especially relevant to the identity formation of the colonizer and the colonized. Elias differentiates the two, writing that while civilization "has the function of giving expression to the continuously expansionist tendency of colonizing groups," culture "mirrors the self-consciousness of a nation which had constantly to seek out and constitute its boundaries anew, in a political as well as a spiritual sense, and again and again had to ask itself: 'What is really our identity?'" (1978:5-6). It was in this dilemma between civilization and culture that Japan developed its dual identity as the civilized colonizer and the cultural colonized. This schizophrenic nature of Japan's civilizing discourse conditioned the coexistence of expansionist tendency towards Asia and national self-consciousness in the face of the West.

These urgent calls for civilization were directed in the name of hospitality. Pursuit of civilization was particularly important in this context, because to make the foreign — primarily Western — visitors suffer through an uncomfortable stay in Japan was considered an embarrassment in the face of other modern nations. Japan's momentum to civilize can be further discussed through the concept of "hospitality," a term that reflects the dilemma of the encounter between strangers. As Japan opened the nation's doors, rooms and people within Japan were ironically advised to become locked and private. Higher measures for securing individual spaces were a necessary component to accommodating the incessant inflow of outsiders. The hospitality infrastructure was a place of interaction between Japanese hosts and foreign guests, and to civilize this space meant to introduce a system that allowed for a certain distance between strangers. Hospitality and civilization were concepts deeply intertwined with each other; just as modern technology and civilized mannerisms were necessary to provide a comfortable stay for visitors, being hospitable, to possess the ability to deal with encounters with visitors from abroad in a

multicultural environment, was also considered a necessary factor to achieve the respected status of a modern nation.

Jacques Derrida calls attention to the complicated nature of hospitality, referring to it as a term of "troubled and troubling origin, a word which carries its own contradiction incorporated into it, a Latin word which allows itself to be parasitized by its opposite, 'hostility'" (Derrida 2000:3). The contradiction inherent in the term itself implies that the act of welcoming a guest is not necessarily a simple act of altruism out of genuine friendship, but is rather a political negotiation entangled in power dynamics between the host and the guest. Integral to this discussion is its etymology. The term "hospitality" can be traced back to the Latin "hospes," within which the meanings of both "host" and "guest" coexist. The term indicates the "stranger" in general, as is the case with the French term "hôte," upon which Derrida bases his discussion. Hospes can be traced even further back to its Latin origin "hostis" which means the enemy. It is in this dual sense of hospitality that Derrida sees a hostile potential integral to the word. Hospitality becomes the negotiation of power between the "host" and the "guest," which is nothing but a direct encounter between two strangers.

The common translation for hospitality in Japanese is "*omotenashi*," as can be seen in Takigawa's speech where the term is translated as the "selfless spirit of hospitality" (Takigawa 2013). The verb form, *mote-nasu* in its most literal definition is quite vague, "take something and do something," and it should be translated more accurately as "to deal with something," to handle and manage a given situation. One of the primary synonyms of *mote-nasu* is *go-chisō-suru,* to treat the guest with a feast, from which the modern meaning is directly derived. Pushing the definition further, however, reveals that *chisō* means "to run around," indicating the ways in which the hosts must scramble for preparation of the food. The rather practical definitions of the terms, to deal with

the situation and run around preparing, suggest that neither *motenasu* nor *gochisōsuru* originally involved a sense of selfless altruism in the acts of hosting the guests.

The altruistic and reciprocal acts of giving and inviting have long been an anthropological topic.[16] In many observations, it was often the giver, not the taker, who accumulated power and status. Derrida continues this train of thought by further pointing to the inherent impossibility contained within the very concept of selfless altruism (Derrida 1992). For a "genuine gift" to be possible, it must occur outside of this web of obligation. In reality, however, he argues that any altruistic behavior contains an implicit demand for reciprocity and therefore imposes a duty onto the receiver. The practice of gift-giving can thus be used as an opportunity for the giver to gain advantage over the receiver.

Just like this aporia of a genuine gift, Derrida claims that "absolute, unconditional hospitality" must also be a purely gracious offer that expects no repayment; one must "not pay a debt, or be governed by a duty" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000:82). He claims that a genuine gift or unconditional hospitality is a myth, because in the encounter between the hosts and the guests, or more specifically, between the hôte and the hôte, either one must necessarily be in control over the other. Unconditional hospitality can only occur when the host completely gives up his power, allowing anyone to enter the house without any control. If the host begins to control whom he can or cannot invite, the encounter will at once turn xenophobic and no longer truly hospitable. On the other hand, if the host does not have the authority over his domain, the guests, who are supposed to be the "invited hostage," can take over the place, taking the host hostage instead. Entertaining the idea of the fundamental impossibility of unconditional hospitality, Derrida argues that the host regards one who encroaches on his power and sovereignty as a host as an "undesirable foreigner, and virtually as an enemy" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000:52-55).

Behind the gesture of welcome, he sees a hostile potential integral to the word — fear and insecurity towards the guests, who are nothing but visiting strangers and potential enemies. How is the negotiation of power in the encounter of two strangers, between the "host" and the "guest," implicated in the rhetoric of hospitality? What does it mean to be in the power to give and invite? It was in this dilemma that the quality of "*omotenashi*" was born and continues today. Studying the development of the tourism industry in Japan at the turn of the 20th century provides insight into the construction and reification of Japan's self-awareness regarding its position in the global hierarchy.

Opening the nation's doors in 1868 led to a sudden influx of foreign tourists, which prompted urgent requests to prepare appropriate infrastructure for accommodating those guests. Despite the seemingly friendly gestures of welcome, the national efforts to establish a hospitality infrastructure reflect the original definition of *mote-nashi*: scrambling to prepare for the unexpected arrival of visitors. Such pressure was at the same time laden with a strong sense of insecurity and wariness towards these incoming strangers. *The Asahi Shimbun* article concludes with a comment regarding why it is important to properly host foreign guests with respect:

> It is ethically unforgivable to treat people unfairly on the basis of whether they are the "insider" or "outsider" of the country, and it is truly shameful as an etiquette of a civilized nation (*bunmeikoku no sahō*) to alter the price of commodities depending on the customer. To let foreign guests tour the country as freely as possible without any encumberance, to let them shop and go about their business without any concern, and to let them experience convenience as much as possible — this is what makes the honor and respect of a civilized nation (*The Asahi Shimbun*, May 8, 1906).

As this passage suggests, the pursuit of hospitality did not derive from a genuine sense of welcome. Rather, it was motivated by an underlying fear that hospitality of a shameful quality would only expose Japan's inferiority in the hierarchy of modern nations. Providing respectable hospitality to these unexpected guests (and potential invaders) from the West was considered necessary to gain acknowledgement from the rest of the world that Japan's national standards were at par with other modern nations. A civilized hospitality infrastructure thus became a tool to avoid being overcome and eventually subsumed by the Western powers. Maintaining a polite distance between strangers resolved the tension between hospitality on the surface and the lurking sense of hostility.

The retraction of the isolation policy situated Japan into the mix of other nations. This introduced a shift which replaced the traditional domestic class order[17] in lieu of an accentuated marker of "Japan" as a united whole. Meiji and Taisho elites became increasingly self-aware that the "hosts" of different origins, from the upper-class nation builders to the lowly servers and maids at the inn, would all appear in the foreign tourist's gaze as the same national category. It was in the rise of this shared identity that civilization projects were so aggressively promoted across Japan. The Meiji Emperor's rescript that encouraged the Japanese people to "unite and become one" epitomized this shift towards national unity (Meiji Emperor 1899[1907]:22). Similarly, Shōtei's claim that "to have many foreigners come into our Japanese domestic territory and complete their travel pleasantly is something we all hope in the nation equally, *from high to low to ordinary*" articulates this reframed dynamics of who constitutes the "our" and the "we" (Shōtei 1906, *emphasis added*). The rise of nationalistic ideology is especially prominent in the discourse of hospitality.

In the minds of policymakers and business people in Japan at this time, "hospitality" meant organizing the infrastructure so that Western visitors could stay comfortably in Japan. On the one

hand, this was an act of pandering to the West by aligning various things to Western standards. On the other hand, it was an attempt to boost the strength of modern Japan in the gaze of foreign visitors. "Hospitality," beneath its friendly face, bears a hostility towards the other.

An ironic twist in Japan's pursuit of civilization is that, in fact, privacy and hygiene accomplished by erasing every trace of human, bodily activities may never have been the original cultural essence of the West, but an internalized idea of the Occident imagined by the Japanese elites.[18] There was a discrepancy between the guest's demands and the host's supply of hospitality due to limited communication between the host and the guests – and the hosts believing that the sophisticated hosting skills in the art of "*omotenashi*" must include being able to attend to the guest's unarticulated desires, and provide before being asked. Perhaps the embarrassment so vocally expressed by the Meiji and Taisho elites was often times a misaligned, illusionary fear of the Occidental gaze and shame that did not directly correspond to the demands.

It was a century after the inauguration of the JTB, in September 2013, that Christel Takigawa, appointed "Cool Tokyo Ambassador," proudly stood in front of a crowd of international audience at the International Olympic Committee session, and invited the next Olympics game to be held in Tokyo. With a gracious smile, she reminds her international audience about Japan's high level of hospitality:

> We will offer you a unique welcome. In Japanese, I can describe it in one unique word: o-mo-te-na-shi, *omotenashi*. (She bows, hands clasped). It means a spirit of selfless hospitality – one that dates back to our ancestors, yet is ingrained in Japan's ultra-modern culture. *Omotenashi* explains why Japanese people take care of each other, and our guests, so well (Takigawa 2013).

After the term was voted the national "buzzword of the year" in December 2013, "*omotenashi*," which had been exotically performed by Takigawa with an accompanying Oriental bow, became a ubiquitous sound-bite obsessed over in the popular media, as Japan's tourism industry boasted of Japan's ability to provide comfort to tourists. The mass media's incessant spotlight and the government's aggressive policies promoting inbound tourism persisted throughout the following years.

Takigawa lists friendly local hosts, safe streets, and clean public spaces as examples of *omotenashi*: "If you lose something, you will almost certainly get it back. Even cash," she claims as if to surprise the audience, supporting her statement with a statistical fact that more than 30 million U.S. dollars in lost cash were handed in to the Tokyo police the previous year. She supports her point by quoting a recent survey of 75,000 global travelers who voted Tokyo the safest city in the world, with the best public transport, cleanest streets, and friendliest taxi drivers. Takigawa makes it sound as if the "spirit of selfless hospitality" is unique to Japanese culture that "dates back to our ancestors, yet is ingrained in Japan's ultra-modern culture." Proudly reminding the audience of the high quality of comfortable accommodation Japan can provide, the term simultaneously evokes a certain sense of exoticism as if such veiled practice of welcome is inherent to an Oriental warmness (Takigawa 2013).

As we have seen, tracing the roots of *omotenashi* suggests that far from being an ancestral morality of the East, the ideals of hospitality are in fact an invented tradition.[19] The notion of "Japanese hospitality" was constructed in the process Japan's establishment as a modern nation, and it continues to be reified to this day through intermittent surge of nationalism. As I have outlined in the previous section, there was an intense shame over the inhospitable nature of Japanese *ryokans* at the beginning of the 20th century, and urgent attempts by the Meiji and Taisho

elite to civilize the accommodations for Western tourists in order to join the league of modern, industrial nations. Those who participated in this discourse of civilization had a linear sense of social evolution, in which Japan, lagging behind, was catching up with the West.

From Takigawa's statements, it may seem like Japan's civilizing process has seen straightforward and successful progress over the course of the 20th century. Following the historical arc from the early 20th century to today, it may seem like their diligent work to civilize Japan's hospitality infrastructure has been a success. However, the trajectory seems to be more complicated than a single linear progression from premodern to modern. The narrative may not be quite the same if we were to view the same history from the traveler's point of view. In the efforts to modernize the technologies of hospitality to catch up with the Western hospitality infrastructure, there emerged an excessive result in Japan's modern day tourism business, as seen in hypermodern toilets, vending machines and robot receptionists.

Around the beginning of the 21st century, a new discourse began to emerge among visitors to Japan regarding its hyper-clean, hyper-private services. In the next section, I delineate the process which led Japan to pursue technological development over the course of the 20th century until it evolved into something perceived as uniquely Japanese. Around the beginning of the 21st century, visitors to Japan began to regard the hyper-clean and hyper-private services, such as the excessively clean, high-tech bidet toilet, as a distinctly Japanese feature to be experienced as a rather perverted object of tourist attraction. The Japanese hospitality industry's struggle to steer away from the pre-modern, Oriental Japan, what was initially intended as a unilinear progress away from the primitive Orient towards the civil Occident, inadvertently ended up contributing to a phenomenon which David Morley and Kevin Robins describe as Techno-Orientalism (Morley and Robins 1995). The machine-like automation and technology for cleanliness seem to have

acquired a new level of exoticism in the tourist gaze today. The misaligned projection of the West seems partially responsible for the emergence of "supermodern" and "hyperclean" qualities that, despite their Western roots, are becoming marked today as something unique to Japanese culture and has carved a new kind of distance between Japan and the West.

Japan's nationalistic pride in its "modernized" tourism industry, observable in the popularity of *omotenashi* discourse, ironically overlaps with a renewed Orientalist view of the hyper-modernized tourist infrastructure of Japan. In the next section, I examine this paradoxical process in which the pursuit of technology and cultural "odorlessness" (Iwabuchi 2002) has itself become culturally marked, particularly by looking at the case of the troubled identity of the Japanese bathroom. Tracing the trajectory that the Japanese tourism infrastructure has taken over the course of the past century proves insightful in delineating this process of how the excessive removal of human functions have become Orientalized once again.

TOTO Washlet: A Western or Japanese Toilet?

Ryokan Sawanoya is a small family-owned guesthouse in the Shitamachi area of Tokyo that has recently become popular among backpackers. For a long time, *Sawanoya* had been a local inn that was aimed at domestic travelers. When the business was about to go under, however, the current owner Isao Sawa single-handedly revitalized the management by targeting foreigners as their main guests. For this miraculous resurgence, Sawa was named one of the "Tourism Charismas" in 2002, which is an honor given by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism to individuals who have contributed significantly to the Japanese tourism industry.

Gara-gara-gara. The loud sliding door notifies the innkeeper of the guest's arrival. When I visited this *ryokan* one hot summer day in 2012, an elderly man in *samui* — a Japanese style work clothes — appeared from the back and greeted me at the counter. This soft-spoken gentleman was

Isao Sawa himself, who, upon hearing my research interests, kindly offered me a personal tour of the house. The dichotomy between *wa* (Japanese) and *yō* (Western) proved to be a key factor of his tour. Walking me through the spacious internet corner set up with computer kiosks, he noted that all the guests have full access to free Wi-Fi. As we walked towards the dining area, past the complimentary coffee and a communal refrigerator, he mentioned, "We provide breakfast for a fee too, but Western-style (*yōshoku*) only. Toast and eggs." Behind a narrow hallway in the back was the bathing-room looking out over a small Japanese garden, furnished with a clean bathtub made of cypress wood. Although the room itself was communal, "this is a family bath (*kazokuburo*)" Sawa clarified as he pointed to the lock on the door, indicating that each use was private. "All rooms are Japanese-style rooms (*washitsu*)," he explained as we walked down the hallway, passing by a series of tatami rooms on the left. He then turned to the bathroom on our right. "The toilets are Japanese-style (*washiki*)… I mean Western-style (*yōshiki*)," he quickly corrected his slip of the tongue, perhaps caused by the series of "Japanese-styles" that preceded. Amidst the tatami rooms and wooden bathtubs was a bathroom with a clean TOTO Washlet bidet toilet.

In his collection of essays "*Yōkoso Ryokan Funtōki* (Welcome Inn Chronicle)" (2006), Sawa chronicles the episodes with foreign tourists he encountered in the process of remodeling Sawanoya for foreign backpackers. The very first entry of the book is "The Bathroom." In the opening sentence, he writes, "When hosting foreign guests, what surprised me the most was how they use the Japanese toilet," and continues with an extensive list of all the "wrong usages" of the squat toilet he has encountered (Sawa 2006:10-11). He writes with pure bemusement about how some guests mixed up the bathroom and the bath-room, poured water all over the area after use, threw used toilet papers into the trashcan, and sat on the hood, clueless about which direction to face. These creative uses of the Japanese toilet were something that had never even occurred to

Sawa as a Japanese person himself. Instead of viewing these incidents with disgust, however, he finds it fascinating how foreign tourists were often utterly disoriented in the stalls. After traveling to different countries and encountering their respective bathroom styles, Sawa writes, with a sense of bathroom-cosmopolitanism, that he finally understands the "different bathroom cultures" around the world which explain all the seemingly bewildering uses. He concludes the entry, "Currently, I have an illustrated sign of how to use the Japanese toilet with a picture of a person facing the hood, though I'm still debating whether I should post a sign that says 'Please do not urinate here' in the bath-room" (Sawa 2006:10-11).

Sometime between the completion of this essay and the day he took me on the tour, the Sawanoya bathroom had gone through a major makeover with the installation of the sitting-type toilet. Compared to the previous bathroom, the "Western-style" simply saved a lot of trouble for both the hosts and the guests. Sawa and the cleaning staff no longer had to deal with as much unpleasantness, and the guests, likewise, could feel at home in this familiar bathroom environment. From the inn's perspective, this was simply a shift from "Japanese" to "Western" amenities which provided basic comfort and hygiene to what used to be quite a nasty tourist encounter. There is a clear intention of the guesthouse owners in the choice of what remains Japanese-style – the *washitsu* rooms with tatami mats, and *washiki* bathing-rooms with wooden bath tubs and a Japanese garden – and what amenities adapt to the Western, modern style – the bathroom, the toast-and-eggs breakfast, coffee and free Wi-Fi. The hotel's search for the appropriate border between basic comfort and cultural uniqueness has a long history which echoes the efforts of the Welcome Society and Japan Tourist Bureau.

The master of *Sawanoya* clearly referred to the current TOTO Washlet bathroom as a "Western-style toilet (*yōshiki*)" as opposed to the previous, troublemaking "Japanese-style toilet

(*washiki*)." However, this exact same object is often referred to as the "Japanese toilet" by tourists themselves. I flash back to my college dorm room in 2005, when David, a classmate who had visited Tokyo for the first time excitedly showed me the digital photo album of his trip. I remember being amused, and somewhat perplexed, upon noticing that the very first picture he took in Tokyo was neither of the beautiful cherry blossoms nor the urban metropolis of Shibuya, but a toilet seat at Narita airport. I was repeatedly reminded afterwards that including "the Japanese toilet" as one of the informal must-see spots was quite common among tourists to Japan, as one of the very common tropes of the "Weird Japan" trend. In 2010, a Japanese-American friend of mine, Dean who was traveling to Japan, updated his twitter "The toilet at the restaurant today started to play classical music when I sat down on it. It also had a massage button. Oh Japan." The trend is perhaps best presented in the most animated manner by Judy and Benji, the American YouTube bloggers who had filmed and uploaded videos of their entire trip to Japan in the spring of 2012.

On the night of their arrival, the very first thing Benji shows the YouTube viewers is the bathroom. He starts filming the toilet bowl with his camcorder, explaining to the audience, "the reason I'm taping is because I want to show you what a Japanese-style toilet looks like. Mostly everybody has toilets like this." He focuses on the toilet seat and continues;

> So here you go here's a toilet-Japanese toilet, looks kind of the same, except you got this [camera zooms into the side buttons] computer thing on the side. And what's kinda cool is you can actually, um, do a couple of things. Like one of the coolest thing [opens toilet lid] is heat the toilet seat up, ok that's really cool. And then, um another thing you can actually do is, um, wipe your own butt with the water. […] [zooms into the water spray] this thing will turn on the little sprayer, that um, make something come out […] and it'll spray your butt…for you. But

> don't you worry [films toilet paper] for all you Westerners, look, you've got toilet paper too (itsJudysLife Jan 26, 2012).

Benji's initial comment, "a toilet-Japanese toilet, looks kind of the same," suggests that at first glance, what he refers to as the "Japanese toilet" is visually akin to what the viewers, "all you Westerners" must be familiar with. However, he continues, "except you got this computer thing on the side" zooming into the side controllers, indicating that it is these buttons that mark the Japaneseness of the toilet. The significance of buttons is further emphasized by Judy in the next clip, in which she abruptly starts rolling the camera inside a public restroom at a department building in Ginza; "Let me show you what this restroom looks like, it's kind of crazy." She enters a stall as we hear a beeping noise and see the seat automatically opening: "Now *that's crazy*, heheheh" she chuckles. Judy continues to film the buttons by the toilet seat, exclaiming, "Oh and look there's little… BUTTONS?! Ha this is the nicest restroom I have ever been in my life," she concludes (itsJudysLife Jan 28, 2012).

In a different clip, she turns to the camera and starts narrating "a really embarrassing moment" to Benji, their other friend Jenny and the viewers. "You know the toilet I showed you- you know the toilet you showed me?" she begins towards Jenny. "Well…I peed in it, and then I push this red button, and I think it set up an alarm! (laughter) so I quickly washed my hands and ran out. Oh my GOD, SO embarrassing! I like literally ran out 'cause, like, I didn't know how to stop it!" Benji co-tells the story, "I saw a guy walk in there too, (spotting the man) that guy, that guy walked in there," pointing to the attendant who had to stop the emergency button Judy had accidentally pressed (itsJudysLife Jan 31, 2012).

In these series of representation of the "Japanese toilet" by vloggers Judy and Benji, we can see that the Washlet toilets with various buttons are represented as very unfamiliar and

disorienting. The toilet bowl for them is something worth showing to the Western viewers, an exotic object subject to scrutiny with the video camera, in their own words, "cool" and "crazy." There are numerous examples of similar sentiments among Western travelers to Japan. For example, Rose George confirms this in her article for the U.K. news site *The Telegraph*:

> First-time travellers to Japan have for years told a similar tale: foreigner goes to toilet and finds a receptacle with a hi-tech control panel containing many buttons with peculiar symbols on them, and a strange nozzle in the bowl. Foreigner doesn't understand the symbols. Foreigner finishes business, presses a button, gets sprayed with water by the nozzle and is soaked (George 2008).

A tourist's disorientation inside a Japanese toilet stall has become a somewhat stereotypical moment of humorous chaos, something they can laugh about upon return.

What Sawa calls the "Japanese-style" (*washiki*) toilet is the squat-type toilet with a hood. The visual difference between it and the Western sit-type toilet is apparent, and as Sawa recollects, its wrong usage by confused tourists lead to various disastrous soilings of the stall. As other Asian countries share this squat style, the *washiki* toilet could be said to be the Oriental toilet that symbolizes Japan as part of the pre-modern, less hygienic, Asia. On the other hand, the Washlet system, which Benji referred to as the "Japanese-style toilet" could be said to be the Techno-Oriental toilet. At first glance, it looks like the Western toilet. Careful examination proves that it has a "computer thing on the side," equipped with a machine that helps you "spray your butt" automatically. Below I examine this transition from the primitive, dirty, disorienting squat-type toilet to what Allen Chun calls the "supermodern Japanese toilet" (Chun 2002) which is clean, button-laden, and equally disorienting. I focus on the implication of this transition in two phases:

Western influence on Japanese society and culture, and the export of Japanese-made products in the global market.

Efforts to modernize household amenities continued throughout the 20th century. The Western-style toilet bowl was first domestically produced in 1914 by a sanitary ceramics manufacturer that would later become TOTO Ltd., short for Toyo Toki or "Oriental Ceramics." Celebrating the 100-year anniversary of the Western-style toilet bowl, the company spokesperson looks back and explains how they suffered greatly during the company's initial production: "It was almost too early for domestic production. It did not take off at all. It was only installed at places like the Imperial Diet Building, luxury hotels, and Western-style mansions for rich people. The common people's houses and schools were all still *washiki* (Japanese-style)" (Ueda 2014). Yet, over the course of a century, the Japanese toilet has gone through "an unusual degree of development" (Chun 2002:158). TOTO's sales of the Western and Japanese-style toilets reached a 50/50 balance in 1976; by 2013, Western-style toilets accounted for 99% of all the sales while Japanese-style toilet sales had decreased to 1%. Today, it has become rare to come across the traditional squat-type toilet. Bathrooms at public schools are one of the few places where they remain, but a news article from 2013 reports a movement spreading across elementary schools in Japan to "*yōshiki-ka* (Westernize)" the bathroom (Sankei Shimbun 2013). This movement was motivated by the concerns over many children encountering the Japanese-style toilet for the first time upon entering elementary school, and therefore not knowing how to use it – some children reportedly "face the opposite way," the exact same disorientation foreign tourists had experienced at the Japanese-style inn. With this generation of children who grew up entirely with a Westernized domestic lifestyle, the Japanese-style bathrooms are gradually, and surely, disappearing from the country.

TOTO Ltd. currently boasts the top market share for bathroom products in Japan. In 1980, TOTO released "a range of electronically motored bidet-toilets, usually referred to by the generic product name 'Washlet,' some models of which are operated by sophisticated computer controls" mounted as an additional feature on top of the sit-type toilet (Chun 2002). Today, most public buildings such as department stores, hotels, and newly renovated inns are furnished not only with the sit-type toilet, but also with the Washlet. It represents the "gradual product evolution and diversification that replaced squat toilets long ago, and are now poised to overtake the sale of regular sit-type toilets in the near future" (Chun 2002). The Washlet machine was widely recognized by the Japanese public in 1982 through TOTO's massive advertisement campaign. "If your hands got dirty, you would wash them, right?" the TV commercial goes, as a female idol smears blue paint on her hand. "Nobody would wipe it off with a paper, right? It's the same with your buttocks. Your buttocks want to be washed too" (TOTO, Inc 1982). Despite its publicity success, it was not until Japan was deep into the bubble economy in the late 80s that consumers began to import a sense of luxury and advanced technology in their household bathrooms. Chun explains the Washlet's success in the Japanese domestic market:

> Its appeal was largely local in the sense that it promoted a new sense of cultural sensibility among a certain modernizing niche of the population, which in terms of product development took on a life of its own to a point where its sophisticated gadgetry has now made it 'foreign' to the unfamiliar user (2002:166).

Since the sales of Washlet surpassed one million in 1987, the sales rate has increased rapidly. Its total sales reached 10 million in 1998, 20 million in 2005, and 30 million in 2011. By 2010, the domestic adoption rate of the Washlet in Japan had risen to over 70%. By 2016, the domestic

adoption rate of the "warm wash toilet seat," including similar products from rival companies, had risen to over 81% (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan 2017).

Remade and Deodorized in Japan

The bidet toilet was not an original invention of TOTO, as Chun writes, "like most 'typically' Japanese products, the Washlet originated not in Japan but in the West" (Chun 2002:158). It was an adaptation of the "Wash Air Seat" by the American Bidet Company, which TOTO had imported from the U.S. in 1964. While it was originally intended for medical use, TOTO identified its potential for success in the Japanese market in its washing and deodorizing functions. If the shift from squat to sit-type was the first wave of Westernization, the introduction of the Washlet was an additional layer of global influence. Interestingly however, the gradual spread of multi-functional toilet seats in Japan was never framed as a consequence of globalization. Rather, popular and academic discourse perceived it as a unique social phenomenon originating in Japan. Instead of interpreting globalization simply as a cultural hegemony of the West, scholars who studied Japanese culture and society around the 1990s to early 2000s celebrated the ideas of heterogenization or "glocalization" which understood cultural encounters as the synthetic birth of a new culture.

Around the early 90s, scholars of Japan began to explore the ways in which things and ideas imported from the West had been localized in Japan, resulting in products that were not quite "Western" anymore. A group of Japan anthropologists published an edited volume *Re-made in Japan* (Tobin ed. 1994) which is a collection of scholarly articles examining various elements of the West imported to Japan, localized, and re-made into something completely different. Nancy Rosenberger looks at the ways in which home improvement and remodeling in Japan incorporated the images of the Western home. She argues that Japanese interior home designers "often

exaggerate familiar Western styles, taking them into the realm of the superluxurious, superfunctional, and supermodern" (1994:117) and refers to the general sentiment shared among the Japanese and the Westerners that, "After all, modern Japanese enjoy the best of both worlds: the high technology of the West combined with the high grace of Japanese style" (Rosenberger 1994:117-118). However, her description of Japanese bathrooms clearly marks them as a unique culture re-invented in Japan:

> Toilets continue to be located in separate rooms but are now brought into the high-tech world under the banner "sanitary." Toilet seats are heated, even in the homes of the aspiring classes, but the wealthy out-do them with space-age toilets featuring a control panel: push one button to spray your derriere with a built-in bidet nozzle; push another button to control the water temperature, and yet another to aim the bidet stream. Some models even release fragrances, which erase all memory of the nonflush toilets of the recent past (Rosenberger 1994:120).

The above study indicates an interesting departure of the category "supermodern," separating and diverging away from the regular "modern." While high technology modernity belonged to the West, the superfunctional, supermodern technology was something that had gradually become marked as distinctly Japanese after intensive localization.

Opening remarks from the documentary *The Japanese Version* (1991)[20] nicely sum up this emerging ambivalence in Japan at the time: "Japanese culture is like peeling an onion. Peel away one layer and there's a similar, but different, layer underneath" (Alvarez and Kolker 1991). Alvarez and Kolker narrate their impression of Japan upon first arrival, as a tourist-documentarian:

> As soon as we got there, we came upon the first layer of Japanese culture. All we saw was how different the Japanese seem to be. They're always doing things in groups. They take off their shoes indoors. They eat strange things. Their trains are never, ever late. But after a couple of weeks, we discovered the next layer. Japanese people, we decided, are really a lot like us. They wear Western clothes. They like Fred and Wilma. They love Elvis. Then we got to layer three. We began to realize that they weren't just like us. Even the food that wasn't strange -- was strange. For a country with a well-deserved reputation for exquisite refinement, there was also another kind of taste (Alvarez and Kolker 1991).

The monologue follows with a shot in the bathroom, along with an electronic melody playing Für Elise when a hand rolls the toilet paper. The documentary represents how it was the "strangely localized West" that was beginning to fascinate many Western visitors to Japan.

In addition to this discourse of Westernization and localization, scholars have also looked at the global popularity of these remade-in-Japan products being actively exported back to the world, from high-tech hardware such as the SONY Walkman, to software content like anime and video games. In *Recentering Globalization* (2002), Koichi Iwabuchi uses the term "odorless" to describe the exported products of Japan at that time. Iwabuchi claims that it is the "odorlessness" of Japanese products that accounts for their global reception; the erasure of Japaneseness is what enabled them to so successfully "sneak in" to foreign markets. Iwabuchi takes the Sony Walkman as an example of Japan's odorless product, as "the use of the Walkman does not evoke images or ideas of a Japanese lifestyle" (2002a:28). Exports of Japanese products in the global market were

successful at this time with the product's cleanliness and somewhat because of its robotic, a-national nature, something that does not have a strong sense and odor of Japaneseness.

