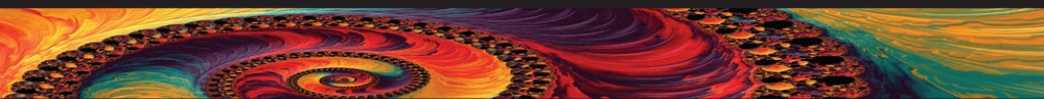


ROUTLEDGE FOCUS



WAR AS ENTERTAINMENT AND CONTENTS TOURISM IN JAPAN

Edited by
Takayoshi Yamamura
and Philip Seaton



War as Entertainment and Contents Tourism in Japan

This book examines the phenomenon of war-related contents tourism throughout Japanese history, from conflicts described in ancient Japanese myth through to contemporary depictions of fantasy and futuristic warfare.

It tackles two crucial questions: 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 to an act of devotion or fan pilgrimage? Representing the collaboration of ten expert researchers of Japanese popular culture and travel, it develops a theoretical framework for understanding war-related contents tourism and demonstrates the framework in practice via numerous short case studies across over a millennium of warfare in Japan including the tales of heroic deities in the *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters, AD 712), the Edo poetry of Matsuo Basho, and the Pacific war through the lens of popular media such as the animated film *Grave of the Fireflies*.

This book will be of interest to researchers and students in tourism studies and cultural studies, as well as more general issues of war and peace in Japan, East Asia, and beyond.

Takayoshi Yamamura is a Professor at Hokkaido University, Japan.

Philip Seaton is a Professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan.

Routledge Focus on Asia

1. The Abe Administration and Rise of the Prime Ministerial Executive

Aurelia George Mulgan

2. Heritage Revitalisation for Tourism in Hong Kong

The Role of Interpretative Planning

Chris White

3. Prisons and Forced Labour in Japan

The Colonization of Hokkaido, 1881–1894

Pia Maria Jolliffe

4. Chaioxianzu Entrepreneurs in Korea

Searching for Citizenship in the Ethnic Homeland

Park Woo

5. The Glocalization of Shanghai Disneyland

Ni-Chen Sung

6. Japan Through the Lens of the Tokyo Olympics - Open Access

Barbara Holthus, Isaac Gagné, Wolfram Manzenreiter, Franz Waldenberger

7. War as Entertainment and Contents Tourism in Japan

Takayoshi Yamamura and Philip Seaton

War as Entertainment and Contents Tourism in Japan

Edited by Takayoshi Yamamura
and Philip Seaton

First published 2022
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2022 selection and editorial matter, Takayoshi Yamamura and
Philip Seaton; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Takayoshi Yamamura and Philip Seaton to be identified as
the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual
chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the
Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

The Open Access version of this book, available at www.taylorfrancis.com,
has been made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non
Commercial-No Derivatives 4.0 license.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or
registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation
without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Seaton, Philip A., 1972- editor. | Yamamura, Takayoshi,
1971- editor.

Title: War as entertainment and contents tourism in Japan/edited by
Philip Seaton and Takayoshi Yamamura.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021061787 (print) | LCCN 2021061788 (ebook) |
ISBN 9781032145679 (hardback) | ISBN 9781032145693 (paperback) |
ISBN 9781003239970 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Contents tourism-Japan. | Dark tourism-Japan. |
War and society-Japan.

Classification: LCC G156.5.C66 W37 2022 (print) | LCC G156.5.C66
(ebook) | DDC 306.4/819-dc23/eng20220218

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021061787>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021061788>

ISBN: 978-1-032-14567-9 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-14569-3 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-23997-0 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003239970

Typeset in Bembo
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>List of Contributors</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>xi</i>
PHILIP SEATON	
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xvi</i>
<i>Periods of Japanese history</i>	<i>xvii</i>

1 Theorizing war-related contents tourism	1
PHILIP SEATON AND TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA	

PART I

From myths to the middle ages 19

2 The narrative worlds of ancient wars: Travelling heroes in <i>Kojiki</i>	21
TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA	
3 The Mongol invasions of Japan and Tsushima tourism	27
KYUNGJAE JANG	
4 <i>Sekiro: Shadows Die Twice</i> and contents tourism in Aizu-Wakamatsu	32
ALEKSANDRA JAWOROWICZ-ZIMNY	
5 History girls and women's war-related contents tourism	37
AKIKO SUGAWA-SHIMADA	

