

**School of Built Environment  
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Faculty of Humanities**

**Back to Nature or Forward Planning?  
Regional Policy, Cultural Perceptions and Coastal Tourism Development in Hyōgo  
Prefecture, Japan.**

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## Abstract

This research contributes to the understanding of tourism and coastal development in Japan. The thesis argues that national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism in Japan, are problematic when implemented at the local municipal level and cannot always improve local economic conditions. Contained within this argument are the issues of land-use conflict and differing perceptions of local landscapes specifically the perspectives of the local community, of the tourists and of higher levels of government. It compares and contrasts coastal development in two case study localities, Himeji and Kasumi, in the contexts of the role of peripherality, the distinctive Japanese political, administrative and planning systems, and cultural perceptions of the coast, the landscape and tourism and recreation.

Recent Japanese national tourism policies have incorporated earlier tourism strategies, while having multiple goals. From the late 19th century, both government and private stakeholders have cultivated the image of nature and the rural idyll as a traditional concept in order to develop and attract tourists to particular regions of Japan. In the latter half of the 20th century Japanese urbanites were encouraged to ‘revisit’, repopulate and work in rural Japan. Policies for domestic tourism have incorporated nationalistic imagery based on the perception that nature is integral to Japanese culture. The Welcome Plan 21 (1996 and 2002) aimed to grow inbound and domestic tourism, local economies, the GDP and international understanding.

At the prefectural level, the Hyōgo government has applied the Hyōgo Plan 2001, ‘commensurate’ with national tourism policy of the Welcome Plan 21. The latter’s strategies aimed to increase tourism, improve the economy, and nurture a culture of tradition within Japan. A significant targeted area in the prefecture was the rural-coastal town of Kasumi, in the local division of Tajima located on the Sea of Japan. The community of Kasumi is trying to diversify its economy, publicly acknowledging a decline in its fishing industry. The fisheries stakeholders however still play an important and decisive role in the town.

In contrast to this rural-coastal tourism development, is the metropolitan-based tourism re-development alongside the industrial Port of Himeji, which lies on the Pacific coast of Hyōgo. In an initiative to upgrade Himeji Port, Himeji municipal council announced its plans to develop recreational and tourist facilities on the unused sections of its port land in close proximity to heavy industry, petrochemical and public utilities storage and major shipping and passenger liner channels. With a recreational marina and various other tourism facilities already in place, Himeji is most noted for its spectacular, historic and heritage listed castle. Himeji stakeholders in coastal and tourism development have entrepreneurial backgrounds and contribute persuasively to local projects. What eventuates is the further

development of tourism attractions and facilities for the city of Himeji while, in the town of Kasumi, progress in coastal tourism development has been severely limited.

The need for a sustainable tourism industry in Kasumi contrasts with that of the city of Himeji which already has a diverse economy and a world-famous tourist attraction. This thesis explores how rural/ urban tensions played a significant role in the initial decision making processes for national tourism strategies, which in turn fostered and maintained existing imbalances in coastal construction and tourism development. In this context, this thesis examines such coastal development in the unique setting of Hyōgo Prefecture, the only non-peninsular prefecture in Japan which is bordered by the Sea of Japan and the Pacific Ocean.

Fieldwork in Japan, which included participant observation, numerous interviews conducted with prefectural and municipal role players and stakeholders, several sets of questionnaires and photography provided this thesis with data that highlighted the complexity of the Japanese planning system and documented how the major decision makers in each of these case study locations, sought to develop their communities' infrastructure.

From 1995 until 2005, neither having a distinct national or prefectural ministerial portfolio, domestic tourism policy had thus been an adjunct to other regional and rural revitalisation and construction policies. Policy implementation timeframes were interrupted by the Great Hanshin Earthquake and Japan's economic decline and national government political standoffs, resulting in confusion of project implementation and for Kasumi, the end of a proposed resort-styled redevelopment. The field research for this thesis was conducted in Hyōgo prefecture by means of interviews, questionnaires, ethnographic observation and document analysis between 2001 and 2005. It exposed policy overlaps, repetitions, changes to projects and stalemates.

Disproportionately, the rural-coastal associated stakeholders and role-players have incorporated into their roles, the development of tourist attractions and projects, the management of the local tourism industry and the coastal environment, but importantly, coastal construction and reconstruction projects. Those in the fishery industry have had to take on roles to protect their local environment under new national coastal policy provisions. In the diversified city of Himeji, local stakeholders have encouraged the development of tourism projects alongside incompatible developments, resulting in insufficiently patronised and, in some cases, failed tourism developments.

The thesis concludes that, while tourism in Japan is historically significant in terms of its attractions, the traditional systems of policy making, require re-examination and

transformation. Specifically, it questions the efficacy of tourism projects in incompatible locations such as Himeji port and the suitability and management of large multiple objective projects in small aging communities such as Kasumi.

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## Glossary

Chiiki	regional
Counter-urbanites	urban dwellers who relocate to regional/ rural locations
Dekasegi	seasonal work away from home
Edo	Tokyo's name pre 1868
EEZ	Economic Exclusion Zone
EMECS	Environmental Management of Enclosed Coastal Seas
FCA	Fisheries Co-operative Association
Fureai	the concept of human emotional attachment (in this instance to nature)
Furusato	'old home town', but a term also used to describe the 'hometown' effect in relation to tourism attractions
Gappei	amalgamation (usually of several smaller municipalities to form a larger one or a smaller municipality being subsumed within a larger one)
JR	Japan Railways
JTB	Japan Travel Bureau
JNTO	Japan National Tourism Organisation
HIA	Hyōgo International Association
HIT	Himeji Institute of Technology (now University of Hyōgo)
HPA	Himeji Port Authority
HTD	Himeji Tourism Department
Kaiseki	a formal set course meal
Kinki	The Kinki Region (近畿地方, Kinki Chihō), also commonly known as Kansai (関西, literally "west of the border") encompasses the

	Kinki Plain and consists of seven prefectures of Kyoto, Osaka, Nara Hyōgo, Shiga, Mie and Wakayama.
Kita Kinki	North Kinki
KIA	Kasumi International Association
-ken	prefecture e.g.: such as Hyōgo-ken
Kombinaato	industrial development based on the Russian style of combined heavy industry
KTA	Kasumi Tourism Association
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
Machizukuri	local community involvement in (urban) planning for local community development
Matsuba-gani	snow crab (literally: pine needle crab)
Meiji Period	1868-1912
Michi no eki	(lit.) street station; roadside facility that includes a restaurant, souvenir shop and traveller information
Minshuku	a ‘bed and breakfast’ style of accommodation
MLIT/ MLITT	Ministry for Land, Infrastructure and Transport (MLIT later incorporated the Tourism portfolio over the period of 2002-2006 leading to a variety of publication names).
Mura	village
Nihonkai	the Sea of Japan or The Eastern Sea
Nōson	rural
NKTO	Northern Kinki (Kita Kinki) Tourism Organisation oversees the tourism of the north of two prefectures: Tajima, Tango Tanba (Hyōgo) and Wakasaji (Kyoto).
Onsen	hot springs baths
R-Plan	Renaissance Plan

Ryokan	traditional Japanese accommodation of bedroom sometimes with shared bathroom, often managed by family who resides on premises
Sankin Kōtai	a compulsory alternative residence system where daimyo were to maintain two residences in Edo and their home castle town
Setonaiki	or Setouchi- the Seto Inland Sea
Shinkansen	Bullet or fast train
Shoyu	soy sauce
Su	vinegar
Taishō Period	1912-1926
TFA	Tajima Fisheries Association (Management)
TFRI	Tajima Fisheries Research Institute
Tokonoma	an alcove in a Japanese-style room that houses a flower arrangement and a hanging scroll
Tokugawa Period	1600-1867
Tsurizumu	tourism
UNCRD	United Nations Centre for Regional Development
Ura	backward, opposite
Yakuba	Municipal town hall offices

Notes:

Whilst all efforts have been used to consistently insert macrons for romanised Japanese words, where authors have dictated, their names and titles are used as authorised in their publications. Japanese place names used in English such as Tokyo and Kyoto will not carry the macron.

Maps and photographs:

Many tourism maps used in this thesis have been printed by publishers who have not included north points or scales. Thus, unless otherwise noted, maps without direction are positioned in the illustration assuming a north heading. During the research period, the town

of Kasumi was in the process of amalgamation and, in 2006, became known as Kami-cho or Kami-town.

## **1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken in the winter of 2001-2002, the peak season for the harvesting of snow crabs in Japan. Along the northern coasts of Japan, tourists visit fishing grounds to taste the first of the season's catch, to experience winter breaks in hot springs and to sometimes stay overnight to experience several courses of the prepared crab. Winter is also popular for snow sports. Along the warmer and less snowy Pacific coastal regions of Japan, Japanese partake of winter cuisine and take advantage of the various holidays. In 2000-2001, 16.5 million travellers exited Japan for holidays spending annually ¥315,300 (US\$3,082) while 59 million domestic travellers spent one third less per person at ¥105,900 (US\$1,036). Per- activity spending trends are more revealing with Japanese tourists who travelled internationally, spending ¥197,000 (US\$1,927) while domestic tourists only spent ¥ 30,000 (US\$ 294) (Tajima, 2001 270-271).

Japanese domestic tourism has largely been directed by national tourism policies directed at foreigners travelling to Japan and sophisticated policies have been delivered with the purpose of introducing Japan globally, since 1859 (Soshiroda 2005). The plans set up in the period from 1987-1996, were to encompass the revitalisation of the Kansai area following the 1995 Hanshin earthquake and to improve a domestic economy reeling from economic stresses, but they retained remnants of policy modelling adopted from the end of World War Two. With only the beginnings of a shift to the promotion of international tourism policy to incorporate more of the Kansai region, the period from 1995-2003 was intended to become the period when local governments would take on the responsibility of developing foreign tourist plans (Soshiroda, 2005 1111).

This fieldwork researched a short period of time in a political stage that was expected to produce great legacies for Japan. The elections heralded the arrival of a new-style of Prime Minister in the charismatic Junichirō Koizumi with promises of political and economic reform including the Welcome Plan 21 for tourism. Institutional change included the initial introduction of transparency in government documents and policy.

This thesis unravels some of the complex departmental planning documents from a time when local government was in a state of flux as the new national government made its transitions and its presence was felt in expenditure cuts. The document searches also revealed some interesting challenges relating to tourism policy development: that there were many departments involved in tourism projects from their inception to their delivery; that there were conflicts over timelines and it was not unusual to find several dates for the beginning of projects; and depending on the source of the information and at the time, reliable information could only be accessed after something had taken place.

Frustratingly, in the early stage of the research, various government websites edited the English versions of their policy overviews, particularly in MLIT. These are some of the challenges of conducting fieldwork in Japan (Bestor et al 2003). Furthermore, as late as 2010, the Japan Tourism Agency (2013 8), a department of the Ministry of Land Infrastructure Transport and Tourism claimed that it was difficult to determine comprehensive comparative statistics on the spatial distribution of domestic and foreign visitors.

## **1.2 Tourism in Japan**

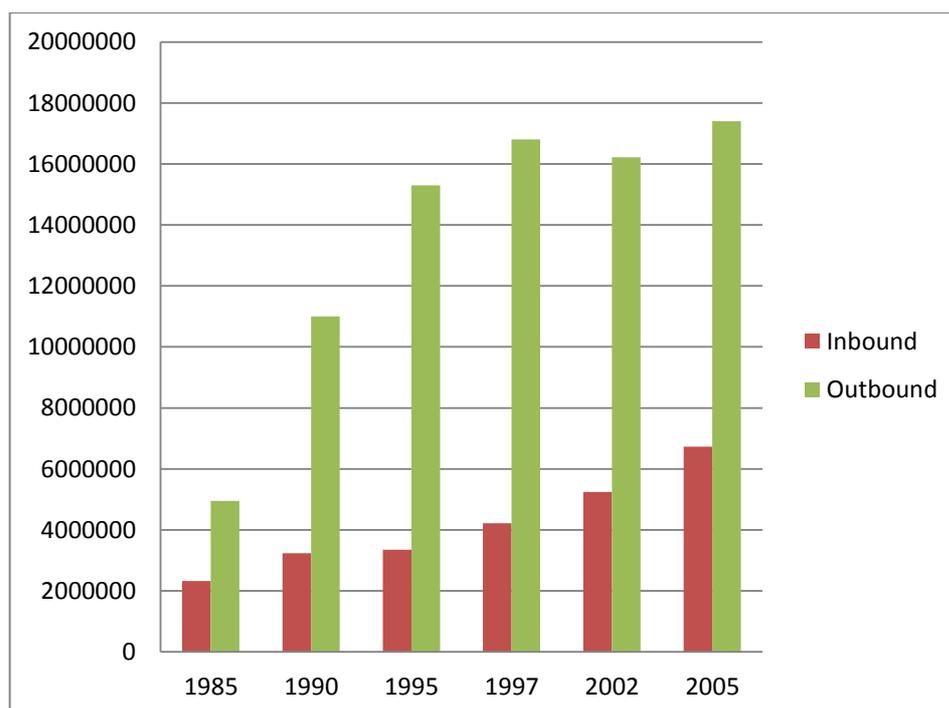
The tourism industry in Japan could reasonably be expected to be successful given the country's cultural and physical assets and the fact that, at the commencement of the fieldwork for this thesis (2001), despite its economic slump beginning in the 1990s<sup>1</sup>, (Harootunian and Yoda, 2006 19-20), Japan was still the second largest industrialised economy in the world (GDP at market exchange rates) until overtaken by China in 2010 (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2014). This is not an outsider's idealistic call. In 2005, Prime Minister Koizumi declared that the Japanese tourism industry both domestic and international failed to match Japan's global economic status (Koizumi, 2005). His announcement to promote the tourism reforms of 2002 under the new Welcome Plan 21 (Koizumi 2003) relied on the premise for tourism to relieve widespread economic stress in Japan, 'stimulating the national economy, promoting exchanges among people, revitalising regions and communities by promoting local industries and creating jobs, promoting international friendship, and contributing to world peace' (Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transport, 2003 p2c2).

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Japanese national figures, the economic growth rate slumped, in real terms from 5.1% in 1990, down to -2.5 in 1998 and 0.2 % in 1999 (Tajima, 2002 25).

Despite the difficulties of obtaining spatial information on tourism for the research period, comparative statistics for the 1985-2005 in Table 1-1 (Japan Tourism Marketing 2015) illustrate the trend of, and contrast between inbound and outbound tourism of Japan, the latter figures tripling the former.

Table 1-1 Inbound and Outbound Tourist Trend 1985-2005. By 1997, 16 million Japanese per annum were travelling abroad. Source: Japan Tourism Marketing 2013.



Compounding the relative lack of success of the Japanese tourism industry, was the national issue of regional imbalance, whereby those areas dependent upon the agriculture, forestry and fisheries sectors, had been experiencing outmigration since the 1960s. The revitalisation of these regions and communities by promoting local industries and creating jobs is the focus here.

Tourism, or in its earlier form travel and pilgrimage, is not a new phenomenon in Japan. From the 1700s, amongst the various Japanese travellers were writers, poets and artists who depicted rural Japan and the local foods and the cultures and religious sites that they had visited on their travels. Village entrepreneurs enroute used signage and flags (still popular forms used today) to advertise local fare and attractions such as hot springs

(*onsen*) to attract feudal lords who were fulfilling the demands of compulsory travel to the capital city of Edo, later Tokyo (Ivy, 1995 32). By the 1800s, Japanese travellers, still as pilgrims but increasingly as early tourists, sought popularised natural landscapes and destinations, partaking of the local hospitality and produce whilst escaping the lifestyles of the densely populated cities, such as Osaka, Kyoto and particularly Tokyo, which was by 1785 the largest city in the world (Hall, 1966 218).

In the late 1800s, a conscious tourism policy was first introduced by the Meiji government. It used images of Japanese nature and the associated ‘traditions’ attached to rural Japanese ‘culture’, to further encourage Japanese urbanites to venture into their national countryside (Ivy, 1995 32-33). Although many tourism policy strategies have been introduced since then, they were mostly aimed at developing a labour pool to support regional industry or focussed on international tourism to encourage international trade. It was not until the 1970s that vigorous campaigns related to the traditional themes re-emerged (Ivy, 1995 29) to develop tourism enterprises in regions where primary production was no longer a sufficient means of supporting local economies. With all these years of experience in attracting ‘outsiders’ to visit and use regional hospitality and accommodation, why does Japan have apparently problems with promoting its contemporary domestic tourism industry?

One argument relates to the nation’s regional imbalance. Japan’s urban and industrial development is heavily concentrated on the Pacific Ocean side of the nation, particularly on the main island of Honshu. National policies for regional revitalisation, like those for tourism, have had questionable success despite decentralisation policies being pursued since the late 1990s and a surge in tourism due to special events such as the World Cup Soccer games held in Japan in 2002 (Soshiroda, 2005 1111, 1115-1117). In areas where issues such as depopulation occur, the expectation of development in tourism to improve regional economies, remains problematic (Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transport, 2003 p2c2).

This thesis questions the role of tourism in the context of regional development in Japan, using two contrasting settings. Two regional settlements in Hyōgo Prefecture are examined; one is a port district located on the Pacific coast of the Seto Inland Sea (*Setonaikai*) whilst the other is a fishing town in a remote northern location on the Sea of Japan (*Nihonkai*). In a move to commit Japan to forward-thinking planning by using

tourism, various national policies have reintroduced nostalgia and tradition to tourism strategies for regional rejuvenation (Soshiroda, 2005, Ivy, 1995 36, Robertson, 1995 90-91, 101). This thesis also examines the role that cultural perceptions of nature and the coastal space play in the process of rural / regional revitalisation to develop these disparate coastal areas of Japan.

This chapter introduces Hyōgo prefecture and states the aims of the thesis. It provides a historical and geographic background of the prefecture including its tourism history and introduces the case studies. The numerous national and prefectural government departments and organisations are also detailed due to their complex roles in the case study areas and project development. An overview of tourism policy and regional revitalisation is included. The chapter concludes with an outline of the organisation of the subsequent chapters.

### **1.3 Background of Hyōgo Prefecture and Government Organisation**

Hyōgo Prefecture has had a prosperous political and industrial history; it is a location where tourism development has been used in an attempt to enhance and rejuvenate its' municipal economies. Overall, the thesis examines Japan's 'back to nature' approach and its effectiveness as a tourism strategy. It offers the case studies of Himeji and Kasumi in Hyōgo Prefecture as examples of tourism policy and planning which aspire to develop these coastal municipalities. Moreover, the thesis considers the issues of what constitutes domestic tourism in Japan and what influences the various stakeholders, including both the decision makers in tourism development at various scales and the tourists themselves. This section demonstrates how the prefecture's history has contributed to its tourism industry.