Iwabuchi's main point was to claim that odorlessness could exist not only for hardware technologies such as SONY household electronics, but also the increasing exports of Japanese software content like animation and games, which he argues barely featured "Japanese bodily odor" (2002a:28). Iwabuchi further explains what he means by odorless software products:

> [C]ultural artifacts in which a country's bodily, racial, and ethnic characteristics are erased or softened. The characters of Japanese animation and computer games for the most part do not look "Japanese." Such non-Japanese-ness is called *mukokuseki*, literally meaning "something or someone lacking any nationality," but also implying the erasure of racial or ethnic characteristics or a context, which does not imprint a particular culture or country with these features. …Consumers of and audiences for Japanese animation and games, it can be argued, may be aware of the Japanese origin of the commodities, but those texts barely feature "Japanese bodily odor" identified as such (2002a:28).

Referring to cultural neutrality, Iwabuchi uses the term odorless, instead of other terms like transparent or noise-free, to emphasize the corporeal association to culture; "the cultural odor of a product," he writes, is "closely associated with racial and bodily images of a country of origin" (2002a:28). Dissociated from the human body, the odorlessness of Japanese culture in turn invokes the sense of the clean, technological and robotic.

Though Iwabuchi may not have decided to use the term "odorless" so literally, it is insightful to apply his idea of odorlessness to the TOTO Washlet's experience in the global market. Allen Chun (2002) notes that the Washlet was never successful in overseas markets, that

"despite its huge success in redefining Japanese consumer taste and values, it has really sold quite poorly when re-exported to the West" (2002:158). He claims that disorientation was one of the main reasons why Washlets did not do so well in markets abroad. He provides his own analysis of the Washlet's "foreignness," which echoes what the tourists in Japan say about it:

> One's first encounter with a Washlet toilet, especially the full-feature high-tech model with digital control panel, is more often than not an overwhelming if not bewildering experience…With such a high degree of automation, many first-time users are perplexed by it all. It is not unusual for one to be confused by the many panel buttons, then end up seeing the bidet ejaculate onto the floor (Chun 2002:159).

Chun compares why the Walkman was so successful globally while the supermodern Japanese toilet was not. Both SONY Walkman and TOTO Washlet were "equally globalized in the sense that they were the product of both local and foreign influences" (2002:166). The Walkman was able to target a global mass market, Chun argues, because its "cultural specificities did not figure prominently in the representational aspects of its production and consumption" (2002:166).

Unlike the SONY Walkman, the TOTO Washlet was far from successful in the Western market. Quite the contrary, this "re-made in Japan toilet" has become marked with a distinctively Japanese "cultural odor" among tourists and on online media. Although Iwabuchi argues that "deodorizing" a product means to erase its distinctive Japanese imprint, this is not necessarily true. While the tourism industry in Japan – the local hosts – consider the transition from the squat-type toilet to the Washlet as an upgrade, we can see from the tourist's representation of the supermodern toilet that they recognize it as equally disorienting. Excessive odorlessness, it seems, has elevated

it into another kind of cultural marker. The irony is that the more sanitary and odorless it becomes, in a literal sense, the further it moves away from Iwabuchi's notion of odorlessness.

"Techno-Orientalism" is an appropriate concept to describe this shift from one kind of an Orient to another. Morley and Robins (1995) argue that "Japan has come to exist within the Western political and cultural unconscious as a figure of danger, and it has done so because it has destabilized the neat correlation between West/East and modern/premodern" (Morley and Robinson 1995:160). Japan was morphed into an Oriental other through a de-humanized picture of a technology-soaked society and marking the people within as "cold, impersonal, and machine-like" (169), "unfeeling aliens" or "cyborgs and replicants" (170). Morley and Robins aptly describe the phenomena, saying, "the barbarians have now become robots" (172), describing a kind of parallel transition between two different kinds of Others, a transformation from the barbaric Other from the extreme past, to the futuresque robotic Other, bypassing the present, human, self.

Japan's proud acceptance of its ultra-modern state of technological advancement implies that Techno-orientalism is also a form of Techno-Nationalism or self-Orientalism by the Japanese. Backed by the sentiment of nationalistic narcissism celebrating its uniqueness, Japan voluntarily separates itself as the antithesis of the West, eventually reifying the rigid demarcation of itself as the Other. This is underscored in the recent climate surrounding Japanese culture in the conflation of "cool" and "weird" as I will explain in Chapter Two.

II. Constructing the Tourist Gaze
—Searching for the Oriental—

"Why is Japan so Weird?" — Google suggestion (ca. 2004-2014)

From Cool to Weird in the Early 21st Century

This chapter contextualizes my research on travelers to Japan by examining what sociologist John Urry refers to as the "Tourist Gaze" (2002). Urry theorizes that preconceived fantasies of places strongly influence how tourists perceive their travel destinations. In order to understand what kind of images constitute the elements of the tourist gaze towards Japan, it is important to trace the trajectory of the shifting tropes of representation and imaginations of Japan in the decade following 2004, from the Oriental, to the Cool, to the Weird. I will focus on English-speaking tourists from America to Japan, as one particular case of the larger phenomenon of Eastbound tourists, from the West to the East. I begin by providing a social and historical background to the emergence of what I call the "Weird Japan" phenomenon.

Around the early 2000s, global consumption of Japanese popular culture had become an oft-discussed topic in major media outlets, in Japan (*Cool Japan: Hakkutsu! Kakkoii Nippon* 2006), and abroad (McGray 2002, Faiola 2003), and among Japan anthropology scholars (Befu 2003, Allison 2006). In *Foreign Policy*, Douglas McGray writes, "From pop music to consumer electronics, architecture to fashion, and animation to cuisine, Japan looks more like a cultural superpower today than it did in the 1980s, when it was an economic one" (McGray 2002). Paralleling this phenomenon to Japan's miraculous GNP growth that continued throughout the 80s, McGray coined the term "Gross National Cool," which soon caught on as a convenient buzzword in discussing the growing popularity of Japan's cultural industry. The *Washington Post* quotes statistics on Japan's exportation of cultural commodities that show that "revenue from

royalties and sales of music, video games, anime, art, films and fashion soared to $12.5 billion in 2002, up 300 percent from 1992," called the emerging international position of Japan the "Empire of Cool" (Faiola 2003).

In response to what seemed like a global success of Japanese culture, a sudden surge of narcissistic pride swept through the nation. When Japanese media outlets began picking up on the ego-stroking sound bite of "cool Japan" echoing in foreign media and reinterpreted towards the Japanese audience, they often took on a blindly celebratory tone, not unlike the narcissistic discourse of Japaneseness (*Nihonjinron*). The success of Japanese culture abroad was commonly attributed to its inherent uniqueness, even superiority. The Japanese media frequently reported on Japan's popularity across the globe – and as a high school student at the time, I was one of the many Japanese people in giddy excitement over this national branding. It was in this context that I entered college in 2004 as an international student in Northern California. I flew over the Pacific with a sense of pride in the country I represented.

2004 was an interesting year for the images of Japan in American Hollywood-mainstream media. The theatrical release of *The Last Samurai* (2004) brought the spirit of Bushido back to the limelight again, and this sudden revival of Samurai continued with *Twilight Samurai* (2004), nominated for an Oscar for Best Foreign Picture. The film adaptation of *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005) was in production to be released in the following year. However, the stereotypically Orientalist representation of Japan, or what Sheridan Prasso called "The Asian Mystique" (2005) was quickly diminishing, especially in the progressive American West Coast where affinity with Asian culture had been much closer than in any other region in the Western hemisphere. Young, liberal college students I interacted with in the Bay Area considered this traditionally Orientalist gaze towards Japan to be outrageously obsolete and, aside from some minor exceptions, was

completely nonexistent among them. Instead, I witnessed the emergence of a new generation of depiction and representation of Japan.

2004 also marked the outburst of a new brand of cultural icons that had been emerging in the images of contemporary Japan. *Lost in Translation* (2004) directed by Sophia Coppola won the Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay. The artistic cinematography of the moody neon lights in metropolitan Tokyo, scramble crossing in Shibuya, interwoven with comical dialogue of an American lost in translation became an instant cult classic. With the release of Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill: Vol. 2* (2004), another cult classic, many cinephiles in the world became fascinated by the images of a Japanese girl in a school uniform covered in blood, wielding her mace and massacring men. In the pop-music scene, Gwen Stefani released her debut solo studio album *Love. Music. Angel. Baby* (2004), and her music video introduced background dancers in the colorful costumes of Harajuku fashion.

Just as these new images of Japan were replacing the traditional representation of the Orient, the ways in which media circulated was changing. Hollywood was no longer the imperial center of entertainment that unidirectionally distributed media contents to the world. The maturation of what is popularly referred to as the Web 2.0 era gave rise to bidirectional, peer-to-peer communication. The launch of Facebook in 2004 on selected college campuses in the U.S. symbolizes the advent of the social channels of information circulation, and this led many other startups to follow this trend, including YouTube, which was launched the following year. It was also in the same year that political scientist Joseph Nye published his book, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politic* (2004). Following this, the power of image and ideology in media contents was seen with renewed attention. The seeming success of the renewed image of Japan abroad converged and became entangled with Japan’s increasing interest in soft power.

This Cool Japan discourse as it emerged in the early 2000s often took the popular consumption of Japanese culture as a globally monolithic phenomenon while ignoring the regional distinction between the destinations it reached. Koichi Iwabuchi, one of the leading scholars researching Japan's "soft power" writes, "From animation, comics, and characters to fashion, pop music and TV dramas, Japanese popular culture is now well received and enjoyed in many parts of the world" (Iwabuchi 2002a). The title of his book, *Recentering Globalization* exemplifies a certain tendency in the discourse. Many Japanese writers discussed the global success of Japanese culture by placing Japan as the emerging "center" of content exportation and soft power, and spoke as if the moral responsibility of Japan was to stop domination by the West as the cultural center of globalization. Uncritically celebrating what the Washington Post called the "Empire of Cool," this celebratory discourse uncomfortably echoed the familiar enthusiasm of Imperial Japan in the early 1920s.

That "Cool Japan" was mostly a Japan-centric discourse also meant that who exactly were the "periphery" was left a vague idea. While Iwabuchi writes that Japanese popular culture has been "well received and enjoyed in many parts of the world," his research mainly concerns the exportation to other Asian regions, especially Hong Kong and Taiwan. He explains that Taiwan is the biggest market for Japanese TV dramas, which, unlike animation, "are in most cases not exportable to Western countries and are popular only in Asian markets" (Iwabuchi 2002a: 121). What makes Japanese TV dramas popular in Taiwan but unexportable to Western countries? Why is animation, on the other hand, popular in the West? How are Japanese popular culture products that became popular in the West different from those popular in Asia? These comparative questions faded away in the Japan-centric discourse of Cool Japan. It was missing the voices of consumers of Japanese popular culture, and how exactly they perceived it as "cool."

Spending four years in an American college setting, I had become strongly aware that "Cool Japan" in the U.S. was nothing like what Japanese scholars had so excitedly discussed as the global success of Japanese media. Comical portrayal of Japan as a land of fantastic weirdness and absurdity had emerged as a new cultural trend, especially among a certain subgroup of American youths. The trend that had been largely discussed under the umbrella term of "Cool Japan," I argue, should be more accurately termed the "Weird Japan" phenomenon in America.

Before I begin delineating the details of this phenomenon, it is important to explain the difficulty in clearly defining who exactly are the creators, distributors and consumers of Weird Japan. In this chapter, I approach this community from two sides, one as American college students, and other as English-speaking internet users. First, partially drawing from my ethnographic account of living in a Stanford college dorm from 2004 to 2008, I will analyze how images of Japan were shared among American college students. I will not go into sociological details in profiling the ethnic, social demographic of this community from which I sample my data, except in general terms. They were college students (18-22 years old) in the Bay Area, and English was the primary language of communication. This community had a high percentage of heavy internet users. They were of the same generation (born in the 1980s), educational level (college), geographical location (Silicon Valley), and had cultural ties with Asian subculture. With my close affiliation with the Asian-American community, my informants consisted of students who were either of Asian descent themselves, or non-Asians whose childhood memories were occupied with Japanese pop cultures such as anime (*Dragon Ball*, *Sailor Moon*, *Pokémon*), or Nintendo games. Japanese culture that often appeared on social media circulated in this community leaned towards something more of a "weird, comedic, crazy Japan."

Supplementing the data taken from approaching this community participating in

face-to-face interaction, sharing and being shared via social media with American college students, I will also take the online approach by looking at media communications available and traceable in cyberspace. This community, in comparison to the first group, is an anonymous subgroup of users of English-speaking, or rather, English-typing online communities. While these two communities do not entirely overlap, approaching these two communities from both ends helps to define the communities that are actively involved and implicated in the emergence of and engaging with the Weird Japan discourse.

Sharing Weird Japan with Peers and in Cyberspace

It was through my conversations with college classmates that I initially became aware of the Weird Japan discourse emerging among young Americans. One of my earliest realizations as to how media from Japan was consumed by American college students was in my freshman year, when my dormmate David showed me a video clip of a song called "Yatta!" In this music video, six half-naked Japanese comedians sing and prance, wearing nothing but a piece of underwear with a large green leaf to cover their front. The song lyrics are mostly in Japanese but for the occasional inserts of chorus in broken English: "It's so easy! Happy-go-lucky! *Wee aa za wa-rudo*- (We are the world)!" It was a strange feeling to be introduced to a Japanese video by an American friend. Everyone else in the room appeared to be familiar with this clip. I, the only Japanese in the room, was ironically the only one who had never seen it. After a brief research, I found out that the video was originally a parody segment from a Japanese sketch comedy show *Warau Inu no Bōken* (Adventures of a Laughing Dog). This song was uploaded online in 2001, first as a flash animation titled "Irrational Exuberance," in which the song is accompanied by a very low-quality work of animation, making the whole video completely incomprehensible and of typical "flash aesthetic" of the early 2000s online memes. Due to the popularity of Irrational

Exuberance flash, users were already familiar with the song when the original video clip from Japan was introduced. Many viewers outside Japan took it as an actual music video, not realizing that it was part of a TV show intended to be a parody. Completely removed of context, the incomprehensibility of this video further disoriented the Western audiences who did not understand the Japanese lyrics. The nonsensical yet exuberant energy had become an instant hit in the English-based cyberspace. The links to this video were widely shared in the peer-to-peer networked circulation which led to their notice by my dormmates.

There are other countless instances where I confusingly came to this realization that certain aspects of Japan that I had never been familiar with were consumed daily by my American peers. In another occasion, a dormmate sent out a message to the dorm mailing list one evening during midterm week, claiming that everybody needs a study break. "I think its [sic] time for a video. Enjoy this amazing nugget of brilliance from that faraway land called Japan, where everythings [sic] a little f**ked up," he claimed, followed by a link to a YouTube video clip from a Japanese game show called "Human Tetris." These are just some of the many examples of the bits and pieces of Japanese media consumed by American students through peer-to-peer sharing process online.

It was very rare to have a TV in the college dorm room. There was a major shift ongoing in media consumption habits suggesting a rapid decline of traditional TV viewership and an increase in internet media as a source of entertainment taking place in the 2000s. One evening in 2007, I found myself in what I call the "late-night YouTube session." It was a common dorm room activity for bored college students to gather around a computer screen and start showing each other entertaining video clips they found online. This time, the spontaneous gathering occurred in the room of Larry and Tim, second generation Asian-Americans from California. "Hmm, what's

a good YouTube clip?" Larry murmured as he hooked up his projector to his computer and began searching for videos on YouTube. He seemed to have recalled a good clip as he abruptly began typing the keyword "Japanese massage prank" in the search box. "No, no, the other one is funnier, you know the one where the toilet rises up?" His roommate Tim interrupted, and chuckling, typed in "Japanese toilet prank." Prank videos seem to be one of the most popular genres among these clips. In one of the most popular videos, the show also pulls a prank on people while they are in the bathroom. A public bathroom turns into a huge elevator exposing the poor victims on top of the stall, or into a huge water jet ski, bursting out into the lake while they remain in their squatting position. After a few good laughs, those present in the room turned to me accusingly and interrogated, "What's up with you Japanese and these crazy pranks?" I tried in vain to defend that we normally see more "normal" television shows in Japan. One video clip related to another, and Tim began showing different clips from Japanese game shows. When I asked how he even found all these videos, he grinned and said, "I have my ways."

There are hundreds of thousands of video clips available online, which makes it harder to have a systematic, controlled way to measure the actual popularity of when a video goes viral. Unlike traditional television, they are often times illegally uploaded and duplicated after the original is deleted. Yet, there seems to be a process of selection that sifts through this massive amount of clips and channels certain clips to the mainstream, a trend that cannot be simply measured by the video's viewcount. Video clip sharing can occur in various forms, as when two friends, physically located in front of a computer screen, watch the clip together like in a traditional TV viewing experience, or through sending the link online for another to watch on their own personal computer. One may receive a link to the video through email via dorm mailing lists, instant messaging services, or status updates on a friend's SNS webpage. These videos get rated

and commented on anonymously or pseudonymously, and added to people's favorites. In this process, certain videos will gain a viral popularity as they circulate more widely than others, formulating a solid genre. Many of the Weird Japan videos I was introduced to were not one-time encounters, but all have established popularity. Clips like Yatta!, Human Tetris, and the Toilet Prank, for example, had become a widely shared viewing experiences among many American college students, regardless of which platform or channel (in person, email, SNS, or through web surfing) via which they were originally introduced.

During an interview with my dormmate Martin, a college junior from New York who grew up with Nintendo games, I asked if he had seen any funny Japanese videos uploaded online recently. His expression lit up as he laughed out loud. "Oh yeah! I've seen them a whole bunch," he gleamed. "A lot of them turn out to be funny and fun to watch, even though you don't understand the language. That's why it's so popular on YouTube, because it's like, oh here, watch this funny clip, which is a lot of what YouTube is all about." When I asked him whether he associates Japan with what these videos represent, he replied a little apologetically, "I do think of funny, weird, crazy, wacky, game shows…I don't necessarily think of anime." In response to my query of what may have brought this shift of image of Japan, he answered, "I think the internet, perhaps. […] with the internet, you have all the fun stuff coming out, like, oh check out this hilarious Japanese commercial […] once YouTube […] came out which you can upload videos online, that's when all these wacky shows came out." Martin explains the impression of the emerging images of Japan encountered in such modes of media consumption; "Everything is like bright and fun and colorful, that like, defines Japan. For me, it defines Japanese entertainment. Just like, very, very, colorful, silly wacky stuff…that is it" (Martin, Interview 2007).

An alternative way to encounter these images is to discover them on your own through web

surfing, even without a human catalyst like your friend physically sharing the link to you. Even the simplest process of the "search" function of a search engine can assume a similar role as a dormmate. It was the Google search engine that taught me, literally, the specific adjectives that were becoming associated with Japanese culture. In one of my solitary web surfing sessions, the search box on Google suggested to auto-complete my search box with the phrase, "Japan is so weird," simultaneously offering a variety of other options like cool and perverted. I was amused and, frankly somewhat flattered by this list of suggestions, but also made me wonder, who is saying this? Google suggests so…but then, who is Google? These kinds of "Google-suggest-jokes" have been a popular trend on the internet, and quite a few people have had a good laugh over some of the random, inappropriate things search engines often suggest. Although it is usually dismissed merely as a funny joke, this incident got me interested in the enigmatic power new media may have over image and imaginaries of a place. A Google search on "Japan is weird" could easily direct one to a plethora of weird Japanese images.

Representations of Japan as a land of absurdity encountered another online trend that was simultaneously underway: the internet meme commonly known as the "demotivational poster," in which, parodying the typical format of motivational posters, an image, keyword, and punchline are collaged in a standardized black frame. It has been established as a genre through the comic art of juxtaposition. The combination of the two trends resulted in a variety of Weird-Japan Demotivational Posters, where nonsensical images are captioned with JAPAN plastered in bold font. For example, one photo of this genre is a picture of a girl in school uniform, her belly connected to a lantern, looking skeptically at a young man who is wearing a jacket and a bowtie on the top, only underwear at the bottom, excitedly clasping his hands together in front of an electronic device. Creepily staring over the man's shoulder is another young man in yellow, fluffy

suit. The photo, completely incomprehensible of its context, is followed by the punchline, "JAPAN: No further description required" (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Anonymous internet user, "Japan: No further description required." Original image taken from the film *Naisu no Mori* The First Contact: *Naisu no Mori no Suteki na Junin tachi* (2006).



Another photo captions a pornographic painting, in a typical style of the Edo period woodblock print, in which a man in purple kimono is licking the legs of an ecstatic looking woman, whose legs are in fact bare bones of a skeleton. Behind them, an old lady is sitting on the porch, staring at their lovemaking. The image is captioned JAPAN: WTF masters for centuries. While the image poses as an Edo-period woodblock print, the image is in fact by Toshio Saeki who produced all of this marvelously perverted art in the late 20th century. The list of the Weird Japan

Demotivational Posters is endless. In the next section, I will closely analyze one of the most iconic images of this genre that has been repeatedly shared: a photo of a statue of a giant anime girl straddling over a train, superimposed with the phrase, "JAPAN: Seriously, where else could this possibly happen?" (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Anonymous internet user, "JAPAN: Seriously, where else could this possibly happen?" Original image taken from http://tamaki.bake-neko.net



This image originally emerged on websites like "Japanisweird.com" or under the category of "Very Demotivational" at Memebase on cheezburger.com, which hosts a collection of funny images, created and submitted by anonymous readers. Image searching this exact image on Google

returns over 200 websites that have uploaded a duplicate of this image, which speaks to the viral popularity of this image. This image gained popularity in English-based cyberspace through various channels, and even entered the conversations of my dormmates. Through whatever form one may be introduced to this image, in most cases, one is likely to have encountered the image with very little background information other than the brief introduction, "Japan is so weird! Check this out." One blogger introduces this image with the following text: "a Google search on 'weird Japan' will keep you stuck at your computer laughing for hours," ("Amazing Japan" 2011) suggesting that the search engine is also a valid route for discovering this picture. The nature of hyperlink as it enables one to directly jump to the material allows spontaneous encounters with this image, rendering the initial access to this image completely abrupt and de-contextualized.

So, seriously, where else could this possibly happen? Following the footsteps of many who spontaneously came across this image of giant anime girl statue, I conducted a small fieldwork in the cyberspace in order to unpack and trace its origin. Those who encountered this image responded to this picture first by questioning where exactly this place was, skeptical of whether it was an actual place in Japan. On March 9, 2009, "John," a blogger on superpunch.net, updated his post titled "Giant anime girl statue straddling a train." He mused, "a little internet sleuthing indicated this giant statue of an anime girl with a train moving between her legs is from Japan. Anyone know if it's for real and where it is?" to which a comment by "Anonymous" replies, "i think it's fake," although no real evidence was provided. "I leave [sic] in Tokyo for more than 1 year, and I never heard of this statue…" one comment reads, which is a vague statement suggesting that, while it does seem highly unlikely, one cannot completely rule out its possibility, thus leaving room for uncertainty (Super Punch 2009).

Fig. 4. “Shin-Yokohama Arina” Posted on http://tamaki.bake-neko.net on October 10, 2004.



On August 24, 2012, in a different post on democraticunderground.com titled, "In case anyone thinks that this was 'Shopped,'" username Mr. Scorpio disproved the claims that the photo was Photoshopped by introducing two other pictures taken from different angles, one from under the railway, the other from the other side of the road (Fig. 4).

Perspectives from other angles added depth to this picture, and Mr. Scorpio used its three-dimensionality as an evidence of the statue's authenticity, adding to the validity of its physical presence in Japan. However, when asked by Asahina Kimi "Is that Tokyo or somewhere else? Never seen it before," he replied, "no idea" (Democratic Underground 2012).

I had a difficult time myself identifying the source and context of the picture's origin. While I was quite certain that this statue did not really exist in Japan, as the evidentiary axiom goes, "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence." Just because I had never encountered this statue does not prove that it does not exist. I began my online research by typing in keywords like Japanese girl, train, Tokyo, but to no avail. I then switched the language to Japanese but still nothing came up. After getting more creative with keywords like "Akihabara," the district in Tokyo that is the center of subculture like anime and manga – I guessed that this statue would most likely be in Akihabara had it existed – and "*Randoseru*" the red schoolbag on her back, I finally found the link that led me to a Japanese-language post titled "I found an interesting photo" on akibamap.info. On May 6, 2005, the owner of the Akihabara Map info blog posted this image which he "came across in a foreign message board." He finds it amusing how these English-speaking posters seem to take this image seriously. As it turns out, the particular intersection used as the background of the image is a real place that exists in Akihabara, and as someone who is familiar with this location, the owner knows that such a statue has never existed there, and therefore it is self-evident that it is merely a very impressive work of Photoshop.

However, he is not sure who had crafted the image. After posting this entry, he received a comment in Japanese from an "Anonymous passerby" (*tōrisugari no nanashi*) directing him to the original source of this picture, which he indicates in his postscript (Akihabara Map 2005). This is how I was finally able to track down where the viral media clip of giant anime girl statue on train had originated. There is an interesting temporal gap between the English and the Japanese realm of information. The mystery had long been solved in the Japanese-language community online in 2005. However, this information had not yet reached the English blogscape in 2012.

The picture, it turns out, was created by a very talented Photoshop artist by the name of Takami-san. On his website, he shows off his semi-professional skills with a collection of giant schoolgirl figurines Photoshopped into the Tokyo cityscape. The idea was taken from a figurine which was originally presented at the "Otaku" exhibit at the Venice Biennale. Takami-san photographed this figurine from different angles, and stitched it up with the picture of Akihabara train station. He blogged about his efforts behind the final product; "The train and the cars are actually Photoshopped in too, this piece is in fact subtly quite meticulous. I could've waited for an actual train to come in, but because I took the background photo early in the morning on my way to work, I wasn't able to put too much time into it. That's what happened behind the scenes ("Shin-Yokohama Arina" 2004).

The demotivational poster of this anime girl statue that went viral in the English cyberspace makes much more sense once we are aware of its context and process of Photoshop. So, to answer the provocative inquiry plastered on the image, "Seriously, this could possibly happen, nowhere." However, if an English-speaking internet user encountered the direct link out of the blue, they most likely would not have the resources nor the interest to verify its validity and find out how the image was produced. Circulation of Weird Japan media on the internet, whether

from friend to friend shared in a college dorm room, or jumping from link to link in cyberspace, is a spontaneous encounter with decontextualized pieces of media.

Weird Japan Discourse as Legacy of Orientalism

I have looked at the various iterations through which images of the "Weird Japan" have proliferated online, from irrational and exuberant video clips shared among peers, the phrase "Japan is Weird" suggested by the search engine, and a Photoshopped image that gained wide popularity. The creation and circulation of Weird Japan images have been facilitated by social media platforms and the aesthetic freedom of digital media. This phenomenon can be compared to Orientalism as discussed by Edward Said.

The actual content of the Orientalist stereotype itself has shifted from the time of Said. While Edward Said had originally used the term "Orientalism" in 1978 to refer specifically to the representation of the near and middle East by Western scholars, the term has since been expanded for popular usage with a much more flexible application. The comedic absurdity that permeates in the discourse of Weird Japan is categorically different from the traditionally Orientalist representation of the East as exotic and backward. Techno-Orientalism (Morley and Robins 1995) is one of the recurring motifs in the Weird Japan discourse, in which the Orient is not imagined as premodern and savage, but as hypermodern and robotic. While the elements that construct the images of the Orient may have changed over time, how Said explains Orientalist discourse is constructed parallels the processes by which these images are created and circulated in cyberspace. I focus on two aspects of Orientalism that survive, and even intensify, in the discourse of Weird Japan: citationary nature and misrepresentation.

While Said did not anticipate the prevalence of the internet and digital media on today's scale when he originally published *Orientalism* in 1978, he does expand the discussion to

emerging forms of electronic media. He argues that in the postmodern world,

> […] there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced information into more and more standardized molds. So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of "the mysterious Orient" (1978:26).

Shifting away from the pre-electronic age, when information exchange occurred through text and print culture, Said argues that electronic transmission has inundated the mediascape with standardized images, narratives and texts of the Orient which reinforced and intensified the Orientalist stereotype. I argue that the internet age accelerates this trend by further adding to the groundless archive of information and images of the Orient.

Today, Orientalism is often used to criticize misrepresentations of the East in pieces of text or art. However, merely focusing on individual instances overlooks Said's original definition of the term as a discourse. Orientalism is not so much about the individual authors' or artists' personal imaginings of the East, but a "system of citing works and authors" and the resulting discursive formation constituted by an "anonymous collective body of texts" (1978:23). "Every writer on the Orient," Said writes, "assumes some Oriental precedent, some previous knowledge of the Orient, to which he refers and on which he relies" (1978:20). There is an insular cycle between a large ensemble of texts with information about the Orient and the subsequent production of knowledge through collecting, responding, and building upon these preexisting pieces of information from works by others. This is what Said calls the "citationary nature of Orientalism" (1978:20).

The citationary formation of Orientalist discourse as described by Said is comparable to the process of media circulation on the internet. Citation occurs on several levels in constructing the discourse of Weird Japan. The search engine algorithm can be understood as a form of citation. The prevalence of search engines has made keyword-based database search the new standard for information retrieval. The introduction of the "suggestion" function, in which the search engine helpfully auto-completes the search box with commonly searched phrases by other users, has made the process of retrieving information even more interesting. Google's search box responded to my inquiry, "Why is Japan so…" with the auto-completion, "…weird." This adjective for describing Japan is not an arbitrary choice by Google, but determined through an amalgamation of terms used by the masses of netizens at large. Search results are built upon individual users' acts of uploading, searching, and clicking. Repeated actions of individuals linking the keywords "Japan" and "Weird" eventually perpetuated within the search algorithm. The collective process reifies the link between two keywords, and allows the phrase to emerge organically with an eerie sense of authority, as if Japan was indeed weird.

Digital media circulation is about more than simply linking two keywords. Creation of internet memes goes through a process similar to the one described above through connecting the word "Japan" with certain images and ideas. User-generated, peer-distributed content that circulates through this channel is often created from secondary information. With the development of digital technology today, it has become easy for anyone to take existing materials online, such as texts and images uploaded by others, and make adjustments through captioning, editing, and Photoshopping. Referring to and instantly linking previously available materials from multiple sources are common characteristics of digitally propagated images and information. For example, a demotivational poster, an art of juxtaposition that takes an image out of context and links it with

texts and phrases, aesthetically symbolizes the nature of digital media. Digital media allow the user to cut and paste, fragment and collage, decontextualize and hyperlink separate bits of media pieces. In the demotivational poster of Japan, "Japan" was decomposed into bits and pieces and reassembled as a kind of mosaic; the term "Japan" was rendered to a mere keyword that serves as the adhesive in this mosaic image. Preexisting pieces of information and images of Japan – what Said refers to as the "Oriental precedent" – collectively construct and reify the images of Weird Japan.

