

1 Theorizing war-related contents tourism

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The fundamental questions posed by this book are *first, how does war transition from being traumatic to entertaining in the public imagination and works of popular culture; and second, how does visitation to war-related sites transition from being an act of mourning or commemorative pilgrimage into an act of devotion or fan pilgrimage?* The transition between the immediate postwar situation and the time when war is extensively entertainmized and touristified may be a bumpy, drawn-out process as a society negotiates within itself and with external others regarding the acceptable ways in which the wartime past may be represented, utilized, touristified, and travelled. Ultimately compromise emerges between what the moral/political milieu will allow and what the market for war representations and tourist sites will bear. This chapter presents a theoretical framework hypothesizing how these transformations occur. This then links to contemporary tourism policy in Japan and the ways in which Japan's municipalities have been encouraged by the central government to use local narratives (including local war narratives) as part of their regional revitalization and tourism promotion strategies.

From war memories to tourism imaginaries

The *war experiences* of soldiers and civilians are the raw materials of war discourses in a society. These experiences of war reach the ears of others via *composed narratives*. Oral historian Alistair Thomson (1994: 8) has identified 'composure' as:

an aptly ambiguous term to describe the process of memory making. In one sense, we compose or construct memories using the public languages and meanings of our culture. In another sense we compose

memories that help us to feel relatively comfortable with our lives and identities, that give us a feeling of composure.

Composure of memories forms part of our (not necessarily successful) attempts to create a 'past we can live with' (ibid.: 9). Oral transmission creates shared memories and ultimately *collective memories* emerge within families, groups, and communities. Some narratives form the basis of *mediatized representations of war*, initially in news media but later in memoirs, novels, songs, and other works of popular culture. Other narratives are rooted in specific *sites of memory*, such as a battlefield or other sites of a significant wartime incident. These locations are initially marked simply – perhaps with a flag, bouquet of flowers, or grave marker – or become iconic place names or signifiers ('Hiroshima') via repeated media reportage. When sites of memory become sites of *commemorative pilgrimage*, there are the beginnings of a touristification process. The sites are developed over time and become popularized as sites of heritage tourism. Discourses regarding the meanings of these memories, narratives, mediatized representations, and tourist/heritage sites circulate within society. At close temporal proximity to the war, identification with war narratives rests heavily on political, national, and cultural identities, while emotional engagement is primarily via mourning, commemoration, or political/national belonging (Figure 1.1).

These processes at relatively close proximity to a war form the background context in which works of popular culture entertainment and war-related contents tourism ultimately emerge. Let us now fast forward by an unspecified amount of time – the exact amount depends on the circumstances. Now the raw materials are less the first-hand experiences of witnesses but rather the second-hand narratives of contemporary historians. *War history* – as told in non-fiction representations produced primarily by professional historians following codes of accuracy and objectivity – is utilized by various actors who edit, reference, and interpret history according to their needs. Over time, shared and collective memories of ordinary people have metamorphosed into *cultural memories* of war shared by members of a community. These communities are not just nations, ethnic groups, or cultures. Another form of cultural community is a fandom, and membership of war-related fandoms signifies a deep and active interest in a *narrative world* based on historical wars.

With the passage of time, mediatized representations of past wars reduce significantly within news and current affairs outlets and become predominately *works of war-related entertainment*. Individuals – as both