Hyōgo Prefecture's eventful history is summarised below and indicates Hyōgo's central position in a political, strategic and geographic context:

Table 1-2 Hyōgo Chronology of Important Events and Developments<sup>2</sup>.  
 (Totman, 2000 204-212, 223 364; Frederic, 2002 304, 312, 364; Fairbank et al., 1978 396 402; Odagiri, 1996, 143, 286)

Year	Events
1185	Taira ( <i>Heike</i> ) and Minamoto ( <i>Genji</i> ) clans battled within the Chugoku (central) alps of present day Hyōgo.
12 th century	Kobe was capital of Japan
14th century	Himeji castle first built by Akamatsu Sadanori
1581	Toyotama Hideyoshi (1536-1598) was granted the castle Himeji-jo as a reward for his great efforts to unify the provinces and feudalise Japan. The San'yo (light) Pacific side was ruled by this charismatic and prestigious daimyo, while the San'in side which included Tajima was ruled by another lower daimyo. Himeji area daimyo were second ranking ( <i>fudai</i> ) daimyo. Hideyoshi instigated the execution of 9 Christian missionaries and 17 of their followers.
1600	castle passed to the Ikeda Daimyo
1608	reconstructed by Ikeda Terumasa
15th 16th century	Himeji had been a port since the 8th century with coastal reclamation commensurate to its later status as a castle town
1700	Iron nail industry, Himeji
1868	Kobe was the port opened to foreign trade
1870	The districts of Harima, Tajima, Awaji, Tamba, and Settsu amalgamated as Hyōgo Prefecture
1901	Kobe Electricity won national innovation awards for shipping and electricity technology
1905	Kobe Steel won a national innovation award for technology
1912-1926	Modernisation of the Hyōgo Pacific military and heavy industrial zones
1939	Nippon Steel works established at Abōshi
1945	The bombing of the Hyōgo coastline during WWII. Himeji castle was not bombed.
1950 onward	The rebuilding of housing, businesses and industry
1983	UNESCO awards Himeji castle a place on the World's Heritage Treasure listing
1995	The Great Hanshin Earthquake

<sup>2</sup> For a more in-depth history of Hyōgo Prefecture, refer to The Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Japan, Kodansha or the four volume, The Encyclopaedia of Hyōgo-Ken circa 1980 [*in Japanese*].

Hyōgo Prefecture is an ideal location for this research, since it is the only non-peninsular prefecture to be bordered by both the Sea of Japan and the Pacific Ocean. As such, it provides a unique opportunity for a comparative case study focussing on the municipality of Himeji (on the Pacific side) and Kasumi on the Sea of Japan. Kasumi is located in the centre of a former quasi-national park the San'in Kaigan which, in 2008, was designated a geo-tourism park (Figure 1-1). Himeji is a port on the Seto Inland Sea which opens out to the Pacific Ocean through the Akashi Straits past Awaji Island.

In the early 21st century 121,357 hectares of Hyōgo's 8,396.13 km<sup>2</sup> land area, was designated as 11 natural and city parks, the fourth largest park allocation in Japan. In contrast to Japan's population density of 338.13 per km<sup>2</sup>, Hyōgo's density was 664.82 per km<sup>2</sup> (City Bureau MLITT and Nature Conservation Bureau, Ministry of Environment 2011, Frederic, 2002).



Fig 1-1 The Administrative divisions and National Parks of Japan. San'in Kaigan (Sea of Japan) is on the northern coast of the administrative division of Hyōgo (in purple). Source: (Anon, 1968 9).

From Kobe city (the prefecture's capital) and Himeji, the dense urban landscape changes markedly north of the number 13 tollway, quickly becoming a rural landscape (Figure 1-2). Along the railway line north, that landscape changes again to an urban-industrial one, only at Toyooka, the capital city of the northern region of Tajima. The outskirts of Toyooka then become a rural-coastal landscape north, east and west. At the beginning of the 21st century, 91% of Hyōgo's 5,410,000 population was living in the Kobe-Hanshin, Higashi-Harima (East Harima) and Nishi-Harima (West Harima) districts on the Pacific coast,

where steel, shipbuilding and other heavy industries have been located since the late 1800s (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 2000, 2001b).

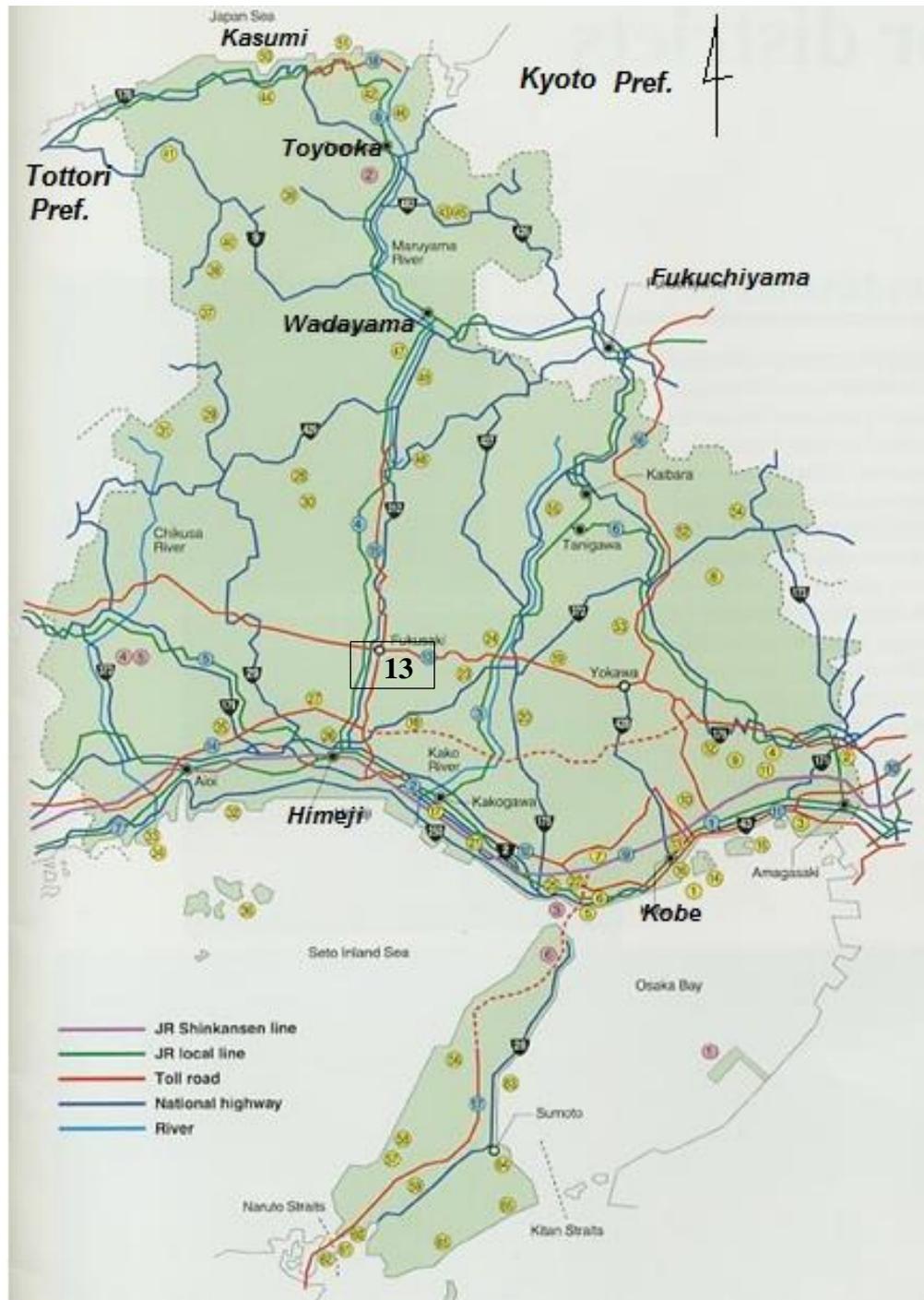


Figure 1-2 Kasumi and Himeji, Hyōgo Prefecture. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 2001b)

This thesis seeks to trace the history of these two local examples of Japan's coastal development. However, it needs to be noted that funding for tourism development is, and has been, influenced by many development initiatives which have been pursued by the various ministries of the Japanese national and prefectural governments. Since neither

funding nor policy detail has been transparently available, this thesis has relied to a large extent on the documentation and evaluation of the identifiably physical nature of the actual projects as they have been built to handover stage.

Thus, this thesis re-examines the historical and political experience of coastal development in order to provide a new perspective on the evolution of the Japanese coastal built environment. Its focus is on the documentation of the impacts of tourism strategies and initiatives on rural coastal communities and it identifies the challenges that beset these coastal environments and the coastal communities in terms of tourism development.

### 1.3.1 Government Organisation

A general understanding of Japanese governmental organisation is therefore required. Since the Meiji Restoration, municipal administrations, especially in regional areas have experienced frequent amalgamations, divisions and boundary changes. Currently, as exemplified in one of the case studies, Kasumi in the area of Kasumi-cho<sup>3</sup> houses a town hall, local administration an elected mayor and deputy mayor. Kasumi-cho is in the district of Tajima-shi, again with its own elected representatives, and is one of five ‘shi’, which are larger divisions in Hyōgo-ken or Prefecture. Each Prefecture has a governor. This complicated system is further explained by Edwin Reischauer (1978 261):

*Japan is divided for purposes of local government into prefectures and these into cities, towns and villages, with the largest cities being further subdivided into wards. The prefectures, which continue from the pre-war system unchanged in size, are actually four theoretically distinct categories. There is one metropolis (to), Tokyo; one circuit, (do), Hokkaido; two municipal prefectures (fu), Osaka and Kyoto; and 43 regular prefectures, (ken).*

Until 1926, the prefectures of Japan had subdivisions known as gun that were similar to counties. This form of subdivision was then abolished and the village (*mura*) came under the direct control of the prefectural government. The prefectural government then in turn was under direction from Tokyo (Embree, 1939 22). This is generally regarded as having been a consolidation tool for the forthcoming war effort. At the time of the Meiji Restoration, the oligarchic leadership was concerned that the central-periphery relations had become less intimate than had been the case under the previous feudal system of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Villages, local governing bodies and other organisations were therefore developed to act as branches of the state apparatus (Ōkuma, 1910).

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<sup>3</sup> Following amalgamation in 2005 with three other municipalities, it is now known as Kami-cho.

Hyōgo was historically a centre of commerce and, according to Shimizu, ‘very much resembled the free towns of Germany’ (1910 326). Its early textile industry development was extended to heavy industry by the 1960s (Trewartha, 1965 546-547). Hyōgo, along with other similar regions, became rich and prosperous in the early decades of the Meiji restoration and offered the often financially exhausted national government pecuniary assistance, thereby obtaining the ‘grant of exceptional autonomic privileges’ and an advanced right of self-government in Japanese terms (Shimizu, 1910 327).

Although the time frame of this project is focussed on the mid-20th century to the early 21st century, it is the economic development of the Meiji and Taishō period that was instrumental in defining the regional landscape of the contemporary Hyōgo Prefecture and in creating the type of economic and industrial/production bases on which the current municipal governments depend for their taxable income. Thus, it can be seen that there is a highly complex organisational structure of government based on continuing urbanisation in a country that has been urbanising since the 1700s. Such urbanisation and the ensuing industrialisation have created the broader context in which recent and contemporary tourism development has taken place.

#### **1.4 A Comparative Study of Tourism Development in Coastal Hyōgo Prefecture- the Objectives and Theme of this Thesis**

In comparison with material from Western developed nations and even from some parts of the developing world, literature and research on Japan and sustainable tourism and on Japanese perceptions of environmental sustainability were still in their early stages in 2000 (Efthimiadis, 2000) and even by 2009 this literature was still lagging behind that of some other developed countries in terms of depth of analysis as was the country on international standards on sustainability (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs Division for Sustainable Development, 2009). In their submission on sustainable development for the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific -Agenda 21 (Ministry of Environment et al., 1997), the Japanese government acknowledged that research into sustainable development and tourism was in its infancy and the central government was only beginning to recognise inadequacies in its provision for sustainable development, particularly in relation to its coastal areas and tourism. Although Japan is not alone in pursuing a realignment toward a focus on environmental and tourism sustainability (Hall, 1994 35), case studies conducted by both Moon (2002) and Knight (2000) on rural tourism, further highlight the need for Japan to address the issue of

sustainable tourism management seriously if it is to be used as an adjunct to economic rejuvenation in both environmentally degraded urban and population depleted rural Japan.

In other cultural settings, such as in Queensland, Australia, we can observe regional communities ‘battling the odds’ and trying to survive economically whilst maintaining community identity (Green, 2000). In Hyōgo, local dilemmas have arisen when a large city or small town has found it difficult to master or negotiate such changes. Himeji, Hyōgo’s second largest city, is a town whose people are renowned for their castle town pride and who acknowledge its industrial development and national company capital investment in the steel and other heavy and polluting production industries. These have evolved into heavy-duty recycling industries, together with inner city local enterprises<sup>4</sup>. Its ports receive raw materials, such as wood chips and bauxite from Australia. It also processes fresh fish from the Pacific and Sea of Japan, either in wholesale markets or in nearby factories. Kasumi by contrast is a town based on a declining fishing industry whose local inhabitants acknowledge a local ‘stubborn pride’ with reference to its fisheries and related industries including its tourism. From the late 1980s onwards, despite the various national government reforms seeking to encourage decentralisation and rural repopulation, Japanese rural towns, continue to ‘battle the odds’.

In administrative and planning terms, therefore this is a unique geographical situation for a comparative study because, while both coastlines have the same prefectural government and administration, they have experienced different trajectories of cultural and historical development. This thesis will discuss the effects of prefectural and national government policies on tourism and coastal development in terms of their impacts on the local people in the peripheral setting of Kasumi, and in the more dominant, both economically and financially, coastal centre of Himeji.

This thesis hypothesises national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism in Japan have often proved problematic when implemented at the local and municipal levels and as a result of this they cannot always improve local economic conditions.

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<sup>4</sup> These issues were raised by local respondents during interviews.

The thesis argues that successful policy implementation is constrained by land-use conflict and by different perceptions of local landscapes, notably the local community ‘perspective’ and the tourist ‘perspective’. Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to compare and contrast coastal development in these two case study localities in the three contexts of:

1. The nature of peripherality,
2. The distinctive Japanese political/administrative/planning system
3. Japanese cultural perceptions of the coast, landscape and tourism/recreation

In the conclusion, this thesis will consider the future prospects of both locations.

### **1.5 Hyōgo Prefecture’s Regional Revitalisation and Tourism Strategies**

From the early 1990s, the Hyōgo Prefectural government (and later) together with the national government, formulated two plans to develop tourism within its region for the new millennium: the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* (Hyōgoken 1998) and the *Welcome Plan 21* (Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transport, 2004). Whilst the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* was focussed on revitalising prefectural municipal economies through various developments that would also encourage domestic tourism, the *Welcome Plan 21* focussed on inbound (foreign) tourists. The overall strategies of these plans intersected at the point of the construction of tourism facilities, justifying construction and development at tourist destinations not only to enhance their municipal economies through domestic tourism but also to attract international tourists to newly developed areas. Such overlaying of construction strategies allowed for multiple justifications of these projects thereby ensuring the profitability of at least one industry sector in Japan, the construction industry.

#### **1.5.1 Welcome Plans**

It is appropriate to introduce the themes of the national *Welcome 21* Plans here in tabular form (next page) as they play integral roles in tourism planning in general. Chapter Three will detail the Hyōgo tourism plans.

Table 1-3 A comparison of the Welcome 21 Plans 1996 (end date 2000-2001) and 2002 (end date 2010)

	<b>Welcome 21 Plan 1996</b>	<b>Welcome 21 Plan 2002</b>
	Formulated under the MLIT White Paper for Tourism 2001 (first drafted in 1987)	Formulated under the MLIT White Paper for Tourism 2001. Incorporating the Grand Design for the 21 <sup>st</sup> century also known as the Fifth Comprehensive National Development Plan
Inter-national Themes	-Outbound Tourism encouraged to manage international uproar over trade imbalances	-International inbound tourism encouraged to bolster tourism after the 1995 Great Hanshin earthquake. -Policy updates included the provision for the FIFA World Cup 2002 -Increase Asian tourists to Japan
Domestic Tourism in General	-Regional development based on tourism and the provision of better quality hospitality, which will attract all types of tourists.	-Promoting Japanese to choose Japanese tourism and hospitality services. -Support Japanese regional economies.
Main themes of domestic tourism policy	-Gradual decentralisation of tourism development to be the responsibility of municipal administrations including its planning, financing and development. - Construction industry bolstered by municipal tourism development. -Images of <i>urusato</i> used to promote Japanese tourists to return to the 'old home town', nature, and sentimentalism to promote tourism. -Promote connectedness to nature ( <i>ureai</i> ) to attract urbanites to country towns as tourists. -Encourage movement to rural Japan to rediscover Japanese cultural roots. -Special funding from national government dispersed via the Prefectural government aimed at municipal creation of 'one-product, one town' or local themed attractions. -Convention centres -Arts/ performance centres built in towns and on edges of city municipalities. -Improving country public transport	Domestic Tourism given a title: <i>A Vision- Tourism-based Community Development</i> - Rural and tourism transport, regional revitalization, leisure and recreation -The use of <i>urusato</i> and <i>ureai</i> to include Japanese nationalism, therefore encouraging young Japanese to reconnect with the essence of what it is to be Japanese. - Connectedness to nature ( <i>ureai</i> ) and farming/ artisanal pursuits- as an inexpensive way for Japanese to tour Japan and support local regional economies. -Consider visiting rural Japan and rediscovering Japanese cultural roots on a farm stay holiday. -Privatising country transport

### 1.5.2 Kasumi

From 1993, Tajima-shi, Hyōgo's largest district whose northern border on the Sea of Japan is also the entire northern border of Hyōgo Prefecture, has been a significant targeted area for regional revitalisation under the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan*. Tajima's tourism industry is based on snow skiing and leisure fishing, together with more sedentary tourist attractions such as the experience of 'authentic' fishing villages, museums, aquaria, festivals and coastal tours based on the fishing industry and beach pursuits. In 1999, Kasumi-cho, a town on this coast had publicly acknowledged a decline in fishing, its major industry (Figure 1-3) and was pursuing economic diversification to include further development of its aquaculture and tourism industries. This public admission of a decline in its economy was unusual in terms of public policy transparency in Japan. This Kasumi webpage was updated on several occasions and has since disappeared.



Figure 1-3 Welcome to Kasumi, 1999. In the Kasumi interviews, a municipal public servant revealed that another Kasumi public servant was the author of this document. Source: (NKansai, 1999).

### 1.5.3 Himeji

In addition to this rural development initiative, however, was the thrust by the Hyōgo government to also develop its Pacific Rim, Seto Inland Sea coastline (part of the Sanyo)

for local and international tourism. Metropolitan-based tourism development was planned alongside the industrial Port of Himeji, a fully, working port servicing heavy chemical and industry throughput, together with public service utilities. Two proposed sites for recreational and tourist development are on sections of so-called undeveloped 'natural' coastline, in close proximity to the petrochemical and other public utilities storage and major shipping channels. Himeji is also the site of Shirasagi-jo, the white egret castle or Himeji castle.