Sharing functions on social networking platforms, such as forwarding emails and retweeting on Twitter, are by definition a form of citation. New publication platforms such as blogs and social networking sites democratized the act of distributing texts and media art. Not limited to authors, scholars or artists, anyone can become part of others' writings in a large network. The baton is passed on from one internet user to another, and individual users can participate in the relay of disseminating the links, keywords, images and information to reify the images and ideas associated with Japan. As we have seen, the weirdness and randomness of Japanese media that floats in cyberspace is emphasized with decontextualization, disorientation, and alienation from the original context. Much like the broken telephone game, or the spread of false rumors, much of the original information often becomes dropped, sometimes deliberately, in the continuing process of citation.

The fact that digital media enables these pictures to take on a life of their own and be passed around the community at large could be considered the third level of performance – the self-representation of Tokyo purely through its images. Regardless of whether the source has actually been to Tokyo or not, the mediated image of the city gets incorporated through the inertia of continuous image production. This imagination-born-imagination is the final layer of

mediation that builds up in the minds of the tourists and media consumers.

Digital media as a format of distribution is also relevant to the contemporary circulation of Orientalism. In the age of Web 2.0, convenient use of blogs and Twitter democratized the act of writing and publishing texts. Because of the sheer increase in the amount of information, the body of sources regarding the "Orient," including bits and pieces of images, narratives and texts, has become all the richer. It seems as if the proliferation of internet communication may continue to further intensify Orientalism in the modern internet age.

When a piece of a media clip or a certain aesthetic style becomes explosively popular over the internet, they are described with terms such as "viral" or "meme." These terms both come from biological analogy, comparing the mechanism of the spread of media in cyberspace to contagious viruses or genetic transfer. While these two terms are often used interchangeably, there is a significant distinction between the two terms. Merriam-Webster's dictionary defines viral as "quickly and widely spread or popularized especially by person-to-person electronic communication," and a meme as "an idea, behaviour, style, or usage that spreads from person to person within a culture" (Merriam-Webster). The confusion occurs because most memes are viral, but not all viral media are memes. Viral media refers to anything that spreads quickly, including an image or video clip whose links get copied and shared over the internet. The original file is simply replicated without modification. Meme, on the other hand, is a mimicry of style. It is not simple digital duplication, but a slight alteration of the original, with the potential for evolution. For example, the series of actions involved in capturing the image of Weird Japan through the style of a demotivational poster – finding an image, framing it in black, and stamping it with the phrase JAPAN: [punchline] – is a meme. The image of the anime girl statue on a train photo is one particular example of a meme that went viral.

The term "meme" was coined by the evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins (1976) in *The Selfish Gene* as a cultural analogue to genes. Just as a gene carries one's biological information and passes it on from parent to offspring, Dawkins argues that a similar concept can be applied when an individual mimics another individual's ideas and style. Unlike genetic transfer, which is limited to biological ties between the parent and the offspring, one is free to adopt a meme from any individual. Dawkins named this unit for carrying cultural ideas after the Greek word, *mimeme* for "something imitated." While this concept was not very successful in a sociological sense as originally intended by Dawkins, the term survived as a common term for mimicking a certain style of image editing and adopting hashtags keywords on internet posts.

A meme is a genre, or a parody of a genre, in which a text or art is produced through mimicking a certain literary or artistic convention in form, style, or subject matter. Participation in internet memes requires shared knowledge of a certain convention, as they are created, imitated, transformed and circulated with an awareness of preexisting precedents on the internet. The idea that Japan is Weird, the tendency to associate Japan with ideas and images of irrational absurdity, can itself be thought of as a meme, and an established convention. It is in this sense that memetic transfer of Weird Japan parallels what Said has referred to as the citationary nature of Orientalism. Cyberspace provides an environment where ideas and images of the Orient can be collaboratively created. Bits and pieces of information about Japan float around in cyberspace, provided by bloggers and tweeters. Receivers of this information can adopt, mimic, and continue to build upon these fragments in the cycle of passing information onto others.

Bits and pieces of information about "Japan" or "Tokyo" are disseminated through these various levels of communication and mediation, tourists being one of the many agents involved in this circulation. The examples given above shows an increasing disparity between Tokyo itself

and the receiver of the city's image, some of them rather tangible (tourists in Tokyo), others more distanced (media consumer abroad). In other words, individuals at varying degrees of proximity from Tokyo are all placed within the same circulation process of its image. The problem with this is that the speaker's identity becomes somewhat ambiguous, and the exact source of information becomes increasingly difficult to trace. Analyzing the degree of anonymity of the author, speaker, and performer who transmits the image of Tokyo becomes a key to understand this phenomenon.

Another area in which we can observe the intensification of Orientalism in the Weird Japan meme pertains to the issue of Oriental fantasy and false information. One of Said's primary critiques is related to the dangers of Orientalist discourse for skewing the truth about the East, whether romanticized as exotic and erotic, or exaggerated as violent and barbaric. While misrepresentation of the Orient has a long history, from literature and paintings to film and TV, the capability of blurring the line between fantasy and reality distinguishes digital media from traditional media. With this development and easier access to image editing technologies, it has become increasingly easy to tweak, warp, and distort the truth. Inundated with false images, the prevalence of misrepresentation in cyberspace is further aggravated by netizens' lack of interest in validating the facts.

For example, the anime girl statue image uses photo editing software to superimpose an anime figurine onto the Tokyo cityscape, seamlessly integrating imagined fantasy and physical reality. Digital media image editing technology thus enables fictional images to sneak into the physical cityscape of Tokyo. As we have seen, the photo was widely circulated without verification of its source or its authenticity. However, this fake, Photoshopped image was once featured in an online travel guide website Asian Backpackers under the entry "Must visit places /

must do in Japan – Akihabara," inseminating the tourists with the anticipation of finding this statue somewhere in Akihabara (Yip 2011).

There are other cases in which a Photoshopped version of Tokyo quietly poses as the truth on the internet. Another similar example on Japanisweird.com titled "Metrosexual" shows an image of what appears to be a sticker on the subway window for priority seating (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Anonymous internet user. "Metrosexual" Posted on Japanisweird.com, 2004



Instead of the typical priority seating advisory signs with disabled passengers and pregnant women, the vulgar sticker in the photo instead portrays a person having an erection, sex, pregnancy, and birth. The image is seamlessly sutured into the surrounding environment of the Tokyo metro, convincing an unsuspecting viewer that such signage actually exists in Japan. Thankfully, for this image, the website "Snopes.com" which self-identifies as "The definitive Internet reference source for urban legends, folklore, myths, rumors, and misinformation,"

officially invalidates this image, confirming that it is a "prankishly modified version of the real thing" (Snopes 2004). However, such clear-cut verification cannot possibly be done for millions of other misinformation found on the web. In fact, many internet users no longer care about whether the information they come across is true or false. They will not spend as much time and effort as I did in trying to verify the original source; its impact and entertainment value alone are sufficient.

The pathological spread of fake news and misinformation on the internet gained global attention in late 2016, when the Oxford dictionary selected the term "post-truth" as the word of the year (Oxford Dictionaries 2016). The discourse was motivated by the consecutive political upsets of this year, from the passing of Brexit in the U.K. to the election of Donald Trump in the U.S. While this term is often used in the context of how the rise of social networking circulated media as a news source became complicit with demagogue politics, the term can be more widely applicable to the general social trend in which objective facts are becoming less influential in shaping public opinion and personal belief. The original coinage of the term is attributed to Ralph Keyes (2004) in *The Post-truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life*. In the chapter "deception.com," he mentions Barbara and David Mikkelson who started Snopes.com, and discusses their motivation behind creating the hoax-exposing website (Keyes 2004:206). Keyes discusses the climate of deception in the age of misinformation, explaining that "the world Wide Web is a mishmash of rumor passing as facts," and in this condition, he claims, "accuracy is an altogether relative concept" (2004:205). As internet users became more conditioned to the overflow of hoaxes, misinformation, and inaccurate contents, accountability to the source decreased.

There are perhaps bigger incentives to verify the facts for news reports relating to rumors

about a political candidate before an election. However, virally circulated media images of Weird Japan, leisurely shared as an entertaining meme, lack the same level of urgency as news information. This echoes the sentiment Douglas McGray notes about Cool Japan; "cultural accuracy is not the point. What matters is the whiff of Japanese cool" (McGray 2002). The same applies to the comedy of the Japanese weird. While many internet users do register the suspicion that many of the supposed images of Japan may not be genuine, their entertainment value often renders their truth value irrelevant. Trivial, non-immediate misinformation that appears on a daily basis on the internet rarely gets verified. An inaccurate and exaggerated representation of Japan is thus intensified by the distribution of false information facilitated by digital technology's ability to decontextualize. It is via this post-truth trend that images of Weird Japan so profusely propagated.

Above, I have discussed how the Weird Japan phenomenon shares much in common with Orientalism in terms of the process by which the discourse is created. However, the actual content of Orientalism has shifted. The Orientalist representation of the East, which Said criticized in 1978, was that of backward, uncivilized noble savages of the East in the 19th century. The Cool Japan phenomenon that appeared in the early 21st century was celebrated as the countermeasure of long-standing Orientalism. It was a discourse that hoped to "re-center" globalization and replace Eurocentrism with Japancentrism, re-positioning West and East. It was as if this phenomenon assured that Japan was no longer subject to the Western gaze and its perception of Japan as lame, peripheral and receptive, but was now instead cool, central and proactive. Yet, closely analyzing how Japanese culture has actually been consumed in the United States suggests that the Cool Japan phenomenon in reality never served as the antithesis, nor the prescription for, Orientalism. Rather, ironically, it was complicit in the rise of a new genre of Orientalist representation of

Japan; it was the slow deterioration of the celebrated discourse of Cool Japan and its eventual fusing with enduring Orientalist fantasies – the irrational, sexual East – that gave rise to the trope of "Weird Japan." The stereotype we find in the Weird Japan discourse is neither the backward images of Said's Orientalism, nor the progressive ones which the Cool Japan discourse made it seem to be. While the modernization and Westernization of the East has shifted the realities of the Orient away from traditional depiction, the representation of the Orient has not fundamentally changed, but remains an updated version of Orientalism.

As previously discussed, one of the most common tropes of the Weird Japan phenomenon is what Morley and Robins (1995) have called "Techno-Orientalism." While Said criticizes the use of the "Orient" as an entity against which the West can project its own superiority, Japan, unlike the pre-modern Other, had achieved a high degree of modernization and technological sophistication. No longer fitting the historico-geographical schema of a neat binary between premodern/modern and East/West divide, the rapid development and aggressive export of Japanese technology has destabilized its relations with the West "because it is non-Western, yet refuses any longer to be our Orient; because it insists on being modern, yet calls our kind of modernity into question" (1995:171). Koichi Iwabuchi expands this discussion, arguing that Techno-Orientalism thus symbolized the West's ambivalent feelings of resentment and envy towards Japanese techno-power, making Japan a real threat to Western identity (Iwabuchi 2002b:450).

Iwabuchi writes that Japan's economic boom and the increase in its global export industry post 1980s led to a growing sentiment of "Techno-Nationalism" in Japan: self-appraisal and national pride in the excellence of made-in-Japan consumer technologies, such as Sony electronics, the VCR and the Walkman. Iwabuchi explains; "When the superior quality of

Japanese consumer technologies had become widely appreciated around the world, the global reach of Japanese consumer technologies was attributed to Japan's 'creative and original refinement,' if not 'pure originality,' rather than to its cunning ability to copy or imitate 'the West'" (2002b:449). This domestic discourse of Techno-Nationalism, Iwabuchi argues, is symbiotic with Techno-Orientalism. Iwabuchi concludes that Techno-Nationalism and Techno-Orientalism are essentially different sides of the same coin; "There is a complicit mutual othering of 'Japan' here, as Western Techno-Orientalism and Japanese Techno-Nationalism both stress the essential difference between Japan and the West in order to (re)construct an exclusive national/cultural identity," he explains (2002b:451). Techno-Nationalism, then, could be rephrased as a form of self-Orientalism where Japan is complicit with the Western project of Orientalizing Japan. Backed by the sentiment of nationalistic narcissism celebrating its uniqueness, Japan voluntarily separates itself as the antithesis of the West, eventually reifying the rigid demarcation of itself as the Other.

As I mentioned in the introduction, I do not use the term Orientalism in the same critical manner as Said for how the simplistic, negative stereotyping of Japan has remained the same over the centuries. Orientalist representations of Japan are not taken as offensive by the Japanese, but embraced with a twisted kind of nationalistic pride. It is important to realign this term within the context of the tourism industry, which capitalizes on cultural differences. Application of Orientalism in the context of tourism in Japan is difficult to criticize, because Japan is not simply a passive subject of representation but an active accomplice in this self-Orientalizing image. The uniqueness of the "Orient" is a necessary factor for tourism to be a viable industry, to continue to provide value for the visitors to consume. Fantasy has always been an innate human desire; in the history of travel, exoticization and fantasy of the cultural Other was always necessary for travelers.

Robot Restaurant and the Spectacle of the Red Light District

There is one iconic demotivational poster titled "The truth about Japan summed up in one poster" which is captioned, "JAPAN: We've all been raised by the internet to believe that Japan is full of cat girls, giant robots, and nympho high schoolers. But it's not. And we're slowly learning this fact. And we're very, very pissed off" (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6.
Anonymous internet user, "JAPAN: We've all been raised by the internet to believe that Japan is full of cat girls, giant robots, and nympho high schoolers. But it's not. And we're slowly learning this fact. And we're very, very pissed off" (circa 2007). Posted on http://sickbastard.wordpress.com/2007/06/29/the-truth-about-japan-summed-up-in-one-poster / June 29, 2007.



The self-mocking and playful disillusionment expressed in this poster represent a common sentiment in the post-truth era, where many people have cynical attitudes toward the idea of truth itself. How do these Orientalist images of "Weird Japan" on the internet influence visitors to Japan? A traveler, physically present in Japan, seems to be in a position to easily correct inaccurate representations. However, do tourists really play the role of invalidating hoaxes and prankish information about Japan? Are all tourists, who came with the fantastically weird images of Japan, disillusioned when they actually arrive and lay their eyes upon its "reality"?

The tourism industry in fact actively caters to the travelers to save them from such disillusionment. When I first came to Tokyo in November 2013 for fieldwork, I joined a Stanford-in-Tokyo alumni mixer where I met up with my former classmates from college who now lived in Japan. I was telling them about my research topic when Jon – a Taiwanese-American friend who worked for an IT company in Japan – immediately responded "Oh, then Robot Restaurant is totally the place to go, right?" Elias, a former dormmate of mine who used to express his love for Nintendo games and also worked in Japan, chimed in: "Oh! I've heard of this place! I want to go sometime." Seeing my confusion as I had never heard of this place, Jon explained (unfortunately aggravating my confusion in the process), "Basically, you go there to see robots and girls dancing." He continued to explain that the last time he went, 90% of the audience were *gaijin* (a mocking and somewhat derogatory term for foreigner). "Wait you've *never* heard of this place? You've *got* to go, it is *the* place for your research topic. Hey I'm actually taking my friend there next Friday, wanna come?" Jon invited me to attend a performance at the Robot Restaurant.

That evening, I immediately looked up Robot Restaurant on TripAdvisor, where I found a

plethora of rave reviews of this place from tourists from America. The below excerpts represent them accurately:

> mjpascuzzi from Winchester, KY
> "Only in Tokyo" October 3, 2013
> ***** (5/5 stars)
>
> Hot girls, robots, dinosaurs, more hot girls, lasers, loud techno music, motorcycles…did I mention the hot girls? The cheese-factor is through the roof at this place. But it is Tokyo. A manga novel come to life, it is really well done and supremely entertaining. Get your hotel to reserve for you and get a 2 for 1 deal!
>
> Ellynet from Miami, FL
> "Enter the Void" October 25, 2013
> ***** (5/5 stars)
>
> Don't come her expecting a high-quality, tasteful performance with dinner and drinks. Robot Restaurant was exactly what I imagined a night out in Tokyo to be like before I traveled to this great city. In one of the cheesier and grittier parts of Tokyo, we found an excessive amount of flashing lights and colors, an over-the-top non-sensical performance, scantily clad women - all funded and directed by someone who clearly has way too much money to know what to do with it. And I LOVED it.
>
> Steve B from Kaysville, Utah
> "A Wacky Night To Remember in Tokyo" October 30, 2013
> ***** (5/5 stars)
>
> It was wacky, zany, mesmerizing, and highly entertaining. The drums were amazing and the girls were genuinely skilled at the drum routine. The down time between show segments was a bit long at first, but it was well worth the wait. The second half of the show was so over-the-top zany that I was crying I was laughing so hard! If you want to be entertained, you don't mind a few skimpy outfits, and you want a night to remember, then this is it.

"A manga novel come to life," "Robot Restaurant was exactly what I imagined a night out in Tokyo to be like before I traveled to this great city," "excessive amount of flashing lights and colors, an over-the-top non-sensical performance," "wacky, zany, mesmerizing, and highly entertaining" – the reviews made it clear that the Robot Restaurant was a manifestation of Weird Japan images and Techno-Orientalism (TripAdvisor 2014).

On Friday November 15, I met up with Jon and his friend Elaine at the *Shinjuku sanchō-me* station to walk over to the Robot Restaurant located in the middle of *Kabukichō*, a famous theater / red light district. On our tickets, which were for the 8:30pm show, there was a notation that we must arrive at the venue by 8pm. When we arrived to check in, there was already a long queue, and most of the people in it appeared to be tourists.

Various types of statues and robots welcomed us at the entrance, from a female mannequin wearing a *happi* (a festival vest), to an actor wearing a robot costume, to machine-operated robots. Elaine, a Taiwanese-born, America-educated young working professional now based in Hong Kong, excitedly told me of her love for big robots as she pulled out her smartphone and showed me a photo she took with a giant Gundam statue – another famous "robot tourist spot" in Diver City, Odaiba. The colorful interior of the Robot Restaurant, oversaturated, beaming with lights and plastered with mirrors in every direction, made the visitors dizzy. Overhearing the conversations of other visitors, over half of the audience seemed to be foreign tourists, though some looked like Japanese salarymen (or, in few numbers, women) off work.

The first half of the show took the form of a cabaret-like evening performance with scantily clothed female dancers dancing to techno-electronic-music. The background music was loud, and rave-like lighting completely disoriented the audience. The dancers, dressed in bright red-and-white wigs, played the Japanese drums in the form of *kumidaiko* (ensemble drumming) accompanied by electronic music, reminiscent of the popular arcade drumming game, *Taiko no Tatsujin*. Occasionally, the dance performance broke with interludes for short, cheesy skits, in which the dancers, still scantily dressed as amazons in an ancient forest, fought off *kaijū* (monsters). "What the hell?" I made a facial expression. Jon, who had already seen the

performance previously, grinned and reassured me, "You know…the plot is not supposed to be so deep or anything." Apart from the dancer's remote-controlled toy cars and performers dressed in robot costumes, there were no signs of robots yet. Elaine also gave a disgruntled cry, "Where are the robots?"

Finally, the farce-like prelude ended and robots got pushed onto the stage. The robots on stage had less resemblance to cute, practical humanoid robots like the Honda ASIMO or Sony QRIO; they were serious, intense-looking machines, with their metallic body reflecting the spotlight and sharp eyes glowing in the dark. They seemed like a mixture of robots imagined in animation films and televisions, such as *Gundam* (1979-1980), robot soldiers[21] in *Castle in the Sky* (1986), or the war machines in the TV series *Evangelion* (1995-1996). Suddenly, music came on and the robots started to "dance," though it seemed more like shaking, remotely controlled by the staff dressed in dark clothes.

The entire performance ended in a daze, and it kept the audience speechless for a few seconds. After the show, the audience were all invited to come up to the robots and take pictures with them. As we walked toward the robots, Jon, still grinning, comments, "You know what, only the Japanese will think of even creating a place like this." In response to this usual, essentializing remark of "only the Japanese," "only in Japan," I routinely reprimanded his Orientalist comments in the same way I had repeatedly done for the past decade: "Hey, hey. Not ALL Japanese are crazy like this you know…only the crazy ones," I argued to defend my own normalcy from what we just witnessed. Jon insisted, "Yeah…but only the Japanese will ever think of this." I had to admit, I was impressed by how perfectly this place recreated the stereotypically "Weird Japan" images that had been emerging. It was a perfect manifestation of how Japan has been fantasized and anticipated by the tourists — exotic, erotic, and

Techno-Oriental.

Robot Restaurant is just one example of many recently opened tourist attractions with a clear self-awareness for catering towards tourists' (Techno-) Orientalist gaze. The self-mocking demotivational poster may disappointedly note the slow realization that Japan is not really a land of giant robots as information on the internet makes one believe, yet with the opening of places like the Robot Restaurant, this has become a legitimate and "true" information about Japan. We can perhaps say that the tourism industry successfully caught up with the tourist illusion. Many hoaxes and inaccurate representations can thus survive and thrive on the internet in this era of mass tourism.

When I posted on Facebook about the experience at the Robot Restaurant, one of my friends – a Japanese American from the Bay Area – informed me that recently, Robot Restaurant was featured in Anthony Bourdain's travel show, *Parts Unknown: Tokyo* (2013). The episode opens with Bourdain's narration:

> Japan is a paradox. The low birthrate, the dedication, the conformity, and the life of a salary man are well known. There is also a competitive and rigid culture that gives way to some unique subcultures. Bourdain has traveled to Tokyo countless times, but on this trip he is in search of the city's dark, extreme, and bizarrely fetishistic underside (*Anthony Bourdain: Parts Unknown* 2013).

As Google has also listed the term "perverted" to describe Japan as one of the search box suggestions, sexual perverseness is one of the subcategories under the Weird Japan imagination. After we left Robot Restaurant, Jon, Elaine and I toured around *Kabukichō* and Golden Street, the red-light district east of Shinjuku, where the venue was located. "This is like the sketchiest

part of Tokyo," I reminded Elaine. "I want to see more sketchy stuff!!" Elaine jokingly exclaimed. Jon chimed in, "There's a video game called *Ryū ga gotoku*," the English title of which is *Yakuza*. I recalled my college dormmates playing this violent PlayStation RPG about underground gang members. "That is set in this place," Jon explained.

We passed by sign after sign for hostess clubs, host clubs, and pink neon lights which read *annaijo*, literally translating as "information center," though in fact are booths that gave information about the "amusement and entertainment business" including prostitution. "So this is legal? Is prostitution legal?" Elaine asked, surprised. "There are much more rigid categories of different kinds of 'prostitution' in Japan…" as we browsed around the streets with curious voyeurism, Jon and I described to Elaine Japan's prostitution law and the legal categories of each of these different types of establishments.

The red-light district has become one of the popular destinations for tourists to Tokyo. This is not to be confused with sex tourism, where tourists are looking for sexual acts themselves. Rather, they are voyeurs of sexual activities as a spectacle. The popularity of love hotels as tourist destinations is one example of this. In May 2006, my college dormmate Denise uploaded her photo album of her visit to Tokyo on Facebook with the caption, "Japanese…. 'art' in the streets." In the photo, her boyfriend poses in front of a row of adult movie advertisement posters on the street in Asakusa. Located on the eastern side of Tokyo, the Asakusa district is known as the tourist center of Shitamachi, where nostalgic and lively cultures of old Japan attract a great number of tourists. At the time, my only image of Shitamachi had been temples, snacks, arts and crafts; I had no idea that there would be a porn theater so openly and publicly visible on the streets of Asakusa. To me, they existed on the completely opposite side of the spectrum. In response to the photo, I naively commented, "THIS IS NOT JAPAN!! THIS IS

PHOTOSHOPPED!! Asakusa…supposed to be a good old place of festivals, shrines, temples, good food…and not porn…" In response, Denise playfully replied, "oh yeah you are right, this WAS RIGHT BEHIND A TEMPLE, too! (wow this totally goes against your argument you know)" (Denise, May 1, 2006). This brief interaction over a Facebook photo is what I am always reminded of when discussing the "true" and "false" of tourist photography.

Indeed, Denise's photo is real, but it is only a piece of reality discovered by the tourist who sought out what they wanted to see. Google's suggestion that "Japan is perverted" could be reified by tourists who actively search for the perverted Japan, and choose to upload those images online. This relatively tame picture was simply shared among friends on Facebook, but it did serve to feed in as the information and imagination of Denise's friends who viewed her Tokyo trip album. If it was something more radically weird and perverted posted on public blogs, it could have easily been copied, taken out of context, re-framed (literally) with a clever punch-line, and gone viral. The exact same thing might not be found, but something that fits the adjective and matches their anticipation that actually does exist, can replace it. Reality gets distorted by preexisting images, and a slightly off, filtered view of reality becomes the tourist's experience.

During my fieldwork in 2014, I learned that the western side of Asakusa, the Asakusa Park Sixth District (*Asakusa kōen rokku*) used to be historically known as the red-light district, a lower-class entertainment street clamoring with cheap drinking stalls, gambling, and strip theaters. The place where Denise and her boyfriend took their picture was in front of Asakusa Sekaikan and Asakusa Cinema, two popular theaters in the Sixth District that played adult cinema. The Sixth District was designated as a district for revitalization, and during September and October of 2012, five of the theaters in the district closed down. Therefore, the actual spot

where Denise took the photo no longer existed eight years later when I finally had the chance to visit myself.

With the complicit relationship between the tourism industry's self-Orientalism and tourists' seeking out what they want to see, misinformation gets perpetuated, even after the tourists actually arrive in Japan. Photoshopped images still won't get verified; tourists rarely correct rumors and false information. Travelers may believe they are setting out on a journey to pursue the truth about the world, but they often end up traveling in search of something Oriental and exotic to satisfy the fictitious images they have seen before. Even though they actually visit their destinations, how they represent what they saw in photos, art, and literature does not necessarily reflect a fixed, accurate version of their pre-travel fantasy.

From Presence to Representation: Orientalist Gazes of Travelers

Travel writers have often been not the denouncers, but accomplices to Orientalism. Said's criticism of Orientalism is not merely aimed towards armchair anthropologists and artists who refer to and rely on secondary sources about the Orient; much of his argument discusses travel notes and letters from travelers who physically went to the places and experienced the Orient first-hand. Disillusionment for the modern Orient is a common theme in Said's argument. For example, Said extensively quotes letters from Cairo written in 1843 by the French writer and poet Gerard de Nerval, author of *Voyage to the Orient*. In the letters, de Nerval expresses his disappointment that the modern Orient is not at all as the texts describe. Said quotes de Nerval, "For a person who has never seen the Orient, […] a lotus is still a lotus; for me it is only a kind of onion" (de Nerval, quoted in Said 1978:101) and states de Nerval's lament is a common topic of romanticism among travelers to the Orient. Said further explains, "If personal disenchantment and general preoccupation fairly map the Orientalist sensibility at first, they entail certain other

more familiar habits of thought, feeling, and perception. The mind learns to separate a general apprehension of the Orient from a specific experience of it" (Said 1978:101).

Said also gives an opposing example, that of French novelist Gustave Flaubert, who did not experience the same disillusionment that de Nerval had experienced. In his letter addressed to his mother, Flaubert writes, "You ask me whether the Orient is up to what I imagined it to be. Yes, it is; and more than that, it extends far beyond the narrow idea I had of it. I have found, clearly delineated, everything that was hazy in my mind. Facts have taken the place of suppositions — so excellently so that it is often as though I were suddenly coming upon old forgotten dreams" (Flaubert, quoted in Said 1978:185). De Nerval and Flaubert were both French writers who traveled to the Middle East around the same time in the mid-19th century, with the same romanticized anticipation of the Orient which they had developed before their travels. Yet, while one was majorly disillusioned, the other was completely immune to disillusionment. This discrepancy could be discussed further in relation to the different gazes cast upon the Orient by the travelers.

Discourse of the "gaze" and the inherent power within it flourished after Foucault's theorization on the issue. Topics on colonial gaze, fantasies, and imperial eyes have been repeatedly discussed among postcolonial scholars.[22] While the unequal power dynamics of gaze have been problematized in the scholarly context, by Orientalists and anthropologists who travel, write about, and disseminate the cultures of the Other as part of their profession, this issue was not taken with the same interest among tourists who travel for leisure. In other words, Orientalist scholars whose professional purpose of travel is to reveal the realities about the modern Orient must consciously seek to do away with the Oriental mystique, but leisurely tourists can afford to remain enchanted and attempt to escape the disillusionment.

Tourism scholars suggest that maintaining the illusion of the Oriental-weirdness as the antithesis of Occidental-normalcy is a necessary component for Eastbound tourists. In one of the first attempts to comprehensively theorize tourism practice, Dean MacCannell introduces some of the earlier definitions of tourism as a "modern ritual" (1976:13). Valene Smith defined tourists as a "temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (1977:2). Nelson Graburn further expands these definitions that tourism rituals are "necessary structured breaks from ordinary life" in which people get away from "ordinary workday, mundane life" (1983:11). He likens tourism to an activity of "sacralization that elevates participants to the nonordinary state wherein marvelous things happen, and the converse process of desacralization or return to ordinary life" (1983:20). John Urry agrees, "Tourism results from a basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary… People must experience particularly distinct pleasures which involve different senses or are on a different scale from those typically encountered in everyday life" (2002:12). These earlier literatures of tourism suggest that tourism is a liminoid occasion, liberated from everyday social obligation, in search for the extraordinary. It therefore becomes a crucial motivation for travelers to imagine the travel destination as somewhere extraordinary and unfamiliar.

The issue of tourism and imagination is explored extensively in Urry's *Tourist Gaze* (1990, 2002: 2nd edition, 2012: 3rd edition).[23] Urry emphasizes the importance of pre-travel imagination in shaping the actual travel itinerary:

> Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist

> practices, such as film, television, literature, magazines, records and videos, which construct and reinforce that gaze (Urry, 2002: 3).

In the updated edition, *Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2012), Urry includes analysis about tourism and digital age. Information received from internet media also adds to the list of what he calls a "non-tourist practice" that constructs anticipation for travelers. Urry argues that tourists cultivate a certain fantasy about the destination, and it is precisely this predetermined imagination that they actively choose to consume and remember. When they travel, he argues, tourists will merely be "hunting down" the cultural icons that live up to their anticipation.

