Conclusions

Patterns of war–related (contents) tourism

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In the Preface, Philip Seaton presented two objectives of this book: first, to elucidate the ways in which *a war transitions from being traumatic to entertaining in the public imagination and works of popular culture*; and second, to examine how visitation to war-related sites *changes from being an act of mourning or commemorative pilgrimage into one of devotion or fan pilgrimage*. This concluding chapter answers these two questions based on the evidence in the 22 case studies.

The first issue relates to the degree of freedom with which war can transition into contents for entertainment. This is primarily a factor of the temporal distance between the historical events and the present. In Chapter 1, we hypothesized that the Satsuma Rebellion (1877) is the cut-off point in Japan before which historical events can be used in entertainment generally free of contemporary political controversy. The case studies up to Chapter 10 (Part II) revealed high degrees of freedom in the creation of war-related entertainment contents. However, from Chapter 11 onwards the degree of freedom dropped. As Jang Kyungjae pointed out in Chapter 3, 'direct stakeholders no longer exist' for most cases of historical events prior to the 1870s. He also observed that the rulers of those eras – such as the Yuan dynasty and the shogunate – 'have little bearing on current national politics' (Chapter 3). In other words, in terms of the three imaginaries of war-related tourism (Figure 1.3), the degree of freedom to create war-related contents tends to be higher for historical events where the imaginaries of subjective war experiences are diluted (i.e. where history is not perceived to be linked to contemporary political debate).

The case studies indicate a more complex situation regarding the second question. The transition of tourism practice from being an act of mourning or commemorative pilgrimage into one of devotion or fan pilgrimage is not a unidirectional change. Rather, the way in which the three imaginaries (collective narrative structures) of war-related tourism

relate to a particular site may change the combination of the three imagi-
naries, and determine the trends of contents tourism practices. The three
imaginaries are of subjective war experience (*subjective imaginaries*), objec-
tive war heritage (*objective imaginaries*), and war-related entertainment
(*entertainment imaginaries*). Moreover, at war-related tourism sites, tour-
ism practices can develop based on the three imaginaries with different
interpretations, norms, and standards of authenticity. Put differently, the
members who share each imaginary correspond to an 'interpretive com-
munity' that 'execute[s] the same interpretive strategy' (Fish 1980: 14,
170), or to an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1991).

War-related tourism practices can be classified, therefore, according to
the combination of the strengths and weaknesses of the three imaginaries.
Figure 24.1 shows seven main patterns of war-related tourism identified
in this book.

- *Heritage tourism*: This is broadly speaking tourism at historical sites,
  including sites representing war history. In the context of this book,
  the tourists have little prior identification with the war narrative and
  have not been influenced by pop culture entertainment. Tourism is
  induced by a general interest in history. For example, an Egyptian
  tourist looking at air raid exhibits in the Edo Tokyo Museum.
  Common in international sightseeing.
- *Commemorative pilgrimage and/or heritage tourism*: Strong connections
  exist between tourism and personal identity or education. The war
  events cannot be easily entertainmentized due to strong subjective
  imaginaries, although serious artistic and literary representations are

Types of war-related tourism	Imaginaries of …			Chapters
	… subjective war experience	… objective war heritage	… war-related entertainment	
Heritage tourism	Negligible	Weak or strong	Negligible	-
Commemorative pilgrimage and/or heritage tourism	Strong	Strong	Negligible	-
Heritage and/or contents tourism	Negligible	Strong	Strong	2-10
War-related contents tourism (war as backdrop)	Weak	Weak	Strong	14, 16-17, 19
War-related contents tourism (fantasy/futuristic)	Negligible	Negligible	Strong	20-23
War-related contents tourism (nationalist)	Strong	Strong	Strong	12, 15, 18
War-related contents tourism (multi-voiced, cosmopolitan)	Strong	Strong	Strong	2, 11, 13

Figure 24.1 Seven patterns of war-related (contents) tourism. Prepared by the authors.

possible. Where popular culture has represented the war, it largely follows or respects the narratives of victims and survivors. For example, Japanese schoolchildren visiting A-bomb sites in Hiroshima. Common at sites of (mass) suffering.

These two patterns of tourism are largely unconnected to contents tourism. Consequently, they have not been discussed in this book. Tourists have not engaged popular culture entertainment representations, either because they are from a different culture (the war is the experience of 'others') or because the war cannot be entertainmentized yet. The fundamental difference is in the importance of the subjective imaginary, which is weaker in heritage tourism and stronger in commemorative pilgrimage.

The next three patterns are all forms of war-related contents tourism. What they have in common is the weak connection to subjective imaginaries of actual wars in history (i.e. the depiction of the war in the work does not generate controversy in contemporary society), which is the key to entertainmentization and tourism.