### **1.6 Definition of and (Japanese) Use of the term 'Tourism'**

It is appropriate here to offer a definition of tourism and to consider how this is interpreted and operationalised in the Japanese context. According to the World Tourism Organisation (WTO):

*Tourism is the set of activities of a person travelling to and staying in places outside his/her usual environment for less than one year and whose primary purpose of travel is, other than the exercise, an activity remunerated from within the place of travel*

(Smith, 1998 36)

The WTO also sub categorises 'travel' for, amongst others, religious purposes and where tourism and travelling is outside 80-160 kilometres from the tourist's usual environment. Smith (1998 37) points out that these definitions can be problematic as the definition of an individual's usual environment can be questionable depending on who defines the boundary (e.g. the tourist, the supplier, the government and its various agencies). However, in this context, and for clarity, it is the Japanese person who travels outside his/ her day-to-day living and working 'locality' or environment who is, thereby, a domestic tourist. Rojek and Urry, (1997 17) state that 'travel and tourism can be thought of as a search for difference' by the tourist, and as a relief or respite from the everyday work/life experience (MacCannell, 1976 34-35).

However, Japanese domestic tourism policy uses both the concept and the perceived reality of tourism not only as an economic contributor to financially support local economies, but also as a means of cultural enhancement or imagery creation or re-creation of what should be considered 'truly' Japanese (Vlastos 1998). Thus, further refinement of the definition may serve to explain the policy makers' expansion of their objectives for the use of the 'tool' of tourism.

## 1.7 Back to Nature or Forward Planning: Objectives of Regional Tourism Policy

As the following chapters will illustrate in detail, the national tourism policy of the 1990s and early 21st century was affected by the end of the Japanese economic boom period of the 1980s. In spite of advances in technology, the acquisition of imports and heightened levels of consumerism, Japan failed to maintain its aggressive level of economic growth and moved into a recession. Tourism was regarded as an economic tool that had yet to be used efficiently. Faced with waning industrial production and sluggish domestic consumption, Japanese policy makers looked to tourism to revitalise many flagging municipal economies.

At the tail end of the economic boom in the late 1990s<sup>5</sup>, development policies reliant on construction were still in progress (Schebath, 2006 81). As consumerism gave way to frugality, and encouraged by broader national economic policies, domestic tourism policies aimed to attract Japanese to the outer areas of Japan and to attractions that had been overlooked by many Japanese tourists since, for two decades previously, they had been encouraged to become outbound tourists under a national policy directed at balancing foreign trade deficits, particularly with the United States. By 2005, more than 17 million Japanese travelled abroad annually. In changing and declining economic circumstances, however, Prime Minister Koizumi now expressed his wish for them to visit their own country (Soshiroda, 2005 1115).<sup>6</sup>

### 1.7.1 Cultural Perceptions of Tourism

Along with encouraging visits to national memorial sites (a practice often criticised by foreign countries as neo-nationalism and a condoning of the Japanese war record), the tourism policies immediately prior to those of the Koizumi government had focussed on Japanese nature (*shizen*) and on human connectedness with this nature (*fureai*) (Soshiroda, 2005 1110). These policies had taken a different approach from the earlier Resort Laws of the 1980s which had focussed on structured leisure pursuits in ‘nature’ such as golf, skiing and fishing and they were now aimed at farm visits, coastal experiences, a renewed focus on the mountainous countryside, and on utilising existing infrastructure as opposed to

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<sup>5</sup> Even in 2000, the Japanese government did not know where the economy was in terms of this recession and Koizumi in 2005 later conceded that it may have been part of a trend which was difficult to identify due to Japan’s short modern economic history.

<sup>6</sup> Announced at the World Tourism Student Summit, Beppu 2005

building new resorts. However, each 'new' tourism phase could include pre-existing strategies (*ibid.* 1114). These strategies, as Soshiroda emphasises were for international tourism but the local government documentation that was retrieved for this research, indicated that much of the international tourism strategies had been applied to domestic tourism strategies since 1997.

An expectation of this policy phase of domestic tourism was that urban dwellers would travel to towns and villages and small cities to enjoy the local attractions whilst attending concerts, festivals and other constructed attractions, perhaps staying overnight at Japanese inns such as *minshuku* (a bed and breakfast style of accommodation) and partaking of local produce either at *minshuku* or in local restaurants (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1998, Hyōgo Prefectural Government Department of Planning Management and Statistics Administration Bureau, 2001). These short stopovers were reminiscent of historical tourism processes such as pilgrimages with short stays of two to three days. Japanese tourists used to the Westernised hospitality and accommodation of the 1980s, were now being encouraged to experience their Japanese counterparts. Similar expectations characterised international tourism strategies (*op cit.* 1114).

While the tourism policies of the 1980s and 1990s also included opportunities for the construction of large-scale coastal developments to attract travellers to the seaside, local themes were also encouraged, such as 'one place-one product', theme parks and convention locations (Soshiroda, 2005 1009-1111). Given Koizumi's policy overhauls however, such plans were at risk as a result of changes in national (and prefectural) governments and the power struggles of politicians (George Mulgan, 2003 89-91).

### 1.7.2 Tourism as Tradition

In 2000, a summary statement made by the *Keidanren*, the Japan Federation of Economics (2000) argued that the tourism industry in Japan was 'simply a matter of sightseeing' with little relation to the wider economy. As such, they claimed that the Japanese tourism industry had fallen behind those of the rest of the world in terms of its potential contribution to regional development and international understanding. Their summary of the advantages of tourism was utopian; elevating the impacts of tourism to a cure could resolve issues ranging from family to global conflicts through regional revitalisation.

However, their summary was also myopic- its aims for development and improvement in both Japan's domestic and international tourism were incorporated within a series of tourism policies whose objectives have assumed that improvements in local tourism in the domestic market would also address the international tourism policy agenda, which in turn would further improve the smaller regional economies. There is a historical basis for the pursuit of these economic ideals.

In its many guises, domestic tourism is a traditional activity in Japan. As pilgrimage or the compulsory homage to the Shogun in Edo (*sankin kōtai*), the national capital in the Tokugawa period, the Japanese have travelled the archipelago to worship, sightsee and, in later eras, to take advantage of local hospitality. This was provided by local townspeople who quickly took pecuniary advantage of the opportunity to provide these passers-by with food, beverages and stopover accommodation along the way (Graburn, 1983), (Vaporis, 1997, Vaporis, 1989). Thus began the early forms of advertising of rural and 'traditional' Japan since these travellers included poets and artists who were inspired by the special landmarks and local features found on their travels. These literati recorded their experiences and responses to the local traditions of villages which characteristically engendered a national pride in the most urbanised country of the eighteenth century (Totman, 2000 244-245). It is from these early beginnings that domestic tourism took shape in Japan.

In the twenty first century, for some major stakeholders and their industries, tourism or at least the development of tourist destinations, is seen as an economic solution to financial hardship. However, for those at the local level, the small towns off the tourist maps whose citizens as a community have been encouraged to embrace the tourism industry in order to supplement their incomes from declining local primary production, tourism development is not always a solution. In terms of tourism development, political rhetoric frequently offers the perception that, when Japanese regional revitalisation is married with the international tourism market, improvements in both central and peripheral tourism destinations will occur.

While Prime Minister Jūnichiro Koizumi (2001-2006) announced a US\$17 million 'Visit Japan' campaign to encourage international tourists to Japan in 2003, this same campaign aimed to revitalise regional destinations. But these so-called regional areas were generally

in close proximity to city centres so, for example, the Tokyo city tourism routes now include ‘rural-style’ hot springs and historical sites located just beyond the Tokyo retail centres, such as those promoted by The Council for Promotion of Tourism in Asia<sup>7</sup>. There was thus embedded within these policies opportunities for those heavily populated areas that are not major cities, to use tourism financing to ‘regenerate’ as they were not located on the usual tourist routes, thus justifying investment in their ‘regional’ revitalisation. Coastal Japan is nonetheless included in the blanket approach of national and prefectural tourism strategies for regional revitalisation.

## **1.8 Organisation of the Chapters**

The approach of the literature review in chapter two is a multi-disciplinary one incorporating: Japanese studies, tourism and human geography and combines a review of the current literature, with elements of geographical theory to highlight gaps in the research and literature on Japanese tourism development.

Chapter three follows on from the literature review as it discusses the background of early tourism policies and how they contributed to the urban-rural dichotomy based on the Tokugawa road system and the later Meiji period railway-tourism system. It will then review the tourism and regional development policies leading up to Hyōgo Prefecture’s ‘Hyōgo 2001 Plan’ and its connections to the national Welcome 21 Plans. The chapter will then consider how the Hyōgo government has attempted to implement projects. Finally, the early stages of policy transparency and the reforming style of the Koizumi government provided an opportunity here to examine the shortcomings of the preceding tourism policies.

Chapter four discusses the methodological approaches used in the case studies. This chapter highlights the importance of preparatory data collection, the field trip arrangements and how these and other issues affected the conduct of research with reference to Japanese language, coastal culture and government networking in Hyōgo Prefecture. It is placed close to the following case studies chapters as it highlights the rich contribution of the

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.welcomeasia.jp/> This campaign supported by the Tokyo Metropolitan tourism also includes Australia as a target.

numerous participants and interviewees and illustrates the cultural complexities of stakeholder input at local and municipal levels.

Chapter five, the first case study, opens with a description of Hyōgo Prefecture. It then examines the Hyōgo 2001 Plan and the importance of Hyōgo Prefecture's tourism strategies that seek to incorporate the urban population into the rural tourism sector. This sets the stage for the Himeji case study, in which the Japanese national government sought to address regional issues, using a 'top-down' approach. The rationale for this is to demonstrate how tourism policy has been formulated in the period from the mid-1990s to 2006; using central-peripheral and urban-rural perspectives. Then chapters six and seven examine in detail, the ramifications of tourism development on the fishing village of Kasumi<sup>8</sup> on the Sea of Japan. Chapter eight summarises the thesis and draws several conclusions, whilst also drawing attention to the opportunities for further research.

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<sup>8</sup> Now known as Kami-cho

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter considers the relevant literature by focusing on the hypothesis; that higher-level policies designed to increase tourism within Japan are problematic when implemented at the local-municipal level. To recall chapter one, the relevant issues contained within this argument the land-use conflict and different perceptions of local landscapes; those of the local community ‘perspective’ and the tourist ‘perspective’. Contextually, the role of peripherality, the distinctive Japanese political/administrative/ planning system and cultural perceptions of the coastal, landscape and tourism/ recreation also direct this literature review. The case studies documented in Chapters 5-7 will highlight the problems and issues at municipal levels.

This literature review will also discuss the impact of academic and other inputs from various historic and political sources on decision making in national planning and development in Japan and consider how the discourses on this topic have played out nationally and locally in coastal and tourism development. The review also highlights the need for further research on tourism, at the local level in Japan. It then discusses the findings from this review in the light of the research hypothesis.

### 2.1 Introduction

The concentration of mid-twentieth century urbanisation on the Pacific coast of Japan and the issues that accompany such concentrated development have dominated western literature on Japanese coastal development (Botsman, 2012). Recent human geographical<sup>9</sup> outputs on Japan, both from Japanese and non-Japanese authors concentrate on the topics of the urban environment, climate and pollution, politics, economics and demography (Edgington, 2004, Shapira et al., 1994, Nagatani and Tanaka, 1998, Witherick and Carr, 1993). Alternatively, there is a literature on large city development, their histories and their impacts on their surrounding peri-urban-agrarian communities such as Cybriwsky’s Tokyo (1991), as well as McClain and Osamu’s Osaka (1999) and Kato’s Yokohama (1990). All of these focus on the strongholds of politics, power and development commensurate with the Tōkaidō belt. The Tōkaidō - centric nature of this literature provides some indication of the historic

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<sup>9</sup> Also known in Japan as Social Geography

and contemporary challenges that smaller and more remote coastal communities face when they are required to implement national policies at the municipal level.

Formerly, non-Japanese literature particularly of a geographical and anthropological nature, focused on coastal industrialisation and on port development related to the demands of the First and Second World Wars.<sup>10</sup> With the early exception of Embree's 1939 analysis of Suye Mura, there has been relatively little focus on case studies of rural, coastal towns and their fisheries other than Kalland's 1981 study, and Martinez (1990) on fisheries (pearl diving) and tourism. The work of Knight (1994, 1996 and 2000), Moon (1997, 2002) and Kelly (1990) focus on the mountains and countryside and agrarian issues.

The main goals of this literature review are:

1. To review and then to move beyond the stereotypes of Japan that still persist in Australia, based on mid-twentieth century literature. Western literature on Japanese politics, economy and history abounds but, as its critics argue, it has tended to be supported anecdotally or by reference to particular sectors of Japanese society (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995). Such literature has had its impact on the study of human geography in Japan.
2. To offer a possible perspective on Japanese coastal development that has not been used before in human geography; and thereby to contribute to human geographical research about Japan (Manzenreiter and Wieczorek, 2008 84-85). This review examines Shields' and Tuan's theories of marginality in light of Japanese rural and regional coastal development. The use of Tuan's ideas here aims to bridge the literature gap that later works do not address, such as that by Wigen (1995) who examines the role of sericulture until 1920 and Karan (1997) who addresses city issues. In terms of cultural geography, while some case studies move to the next step in terms of defining place, such as Anderson's Chinatowns (1987), there is still a need for a more systematic grounding of such cultural theory in non-European case studies.<sup>11</sup> Tuan began to address this in the Asian context. It has been argued that theory has stalled in tourism studies, (Wall and Mathieson, 2006 x), and that research on coastal development, particularly in Asia, has its gaps in 'synthesis and discussion'

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<sup>10</sup> While geography journals in Japanese have published case studies, they tended to draw conclusions only for those villages and small towns and to concentrate on their local issues

<sup>11</sup> Sorenson and Funck (2007) is a fine example of an urban studies compilation

(Nunn et al., 2006 141-142). It has also been observed that, tourism research in Japan is dominated by the engineering sciences (Uda et al., 2005, Nunn et al., 2006 142), and natural and environmental, or hospitality and management perspectives. This review seeks to redress this imbalance.

In terms of coastal redevelopment and tourism, many European, Mediterranean and British coastal towns have had to renegotiate their economies and identities as their initial industries have gone into decline or been downgraded (Hoyle et al., 1988 247-259). A comparative analysis of decision-making for port towns and waterfronts goes beyond the boundaries of this thesis. The focus here is on the Japanese case study context, where the history of governance, administration and the role of the multiple stakeholders in the modernisation of the coastal environment and its fisheries, have contributed to a (re)negotiation of the uses of port and coastal areas. McCormack (1996) will be used as a reference point in this regard.

This literature review considers theories, models and arguments that are either grounded in a Western context or that treat Japan as a whole. In context of the case studies, an aim of this thesis is to use Tuan's (1974 and 1977) work in a Japanese setting. It is acknowledged that some of his ideas may be seen as outdated and that, in his autobiography (1999), he questions some aspects of his theories and of Topophilia. However, particularly when they are examined in concert with Shields' (1991) work on marginality, Tuan's theories provide a different perspective on the little researched area of rural coastal tourism and development in Japan and a bridge between western and Japanese cultures.

## **2.2 The Dichotomy of Coastal Development: Settlement Patterns and Regional Development Factors Determining Coastal Land Use in Japan**

This section discusses the historical and cultural factors that have contributed to the dispersal and concentration of settlement in Japan and, in turn, in Hyōgo Prefecture. It considers the spatial segregation of primary, secondary and tertiary industries and how pilgrimage and, later on, tourism have affected the roles of the different municipalities. In Hyōgo Prefecture, as elsewhere in Japan historic settlement patterns have influenced contemporary local economies. Although the physical geography of Japan has constrained its settlement patterns, particularly along the Seto Inland Sea, it is the country's political and economic histories that have contributed to the overlay of

largely twentieth century industrial development and have secured the demographic dominance of the Pacific coast.

The example of Hyōgo Prefecture and the wider picture of Japanese development fit well into Tuan's theory of Topophilia (1974). Most literature on Japan has addressed the political, historical and economic development of Japan and, although Tuan does not specifically focus on Japan, he does refer to an Asian perspective.

Witherick and Carr (1993 39) use Myrdal's theory of cumulative causation to explain the early national settlement patterns of Japan, where 'like attracts like' but this does not fully explain the distribution of contemporary land and economic development in Japan, nor account for the contribution of Japan's physical geography to such patterns (Totman, 2000 477). Other factors affecting the location of intensive industrial development must be assessed to explain the land use and settlement patterns now found both nationally and in Hyōgo Prefecture.

This section recalls the research by Rimmer (1998), Alden and Abe (1994), Shapira (1994) and Edgington (1994) which has focused on urban development, the associated concentration of infrastructure and the consequences of Japan's expansionist policies of the early and mid -20th century. It also explores Japan's development history prior to the rebuilding of the Japanese post-Second World War economy to discern motives and precedents for the pattern of urban and industrial development in Hyōgo Prefecture into the 21st century.

The point of the argument here at first may seem to be the old discussion of an industrialised Tōkaidō belt taking precedence over the backward, (*ura*) in this case, Sea of Japan coastline. For Hyōgo Prefecture, the only non-peninsular prefecture bordered by two seas, there is extensive urban and industrial development on the Pacific coast compared to the slow or non-existent development required for tourism and primary activities on the Sea of Japan coast. For Hyōgo Prefecture, this involves issues of population concentration, industrialisation, public sector services, medical care, the lack of a service sector and the need for Kobe public servants in the fisheries department to fulfil seven instead of the usual five years 'away from home' employment requirements. In the research time period of 2001-2002, most of the prefecture suffered these inequalities, as the service and other administration and government sectors were centralised on Tokyo and Kobe.

It is here that the theory of Topophilia illuminates the coastal development dichotomy within Japan and the 'layering' of its land use, whereby political institutions have contributed to and defined not only the urban landscape, but also the rural coast-scapes. Tuan's theory offers more reasons for this than just industrialisation. He identifies the rural as a significant 'Other' in terms of Japanese national identity, a social construction based on the urban consumers' needs for fish and tourism destinations in the same way that Shields (1991 272-273) postulates the dualism of tradition and modernity to emphasise the dualism of central and marginal national identities elsewhere.

Tuan's discussion of space and place complements the issues of Japanese stereotyping set out by Sugimoto and Mouer (1986, 1995) and Befu (2001). While these are sociologically and anthropologically based, Tuan's approach is geographically grounded. The argument for cross-disciplinary collaboration is a little late for these academics, but it is relevant to the processes of coastal development in Japan, where the social sciences can play an integral role in explaining how the various government departments have influenced the development of coastal Japan into the 21st century (Uda et al., 2005).

### **2.2.1 Geography**

Initially, the constraints of Japan's physical geography confined settlement to its arable lowlands. The climatic conditions of the central Japanese mountain ranges made habitation difficult, thus agricultural settlements only extended slowly inland from the deltaic areas or fishing settlements gradually moved outward as coastal protection and reclamation techniques developed (Trewartha, 1965 140).