PART II

The rise and fall of the Tokugawas 43

- 6 Satsuma's invasion of the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1609 and
Okinawa tourism 45
KYUNGJAE JANG
- 7 War-related narratives and contents tourism during the
'Tokugawa peace' 50
TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA
- 8 *Tōken Ranbu* and samurai swords as tourist attractions 56
AKIKO SUGAWA-SHIMADA
- 9 Castles and castle towns in Japanese tourism 61
YOSUKE FUJIKI AND HITOSHI NAKAI
- 10 Festivals of war: Travelling the Shinsengumi in 2019 66
PHILIP SEATON

PART III

Imperial Japan 71

- 11 Hokkaido as imperial acquisition and the Ainu in popular
culture and tourism 73
RYO KOARAI
- 12 The Russo-Japanese War and (contents) tourism 78
PHILIP SEATON
- 13 Tourism relating to the new culture introduced by First
World War German POWs 83
KYUNGJAE JANG
- 14 Theatre (contents) tourism and war as a backdrop to romance 88
AKIKO SUGAWA-SHIMADA

PART IV

The Asia-Pacific War 93

- 15 Yasukuni Shrine's Yūshūkan museum as a site of contents tourism 95
PHILIP SEATON AND TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA

16	The sense of belonging created by <i>In This Corner of the World</i>	100
	LULI VAN DER DOES	
17	Travelling <i>Grave of the Fireflies</i> : The gap between creators' intentions and audiences' /tourists' interpretations	106
	TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA	
18	Tours of Tokkōtai (kamikaze) training bases	111
	LULI VAN DER DOES	
19	Repatriation and the <i>enka</i> ballad <i>Ganpeki no haha</i>	117
	AKIKO SUGAWA-SHIMADA	

PART V

Postwar Japan 123

20	<i>Kantai Collection</i> and entertainmentization of the Second World War	125
	KYUNGJAE JANG	
21	The war metaphors underpinning Mizuki Shigeru yōkai tourism	130
	QIAODAN WANG AND PHILIP SEATON	
22	<i>Shin Godzilla</i> : Tourism consuming images of JSDF, <i>kaiju</i> characters, and destroyed sites	135
	ALEKSANDRA JAWOROWICZ-ZIMNY AND TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA	
23	Fantasy wars and their real-life inspirations: Tourism and international conflicts caused by <i>Attack on Titan</i>	140
	RYO KOARAI AND TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA	
	Conclusions: Patterns of war-related (contents) tourism	145
	TAKAYOSHI YAMAMURA AND PHILIP SEATON	
	<i>Index</i>	151

Figures

0.1	At the site of Hijikata Toshizō's death. Author's photo.	xii
1.1	Societal discourses based on war experiences at relatively close temporal proximity to war. Prepared by the authors.	3
1.2	Societal discourses based on war history at a relatively far temporal distance from war. Prepared by the authors.	4
1.3	Imaginaries of war-related tourism. Prepared by the authors.	5
1.4	Four phases in the emergence of war-related contents tourism. Prepared by the authors.	12
1.5	Primary objectives of 'Japan Heritage'. Prepared by the authors based on Agency for Cultural Affairs (n.d.: 1).	14
2.1	The flag of Yata-garasu (mythical three-legged raven), Kumano Hongu Taisha Shrine. Author's photo.	22
3.1	A section from the <i>Illustrated Account of the Mongol Invasion</i> . Source: Kyushu University Library (n.d.)	28
4.1	A fan creates a 'Sekiro illusion' by making a <i>shinobi</i> -pose against the backdrop of Aizu-Wakamatsu Castle. Photo courtesy of Kagura, @ Loc_cos.	34
5.1	Two <i>mirajennes</i> with a performer who played Irobe Katsunaga. Author's photo.	39
6.1	Shuri Castle. This picture was taken before it burnt down in 2019. Photo: Yamamura Takayoshi.	47
7.1	Kamuy Rock, Shakotan, Hokkaido. Author's photo.	53
8.1	<i>Tōken Ranbu</i> fans looking at other fans' <i>ema</i> (votive wooden tablets), Kaji Shrine, Kyoto. Author's photo.	58
9.1	Kumamoto Castle. Author's photo.	62
10.1	The Goryōkaku Festival parade, 19 May 2019. Author's photo.	67