Quoting John Berger regarding how there are various 'ways of seeing,' Urry explains that "one's eyes are socio-culturally framed […] People gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education," and argues that this can be applied to the ways of seeing of modern tourists as well (Urry 2002:2). How the traveler frames and sees things is influenced by pre-travel imaginations and preconceptions; in this process, reality gets distorted within the tourist gaze. When it comes to representing what one saw during travel, the photos one takes try to elevate what they actually see into this extraordinary state, to frame it and to recreate the preconceived imagination. Said writes that "the idea of representation is a theatrical one: the Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined" (Said 1978:63). Regarding photography, Roland Barthes writes, "In an initial period, Photography, in order to surprise, photographs the notable; but soon, by a familiar reversal, it decrees notable whatever it photographs. The 'anything whatever' then becomes the sophisticated acme of value" (Barthes 1981: 34). It used to be that one took a photo when one saw something notable. However, as often is the case with travel photography, this order has flipped; the traveler takes the photo in order to make the experience notable, even exaggerating

the experience by perhaps editing the photo so one can make it seem like the trip was amazing and extraordinary. One does not take a picture in order to remember an experience; one has an experience in order to take a picture.[24]

Sharing Travel Stories with Peers

How does the gaze during presence transform into representation in absence? Images do not unilaterally feed into the imaginations of tourists: it is a cycle of presence and representation, where tourist experience directly feeds into the original image that conditions the travel in the first place. Just as tourists are susceptible to predetermined images of their destinations, they in turn become complicit in perpetuating these images for future travelers. After the traveler returns home, the experience and memories of travel are shared with families and friends through what in Japanese is called "souvenir stories." Their travel adventures are represented through travel photos and stories. Tourism scholars have extensively discussed how bits and pieces of travel experience are disseminated during this post-travel period. Robinson and Picard (2009) delineate this scene: "Stories are told to friends, work colleagues and relatives. Objects collected or acquired during the journey are shown around, sometimes given away as gifts […] intangibility of memory and recollection is made tangible through the acquisition" (2009:20). This is an important social occasion of memory-production where "visual images are interwoven with verbal commentary to remember the experience and to tell others about it" as the traveler provides a post-rationale for the images back home, (Urry 2002:14) and "connections and contexts can be re-established as the photograph and its object is re-made through narrative and its placement in (at the very least, family) history" (Robinson and Picard 2009:14).

Travel stories and photos brought back from the journey will feed into the expectations of those who listen, eventually becoming one of the elements that constitute the pre-conceived

images of the future-travelers. Traditionally, personal travel narratives were limited to stories shared with families and close friends with an actual photo album in hand. However, with the maturation of the internet media, where one can recount travel experiences online by uploading pictures on travel blogs or Facebook, personal travel memories have become publicly accessible. Online travel blogs and albums have become one of the main platforms where certain memories of imagined Japan are archived, discovered and eventually transmitted towards other digital consumers who in turn can become future travelers to Japan. By archiving their travel photos and stories on online platforms, tourists also become crucial participants in circulating and inseminating the images of Japan to future travelers.

In the process of remembering one's travel experience through digital media, place memories are decomposed into pieces of snapshots or segments of travel stories. Digital media allows these orphaned photographs, floating in cyberspace and being removed from context, to take on independent lives of their own, uncoupled from the traveler's original memories and passed around in the network of peer-to-peer circulation. During the pre-digital era, when souvenir-storytelling was limited to face-to-face transmission from the returned-traveler to the listener, souvenirs as a material proof of authenticity were at least directly linked to the development of extraordinary imagination. When this same transmission is done over digital photo albums online, the link between the authentic and the extraordinary is easily broken.

One of the earliest forms of peer-to-peer sharing of travel stories can be found in a publication called the *Whole Earth Catalog*, a peer-circulated publication of a database that is commonly attributed to as one of the origins of the modern-day internet. What is less known about the publication is that it is also the roots of the well-known English-based travel guide today, *Lonely Planet*. The *Whole Earth Catalog* first came out in 1968 with the primary purpose

of providing "access to tools" aiding the youth at the time to engage in various types of activities. The significance of this media lay in its mechanism of peer-to-peer information exchange, in which individual readers mailed in articles based on their own experiences. The charm of the *Whole Earth Catalog* was passed down to Steve Jobs, Apple CEO, a charismatic figure of the 21st century and one of the founding fathers of the internet, who referred to the *Whole Earth Catalog* as "one of the bibles of my generation" and nostalgically depicted it as "sort of like Google in paperback form, 35 years before Google came along" (Jobs 2005). Many scholars have drawn parallels between this catalog and the Google search engine. Fred Turner argues that the pages in this publication became a forum where:

> technological and intellectual output of industry and high science met the Eastern religion, acid mysticism, and communal social theory of the back-to-the-land movement. It also became the home and emblem of a new, geographically distributed community. As they flipped through and wrote in to its several editions, contributors and readers peered across the social and intellectual fences of their home communities (Turner 2006:73).

It was in this way that the *Whole Earth Catalog* gained attention as an important precursor of modern day information technology.

At the same time, this publication also turned out to be an important resource for tourism studies. Catering to creative, outdoorsy youths, the underlying concept holding these sections together was to provide the tools to survive in different kinds of adventurous situations. One of its sections called "Nomadics" focused on traveling in particular, listing various articles ranging from the mechanics of a sailboat to the prices of bus tickets in Afghanistan. As the catalog was strongly tied to the back-to-the-land movement, it became a site that connected commune-dwellers all over

the world, living thousands of miles from each other. The pages were filled with travel tips by experienced travelers who listed pieces of information like where to obtain student rail passes, how to hitchhike, and even how to join the Peace Corps. In addition to being a fact-listing database, this section also included personal travel accounts where travelers shared model routes and stories of their successful travel adventures.

The 1971 edition of the *Last Whole Earth Catalog* devoted a full page to an article entitled "Cheap Overland Travel to Nepal" which explained how to travel from Europe to Asia (1971:302). The entry comprised of a personal travelogue by Londoner Sid Sheehy, one of the readers of the catalog who had successfully returned from a road trip through Munich, Istanbul, Teheran, Kabul, Lahore, and New Delhi to Nepal, a route that came to be known as the "hippy trail." A few years later in 1973, Tony Wheeler took this same overland trip, driving from the U.K., crossing the Balkans, Turkey and Iran, through Pakistan, India, Nepal, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia, finally arriving in Australia. Based on this experience, he published *Across Asia on the Cheap* (1973) which became one of the first travel guides of its kind; after its publication, Tony Wheeler went on to found the *Lonely Planet* guidebooks, which continue to monopolize the guidebook market for English speakers today (Wheeler and Wheeler 2007).

The *Whole Earth Catalog* was a precursor to two things: First, it was a reader-based publication in which information was provided by peers, decontextualized and fragmented when it circulated, and there was no accountability for the accuracy of the information. Second, it provided information and travel tips for faraway places which became useful to the travelers. Coming a long way from the *Whole Earth Catalog*, in which information was mediated and circulated with "typewriters, scissors, and polaroid cameras" (Jobs 2005), digital media technology today has gone through significant transformation indeed. However, the fundamental mechanism puts the

Whole Earth Catalog much closer to online media than that of traditional media. The catalog's system is a precursor to today's digital media, where texts and images are cut and pasted, and this fragmented information is circulated through a system of peer-to-peer exchange. The emergence of cybermedia offered tourists a unique platform that invites participation in the process of discovering and sharing adventure stories, further providing a sense of immediate access to information about the world and cultures.

Today, personal travel stories and photos on internet platforms are used as travel information for future travelers. When information about a foreign destination becomes commonly circulated on a peer-to-peer basis, this information from tourists, like travel stories and tips shared with friends and on the *Whole Earth Catalog* and TripAdvisor, will have the same effect as representation in travel writing, letters, and art.

Travelers come to Japan pursuing Weird Japan, constructing the tourist gaze of a perpetually weird destination. The Japanese tourism industry attempts to respond to that anticipation and emphasize this image. Tourists will also cut out the realities that fit with that image, and like a collage, pass them on to the next tourist. In this cycle, the image of Weird Japan perpetuates. A post-truth psychology often operates on the tourists. Less interested in the pursuit of the truth, many tourists prefer to look at the Japan they want to see, even if it may be based on false information. Regardless of whether they are aware that it is not authentic, they can easily edit out the truth and leave it behind, then cut out and bring back the more entertaining side of the story as their souvenir stories for future travelers.

Fragments of peer-produced image and information about Japan create and provide certain images and information for the travelers. The tourist gaze is inspired by how they imagine the place to be. The simple question, "Why is Japan so weird?" which the Google search bar helped

me complete, can be at the core of a "research question" which travelers, and even anthropologists, bring with them to Japan; the travel, or fieldwork, in Japan is spent finding the answers to this question. Digital media and cyberspace revolutionized what used to be a top-down, linear dissemination of information. At the same time, it increased the dangers of misinformation and Orientalist representation to a much greater degree, as information is based on citation of others, and digital media can be easily edited and tweaked. Chapter Three will focus on how tourists receive information once they physically set foot in Japan. I will look at the relations between the host and the guest, and the role of the host as the direct communicator of information to the tourists.

III. Roles of a Host
—Performing the Hospitable—

"We will offer you a unique welcome. In Japanese, I can describe it in one unique word: O-MO-TE-NA-SHI." — Christel Takigawa (2013)

The Anthropologist Hosts the Tourist

The tourist is an inconvenient doppelganger to the anthropologist. As much as anthropologists love to scoff at the tourist's shallow consumerism and despise their obnoxious ethnocentrism, in the end, we are both foreigners in the field and stick out like a sore thumb. The prototypical ethnography begins with the rude introduction of the foreigner in a local village and the anthropologist's discomfort as an outsider. The plot deepens as the ethnographer gradually builds rapport, and concludes with their eventual inclusion into the community. Throughout this linear progression of narrative over months and years of commitment, the successful anthropologist will transform from the outsider to the insider, from the observer to the participant, from the guest to the host, an accomplishment which, we like to think, tourists can never achieve in a short period of time.

It is a different story for a Japanese anthropologist working in Tokyo. When I first arrived at Tokyo in October 2013, it felt as though I were blending in too comfortably. My appearance, demeanor, and linguistic fluency were Japanese enough that I could easily position myself as an insider. It is the ethnographer's initial outsider status, whether blatantly visual, audibly linguistic or subtly cultural, that often triggers serendipitous encounters that lead to new connections and characters. Such a trigger was wanting during my initial stage of fieldwork.

Tourists became a valuable provider of this trigger, on whom I relied. I would tag along with a group of American tourists to explore the city, and use the foreign-looking

English-speaking entourage to validate my position in between the insider and the outsider. For example, while the Robot Restaurant (see Chapter Two) had been a hot spot for tourists, the red-light district where it was located remained implicitly off-limits to "decent" locals. Playing the tourist often proved to be a liberating tool for a native ethnographer to get a glimpse of Tokyo that I could never explore on my own. There is an old saying in Japanese: "A man away from home need feel no shame (*Tabi no haji wa kaki sute*)," which means certain activities that are considered embarrassing at home are often condoned during travel. It seems like this attitude of tolerance may have been extended to incoming tourists as well. I felt entitled to engage in certain activities, access certain places, and display a certain level of ignorance as an outsider, which may have been considered shameful had it been apparent that I was an insider.

Having lived the past decade outside of Japan, my status as the "native anthropologist" is questionable in the first place. I was born and raised in a city 800 miles away, and this was my first time living in Tokyo. In reality, I was much more the guest than the host in this metropolis. However, I took advantage of my Japanese appearance and linguistic fluency to disguise myself as a local host. Conducting my fieldwork as the anthropologist hosting foreign visitors provided a unique vantage point to explore the inside-outside boundary in the web of tourist encounters.

The previous chapter delved into the ways in which information about Japan often gets distorted through media representation and circulation. Continuing from that point, this chapter explores the roles of hosts as agents of hospitality, and mediators of information. How is gaining information from an embodied host, like tourist counter staff and tour guides, different from obtaining information pre-travel through other mediated forms, such as travel guide publications and internet search engines? I will look at the nature of the host's work and how they communicate with the guests, particularly, focusing on their roles to orient and inform the guests to Japan.

Information Ladies at the Tourist Information Center

The Shitamachi Tourist Information Center (TIC) is located at the heart of downtown Shitamachi, an area in Eastern Tokyo that is densely populated with tourists. The center is housed in a multistory building, stylishly designed by a famed architect. The architect's signature style is reflected in the warm wooden architecture, reminiscent of houses in the Japanese countryside, given a modern twist and added comfort. The center provides shelter to all visitors who enter through the automatic door, welcoming with cool breeze of air conditioning on a sweltering summer day or with warmth on cold, rainy winter days. The visitor may browse through a plethora of brochures, prepared in multiple languages and neatly categorized in separate racks across the lobby. A large digital screen behind the counter displays images of local festivals and seasonal events. Visitors can also use the center's complementary Wi-Fi service or desktop computers stationed up on the second floor to search for travel information. The tourist may instead choose to approach the information counter where friendly "information ladies" are always standing by to respond to any inquiry. Regardless of whether you are an American tourist visiting Japan for the first time, a domestic tourist sightseeing in Tokyo, or simply a local shopkeeper looking for a public bathroom, anyone who visits is provided with the same cheerful calls of welcome by the uniformed ladies standing inside the counter: *Irasshaimase* — Welcome! It is from this standpoint at the TIC where I observed and participated in one dimension of touristic encounters.

In 2012, the Japan National Tourist Organization (JNTO) launched a rating program of Tourist Information Centers in order to control their quality. As the Shitamachi area had always been one of the most popular travel destinations in Tokyo, the Shitamachi TIC was one of the seven out of 365 TICs in Japan that had been certified as Category Three, the highest rank, as of 2014 (JNTO, November 5, 2014).[25] According to the official rating system by JNTO, there are

three criteria a TIC must clear in order to maintain its Category Three status: 1) Information must extend to the national level, which means that the center must cover information about all destinations in Japan; 2) The center must be open year-round, with multilingual service available for the entire range of business hours; and 3) The center must have Wi-Fi or computers with internet access available on site.[26] Abiding by these criteria, the Shitamachi TIC provided year-round service in English, Chinese, and Korean. The information and service provided at the center were comprehensive, constant, and multilingual.

The daily operation hours of the Shitamachi TIC are from 9am to 8pm. It is open every day of the year, and these 11 hours for 365 days a year are divided into 8-hour shifts rotated among 15 staff members with an hour break in the middle. Rotation is elaborately calculated based on each of our language abilities, so that all three major foreign languages, English, Korean, and Mandarin Chinese can be covered at all times. We must always remember to punch our time cards promptly upon arrival and before leaving (8:45am-4:45pm for the morning shift, 12:15pm-8:15pm for the afternoon shift), as the wage is calculated on an hourly basis. In this regularly punctuated daily operation, it was natural for the staff members to register the time here as "work." There is a clear demarcation of the "on-hours" and "off-hours" with the punching of the time cards.

The irony of working in the leisure industry was that we would end up with what could be described as an inverted calendar. Holiday seasons become our busiest time of the year, with excruciatingly heavy traffic of tourists constantly overflowing in front of the counter. As a result, the prettier the cherry blossoms or balmier the autumn day, the more stressed and bitter we would grow. The worst days for vacation on the other hand – with the weather bureau issuing typhoon warnings or train systems experiencing service disruption due to heavy snow – would be some of our most peaceful days, spent idly gossiping behind the counter with no customers to serve. As we

had become incorporated as cogs of this larger tourism machine, our hourly wage would cost the same amount regardless of whether we serve tourist after tourist or just stand there and chat away.

Working as an information lady at the Shitamachi TIC felt like being a human Google. "How can I get to this hotel?" "Anything happening in Tokyo this weekend?" "Will it rain at Mt. Fuji tomorrow?" We are simultaneously a map, a phonebook, timetable and a weather forecast. This must be what search engines feel like every day — such thoughts arose in my mind between inquiries. My boss compared the role of this TIC to a *kakekomi-dera,* or the "run-in temples" in the Edo period where desperate fugitives would take shelter. As a public building run by the local ward government, the Tourist Information Center's primary purpose was to be the first place anyone with any trouble can turn to, to serve anyone in need of whatever help. Ironically located right in front of an actual Buddhist temple which had now become a commercialized tourist-attraction, it seemed as if the tourist information center was more of a temple than they were. The TIC functioned as a safe haven for the tourists.

A typical conversation over the information counter unfolded as follows; "I need to get to this restaurant," a tourist would approach the counter with a name of the establishment. "Certainly, please hold on a second," our minds would scan through dozens of maps and brochures we had in stock as we thought of the best database to retrieve that information. Living up to its name as the "information center," the filing cabinet behind us was literally a central database of brochures published by different organizations: maps and coupons issued by shopping arcade streets, or booklets published by the local government. There was no unified taxonomy; some brochures were systematic directories that list shops and organizations in alphabetical order or based on location. Others were content-based, such as maps for popular food and souvenir shops, lists of

establishments with a history of over 100 years, and places where you can take Japanese arts and crafts lessons.

The types of information commonly requested by visitors were rather specific and infrastructural, such as maps and timetables for transportation and accommodations. Everyday practice at the TIC consisted of menial, routine work, sifting through a large amount of database to provide, promptly and accurately, the information requested by the guest. As trainees, we began by rote memorizing the names of local shops and restaurants – where they were, what they served, and other additional information if necessary. For more specific information such as business hours, directions, and phone numbers, instead of inputting the details, we learned to match the different types of database and tools available to look up these information. We must be able to retrieve that information at will, with flexibility. It was a much chaotic process than a simple directory search. In this sense, our mind had to operate like a search engine based on keywords. Repetitive and systematic movement was an integral mechanism of the workplace.

Some maps and brochures were mass-printed, in which case we simply pointed to the information and handed it to the customer. If the information source was a non-distributable database, such as the phonebook or data book manually compiled by the staff, we must accurately copy the information onto a piece of paper to hand out to the guests. When we were asked the location of a certain place, for example, we would retrieve the database most appropriate for the information requested, and carefully transfer the information from the source onto a "blank map" which was pre-printed with street names and a dot that marked "You Are Here." We had to be especially meticulous with this transcribing job. Our boss Osaki-san provided a cautionary tale from the past when one of the workers misplaced the dot on the map one block away from the actual location, an error resulting in an angry customer who could not find the restaurant. The same

attention to accuracy was applicable to other information we distributed, such as train schedules and routes, phone numbers, and hours of operation; one misspelled letter or misplaced number could leave the tourist completely disoriented.

Such pressure for precision was aggravated with the pressure for speed. "Hey, I need to get to this restaurant immediately. I'm late for an appointment. Would you hurry up?" It was times like these when we would much prefer to search the information online and print it out, rather than manually transcribing it. As much as we continued to stock our mind with information over time as we fielded inquiries after inquiries, there would always be certain questions that we could not answer from our current knowledge. Indeed, if our paper-form database was not sufficient, we would turn to online maps such as Google and Bing. What the information-seekers do not notice is that our hands, hidden inside the counter, were in fact wired to the internet. We had laptops and iPads in front of us, standing-by for our silent inquiries. Osaki-san, the leader of the counter staff who had had a long career as a receptionist, repeatedly reminded us that internet search should be our last resort, as we had to avoid reducing the value of the information center to a mere proxy for the internet. She would strongly discourage us from relying too heavily on the internet, and always reminded us to make use of our offline database, manually accumulated in paper form. Occasionally, we would indeed make analog inquiries via phone calls to supplement our lack of knowledge. Yet, for a part-time worker newly hired to this position, there was an inevitable limit to becoming an omniscient guide capable of providing truly comprehensive coverage. When the counter got busy, it was much easier to retrieve a quick response from the omniscient internet. "What would we do without the internet?" The staff members inside the counter would shake our heads after dealing with a particularly tough inquiry. When all other sources were exhausted, Google became our own informational *kakekomi-dera*. When our information became

increasingly reliant on digital searches, we simply became human search engines, caught in a rather insular cycle of information. Often, my role at the TIC was as an embodied version of Google, sifting through a large body of information and communicating results to the tourist.

While communication was primarily based on retrieving and transcribing information from the database, occasionally, candid, out-of-the-routine communication would also occur. For example, tourists would often be unaware of the fact that many restaurants took a break between lunchtime and dinnertime, and that many shops had a regular holiday (*teikyū*) once a week. Clipped inside the counter was a little memo that showed restaurants' holiday schedule based on the day of the week. Our response to the requests for restaurant location should also include this additional information by double checking this memo; "Unfortunately, it looks like that restaurant is closed today. Would you like a recommendation for other restaurants that serve eel?" In such moments, we were also encouraged to provide this unrequested information. The sensitivity to be prepared, to be few steps ahead of the guests, was required in our performances. The task for an ideal host, or rather the hostess, was not only to provide precise information and uniform interactions, but also to intuit what the guests may not know, and to empathize with the guest's demands.

In other occasions, our job became simply about providing media literacy, checking unreliable internet rumors, and giving sensible suggestions based on good judgement. If there was one thing that separated us from being a pure agent of internet search engines, that is the pursuit of validity. "What is the single most important value we must abide by? Information accuracy," Osaki-san persistently reminded us. We had to take responsibility for the information we circulated, and be extremely careful not to spread unverified rumors based on Photoshopped pictures. Some information-seekers came not only uninformed, but ill-informed. Far too

frequently, tourists came in seeking a vague phenomenon they expect based on unreliable information from the internet. For example, an elderly couple from Andorra approached me at the counter one day and pointed to Akihabara on their map. “I heard that we can go here and see girls on the street dressed in costumes. Correct?” In order to verify what exactly they were referring to, first, I looked up on our iPad the images of Akihabara where women in maid costumes occasionally stand on the street to advertise the maid café they work for.

“Are you referring to these…?”

“Yes, yes where can we see them?!”

The couple enthusiastically replied.

“Or…” I continued, flicking through again on the iPad, this time showing images of Cosplayers in Harajuku:

“This is a different place where you can see these sorts of people…”

“Yes, yes, like this!” the couple affirmed once again.

It seemed that they were not referring to anything specific other than just any form of “girls in costume on street,” nor did they seem to care much that Akihabara and Harajuku were two separate locations of distinct nature. I clarified that the girls in Akihabara usually work inside an establishment called a maid café, and that they would only occasionally stand on the streets to distribute advertisements. On the other hand, in Harajuku, they might be able to sight someone dressed up in exorbitant fashion if they were lucky. I had to emphasize that it is not as if they are constantly stationed at one specific location, so that it was very difficult to pinpoint where and when exactly they can encounter these costumed performers. An additional feature to my role, beyond regurgitating information from the database, was to serve as a human filter to the massive ocean of information found on a database.

To become a staff member at the TIC, the candidate must go through several rounds of exams and interviews. The first round was the written test for *ippanjōshiki,* or the "common sense," which consists of high school level Japanese, simple math questions, English, and a one-page essay in Japanese. Language skills are heavily prioritized, as it was required to provide multilingual services at all times in order to maintain the TIC's Category Three status. In addition to fluency in Japanese, candidates must demonstrate a good command of two other foreign languages. The written exam was followed by a face-to-face interview which included a speaking test for foreign languages, in my case English and Chinese. After clearing this requirement, I was invited to the final round where I was handed the rather antiquated personality trait test, known as the Uchida-Kraepelin Test.

The Uchida-Kraepelin Test is a recruitment process unique to Japan, and it reflects the type of skills the company expects in a worker for the position. The test itself is a series of dull arithmetic tasks.[27] Upon cue of the examiner every measured time period, the test taker must conduct single-digit additions for rows after rows of digits. The total test time is 30 minutes, which is divided into two 15-minute segments with a 5-minute break in between. Judging the total work load, speed, and accuracy, this test is said to serve as an indicator of the test taker's work pattern and temperament. It supposedly measures the worker's abilities to keep a constant pace for doing simple work, with accuracy and speed, endurance and patience.

In the early 20th century, a German Psychiatrist Emile Kraepelin discovered what he called an "*Arbeitskurve* (work curve)," a curve which visualizes the wax and wane of the worker's pace when subjected to simple and repetitive tasks. Based on this discovery, Japanese psychologist Uchida Yuzaburo began to develop it into a professional aptitude exam in the 1930s, which went through its own course of evolution by the Japan Psychological Technology Research Institute

(Nisseiken). Founded upon a century-old theory from Germany with an anachronistic definition of "work," using this test as one of its aptitude exams symbolizes the company's conservative perception of labor. Although the credibility of this test has been challenged numerous times, it continues to be a part of the recruitment process, particularly for jobs that require attention and accuracy, or jobs that require one to work as, or as part of, a machine. For example, blue collar workers, such as factory workers and vehicle drivers, are often subjected to this test. Japan Railways uses this aptitude test for candidates for train operators (Uchida Kraepelin Kensa Website). Thanks to the universality of simple arithmetic, it is also widely used to test immigrant workers as well. As a test that measures ability for menial, routine work, it is often required for female office workers, for a job category often labeled as "pink collar." The kinds of tasks typically associated with pink collar positions are "*ochakumi*," serving tea to the white-collar workers, making copies, and handling other secretarial jobs.

After the language interview and the Kraepelin test, I was invited to work as one of the staff members. Among the massive amount of paperwork to fill in was the uniform order form; "Your uniform will be ready by your first day in the counter," I was informed. The uniform was in the typical style of the uniforms of a Japanese pink collar worker – a collared dress shirt, dark blazer and skirt, and a pink scarf to tie around the neck. It was the ultimate signifier of the nature of the job: uniformed and feminine. The aptitude test assigned to become the staff member at the TIC reflects the contexts in which the host was expected to communicate with the guest. Our job was to serve customer's demands for specific information that called for accuracy. Our required skills were to accurately transcribe from a given database and to promptly pass it on to the information seeker. The job expected dexterity, accuracy, efficiency, sensibility and patience in the role of a hostess and her gendered practice of welcome.

Goodwill Guides at the Culture Centre

As a matter of fact, the paid, uniformed staff workers like us were not the only people welcoming the guests at the TIC. The counter was divided into two sections, and the opposite end was allotted to volunteers who provided a free information service and walking tour guides in English. Two volunteers would be present from 9am-5pm, rotating between morning and afternoon shifts. The organization responsible for managing these volunteers was called the SGG club, short for "Systematized Goodwill Guide." The difference between the staff member and the volunteer was visually marked: female workers in uniform stood on one side, while retired men and leisurely housewives stood on the other end. Osaki-san, who deemed the volunteers not professional enough, casually avoided interaction with them as much as possible. As a result, there was always an invisible wall that separated us from the SGG volunteers.

In order for one to become a professional tour guide, one must go through a rigorous national exam to be licensed. JNTO runs the examination for the national license to the tour guide-interpreter (*tsūyaku annaishi*). The Ministry of Land Infrastructure Transportation and Tourism defines the tour guide-interpreter as "an individual who escorts foreigners and gives them guiding services concerning travel with the use of a foreign language," and explains that the aim of tour guide-interpreter's system is "to better serve international visitors and contribute to the promotion of international tourism." The Guide-Interpreter Business Law (in particular, articles 2, 3, 18 and 36), originally enacted in 1949 and renamed in 2006, prohibits individuals to guide foreign visitors for a fee without acquiring this national license and without permission from the prefectural government (Japan Tourism Agency). The exam tests foreign language (English, French, Spanish, German, Chinese, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Korean and Thai), Japanese

history and geography, and general knowledge regarding Japan's industry, economy, politics and culture.

Without having passed this license exam, one cannot be legally engaged in tour guide service in exchange for money. For this reason, JNTO also established the Goodwill Guide system to allow people without license to engage in tour guide activities, as long as it is an unpaid service. In 1964 – year of the first Tokyo Olympics – JNTO began to promote the Goodwill Guide campaign in attempts to "do away with language barriers for foreign travelers at places like train stations, bus terminals, street corners or aboard public transportation" (Japan National Tourism Organization). It encouraged local people with working knowledge of foreign languages to actively and voluntarily help translate when coming across foreigners who seem lost and in need of help. As these independent activities of altruism can be limited, the network of Goodwill Guides has been expanded to an organizational level. Systematized Goodwill Guide (SGG) clubs exist throughout Japan in various capacities, and their activities range from providing information service at TIC (*annai gyōmu*), miscellaneous language support, and as walking tour guides (*dōkō gaido*).

In addition to my part-time job at the TIC, I also conducted volunteer activities with SGG clubs in Tokyo (different from the one volunteering at the TIC), translating cultural lessons and providing personalized guidance in kimono. My other field was with a network of Goodwill Guides at Shitamachi Culture Centre, a privately-owned community center that provided classes on traditional Japanese arts and culture classes for tourists. The centre was located just at the border between Shitamachi and Yamanote.[28] The energy of downtown-Shitamachi gradually calms down as you stroll away from the central commercial district towards the narrow residential alleys. Visitors experience a transition from the lively energy of merchants and craftsmen in

downtown Shitamachi to the academic atmosphere of uptown Yamanote. Only recently has this quaint neighborhood come to be marketed for tourist, domestically and internationally, when some experienced tourists, disillusioned by the commercialized temples of downtown Shitamachi, had begun to trickle to this neighborhood full of local charm.

The Shitamachi Culture Centre stands alongside a teeming alley of locally-owned shops. It is single-handedly run by Mr. Horiguchi, a bespectacled man in his mid-40s. While the small information counter do provide a limited variety of local maps and brochures like the TIC, the main activity of the center is to provide visitors with an array of Japanese culture classes, from calligraphy to haiku poetry, cooking and flower arrangement, for which tourists can make appointments via email. I signed up as an interpreter for culture lessons such as kimono, haiku, and tea ceremony classes. The lessons range from $50 to $200 per person and runs for about 2-3 hours. These classes are taught by professional masters of Japanese arts whom I refer to here as the "*sensei*," a generic Japanese term for teacher. Because the *sensei* often do not have a very good command of English, the center recruits translation volunteers during these lessons, which is how I came to be involved with this organization.

Unlike the extensive recruitment process for the staff member at the TIC, anyone who wished to register as the Goodwill Guide could apply by sending an application to JNTO, listing self-claimed language abilities and areas of interest, along with a nominal transaction fee. We would then receive a registration card and a small purple badge — embossed with a white dove flying over the globe — as a token of Goodwill Guide status. Once I had registered my information at the center, I received an email from Mr. Horiguchi about a few times a month, inquiring my availability to volunteer.

During the course of my fieldwork, Mr. Horiguchi referred to me numerous translation opportunities. I had several opportunities to translate for haiku poetry, ink painting, kimono wearing, soba-making and sushi-making classes. I often translated for the three most common "*dō* (The Way)" classes: *kadō* (Flower arrangement or The Way of Flowers), *shodō* (Calligraphy or The Way of Writing), and by far the most popular among the three, *sadō* (Tea ceremony or The Way of Tea). The travelers who signed up for *sadō* classes came from a variety of backgrounds, from a lone traveler to a couple. In some cases, a Japanese girlfriend would come with her foreign boyfriend to experience tea ceremony together. In other cases, a group of corporate trainees, often from Asian countries, came on a trip to Japan on company excursions. Those from the local branch in charge of hosting these international visitors were, in a sense, outsourcing the job to our centre to coordinate cultural activity experiences.

It can be said that the "hosts" at the centre were tag-team between the *senseis* with mastery of Japanese arts, and translation Goodwill Guides with language ability. The *sensei* was usually an elderly man or woman, having pursued and mastered the art professionally; or they had always had it as their hobby, and only later in life started pursuing teaching the art as a post-retirement career. While the *senseis* did get paid for the lessons they gave at the centre, the centre paid much less than they would earn for regular private classes.