Even now, with improved engineering technology, living near or within mountain ranges presents significant challenges with heavy snow or rain creating landslides that can block transportation routes between towns and cities. In response to the physical landscape, early settlement patterns exhibited a core-peripheral relationship around the cities of the deltaic areas (Fig 2-1) (Witherick and Carr, 1993 39) with the settlements of the climatically inhospitable area of the northern coasts rendered subordinate and relatively inaccessible by the unstable geology of the mountainous regions. As Japan's economic infrastructure developed so did the sophistication and complexity of its social and political structures, stimulating further commercial and industrial development in and around the core centres while the peripheral economies remained

mostly based on agricultural, forestry and fishing industries (Totman, 2000 256, 478, 501).

In terms of both cultural and administrative structuring and restructuring, dichotomies developed in governance, reflecting regionality, language dialects and cultural distinctions. Geographically, such delineations on the island of Honshu, west of Kyoto (considered to be the 'middle of Japan') relate to two sections that are divided by the line of its *chūgoku sanchi* (mountain ranges), a watershed that travels east-west. This separates the Sanyo or 'sunny side' of the south and the San'in or 'shady side' of the north, Japanese descriptions mostly based on weather conditions. The Sanyo coast of the Pacific Ocean and Seto Inland Sea connects a dense conurbation extending to Tokyo (Trewartha, 1965 543, 556) that contains the country's political and economic control centres.

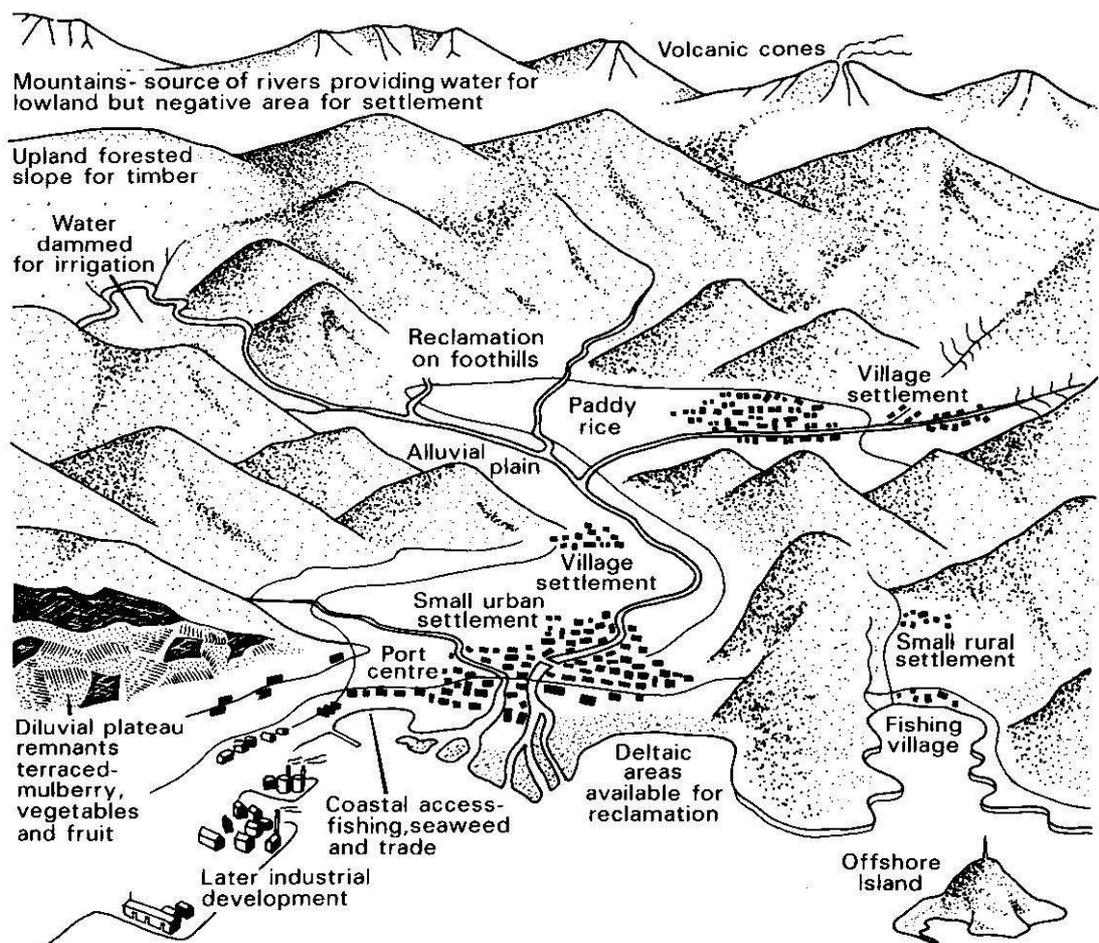


Fig 2-1 Witherick and Carr's diagram is a general description of settlement patterns in Japan, where topography has delineated settlement groups (Witherick and Carr, 1993 39).

### 2.2.2 Population

Population distribution has been reinforced by these core/ periphery delineations and has contributed to the dominance of cultural values both ‘inherited’ and engineered from these southern core areas. Urban population distributions were also centrally regulated as increases in urbanisation became an administrative concern from about 1700. Totman (1981 190-192,195,197) explains the various economic and political instruments that were used by the national government to stabilise or redistribute populations as needs arose.

By 1873, Tokyo’s population had fallen to 576,000, due to the decline of the Tokugawa regime and the later administrative policies of the Meiji Government’s Restoration by which the samurai, who, at that time, represented 30-40 per cent of the city’s population, were eventually dispersed. However, since it was the dominant capital city, Tokyo’s population quickly recovered; in 1878, it rose to 810,000, by 1920, it had exceeded 3.4 million people (Hall, 1966 218, 220). By 1940, Japan had four cities with a combined population of 12.4 million people all in the Pacific coastal belt (Totman, 2000 476). Post- WWII urbanisation occurred particularly in those cities with populations over 300,000, where industrial development offered employment and income levels not found in rural areas. This period also saw the consolidation of village administrative and local government units rendering local population growth and change trends difficult to discern. Nevertheless, industrial growth in the larger cities was facilitated by liberal planning laws (Jacobs, 2004 255, 257).

In just over 40 years, despite the intervening war, Tokyo’s population more than tripled. By 1964, the population of the old Tokyo ward, together with the newer outlying suburbs, increased to approximately 10.5 million (Hall, 1966 218, 220). This growth was not due to natural increase, which had peaked in 1920, but to net migration from other prefectures driven by Tokyo’s employment and educational opportunities and the impact of municipal amalgamations (Hall, 1966 221).

Later 20th century government policy objectives to decentralise businesses and attract population away from Tokyo, and, at the same time, to rationalise construction development in the private and public sectors, largely led to development in the outlying wards of Tokyo itself (Hall, 1966 230-233). Nonetheless, by the 1990s, eleven cities with a combined total of 25.3 million people developed in major

settlement nodes along the Tōkaidō megalopolis sprawling from north of Tokyo to west of Osaka (Totman, 2000 476).

Such a rapid concentration of population and urban development intensified the need for infrastructure and for prefectural and municipal policy to prevent inappropriate development and protect the environment. With 45% of the national population in three metropolitan areas 'there is a natural focus upon the performance of the largest cities such as Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka and Nagoya' (Watanabe in Alden and Abe, 1994 19).

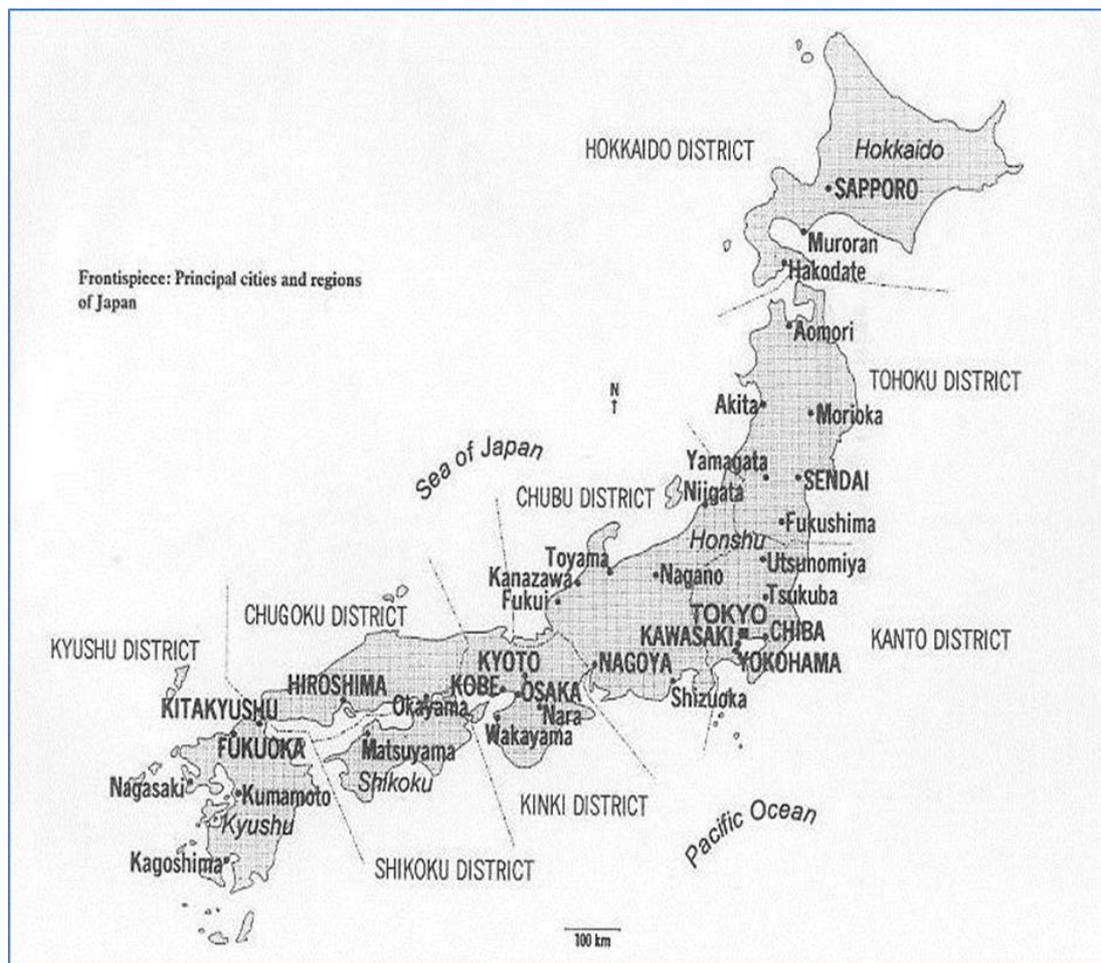


Fig 2-2 Regions and principal cities of Japan. The island names are italicised, while the largest cities are in capital-bold type. Source: (Shapira et al., 1994, frontispiece).

Towns with populations in excess of 800,000 were designated as cities in 1991 (Alden and Abe, 1994:16). With the exception of Sapporo, Kitakyushu and Fukuoka, these are all located on the Pacific side of Japan (Fig 2-2).

Thus by 1991, out of a national population of 123 million, 85 million people were urban dwellers (Alden and Abe, 1994:15-16). The breakdown of the 'Pacific' population, illustrates the concentration of this population, wherein greater Tokyo had a population of 25.3 million (Totman, 2000:476), while four cities each had a population of over 2 million: Tokyo (and its 23 wards), 8 million, Yokohama, 3.2 million, Osaka, 2.5 million and Nagoya 2.1 million (Alden and Abe, 1994:12). By contrast, in 2001, Himeji City had a population of 476,000 and Kasumi 1,350<sup>12</sup> (Tajima, 2001:60) (Fig 2-3).

<sup>12</sup> Kasumi-cho Yakuba (Kasumi Municipal Records).

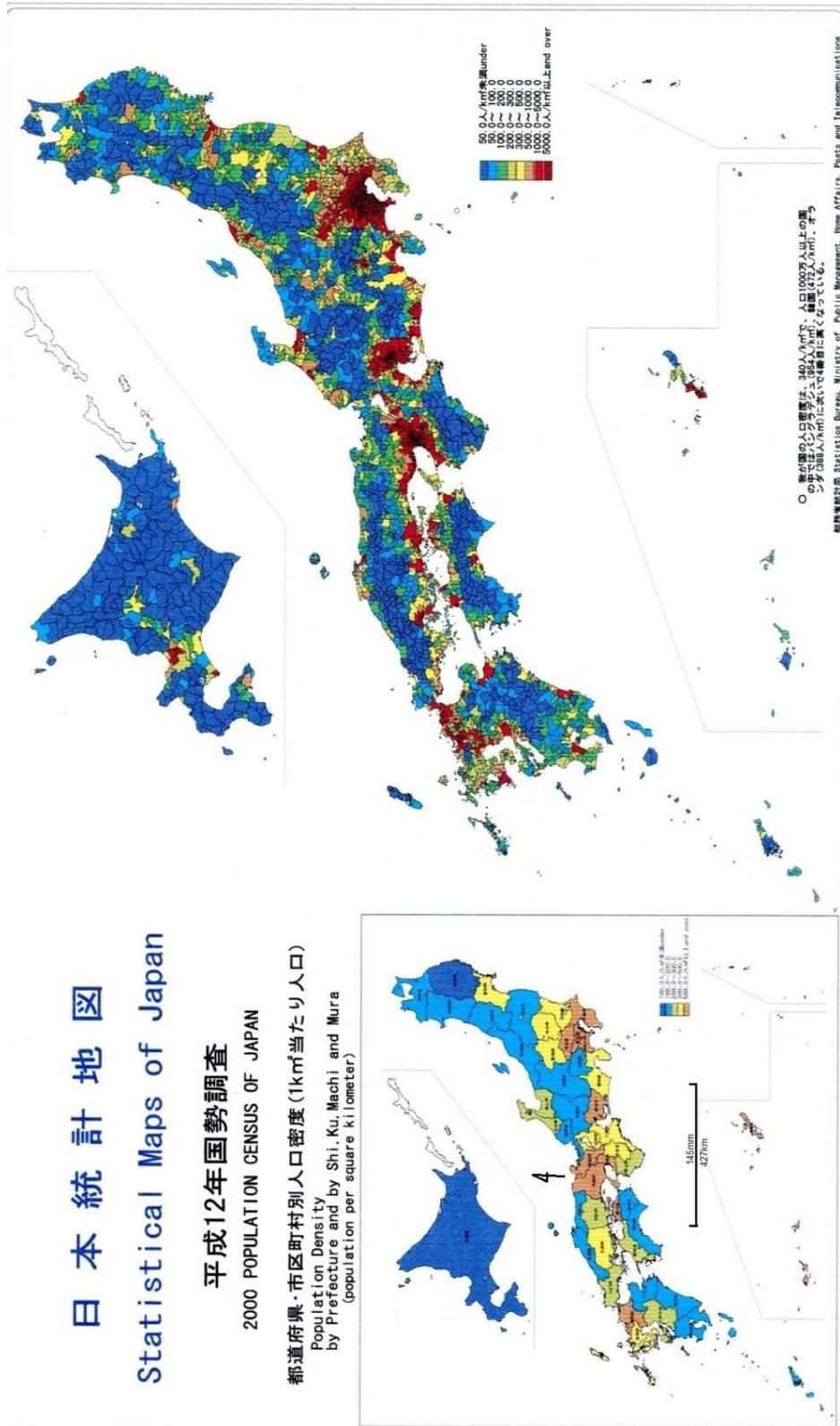


Fig 2-3 Population Density by Prefecture 2000. The larger map shows density by region, district city and village. The density coincides with the industrial development and is most concentrated on the Pacific Belt. Source: (Statistics Bureau of Japan Ministry of Public Management Home Affairs Posts and Telecommunications, 2000)

### 2.2.3 Railways: Modernisation, Prosperity and Prefectural Delineation

By the early 20th century Japan's leaders began to realise their opportunities for international trade, as '(t)here is wide scope in the Southern Ocean for Japanese commerce' (Kondo, 1910 461). This led to intensive and extensive development along the Pacific Coast. Between 1868 and 1891, construction occurred in the coastal areas of Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka and Kobe for both the navy and merchant navy connecting the latter to ports in Europe, Australia, North China, Vladivostok, Shanghai, Bombay, Hong Kong and San Francisco. Local steamships travelled out of Kobe. Railways along the Tōkaidō were constructed from Tokyo to Osaka in 1870 and, by 1896, had been extended North West to Kyoto and North East to Aomori, through the construction of numerous tunnels and bridges (Kondo, 1910 461, Inouye, 1910 424-446).

The role of the railways cannot be underestimated in this phase of the development of the Tōkaidō - Pacific Belt. Early Meiji projects included the modernisation of Japan's transportation systems linking earlier industrial developments with new industrial sites (Sand, 2003 132-133). Transportation facilitating industry requirements led to the spatial segregation of food production systems and the confinement of traditional cultural practices in primary production to regional areas, albeit to a range of regional areas extending from the outskirts of major cities (for small rice production) to remote islands (for fisheries) (Trewartha, 1965).

Multi-nodal ports, which had been initiated in the late Tokugawa era, were still in their infancy in the Meiji period. However, multi-modal transportation meant that ship-to-harbour-to-manufacturer movements in close proximity to the Tōkaidō ports would facilitate the rapid Meiji era industrial growth (Free, 2008). As in the Tokugawa period, foreigners were restricted to city precincts and discouraged from travel in rural areas. This restriction was intended to prevent external scrutiny of unrest in the rural sector where, increasingly, farmers and fishers were under cultural, financial and production pressure at that time (Totman, 2000 299, 300). The modernisation of Tokyo was seen by the country's leaders as a focus for the creation of a progressive Japan in an international context. Meanwhile trade unions, collectives and similar movements in regional areas were opposing this concentration of the benefits of modernisation (*ibid.* 2000 301).

Sand (2003 132-133) notes that the railroad companies opened up areas for the earliest planned suburbs between Tokyo and Yokohama between 1872 and 1910. Similarly, the rail network in Osaka and the Kansai region remained privately owned, allowing the railway companies to grow and to dominate the local industrial economy, expanding as their technologies advanced. With a divide occurring between the Osaka-Kobe 'West', and the Tokyo dominated 'East', the independent railways turned to image-making, promoting famous local sites and developing tourism destinations to encourage and increase passenger movements. This led eventually to the creation of an urban/ leisure/ tourism lifestyle - the 'urban domesticity fostered by the government' (Sand, 2003 133) of the period. Rural tourist sites were redeveloped by visionary entrepreneurs with some becoming major attractions such as the Takarazuka 'all girl' Revue in Kobe. The railway companies encouraged suburban housing and department store development contributing to the urban sprawl of these conurbations. 'Railway companies thus had become cultural entrepreneurs' (Sand, 2003 133).

Railway network development offered the government leaders a means of developing a zone of Japan that was modern and international while culturally and practically segregating it from its rural hinterland (Murayama, 1994 87) particularly at times when infectious disease was rife (Sand, 2003 142-143) (plague led to the cordoning off of Kobe and Osaka at this time). Increased industrial coastal pollution furthered entrepreneurial efforts to open up resorts and spas north of Tokyo and the Sumida River was also opened to leisure boating. Cholera outbreaks in the cities encouraged urban dwellers to pursue outdoor recreation activities further north, such as German-inspired hiking and mountaineering, while contemporary romantic novels encouraged tourists to visit spa districts in the northern Kantō region (Sand, 2003 142-143).