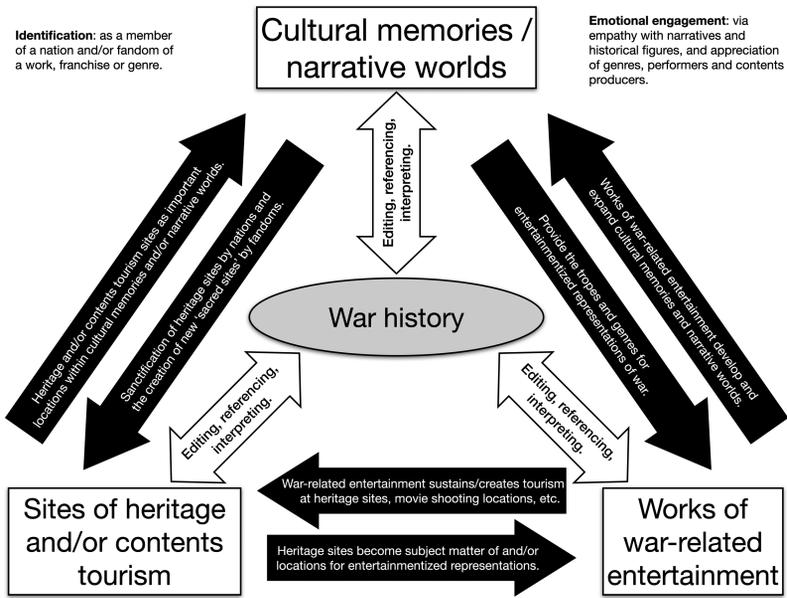


Figure 1.2 Societal discourses based on war history at a relatively far temporal distance from war. Prepared by the authors.

Imaginarities

From a tourism perspective, the net result of these processes within society is a set of three interconnecting *tourism imaginaries* (Figure 1.3), defined by Athinodoros Chronis (2012: 1797) as ‘value-laden, emotion-conferring collective narrative constructions that are associated with and enacted in a particular place through tourism’.

The first is *imaginaries of (subjective) war experiences*. Here the focus is on ‘our’ history and ‘our’ cultural memories. Travel is essentially ‘commemorative pilgrimage’ that validates and reinforces our political and personal identities via travel to and embodied practice at sites related to past conflicts. Examples include visits to national monuments for largely ideological reasons, for example, visits to Yasukuni Shrine (Chapter 15).

The second is *imaginaries of (objective) war heritage*. War history is seen as the experience of ‘others’ (whether from another nation or another era). The history has objectified heritage value, perhaps enhanced by inclusion on (inter)national heritage lists like UNESCO World Heritage. Travel is essentially an ‘educational rite of passage’ to a place it is deemed important to visit for reasons of personal knowledge and growth. Consequently, the

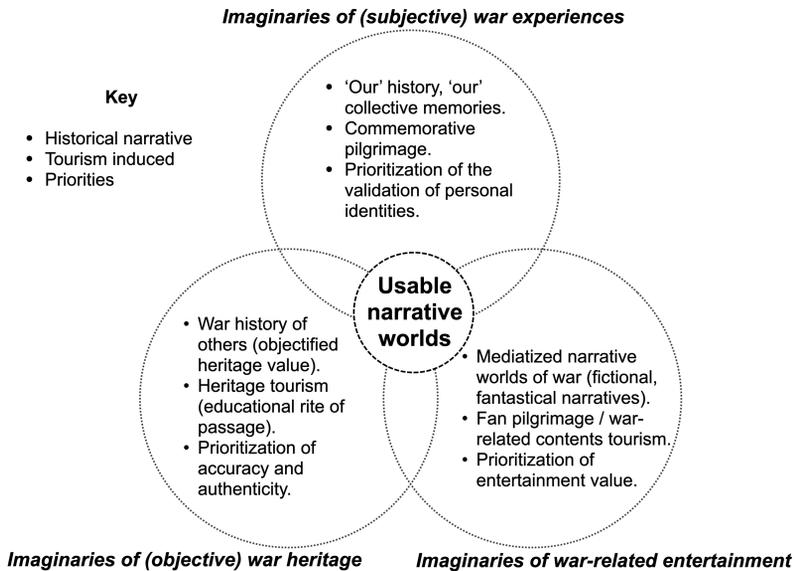


Figure 1.3 Imaginaries of war-related tourism. Prepared by the authors.

accuracy of information and authenticity of the experience gained is of high priority to visitors. Many visitors to such sites are international travellers. In Japan, the key example is Hiroshima, where people can stand at the very place ('site of memory') where the first atomic bomb was dropped in war and use the tourism experience to reflect upon global issues of war, peace, and (nuclear) disarmament.