The translators completed the team. The volunteers I met at the center were college students and recent graduates like myself with good command of foreign language and extensive travel experience, but without much experience in traditional Japanese arts. "Have you ever learned tea ceremony?" "No, this is my first time, actually;" this was the most common conversation opener I would have with other translation volunteers. While the translation we provided was an unpaid service, the perks for being the interpreter were in the fact that we could

also cultivate our own knowledge of Japanese cultures, with the tourists having paid for the activity. In a way, we could participate in the activity in a half-guest position for a "free lesson." Furthermore, it was also an opportunity to showcase one's multilingual skills in this international encounter. Both the informal learning experience about Japan and the cross-cultural socializing were an appeal for us translators to volunteer for events as Goodwill Guides. In this way, the *senseis* and translators complemented and fed off of each other with their respective knowledge and skills in order to jointly host the guests.

The system was similar to another SGG club where I also occasionally volunteered, which gave group walking tours in English, explaining the historical significance of local sites. This club met once a week on Saturdays to give free tours from Tokyo station to the Imperial Palace, stopping by at predetermined spots to give mini-lectures in English about the historical significance of the site. Usually, about 20-30 tourists would show up each week, whom we divide into three groups and place 1-2 hosts in each group. During the tour, we stopped by about a dozen or so spots where the hosts narrated a story of what occurred in that spot, how it came to be what it is today, the significance of the architecture or the landscape, and the ways in which it may reflect Japanese culture. Before the tour, the guides would sign up on the online signup sheet with the spots for which we would like to prepare a lecture, to make sure all the spots can be covered by the attending hosts.

As with the Shitamachi Culture Centre, the group dynamics within this free walking tour club was a mix of *sensei*-type – retired men who have extensive knowledge of local geography and history, and the translator-type – those in their 20s-30s with extensive global experience who had (re)discovered interests in learning more about Japan's local culture and history. When we first registered for the club, we had to first participate in a two-hour lecture by the senior members

of the group about the general historical background and the procedure of the tour. At the lecture, they handed us a thick information booklet that had all the details we need to explain each spot. I noticed that much of the information in this booklet was in fact taken from Wikipedia. Each of us new recruits was required to prepare the mini-lectures for the tourists by extracting the information from this sourcebook and re-writing in our own words into a short two to three minute speech for each spot. On the tour, the guides would bring folders with photo and charts, mixing these with narrated details, such as the etymology of the place name, unique architectural features, and historical events that occurred in each spot.

The information we perform during the tour were not only derived from this hand-made written sourcebook. We also directly borrowed the knowledge and techniques of presentation from the more experienced guides who had expert knowledge of local history. After the sit-down lecture where we got the general information of the area and specific spots, the experienced members took the newly signed up guides on practice rounds. We watched and shadowed how they proceed with the tour and how they structure their mini-lectures; the experienced guides would prepare props to make the lecture more engaging. For example, one of the stops was at the castle gate with a shape of a *masu*, a wooden box-shaped cup used to drink *sake* out of. Such a box-shaped gate surrounded by four walls was a common architectural style of an Edo-period castle gate in order to "box-in" and trap the enemy. During one of the tours, I saw one guide bring out an actual *masu* to explain the architecture, as well as to give a brief cultural reference about the *sake* drinking habits in Japan, an idea which I stole for my next tour. For another spot where we talk about a particular incident related to the famous historical incident of the 47 *rōnin*, I printed out the images of an old woodblock-print storybook that told this story, and quickly recounted the story on site where the incident happened. The newly-joined guides like us had to memorize

the mini-lectures of each spot, one by one, but the experienced guides were like a walking database – they had stocked all the information for all 12 spots in their minds.

In this group, I joined a kimono club, a sub-division run by some members of the group who were particularly interested in kimonos. The kimono club members would promote wearing kimonos on the walking tour, and would sometimes go out to buy kimonos together and exchange information about kimonos. This was also in line with a trend in the younger generation's nostalgic turn to the kimono. Members of this subdivision wished to make kimono-wearing an everyday practice; giving a walking tour guide to foreign tourists was a perfect excuse for this purpose. During one tour, four of us who wore a kimono became very popular among tourists, and were constantly asked to take a photo together. One of the ladies in kimono said, "It's so good that you can entertain the guests just by wearing a kimono. It's as though your guiding skills were actually good!" "Indeed," we laughed.

All SGG activities highly emphasized the presentation of Japaneseness; tourists who participated in these activities came with an expectation for a quaintly Japanese experience. When I first started volunteering at the Shitamachi Culture Centre, Mr. Horiguchi would stress over booking an appropriate venue each time a tourist requested the tea ceremony lesson. Most of the time, we used the local public community center, a modern four-story building with a number of multipurpose rooms and seminar halls. On the fourth floor, there was a small (4.5 *jō*, about 8.5 square feet) tatami room where tea ceremonies could be held. In contemporary Japan, the tea ceremony is no longer an everyday practice held at homes, but more commonly recognized as a popular cultural hobby. A tea room inside a community center is a typical setting where tea-ceremony classes would be taken. The tea-room itself was very accurately made, complete with the traditional *nijiriguchi* – the low kneeling entrance into the tea room, which according to

Mr. Horiguchi is rare nowadays. However, given the fact that visitors needed to enter the building through an automatic door and take an elevator to the fourth floor in order to reach the tea room emphasized the artificially-created, alienated nature of this space, underscoring the tea-ceremony as merely an extracurricular lesson, not well-integrated with the Japanese everyday life.

After numerous requests for tea-ceremony experience and quite a few disappointed looks on the tourists, who seemed to have found the tea-room inside a large public building insufficiently "authentic" (although none said so directly), Mr. Horiguchi decided to invest in a tea-room for the centre's exclusive use. He bought an old home in the neighborhood's back alley, a mere 10 minute walk from the centre. He then asked for the assistance of a highly regarded *sensei* of tea, Mr. Furusawa, who also happened to possess the special carpenter license, *miyadaiku*, for building traditional architecture such as shrines and tea rooms. Mr. Horiguchi asked Mr. Furusawa to renovate the home into a tea-room/guest house to accommodate the center's cultural lesson activities, a request to which Mr. Furusawa enthusiastically agreed. After a few months, the renovation was complete.

From the outside, the venue was completely unassuming. Without any signage, the tea house blended into the row of other residential buildings. The tourist must be taken there by the guide/translator to know which house to enter. The tea room was immediately on the right of the main entrance. It was extremely small, following the architectural style of *sukiyadukuri*. Mr. Furusawa explained that this architecture was a style which Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591), revered today as the most prominent master of tea who established the art of tea drinking as it is practiced today, pursued. Behind the tea room was a hallway space, and climbing up a narrow staircase was the second floor with a bigger tatami room, which the center could use for other activities like kimono and haiku.

On one hot summer day in mid-August 2014, a gentleman from Canada in his 60s, Daniel, signed up for Tea and Haiku lessons in a row. This was a particularly interesting encounter in terms of positioning the guest and hosts. The involved parties were the Tea teacher Mr. Furusawa, Haiku teacher Mr. Yamashita, tourist Daniel, and the translator myself. Though the dress code was not enforced, I decided to wear a kimono, a look which was highly appreciated by everyone involved. The day was arranged so that Mr. Yamashita, Daniel, and I would meet at the center, and take the 10-minute walk to the tea house where we would be greeted and served tea by Mr. Furusawa. After a bowl of tea, we went upstairs and begin our Haiku lesson. Our walk to the tea house became an informal opportunity for a walking tour of the neighborhood. Turning into a quiet alley, we continued to discuss the surrounding temples and seasonal flowers on the street as we arrived at the tea room. As I opened the gate, Mr. Furusawa was waiting for our arrival, sitting on the floor. "Welcome," Mr. Furusawa bowed deeply to the floor.

One's identity as a host or a guest is relative. In this particular encounter, there were either three hosts and one guest, or one host with three guests, depending on whose eyes we look from. In Daniel's eyes, he was the sole guest from abroad hosted by three local hosts, Mr. Furusawa, Mr. Yamashita, and myself. Yet, from the perspective of Mr. Furusawa, he had three guests at the door as he welcomed us into the tea room. While Daniel clearly had perceived me as one of the hosts, Mr. Furusawa saw the translation volunteers only as novice students of the art of Tea. During the tea ceremony sessions, Mr. Furusawa would always offer translators a bowl of tea and sweets, thus including us within the boundaries of his guests. We happily obliged and joined for a free lesson (and a free drink).

This occasion was the first time Mr. Furusawa and Mr. Yamashita met. Both being a *sensei* of their particular Japanese arts, they began talking about much overlapping cultural knowledge

that they shared. Mr. Furusawa explained that in order to truly master the way of Tea, his knowledge must not be limited to tea, but also must cultivate profound knowledge of other "ways" such as the flowers for decorating the tea room interior, the smell of the incense, the calligraphy on the wall, the kimono to wear, the ceramics and other implements to use, and even some *waka* poem for entertainment during the tea ceremony. By lamentingly discussing the never-ending pursuit of the world of Tea, Mr. Furusawa politely reminded us of his vast knowledge and high status as a *sensei*. To be a *sensei* of one art, he implied, it is necessary to further one's vast, cross-disciplinary knowledge and practice across Japanese arts.

Sitting as a guest, Mr. Yamashita perceptively noticed the small white flower on the wall and praises the host for his good taste:

Mr. Yamashita: "Oh, a White Egret Flower, how beautiful."

Mr. Furusawa: "Yes, I picked it outside. I made the vase myself too."

Mr. Furusawa explained as he pointed to the bamboo vase hung on the wall. Mr. Yamashita then took the tea bowl to his hands and enquired about the ceramics. Even though he did not specialize in tea, it was clear that Mr. Yamashita was a well-informed and oriented guest who could competently carry on a conversation with the host, unlike the Canadian tourist or the translator. Mr. Furusawa proudly explained about his tea bowl collection, politely showing off his black *rakujawan,* known for being Rikyū's favorite tea bowl design, a style of bowl characterized by its thick, asymmetric, intentionally deformed shape that supposedly gives the bowl a special character and charm. As the two experts of Japanese arts continued to exchange such high-level pleasantries, Daniel and I quietly sat in the margins of their conversation as mere observers. I tried to figure out the jargon-laden conversation myself and pass on to Daniel the gist of the talk between the two men whom I perceived as the hosts of the day.

As the tea serving proceeded, we became the spectators, watching Mr. Furusawa prepare the tea with precise, determined movements. Daniel raised a question as I translated: "It looks like each of your moves are calculated, like a ritual. What kind of meaning does it have? Is it a performance? Or is it for the host yourself?"

Mr. Furusawa answered:

> Basically, it is for the mental practice (*seishin shugyō*) for the person making the tea. It would be inaccurate to call it a "ritual." It's not a performance either, we wipe it because it is dirty, we rinse the tea bowl … each movement has a specific purpose.

He emphasized that he intentionally avoids using the phrase "Tea Ceremony" in English, despite this being the most popular translation. "It's not a ritual," he repeats. He claimed that he dislikes the term "ceremony" because "it feels like a cult group," and instead, he prefers to call it "the World of Tea" (*chanoyu no sekai*).

Mr. Furusawa was very particular about preventing the Tea experience from becoming ritualistic or formulaic. He had a liberal idea of the practice, and he disliked it to be tightly regulated with rules. For example, while *seiza* (box sitting) is typically considered the most appropriate way to sit while having tea, Mr. Furusawa was always insistent that we ease our legs, a common expression for the host to tell the guests "make yourself comfortable, make yourself at home." Mr. Furusawa often lectured about the heavy Christian influence on the evolution of the Way of Tea, explaining that Rikyū's third wife was a Christian who supposedly influenced Rikyū's egalitarian philosophy. He explained that the idea of the *nijiriguchi*, the inconveniently small, one-yard-square entrance to the tea room, was inspired by a phrase in the Christian Bible: "Enter through the narrow gate; […] For the gate is small and the way is narrow that leads to life,

and there are few who find it" (Matthew 7:13-14). The selected few who entered the narrow door to the tea room, Mr. Furusawa lectured on behalf of Rikyū, are all equal inside this sacred space, regardless of the power dynamics in the secular world.[29]

Service Workers and Leisurely Masters

In the different modes of communication in the daily practice of the Japanese tourism industry, the host's role ranges from service worker, providing simple data and information, to leisurely teacher, lecturing knowledge and wisdom. The former job at the TIC entails simple data retrieval where information is mechanically provided upon request, while the latter work with the SGG involves an organic encounter with new knowledge through lecture and conversation. The position of the host is fluid and liminal. The different ways in which professional and voluntary hosts are compensated represent the hierarchy and power negotiated among tourism workers.

If "hospitality" operates within the model where a foreigner is invited into the household, the politics within that domestic setting must also be discussed. An interesting framework can be borrowed from Derrida's description of the host, whom he describes as paternal and phallogocentric, "the familial despot, the father, the spouse and the boss, the master of the house who lays down the laws of hospitality" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000: 149). Derrida argues that there is a patriarchal power relationship within the household, and that the hospitality is the negotiation of power between the "guest" and the "master of the house."

> The foreigner shakes up the threatening dogmatism of the paternal logos: the being that is, and the nonbeing that is not. As though the Foreigner had to begin by contesting the authority of the chief, the father, the master of the family, the "master of the house," of the power of hospitality (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000: 5)

Derrida brings up two biblical stories: Lot, and the Levite of Ephraim, which I have also included in the opening of this dissertation. Derrida cites a scene from Genesis when Lot invites two angels visiting Sodom into his home to stay for the night. Soon enough, the robbers, murderers, and rapists of Sodom surround the house of Lot, demanding that he send out his guests so the crowd they can abuse them (Genesis 19:1-29). In this scene, Lot, "In order to protect the guests he is putting up at any price, as family head and all-powerful father, he offers the men of Sodom his two virgin daughters" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000:151). Derrida argues that this "is the moment when Lot seems to put the laws of hospitality above all, in particular the ethical obligations that link him to his relatives and family first of all his daughters" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000:151). He cites an analogous scene in the Book of Judges, in which the host welcomes a journeying pilgrim to his house. When he is visited by a mob of men who wishes to penetrate the guest, the host puts up his daughter and concubine to protect his guest (Judges 19:21-30). The famous end of the story goes: "In the name of hospitality, all the men are sent a woman, to be precise, a concubine. The guest, the "master" of the woman, "picked up his knife, took hold of his concubine, and limb by limb cut her into twelve pieces" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000:155). In the end he questions, "Are we the heirs to this tradition of hospitality? Up to what point? Where should we place the invariant, if it is on, across this logic and these narratives?" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000:155).

In both tales, the host is under threat by the men who attempt to sodomize his guests. In order to save the guests from rape, women are substituted and sacrificed. Judith Still gives a feminist interpretation of Derrida's "hospitality" and explains:

> Hospitality is 'set up' as a relation between men, between the master of the house and his guest, but it is suffused with fantasies of (sexual) vulnerability,

> and open to many forms of abuse, not only in relation to host and guest, but in relation to third parties, for instance 'womenfolk' (Lot's daughters or the Levite's concubine) – part of the household, if not the goods, of the master or his guest, and sacrificed to consummate the sacred bond of shared consumption between men (Still 2010:67).

Regarding the position of women in the dynamics between host and guest, Still writes, "Women must be contained in the home to be no more than hostesses as handmaidens to the master of the house" (2010:67).

The triangular relation between the guest, the master, and servant/handmaidens of the house in this analogy resembles the dynamics between the tourist, the leisurely volunteer and *sensei*, and the paid worker. Under certain conditions, the host's role is to serve the guests, while on other occasions, hosts are the knowledgeable teacher to the tourists. The range of the host's position can be discussed according to whether the host plays the role of the servant or the master in relation to the guests.

First, the host-guest relationship at the TIC counter and the SGG activities can be contrasted based on the types of information exchanged to inform, orient, and communicate with guests. Scholars of Information Science have discussed the idea of a "DIKW (Data, Information, Knowledge, Wisdom) pyramid" or a "DIKW hierarchy" as a way to hierarchize different types of information, from data being the lowest (simplest), to information, knowledge and wisdom being the highest (most complicated).[30] I suggest this categorization can be used as a framework to understand the hierarchy of the hosts. At the TIC, the role of the information counter staff is primarily comprised of serving simple data, which falls upon the lower end of the information hierarchy. The requested information is simple and specific, such as train schedules or maps

leading to particular restaurants. The mechanical routine work here consists of systemized, punctuated, uniform, and comprehensive retrieval of information from the database; precision and uniformity were the communicative skills required. The guests control the agenda to determine what inquiry is made, while the hosts' role is to simply respond to the demands of unpredicted requests of the information seekers, redundantly extracting and regurgitating the information. In this dynamics, the host is rather a humble servant, responding upon demand of the guests.

In contrast to the communication dynamics of the workers at the TIC who provide data and information, the *sensei* is expected to teach and guide the guests with complicated knowledge and wisdom. During the SGG activities, the host-guest relation could be compared to a teacher-student relationship, and the knowledge provided in this mode of communication was by the masters of Japanese arts and history about the philosophy of traditional Japanese culture. It is the hosts who have the agenda to lecture, to actively provide information to the guests. The guest is the student, a passive recipient of information who simply follows the host's guidance.

Another way to contrast the various roles of hosts is to see whether the hosting activities belong to the realm of work or leisure. At the TIC, I was repeatedly reminded of the utmost importance of professionalism. As a paid job, we must remain constantly alert, and stay objective and accurate. Osaki-san, as well as other experienced staff who had done similar information desk jobs for a long time, were all very professional at this job, and were also very particular about distinguishing between the "on and off" time, especially with the punctuation of the time card.

The work at the TIC clearly belonged to a particularly gendered genre of service work which is commonly labeled pink collar jobs. Traditionally, career tracks for women had been divided into two types of positions: *sōgōshoku,* the "comprehensive" track which was for managerial jobs, and *ippanshoku*, the "general" track which referred to clerical positions. The

first category was essentially the career track that can be generally translated as the white-collar position, and this elite position employed well-educated workers, both male and female. The latter category on the other hand was the non-career track, vernacularly referred to as the OL, "Office Ladies," and was always reserved for female workers. It was these latter positions which were typically categorized as pink collar. As mentioned earlier, the Uchida-Kraepelin test has been commonly used to examine candidates for this job category.[31] Compared to white collar workers, this position represents routine tasks, an unstable career, and lower pay. Only the pink-collar workers are assigned a uniform, making the hierarchy of jobs in the workplace clearly visible.

This two-track career hierarchy was present at the TIC. The building housed several organizations that cooperated to run the building. Counter staff members like myself were technically not directly hired by the TIC itself, but belonged to a separate temp agency that specialized in recruiting and managing bilingual workers as receptionists. There were two male and two female workers from the temp agency who managed the information ladies at the counter, and they worked in the administrative office on the third floor, where white collar workers in managerial positions worked. They mainly worked as liaisons to other groups and organizations that run the building, and also to the main agency dealing with human resources and management of bilingual staff members.[32] There were also the "tourism department" officers of the local ward government, including the director of the TIC; these were four men and two women. In addition, there were other organizations that also belonged to the building; the cleaning staff, the security guards, SGG club, and the volunteer guide clubs.

The staff working at the counter downstairs were all female, ranging in age from their 20s to 40s. About half of the members were married, mothers and housewives working for extra income, maneuvering their work shifts with housework. There was also one Taiwanese staff

member, a native Chinese speaker fluent in Japanese (this is the person who interviewed me for Chinese language aptitude). All fifteen members of the staff were "non-regular employees" (*hiseiki koyō*), hired by the temp agency, whose contracts must be reviewed and renewed each year. About half were full-time contract workers (*keiyaku shain*), working about 20 days a month, and the other half including myself were part-time workers (*arubaito*, from the German "work," *arbeit*), working around 10 days a month with a slightly lower hourly pay rate.

On the other hand, Goodwill Guide activities could be considered a kind of community service, voluntarily providing knowledge to visitors. The members of SGG often came with a cosmopolitan background, having some experience living abroad, either for their job or their husband's job. The comparatively wealthy background allowed them extra time to spare for such activities of unpaid service. SGG club activities became recreational circles for international exchange and encounter; it was a place for retired men and well-off housewives to practice, utilize, and display their language abilities to claim cosmopolitan cultural capital. Volunteer tour guide activities, for me, fell decisively in the category of leisure. Guiding was something I would even pay to do, for my own pleasure, for socializing with foreign visitors in English and learning about Japan. A fellow walking tour guide also told me that the activity was for her "refreshment."

Mr. Furusawa's lecture on Rikyū's egalitarian ideal of host and guest in encounters of hospitality provides a rather ironic perspective when considering the larger framework of the relation between the Tea master and the tourists. The nuanced political tension between the host as both a teacher and a servant has characterized in the long history of hospitality in the tradition of the tea ceremony. While the practice of drinking tea was originally for religious and medical purposes when it was imported from China by the Buddhist monk Eisai in the late 12th century, it soon gained popularity as a favored drink, not just among monks, but among the royal family

and the swordsmen. Drinking tea gradually spread to the townsmen – local merchants and craftsmen – who were very sensitive to the newest trends. Serving tea to others as a form of hosting guests became a common practice among the elite class for political and business purposes, and the tea room provided a space of information exchange between hosts and guests and amongst the guests.[33]

The Way of Tea as a political apparatus flourished during Japan's warring period, throughout the 16th century. The most prominent example of political entanglement of Tea could be observed in the triangular relation between Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), famed warlord of the warring period, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), who, coming from humble origins, followed Nobunaga's path and became the first lord to take control of the entire nation, and Sen no Rikyū (1522-1591), the Tea master who served Nobunaga and Hideyoshi.

Nobunaga was one of the many warlords quite taken by the tea ceremony as a strong political tool. He hosted tea parties with the purpose of showing off his massive collection of valuable masterpieces, including tea bowls. Nobunaga also prohibited his subordinates to host a tea party without his permission. In Nobunaga's views, hosting a tea party was a place to boast of power to the attendees, a privilege reserved for the selected few lords high up in the hierarchy. Nobunaga invited Rikyū, who had already become a famed practitioner of tea among the townsmen of Sakai (now Osaka), as his "head of Tea" – his personal tea master for lectureship and consultation. Rikyū's role was to help Nobunaga host tea parties and to serve as a connoisseur for collecting valuable masterpieces of tea bowls and other utensils used for serving tea. In this way, Rikyū was both the teacher and the server; he was serving Nobunaga, but at the same time, Rikyū was Nobunaga's teacher who guided him through the way of Tea.

After Hideyoshi took over Nobunaga's position as the most powerful warlord, he kept Rikyū in the position of the head of Tea, though the difference in their values was beginning to show. Rikyū's preferred aesthetic was in the simplistic, minimalist beauty of things. He favored plain, moderate designs, using the most natural and coarse state of a material for both tea utensils and tea rooms. Mr. Furusawa's love for the seemingly unrefined dented and dinged shape of the black *rakujawan*, or the crudely hand-crafted raw bamboo vase that is exposed on the wall, all was a result of pursuing Rikyū's aesthetic. In contrast, Hideyoshi had a taste for gaudy, pompous designs and a penchant for golden colors. He ordered the construction of an outrageously pretentious tea room covered in gold. His usage of tea ceremony as a tool to demonstrate his power to the people is clear when he hosted the famous Great Tea Party in Kitano, where he invited over 800 people from the public and served tea. He opened an invitation to the public, generously claiming that anyone who brings a tea bowl is welcomed equally, regardless of who they are. While this may seem like an egalitarian gesture at first glance, its intention was in fact nothing more than for pompous display of wealth and power. He displayed his collection of expensive tea bowls and utensils for the people to see. In this power dynamic, the one who served held a higher status than the ones being served.

Rikyū, who had occupied a high political position and maintained a close relation with both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, was later caught in political skirmish with Hideyoshi, who ordered the tea master's execution. The sudden and brutal falling apart between Hideyoshi and Rikyū became a focus of many historical studies and inspired fictional works to reimagine their relationship. While there can only be speculations on this topic, the most convincing hypothesis attributes the breakup to the fundamentally insoluble discrepancy between Rikyū's ideals of the tea room as a place where everyone can become equal, and Hideyoshi's idea as a place where the

host can boast his power to the guests. For warlords like Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, to host a tea ceremony meant that they were richer, more powerful and superior to the ones being served tea. Rikyū's philosophy regarding the host-guest hierarchy, on the other hand, was based on an egalitarian belief that the tea room should be a sacred place where secular social hierarchy is absent. In his philosophy behind *nijiriguchi*, for example, the guests who go through the small door are forced to lower their head in order to enter, even the mighty lordship. One of Rikyū's famous teachings is *Kisen Byōdō* (equality of the noble and the poor), which means the host-guest relation should be based upon mutual respect. In this sense, the delicate balance of hospitality, between the server and the served, the host and the guest, was always nervously present between Rikyū and the warlords he served. While the tension existed playfully with Nobunaga, it gradually deteriorated and fell apart towards the end of Rikyū's service with Hideyoshi.[34]

As a host, Rikyū embodied a conflicting role in relation to Nobunaga and Hideyoshi: both a servant and a master. This inherent ambivalence of the host's position continues on to today's practice of tea ceremony lessons. Today, tea ceremony has become one of the most popular cultural hobbies of Japanese art, in which serving and being served tea became a metaphor for the art of hospitality, how to interact with and entertain the guests. The tradition of Tea became more than just about learning the etiquette of serving and being served tea; it came to stand for the more abstract notion of hospitality itself, a philosophical endeavor to cultivate the spirit of *omotenashi*. Being a student of Tea is to learn how to serve and make one's guests feel comfortable. Simultaneously, the practice of hospitality has always been a learning experience. Mastering the art of Tea and hospitality is considered as something one must practice and cultivate throughout one's lifetime. Hosts not only provide drink and comfort, but also function as a lecturer or

consultant. While being served tea, one is also being taught a lesson at the same time. Serving and teaching thus coexist in the role of the host at the tea ceremony.

The ambivalent nature of host-guest relation can be applied back to the contrasting roles of the host I observed at the Tourist Information Center and at the Culture Centre. It can be argued that the simultaneous role of the host as both the server and the lecturer has bifurcated into a hierarchy of tourism workers in contemporary tourism industry. In the vast spectrum of the host's roles, there appears a division of labor between the leisurely master who lectures the ignorant tourist, and the humble paid service worker, properly serving the honorable guests.

Liminal Role of Hosts as Meditors

Framing the role of the host as either a service worker or a leisurely teacher presents a contrasting hierarchy between the host and the guest. However, the distinction should not be understood as an either/or dichotomy between the oriented, informed host and the disoriented, uninformed guest. At both of my field sites, I was in a liminal position between the host and guest. In the eyes of the tourist, I was clearly marked as the local host. However, when we define the role of the host by the practice of orienting and informing the guest, I was never the original source of knowledge, but merely a mediator of information. Most of the time, we were only but a few steps more informed than the tourists, even equally clueless and disoriented as the guests at times. At the tourist counter, we were simply looking up the inquiries on the internet. While the host is usually perceived as the transmitter of information, in actuality, we were most of the time receivers of information. The original source of information was the database, either the internet or the compiled data book. The staff member's role was to extract information from a database and communicate it to the information seeker. A piece of data must be contextualized appropriately in order to be useful. For example, single departure time of a train will be useless

without the information of the train route system map and the fare, or a map to a certain restaurant will be useless unless the tourist is oriented in the map with a "you are here" mark, the food, and the operating hours of the establishment. We provided the tourists with missing pieces of data to help them assemble the bigger itinerary from the bottom up. Here, the worker's mediating role can be described as inductive – to compile, weave and paste together from isolated, fragmented, small data. Our role was to derive information from the original source, and translate it, either contextually between data and physical environment, or linguistically and culturally from Japanese to English and Chinese.

Even when we base our information search on internet searches, multilingual skills come in handy when consulting a database. Our mediating role was that we provided an additional layer of language and new-media literacy. In many cases, we would find the information in Japanese, which we would translate and contextualize in English. Sometimes, the information that tourists are looking for is based on information circulated in their language, so it is necessary to do a search in multiple languages to understand what they are seeking. Linguistic translation is thus integral to the mediation process. Our role is to verify whether certain vague information is true, or to translate a vague image a tourist has seen somewhere into a specific location on a map. We use both multilingual skills and media literacy skills to maneuver through the database, navigate the sea of data, and collect the most appropriate pieces of information.

Even as a Goodwill Guide helping the tourists on the spot, participating together in the activity or accompanying walking tours as a guide, our answers to tourist inquiries would also be taken from online sources. I would often have my smartphone in my right hand, constantly looking up information. We would also turn to the *senseis* as a source of knowledge. In the tea room, we were the novice students of Japanese art, on the receiving end of knowledge. Hosts were

translators, not just in the linguistic sense, but from database to information, from wisdom to knowledge, contextualizing and orienting the guests, whether making sense of a piece of concrete data or interpreting a deeper contextualized knowledge behind a certain cultural practice. My role was to mediate the teacher-host and the student-guest, not just linguistically translate from Japanese to English, but to break down the lectures prepared by the teachers from wisdom to layman's terms in order to make it palpable in terms of the tourists' existing knowledge. The translators assumed the role of orienting the guests by translating the cultural and historical lectures of the *sensei* into something understandable for those outside of the cultural group, providing the necessary background information and context to understand each lecture.

Of course, we cannot really call the *sensei* or the database as the ultimate "source" of information either. Online database may seem like a massive resource of data and information that can answer anything, but in fact, these are also compiled by people. Information available on blogs and TripAdvisor are often written by knowledgeable and experienced internet users. Information books and brochures compiled in the physical databooks that we used are also originally compiled from online materials as well as human knowledge. For example, the information book handed out to the walking tour guide volunteers often cited Wikipedia for information regarding the history of each place. Even teachers, who may seem to be the original source, are in fact a student of their own teachers; their knowledge is rooted in what they learn from their teachers. The knowledge and wisdom of Tea and hospitality is passed down from generation to generation, from one master to another. Rikyū's philosophy of hospitality was handed to Mr. Furusawa and to us. There is also information that the teacher has cultivated from books and other sources of reference. There is an insular reproduction of *sensei* and knowledge in

this lineage of cultural lessons, in which the *sensei*s are also a man-made database who were once receivers of information.

Translation, whether between medium or language, is thus a process of cyclical circulation of information. As a novice host, the information I pass on to the tourists had all been borrowed knowledge which I had learned immediately before. I may have been a clueless novice student or information-seeker myself, but a few seconds later, I would already be passing on the knowledge with authority as if I had always known it. A large part of the host's role is to pass on second-hand knowledge from some form of accumulated human knowledge, whether in the form database or *sensei*.