However, since the Meiji period, Japan's transportation system has largely been confined to the same routes, with additional links only being constructed in areas experiencing new industrial development. Well into the 20th century, the railway system both linked and separated Japan (Murayama, 1994 100) and, despite the growth of rural links, urban and industrial development remained concentrated in those areas well served by large rail networks (Karan, 1997 20). A shinkansen line to Kanazawa on the Sea of Japan coast is only now being constructed – fifty years after this technology was introduced to the Tōkaidō (Japan Railway Construction, Transport and Technology Agency, 2012).

#### 2.2.4 Industrialisation's Effect on Coastal Development in Japan

The Meiji restoration led to Japan's city port settlements taking on more varied roles including as gateways for international and domestic trade, destinations for tourism and as central points for food distribution and processing, notably from fishing. Unlike their European counterparts, Japanese ports prior to the Meiji restoration, were not multicultural nodes due to the Japanese government policy of the exclusion of foreigners from all parts of the country except Nagasaki and, post exclusion, Kobe and Yokohama.

Osaka had been a commercial centre from the 4th century, a designated port centre from 1655 and from 1868 a centre of the Meiji industrial revolution (Callies, 1997 67-8). From 1870, planned industrial development, led to Osaka becoming a major manufacturing centre (Miyakawa, 1990 50). In the meantime, Hyōgo Prefecture had consolidated from an assortment of provinces ruled by various daimyo to a prefecture whose capital Kobe after 1868, was the premier foreign port in Western Japan. The only other was Nagasaki on the island of Kyushu. After 1900, Kobe's industrial port expanded to include the historic Himeji port district, the locale for textile manufacture and then heavy industry and metal processing (Trewartha, 1965 538, 546).

Indiscriminate development occurred, however, as smaller industries, housing and service infrastructure, grew around the planned industrial developments. These giant, coastal industrial development precincts were the precursors of the combination-style industrial combinaats (konbināto) of the 1960s where steel, non-ferrous metal refining, ceramics, petrochemical, oil refining and thermal power industries were built on land that had been reclaimed from the ocean (Trewartha, 1927 547, 549). This was done by 'two principal methods of expansion: the infilling of coastal indentations and the horikomi method of excavating deep-water area (Takahashi 1979 cited in Vigarie, 1981 25)<sup>13</sup>. This was also the case in Hyōgo Prefecture. National policies, such as that of rail development, were integral support systems driving Japan's industrialisation and expansion into the 20th century. They favoured certain coastal locations in the Tōkaidō, over other areas. It can be argued that this economic policy has contributed to an imbalance of development of the coasts of Hyōgo prefecture and that it set a precedent for coastal development policy in the 21st century. It has therefore proved difficult to improve the balance of development through the implementation of

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<sup>13</sup> Both methods may use steel moulds filled with concrete, and then infilling.

development initiatives at the municipal level for small, non- Pacific towns in Hyōgo Prefecture.

### **2.3 The Theory of Japanese Culture: its Role in National Image Creation, the Social Sciences and Tourism**

Until the first decade of the twenty-first century, geographical discussion of Japan remained focused on the economic, political and anthropological literature of the 1990s and earlier, stereotyping Japan as a country of overcrowded towns and cities, where rural living can be typified by images of elderly men riding miniature rice harvesters (Kelly, 1990).

This section recalls the arguments of the role of *nihonjinron*, the theory of the Japanese culture. The discrediting of its use is concentrated in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, but it has largely been excluded from western geographical literature until it was briefly addressed by Cooper and Flehr (2006) and Cooper, Janowska and Eades (2007). The purpose here is not to examine the broad range of literature on this topic, but rather to address some pertinent issues that are largely absent from the human geographical literature on 20th and 21st century Japan.

In Australia (during the time that this author has been employed in the education field), this discussion remains in the dialogue of education and is perpetuated by Japanese tourist campaigns the latest being Cool Japan (METI 2014). *Nihonjinron* issues are considered in terms of its remnant role in national identity creation from within which, Wilson argues, (2002: 20) this identity ‘continue(s) to be negotiated and renegotiated’.

Further thoughtful study of Japan must preclude individual case studies that intentionally or otherwise represent Japan as a whole. The extensive case study collection by Matanle and Rausch (2011) has contributed much to the better understanding of the complexities of individual social geographic issues facing Japan. They do not however, address the role that *nihonjinron* plays in domestic tourism and coastal development issues.

*Nihonjinron*, known as the theory of Japanese culture, is based on a claim of cultural uniqueness. From the late 19th century to the late 20th century, the application of this theory led to the development of stereotypes of Japanese national culture and society

in academic disciplines ranging from anthropology to climatology and including the literary genres of autobiography, travelogue and musical theatre (Yokoyama, 1987, 172-173).

These works have not only substantially contributed to the perpetuation of this ‘theory’ but, where the literature source is Japanese, they have usually been framed in ‘positive’ terms while the non-Japanese literature usually emphasised the theory’s ‘negative’ aspects. This has led to ‘a ‘West versus Japanese’ (view) that ha(s) led to ‘fixity of (Japanese) ethnic and racial identity’ (Sakai, 2002 356-357). Only in the late 20th century have authors challenged this theory, using quantitative and carefully structured qualitative methodologies, deconstructing and redressing *nihonjinron* (Sugimoto, 1997 Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986, 1995).

Sugimoto’s (1997, 4) major descriptors associated with *nihonjinron* are that:

- a) Researched attributes are shared by all Japanese regardless of class, gender, occupation and other societal variables.
- b) There is no variation among the Japanese in the degree to which they possess a particular characteristic or attribute.
- c) The theory’s characteristics of uniqueness are rarely if ever found in other, particularly Western societies.

Regardless of historical influences and circumstances, the attributes of *nihonjinron* were deemed to have prevailed in Japan from the late Tokugawa period (Yokoyama 1987). This thesis instead uses the geographical reference and concepts of marginality, core-periphery relationships and perceptions of space and place to assess and explore the case studies of Hyōgo Prefecture in terms of both development and tourism. The Sugimoto model of empirical evidence guided the data collection component of this research, as it was difficult to have access to sound empirical sources, in the area of tourism (Japan Tourism Agency, 2013 8).

Shields’ and Tuan’s arguments will be used as springboards to look beyond the relatively small Anglophone human geography literature on Japan such as that by Witherick and Carr, (1993) Rimmer (1998) and Shapira (1994), and to explore the ideas of Vlastos (1998), Bellah (2003) and Morris-Suzuki (1998), the latter whose critical research and literature further adds to the deconstruction of stereotyping Japanese culture. Wigen’s extensive explanations of regional and agricultural reform

for sericulture in the Meiji and Taishō periods (1995) highlight the making of the political and industrial peripheries and also support the argument of the segregation of primary and secondary industries into different regions.

Manzenreiter and Wieczorek (2008) discuss the phenomenon of peripherality in the context of Japan, arguing that activities in marginal settings are less researched as a result of the emphasis on central/metropolitan issues in any given cultural setting. Botsman agrees with this contention, highlighting influential Japanese social scientists who drove the research focus on urban Japan from the mid-20th century (2012, 9).

Hendry (1998), argues that, while *nihonjinron* is a cultural self-analysis, it was perpetuated in the 20th century during the academic reunification that took place between countries previously separated by war (Hendry, 2007, 590). Nishikawa (2001, 245) argues that the theory of unique-ness is not particular to Japan referring to similar ‘culture spirits’ such as the French *-l’esprit Français-*, the German *geist* and, in terms of Australian culture, the notion of ‘Australian’ within the ‘republican’ campaigns. The *nihonjinron* concepts of social homogeneity and uniqueness have been comprehensively disproved by those who argue that not only is Japan not a homogeneous society (Clammer, 2001), but that empirical studies put to rest any claims of its cultural uniqueness (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986).

Befu (1989, 338) argues that the anthropological researcher’s quandary of the etic versus emic and the dominance of English in ethnography has contributed to this stereotyping in the quest for an encompassing understanding of Japanese culture and society. He notes importantly that, in a country with such a large population, and with a variety of employment, class, education and work experiences, it should not be surprising that there should be a variety of cultural features.

Some of these geographic and demographic variants include:

- forty-seven Prefectures
- four major islands and several inhabited smaller ones
- three major climatic zones; subtropical in the southern area, temperate in the central region and sub-arctic in the north
- geomorphological features ranging from high mountains to land areas below sea level

- households that vary widely from one person, employed part or fulltime or unemployed living in a tent for over ten years in a major city to a family of four generations living in rural mountainous or coastal villages
- rural communities whose economies are based on one, or all, of primary production in agriculture, fisheries and forestry, and tourism.

The following subsections allude to some of the sources of *nihonjinron*, its use in Japanese economic and political development, the role it played in human geography in Meiji Japan and the role it continued to play in twentieth century Japanese social sciences.

### 2.3.1 From Within - Social Science Research in Japan

Kowner (2002, 170-171) not only argues that the Tokugawa shogunate thwarted attempts at internationalism under the exclusion policy of that period but also that this occurred again in the race towards industrialisation in the Meiji and Taishō periods of the late 19th early 20th centuries. In order to unite the warlords, the Tokugawa nationalism policy stressed the uniqueness of Japan and its traditions, inventing or recreating traditions where necessary. It was not until the Meiji reforms that *nihonjinron* was developed as a yardstick for a rapidly changing Japan using four assertions, that a) only the Japanese are a homogenous population, and b) due to their 'same genetic pool only they can master the Japanese language and all of its nuances' (*ibid.* 171), c) the Japanese are a group-oriented, vertically constructed group, where, d) their culture is unique, and thus is superior to all other cultures.

Strategies adopted to maintain national cultural traditions included, for example, the establishment of an Institute of Music in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, and the collation of 'national music of Japan' and a national songbook depicting everyday life, childhood and nature set to established European melodies but using famous Japanese poets to contribute the lyrics. While this was a reaction to internationalisation, its purpose was to maintain nationalistic unity and identity through the education system (Nakano, 1983, 245-247, 51).

A further strategy was implemented through the Social Sciences. Gavin (2000) discusses the role of the Meiji geographer and journalist Professor Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927) and his controversial text, *Nihon fukeiron* or Japanese Landscape,

published in 1894, in which its support for the cultural identity (*kokusui shugi*) and ultra-nationalism of Japan encouraged the nationalist movement. *Nihon fukeiron* was used by Meiji leaders to influence social thought in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, encouraging the Japanese to embrace their country and their 'love for their motherland' and discouraging Japan's embrace of western culture. Based on this ideology, even travel books and publications for foreigners such as 'We Japanese' (Yamaguchi, 1950) became propagators of the idea of Japanese traditional 'uniqueness'. This propagandist role taken by the social sciences influenced social science academia (Yoshimi, 1998 66), led by the discipline of humanistic or social (human) geography (*jinbun chirigaku*) in colonial/ imperial Japan, greatly handicapped the future role of social science research in government agencies which later wanted to disassociate themselves from this 'movement'.

The ideology however, marginalised the social sciences in Japan and placed cultural anthropological studies on the periphery of Japanese academic research, unless it accepted the 'common-ness' or homogeneity model. By the mid twentieth century, the existence of funding biases for economic and political research led to questionable academic results (Narita et al., 1998 80, Manzenreiter and Wieczorek, 2008). Yoshimi (1998) argues that research results were often distorted because both the observed and the observers were affected by the popularity of this cultural belief which therefore became embedded in the data and their interpretations. This created a marginalisation of social science discourse within Japan.

According to OECD reports (Manzenreiter and Wieczorek, 2008, 88), by the 1970s, Japanese social science research lacked a significant body of 'empirical and problem-oriented research'. The re-establishment of the social sciences in the late 20th century within Japanese universities, (Manzenreiter and Wieczorek, 2008, 88, 89, 93) revealed that Japanese social science research lacked academic rigour because researchers were unwilling or unable to reject the dominance of US, UK and French research models, for fear that their research would not pass (senior) refereeing and would not get published. Interestingly, Narita et al. (1998, 80) also argue that external factors have contributed to the shape of Japanese social science scholarship whereby 'scholars in Japan are influenced by many works from American Japanese studies, so they can no longer claim any privilege of 'uniqueness' when discussing Japanese or any other Asian society'.

Fawcett (2001) agrees and maintains that, through Japanese academic publications in the social sciences (particularly in archaeology), *nihonjinron* has been used to authenticate a unique Japanese identity. In the case of national archaeological sites, major players in the Japanese government and development enterprises have constructed a local and national sense of identity using prehistory and natural and socio-cultural symbols of identity to locate *nihonjinron* in modern Japanese life. It is used as an expression of Japanese culture in an ‘international context... (where) it is an ideal, an ideology’, re-establishing a new form of late twentieth century nationalism with symbolic content differing from that of pre-WWII, while justifying ‘notions of cultural uniqueness and homogeneity’ (Fawcett, 2001, 75-76).

While Morris-Suzuki (1998) has broadly addressed these research areas of image creation, there are still opportunities for research at the local level. Clammer (2001, 1-3) calls for a greater research focus on:

- social diversity
- 'broader developments in social theory and cultural studies' not just those based on *nihonjinron* and
- popular culture, media, sport, sociology of the body and leisure.

In tourism, such research is represented by Moon (2002), Knight (2000) and Martinez (1990), and, in fisheries, by Kalland (1981) and Kalland and Moeran (1992). Postmodern studies of Japan now include ‘numerous deconstructive explorations of a range of Japanese institutions’ (Clammer, 2001 1) moving *nihonjinron* into a ‘heterogeneous discourse’. Only further empirical research can contribute to a continuing move away from *nihonjinron* (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1997).

In the leisure and social contexts, Linhart (1998a 1, 3) argues that, so far, intensive studies from both Japanese and foreign researchers have resulted in few publications in English and other western based languages. He considers that research on Japan’s ‘uniqueness’ and its *nihonjinron* is a blanket approach suited to the superficiality of the Western journalistic style of examining short-term ‘trends’ while explaining the Japanese economic boom. He further argues that, when aspects of Japanese culture are studied through its culture of leisure, the research view broadens and such ‘uniqueness’ statements as ‘the Japanese don’t have a word for leisure’<sup>14</sup> (other than *reijā*, derived from the English ‘leisure’), therefore they do not have leisure time’,

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<sup>14</sup> A major generalisation is that leisure was thus a non-Japanese pastime therefore rendering the study of Japanese leisure as meaningless.

become a nonsense. Nagatani and Tanaka (1998 2) concur and refer to Wilkinson (1991) and Littlewood (1996) who argue that academics were also responsible ‘unintentionally or otherwise, (for) propagat(ing) the canonical observations of early Japanologists that Japan is fundamentally an antithesis of Western civilization’.

In terms of the study of leisure, Japan has been frequently regarded as marginal in western research, with the concept of leisure not being perceived as an important focus of research in Japan due to its purported lack of centrality within Japanese culture (Alden and Abe, 1994, Linhart, 1998b). Rather, economic activity and the trade deficit between the US and Japan have been seen as more important topics, having taken over from the issue of Japan’s aggression during WWII. Any study on leisure, Linhart argues, relates to Japanese economic surpluses, the research concern being that, instead of having leisure time, the Japanese had exploited their time to pursue industrial and economic dominance. Thus, careful consideration needs to be applied when reading and researching the literature about leisure in Japan to avoid such generalisation and stereotyping (Totman 1981, cited in Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995, 13, Nagatani and Tanaka, 1998). Nelson Graburn (2003) in reviewing Chon et al (2000) highlights the pitfalls of research relying on stereotypes and generalisations in directing an argument. Hendry, too, has identified the relevant arguments. As these stereotypes may prevail in some academic disciplines in particular cultural settings, it is relevant to identify them here (Hendry, 2007 591).

### 2.3.2 Nihonjinron, Tourism and Nationalism in Japan

Jennifer Robertson (1995) draws attention to the use of *nihonjinron* in tourism and nation-making within Japan, arguing that it is based on the use of hegemonic nostalgia. She furthermore argues that the concept of *furusato* in Japan is maintained as a part of the identity of the urban Japanese because, into the Meiji period, 60% of the Japanese population was still agrarian (*ibid.* 94).

Robertson (1998) describes the processes of *furusato* (the old hometown or village), which were maintained by the central government to create nationalism, encouraging urbanites to support *inaka* (countryside) tourism. Robertson’s authoritative description of the identity-creation of *furusato* in tourism and nation-making at the end of the 20th century was still significant at the time when the fieldwork for my thesis was taking place.

Later in 2005, when this author attended a conference on Japanese tourism, the guest speaker, the then Prime Minister Koizumi, (2005, Student World Tourism Summit, Beppu) called for a tourism industry for Japanese citizens that would attract a younger generation to regional and rural Japan where the true identity of Japanese culture and nationhood, he believed, could still be found and experienced by young urbanites who, he also believed, were disenfranchised from their Japanese identity. This could be found in the rural heart and *furusato* of Japan. Tourism would be the vehicle through which they could experience and regenerate their nationalism. Leisure and tourism research were thus also influenced by *nihonjinron*.

As discussed in section 2.3.1, Fawcett maintains that *nihonjinron* has been used to form the national identity, where the creation of traditions for the purpose of nationalism is maintained through mechanisms, generated for, and by domestic tourism. Archaeological artefacts have been used to authenticate Japanese local and national cultural origins and identity (Fawcett, 2001 60-61). Thus, from the late 1960s and early 1970s, the national government has used such sites as symbols of a 'new Japanese identity' of historical and national significance (Fawcett, 2001 62). Further generation of these 'ancestral' connections of national identity is supported in educational curricula, and excursions, attempting to direct the future adult tourist through tourism policies based on such 'findings'.

Tourist centres near such sites as Asuka village (*Asukamura*) in Nara Prefecture, are used as representations of the beginnings (*genshi*) of the real Japan (*nihon no honryū*) and of the theory of the Japanese hometown (*Asuka furusatoron*) (Hoda, 1953 in Kadowaki 1971 cited in Fawcett, 2001 64-65). Such villages have thereby become constructions of symbolic images of 'the countryside, together with all its values of 'tradition', 'harmony', 'cooperation' and 'groupness' (and are) exoticised by those living in urban surroundings that are hardly conducive to group surroundings' (Moeran, 181 cited in Fawcett, 2001 65).

Paradoxically, therefore, the developments of these tourism centres are examples of stakeholder power in the development process that seemingly also lend support to traditional local identities and protestations against change. Fawcett describes the development of an even larger tourism construction at the same archaeological site which was funded by the National, Prefectural and other stakeholder groups (2001 67). This followed the Prime Minister's simultaneous appeasement of the local community by providing improved village infrastructure and management of the site and of

archaeological groups by providing larger surrounding preservation areas. Supported by the Ministry of Construction, (incorporated into the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport in 2001) the whole development process was, Fawcett argues, ‘an example of the use of history by the government’ and was promoted as the ‘home of the Japanese nation’s heart (*Nihon kokumin no kokoro no furusato*) (*ibid.* 2001 68-69). Despite ‘efforts of post-war archaeologists to rid ancient history of nationalist ideology’, the local tourism industry has been based on the preservation of the area (and vice-versa), reconciling the local residents and generating tourist yen profits (*ibid.* 2001, 69).