The third is *imaginaries of war-related entertainment*. Wars are the subject of or backdrop to works of popular culture, whose appeal lies in their qualities as war-related entertainment. Travel to related sites is essentially 'fan pilgrimage' or war-related contents tourism. The narratives and characters possible in works of entertainment are limited only by the imaginations of creators and fans. War depictions range from semi-fictionalized to fantastical, while the levels of historical authenticity and accuracy required by fans in both works and tourist sites may fluctuate drastically from case to case. However, a common pattern within works of historical entertainment is that while great attention is paid to the 'look of the past' (Rosenstone 2000: 31) such as armour/weapon design or architectural styles, considerable liberties are taken with the flow of historical events.

These three imaginaries, whether singly or in combination, underpin war-related tourism. A visit to a domestic war site might combine the political and educational aspects of an imaginary of (subjective) war experiences and an imaginary of (objective) war heritage. A visit to an overseas site, by contrast, might focus only on the latter. If visitation is heavily motivated by the consumption of works of popular culture (for example, a person visits Auschwitz after watching *Schindler's List*) there can be elements of both contents tourism and heritage tourism. The space in the middle of Figure 1.3 is where the tourism imaginaries combine to enable travel experiences that are simultaneously entertaining, educational, and self-affirming. War narratives where the imaginaries overlap constitute the most usable narrative worlds and generate many of the most significant and commercially viable war-related tourism phenomena in a society.

Authenticity

Using the notion of 'borders of memory', Edward Boyle (2019: 294) notes '[t]he differences between the collective memories of different groups means that ... heritage sites become locations at which both the affirmation and contestation of collective memories occurs'. Such borders *within* sites can also exist among tourism actors. In sites of war-related tourism, misunderstandings and mutual distrust can occur between local communities and tourists, as well as between commemorative pilgrims, heritage tourists, and contents tourists. This is because the three imaginaries (Figure 1.3) constitute fundamentally different historical narratives, induce different forms of tourism, and are based on different values that should be prioritized. Furthermore, there can be multiple imaginaries within a single traveller, which can cause internal conflict and confusion in individuals while they are at war-related sites.

The concept of the 'interpretive community' (Fish 2004) elucidates this structure. In literary studies, 'interpretive communities' refer to 'groups of readers who share a set of conventions for understanding literary works in certain ways'. Furthermore, 'the formal properties of literary works exist only as they are activated by such communities of readers' and '[l]iterature, in other words, is both production and consumption at once' (Fish 2004: 217). Consequently, an interpretive community is a group that shares norms and codes for understanding and interpreting literary works. Figure 1.3 can be reinterpreted, therefore, as follows. Each of the three tourism imaginaries has a different set of conventions for understanding, encoding, and decoding war-related narratives. The interpretive communities sharing these norms are also

different. Furthermore, fidelity to these norms and legitimacy in the process of interpretation are the criteria for authenticity in each community. Thus, there are at least three different standards of authenticity in the field of war-related tourism. As Gravari-Barbas and Graburn note, tourists ‘decode the images of local authenticity based on imaginaries produced since the early days of tourism’ (Gravari-Barbas and Graburn 2012: para.8).

When different tourism practices, such as heritage tourism and contents tourism, are developed in the same place, there are ‘varying degrees of “authenticity”’. Objects, places, or practices authentic for contents tourists may be inauthentic for heritage tourists, and vice versa (Seaton *et al.* 2017: 31). The situation is even more complicated in transnational contents tourism phenomena. Accordingly, the challenge of tourism management at war-related sites is how the gulfs between different interpretations, norms, and standards of authenticity can be bridged, and how mutually acceptable and shareable narrative worlds can be created.

War/atrocity as entertainment and tourism resource

Given sufficient time, any war can be adapted for use in entertainment and/or tourism, although various factors affect the speed of this process. There is no magical formula determining this speed. However, the variables become evident by considering how war’s ‘least entertaining’ aspects can be represented in works of entertainment that induce tourism.

Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) was one of the three unifiers of Japan during the sixteenth century. Now he is one of Japan’s most respected historical figures and is depicted in numerous dramas, anime, computer games, and tourist sites. However, he is also infamous for ordering merciless post-battle massacres in which tens of thousands of defeated samurai and ordinary civilians were slaughtered. Were he a modern-day figure, his position within Japanese pop culture and tourism would be deeply controversial. Yet over time, his victims’ voices have disappeared into the void of unrecorded history, while his political achievements survive. Entertainmentization of Nobunaga is achieved via the selective remembering and representation of historical events. His cruelty is not denied but rather sanitized or marginalized.