One day, Mr. Furusawa asked Mr. Horiguchi for an opportunity to have a casual chat with the translation volunteers. During our hour-long conversation, it became gradually apparent that his true intention was to recruit a bilingual apprentice, to train as a translator who not only spoke the language, but also had a profound knowledge of Tea and hospitality. He saw the scarcity and necessity of Tea practitioners with language skills, and encouraged us to take tea ceremony lessons, not merely as one-time leisurely tourists, but continuously as a serious pupil. He informed us of a division in the Urasenke tea school called the "Midori no Kai" — or the "green group" – that specialized in teaching Tea specifically to foreigners. Mr. Furusawa's pitch continued into the secular discussion of money; "If you can speak English and know the Way of Tea, it's not impossible to make as much as 30,000 yen (about $300) each session," he eagerly provided us with the monetary incentive for being disciples of the Way of Tea as English speakers. He made it clear that the interpreter should not be just the conveyor of message, simply mediating between the Japanese host/teacher and the foreign guest/student, mindlessly repeating what the teacher said.

Instead, the interpreter "should participate together – that mindset is most important for the guest's *omotenashi*," the spirit of hospitality.

Mr. Furusawa's suggestion can be read as an attempt to reconcile the hard gap between the *sensei*-side and the translator-side of the host role. There is a constant negotiation between the host and the guest about who is to be the more dominant party in the relationship. The information seeker demands information from the database while the teacher supplies it. This contrast of demand and supply between the two forms of information provider sheds light on the power dynamics of hospitality itself. Is hospitality something that the host supplies upon request, or is it something the host actively provides to the guest? In other words, does the hungry guest take food from the host, or does the host force-feed the guest? Who is in charge? Who initiates and takes control of the situation? The duality of the host as a database and a teacher, and the guest as an information-seeker and a student, seems to befit the unstable supply and demand of hospitality.

What is now known today as Rikyū's philosophy of hospitality – *motenashi* – is more focused on the anticipatory rather than the prescriptive, about preparation rather than response, to speculate what the guests might enjoy, and to supply it before it is demanded. It consists of seven rules: 1. Make a delicious bowl of tea; 2. Arrange the charcoal so the water boils quickly; 3. Arrange the flowers as they grow in nature; 4. Keep the tea room cool in the summer and warm in the winter; 5. Have everything prepared ahead of time; 6. Be prepared for rain; and 7. Give your guests every consideration. Mr. Furusawa lectured about his ideas of *omotenashi* by giving an example of a French guest he once hosted. "French people do not like having beans in sweet pastries, because in France, beans are considered vegetables. Therefore, we need to 'read the minds' of those guests," explaining that he removed the sweets which included bean pastes. Although it is questionable whether the guests really wanted this special treatment, sensing the

guest's unarticulated requests, and attending to the guest's desires before being asked, was one of the core ideas behind the Way of Tea as a sophisticated art of hosting.

Such ideals of hospitality can be described as a mix of routine and spontaneity. One of the tensions in the host's roles is whether hosting is routinized work that follows a certain set of rules, or an interactive activity that comes personally from the host. While the job at the TIC was mostly about following the mechanical moves of hospitality, there were times when we must spontaneously respond according to the guest's needs. In the tea ceremony, the sensitive details of the host's movements and the organized procedure of serving tea may seem like a pre-arranged practice following a formulaic manual, like the efficient movements of the information-desk ladies. However, the *sensei* insists that the spirit of hospitality taught in the Tea Ceremony is much more seasonal, responsive, and fleeting than merely following a practical manual for serving tea.

The question, then, comes to the issue of the agency of the host. The power negotiation between the host and the guest boils down to who can initiate, structure, and take control of the encounter and the interaction. In this chapter, we have looked at the spectrum of the host's positions, and how the hosts on each end may develop a different relationship with the guests. This plurality of the host's role – one controls and the other serves the guest – can be applied on a national scale. In the next chapter, I will look at how Japan as a nation attempted to host the West as a guest, and how the power negotiation during this process also played a role in constructing the relation between Japan and Asia.

IV. Guests from Greater China
—Welcoming the Ex-Colonized—

"More than everyday, less than travel"
— Japan Railways advertising slogan, quoted by Taiwanese tourist Minnie (2010)

Chinese Ethnoscapes in Contemporary Japan

Extending the issue of hierarchy amongst the hosts I examined in the previous section, this chapter will discuss the postcolonial hierarchy between Japan and its previous colonies in Greater China. I begin by looking at the contemporary East Asian "ethnoscape" (Appadurai 1990) – the increasingly mundane landscape of transnational human flow – through an ethnographic study of visitors to Japan from the Greater China Region. As delineated in Chapter Two, promoting a particular brand of Japan as weird and Oriental was integral for Western travelers to experience their time in Japan as a hiatus from their daily lives. In contrast, there is a sense of nonchalance among visitors from Greater China to Japan, which suggests that they register Japan more as a continuum of their everyday. At the same time, we can observe a bifurcation of "plural Chinas" emerging among the "Chinese tourists" in Japan. This chapter displays the plural, disjunctive realities emerging within what is often referred to as China in general, and the different ways in which Japan as a mundane space is experienced by visitors from each locality.

While my research focuses on mainland China and Taiwan in particular due to my linguistic advantage in Mandarin Chinese, more broadly, I understand the divided China as a result of the deterioration of the Asianist ideals that prevailed in Imperial Japan during the early 20th century. As I have discussed quoting Derrida's theoretical framework in the previous chapter, the power dynamics of hospitality should be understood, not as a binary transaction between the host and the guest, but as a triangular one between the master of the house, his daughters/servants,

and the guest. Muddying the clean dichotomy of East-West as Host-Guest, this triangular model provides the opportunity to reimagine the "East" and "West" also as triangular relation between Japan, its colonies, and the West. Just as the host in Derrida's scenario who strived to position himself as the "master of the house," I suggest that imperial Japan desired to domesticate its Asian colonies to host the guests from the West as the "master of the East." This analogy can provide an insightful framework to unpack the ambivalent legacy of Asianism that fluctuates from fraternal camaraderie to paternal colonialism. The ideals of Asianism and its eventual conjunction with Japan's nationalism become key in understanding Japan's postcolonial relations in today's East Asian ethnoscape to and from Japan.

Today, visitors to Japan from the Greater China Region, including mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, occupy the highest percentage of the total number of foreign travelers to Japan. Whether they should be understood as a larger regional entity or as separate localities has been a political, cultural, and linguistic conundrum. On the one hand, it is easy to categorize the linguistic and ethnic singularity of "Chinese" and "Han" culture as a whole. On the other, the vastly contrasting political history over the past 200 years, in which Japan's presence is heavily implicated, put them each in a different position against, and distance from, Japan. The linguistic and cultural commonality and the distinct historical and political paths create an interesting complication in the relation between Japan and the Greater China.

"Minnie" is one of my key informants from Taiwan who has visited Japan over 20 times, from her numerous visits to Tokyo Disneyland, to a half-year language study and "working holiday" experience at a resort in Yamagata. I met her in 2007 during a U.S.-Taiwan exchange summer program while we were both college students. After graduation, Minnie came to Japan for a working holiday, studied at a graduate school in the U.S., and worked at a Japanese company in

Los Angeles. Continuing her vastly transnational career, she currently resides in Tokyo and works at an export company. During an interview with Minnie and her boyfriend Ken in 2012, we began comparing the Disney World in Florida with Tokyo Disneyland. Their preference for the Tokyo one over the Florida one was primarily based on the variety of seasonal, limited-edition souvenirs. "In Japan there is stuff like 'Christmas themed' souvenirs. They don't have those in the U.S. Like they don't even have Halloween. [When we went to Florida Disney World during Halloween,] we were expecting that they would have things like 'pumpkin Mickey' but...nope." Our conversation soon turned into how Japan is good at making limited-edition, or "*gentei*" goods. Ken mentioned the Zippo lighter, and Minnie chimed in, "Also, Hello Kitty." Two years later, in 2014, I was with Minnie to see the sakura blossom in Kawatsu. In the long row of food and souvenir stalls, the local Post Office was selling limited edition stamps and goods for the event. Minnie stopped and bought a Hello Kitty doll dressed in a *sakura*-postal-worker outfit. "You know Minnie…you really can't resist '*gentei*' items, don't you?" I laughed at her obsession to both locally and seasonally limited collectives. She nodded, defeatedly, with a grin.

This was my first time to see the Kawatsu sakura, but it was the second time for Minnie; her first time was in February 2010 when she was a language student in Tokyo. She found out about it through the local travel agency's bus tour. I asked her if she also had the chance to see the autumn leaves, and she told me that when her parents visited in autumn, she went to see the leaves at a place in Yokohama, a place I hadn't even heard of. Her knowledge about seasonal events in Japan was evidently much higher than my own.

Minnie has uploaded most of her photos of her trips in Japan to numerous digital photo albums on Facebook. She titles one of the albums during her working holiday visit as, "*Nichijou ijou, tabi miman*," which she quotes from the Japan Railway travel poster she saw at the train

station. It roughly translates as “More than Everyday, Less than Travel.” Her Taiwanese friend comments on the album, “I like this title,” and Minnie responds, “Yeah. I just happened to notice this poster on the platform and felt it was very appropriate.” In Minnie’s view, her travels to Japan occur within the everyday continuum, very much connected to her everyday life. In Minnie’s and my other Taiwanese informants’ cases, each of their trips is targeted to seasonal events like “to see the Sakura blossom,” which is such a short-lived flower that very specific, targeted itinerary is necessary, or “to see this year’s Christmas illumination at Tokyo Disneyland.” This pattern of consumption is not different from Japanese domestic tourists. As represented by the phrase, “More than Everyday, Less than Travel” which Minnie quotes, for Taiwanese tourists, a trip to Japan may be slightly more special than their ordinary “everyday,” but it has not quite reached the status of “travel” yet. This makes the destination of their visit not Japan qua Japan, but a focused, specific time and place – an event that happens to be in Japan at that time – that is pursued and consumed by visitors from Taiwan.

During the interview with Minnie and Ken, we began to discuss what it means to be a tourist. Minnie told me she still “felt like a tourist” during her stay in Japan, as her study, work, and play would all alternate.

Ken: So you’re a tourist if you feel like one?
Minnie: I…felt like a tourist
Ryoko: When?
Minnie: That half year [in Japan] I would think so…
Ryoko: …that you’re a tourist yourself?
Minnie: Because originally, during that three months at the language school, I would go to class half a day, and after class I would go out. At the hotel [*referring to the hotel she worked for working holiday*], I’d go out whenever I had free time.
Ryoko: Yeah…perhaps because “working holiday” is still a holiday.

Minnie and Ken had met each other while they were getting their Master’s degrees in a U.S. university.

Ryoko: So while you guys were studying in the U.S., did you feel like a tourist?
M&K: Not really (laughter).

They looked at each other, laughed, and shook their heads.

Ryoko: But you went out, right?
Minnie: Yeah, we did go out but we wouldn't…like…feel that way, right? We weren't having enough fun.

This is how they framed their non-tourist status while being full-time students in the U.S. What defines "being a tourist" in their terms is equivalent to "going out" and "having fun" within the realm of ordinary everyday life. Unlike the "full-time tourist" who has a set time frame of the vacation, Minnie seems to experience Japan more as a "part-time tourist," where her tourist identity is intermittently interwoven in her daily routines.

According to statistics from JNTO, Japan had a total of 1.3 million visitors from mainland China, and 2.2 million visitors from Taiwan in 2013. In this survey, JNTO divides the "purpose of visit" into three categories: Tourism, which includes visits to friend and family, Business, and Other, which includes "study" and "training." The chart (Fig. 6) shows that, compared to Western visitors from places like Europe and the U.S., the absolute number of visitors from East Asia is significantly higher. The geographical proximity with Japan provides Asian tourists with abundant, and also cheaper, opportunities to visit. At the same time, compared to visitors from mainland China, visitors from Taiwan and Hong Kong have much easier access to Japan due to a greater variety of available visa types and an easier visa procedure.

In 2013, mainland China has a total of 1,314,437 visitors to Japan, of whom 704,737 people visit under the "Tourism" category, while 374,936 visit under "Other." In comparison, Taiwan and Hong Kong has visitor totals of 2,210,821 and 745,881 respectively, of which 105,645 and 32,196 people come for tourism while 37,907 and 4,688 people visit for purposes listed as "Other." The percentage of each category of visit within the total number of visitors is unbalanced

[Fig. 6] Short-term visitors to Japan (2013) by Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO)

		Tourism (including visit to friend & family)	Business	Other (including study, training)	Total	% Tourism	% Business	% Other
East Asia	China	704,737	234,764	374,936	1,314,437	54%	18%	29%
	Taiwan	2,067,269	105,645	37,907	2,210,821	94%	5%	2%
	HK	708,997	32,196	4,688	745,881	95%	4%	1%
	Korea	1,974,117	334,026	148,022	2,456,165	80%	14%	6%
Other	Europe	563,403	261,191	79,538	904,132	62%	29%	9%
	USA	526,768	214,076	58,436	799,280	66%	27%	7%
	Total	7,962,517	1,464,850	936,537	10,363,904	77%	14%	9%

across regions. For visitors from mainland China, 54% of total visitors are tourists, while 29% come to Japan under "Other." On the other hand, the percentage of Tourism is unusually high among visitors from Taiwan and Hong Kong, around 94-5%, while the percentage of "Other" is as low as 1-2%.

The statistical differences are largely due to differences in the visa structure. The flexibility of visa procedure makes visitors from Taiwan and Hong Kong's travel to Japan a casual extension of a domestic travel. In contrast, there are numerous limitations on the types of visas issued for visitors from mainland China. Minnie's transformation from a tourist to a worker in Japan was anchored by her experience with the working holiday program. The purpose of the working holiday visa is to allow youths from age 18 to 30 from designated countries to stay and work for at most a year, but it is strictly noted that, "employment is allowed only as a secondary activity to support the holiday" (Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association 2014). Out of all the Greater

China Region, only the visitors from Hong Kong and Taiwan can use this program. Japan also has a visa exemption program for short-term stays set up for visitors from 66 countries and regions, of which eight are countries in Asia. Again, these eight countries from Asia – Brunei (15 days), Malaysia, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Thailand (15 days), Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan – exclude PRC. Visitors from mainland China are not allowed the working holiday visa, and there is no tourist visa exemption for short-term stays, unlike for their peers from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and South Korea. This structural difference further widens the gap between the experiences of visitors from different Chinas.

Tourist visas for mainland Chinese visitors have gone through a major change in the past few years. Earlier, tourists from mainland China were only allowed on organized group tours. An article from *Newsweek* in 2007 writes, "They are the troublemakers, spitting all over the place and walking around the hotel in pajamas. Yet, they are the 'geese that lay golden eggs' that cannot be shooed away" (Morita et al. 2007:42). Chinese tourists during this time have been met with this nuanced tension between "enthusiastic welcome" entangled with a critical overtone towards this stigmatized "ill-mannered Asian tourists" label. In such statement, we can see the local tourism industry's dilemma; they acknowledge the Chinese tourist as a "guest," as the well-off, leisurely consumer who will cheer up the local economy, and thus should be treated with courtesy and distinguished from immigrant workers, but at the same time, this reluctant acknowledgement was also laden with a critical overtone towards the "ill-mannered Asian tourist."

The *Newsweek* article aligns its stance with an official at a French tourism bureau who laughs at Chinese charter tourists, saying, "they come with a package tour, running around capital cities all over Europe in just 12 days," (2007:44) and quotes a travel agent saying "Chinese tourists are the Japanese of the 21st century" (2007:42). The denigration towards Japanese mass tourists a

few decades earlier is partially due to their superficial "touristiness," rushing around tourist traps, submissively following the tour guide, and endlessly taking photographs. Backed by the booming economy, Japanese tourists in the 1980s were also known for engaging in massive consumption activities at Duty Frees. Today, Japanese society seems to be projecting a similar kind of ridicule towards Chinese mass-tourists. The portrayal of sightseers in this article underscores the sentiment with which Chinese tourists are registered in Japan today.

In July 2009, the individual tourist visa to travel outside of tour groups, referred to as *ziyouxing,* which literally translates as "free travel," was made available to mainland Chinese tourists for the first time. However, this was limited to the most affluent households. A year later in July 2010, the Japanese government lowered the criteria to households with annual income of over 60,000 RMB, or hold a Gold-status credit card. Following this deregulation, there has been a considerable increase in Chinese tourists to Japan. A new kind of "China scare" in the tourism sector emerged. With the ever-increasing flow of tourists from China, the ardent discourse of hospitality has now been taken over by a new tourism-related buzzword in 2015, "*bakugai*," which refers to "explosive consumption" behavior of Chinese tourists, hoarding commodities from souvenir shops and drug stores. Unlike the sense of enthusiastic welcome present in the discourse of "*omotenashi*," the dehumanizing image of swarming Chinese mass tourists and their aggressive shopping habits was mockingly viewed as a source of entertainment with a wary derision. With the declining economy in Japan, Chinese tourists are definitely welcomed enthusiastically as a huge market and body of customers. At the same time, the term encapsulates a sense of fear towards the "mob" of Chinese tourists, the perceived explosive nature of their (over)flow into Japan. This sentiment escalated during the following spring, where the term "*baku-hanami"* — explosive

flower viewing — was used with much sarcasm to criticize the ill-mannered Chinese tourists' lack of etiquette in viewing the cherry blossoms.

Visa deregulation has significantly increased the number of eligible visitors. Yet, because of the extremely cumbersome paperwork one must complete to get the visa, the total number of Chinese tourists still remains about one third of Taiwanese tourists. Instead, the percentage of visitors categorized as "Other" are ten times more than those from Taiwan. This category includes the "Technical Intern/Trainee Program" – a problematic system to bring in cheap labor under the truly misleading label of 'training[35]' – as well as student visas and marriage. With the change of immigration policy in the early 1980s to accept more foreign students, "language schools" mushroomed and became one of the biggest gateways for Chinese students to Japan. The number of students at one language school in Ikebukuro had more than doubled over the past ten years, and their website explains that most students attend as a stepping stone to their next career, such as university, graduate school, and employment. I had an interesting conversation with Alex, a Taiwanese friend of Minnie's, who recently came to a language school in Shin-ōkubo and found himself in an awkward position where over 90% of the students at his school were from mainland China. "They're not really here to 'study,'" he said. "I never see them do homework. They're all just here to make money, I think."

Taiwanese tourists and students' experience differed from my other informants, a group of newly-arrived students from Henan province, PRC, who started their quarter at a Japanese language school. During my fieldwork, I regularly participated in a Chinese-Japanese language exchange circle called the "Chinese Corner." In May 2014, I met a group of students from Henan province, all in their early 20s, who attended a language school at Shin-ōkubo. They had just arrived a month earlier to start the school year from April. A gregarious female student in the

group gave me a hilarious introduction – "Hi, I'm 'Tou'-san, 'Tou' for '*Jimintō*'!!" (the LDP; "Tou" means "Party"). Despite the numerous grammatical errors, her high communication skills and positive mindset were more than enough to have an energetic conversation in Japanese. "How are you adjusting to your life in Japan?" I asked. "It's okay." Tou-san replied:

> I travel a lot during my spare time. To start off, I went around Tokyo, went to the Sky Tree and the Asakusa temple. I tried the *omikuji* (fortune telling strip) at the temple and, oh my gosh, I got *kyō* (the 'bad luck' charm)! Right after that, my bike was locked by someone so I had to pay 500 yen to have the bike shop unlock it, also my shoelaces got stuck on the back wheels of the bike and my legs got scratched all over, and then my bike was towed away for parking at the wrong place and so I had to pay 3,000 yen to retrieve it. All these *must* be because of that *kyō*. But now that I got all the bad luck out of my system, I'm sure things will go well from now on. Hahaha!

She told me all this in one breath, and added how she plans to visit Mt. Fuji with her classmates soon.

She had recently started working part-time – "*baito,*" short for *arubaito* – at a hamburger restaurant from 5pm to 11pm, and complained that it was so much work. Two others in the group – a male student named Ou-san and a female student named Chin-san – however envied her, as they were still looking for a job, and they found the interview process to be very stressful. Chin-san said she was "feeling very bad" after she went through six job interviews last week and got rejected from all of them. They were primarily looking for *baito* at convenience stores, restaurants, and drug stores. Over the course of 2014, there was an obvious increase in the number of Chinese part-time workers at these types of businesses in Tokyo.

Even though they were officially in Japan on student visas, these language students could engage in other activities like employment and tourism, and part-time jobs could occupy over half of their time. One of the language schools had a "cost of living simulation" on their website that explained how students could support themselves while attending the school. Visitors on student visas were allowed to work part-time after applying for the "Permission to engage in an activity other than that permitted by the status of residence previously granted" with the Immigration Bureau. This permission allowed those on a student visa to work for a total of 28 hours per week during the school year, and 40 hours per week during breaks, and they could expect to earn about 100,000 yen per month. This simulation calculated the total cost of living as 80,000 yen per month, which meant that serious commitment to *baito* could return a decent amount of saving.

One time at the Chinese Corner, a "newcomer" from Hunan province joined us. His Japanese ability was still at a very introductory level. "Oh you're new here. Language school huh? So you're gonna do *baito* then, eh?" An older man in the group asked him in Japanese. The student didn't understand most of what he was asked, but he seemed to have registered the term "*baito*" and responded quickly, "Oh, yes. *Baito*. I will do *Baito*." This short exchange underscored the fact that he had learned the term "*baito*" long before he master Japanese. In the mind of this student, it had long been clear that he would have to work part-time while attending language school in Japan.

Three months later in August, I met Ou-san again at the Chinese Corner. I asked him what happened to his *baito* search, and he said he ended up working at a sushi restaurant as a dishwasher. "Plates this big," he made a circle about 4-inch size with his hands, indicating the size of the dishes he washes. "Rotating sushi place?" someone asked, and he nodded. "Hey, but that might be better than '*sekkyaku*' – customer service – because you don't need to deal with stress with customers?"

I said, thinking about my own stress from the intensive *sekkyaku baito* at the tourist information center, but he replied a bit sadly, "Nah, I think I prefer *sekkyaku*. Because then I can actually communicate with people."

Plural Chinas

While both Taiwanese and Chinese visitors to Japan experience their stays in Japan as an extension of the everyday, the different nuances in their mundane experiences also demonstrate the disjunctive realities of plural Chinas and their respective relations with Japan. The contemporary tourism industry in Japan has not been consistent in dealing with this issue of plural Chinas. During my fieldwork at the tourist counter, the staff members were handed a flyer for an "*omotenashi* seminar," a session held by Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) on how to properly host tourists from the Greater China Region. It was mainly targeted towards local shop owners, inn keepers, guides and information workers in the Shitamachi area. "Even though we say 'Greater China Region,' we actually welcome guests from different places," introduced the speaker. Pointing to a neatly created chart on her Power-Point presentation, she contrasted the tendencies of respective regions: 68% of Chinese tourists are first-time visitors, while 70% from Taiwan are repeaters. She explained that shopping is the main interest for Chinese tourists. "They are the profligate type," she labeled, adding that the average amount of money the Chinese tourists spend on consumption is twice as much as what Taiwanese spend. She even categorized their "cultural types," analyzing that Taiwanese "like 'special discount' and 'limited' items, just like us Japanese." She explained that their main interests are "seasons, hot springs, food," repeatedly emphasizing that "seasonal events are very popular among Taiwanese tourists," a point indeed supported by Minnie's case. Accentuating the difference within the Greater China, the speaker warned that we shouldn't simply label them all together as "Chinese," and assured us that

welcoming these guests will most definitely boost Japan's declining economy. As a concluding remark, she quoted the UN slogan from 1967, "Tourism; Passport to peace," to emphasize how public diplomacy is a crucial part in building mutual understanding and international friendship in the long term.

Political skirmishes in East Asia have been rather loud since 2013. The international dispute between Japan and mainland China has always been prominent since the hawkish Abe government took over in 2012, and whose terms coincided with the tenure of Xi Jinping in PRC and Park Geun-hye in South Korea, also known to lean conservative. Compared to this tension in the diplomatic level, conflicts in the everyday encounters between Japanese people and visitors from China and Korea have not yet been as publicly visible. Visitors from other parts of Asia are supposed to be met with "enthusiastic welcome," both as tourists, the generous consumers, and migrant workers, labor forces which Japan cannot provide for its own. At least in the current touristic encounters, the relation seems to be positive for the most part. Particularly under diplomatic failures on the national level, many local hosts do sincerely hope for the success of public diplomacy to build friendship and mutual understanding. Yet, at the same time, I have observed burgeoning discriminatory remarks. For example, a souvenir shop in Shitamachi once complained to the TIC staff, "Please don't direct the Chinese to our shop," claiming that "Chinese tourists end up hoarding all our products." During a sushi-making lesson I was translating for my SGG activity, the sushi chef, who always seemed very satisfied about American and European tourists coming to his restaurant, quietly told me with a grin, "You can decline this class for Chinese tourists." He said it in a joking manner, though I could not tell if he was actually joking or not. Ou-san, at the Chinese Corner, spoke with a slight frown about his everyday encounters in Japan. "Sometimes I feel uncomfortable. This one time at the checkout, I didn't know where to put

the money and ended up putting it in the wrong place. The person looked annoyed and told me to put it in the right place. I know it's not a big deal, but sometimes, you know…you feel uncomfortable." In these small everyday frictions, we can sense the tension of these cold encounters beneath the rhetoric of welcome.

Despite JNTO's claim that we must recognize distinct locality within Greater China and act accordingly, local hosts in Japan are still somewhat confused about who exactly are the "Chinese tourists." In addition to the ambivalent geopolitical relation between Japan and China, it is important to look at the tensions *within* China, more specifically, the cross-strait geopolitics between Taiwan/Hong Kong and mainland China surrounding the "One China" controversy. The year 2014, when Japan saw a historic increase in the number of incoming tourists, was the same year that the long-simmering frustration towards the mainland Chinese government and skepticism towards their definition of "China" erupted in a series of protests in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

On the evening of March 18, 2014, student and civic groups in Taipei rose up and occupied the Legislative Yuan in protest of the leading political party Ma Ying-jiu's forcible passing of Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement, and occupation continued until April 10. Following the global trend of activism and protests, this protest was an eruption of the long-standing frustration among the youth and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) supporters against the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT)'s policies favoring mainland China. This eruption in Taiwan, later referred to as the Sunflower Movement, became the trigger of an aggressive protest in Hong Kong, dubbed the Umbrella Movement, that began over the Summer of 2014. This massive sit-in protest in the streets of Hong Kong was directly triggered by the lack of election

rights, but it was largely fueled by the long-standing frustration towards the failures of "One Country, Two Systems Policy," over the disagreement of how "China" should be defined.

The tension between Hong Kong citizens and the government of mainland China could be understood through my conversation with a tourist from Hong Kong to Japan. "Every time I approach the counter at the tourist center, I face my identity;" the conversation took an unexpected turn when I met up with my old friend Nancy, a graduate student in Hong Kong, at Asakusa for lunch in July 2014. Similar to Minnie, she had extensively traveled to Japan, including a short-term language study in Tokyo for a month in the past. She told me how she would go to different places for sightseeing each day after class. "So you were like half-student, half-tourist?" I asked. "Mostly tourist," she replied and emphasized, "Tokyo, for me, is to see friends."

It was when I told her how I had recently started working at a tourist information center for my fieldwork when she commented on how the tourist counter can become a place to face her "Chinese" identity. "I hate it when they hand me the pamphlets written in Simplified Chinese characters. That means they identified me as (mainland) Chinese," she remarked with disgust.[36] I was quite surprised by how characters in Simplified Chinese could elicit such emotional response. She did follow-up, saying that Japanese tourist centers are among the best in the world because a lot of them prepare both Simplified and Traditional Chinese pamphlets and maps. Just that fact "makes me satisfied" she claims, because "it means they recognize the difference within 'Chinese.'"

I flash back to my role at the TIC. One of our jobs at the counter was to keep a tab on how many foreigners used the information center in order to report numbers to JNTO. We had to click the tally counter whenever a "foreign-looking" tourist would enter the door, even though they might just be using the bathroom, the money exchange, or the internet. The extent of making this

count was quite arbitrary and inaccurate. It seemed visually easy for non-Asian faces, though we might very well be mislabeling mixed-race Japanese as "foreigners." Visitors from East Asia, on the other hand, were impossible to tell. My own cue to click the counter was when I heard them speak in non-Japanese, but my colleagues would profile foreignness based on appearance, such as fashion, color of clothes, hairstyle, and makeup. Of course, this was bound to cause misjudgment; one time, we saw a group of Asian ladies walk in. Judging from bright-colored jackets in pink and red, my colleague was about to click the counter when we heard them scream in Japanese, "We found the toilet!" My colleague immediately ceased her motion, and we laughed at each other.

When they did approach the counter, we asked the question "Where are you from?" to determine the appropriate language of information to hand out, and also to fill out a form for JNTO. Whenever we interacted with a foreign guest at the counter, JNTO required us to keep a tab on their nationalities. Most people would answer with their country, but interestingly, American and mainland Chinese tourists usually answered with their state or city – "California," "Seattle," "Beijing" or "Shanghai." The high percentage of Taiwanese tourists was tangible through these interactions over the counter. When I asked, "*Ni shi cong nali lai de?* (Where did you come from?)" to customers I had been speaking in Chinese with, around 80% would answer "Taiwan," to whom I would hand the brochure written in Traditional Chinese. Overseas Chinese, like those from Malaysia and Singapore, typically would not care about Simplified or Traditional Chinese, or English. "It doesn't matter," they would say, uninterestedly.

To abruptly ask someone "Where are you from?" could completely throw them off. Sometimes, the conversation would take an awkward turn when the counter staff, feeling obligated to fill out the JNTO survey, hastily asked the question to practically anyone who approached the counter:

Tourist: "Where can I exchange money?"

Counter staff: "There. Where are you from?"

Tourist: (confused) "….huh?"

Asking for the tourist's nationality for statistical purpose often felt forced, disrupting the natural flow of our conversation. Just as I had felt the awkwardness of asking this question while working in the tourist counter, Nancy feared the same question. She said that she often did not know what to answer, and that the questions "*Dokokara kimashitaka*? (Where did you come from?)" and "*Dochira no kata desu ka*? (You are a person of where/what?)" had a very different connotation for her; "for me, it's about either a place, or a person." As she grew tired of answering "Hong Kong" and being handed a pamphlet written in Simplified Chinese, she decided to experiment by saying "British Hong Kong" which, so far, had never failed to confuse the person who asked the question.

Nancy is a pre-1997 Hong Kong native, still holding a British passport from back when Hong Kong was still under British rule. "The good old days," she reminisced. She told me there was a big protest in Hong Kong against the Chinese government just a few days ago. "Wow, so recently?" I asked. The international media had yet to catch up with the strong anti-China movements in Hong Kong at the time I met her in July 2014. "The protest was just recent, but this has been going on for many years. We just can't take it anymore." She explained how the overflow of mainland Chinese population was bringing much dissatisfaction and hostility between the new-coming mainland Chinese and the old time Hong Kong natives.

In Taiwan and Hong Kong, the Mainland Chinese are strictly referred to as the "*daluren*," or the "mainlanders," and are clearly distinguished from the locals. Yet, Japan's relation with the conflicting Chinas has been rather ambivalent. Japan has historically had a better political relationship with Taiwan, but also does not recognize it as an independent state. While the

condescending sentiment in Japan towards "Chinese tourists" is generally geared towards mainland Chinese, Taiwanese and Hong Kong tourists are inadvertently included in the discourse, with many in Japan unable to tell the difference. Japan's hesitant stance on this issue also adds to the love-hate triangle across the strait, and across the East China Sea.