11.1	The model for a taxidermist's home in <i>Golden Kamuy</i> . Author's photo.	75
12.1	The Akiyama Brothers' Birthplace Museum, Matsuyama. Author's photo.	80
13.1	Former Freundlieb house, Kobe. Author's photo.	86
14.1	Taisho Romankan hall, Japan Taisho Village. © PhotoAC/HiC	91
15.1	The temporary exhibition in Yūshūkan about composer Koseki Yūji. Photo: Yamamura Takayoshi.	98
16.1	The Taishōya scene from <i>In This Corner (and Other Corners) of the World</i> . © 2019 Kouno Fumiyo, Futabasha Publishers Ltd., and the In This Corner (and Other Corners) of the World Production Committee.	102
16.2	Tourists visiting the Taishōya location in 2021. Author's photo.	103
17.1	The monument at the birthplace of the novel <i>Grave of the Fireflies</i> , Nishinomiya. Author's photo.	109
18.1	A reconstructed cockpit at a museum on the site of the former Usa Airfield. Author's photos.	115
19.1	The restored pier of Maizuru repatriation port. Author's photo.	120
20.1	A cosplayer dressed as a <i>kanmusu</i> ('ship girl') at a JMSDF public relations event. Author's photo.	128
21.1	Private Maruyama dies in <i>Onwards Towards Our Noble Deaths</i> . Source: Mizuki (2018: 462). ©水木プロ.	133
22.1	Viewing the place where Godzilla first appeared in <i>Shin Godzilla</i> . Photo: Yamamura Takayoshi.	138
23.1	A scene from <i>Attack on Titan</i> re-enacted by French and Korean cosplayers at Japan Expo 2013. Photo: Yamamura Takayoshi.	142
24.1	Seven patterns of war-related (contents) tourism. Prepared by the authors.	146

Contributors

Luli van der Does is an Associate Professor at Hiroshima University, Japan.

Yosuke Fujiki is a Professor at the University of Shiga Prefecture, Japan.

Kyungjae Jang is an Associate Professor at Hiroshima University, Japan.

Aleksandra Jaworowicz-Zimny is a Research and Teaching Assistant at Nicolaus Copernicus University, Poland.

Ryo Koarai is a PhD candidate at Hokkaido University, Japan.

Hitoshi Nakai is an Emeritus Professor at the University of Shiga Prefecture, Japan.

Philip Seaton is a Professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan.

Akiko Sugawa-Shimada is a Professor at Yokohama National University, Japan.

Qiaodan Wang is a PhD candidate at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan.

Takayoshi Yamamura is a Professor at Hokkaido University, Japan.

Preface

Philip Seaton

18 May 2019 – In front of a memorial stone, a middle-aged man clasps his hands in prayer and bows (Figure 0.1). It is a pose seen in Japan when people pause to remember and commemorate the dead. Just to his left is a young woman. She is dressed in the distinctive colours of Shinsengumi and has various Shinsengumi goods clearly visible in her bag. She holds up a stuffed toy and takes a picture in front of the memorial on her smart-phone. Observing this scene is the author, who has travelled to Hakodate in the year of the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Hakodate (and the year before the COVID-19 pandemic laid savage waste to the Japanese tourism industry) to attend one of the city's main tourism events, the Goryōkaku Festival. I quickly take this photograph because this moment perfectly encapsulates the phenomenon I have come to observe and the topic of this book: *war-related contents tourism*.

The memorial stone is at the site of the Ippongi Gate, where Hijikata Toshizō, the feared vice-commander of Shinsengumi, is believed to have died during the Battle of Hakodate at the end of the Boshin War (1868–1869). It is a site of death in battle, and people have gathered here as part of a festival that keeps alive memories of the people who died (Chapter 10). People like the middle-aged man are commemorating, but not grieving. He is wearing smart casual clothes, and not formal mourning attire. Too much time has passed for anyone to feel close personal connections to those who died in 1869. After his act of commemoration, he returns to tourism/leisure mode – smiling and chatting in the warm spring sunshine with his companions. Meanwhile, there are a number of other people cosplaying as Shinsengumi members like the young woman. Their appearances and behaviours are characteristic of pop culture fans. Some have probably travelled long distances to be here. A few hours after taking the photo (Figure 0.1), I attended the competition to recreate Hijikata's death held at Goryōkaku Tower. A number of the competitors, like me, had travelled around 700 kilometres from Tokyo to be here.