Fawcett argues that, over the last two decades, municipal planners and developers have been drawing attention away from local industrial feats of development and towards other forms of local identification such as ‘new’ archaeological sites, museums and exhibitions to ‘create a sense of local identity’ by emphasising historical sites and cultural properties (Fawcett, 2001, 73). This controversial use of the social sciences is similar to that of Shigetaka a century earlier. It involves compromising academic integrity in order to maintain national identity.

### 2.3.3 The Creation of Nature: Traditions, Nationalism and Prosperity

*‘Tradition remains embedded in modernity but in a position of servitude: tradition is there to be recalled to satisfy nostalgic whims or to provide coloration (sic) or perhaps a sense of profundity of a modern theme’* (MacCannell, 1976, 34).

By the Edo period, political and cultural change was imminent as Japanese powerbrokers began searching for international relationships in a ‘modern’ economic world. Determined to record ‘traditional Japan’, woodblock artists such as Hiroshige (1797-1858) and Hokusai (1760-1849) rejected the earlier austerity of samurai pursuits, and instead favoured rural images ‘to portray scenes of travel, towns, highways, and rural vistas’ of Japan (Totman, 1981 204). Japanese publishers maintained traditional bookbinding techniques to highlight traditional crafts, a practice that continued into the 20th century for tourist books (see examples by Yamaguchi (1950), Sakai (1949) and Tiltman (1964)).

The beginnings of a new integration of nationalism and economic management by the government incorporated the philosophical works of writers and social scientists. Morris-Suzuki (1998) describes the ‘re-invention’ of Japan where, over several

periods, nature was used to influence culture in a process of overlaying and intersection and where philosophical literature was used to exploit nature and the environment for various purposes. In the Tokugawa period (1603-1867), Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714) and Miyazaki Yasusada (1623-1697), encouraged the understanding of nature in terms of the betterment of Japanese daily lifestyles. Their work was readily adopted as early Tokugawa Shogunate policy while the works of Andō Shōeki (1703-1761) exhibited ‘the absolute absence of division between humans and nature’ as a ‘characteristic of Japanese thought’ (Morris-Suzuki, 1998 40). Later, the philosophical literature of Hiragai Gennai (1729-1780) was used to rationalise the regional financial crises that followed as fiscal wealth found its way into the metropolises of Edo and Osaka. His advice was used to encourage a greater development of nature (agriculture), ‘harnessing...natural resources for human use’ (Morris-Suzuki, 1998 45-46).

Morris-Suzuki stresses however, that economic benefits, for some at least, coincided with these philosophers’ arguments. Mercantilism became significant during this period, and the incorporation of these philosophers’ works justified economic progress in sectors such as agriculture and mining (Morris- Suzuki, 1998 35-47). Motoori Norinaga’s (1730-1801) philosophical arguments were later used by the national government to appropriate contemporary thought, connecting the symbolism of Shintō with nationalism and the Japanese ‘profound sense of the natural environment’. This ideology appealed to both urban and rural dwellers who could thereby be ‘grafted’ to a superialist notion of race (Morris- Suzuki, 1998 49). It was the agricultural expert and political philosopher Satō Nobuhiro (1769-1850), however, who ‘cheerfully combined ideas from the Chinese classics with Shintō mythology’ and with ‘western knowledge derived from the Dutch to create an ideal society where aggressive development and enrichment of the nation were core themes’ (Morris-Suzuki, 1998 49).

An example of the continuing practice of the reinvention of tradition is where, again in the seventeenth century, the philosopher Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691) (Morris-Suzuki, 1998 40-41) stressed the importance of managing mountain and water resources, yet saw humans as being intertwined in the processes of nature and the universe. In terms of the conjoining of Japanese-ness with nature, examples of the seasons can be illustrated in their contemporary celebration in song, poetry and story. The Meiji restoration drove cultural change under national policies that also sought to maintain elements of the pre-Meiji culture and the Japanese ‘connection to nature’. As noted earlier in this chapter, celebrating this connection and the ‘unique’ Japanese

seasons as part of the national school music curriculum (Nakano, 1983) maintained the image of traditional connectedness to nature and thus to a past Japan. Such concepts of nature, Morris-Suzuki argues, are not from one tradition but from a series of philosophies that have been transformed into layers of ‘traditions’. Tradition making and philosophical thought led to the ‘reinventing of Japan, through time, space and nationhood’ (1998 49). Robertson agrees with this contention and calls on Foucault’s concept of a common cultural ‘genealogy’, where ‘traditional events are linked or juxtaposed congruously and continually’ to create a ‘national heritage’ (1995 92).

These concepts, which continued to influence twentieth century cultural and educational practices, illustrate the use, for example, of the four seasons in a cultural context where nature, compartmentalised, exhibits a clear discrimination between the seasons, as expressed in music and specifically in the use of particular musical instruments to highlight given seasons (Ackermann, 1997). Ackermann notes that, in an acquiescent society, images of nature can be used for nationalistic purposes, forming a social order and a set of social mores (1997 50). Axioms such as only in Japan is there the cherry blossom, or that northern Japan, the San’in, is dark and undeveloped, while the bright side or Sanyō, faces the Pacific Ocean, support Ackermann’s argument. Hjorth (2009 81) agrees that image making not only has been, and still is used for nationalistic purposes, but, that there is a ‘nostalgic nationalism’, which equates tradition with prosperity. The four seasons as represented as ‘one of Japanese culture’s most central concepts’ (*op cit.* 1997 39) continues into the late 20th-early 21st century, with the contemporary plethora of seasonal focused advertising material supporting his argument.

Into the late 20th century, festivals for tourism and associated businesses focused on themes based on traditional philosophies of nature. The Umi no Hi (Ocean Day), held in summer, was created in 1996 and is now observed as a new national holiday. It then followed that the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the Ministry of Transport and the Environment Agency together with other agencies, agreed to help sponsor a competition of ‘Japan’s 100 Great Beaches’.<sup>15</sup>

The national government’s aim for this holiday was to increase public awareness of the importance of the role of the sea in the Japanese lifestyle and to encourage them to take care of this natural resource,

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<sup>15</sup> This also involved various government organisations including the Disaster Prevention Division of the Ports and Harbours Bureau, Ministry of Transport and the Japan Fisheries Association.

*To encourage them to appreciate the blessings of the ocean and to foster the public spirit of taking care of the ocean* (Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transport, 2001a)

The Ocean Day internet site did not show beaches that were near major industries, coastal reclamation, or fishing and its associated processing industries but rather focused on the public contribution to coastal preservation, environmental protection and on the coastal environment's 'deep ties with consumers' (specifically its urban consumers).

#### 2.3.4 Nature as a Traditional Practice

Concepts of the rural, and the opportunities that these provide for tourism and counter-urbanisation, depend upon created images of traditions of primary production, on the nostalgia for getting back to nature, on romantic notions of a simplified lifestyle and other re-constructions of the rural idyll. For Japan, nature as part of Japanese traditional and modern practices has been mined to inform and direct tourism policy. Vlastos (1998 6) argues, however, that traditions are 'multivalent and somewhat unstable signifiers'. Bellah, in his controversial interpretation of Japanese society, argues that, while there is continuity, there is also change and that change agents, such as philosophers and powerful stakeholders, contribute to the ways in which concepts of nature are and have been used to drive social and economic ends (Bellah, 2003).

Early Japanese poets such as Bashō wrote of the importance of travel, or the journey, as a means of seeing Japan, as a pilgrimage not only to its shrines or religious locations but to its nature, its local people and their food and culture (Keene, 1996 13). Travel in Japan was also seen as a means to celebrate and experience Japanese culture throughout the archipelago in the Edo period (1603-1868). Travellers would use the excuse of pilgrimage to overcome strict travel laws (Guichard-Anguis, 2009a 8). Even into the 21st century, travel for the Japanese frequently includes seasonal excursions and 'must do' experiences involving nature, food and cultural activities (Guichard-Anguis, 2009a 1, 6).

#### 2.3.5 Maintaining 'the Other' within Japan: Nature as an Identity

Kowner (2002, 169-170) asserts that *nihonjinron* was used when the Japanese leaders needed to identify its culture and ethnicity prior to the late Meiji period and that its significance escalated as Western culture began to infiltrate Japan. Mouer and

Sugimoto (1986; 1995) and Sugimoto (1997) extend this time-frame earlier into the late Tokugawa period (also known as the Edo period), when *nihonjinron* was first noted within Japanese and non-Japanese literature.

Recalling that constructions of culture and *nihonjinron* can affect both the observed and the observer, and the insider and outsider Cooper et al. (2007, 72), raise the question of where religion, Japanese-ness and 'the Other' intersect. Clammer argues that many cultural issues in Japan are influenced by its inherent cultures of religiosity, which need to be considered when studying cultures within Japan (see 'Staged Authenticity' 2.8.1). Although it is not overtly practised as such, Shintō is a 'very sophisticated form of animism' (Clammer, 2001 13) which deconstructs the boundaries between humans and nature, the same boundaries that separate 'the Other' in cultural segregation. He argues that oppositions and exclusions within Japanese society have in the past, been underrepresented in research on Japan.

The existence of 'the Other' is deep seated in Japanese culture and to dismiss it as a prejudice is simplistic. Clammer (2001, 13) discusses the ambiguity of religious boundaries, which lead to a blurring of the borders of the 'cultural Self and the cultural Other' and to the forming of a type of cultural nationalism. More subtle elements are the 'attempted management of the external environment,' including those 'cultural' (elements) or people far from the geographical and political centre. This is exemplified in the classic ethnography of Suye Mura, a Japanese Village in Kyūshū in the early 1930s where the central role that Tokyo plays is reflected not only in its history, but also in its culture as Embree's Tokyo informants regard Kyūshū as 'outlying and barbarous' (Embree, 1939 15).

Various forms of media still perpetuate the modernist centralisation of identity in Japan (Iwabuchi 1994). Sugimoto (1997,63) argues that ideological centralisation is disseminated by the national public broadcaster, NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) which transmits most of its programmes out of Tokyo with little opportunity for local station content. Meanwhile, the three major national newspapers, with a total circulation in excess of twenty million, are all edited in Tokyo, two of the major book and magazine distributors are based in Tokyo and, due to time delays and other editorial constraints, localised writers/ publishers often cannot get published within Tokyo deadlines. Compounding this ideological centralisation is the nationally based education system that discourages the practice of local dialects (*ibid.* 1997, 64). Cynically, Sugimoto notes that 'outside the capital, local situations only attract

attention as sensational news stories, or as provincial items satisfying the ‘exotic curiosity’ of the Tokyo media establishment’ (1997, 64).

It can therefore be argued that these central representations skew Japanese perceptions and that this influences its decision making. Having a land area similar to that of Victoria, Australia, Japan is a highly urbanised nation due to its physical geography and economic and political history and 44% of the population is concentrated in the Tokyo, Nagoya and Osaka belt (Tajima, 2001, 60). Yet, 56 % are dispersed throughout the remainder of the archipelago<sup>16</sup>. Not only do central representation and central culture percolate into rural and regional societies, but the residual impacts of city-based developers and their projects also linger in these areas. In terms of tourism development, research by Cooper et al (2007, 78-79) provides substantial evidence that, even as late as the end of the 20th century, tourism policy driven by entrepreneurs has led to the development of resort, theme park and other grandiose styled tourism initiatives, which local level tourism systems have seldom been able to maintain. As well, major cities’ tourism developments can overshadow those of local level, rural tourism.

The discussion so far has illustrated that several factors have contributed to the culture and development of tourism in Japan. It has also shown how the use of the social sciences in the Meiji period to re-create and re-establish concepts of Japanese traditions based on nature fostered a Japanese nationalism incorporating ‘nature’. Paradoxically, the Japanese leadership has also used the concept of ‘nature’, based in Japanese religiosity, as an ‘Other’ to reinforce its view of the nation as having a ‘traditional’ identity. The following sections of this chapter, examine how Japan’s geography has been used by governments to further create a social and economic dichotomy which has lasted into the early 21st century whereby domestic tourism based on a necessary primary production contrasts with national modernisation.

#### **2.4 Idealising Nature: Perceptions of Nature, Identification and the Formation of Tourism Attractions**

This section elucidates the Japanese idealisation of nature and considers how, in Japan, perceptions of nature contribute to the decision-making processes that are embedded

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<sup>16</sup> In 2012, 44.1%, The Asahi Shinbun, <http://adv.asahi.com/english/data/index.html#land>.

in governmental tourism planning strategies. It also discusses some preconceptions that may have evolved as a result of *nihonjinron* based literatures of overseas origin.

#### 2.4.1 Using Nature to Devise Strategies for Tourism Development

Tuan's work informs the argument that human perspectives of the use of space and place over time continue to determine the use and, importantly, the future use of our environment (1974, 1977).<sup>17</sup> His classic theory of Topophilia, which in some geographical circles is seen as being succeeded from the mid-1980s onwards by concepts of place - based identity (Jackson and Penrose, 1993) and identity politics (Anon, 2000) offers both insights into, and an explanation of various strategies that have been adopted in Japan to revitalise the rural economy through the use of traditional imagery. While cultural geography has moved on and more recent studies tend to be concerned with, for example, 'conflict' over place identity such as in Anderson (1987) or Marsden (2002), Tuan's work adds depth and explanation to the 'nationalism only' approach (Kauko, 2004) and offers an explanation of the reasons for the continuing and changing forms of use of specific areas of land, which can frequently cause conflict.

The 'attachment to one's homeland', Tuan argues (1977 158) began when humans, at the onset of civilisation, were attracted to the city and countryside for differing spiritual reasons: the former due to the opportunity for the building of shrines housing local gods and the latter to its nature and nature- spirits, whereby there developed attachments to both natural and manufactured localities. Furthermore, he argues that, for the inhabitants of either place, theirs is the place and space that is central in the overall scheme of their lives. Within these places are central points of 'creation of place' whether these are a church or religious symbolic marker, a market, a meeting place or a natural phenomenon. At some physical point, there is a boundary, a demarcation between the familiar, the local and the other, such as another village or neighbourhood (Tuan, 1977 161-169).

Over time, a series of processes, originally influenced by the natural environment, in turn contributed to the creation of traditional cultures, further influencing the ways in

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<sup>17</sup> Tuan clarifies this argument of perspective of experience in the context of his autobiography Tuan, Y. 1999. *Who Am I? An Autobiography of Emotion, Mind, and Spirit*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

which humans plan and settle into their environments. This then results in cultures exerting their own particular influences on the decision-making processes of developing their landscapes. Yiu (2006, 332, 335) agrees, illustrating how the urban planning of Tokyo's outskirts in the Taishō and early Shōwa periods was influenced by nature, romanticised images and literary aesthetics. Traditional connections, such as those to the homeland, the hometown and religion, again become central to the worlds of those who live there (Tuan, 1977, 152) or as a means of preserving a sense of belonging (Lorimer, 2005, 86). Robertson (1995) notes that the Japanese tourism industry continued to use these images of *furusato* into the late twentieth century.

While acknowledging cultural variances, Tuan theorises that a 'natural' sense of place remains strongest within cultures that historically connect their religion to their natural environment thereby enabling reference to it in their decision making processes (Tuan, 1977 158). Thus, in most cases there are stronger attachments to land/environment within rural communities than within city communities. The sacredness of the city is dependent only upon what it contains. 'People live in the city and from emotional ties of other kinds (are) distanced from the nature spirits and the visual of the countryside' (Tuan, 1977 158). For city dwellers, even those with the sacredness of nature embedded in their culture, 'sentiment for nature, inhabited only by spirits, is therefore weaker' as a variety of other emotional (city) ties compete with those of nature alone (Tuan, 1977 158). Nonetheless, 'visible signs serve to enhance a people's sense of identity; they encourage awareness and loyalty to place' (Tuan, 1977 159).

In early settlement patterns, humans devised uses for the environment where space and time elements presided over and gradually found a position in local decision making processes over the use of the spatial environment (Tuan, 1974 246-247). In the twentieth century these traditional land use and land related ideologies have contributed to contemporary decision making processes at higher levels for regional and rural planning in tourism (Shields, 1991). These have been exemplified in the Japanese context by Knight (1996, 2000), Moon (1997, 2002) and Robertson (1995). Such contrived techniques can exploit the sense of identity, which was designed to rekindle peoples' attachment to their own country's traditions using such social structures as folk cultures and rural lifestyles to encourage regional tourism and counter urbanisation.

#### 2.4.2 Perceptions of the Marginal- a Core Issue for Rural Revitalisation

*'Geographic marginality...is a mark of being a social periphery'* (Shields, 1991 3).

The concept of core-periphery relationships in which there are both cultural and political overtones, can determine geographically the marginal-regional-other in relation to the centre-capital-norm in the context of both spatial and political national and urban hierarchies.

Tuan's explanation of the relativity of place in terms of how humans use and interact with the environment can also be extended to include the determinants of the use of the periphery in terms of who and what is at the core (1974 115-116). In this context, he concludes that the city determines the rural (1974 248). This contention can also apply to the use of the coast by city dwellers where such concepts can be used in a discussion on planning for tourism.

Environmental and cultural determinants and their various histories frame human perceptions, both as individuals and as societies, of favoured places and locations for tourism in terms of the 'natural' environment (Tuan, 1974 95-96). In turn, these favoured locations are administered and governed for their protection while landmarks, human or natural, designate such locations as points of interest (Tuan, 1977 161-169). These influences therefore can determine the perceived nature of a 'place', be it urban, rural or coastal, as a tourist attraction and destination (Shields, 1991).

#### 2.4.3 What is Marginal in Terms of Rurality and Tourism?

Shields (1991) uses Myrdal's core/periphery theory to inform the discussions on national and urban hierarchies including those on peripherality and marginality in relation to tourism. Using Myrdal's theory, Shields argues that peripheral development, incorporating these perceptions, is embedded in government initiatives and planning for regional development and that these perceptions and therefore the plans that result from them contrast with initiatives for the urbanised landscape.

*Marginal Places ...are...not necessarily on geographical peripheries but, and foremost, they have been placed on the periphery of cultural systems of space in which places are ranked relative to each other* (Shields, 1991 3).

Shields looked outside the field of geography, conceptualising the hermeneutics of Foucault, Giddens and others in order to substantiate the existence of this social and therefore political spatialisation (1991 24) and to contextualise the marginalisation of tourism resorts and regional districts in England and Canada. Concepts of the ludic and the spectacle and the interpretation and re-interpretation of these places by tourists and tourism providers have, over time, led to the emergence of a mythical pleasure-based periphery that has in part, replaced the pull of its traditional 'natural' environmental attractions.

Shields argues that identifiers and signifiers have determined the consequential use of the peripheral landscape not only in terms of productivity, but also in terms of social spatialisation. He contends that these identifiers are contextualised in contemporary literature (1991 172-181) in addition to their autochthonous division (1991 164), both of which project images of the peripheral. These landscapes of the 'other' become marginal in terms of everyday, urbanised lifestyles.