Japan, China, and Asianism 1895-1945

Before I delve into the larger implication of Japan's disjunctive relation with the Greater China Region in contemporary tourism landscape, I would like to touch upon the historical roots of Japan's relations with the multiple Chinas. I will trace the history of Japan and the two Chinas chronologically, from 1895 when Japan's rule of Taiwan began, 1911 when the revolutionary forces defeated the Qing dynasty and established the Republic of China, to the increasing colonial violence of Japan in China until the end of the war, and from 1945 onward when the defeat of Japan rekindled the tension between the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in China. Examining this political process that established the basis of cross strait tensions between PRC (mainland China) and ROC (Taiwan) is crucial in understanding Japan's hospitable relation with Taiwan and hostile relation with mainland China that continues to surface today.

One of the major triggers for the separation of China and Taiwan can be traced back to 1895, after the Sino-Japan war, when Japan forcibly placed Taiwan under its colonial rule. In this year, Japan made changes regarding two unequal treaties — the revision of the unequal treaty with the Western nations and the signing of a new unequal treaty with China — and through these two changes, Japan made a pivotal political shift in its relations with the West and Asia. The revision of the unequal treaty with the West gave Japan the confidence that it had achieved the "equal status" of a modern nation. This sparked the debates over establishing an appropriate hospitality

infrastructure to accommodate the ever-increasing number of tourists from the West with a respectable form of welcome, in order to maintain Japan's status as a civilized, modern nation. At the same time, defeating the Qing dynasty and the subsequent signing of the unequal treaty in Shimonoseki officially made way for Japan to proceed with its colonial projects in Asia. It was with this treaty that the bifurcation of "China" became intricately entangled in political complication.

Unpacking the troubled concept of Asianism is crucial in understanding Japan's ambivalent relation with Asia that oscillates between hospitable and hostile, or how I would describe, "fraternal" and "paternal." Today, Asianism or Great-Asianism is commonly understood as a form of nationalism that motivated and justified Japan's invasion of Asia. However, it is critical to separate the ideals of Asianism from Japan's nationalism. Tracing the history of Japan and China since 1895, I will discuss the initial emergence of Asianism as a grand ideal of the "East" in response to the powers of the "West," the divergence of its meanings, and eventual deterioration throughout Meiji, Taisho, and towards the wartime.

As discussed in Chapter One, the momentum for Japanese hospitality industry was already underway with the opening of Shibusawa's Imperial Hotel in 1890 and the establishment of *Kihinkai*, or the Welcome Society in 1893. Following the signing of Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation on July 16, 1894 with U.K., Japan successfully revised the Ansei Five-Power Treaties it was forced to sign in 1858 with the U.S., Russia, the Netherlands, the U.K. and France. The treaty revisions marked a big shift in Japan's power relation with the modern nations in the West, and while the sense of inferiority had not completely disappeared, it was a historical moment when Japan's national morals boosted for moving up a tier as a first-rate nation, ready to join the Western nations as an equal counterpart. An imperial rescript was issued in

response to the treaty revision which instructed the people to "conciliate (*kaiju*) the foreigners" by providing a respectable and civilized hospitality infrastructure.

A few weeks after the first treaty revision, in August 1894, the Sino-Japanese War broke out against the Qing dynasty. It was cast as a symbolic battle between the modernized, Westernized Japan versus a feudal, patriarchal China, and with the victory of the Meiji government, a shift of power dynamics occurred in East Asia. This result signified the success with Meiji government's *Fukoku Kyōhei* policy, or the national project to "Enrich the state, strengthen the military." It was in contrast to the failure of the outdated modes of China at the end of the 19th century, and this defeat became a significant catalyst in many ways; for example, it prompted young revolutionaries like Sun Yat-Sen to take on the projects of modernizing China. With the conclusion of Sino-Japanese war, Japan and China signed the Shimonoseki Treaty on April 17, 1895. Signed less than a year after the treaty revisions between Japan and the West, the Shimonoseki Treaty was ironically yet another unequal treaty, this time with Japan taking the upper hand. It seems that Japan had learned the methods of imperialism from the West, and this "unequal power relation" itself was a technology of diplomacy that was imported from the West.

Taiwan had been under the rule of Qing dynasty since the late 17th century, but with the signing of Shimonoseki Treaty, it was ceded under Japanese rule in 1895. According to *Kenkenroku* (1895 [1929]) which records the experience of Mutsu Munemitsu as a Meiji diplomat, the negotiators from the Qing, Li Hongzhang and Li Jingfang, fought vehemently against ceding Taiwan. Japan had originally requested that the Qing cede Taiwan and Penghu islands as well as the eastern side of Liaodong Peninsula "in perpetuity and full sovereignty." Additionally, Japan also demanded the opening of Shashi, Chongqing, Suzhou and Hangzhou for trade. Li Hongzhang, while agreeing to cede the other parts, resisted handing over Taiwan, claiming that it was never a

battlefield during the War, and because it is already a province of China. Yet, Japan was also stubborn about acquiring Taiwan. Mutsu, as the delegate from Japan, coldly responded that Japan will not accept the Qing's wish, and that acquiring Taiwan was non-negotiable. Both sides tenaciously fought for sovereignty of Taiwan, and after two grueling weeks of negotiation, the Qing government was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan, with its great reluctance, leaving a trace of bitterness as Japan's rule of Taiwan officially began.

Japan wasted no time in proceeding with its colonial projects in Taiwan, erecting a new government, new education system, and establishing railways. The first Governor-General of Taiwan, Kabayama Sukenori, was appointed May 10, 1895. In mainland China, there was the growth of revolutionary societies. The defeat of the feudal Qing dynasty by the recently modernized Meiji Japan had convinced young revolutionaries in China that modernizing and democratizing the nation was critical for survival in the currents of the world. Sun Yat-Sen, commonly attributed as the "national father" of modern China, was the first to establish a secret society that schemed to overthrow the Qing dynasty. Hailing from the Southern China and being of the Han ethnicity, Sun had long fostered a sentiment against the Qing dynasty which was ruled by the Man ethnicity of the North. His anti-Qing sentiment was aggravated by the political stagnation in late Qing, and eventually led him to select the slogan *Mie Man Xin Han*, or "Destroy Man Revive Han," as one of the political agendas for his revolution. In a way, the disjunctive Chinas we observe today can be traced back to the divide that was already in place between Northern and Southern China, a division that was further aggravated by Japan's intervention that encouraged this separation.

The decades between 1895 and 1911 were an interesting time when the movements of the political left in both China and Japan shared a brief moment of brotherhood in pursuing the

idealistic vision of Asianism. In Japan, the ideology of Asianism was forming a larger community around people like Miyazaki Tōten (1871-1922), Tōyama Mitsuru (1855-1944), and Uchida Ryōhei (1874-1937), associated with societies like *Kōakai* (Rise Asia Society), *Genyōsha* (Black Ocean Society), and *Kokuryūkai* (Black Dragon Society). Mainly arising from the Kyūshū region in Western Japan, many of those who subscribed to this thought were also dubbed the "Continental Ronin" who made frequent trips to parts of Asia and maintained strong ties with the Asian continent. They sympathized with the efforts of revolutionary movements across Asia, and provided a safe haven in Tokyo for those activists who took refuge in Japan like Sun Yat-Sen of China, Kim Ok-gyun of Korea, and Rashbehari Bose of India.

Sun Yat-Sen, through his numerous visits to Japan, became close to the members of Asianist political groups who supported the independence of Asian nations from the West. After the failure of an uprising in 1895, Sun lived a life of refuge outside of China across the world, including in Japan. Toyama Mitsuru helped Sun secure his financial support to take refuge in Tokyo and to prepare for a revolution in China.[37] On August 20, 1905, representatives of three political societies in China, the *Xingzhonghui* (Revive China Society) lead by Sun Yat-Sen and Wang Jingwei, the *Huaxinghui* (China Arise Society), and *Guangfuhui* (Restoration Society), came together and, with their common goal of revolution in China, established the society *Tongmenghui* (Chinese United League). The meeting was held in Tokyo with the help of Uchiyama Ryōhei of *Kokuryūkai*, the Black Dragon Society, and Toyama Mitsuru who provided the meeting space.[38] The *Tongmenghui* became the alliance to work together towards the Xinhai Revolution in 1911 which overthrew China's last imperial family.

Around the time of the annexation of Korea in 1910 and the Xinhai Revolution that occurred in the following year, the fraternal camaraderie that united the Chinese revolutionists and

the Japanese Asianists was slowly taking a hostile turn, revealing its violent side. On November 28, 1924, four months before his death, Sun Yat-Sen gives a lecture in Kobe, Japan on Great-Asianism. The speech begins with statements of strong pride in Asiatic culture along with a disdainful anti-Western sentiment. Sun claims, "The day when the unequal treaties were abolished by Japan was a day of regeneration for all of us Asiatic peoples," and praises Japan's greatness for becoming the first independent country in Asia. His exaltation of Japan at the beginning of the speech almost gives an impression of fawning. He cites Japan's victory against Russia as a key turning point, and shares the anecdote of how he was coincidentally in Europe in the year when the Russo-Japanese war broke out. When the news traveled to Europe that Admiral Togo had defeated the Russian navy, Sun recalls, everyone on the continent seemed worried and sad. Even among the British, who were diplomatically Japan's ally at the time, shook their head and wrinkled their eyebrows when they heard the news. After all, this great victory of Japan was "not a blessing for the White people," and Sun cites the English saying here, "Blood is thicker than water," to emphasize his realization that the racial divide between White/West and Asia will always remain, regardless of modernization efforts and power shifts in diplomatic relations.

On his way back from Europe to Asia, Sun sailed through the Suez Canal where the local Arabs came up to him. Seeing his yellow skin and mistaking him for a Japanese, the locals excitedly commented on Japan's defeat of Russia;

> Until today, we colored races of the Orient were constantly oppressed by the Western peoples. We have always received suffering and pain. We had thought that emancipation was impossible. We regard the defeat of Russia by Japan as the defeat of the West by the East. We regard the Japanese victory as our own victory (Sun 1924).

By quoting praises for Japan in the greater Asian region, Sun attempts to unite the Asian identity and boost its pride.

With the repeated use of the term "our Asia" and "we Asians" (*women yazhou*), Sun's speech emphasizes the brotherhood of the East. Sun claims that the European civilization has led to many discoveries and invention, including development of weapons and armories. He argues that they use this "culture of force" to threaten and oppress us Asia, and quoting an ancient saying of China, he describes such culture which employs force to oppress people as the "rule of the Might" or "The Mighty Way (*badao*)." On the contrary, he continues, "We, the Orient, have always looked down on such rule of the Might," and claims that the Eastern civilization "inspires people, not oppress. Makes people respect, not fear, it." In contrast with the rule of the Might, he claims that "Asian culture is the culture of the Kingly Way (*wangdao*)" or the "the rule of the Right," using the language of the ancient Chinese (Sun 1924).

Despite endlessly listing the greatness of Japan's modernity and emphasizing the importance of maintaining a brotherly unity between Japan and China against the West, the final sentence of the speech ends with a critical remark of warning towards Japan, perhaps a prediction of what actually unfolded towards the late 1920s. Sun ends:

> You Japanese people have already acquired the Euro-American culture of the Way of the Might, while also having the essence of the Asian culture of the Kingly Way. From now on, regarding the prospect of world culture, whether to become the running dog of the Western Way of the Might, or become the base caste of the Kingly Way of the Orient? This is the choice that you Japanese people should discuss (Sun 1924).

Sun died four months later, right at the historical moment where idealism and bitterness intersected, without seeing the end of where his ideals of Asianism would end up. It was around this time that the sense of unity among Asianist brothers rapidly deteriorated, though it had long been slowly breaking apart.[39] The Japanese Guandong Army invaded the Northern frontier and officially established Manchukuo in 1932. Under the national slogans of Asianist ideology like "Five Ethnicity Harmony" and "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," Manchukuo was clearly a puppet state of the Japanese government.[40] "Asianism" became incorporated into "nationalism," and the fraternal connotation of Asianism made its paternal turn.

Japan's steady progress in the occupation of China in the 1930s was casting dark shadows over the tourism industry as well. The journal *Tourist* published by JTB continued its bimonthly publication until April 1943 when Japan was deep at war. As discussed in Chapter One, the articles written by this community are greatly Occidentalist. Layered with deep appreciations for the "Western lifestyle," their discussions focus primarily on modifying various aspects of Japan to make foreign visitors feel at home. We notice the interchangeable use of the term *gai*, "foreign" or "outside," and *seiyo*, the Western. While the premise of the articles is for hosting "foreign guests," or *gaikyaku*, these authors clearly have Western visitors in mind. Non-Western foreign tourists, such as those from China and other parts of Asia, were not registered under the category of *gai* and thus were completely excluded from the discourse. The articles suggest that Japan did not see visitors from colonies in Asia as the same kind of "foreign guests" as it did the Western visitors.

Parts of *Tourist* do mention China, Korea and Taiwan, but in a much different capacity compared to how they discuss Western tourists. JTB had their branch offices in places like Manchu, Chosen, and Formosa (Taiwan), and these places are presented in the journal in a similar

way domestic destinations in Japan such as hot springs in Hakone and ski resorts in Nagano are marketed. Asian colonies appear in the magazine as an extension of Japan's hospitality infrastructure, as destinations for Western tourists. They are places to promote to tourists rather than places where tourists come from; they are part of the hosting "we" rather than the visiting "they" of guests. They were part of the project to make all the colonies unite under the umbrella of the Japanese Empire.[41]

The journal provides the national statistics of foreign visitors. Interestingly, a column that shows the number of Chinese visitors includes not merely "tourists," but also "students" and "workers." As the colonial tension deepens in the 1930s, the journal begins to include discussions on visitors from Asia, often revealing the intensifying tensions as the nation gradually marched on its way to war.

In *Forgotten Ally* (2013), Rana Mitter sheds light on three protagonists, Chiang Kai-Shek, Wang Jingwei, and Mao Zedong as the symbolic successors of Sun Yat-Sen's political ideologies that diverged into three separate ways. 1945 is commonly considered the "end of the war," and, at least in the context of Japanese history, the post-1945 years are unequivocally referred to as the "postwar period." However, the two nuclear bombs and Japan's acceptance of defeat marked only a beginning of a new war in China – the rekindling of its civil war between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by Mao, and the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) led by Chiang that was only on a tentative truce. China had been fighting two wars, against Japan and between parties. The end of one only meant the intensifying of the other. Wang Jingwei loyally tried to follow Sun's ideals of coexistence and cooperation between China and Japan until the very end, but his puppet government in Shanghai was eventually brutally betrayed by the Japanese government.[42] In 1949,

with Mao's victory and the declaration of People's Republic of China (PRC), Chiang Kai-Shek and the KMT members left the mainland and established the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan.

Starting in 1895, Japan's occupation of Taiwan continued for 50 years until October 25, 1945, when the last governor general Ando Rikichi wrote a letter of defeat to the ROC. While the 50 years of colonial rule were not completely free of violent clashes, such as the Musha Incident in 1930, a major uprising of Taiwanese aboriginal population against colonial Japan, public opinion in contemporary Taiwan generally tend to view Japan with a positive light. There are many hypotheses as to why this is the case; one possible explanation is that the militaristic oppression by the KMT during the post-1945 period has overridden the memory of Japanese occupation. For example, the February 28 Incident, in which thousands of civilians in Taiwan were violently killed by the KMT-led government, is remembered as the most atrocious moment of this period referred to as the White Terror. In comparison, many Taiwanese nostalgically reminisce about the colonial period with fond memories, not unlike how British rule is remembered by many in Hong Kong, and retrospectively regard the construction of infrastructure by the Japanese as a positive influence on Taiwan's economic development.

Political frictions in modern day Taiwan can be traced back to the divide between *benshengren* – the "locals" who were in Taiwan during Japan's occupation, and *waishengren* – the "outsiders" who came to Taiwan along with KMT after 1945. The *benshengren* speaks either the Hokkien or Hakka that were the native languages of Taiwan, and Japanese that was part of compulsory education during the colonial period. This group generally supports the political party DPP, whose political agenda leans against mainland China, arguably towards Japan, and claims Taiwan independence. The tradition of *waishengren* families has been to support the political views of the KMT, whose ultimate goal is for the ROC to reclaim "China" from the CCP. It was

this long-standing conflict that eventually led to the Sunflower movement in 2014, in which the DPP supporters' frustrations towards KMT rule erupted. It was in this historical trajectory that the definitions of "China" multiplied, and this plurality and disagreement over its definition continue to haunt the political tension within Taiwan, within the Greater China Region, and with the relations toward Japan today.

From Fraternal Bond to Paternal Power

Dissolution of the Japanese empire resulted in the disillusion of one of its main ideological pillars, Asianism. Stigmatized by its propagandistic use to justify Japan's colonialism, the rhetoric of Eastern solidarity against the imperialist West has been largely discredited in both public and academic spheres. Such visceral aversion against Asianism, however, has caused a dilemma in postwar liberal discourse. While Asianism is often criminalized today as the instigator of Japan's invasions of Asia, labeling the Asianists simply as radical "right-wing nationalists" is misleading. Rather, Asianist activists and societies that strongly believed in the transnational unity of the region were in fact seen as a dangerous faction by Japan's central government.

Black Ocean Society (*Genyōsha*) and Black Dragon Society (*Kokuryūkai*) are two of the most well known secret societies associated with the formative years of Asianism that continued to take an anti-government stance. Since the establishment of Meiji Government in 1885, one of the most discussed political topics was the revision of the unequal treaties with the West: the Ansei Treaties of 1858. The Meiji government had been writing the drafts for treaty revision, but because the government proposed draft was still a compromised one, many activists had expressed disagreement, claiming that the current proposal for revision was still catering to the Western nations. These activists who were politically anti-Western were skeptical of the Meiji government occupied with overly pro-Western politicians. Toyama Mitsuru who founded the Black Ocean

Society was the leading figure against the government's weak stance against the West. On October 18, 1889, when the Prime Minister Kuroda Kiyotaka made a forcible statement that the government-drafted revision plan would be processed, Okuma Shigenobu, the Minister of foreign affairs who had been responsible for the negotiation for treaty revision, was attacked with a bomb and lost his right leg. The culprit turned out to be Kurushima Tsuneki who used to be a member of Black Ocean Society. This incident clearly demarcates the political stance of the Asianists as an anti-government group. As Japan's military took control of politics and invasion towards Asia became more and more aggressive, many of these Asianists vocally criticized the government's version of "Asianism" which did not reflect the same Asianism that they pursued, and clarified their stance against the government's expansionist policies.

After the end of war, GHQ (or SCAP) and the allied forces ordered the disbanding of these organizations as gangs of ultranationalist extremist groups they deemed responsible for the War. They regarded the Black Ocean Society and the Black Dragon Society as two of the most dangerous right-wing terrorist groups. Affiliation with the Black Ocean Society is said to have worked against Hirota Koki[43] during the Tokyo Trial to a certain degree, and resulted in his death penalty; Hirota became the only civilian among the executed war criminals. Due to the fundamentally anti-Western ideology of the group, it is understandable that the primarily Western allied forces would view these ideologues with hostility, and hold them accountable for Japan's offense against the West. The literal translation of the names of these organizations, "Black Ocean Society" and "Black Dragon Society," also gives an aggressive impression in English, and considering the various terrorist activities towards the central government, they were without hesitation marked as organizations affiliated with a radical school of thought. However, despite their intimidating-sounding names, their original meaning in fact represented a pan-Asian ideal.

"Black Ocean" refers to the *Genkai-nada*, the name of the bay between Kyushu and Korea that had long been Japan's gateway to Asia, and "Black Dragon" derives from the Amur River, called the Black Dragon river (*Heilongjiang*) in Chinese, that runs through Eastern Russia to Northern China, the Eastern side of the Eurasian continent. Nationalism is misleading in describing these societies' fundamentally transnational nature. As Sun Yat-Sen's speech on Great Asianism in 1924 suggests, the underlying value of Asianism was simply that of the anti-West. Their understanding of the global order was based on a dichotomy between the East and West rather than a collection of nations, and the original holders of this thought did not support the ideologies behind imperial Japan's invasion of Asian nations.

There have been multiple attempts to rethink the simplistic equation of Asianism with nationalism. Its legacy continues to haunt the political discourse in Japan today. Many Japanese scholars have defended the Asianist societies, claiming that their ideals for achieving a bilateral relation with other Asian nations was not the same as the Asianist ideologies manifested in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. As early as in 1959, Takeuchi Yoshimi, a leading scholar of Chinese literature, writes that "The Great East Asian War was both a war of colonial invasion, and a war against imperialism, simultaneously. These two aspects, although they were practically coupled together, must theoretically be separated" (Takeuchi 1959). His seemingly blatant defense of the Asianist ideology was understandably met with vehement opposition in the postwar social context. It had become impossible to express a sense of fraternal familiarity to Asia without being accused of advocating Japan's colonial past.

In *Great Asianism and Tōyama Mitsuru* (1965), Ashizu Uzuhiko uses the term "continental rōnin (*tairiku rōnin*)" to refer to Japanese Asianists who were dedicated to political movements in China, and claims that they can be politically divided into two trends. He calls one

group the "revolution-school (*kakumei-ha*)" to refer to those like Tōyama and members of *Genyōsha* who were connected to China's Southern reform movements. He calls the other group "Qing dynasty school (*shinchō-ha*)" which includes figures like Kawashima Naniwa who were more supportive of the Qing dynasty. He argues that the Japanese army had favored the Qing dynasty-school over the revolution-school, because the Japanese military believed that those in favor of the Qing dynasty would be easier to control (Ashizu 1965:149). Ashizu analyzes that this divide between two groups of Asianists in Japan, one supporting the revolution and the other supporting the Qing Dynasty, is similar to "contemporary politics" – referring to when he wrote this essay in 1965 – where Asianist politicians at the time were divided into two trends, one favoring the Beijing government and the other favoring Taipei (1965:149).

The end of war is a critical moment to observe how the dreams for Asian solidarity were crushed, and how these transnational ideals lost their way. Forces that bundled the fraternal ideals and colonial desires together as a single ideology simplified the label of Asianism, and created a political atmosphere where a sense of fraternity between Japan and China was automatically interpreted as an outdated mode of conservatism. This inseparability resulted in the incrimination of Asianism as a whole as the radical right, synonymous to nationalism. The definitional struggle of Asianism regarding its ambivalence between "fraternal" bond and "paternal" hierarchy can be interpreted in an interesting way through a discussion of domesticity.

Part of Japan's grand scheme of Asianism was to see Asia as one large domestic household in which to "welcome," as well as counter the threats of, the West. This ideal is apparent in the metaphor of one of Japan's political slogans *Hakkō Ichiu* which roughly translates to, "[all] eight directions [i.e. the whole world] under one roof," a concept that originally appears in the compilation of legends, *Nihon Shoki*. Japan's march to war was motivated by this idea of

having the whole world under one roof and making the entire human race "one family," which on its own presents a sense of moral goal that celebrates the unity of humanity. Yet, behind this slogan, of course, was an imperial desire to become the ruler of this household. While Asianist and nationalist movements both agreed that Asia should be seen as part of the same household, the disagreement was whether the domestic dynamics amongst the "hosts" will take a form of fraternal camaraderie or paternal arrogance. This power structure within this "East" as a household can be further analyzed using Derrida's discussion of domestic power relations in the acts of hospitality.

As I mentioned in Chapter Three, Derrida explains the dynamics of Hospitality using the metaphor of the most basic model of inviting a stranger into one's house. Using the term "master of the house," or the "familial despot" to describe the role of the host, he argues that there is a "predominance in the structure of the right to hospitality and of the relationship with the foreigner, be he or she guest or enemy":

> This is a conjugal model, paternal and phallogocentric. It's the familial despot, the father, the spouse, and the boss, the master of the house who lays down the laws of hospitality. He represents them and submits to them to submit the others to them in this violence of the power of hospitality, in this force of ipseity" (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000:149).

The position of the host as an authoritative, familial despot who welcomes the guests, and his violent exertion of hospitality, is an interesting frame to interpret Japan's enthusiastic efforts to become a hospitable host to the Western tourists. The imperial Japan saw China and other Asia as part of "us" (host), rather than "them" (guest). The power dynamics of Japan's colonial projects to domesticate Asia can be drawn parallels with Japan's aspiration to become the household head, the master of Asia, to welcome guests from the West.

Tourists and Migrants in Contemporary Japan

The legacy of this notion of Asia as one large household can be identified in the mundane nature of Japan-Asia relations today. The disillusionment of Asianism and the legacy of its dilemma formed a foundation for the political friction in contemporary East Asia. Here, I come back to the issue of touristic and migratory encounters in contemporary Japan from the Greater China Region. To fully understand what Arjun Appadurai (1990) calls the "ethnoscape," or the landscape of human flow, in Japan, it is necessary to look at the larger migration dynamics of tourists, students, and immigrants as a broader continuous phenomenon rather than a rigid, self-contained category. The experience of "Chinese Tourists" in Tokyo challenges the simple dichotomization of tourists and migrant workers.

The relation between tourists, migrants, and immigrants has been an ambiguous one, and there has been a long history of scholarly debate regarding transnational human mobility that attempts to rework this messy conceptualization. These forms of migration have often been defined based on two criteria: length of stay, and economic activity. Intuitively, "tourist" connotes a one-time, short-term, consumption-oriented stay, while immigrant workers tend to be associated with permanent, labor-oriented residence in the country. Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc (1994) write that even though the term immigrant "evokes images of permanent rupture," this connotation of complete disconnection from the home country is changing; she explains, "Today, immigrants develop networks, activities, patterns of living, and ideologies that span their home and their host society" (1994: 4). Williams and Hall (2000) look at new modes of migration such as retirement migration, second-home owners and "tourist migrant workers," and write that "permanence" or "intention to stay" is no longer the defining criteria between tourist and migrants – financially affluent retirement migrants, for example, are consumption-led migrants who do not

depend on the local economic structure, which makes them closer to a tourist than a migrant. Yet, migrants also engage in consumption, and there are "tourists" who engage in labor in the form of "working holiday," for example.

Immigrants and tourists both engage in transnational activities which make it increasingly ambiguous to draw a line between these two terms. These two ethnoscapes are similar in that they both include various patterns of broadly transnational lifestyles, both indicating a "migration process in which people live lives stretched across national borders" (Basch et al. 1994: 4). Immigrants and migrant workers are becoming increasingly fluid, characterized by the back and forth mobility between the host and home country. On the other hand, tourists are no longer merely transient strangers who encounter the Other in passing. It has become common practice for "repeater tourists" like Minnie to visit the same destination time after time, and also for "mid/long-term tourists" – and "casual/student anthropologists" for that matter – to stay in one place for an extended period of time. These tourists may even become semi-permanent or permanent migrants who eventually relocate to their favorite vacation places.

Another characteristic that typically differentiates these two forms of ethnoscapes is their attitudes towards home and host countries; the desirability and undesirability of the "familiar home" and "exotic Otherness." Migrant workers attempt to cope with their disorientation in the host countries by bringing along some kind of familiarity from their homeland. Oftentimes they long for home with nostalgic sentiments and struggle for a sense of belonging in their host countries. On the other hand, in a consumption-led migration like tourism, difference becomes a consumable thing that is desirable while remaining in a safe distance from the Other. They expect a certain Otherness from the host country, because it is precisely this unfamiliarity and a sense of

disorientation that the tourists wish to consume. While difference is a stigma for migrant workers, it becomes a positive allure in the touristic context.

Micaela Di Leonardo suggests the fine line between these two sides of Others by describing, "joined to the hip of every noble savage is its nasty savage twin" (1998:3), and also provides a useful distinction between the "good Others" and the "bad Others";

> "Good Others" are widely represented to be consumed therapeutically, whether as political or lifestyle model or as actual commodity. Everybody wears anthropology drag here, and technicians of the sacred run rampant through public culture. […] "Bad Others" tend not to appear in newspaper and magazine ads, catalogs, or lifestyle sections of newspapers. Instead, they headline current events – front pages and top of the news – where their "tribal wars" and "savage crime," whether at home or abroad, sell not commodities but three-strikes laws, social welfare cuts, unprecedented prison construction, immigration restrictions, and expanded military state, and more favors for arms manufacturers (1998:346, 349).

We can apply the framework of noble/nasty savages onto the different modes of encounter; positive experience of Otherness is facilitated through its consumption as a commodity, while negative Otherness exists as threats to everyday life. Di Leonardo's discussion parallels the kind of difference observed between tourists' and migrant workers' attitudes towards Otherness. Tourists tend to experience the encounters at vacation places as if it was a noble serendipity, while labor migrants often undergo a nasty collision with the Other. In other words, the Otherness comfortably works as a privilege when one is clearly situated as a temporary outsider, but becomes an uncomfortable disadvantage when one's position becomes the mundane insider.

The case of visitors from the Greater China Region further complicates this ambiguous categorization of tourists and migrants by introducing additional criteria to consider. For example, the idea of "everydayness," or how mundane the travel experience is for both the traveler and the local hosts, is a useful criterion to define tourism and migration. Commonly, mundaneness of travel has been attributed to the category of migrants whose transnational movements are understood as motivated by practical matters. For travelers and tourists, on the other hand, travel has often connoted an escape, or a hiatus of the everyday, in search for the extraordinary. As discussed in Chapter Two, this is significant among tourists from Western countries, for whom the expectation in Japan is to experience something unique to Japan. In response to this expectation, we have seen an increasingly narcissistic and nationalistic tendency of Japan Inc., to brand and perform the Oriental culture as the antithesis of the West.

Such performance of distinctive Japaneseness, however, is lacking for tourists from the Greater China Region. The seminar by JNTO on welcoming tourists from Greater China Region was not at all about performing the vague "Japaneseness," but mostly about swiftly preparing infrastructure that can answer the respective, specific needs for each tourist, and to make their stay more comfortable by improving the practical details like language, transportation, and shopping. For the repeater tourists from Taiwan, their purpose of visit is no longer "place-specific" but "event-specific," targeted for a specific season and event that is only available for a limited time span.

This is not very different from patterns of tourism and migration that occurs internally within Japan. Appeal for domestic tourism is mostly marketed as season and event specific package to induce repeater tourists. In the *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (1995), Marilyn Ivy provides an ethnographic account of Japan's domestic tourism during

its economic boom in the 70s to 80s, when city dwellers caught in the hassles of modernity became enthralled with the suburban lifestyle in an effort to reestablish their national identities. In particular, she extensively studies the "Discover Japan" campaign launched as an advertisement for Japan Railways. This marketing campaign encouraged many urbanites to venture into Japan's peripheries and rediscover the nation's past that they felt have been lost amidst the whirlwind of urban modernization. Interestingly, there seems to be an overlap between how Japanese domestic tourists and Asian tourists both "discover Japan." Just as how Minnie found the Japan Railways travel slogan to represent her mode of travel in Japan so aptly, train travel for both domestic Japanese and Taiwanese tourists represents a continuation of the everyday.