Nobunaga’s massacres, with sufficient passage of time, have not damaged his usability as a tourism resource. However, many will feel a certain resistance towards categorizing people who visit the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders [sic.] after seeing a film like *City of Life and Death* as ‘contents tourists’. The same can be said for those who visit Auschwitz after seeing *Schindler’s List*,

or Hiroshima after reading *Black Rain*. These examples feel fundamentally different to the prevalent image of contents tourism, such as anime pilgrimage or visits to Disneyland. Nevertheless, visiting harrowing war-related sites after consuming popular culture does meet our basic definition of contents tourism, namely ‘travel behavior motivated fully or partially by narratives, characters, locations and other creative elements of popular culture forms’ (Seaton *et al.* 2017: 3). However, the emphasis is on *partially* motivated. Sue Beeton (2015: 101), for example, recounts how viewing *The Killing Fields* influenced her decision to visit Cambodia and sites related to Khmer Rouge atrocities, although other factors (particularly her memories of a student from Cambodia) were also significant.

Travel to a harrowing war-related site is more likely to resemble a religious, educational, or commemorative pilgrimage than a fan pilgrimage. Unless, that is, the depiction of atrocity and suffering is sufficiently marginalized or in the background to allow the popular culture work to generate fans based on its more entertainment-focused narratives, characters, locations, and creative elements (a good example here is the anime *In This Corner of the World* – see Chapter 16). This is not to say that brutal depictions of wartime cruelty are unable to generate fandoms and contents tourism. *Game of Thrones* is notorious for its graphic violence and sexual content but has a loyal fandom that visits filming locations. In fantasy war scenarios far removed from our day-to-day lives – whether in a quasi-medieval era like *Game of Thrones* or a futuristic sci-fi tale – killing and abject cruelty can even be *the* fundamental ingredients of war-related entertainment.

The key to understanding the mainstream entertainmentization and ‘contentsization’ (Yamamura 2020) of war history – namely productions that achieve a basic level of commercial success and trigger identifiable levels of war-related contents tourism – is identifying how war history metamorphoses into a marketable *narrative* and how historical figures become fandom-generating *characters*. By becoming a marketable narrative, history assumes the characteristics of ‘narrative worlds’ (Seaton *et al.* 2017: 5) and induces tourism to ‘places of the imagination’ (Reijnders 2011: 14). Historical accuracy is not the issue. Rather the issue is how easily actual history can be shoe-horned into a tried and tested narrative format for entertainment storytelling, whether action-adventure, tragedy, human drama, or comedy. And authenticity in the tourism experience is not achieved via fidelity to the historical record but via the fidelity of the site’s narrative/experience to the culture of the fandom or ‘interpretative community’.

Regarding the creation of characters, there are two interlinked processes: hero creation and *kyarakutā* (character) creation. The former is not associated with a particular national context, but the latter has a Japanese nuance.

The main aspect of hero creation is defining the function that the character plays within the narrative. In the context of Japanese Asia-Pacific War cinema, Seaton has identified three types of heroes: military heroes, good Japanese, and victim-heroes (Seaton 2007: 152–3). A military hero is on a mission and overcomes various obstacles before succeeding, or failing nobly, in the end. This genre lends itself well to nationalistic storytelling and tourism at battlefields or war museums, for example, contents tourism relating to kamikaze pilots (Seaton 2019b). Victim-heroes, meanwhile, are characters whose suffering generates strong empathy among the audience. *Grave of the Fireflies* (Chapter 17) is a film in this genre that has triggered contents tourism. ‘Good Japanese’ are those who resist militaristic villains in narratives critical of Japan’s wars and empire. These works are less likely to trigger contents tourism, but when they do there is a high heritage tourism component (cf. Sue Beeton’s trip to Cambodia described above).