Figure 0.1 At the site of Hijikata Toshizō's death. Author's photo.

Seven months later – In January 2020, I travelled to Hiroshima to visit the newly renovated Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. This was to be my last on-site observation of war-related tourism before the COVID-19 pandemic struck. Hiroshima is also a site of death in war. At the Cenotaph in the Peace Memorial Park, again people paused, clasped their hands together in prayer, and bowed in memory of those who perished. However, there were no cosplayers engaging in fan behaviours. Most people were in a similar contemplative mode to the middle-aged man I saw in Hakodate. But after their moment of commemoration, most visitors here too returned to smiling and talking to their travel companions on their visit to the Peace Memorial Park.

What connects Hakodate and Hiroshima is that – and forgive the intentionally jarring wording – war is a lucrative tourism resource for both cities. The Goryōkaku Festival is one of the flagship events of the Hakodate tourism calendar. Goryōkaku Fort is famous as the site of the last battle of the Boshin War. And the famous night view from

the top of Mt Hakodate could be developed more easily for tourism in the postwar (the cable car opened in 1958) because in the prewar the Japanese military opened up access to the mountain top to position a gun battery there, protecting the Tsugaru Straits between southern Hokkaido and northern Honshu (the gun battery remains are a short hike from the cable car station). In Hiroshima, meanwhile, the city's 2019 tourism report lists the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum as the city's number two attraction, with 1.53 million visitors in 2018 (the Marina Hop Aquarium came top with 2.1 million visitors). Hiroshima Castle, which was destroyed during the bombing but rebuilt in 1958, attracted 304,908 visitors (Hiroshima City 2019). Hiroshima city would have been largely non-descript as a tourism destination for international visitors today without the A-bomb – except as a base for day trips to the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Itsukushima Shrine with its famous floating torii.

Where Hakodate and Hiroshima differ substantially, however, is in the uses to which the cities' war histories may be put as tourism resources. As already mentioned, in Hakodate there is a contest to reenact the death of Hijikata Toshizō. Could there ever be a contest to reenact the death of Sadako, the little girl who died of leukaemia after being exposed to radiation and whose story became famous because she folded a thousand origami cranes in the belief it would help her to recover? Would people go to the Cenotaph in Hiroshima in cosplay and take selfies to share on social media? Is it possible to be a 'fan of Hiroshima' by watching dramas and playing computer games in the same manner as many people become 'fans of Shinsengumi'? There are clearly major differences between the 'narrative qualities' (see Chapter 1) of war and death that history has bequeathed to the Hakodate and Hiroshima tourism industries. Ultimately, the aim of this book is to answer two questions: *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?*

There are many factors involved. The Boshin War is two generations further into the past than the Second World War. One was a civil war and one a global conflict. The memorial in Hakodate is for one soldier who chose to die a samurai's death for the cause to which he devoted his life. The Cenotaph in Hiroshima is for tens of thousands of civilians whose lives were extinguished one August morning. Not all wars are equal, and not all war deaths are equal. Accordingly, not all wars and deaths can be treated the same way within popular culture, heritage sites, and tourist attractions.

Japan is a particularly interesting case study in this regard as it has two marked yet contrasting approaches to the commodification of war in popular culture and tourism. The first is evident in Hakodate. Japan has a proud warrior tradition developed over centuries of samurai history. Popular culture depicting war as swashbuckling entertainment thrives on this history in the numerous period dramas, films, manga, anime, and computer games in samurai scenarios. The second is evident in Hiroshima. Having experienced heavy defeat, widespread destruction, and occupation within living memory, Japanese war memories of the Asia-Pacific War focus on the horrors of war. Japan has constructed a postwar image of a peace nation, exemplified in Article 9 of the Constitution, which states ‘Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes’. War, therefore, has a fluid position within popular Japanese culture. It is both idealized and vilified, a source of entertainment and a subject of the utmost seriousness. This makes Japan an ideal case study for developing a theoretical framework about the connections between war, popular culture entertainment, and tourism.