Brown and Hall (2000 2-3) conceptualise peripherality based on dependency theory whereby the peripheral area is one:

- having geographical isolation
- being distant from core spheres of activity
- having poor access to and from markets
- suffering from economic marginalisation caused by a
  - lack of resources or;
  - decline in traditional industries or agriculture
- where much business activity is in the hands of small businesses which lack know-how and training in areas such as marketing and innovation
- which is denied influence by 'dint of their fragmentation'
- where there is a concomitant lack of infrastructure
- which relies on imports leading to economic leakages and is in a rural setting where life has changed little in recent years
- having a low, frequently declining and or aging population.

The ‘European Union’s Maastricht Treaty acknowledged in 1992 that tourism had a role to play in reducing regional disparities’ (Wanhill in Brown and Hall, 2000 3). However, Brown and Hall (2000 3-4) highlight two paradoxes in terms of ‘tourism as solution’ for peripheral places namely:

1. The disadvantageous factors that identify a place as peripheral, that of being non-industrialised, traditional, remote or isolated, a representation of different-ness, rurality and nature, are also the solutions to its economic problems in terms of tourism.
2. Prosperity as a result of tourism, because of such rural remoteness, may lead to overcrowding, environmental degradation and other demands for amenity improvements and modernisation thereby compromising the original attraction.

Brown and Hall (2000) not only identify the salient characteristics that describe the issues of the core/ periphery dichotomy, but they also identify dependencies that arise in the peripheral framework of city versus rurality in the context of tourism noting, importantly, that there is a propensity toward mutual reinforcement of the two extremes. The key contrasts identified in Table 2.1 can be applied to the different parts of Hyōgo Prefecture and will be examined more closely in the following chapters.

Table 2-1 Core and Periphery: Key Differences

<b>Core</b>	<b>Periphery</b>
High levels of economic vitality and a diverse economic base	Low levels of economic vitality and dependent on traditional industries
Metropolitan in character. Rising population through in-migration with a relatively young age structure	More rural and remote-often with high scenic values. Population falling through out-migration, an aging structure
Innovative, pioneering and enjoys good information flows	Reliance on imported technologies and ideas and suffers from poor information flows
Focus of major political, economic and social decisions	Remote from decision making leading to a sense of alienation and powerlessness
Good infrastructure and amenities	Poor infrastructure and amenities

(Compiled from Brown and Hall, 2000 9)

Thus, from the tourist's perspective, the indicators of peripherality are its remoteness, which offers an experience of natural beauty, its 'otherness' and charm, evolving into a mutual interdependence based on the urban tourist's symbolic conceptualisation of the 'other' (Brown and Hall, 2000 2) and the industrialised tourism generators who 'extract a holiday surplus' from weaker local businesses who therefore do not 'enjoy' the profits of their tourism attractions as much as they might (2000 2). Nonetheless, the 'other' as tourist 'attractor' (MacCannell, 1976), also attracts the tourist to popular destinations of traditional and historic cities and landscapes.

#### 2.4.4 The 'Other' as a Tourist Destination

Shields uses the central and marginal binaries in European cultures to make sense of the high and low ordering of space. This categorisation of marginal places into 'low culture' led to the social construction of 'the other' or the marginalised and even 'the exotic' which was the opposite of the chauvinistic (and self-categorised) view of 'the central', the civilised, augmented status of the 'high' groups be they in a city or an exclusive countryside location. The marginal thus belonged to the 'edge of civilisation' (Said in Shields, 1991 5).

The result is a relationship between 'the high' and 'the low', a relationship process that involves 'symbolic exclusion' depending on a strategy of 'positional superiority', one which puts 'the high' in a whole series of possible power relationships with 'the low' without the 'high' ever losing the upper hand'. Therefore the '(t)op attempts to reject and eliminate the 'bottom' for reasons of prestige and status only to 'discover' an interdependence, its need for the erotic (and) exotic and 'the socially peripheral becoming the symbolically central' (Stallybrass and White in Shields, 1991 5).

Shields' (1991) case studies embody this pattern of the central/ peripheral, high/ low, self/ other. Time for the rural 'other' is perceived to be static; progress and technology are not seen as symbols of rurality. In terms of tourism, a relationship of interdependence remains after the original use of a place has changed because, without this relationship, the 'other' does not exist and the 'central' has nothing with which to compare itself and to dominate. The marginal rural offers the touring urbanite an expectation of tourism facilities, primary produce and the necessary environment for ecologically aesthetic experiences.

‘Regional’ and ‘marginal’ are thus embodiments of all that is ‘back to nature’ and rural; a provider of food or a place of local craft and local industry, primary production, simplicity, rustic countryside (*inaka*), away from the sophistication of the ‘High’ city- that preserver of style, power, finance, administration, power-brokering, regency and centrality.

#### 2.4.5 Core- Periphery Relationships and the Development of Marginalisation in Japan

The core/ periphery relationship plays a strong role in the decision-making processes of central and prefectural governments in Japan where ‘core states or societies are those which benefit from central positions’ (Arnason, 2002, 1).

Arnason argues that the intense focus of Japan’s national development is historically based on a centre of concentrated power. This has led to a centralisation of authority and decision making for social actions and functions that, in turn, sustains the centre of authority and, in this process, has created a periphery. As other groups formed around that centre however, they in turn became other peripheries (*ibid.* 2002 6). As such, from as early as the 3rd-6th centuries BCE, the beginnings of a peripheral state system emerged in Japan, creating the beginnings of a national system and of an imperial Japan based on the ideologies of Confucianism (which was introduced to Japan in the mid-6th century), nativism, superiority, sacredness and uniqueness (*ibid.* 2002 2).

The setting for nationalism in Japan began with the ‘age of integral bureaucracy’ (Totman, 1981 144) when the Tokugawa shogunate formulated laws and regulations and encouraged the daimyo to copy them. The Meiji Restoration then reconstructed the national government, and its politics and bureaucracy, in the name of the emperor, cementing the centrality of control under a ruling elite ‘characterised by unstable distinctions and unsolved problems of coordination between central and peripheral parts of the regime’ (*op cit.* 2002 4). Uniformity of laws and the development of a large percentage of the population with administrative experience were characteristics of the transition to a central state system that took place from 1860 onwards (Kalland, 1995 13)

Arnason simplifies three points from a complex post WWII history that have contributed to the contemporary construction of core and periphery that has been

redeveloped in the Japanese political and administrative system in recent decades: 1) the prioritisation of economic development; 2) the limitation of independent political action globally and 3) no remilitarisation. Furthermore, Arnason argues that it was inevitable that this combination of factors would lead to a surge of growth that focused on the national economy, but in turn led to a lack of opportunity for the political development of local government (2002, 4). The situation in Hyōgo Prefecture, as indicated in the case studies, provides an illustration of the power of such economically driven forces but, as with all of Japanese development, the experiences of the prefecture and its component localities need to be considered within a historical setting that does not simply focus on one period of time in that history.

#### 2.4.6 The Position of the Marginal in Research on Japan

Anthropological research, in Embree's *Suye Mura* (1939), Norbeck's *Takeshima* (1954) and Kalland's *Shingū* (1981), examined Japanese village life and its encounters with modernisation. Valentine (1990) however, using a sociological-anthropological approach, discussed the 'significance of marginality' in Japan, noting that, at the time, his research about 'Japan ha(d) been out of bounds for both disciplines' in that it discussed marginal communities within Japan. This was confirmed for me when this research project was initially poorly regarded by one of the heads of department at HIT, where he felt that the study of a large city, such as his hometown of Tokyo, was far more "useful" (he did not explain) than the study of the rural town of Kasumi or even the city of Himeji, which he felt was just a "castle town" of "little significance" and when another supervisor felt that there were more interesting tourism issues than those of Kasumi<sup>18</sup>.

Valentine clarifies the dilemma (1990, 36) whereby, in Japanese society, marginality is neither complete exclusion nor complete inclusion but is rather a 'marginal situation' yielding a degree of both exclusion and inclusion, particularly in the contexts of social participation, wealth and other rewards of privilege and power. He also refers to Perlman (1976 92), arguing that marginality often implies insignificance and negligible economic importance, regardless of the fact that many Japanese marginal communities are 'highly significant' and are 'intimately bound up with the mainstream' (*op cit.* 1990, 26). Valentine argues that, traditionally, anthropological

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<sup>18</sup> This comment was made to this researcher in Japan in August 2001, was not supported by the Dean of HIT and the supervision of the fieldwork and research was then managed by Professor Reiko Kinuhata and Dr Yumi Hasegawa

approaches have tended to focus on non-industrial societies while, in sociological studies, precedence tends to be given to Western industrial societies. In the past, western literature on marginal Japanese communities focussed on social deviancy, life-death issues of illness, damage and association with the liminal (i.e. not being of the 'pure Yamato race') and employment circumstances outside of the norm (Valentine, 1990, 37).

This section has discussed the perception of nature and rurality and at times, the peripheral position they hold in Japanese culture and research. Reference to Shields' *Places on the Margin* (1991) highlights the role of the marginal in tourism and in national identity. Supported by Tuan's arguments (1974, 1977), their role in research on human geography in Japan, emphasises the continual use of a place over a period of time, and the Japanese rural context as peripheral to the core.

Through such lenses the rural can be seen as being maintained as a contrast to urban modernity (Moon 1997), and as a location where it is perceived that traditions are being maintained or even manufactured for nationalistic and touristic reasons.

## **2.5 Tourism**

While nature-based tourism (which includes the marine environment) has been the fastest growing sector of the tourism industry in recent years, the literature on coastal development and tourism is small in comparison to that on coastal management and environmental/ sustainability issues often as a result of human impact. Only in the latter part of the twentieth century, has research considered strategies for the prevention rather than the remediation of human impact (Kay and Alder, 1999 20) and any examination of change, impacts and opportunities, Wall and Mathieson (2006 ) argue, has only begun to occur in the 21st century.

Furthermore, although regional or rural space has long been used for playground and leisure opportunities by city dwellers and urbanites Clelland (2000, 100) notes that, at the end of the 20th century, the literature on tourism case studies is extensive while the development of tourism theory has been slow. MacCannell (1976) made a significant contribution to the study of western tourism in the late twentieth century, arguing that the tourist determines the tourist attraction through an identification process of markers and the constructed recognition of signifiers.

It has been over 30 years since MacCannell defined the tourist, tourism and tourist attraction in these contexts of anthropological, sociological and social structural differentiation (1976, 10-11). His tourist is no longer just the sightseer but someone who participates in inter alia: sports tourism; organised tours based on romantic novel locations; extreme sports tours and holidays; resort and theme park tourism; gourmet tourism; trekking/backpacking; conference tourism and working holidays. The marketing aimed at the tourist has also changed to a point where, just as cartoons and movies serve as advertisements for children's toys, many television programmes blatantly advertise (sell) in half to one hour slots, tourism destinations of the 'other' showcasing their food, family values and artisanry.<sup>19</sup> Urry (1990 8) develops MacCannell's arguments, which posit that the authenticity that is used to attract the tourist may have existed in times and places past, but now is often no more than a construct.

MacCannell (1976 cited in Urry, 1990 9-10) argues that the tourist gaze needs to be directed and that a tourist ritual is developed through a number of marketing processes even though the tourist determines the destination s/he visits. With the rise in popularity of 'industrial tourism' (in Japan, visiting factories or processing plants, such as fish processors) and discount retail tourism (regional tour buses visit Melbourne and Sydney discount goods outlets), is it not the tourism provider who has 'invented' the experience for the tourist rather than the other way round? In Japan, people have traditionally participated in tourism as a pilgrimage, a historic ritual similar to earlier religious pilgrimages, while today they are directed by various media and other hegemonic processes. Thus, there is a blurring between obligation and tourism participation (MacCannell, 1976 42-43). Robertson (1995) elaborates on the Japanese *furusato* (old home town) scenario, arguing that the economic mechanisms of central bureaucracy drive rural tourism by using *furusato* and other traditional themes to encourage rural revitalisation.

It is contended, however, that '(t)here is no single tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historical period. Such gazes are constructed through difference' (Urry, 1990 1). However, empirical data and other qualitative methods are often lacking for the consideration of what tourism object is chosen for the bestowal of the tourist gaze. Who or what makes the decisions of what is to be deemed a tourist attraction? What mechanisms are in use and for how long (traditionally) have they

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<sup>19</sup> Two examples: Vienna Tourism 2008 p47 in the series 'Inspector Rex' on Australian television network ABC 1 or the docu-marketing 'Post Card' series on Channel 9.

been used in order to develop ‘the gaze’ upon a particular object or place? Urry argues that, although there is a universal gaze, its direction depends on the non-tourist experiences with which it can be contrasted (*ibid.* 1990 2). Can the various institutions and stakeholders direct the ‘non-tourist experience’, using equally varied mechanisms to encourage tourism and tourist experiences? Furthermore, once a destination, experience or attraction is established as a tourism attraction or opportunity, can it be sustained through media exposure including television, literature, magazines and movies (*ibid.* 1990 3)? Robertson (1995) argues that this can be the case.

Clelland (2000, 102) contends that sightseeing is just one small component of the ‘tourist gaze’ and therefore calls for ‘a review of tourism’s theoretical roots’. He suggests an approach which examines tourists who search among several ‘escapes’ (*ibid.* 114-115) including the ‘primal landscape’ (nature) a place from which they have been estranged where tourism offers them an opportunity to seek alternatives to the worlds of objects and modern externalisation (2000, 102).

For Hyōgo Prefecture, coastal tourism planning is linked to rural revitalisation and the decline of local economies, but also to the development of the nation and nationalism. It is appropriate, given the nature of the case studies used in this thesis to establish a literature base that discusses the reasons underpinning such rural, coastal development planning foci.

### 2.5.1 Idealised Rurality and the use of Rural Landscapes for the Purpose of Tourism

The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape, which ‘separate them off from everyday experiences... to be taken out of the ordinary’ (Urry, 1990 3).

In the European context, even from the Roman period, rural imagery presented an image of comfort and abundance as wealthy urbanites acquired second homes in rural areas. From the late 1700s, prestigious country accommodation has been the domain of the wealthy upper classes and, by the mid-19th century, the affluent used the countryside for recreational pursuits (Bunce, 1994 85). Countryside recreation and leisure began in Britain in the mid-late 1700s, but it was not until the mid-1800s, when industrialisation had removed a large proportion of the population from rural areas, that those who could now afford to holiday in the country or seaside did so (*ibid.* 1994

112). The countryside had become, for a fortunate few at least, a recreational playground, reinforcing its idealisation in the perceptions of the rich and powerful.

In the 20th century, this rural ideal gathered momentum with the popularity of the ‘second-home’ phenomenon for the Anglo-American middle-class (Bunce, 1994 100). Developers opened up tracts of rural land for ‘second homes’. The building and service industries that accompanied such developments included the advertising, marketing and print media industries all enhanced by images of the village festival and the ‘culture of country-style consumerism’ (*ibid.* 1994 101). Japan, too, exhibits this post-modern culture of tourism and recreation similar to that of Bunce’s Anglo-Americans.<sup>20</sup>

Idealising the rural tourist destination involves the selective retention and even the creation of traditions, (Herbert, 1995 1, Gruffudd, 1995 49, 50) whereby certain images are selected and are given particular contemporary values of their society and their political environments. Such myth making of social history is rich in symbols where, alongside the construction of a contemporary national identity, is the preservation of highly selected images of past societies. Gruffudd (1995 52-53) particularly refers to descriptions of British landscapes such as 18th century writers’ depictions of Wales where ‘the Rubbish of Noah’s Flood’ eventually became the ‘picturesque’.

Interestingly, some parallels can be drawn between the idealised rurality and the transformations of Gruffud’s Wales and those of Tokugawa Japan. British artists of the late 1700s found that the irregular landscapes of Wales proved to be popular models for the art market. In the same period, Japanese poets and artists making pilgrimages to shrines and to the cultural centre of Kyoto, found a market for their craft where they traded their poetry and paintings, which often commemorated the good service of innkeepers’ or the rugged beauty of the immediate locality, in lieu of cheap lodging (Keene, 1996).

Promoting the countryside idyll found its way into popular literature and media. The early publishing industry used travel books, anthologies and poetry, then later travel guides, magazines and facsimiles of the ‘classics’ (Bunce, 1994 85). Dorst’s post-modern ‘advanced consumer capitalism’ is exemplified in the explosion of country

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<sup>20</sup> In Hyōgo prefecture, such second homes may be used as the primary residence, a growing attraction for retirees.

lifestyle magazines (*ibid.* 1994 101), the contents of which range from house design to how to use 'free time'.

As a spin off from the idealisation of rurality in the late twentieth century, the peripheral areas of Britain were popularised in novels and television series leading to resurgences in local tourism (Gruffudd, 1995 52-53). In Japan as well, television series depicted life style changes for city dwellers in rural scenarios. Such staged authenticity, Gruffudd notes (1995 52-53), becomes questionable when it sits in a specific timeframe and is then used as an identification tool by a different set of stakeholders for purposes other than the preservation of culture, folk traditions and industries.

Tuan's argument of linking place with identity (1977) contributes to Graburn's observations (1983 197) that *inaka mono* (rural people) were identified as those who engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishing employment. Such perceptions of self and identity and of others (outsiders) all impinge on decision making processes in and for tourist destinations. The theories of place-based identity and 'identity politics' further explain the multiple land use decisions which are determined, 'not only (as) a response to place but actively produce(s) places for people' (Anon., 2000 840). Thus, such processes will often develop commensurate place/space tensions in localities where people with different values use the same spaces, which they all identify and use as their own. A fishing village involved in the provision of food and entertainment for urbanites is also a fisher's home and community.

### 2.5.2 Signifiers

Rojek (1997) expands on Tuan's argument. that city dwellers' concepts of 'back to nature' signifiers can 'deny or repress' the marginal (the rural), dragging and indexing their cultural and social impressions into their own centred, 'back to nature' experience (*ibid.* 1997 58-59). Such signifiers, for both tourists and tour creators, include images 'dragged' from one scenario, such as a fishing rod and lines strewn from bobbing boats off an untouched seascape, then 'indexed' through advertising media into a brochure and reconstructed as a tourism activity such as a Japanese theme park that stages fishing in concretised ponds only metres from the coastline. This reconstruction of the basic elements of the rural tourist attraction, can commodify, or commercialise (Tonts and Grieve, 2002) a destination. In such a process, a traditional scene together with the 'traditional' methods of production has been creatively

destroyed and recreated to become a supplier of entertainment, while perhaps maintaining an economic base of marginal, traditional activities that may be more or less connected to the newer tourism developments.

A geographical reference point may only become one of significance when it is identified or created as such. Whether identified by a community of local people or by scientists, natural reference points may become significant when the features:

- Hold geographical significance,
- Connect people to place or,
- Place people within a particular boundary such as a country or nation.