The main aspect of ‘*kyarakutā* creation’ (*kyarakutā-ka*) is the representation of historical figures in an attractive style consistent with pop culture aesthetics developed in the worlds of manga and anime. Fans identify with a *kyarakutā* through visual, physical, or stylistic attraction as much as – or even more than – empathy with the figure’s actual persona and/or role in history. For male figures, the archetype is the *ikemen* or heartthrob (Chapters 8, 10, and 14). For female characters, *moe* elements designed to be cute (*kawaii*) or sexually alluring to fans – for example, large manga-esque eyes or a girlish high-pitched voice – are used (Chapters 11, 14, and 20). Some historical figures have seen complete transformations in levels of fan interest as a result of stylized images that transform them into ‘characters’ – for example, Katakura Kojūrō (1557–1615) in the PlayStation game *Sengoku BASARA* (Seaton *et al* 2017: 86).

The process of crafting historical wars and figures into usable narratives and characters exists for any war in Japanese history. Generally speaking, events from a century ago have largely disappeared from living memory and can be entertainmentized with relatively little political fallout. The contrasting representations of the post-1950 Japan Self-Defense Force (Chapter 22) and pre-1945 Imperial Japanese Army in popular culture demonstrate that ‘modern but less controversial’ military narrative worlds are entertainmentized differently than ‘earlier but more controversial’ worlds. Furthermore, when contemporary political

conflict has an intercultural dimension – particularly involving those groups on the receiving end of Japanese imperialism such as the Ainu (Hokkaido, Chapter 11), Ryukyuan (Okinawa, Chapter 6), Chinese, Taiwanese, and Koreans – pop culture representations and tourism can have international repercussions and/or feed into domestic war responsibility debates.

The cut-off point in Japan before which most narratives can be represented as historical entertainment largely free of contemporary political controversy is the 1870s. Domestic wars until the Satsuma Rebellion (1877) feature regularly in entertainment; characters from any side of these domestic wars (victors, losers, rulers, usurpers) are treated as heroes; and, war-related sites and events are treated as tourism resources by local authorities. However, controversial historical events with an international or intercultural dimension that generate Japan's 'history issue' (*rekishi mondai*) impinge on popular culture and tourism, starting with the annexation of Hokkaido after the Boshin War (1869). Later victorious wars (notably the Russo-Japanese War – Chapter 12) and victorious battles (such as Pearl Harbor) have featured in numerous military action-adventure works, mostly with a jingoistic tone. The expansionist wars of the 1930s and 1940s spawn diverse works from nationalistic action-adventure to self-critical human dramas to comedy. All can generate contents tourism, but in Japan, the productions featuring military heroes or victim-heroes are most likely to generate fandoms and travel behaviours commensurate with the common image of contents tourism as fan pilgrimage.

This idea of a cut-off point beyond which war/atrocity becomes usable in entertainment connects to a key debate within dark tourism studies, namely: Is there a point in history at which tourism connected to death, suffering, and the macabre (as is much war-related tourism) stops being 'dark tourism'? The role of media and the concept of 'chronological distance' in Lennon and Foley's original formulation of dark tourism (Lennon and Foley 2010: 11–12) create an important overlap with discussions of war-related contents tourism. In this context, Philip Seaton (2019a: 300) has proposed that war-related tourism emerges in four main phases:

1. Tourism during the war to warzones.
2. Immediate postwar tourism to sites of recent combat (before any widespread commercial touristification).
3. Commercial touristification of war-related sites and organized commemorative visitation.

4. Tourism to historical sites that remain relevant in the public imagination because works of popular culture generate new interest, forms of remembrance, and patterns of tourism.

Within this broad schema, not all wars or even events within a particular war go through these phases of touristification at the same speed. Subsequent wars can also reset the temporal context. Japan's early victories in the Manchurian Incident (1931) and China War (1937–1945) boosted tourism to China in the late 1930s (Kushner 2006: 45). The Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) even opened an office in Nanjing in 1939, just over a year after the notorious massacre that occurred there (Ruoff 2014: 183). This jingoistic touristic demand collapsed, however, when the war turned against Japan after 1941. It also changed character completely after 1945. Following the normalization of relations with China in the 1970s, war-related tourism by the Japanese to Nanjing has often assumed the form of the 'apology and reconciliation tour'.