The same can be said about visitors from mainland China, whether they are tourists, whose purpose of visit might be shopping for cheap and high-quality products only available in Japan, or students and workers, who come to Japan for their career path, a spouse, and a potential place to immigrate in the future. These motivations to travel are not so different from any ordinary shoppers in Japan who might occasionally need to fly to Tokyo for products unavailable at their local mall, or domestic migrants moving to the city center in order to enroll in school or to look for better employment opportunities. The factors that pull in Chinese visitors to Japan are nothing but simple patterns of migration based on practical decisions, to move to a place with abundant job opportunities. In this way, Chinese and Taiwanese visitors to Japan, whether migrant, student, or tourist, perceive their stays as an extension of their everyday.

Despite this similarity, there are also differences between Chinese and Taiwanese tourist experiences. We can distinguish the disjuncture by considering whether the relationship is built upon fraternal or paternal power dynamics. We can observe an emergent class order in East Asia that allows one group to spend more time being the "tourist" as a consumption-oriented visitor on

holiday, while the other end up being the "migrant" for the most part, as a labor-oriented visitor at work. It is statistically evident that the ratio of Taiwanese tourists, as well as the number of repeaters among them, is much higher than the mainland Chinese counterpart. On the other hand, Chinese non-tourist visitors, in the form of students and trainees, come in higher numbers than any other countries. Yet, the actual activities they engage are not so different. Taiwanese visitors on a "working holiday" visa are long-term tourists who also engage in labor to support their stay. Chinese students engage in part-time jobs and go out to domestic trips within Japan on their spare time. They are both "part-time workers, part-time tourists" and the only difference is whether they "work during holidays" or have "holidays during work." Essentially, this does not seem like a big difference, but as Minnie's word suggests, you "still feel like a tourist" with the former, whereas you do not for the latter. It is in this disjuncture of the experiences of the visitors from two Chinas in Japan that we can see the legacy of the two stances of Asianism, one a brotherly, bilateral bond, while the other a paternalistic, top-down power dynamics.

The discussion must be made in relation to the ongoing debates about Japan's immigration policy. The double standard of hospitality and hostility which Derrida brings up surfaces in how the self-indulgent rhetoric of welcome in the discourse of *omotenashi* towards tourists is in stark contrast with the firm anti-immigration stance the government has continued to take. While the celebration of hospitality may appear to be a manifestation of altruistic friendship and welcome on the surface, the complicated nature of hospitality plays a role in the politics of exclusion. The contemporary Japanese tourism industry insists on subjecting the guest to hospitality as a way to keep them defined and distanced as the outside other. The implicit understanding that the guest always comes from the West, in other words, meant that those who come from within Asia are not necessarily perceived as guests, thus discriminating against

immigrants from Asia. While Japan continues to respond to guests from the West with fawning enthusiasm, the hegemonic relation with its previous colonial territories remain visible in the rather reluctant welcomes for Chinese tourists and immigrants.

Conclusion

On January 17, 2014, a headline of a news report pops up on my Facebook news feed: "Japan grants suffrage to female robots," with a report speculating on how "robot feminists may soon turn their attention to yet another pressing issue: equal pay for equal work." (*The Onion* 2014). Of course, it turned out to be a fake news article from the satiric newspaper, *The Onion*, humoring the eerie images of the female android commonly circulated as part of the discourse of Techno-Oriental Japan, and poking fun of the age-old question of where the line should be drawn between a human and cyborg; in retrospect, this article had an uncanny acumen for what follows shortly after in reality. About a year later, on February 6, 2015, another headline appears on the social media trending topic: "Futuristic Japanese hotel will be run almost entirely by robots" (Kaplan 2015) and another article on April 20, 2015: "Humanoid robot starts work at Japanese department store" (Reuters 2015). Despite holding similarly absurd titles as the earlier Onion article, the latter articles came in fact from perfectly legitimate sources, the *Washington Post* and *Reuters*, respectively.

There is an interesting ongoing transformation in Japan's hospitality industry towards the Tokyo Olympics in 2020. An article on *Newsweek* on March 5, 2016 paints a futuristic picture of the tourism infrastructure;

> Attendees will be shuttled around the city by self-driving taxis. They'll enter a newly built national stadium with the swipe of a pass, get verified by facial recognition software and be guided to their seats in one of 10 languages on a smartphone app (Jackson 2016).

"The Robot Taxi project is one of many Japanese innovations planned for debut around the games" the article continues, and ends with a quote from what it describes as a "robotic voice" on the

promotional video at the showroom: "We hope these innovations of hospitality from arrival to departure will become important legacies not only for visitors in 2020 but for the Japanese people as well" (Jackson, 2016). The increasing attention to AI in tech industry and the popular discourse of "*omotenashi*" in 2015 converged in the discourse surrounding automated hospitality.

This recent trend of innovation in hospitality technology echoes the urge to civilize and modernize the travel infrastructures in the early 20th century Japan. Meiji and Taisho elite were particularly concerned about the hygiene and service technologies to prepare for a presentable hospitality infrastructure in Japan. In their view, it was the clean, odorless toilets, and the polite, non-invasive hosts that represented a modern nation that can properly and proudly welcome a visitor from abroad. This pursuit of civilization during Japan's modernization and the increasing implementation of robotics in the travel industry are both motivated by Japan's sense of nationalism – a Techno-nationalistic drive – to boast of its high-tech society. It is this desire to streamline the processes of cultural encounters, bypassing the cumbersome human communications and miscommunications between tourists and the local hosts for a dry, mechanical, and efficient interaction, that continues to be pursued today.

While the civilization projects in the 1900s aimed to imitate the West, recent projects introducing automated technologies to the tourism industry are curiously complacent with the Techno-Orientalist gazes from abroad. It was also during my fieldwork in Tokyo that I was introduced to the "Robot Restaurant," where humanoid robots serve drinks to the guests. Images of the overly-polite, super-efficient, and formalized customer service in Japan add to the emerging Techno-Orientalist discourse of polite yet inhuman welcome given by the hosts. The new trend of service technologies repeats the history of Orientalism, in which one kind of "other" transforms and persists as another kind of "other."

We can further unpack the implications of automating the hospitality process by taking a closer look at the variety of relations between host and the guest. One angle to approach this question is to dig deeper into the cultural patterns of customer service. My job at the Tourist Information Center during my fieldwork roughly falls under the genre of job called *sekkyaku*, a term which literally means "contact with guest" in Japanese, and roughly translates as customer service. An interesting episode of one of Japan's biggest growing clothing brand UNIQLO appeared on *Tōyōkeizai Online* on May 4, 2015. This short article titled, "Can UNIQLO's 'Japanese-style *sekkyaku*' Prevail Abroad?" looks at the opening of UNIQLO's new store branch in Australia, and the various awkwardness that occurred when the Japanese-style customer service was translated in English and in the Australian context.

For example, following the corporate's intentional globalization strategy to "replicate the Japanese UNIQLO store in all cities," the store staff recruited locally must follow the Japanese style, calling out "Welcome to UNIQLO!" – equivalent to the ubiquitous *irasshaimase!* in Japanese establishments – whenever the customer walks in (Oka 2015). The article points out that the local customers feel a certain awkwardness to this unilateral call of welcome, as they are more used to a bilateral communication between the store staff, being asked "How are you?" and "May I help you?" The article also interviews one of the local clerks, who felt awkward repeating the six predetermined phrases they are trained to practice every morning: "Hello, my name is [insert name], how are you today?" "Did you find everything you were looking for?" "Let me know if you need anything. My name is [insert name]." "Thank you for waiting," and "Goodbye, we hope to see you again soon." One of the Australian staff members "Mary" comments in the interview, "It feels too scripted…the flow of service is indeed very organized, but sometimes I feel like I'm a robot" (Oka 2015).

In an interesting reversal, I had a conversation with a Japanese friend of mine who found the bilateral, communicative, customer service in the U.S. rather uncomfortable. He told me that he finds the American store clerk's "hello" too sincere, casual, and personal – like a friend talking to you – that it makes him nervous. Japanese consumers may perhaps seek a comfortable personal space in the professional distance, or even the insincere politeness, that has normalized in the Japanese customer service. Yet, in places like Australia and the U.S., it may perhaps be the sincere friendliness that is expected in the store clerk who greets the consumer. Further investigating the different standards of customer service in Japan and abroad can contribute to the larger discussion of cultural preference of hospitality, and the question of sincerity in host-guest encounters.

This brief episode of the globalization of UNIQLO customer service suggests that perhaps the efficacy and alienation of the host may be rather comforting to the guest in Japan, in which case robots would be the ideal form of a host. However, such Japanese-style customer service could merely appear Oriental and disorienting to the tourists who expect a sincere, human, friendly welcome. The discrepancy of ideal hospitality once again creates a misplaced role of the robot-hosts, repeating the fate of bidet toilets. What the Japanese hosts believe is an endeavor for an innovative high-technology in practical customer service becomes another Oriental spectacle for the guests in which its alienation and distance itself acquires its own entertainment value.

With the increasing public interest in whether machines and AI robots will be able to replace certain occupations, a discussion as to whether the "hosts" in the tourism industry can also be replaced in this manner helps us explore the definition of the host's role. Surely, the job of a receptionist ranks as one of the highest in its likelihood to be replaced by an automated machine in the future. Thinking back to my own automaton-like role at the tourist counter that involved repetition, rote-memorization, and mechanical responding to requests, half of our job was

already routine-work which, as our heavy reliance to online technologies and digital database may reveal, a machine can perhaps perform better than a human. However, the other half of the role of the host requires spontaneity and agency – a reflex that cannot be exerted merely by following a structured manual. The position of a "host" in a touristic encounter assumes the role of a translator, both linguistic and cultural. The question of whether a robot can successfully replace this role, and to what degree, especially considering the continuous failures of automatic translation software,[44] begs for further investigation.

The spreading fear towards robots replacing what used to be "our" – human – jobs, reflects what might be called the arrogance of humans to believe in the superiority of humans over programmed robots, mixed with a dystopian sense of insecurity that one day, we may experience a shift in this power dynamic and lose our control over robots. Contradicting the desire to create the most technologically advanced cyborg, the fear of replaceability continues to haunt workers in various positions, and one struggles to find a secure position. This dilemma of replaceability and irreplaceability of the position of a "host" in the tourism industry is relieved to a certain extent through the bifurcation and hierarchization of the host. This way, while receptionists and waitresses who engage in low-skilled labor of mindlessly serving the guests may be sacrificed for replacement, the higher-ranking position of a knowledgeable *sensei* can continue to enjoy the security of being the "master of the house" who welcomes the guests into his territory; the owner of the house and an irreplaceable host.

In this dissertation, I have used Derrida's discussion of hospitality as one of the primary frameworks to unpack the complicated and ambivalent nature of tourism industry in Japan. "Hospitality" – *omotenashi* – is indeed a term that is intuitively relevant to tourism, but it is important to note that Derrida's original discussion of this term is in response to the social context

of immigration and xenophobia in France. It is for this reason that his discussion emphasizes a much darker, pessimistic side of hospitality which, contrasted against the overly optimistic discussions of *omotenashi* in the context of tourism, sheds light on the stark irony more than ever.

Japanese society continues to lean towards a strictly anti-immigration national policy. In the minds of many Japanese, the mere idea of an immigrant poses a threat as those who may replace "our" – Japanese – jobs. The tourism industry happens to be an interesting locus to observe the increasing tensions with, and between, visitors from the Greater China Region. In a rather paradoxical consequence, there are many foreign workers in Japan who end up in the position of a host. Many Chinese students who find part-time jobs in Japan commonly find *sekkyaku* positions as receptionists, shop attendants, and at hotel front desks, where there is an increasing demand for Chinese-speaking workers who can cater to tourists from the Greater China Region. In this layered structure of relationships between the Chinese hosts and guests, the "Japanese host" becomes temporarily absent.

The bifurcation between the "replaceable" and the "irreplaceable" hosts occurs once again in the context of these "foreign" hosts. While immigrant workers may find jobs in the service-end of the hospitality infrastructure, they would (it seems) never be able to assume the role of a *sensei*. In other words, the host's positions that can be easily replaced may be distributed to robots, female and foreigners, but the irreplaceable kind of the host will remain a privilege to the human, male, and the Japanese.

The Japanese tourism industry reflects in many ways the negotiation of power between host and guest, and between East and West, camouflaged in the amicable and diplomatic façade of tourism. The two binaries are symbolized by the dual meaning of the term "orient." When used as a verb, "to orient" represents the role of the host, to familiarize the guests with unfamiliar

surroundings, and to help them adjust their position. In the verb form orient, the binary exists between the orient-er, the host who orients, and the orient-ee, the guest who gets oriented. The relationship of the orient-er and the orient-ee are such that the role of orienting someone subjugates the incoming, disoriented 'outsider.' The one who takes upon the role of orienting can exert agency and power, has the knowledge and comfort compared to those disoriented ones that needs to be informed and taken care of.

The other usage of the term is the capitalized "Orient," referring to the larger Asian region relative to the Europe-as-Occident. The noun form of the Orient also compresses the entire world's geography into a simple dichotomy – the Orient and the Occident – urging the perpetual othering of each other. This is not only the case of the discourse of Orientalism in the West, but also applies to the discourse of Asianism in Asia. In a way, Asianism and Orientalism are synonymous at the core; Asianist-nationalism can be described as a manifestation and political concretization of Japan's own self-Orientalist identity and ideology. Japan's acceptance of, and complicity with, the Western Orientalist gaze today with a perverted sense of national pride can be understood as sharing the same regional unity of Asianist ideology. At the same time, a paternalistic, colonial hierarchy also remains with Japan's relation with other Asian nations. These ideas are complicit with one another, resulting from a simplistic notion of binary between us and them, East and West, and a celebration of the binary difference. With an Asianist ideology lurking behind, one can easily reclaim the Orientalist gaze, not as a victimized subject, but as an empowered East. The "Oriental Host" thus attempts to be on the powerful side of the host-guest relationship, subjugating the guests from the West as the orient-ee. The Japanese tourism industry has desired to be the "master" host, seeing the East as a collective domicile. In attempts

of doing so, it projects a hostility of two kinds, that of competition and envy to the West, and that of oppression and paternalistic arrogance towards Asia.

These two usages of the orient/Orient both showcase a binary that exist as a framework in the context of inbound tourism to Japan. This dissertation aims to delineate the inherent dangers of understanding this dynamic simply in the binary, when the plurality of the "host" and "Asia," particularly the ones that do not fit in this neat category of host/guest or East/West, gets neglected. The forceful fitting of the binary category in fact effectively squeezes out those that escape this category. It extracts and forces our attention to the third category who fall between the gap of this dichotomy, those that is the host that is not the master, or those that is the Asia that is not Japan.

Expanding the binary to a triangular relationship was an important part of Derrida's discussion of hospitality in his pointing out of the existence of the "daughters" of the host who will be sacrificed. It is in these positions – the host's daughters and the East's colonies – that we can identify the postcolonial contradictions that Japanese tourism industry bears as a nation that has been at once the colonizer and the Orient. The aporia of *omotenashi* in post-Oriental, post-imperial Japan thus emerges in complex power dynamics in the seemingly friendly gestures of "hospitality."

Notes

Introduction

[1] See Gupta and Ferguson (1992), Tsing (2000), Inda and Rosaldo (2002) for discussions among anthropologists regarding the necessity to reconsider the notion of the bounded field. For larger discussions on the idea of field and space, see Clifford (1997), Harvey (1999).

[2] Rich ethnographic evidence provided by Mitchell (2011) on Brazil, Gregory (2007) and Brennan (2004) on Dominican Republic, Sutherland (1998) on Belize, emphasize the aspect of sex tourism in Latin America. Bruner (2001, 2005) and Frankland (in Robinson and Picard 2009) studies tourism to Africa; Gillespie (2006) on tourists in Northern India, Ness (2005) in the Philippines, Hoskins (2002) and Volkman (1990) in Indonesia, and Oakes (1998) in China.

[3] Clarke (2006) and Ebron (2000) look at roots tourism among African Americans; Feldman (2007) studies pilgrimage, or religious roots tourism, among American Protestants to Israel.

[4] Ivy (1995) looks at domestic tourism in Japan from the city to the countryside, Oakes (1998) looks at the modernization of Chinese countryside through tourism, and Stein (2008) looks at Israeli tourists to Palestine.

[5] While there is existing scholarship on the tourism of Japan in journals such as *Annals of Tourism Research*, many articles focus on catering to tourism businesses and industry, failing to critically assess the political relationship entangled in tourism.

[6] Douglass and Roberts (2000) provide a comprehensive edited volume on global migration in Japan; Faier (2009) studies Filipina migrant workers; Liu-Farrer (2013) looks at labor migrants and international students from China to Japan. Yamashita (2009) provides an extensive overview on the anthropology of tourism in Japan.

[7] Reader (2006) and LaFleur (1979) look at the historical activities of pilgrimage in Japan, and Vaporis (1995) looks at travel in early modern Japan. In addition to Ivy's study of domestic tourism in modern Japan, examples of Japanese tourists abroad can be seen in the works by Satsuka (2009), Nitta (in Tobin 1994) and Yamashita (2009).

[8] The Cabinet office of the Prime Minister of Japan (*Naikaku sōri daijin kanbō shingishitsu* 1980) published a comprehensive overview on the history of Japan's tourism policies over the 20th century. For discussions on the Japanese leisure industry, including tourism, see Leheny (2000, 2003).

Chapter 1

[9] There were two separate delegations from Japan that participated in the Paris exposition. One was from the Edo Bakufu led by Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu's brother, Tokugawa Akitake, which Shibusawa joined. The other delegation was led by the Satsuma domain (currently Kagoshima) which was in political conflict with the Bakufu.

[10] Shibusawa's diary records the delegation's trip from the Grand Hotel Les Trois Rois in Basel, Bernerhof in Bern, to Hotel Metropole in Geneva (Shibusawa 1867 [1928]: 139-203).

[11] Symbolizing this cultural trend is the opening of the first Western restaurant in Japan in 1872, *Tsukiji Seiyōken*.

[12] As Shibusawa was the founder of the Imperial Hotel and the Chamber of Commerce, the Welcome Society was closely affiliated with these establishments and its people. Due to this connection, the inaugural meeting of the Welcome Society was held inside the Imperial Hotel.

[13] Ikuno Danroku had worked as an official at the Japanese Government Railways. Journalist Haruta Zengo recalls that Ikuno was "rather incompetent as a bureaucrat," and was nicknamed "*bonkura kacho* (incompetent boss)." However, once he moved to the private sector, he "began to show off all his extraordinary skills that made me

wonder where he was hiding." Eventually he became the top of the Department of Electricity in Nagoya and Tokyo, and the Chief of Transportation in Taiwan (April 1925-April 1927) under Izawa Takio's rule (Haruta 1933).

[14] *Tourist* was a bilingual journal, published bimonthly until April 1943. Its cosmopolitan readership is implied in the double-sided binding. The Japanese end was circulated among the members of JTB. The English end, read right-to-left, served as an introductory guide to Japan written by expats as well as English-speaking Japanese.

[15] Iida Kirō (1866-1938) was a scholar of French literature, more widely known as Iida Kiken.

[16] Mauss and Evans-Pritchard (1967)'s study of the "Gift" became the founding text for anthropological theories on gift economy and reciprocity. Gift giving incurs debt, and it is in this continuous cycle of giving and repaying that social groups maintain social relations. This discussion was further developed by Sahlins (1963) in his famous study of the Moka exchange, an economic system in which the act of giving becomes a way to increase one's prestige.

[17] See Katsuya Hirano (2014), particularly Ch. 5 for more discussion on the cultural and social change in Japan during the transition from Edo to Meiji.

[18] A passage from *Madame Chrysanthemum* (1888), based on Pierre Loti (pseudonym of Louis Marie-Julien Viaud 1850-1923)'s expedition to Japan just a few years before the establishment of Welcome Society, provides an insightful contrast to the domestic concerns over the filthiness of the Japanese *ryokan*. Upon entering his accommodation in Japan, Loti notes with surprise; "What always strikes one on first entering a Japanese dwelling is the extreme cleanliness, the white and chilling bareness of the rooms" (1888:35). This is just one example of quotes from travelogues that suggest that Western travelers may not have viewed Japan necessarily in the same way the Welcome Society and Japan Tourist Bureau had been concerned about itself.

[19] Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argued that many of the seemingly traditional practice are recent inventions.

[20] Louis Alvarez and Andrew Kolker are documentary filmmakers whose films often appear on PBS. *The Japanese Version* can be said as a work that bridges between scholarly and touristic views of Japan.

Chapter 2

[21] The original Japanese name for this character is *kyojin-hei* which literally translates as "giant soldiers." However it became translated as "robot soldiers" in English.

[22] There are many works that analyze imperial travel and travel writings; see Pratt (1992) and Yegenoglu (1998). Anthropologist's predicament of representing a culture of the Others is discussed in works by Clifford (1988, 1997), Clifford and Marcus (1986), and works by Fabian (1990). For cinema and the colonial gaze and the discussion on the I/eye of empire, see Shohat and Stam (1994).

[23] Tourist photography and imaginary is discussed in work by Ellen Strain (2003), Robinson and Picard (2009), Gillespie (2006), and Salazar and Graburn (2016). Journal *Annals of Tourism Studies* publishes numerous articles that extensively discuss how travel agency and national government promote the national images through advertisement, and even self-Orientalism in tourism industry. Recently, the term "Contents tourism" is used, particularly in the Japanese context, for tourism motivated by media contents fandom (such as animation and films); see Seaton and Yamamura (2016).

[24] Susan Sontag suggests an important connection between photography and the traveler's voyeuristic gaze. She conceptualizes photography to be an "extension of the eye of the middle-class flaneur," a French term referring to the wealthy, leisured stroller who had the time and money to wander around the city (Sontag 1977:55). Sontag claims that a photographer's obsession with visual encounters during the stroll is closely related to their desire to snap a shot; "the photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker" (Sontag 1977:55). Urry describes the practice of flaneurie as "intelligent wandering" and calls the flaneur a "forerunner of the twentieth-century tourist," suggesting that he also perceived modern day tourism as a kind of leisurely strolling by the wealthy, educated class with a purpose of learning (Rojek and Urry 1997:6). In an overcrowded city, a flaneur was able to move about

without being noticed, "observing and being observed, but never really interacting with those encountered" (Urry 2002:126). This protection by an invisible barrier gave flaneurs a special privilege to venture into the "dark corners" of the city from a safe distance. In other words, they were able to enjoy dangerous encounters without risk, to see without touching, to observe without participating.

Chapter 3

[25] The Shitamachi TIC served as the model case for many aspiring TICs to achieve the Category Three status. The number of Category Three TIC rapidly increased since 2014. Currently in 2017, there are 49 out of 836 total registered TICs.

[26] The three categories are determined based on: A) Coverage range of information (Category Three: all Japan, Category Two: neighboring prefectures, Category One: within the city/prefecture), B) Available service languages (Category Three: English and other two languages, Category Two: English-speaking staff are on duty full-time, Category One: no full-time staff with foreign languages skills on duty, but service is available in minimal English and other languages), and C) Days of operation (Category Three: year-round, Category Two: more than 240 days/year including either Saturdays or Sundays, Category One: more than 240 days/year). In addition, Category Three TIC must have internet access (computer or Wi-Fi) available on site.

[27] On the exam sheet, there are rows of digits from 1 to 9 in random order. The task is to write the added value of the two digits below in between; if the sum is over 10, write only the digit for the one's place. For example, if the row of digits read "3 9 8 5 6 8 7 1 9 6 1 2 4" then the test taker must write "2 7 3 1 4 5 8 0 5 7 3 6" below.

[28] For more discussion on Yamanote and the Shitamachi, see Seidensticker (1983), Sand (2013).

[29] See Isozaki (1986) and Kumakura (2002) for more discussions on Rikyu and the concept behind the *nijiriguchi*.

[30] The origin of the DIKW pyramid is uncertain, and there is no well-established definition to distinguish one category from the other. The concept is subject to criticism that each category is ill-defined and elusive. While it is indeed too simplistic to generalize and clearly categorize the types of information, I apply this concept here as a larger guideline as it fits well with the tendency of the types of information that were dealt by various capacities of hosts, and the ways in which they were transmitted. For discussion on this issue, see Rowley (2007), Frické (2009).

[31] For more discussions on "Office Ladies" in the Japanese workplace, see Ogasawara (1998), Inoue (2006). The division of career tracks between *ippanshoku* and *sōgōshoku* became a subject of political controversy over the past decade. Feminist movements pointed out that the divide resulted in various forms of gender inequality in the office space, such as assigning uniforms only to female *ippanshoku* workers. Many companies began to abolish the uniform with the revision of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in 1999. The gendered career employment system was deemed as "indirect discrimination" by the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 2003 and urged the Japanese government to reform this system. Some traditional corporates like banks and international trading firms had have dismantled such career track labeling system in response to criticisms, and instead, introduced a new label for the division, "local" – no "moving around" vs "global" – potential to office rotation domestically and internationally. While the labeling category has changed, the same kind of divide continues to exist, simply emerging under the newer label, *seiki-koyō* (regular employment), and *hiseiki-koyō* (non-regular employment), including contracts at temp agencies. It can be said that, rather than completely eliminating the pink collar position, the label simply changed from non-career (*ippanshoku*) to non-regular employment (*hiseiki-koyō*). In some cases, the distinction between *ippanshoku* and *sōgōshoku* has been reinstated in recent years due to popular demands, particularly by women. Many female workers specifically prefer *ippanshoku* because they find it easier to balance work and family.

[32] Managers at the temp agency are guaranteed a longer-term position at the agency because they belong to the temp agency itself; they are not permanently connected to the TIC itself, but are likely to be transferred on a regular basis to other offices and buildings the agency send workers to, such as other TIC, building receptionist, or the main office.

[33] By the end of Edo period, tea ceremony had become a practice of the elite class to demonstrate one's cultural capital. While the political practice of tea was primarily in the male domain during the warring period, there was also an interesting gender turn; by the 20th century, it became a prominent component of a "finishing school" for young unmarried women.

[34] For more discussion on Rikyū's political roles in relation to Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, see Bodart (1977), Murai (1990), Cort (1982). There are many other essays and novels about Rikyū's life by authors such as Nogami Yaeko (1964), Inoue Yasushi (1981) and Akasegawa Genpei (1990).

Chapter 4

[35] See Repeta and Roberts (2010), Douglass and Roberts (2000), and Liu-Farrer (2013) for more discussions on the trainee program and its issues.

[36] It is important to note the linguistic division of the Chinese language, both written and spoken. Traditional Chinese Characters remain the standard writing system in Hong Kong and Taiwan, while Simplified Chinese was established in China under the Communist rule, and currently used mostly in Mainland China. Regarding spoken Chinese, while hundreds of local dialect varieties exist, the standard language used in Mainland China and Taiwan are Mandarin Chinese, and Cantonese is primarily spoken in Hong Kong.

[37] Miyazaki Tōten, one of the prominent Asianist activists from Kumamoto prefecture, had wanted to meet Sun ever since he became close to Sone Yoshitora who established Kōakai. His wish of meeting Sun finally realized in 1897, and through Miyazaki's introduction, Sun also met Tōyama Mitsuru in the same year. See Watanabe (1976), Fogel (2015).

[38] A year later in 1906, 18-year-old Chiang Kai-Shek — who will later become the brother-in-law of Sun and the head of KMT to rule Taiwan — traveled to Japan as a student and met the revolutionary activist and political ally of Sun, Chen Qimei, who joined the Tongmenghui that year. Two years later in 1908, Chiang Kai-Shek entered Tokyo Shinbu Gakkō, a military preparatory school in Tokyo, and joined the Tongmenghui in Japan with his pseudonym "Nakamura Shikiyo," whose Chinese Characters meant, "a man from Chinese village (naka-mura), with the ambition (shi) to defeat the Qing (kiyo)."

[39] In 1924, Puyi, the abdicated emperor of the Qing dynasty, was ushered out of the Forbidden City. While the newly established Republic of China had continued to rule the lands previously ruled by Qing, the post-revolution chaos had led the warlords of each region to become the practical rulers. Zhang Zuolin, a monarchist who had always remained cordial with Puyi, intervened and took control of the northernmost province, Heilongjiang. On June 4, 1928, Zhang was killed by a bomb planted by the Japanese Guandong Army. With the establishment of Manchukuo, Puyi was set up as the emperor for the puppet state.

[40] The slogan "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" popularized when the Minister of Foreign Affairs Matsuoka mentioned it in response to Konoe Fumimaro's Fundamental National Policy (*Kihon Kokusaku Yoko*) of 1940. For public release, the slogan was used in Measures vis-a-vis French Indo-China and Thailand in 1941.

[41] For discussions on how Japan's colonial travel to Manchukuo, Korea and Taiwan helped create the Japanese empire, see McDonald (2017).

[42] In 1938, Wang Jingwei and his close allies known as the "Low-Key Club" started to negotiate for a peace agreement with Japan. In November, at Chong Guang Tang in Shanghai, Gao Zongwu and Mei Siping from China as a liaison to Wang, and Kagesa Sadaaki and Imai Takeo representing Japan's then Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, negotiated settlement. This agreement included two key points; Japan demanded that China will acknowledge the legitimacy of Manchukuo, and Wang's group demanded that Japanese military will retreat within two years. However, the announcement Konoe made on December 22 did not honor the retreat of Japanese army as agreed upon, which greatly disappointed Wang. In January 1939, Konoe suddenly resigned the Prime Minister which completely put an end to Wang's efforts for peace negotiation. In 1940, Wang became the head of state of what came to be known as the Reorganized National Government of China. Today, Wang is widely criticized as a

traitor in China, and his government as Japan's puppet state. Works by Fu (1996) and Mitter (2013) shed light on Wang's political moves and his intentions as the one who most loyally attempted to follow Sun Yatsen's ideals. Contrary to popular belief, Mitter writes that Wang was not a "pro-Japanese," but his group saw themselves as the truest patriots; "Faced with the prospect of the physical destruction of China by the Japanese assault, or else the establishment of a Communist China under Soviet control, Wang's group considered the negotiation of just peace as the only realistic solution to the crisis of war. They were fueled by a genuine ideological enthusiasm that made them keener on a pan-Asianist future than on an alliance with Britain or America, powers whose imperialist behavior in China hardly made them preferable to the Japanese" (207).

[43] While Hirota had distanced himself from active membership of Genyōsha, Hirota's alma mater Shuyukan produced much of its members and was known for being the organization's ideological roots. His father in law was also a central member of Genyōsha.

[44] Further development of the Google Machine Neural Translation announced in September, 2016, Google's new AI-powered translation system, and its application in the context of tourism, is of a very high interest.

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