- *Heritage and/or contents tourism*: This is a concept we first identified in Seaton *et al.* (2017: 10). The wars are at safe 'chronological distance' and do not impinge on contemporary politics, so may be easily entertainmentized. Works of entertainment generate fans of war history who further their interest at heritage sites. For example, samurai drama tourism up to 1877. Common among 'history buffs' and 'history girls' (*rekijo*, Chapter 5).
- *War-related contents tourism (war as a backdrop)*: Fans of the work are visiting related sites, but they are attracted by other elements of the narratives/characters and not war per se. The war is a backdrop which allows accentuated emotions or extraordinary plot devices to be included within the story. For example, *Here Comes Miss Modern* (Chapter 14), *In This Corner of the World* (Chapter 16). Commonly triggered by romance and human drama works.
- *War-related contents tourism (fantasy/futuristic)*: War narratives are largely unconnected to actual history, or the connections are metaphorical/allegorical. War may be easily entertainmentized and travelled. For example, *Shin Godzilla* (Chapter 22)*, Attack on Titan* (Chapter 23). Common in science fiction, fantasy, and modern JSDF-related works (Yamamura 2019).

These three patterns are where war as entertainment is most easily consumed in works of pop culture and travelled at 'sacred sites'. They are closest to the broader image of contents tourism (Seaton et al. 2017; Yamamura and Seaton 2020).

The final two patterns are where works of entertainment induce contents tourism amidst politicized discourses of war. By existing at the point of the 'mutually shareable narrative world' (Figure 1.3) such works can be powerful inducers of tourism as they bring together interest in the work as a fan, a desire to learn more about (objective) war history, and validation of the individual's sense of self–identity. In Japan, such works typically depict post–1877 wars and come within the scope of the 'history issue' stemming from issues of Japanese colonialism and war, 1869–1945. People's historical consciousness varies according to political and moral orientation, and using Saito Hiro's (2016) categorizations of 'nationalist' and 'cosmopolitan' approaches to the history issue we can observe two main types.

- *War-related contents tourism (nationalist)*: Works of entertainment reinforce subjective and heritage imaginaries, particularly through themes of service, sacrifice, and patriotism. The works are typically heroic tales of military exploits and adventure, whether ultimately victorious or tragic. For example, kamikaze tourism in Kyushu (Chapter 18), military tourism relating to the Russo-Japanese War (Chapter 12). Common at nationalist/patriotic commemorative sites.
- *War-related contents tourism (multi-voiced, cosmopolitan)*: Entertainment works and tourist sites avoid taking a single side, but rather consciously respect multiple subjective imaginaries and identities. Being multi–voiced reflects a cosmopolitan outlook on historical conflicts. For example, *Golden Kamuy* (Chapter 11). Common when tourism and pop culture espouse transnational and transcultural understandings of historical issues, and particularly when popular culture seeks to understand war history from the perspective of the 'other'.

Regarding these last two, as Yamamura Takayoshi noted in Chapter 2, the evidence for contents tourism induced by multi–voiced works is often inconclusive. Such contents tourism may also look like heritage tourism in the above schema because the desire to learn about history from various perspectives is more obvious than the role of pop culture fandom in inducing tourism. By contrast, there is often clear evidence of nationalist war-related contents tourism (Seaton 2019). Polemical works of pop culture can be powerful inducers of tourism among audiences with which the political message resonates clearly. On balance in the Japanese context, the mutually shareable narrative world (where synergy exists between the tourism imaginaries of subjective war experience, objective war heritage, and war-related entertainment) appears to be more prevalent in its nationalist form, although whether this is actually the case or

just an impression gained from the controversy that nationalistic contents tourism attracts is a question for future research.

Finally, this book has also revealed some 'unexpected' aspects of war-related contents tourism that do not fit neatly into the broad theoretical framework we have developed. One example is the metaphorical war references in Mizuki Shigeru's yōkai manga (Chapter 21), which adds an element of war-relatedness to a major contents tourism phenomenon that at first glance is nothing to do with war. Then there are the accidental or unintended connections made between an otherwise uncontroversial form of war-related contents tourism that suddenly politicizes the contents tourism. Examples include the visit to Yasukuni Shrine by a voice actress (Chapter 15) and the revelation that a character in *Attack on Titan* was modelled on a real, controversial historical figure (Chapter 23). The framework presented in this book, therefore, is the first step of a longer research process to study how the theory of war-related contents tourism developed initially in a Japanese context can be refined and improved upon when applied to a broader range of case studies from around the globe of 'travelling war as entertainment'.

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