In places where local memories are of terrible suffering, host communities may resist the development of tourism. Gerald Figal describes the slow process by which postwar tourism in Okinawa developed out of commemorative tours by bereaved relatives to Battle of Okinawa sites. Okinawa's tourism image today as a tropical island paradise (Chapter 6) masks a tragic history, and for many years 'amusements on "sacred ground" in the southern part of Okinawa Island were considered in bad taste if not outright sacrilegious; establishing swimming beaches along the coast where the enemy had come ashore seemed out of place' (Figal 2012: 205). As in Nanjing or Hiroshima (Zwigenberg 2014), a site of mass death did not easily undergo touristification. Nevertheless, mass tourism ultimately emerged; and interest in Okinawa's war sites is now partially maintained by depictions of the Battle of Okinawa in films and dramas, such as the many renditions of the story of the Himeyuri 'Lily' Corps of schoolgirl nurses.

In short, there is no set pattern or timescale by which the entertainmentization and touristification of past wars proceed. In macro terms history loses its political sting the further it slips into the past. Positive conditions – such as victory in the war, a quickly-composed dominant narrative suited to entertainmentization, and postwar stability conducive to the rapid restart of entertainment production and tourism – enable swifter entertainmentization and touristification. By contrast, negative conditions – such as defeat, lingering recriminations over the war, and postwar instability – render these processes slower (Figure 1.4).

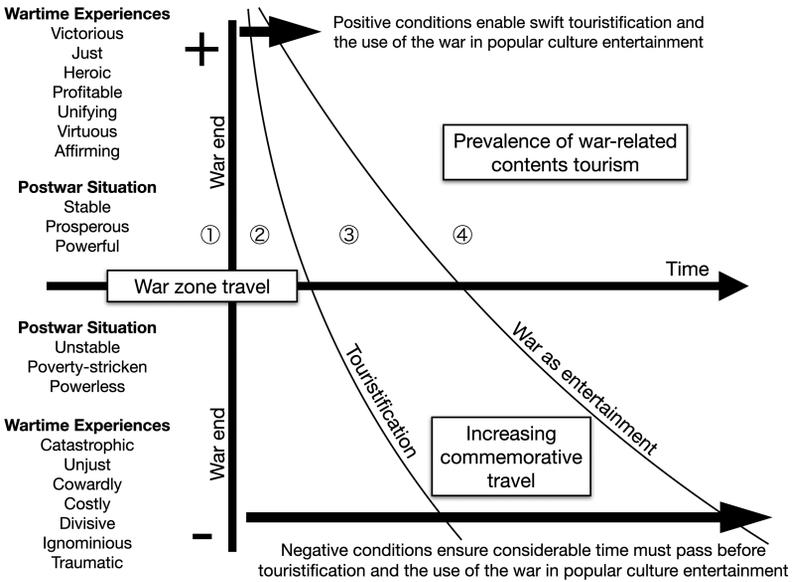


Figure 1.4 Four phases in the emergence of war-related contents tourism. Prepared by the authors.

Contents tourism policy and the use of history and stories

In this final section, we focus on how the emergence of war-related entertainment and tourism connects to Japanese government tourism policy in the 2000s (Yamamura and Seaton 2020). Japan’s contents tourism policy began in earnest in 2005, when a report first defined contents tourism as ‘tourism that utilizes media content related to a local area (films, TV dramas, novels, comic books, games, *etc.*) to promote tourism activities and related industries’, and stated that ‘the heart of contents tourism is to add “narrative quality” and “thematic quality” as a local atmosphere or image fostered through media contents’ and ‘to utilize narrative quality as a tourism resource’ (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure & Transport *et al.*, 2005: 49). The 2005 report is largely devoid of perspectives on access to, protection of, and transmission of history and folklore. It only states that film commissions should ‘effectively provide local information (events, local products, history, scenery, *etc.*)’ to attract filmmakers (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure & Transport *et al.*, 2005:

21). Contents tourism policy, therefore, was not initially related directly to the preservation, transmission, or use of local history or local stories. The connections between war-related tourism and contents tourism were tenuous unless newly created narrative worlds depicted fictionalized or semi-fictionalized war.