About this book

In Chapter 1, Seaton and Yamamura outline a theoretical framework for war-related tourism and present the tourism policy context in Japan. The remaining sections then work chronologically through Japanese history. Part I (Chapters 2–5) goes up to the unification of Japan at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. Part II (Chapters 6–10) looks at the Edo period to the 1860s. Part III (Chapters 11–14) examines the Japanese Empire to the late 1920s. Part IV (Chapters 15–19) is about the Asia-Pacific War. And Part V (Chapters 20–23) considers war in the post-1945 era, from stories connected to the contemporary military (Japan Self-Defense Forces) through to fantasy/futuristic war. Finally, the conclusions draw together the main arguments and identify seven key patterns of war-related (contents) tourism.

As is customary in books about Japan, names are rendered in the Japanese order – family name followed by given name. Macrons indicate long vowel sounds but are omitted when there is a common English spelling without them, e.g. Tokyo.

Finally, the authors have prepared an online appendix to be used in conjunction with this open access publication. Much of the evidence for contents tourism exists online in the form of blogs, videos, tourism websites, and other such materials. Selected links relating to all the chapters may be accessed from:

Yamamura Takayoshi: <https://yamamuratakayoshi.com/en/publications-list/>

Philip Seaton: <https://philipseaton.net/research/books/>

Access to all online resources in chapter reference lists was confirmed on 10 October 2021.

Reference

Hiroshima City, 2019. *Hiroshima-shi kankō jōkyō (heisei 30-nen, 2018 dētā)*. <https://www.city.hiroshima.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/107317.pdf>.

Acknowledgements

This book presents research results from a three-year project (2019–2022) supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (grant number 19H04377, grant holder, Yamamura Takayoshi; research collaborators Philip Seaton, Sugawa Akiko, Fujiki Yosuke, Jang Kyungjae, and Luli van der Does). We express our sincere gratitude to JSPS for their financial support.

The chapter authors have received valuable information and materials from many people or institutions. Expressions of gratitude are made in individual chapters. We also thank all the support given by staff at Routledge throughout the whole process of taking this book to press. Whilst every care has been taken to ensure that no errors have been made in the book, any remaining errors are the responsibility of the chapter authors and editors.

Takayoshi Yamamura, Sapporo, November 2021

Periods of Japanese history

When periods or eras are mentioned in the text, they refer to the following year spans. The history of Japan comprises three concurrent histories that finally converge in 1869–1879:

1. The history of ‘central Japan’, namely Honshu (except for Tohoku), Shikoku, and northern Kyushu.
2. ‘Northern history’ (*hoppōshi*) centred on northern Honshu, Hokkaido (known before 1869 as Ezo by Japanese and as Yaunmosir by Ainu), and the Okhotsk Sea.
3. Ryukyu history (now Okinawa).

Jomon period (early hunter-gatherer period):	pre-ca. 300 BC
Mythical ascension of Emperor Jimmu:	660 BC
Yayoi period (introduction of rice culture):	ca. 300 BC–300 AD
Kofun period (burial mounds of kings):	250–538
Asuka period:	538–710
Nara period (capital in Nara):	710–794
Heian period (capital in Kyoto):	794–1185
War between the Mongol Empire and the Ainu:	1264–1308
Kamakura period (capital in Kamakura):	1185–1333
Kemmu restoration (overthrow of Kamakura government):	1333–1336
Ashikaga (Muromachi) period (government returns to Kyoto):	1336–1573
Northern and Southern Courts period (competing imperial courts):	1337–1392
Wajin (Japanese) presence established in Yaunmosir:	by the fifteenth century
Unification of the Ryukyu Kingdom (Shō Dynasty):	1429

Sengoku period (Warring States period):	1467–1590
Azuchi-Momoyama period (culmination of central Japan's unification):	1573–1603
Early Modern period (from Azuchi-Momoyama to Edo periods):	1573–1868
Edo period (period of the Tokugawa shogunate):	1603–1868
Matsumae clan trade monopoly in Ezo/Yaunmosir:	1604–1799, 1821–1855
Satsuma invasion of the Ryukyu Kingdom:	1609
Bakumatsu period (end of the shogunate):	1853–1868
Tokugawa shogunate direct rule of Ezo:	1799–1821, 1855–1869
Meiji period (reign of Emperor Meiji):	1868–1912
Annexation of Hokkaido:	1869
Annexation of Okinawa (Ryukyu Disposition):	1879
Taisho period (reign of Emperor Taisho):	1912–1926
Showa period (reign of Emperor Hirohito):	1926–1989
Postwar era:	1945–