In 2010, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) established the Cool Japan Promotion Office, thereby initiating the Cool Japan policy. It was first launched as an economic policy promoting the export of goods and services incorporating characteristics of Japanese lifestyle and culture (both popular and traditional) that foreigners considered 'cool'. Then in 2011, the Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters, established by the cabinet, announced its *Action plan on Cool Japan promotion*, elevating the Cool Japan strategy beyond mere economic policy. The plan aimed to promote the Cool Japan strategy on a cross-ministerial basis, with the cabinet taking the initiative. It included the promotion of tourism and regional revitalization through the use of cultural heritage by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, and the dissemination of tourism information related to cultural heritage by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters 2011: 16). This facilitated the incorporation of cultural heritage into the Cool Japan strategy, and thus a link between popular culture content and cultural heritage was created within Japanese government policy. This was an important turning point.

In 2013, the Japan Tourism Agency (JTA), Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO), METI, and Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) collectively announced the *Joint action plan for increasing foreign visitors to Japan*, which emphasized that contents tourism was an important component of the Cool Japan policy framework. It was explicitly stated that as a result of exporting Japanese content and creating a Japan boom in other countries, the policy would 'encourage people to visit tourist destinations (headquarters or sacred places) that are recalled from Cool Japan content' (Japan Tourism Agency *et al.* 2013: 2). In this way, contents tourism policy was promoted as part of the Cool Japan strategy. Links between contents tourism policy and cultural heritage conservation policy then began to emerge. The Cool Japan strategy has become a full-fledged national policy, and both tourism and cultural heritage conservation and utilization have been incorporated within that strategy.

The Agency for Cultural Affairs, which is in charge of cultural heritage conservation and utilization, has established a project called 'Japan

Heritage’. It started accepting applications for the first phase in 2015. The purpose of this system is as follows:

Japan’s tangible and intangible cultural properties have been preserved *through narratives* based on unique regional histories and traditions. By recognizing these *stories* as Japan Heritage, the Agency plans to promote these historical legacies and to provide comprehensive support so that this heritage may be effectively preserved and maintained.

(Agency for Cultural Affairs n.d.: 1; emphasis added)

The Agency alludes to a shift from the traditional approach of conservation-oriented management and administration of cultural properties to a utilization-oriented approach of promoting packaged cultural properties both domestically and internationally, based on the concept of recognizing ‘the narratives that bind Japan’s regional cultural properties’ (Agency for Cultural Affairs n.d.: 1) (Figure 1.5). As a result of this policy shift, the approach regarding contents tourism, in which a narrative is given to the region and tourists consume that narrative, is mirrored in the field of cultural heritage conservation. As indicated in Figure 1.5 by the inclusion of ‘ancient armor’ and ‘castle’, many of the important stories linked to such sites are war related.

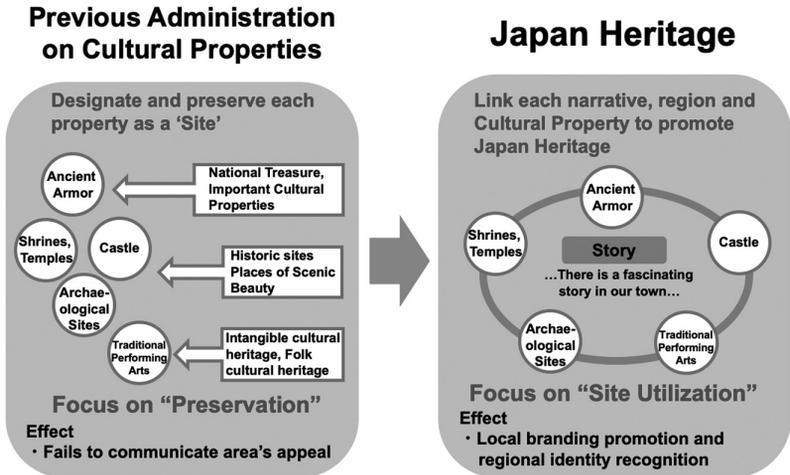


Figure 1.5 Primary objectives of ‘Japan Heritage’. Prepared by the authors based on Agency for Cultural Affairs (n.d.: 1).

Heritage within the Cool Japan strategy

In June 2018, the Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters released the *Intellectual property strategy vision*, which acknowledges the Cool Japan policy as part of the Japanese government's intellectual property strategy. In September 2019, they released the *Cool Japan strategy*, which included the following noteworthy statements:

The use of stories/narratives has a variety of advantages that go beyond the effective promotion of attractions. Creating a story/narrative based on Japanese history, traditions, or culture is an opportunity to learn about Japanese history, *etc.*, and to (re)discover the essence of Japan, including its attractions and their backgrounds, which can lead to the development of human resources. The various elements included in the story/narrative can serve as a catalyst for collaboration across industries and regions, leading to the creation of new value.

(Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters 2019: 12)

The strategy emphasizes that in order for foreigners to 'discover the appeal' of Cool Japan contents, ranging from traditional culture to contemporary art and popular culture, it is important to 'connect contents from different fields and different eras to create a story/narrative'. At the same time, 'a story based on Japanese history, tradition, or culture' is effective in this regard (Intellectual Property Strategy Headquarters 2019: 12–13). This approach linking multiple different types of content through stories and narratives and packaging them for promotion is interesting because it is perfectly aligned with the above-mentioned Japan Heritage policy, a comprehensive conservation/utilization system for cultural heritage promoted by the Agency for Cultural Affairs.

In Japan, in the first 20 years of the twenty-first century the contents tourism policy and the cultural heritage conservation policy have realized a common goal of 'integration of resources/assets/properties' through 'stories/narratives based on history/tradition/culture' under the Cool Japan strategy. However, in the context of war-related contents tourism this has raised questions about how, when, and under what circumstances Japan's past wars can be considered effective in attracting tourists; and given how Japan's wars with neighbouring countries still sour diplomatic relations, whether popular culture representations of war, particularly Japan's twentieth-century wars, sit comfortably within the Cool Japan policy.

Conclusions

The evidence from the chapters that follow suggests that wars up to the Satsuma Rebellion (1877) in a domestic Japanese context and wars up to the Boshin War (1868–1869) in an international context can be relatively safely used within Japanese-produced popular culture entertainment and the Cool Japan policy. Furthermore, these works can and do trigger significant tourism phenomena. However, immediately after the Meiji Restoration, Japanese expansionism began. Remembrance of this period from 1869 triggers emotive responses, particularly in China and South Korea. This is why Chinese and Korean fans of Japanese pop culture can be fans of pre-1868 contents such as the online game *Tōken Ranbu* (Chapter 8) or anime connected to *Shinsengumi* (Chapter 10), and visit war-related sites as contents tourists in the spirit of Cool Japan. But as soon as such tourism becomes connected to modern imperialism, fans of Japanese pop culture become far more sensitive to national political issues stemming from Japanese imperialism (Chapter 15).

The sections that follow, therefore, fall into three main categories. Parts I and II (Chapters 2–10) cover the period to 1869. These case studies are largely uncontroversial in both domestic and international contexts. War can be depicted as entertaining and fans of any nationality can be contents tourists. Parts IV and V (Chapters 15–23) focus on the Asia-Pacific War onwards, a period when war- and military-related tourism remain highly politicized, but can assume entertainment aspects if distanced sufficiently from political controversy, or as a niche activity within a Japanese domestic context (such as kamikaze tourism – see Chapter 18; Seaton 2019b). Part III, meanwhile, is something of a transition period. Controversial issues exist, but they tend to be debated among limited numbers of people who are most affected, particularly those in the regions of Japan or abroad where there are tourist sites (such as those relating to the Russo-Japanese War, Chapter 12). However, regardless of the period there are always ‘borders of memory’ running through war-related sites and the potential for conflict between ‘interpretative communities’. The implications of these conflicts and ways in which they may potentially be resolved are addressed in the concluding chapter of the book.

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