(Tuan, 1977 162)

For Japan and the Japanese, the landmark of Mount Fuji is the natural icon of the nation. On a clear day, its peak dominates the skyline of Tokyo and its surrounds; a landmark for Tokyo-ites, Japanese and foreign tourists alike. It is an object of sentiment and art, from historic woodblock prints to modern literature. It is also a sacred place, not only is it passively dominant over Japan but, at one time in Japanese history; it was also a physical threat. One only has to visit Mt. Fuji to see that its summit undoubtedly dominates the horizon with its breath-taking beauty over all other topographic features. Uluru in Australia holds a similar landmark status of sentiment and sacredness for many Indigenous and settler/migrant Australians.

In addition to natural phenomena, physical, political, economic, social and technological structures help to determine the nature of tourism planning and development (Rojek, 1997). The tourist often visualises and, in turn, creates further expectations of and from a tourist site. Any mystery, story or other representation of a tourist destination can be created to 'mould' a tourist site, thus heightening the tourists' (possibly manufactured) expectations. The tourist also draws upon various inputs (media, tourist brochures etc.) to construct particular scenarios about particular sites.

Built landmarks offer specific points of connection, be they London and Buckingham Palace or Tokyo and the Imperial Palace. City development tends to be structured around these nodes; they are magnets attracting business and further development (Hall, 1966 7). They offer people opportunities for pilgrimages to these cultural

landmarks where they feel, if only temporarily, a connectedness to the country in which they stand. This process of ‘indexing, dragging and social construction’, as Rojek (1997) argues, contributes to the decision making processes of tourism stakeholders in all sectors including government, tourism organisations, local providers and tourists.

Both Tuan and Rojek’s theories and models are exemplified in Aristimuño’s (2002) research where the perceptions of two groups in a rezoning of agricultural land in western Kobe involved old, long- term farming residents whose perceptions of land use differed from those of the new younger urban residents. Aristimuño refers to Tuan’s ‘native point of view’ of the land, where the awareness of the familiar and ‘intimate landscape’ contrasted with the ‘visitor or tourist point of view’ (Rojek’s signifiers) of those who had the least ‘affective ties’ to their new landscape, including their lack of participation in local activities and festivals (2002 91-92). Aristimuño argues that the planning authorities’ decisions were affected by the landscape- its capacity and constraints- and by the residents’ demands and needs in order for appropriate future development of the landscape to occur. The residents’ differing perceptions of the landscape affected their judgement in community consultations and therefore their ability to make successful demands on the planning authority.

Local planning authorities made up of individuals and residents are role players and stakeholders, each with their own aesthetics and agendas, making decisions on development. By contrast, national planning bodies are disassociated from their target areas, and their decisions are affected by their images of these rural/peripheral/marginal landscapes, perceived or otherwise, which nevertheless affect their decision- making processes as they plan for tourism development in rural and coastal environments.

## **2.6 Governance and Image Creation-Place and Stakeholders in Coastal Development**

Not only did Japan’s physical geography initially determine that the majority of settlement be located on the Pacific coastline but importantly, the political geography and governance of each political ‘regime’ contributed to the maintenance of this pattern (Hall, 1937 353-377, Trewartha, 1965 538, Witherick and Carr, 1993 81), a fact particularly highlighted by Totman (2000). The consolidation of a united society

from amongst feuding clans began during the Tokugawa period and led to a redefinition and restructuring of the nation's economy and politics.

To contain civil unrest and establish good governance (Sorensen, 2002 12-15), the Tokugawa leaders put in place civil obedience, economic, cultural and military strategies, including the construction of castle towns which were built along rivers and highways to facilitate communication lines, provide hubs of administration and utilise established deep sea ports (Karan, 1997 20). It was these factors that led to the identification of travel routes and the privileging of particular settlements over others (Howe, 1996 52-53, 58).

#### 2.6.1 Tokugawa Travel and Land Utilisation

Increased urban consolidation in the Tokugawa period began to bring about a linear settlement and transportation pattern known as the Tōkaidō megalopolis (Trewartha, 1965 155). This included:

- The predominance of castle towns and the development of five great highways which led to the seat of shogunate power in Edo (Tokyo),
- The spread of commercial enterprise and the differentiation of occupational classes amongst those other than farmers,
- Sub highways that were later built to connect developing areas of specialised production,
- The transfer of national governance and administration to Edo (Tokyo) from the early capital city of Kyoto in central Honshu (Fig 2-4).

The Tokugawa shogunate's demand for feudal lords (daimyō) to participate in the alternative residence system (sankin kōtai) and to maintain a base in Edo (renamed Tokyo in the Meiji period) in order to curb internal conflicts and maintain imperial control over the daimyō and their fiefdoms, contributed to Edo's population increase (Vaporis, 1997 25). The daimyō were required to spend alternate years living in Edo and in their home towns (albeit with their families remaining as hostages in Edo) and travelled the Tōkaidō road that led to the new de facto capital of Edo. The formal capital, Kyoto, remained important as the artisanal and cultural centre. Other important southern cities such as Osaka and Kobe were also linked by this road (Traganou, 2004 13).

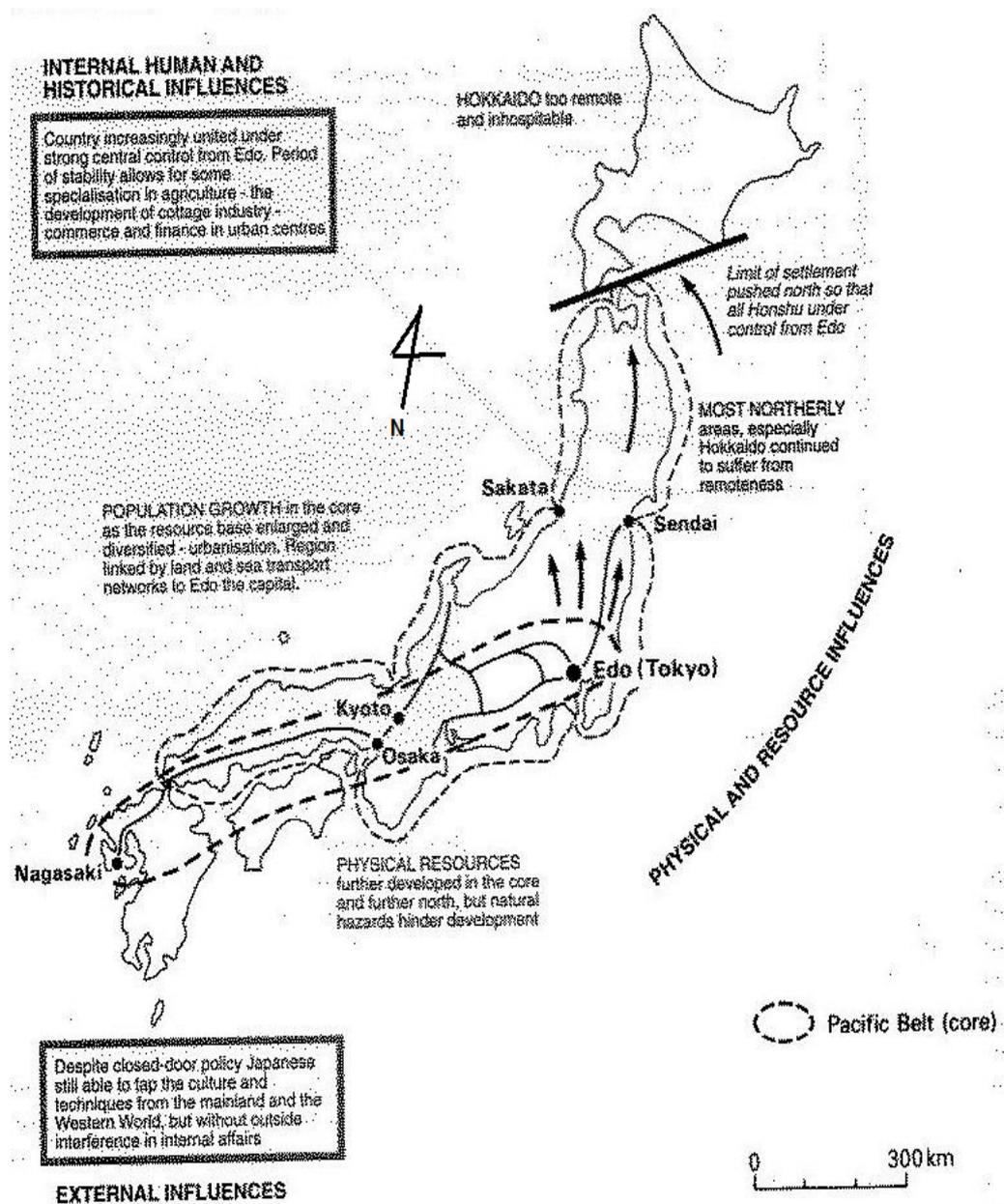


Fig 2-4 Witherick and Carr diagrammatically enhanced Trewartha's description of the Tōkaidō which later became the Pacific Belt which dominates settlement and development (Witherick and Carr, 1993: 44). (North is lacking in the original).

Due to the sankin kōtai, by 1785, Edo had become the world's most populous city with 1.4 million people<sup>21</sup> (Hall, 1966: 218, 220). The centralisation of Tokyo as the supreme capital city, its industrialisation, control of administration and government and, until the Meiji period, the social distinction between those who could 'freely' travel throughout the country and those who could not, also created an atmosphere of

<sup>21</sup> London's population at that time was 900,000 Hall, P. 1966. *The World Cities*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

capital city power, dominance and prestige, the core of class distinction. At this time of intense urbanisation, select folk industries were revived and, together with the artisans employed within them, these activities were relocated into the capital's royal courts (Suzuki, 1910 533-549).

In terms of Tokugawa civil and international conflict, domestic political negotiations favoured particular regions for development (Traganou, 2004 12-13, Wigen, 1995). The consolidation of Western Japan's (including Kyushu's) domination in local clan and international warfare favoured the already established ports of Kyushu, (Suzuki, 1910 533-549) and led to their development into the early 20th century as naval bases from which Japanese ships could control Korean and Chinese waters (Yamamoto, 1910 218-230). Osaka had already expanded as a commercial port from the late Tokugawa period (Suzuki, 1910 533-549).

Wigen's (1995) historico-geographical work on the silk trade, its transportation and society focusses on how the evolving entrepreneurship of the feudal systems of Tokugawa Japan, led to a division of society, based on the feudal system of economy and segregation of production which unravelled when globalisation of the Japanese economy began from the 1920s (1995. 267). The dependency on a single commodity market in such a globalising economy, led to the 'proto- industrialisation' of peripheral silk towns such as Shimoina.

Wigen (1995) extensively examined the evolution of the town of Shimoina from an agricultural centre to a settlement dependant on an industry bound to the economic feasibility of silk production. In Shimoina sericulture was eventually displaced by artificial substitutes and global competition. By contrast, historic Japanese fisheries such as Kasumi have maintained their roles in Japanese food culture, largely retaining influence at the local level and in fisheries decision making on the politico-environmental and economic stages (Barclay, 2005, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2002).

Therefore, not only was the notion of centrality bound up with the development of the capital city, but also importantly, a national consciousness emerged whereby Edo was also the cultural and aesthetic hub; this was exemplified by the relocation of the capital, from Kyoto to Tokyo. Establishing central rule to control civil unrest was the core of Tokugawa governance. Traganou (2004) argues that this process directed the citizens' cultural understanding of central rule, creating a national unified image and

encouraging a singular form of government and decision making. Thus, the central/lineal pattern of development was already established before the later Meiji and Taishō industrial and urban development and was a key factor in the establishment of nationalism and of the push for expansion in the 20th century.

### 2.6.2 Towards Modernisation: The Politics of Maintaining Traditional Images of Japan

It is necessary to discuss the important Meiji period in the context of this thesis for three reasons:

- the speed and scale of its contribution to coastal development;
- its influence on concepts of the development of Japanese traditions and ideas of heritage and of administration;
- and its impact on the fishing industry.

The political aims of the Meiji leaders contributed to the consolidation and expansion of an established industrial economy, modernising the nation for the 20th century and taking national image making to an international audience (Takao, 1999 213).

Development of the major port towns provided a conduit for such image creation.

The Pacific Ocean ports were the entry points for foreign power interactions. In addition to historical Kobe port, ‘new’ gateways, such as the ports of Yokohama and Osaka needed to be impressive, according to Ōkuma (1910). The impacts of such a thrust for development resulted in a lack of interest in industrial development on the Northern coastline on the Sea of Japan, but, as will be discussed later, it also reinforced the North West coast’s role as a fishery to feed a growing nation racing into an industrialised and politicised twentieth century (Chen, 2006 5-8).

The entrenchment of this food source role for the northern coast further intensified the core/ periphery disparity as administrative, cultural and industrial concentration centred on Tokyo and the Pacific coast cities. This segregation of coastal development had its early beginnings in the Tokugawa period and was only later reinforced in the Meiji period due to political and strategic expansion. The Meiji consolidation and expansion of an already established industrial complex situated in the Pacific coastal regions along the Tōkaidō, also culturally segregated Japan. The Meiji Land Policy

included a functional hierarchy of 'consumption-spectacle and production-industrialisation' (Traganou, 2004 85) favouring the Pacific belt.

In 1874, a subsidised export company was established in Tokyo that encouraged the rejuvenation of older craft businesses by locating them alongside newer industries, setting a precedent for the locational patterns of future industrial development. Experimental craft factories were also set up in Tokyo (similar to the system of artisan concentration created in the Tokugawa period). The World Industrial Exhibition was first hosted in Tokyo in 1877 and again in 1885, show-casing the fine arts, trades and marine institutes which were concentrated along the major section of the Tōkaidō from Tokyo to Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe (Ōkuma, 1910).

This development pattern set the precedent for further urbanisation and industrialisation into the Taishō (1912-1926) and mid Shōwa (1926-1989) periods (Totman, 2000 300). Except for the sericulture factories in northern Honshu, (Totman, 2000 335), new industry was characteristically based in Tokyo and its environs, leading to the decline of some older industries in non-metropolitan Japan. Other regions along the Pacific coast experienced military manufacture expansion and ports such as Kobe and Himeji maintained their domestic port functions together with later military and commercial use.

As argued so far in this chapter, the core/periphery focus initiated in the Tokugawa period established strong urban traditions of city development and centralised planning which continued into the mid-20th century (Abe and Alden, 1988; Abe et al, 1994 14).

Rapid growth in the capital city and the ensuing problems concerning public facilities and the environment led to Tokyo, in 1888, becoming the first and, for a long period, the only Japanese city to enact planning ordinances but these did not have the legislative power to effectively curb concentrated development (Abe et al, 1994 14). Instead, such urban development, which followed a strategic political trajectory, brought about a concentration of cultural and political influence (Sorensen, 2003) and furthered Tokyo-based centralisation and internationalisation (Abe and Alden, 1988 436). In turn, this has created a highly urbanised culture whereby, in the late 20th century, a generation grew up with little or no connection with rural (or fishery) lifestyles (Zetter, 1994 31, Gordenker, 2004).

## 2.7 A (Re)constructed Ocean Culture

This section highlights the use of *nihonjinron* by Japanese major political players in the Meiji period; its role in Japanese culture and tradition creation and its role in coastal development beyond the major traditional cities. Morris- Suzuki (1998), Robertson (1998) and Wigen (1998 235-242) discuss the various distinctions and foundations of Japanese city/ rural images and dichotomies, but it is the later propagandist Ōkuma volumes<sup>22</sup> which accentuate the use of image-creation and *nihonjinron*, using the perceived ‘traditional’ to depict Japan as having a strong, seafaring culture.

The policy of cultural expansion was interwoven into the redevelopment of Meiji government administration, political power and regal deity using references to traditional culture and religion. Ōkuma and his cabinet (straddling both the late Meiji and Taishō periods) accentuated this image creation for international consumption, in particular selecting the ‘ocean-going tradition’ of Japanese sea culture to progress their political mission for modern industrialised Japan’s internationalisation and expansionism.

Integrating images of modern industrialisation with cultural, even bucolic, traditions, the Japanese leaders of this period depicted production as being associated with culture throughout Japan. Nationalistic strategies recreated cultural and traditional images taken from oceanic mythology, which focused on the image of the Japanese as seafarers who were skilled in ocean warfare and fishing. These images were perceived and claimed to be embedded in Japanese culture and society (Murata, 1910 594).

Using ancestral fishing culture as the base of their theory, the Ōkuma authors then built on accounts of ‘legendary’ Japanese ancestors who became ‘children of the water (and) their descendants...born sailors’. Such images fed into contemporary issues such as the Manchurian Occupation, where Japanese ‘soldiers (would) fish just for amusement’ and suggested that this ancestral oceanic heritage was the reason for Japan’s naval prowess - ‘her sailors (had) been trained for victory by centuries of servitude on (her) bosom’ (Murata, 1910 595).

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<sup>22</sup> The text ‘Fifty Years of New Japan’ 1910, edited by Okuma Shigenobu, political party leader, finance minister and finally Prime Minister (1914-16), is a pre-WWI compilation written by Japanese military leaders to Britain’s King Edward VII to seek support for Japan’s admission to the global economy. Ōkuma, S. 1910. *Fifty Years of New Japan, kaikoku gojūen shi*, London, Smith, Elder and Co

Kalland's investigations of traditional fishing documents however, illustrate otherwise. In those 'centuries of servitude (to the oceans)', the Tokugawa administrations developed neither fishery institutions nor regulations, other than certain orders or notifications sporadically given by the government under a marine tenure system. Each province had its own style of fishing and, until feudalism ended, there was little opportunity for centralised improvement and development in fishing techniques. Seaworthy ships were banned from being built, due to the closed-door policy that restricted ocean fishing while simultaneously protecting the feudal lords' fishing grounds (Kalland, 1995). Offshore fishing rights and their delineation under a *corvée* system allowed villagers to fish only in the proximity of their villages.

Those totally engaged in this livelihood and with fish as their major food source had wider fishing areas than those who also had land to tend (Shibusawa, 1958 363), (Kalland, 1995 147). Ocean and deep sea sailing and fishing were neither traditional nor successful activities (Yonemoto, 1999 171) as the Ōkuma volumes had claimed.

Morris-Suzuki offers a further explanation for this image creation in the late Meiji period, drawing attention to contemporary academic attitudes. In accordance with the nation-state policies of the early 1900s, Japanese scholars of ethnography were determined to avoid racially based research, and turned to 'western-inspired notions of *bunmei* (civilisation)'...as something achieved through different stages of development, allowing difference to be reinterpreted in temporal rather than spatial terms: as 'backwardness' rather than 'foreign-ness'. Morris-Suzuki thus argues that it was possible to envision a single national community in which representations of core and periphery were not created from separate histories but as positions along a 'timeline of a single historical trajectory' (Morris-Suzuki, 2001 90). The central areas of Japan became representations of modern forms of Japanese society, while the conditions in the periphery were those of ancient linguistic and social structures (2001 91).

Such concepts provided a blueprint for future economic development and for the continuance of heavy industrial development along the Pacific coastline. Together with concentrated urban development, rather than supporting decentralisation, it consequently confirmed Tokyo in its central role (Sorensen, 2003). Thus, this spatial concentration of development contributed to the unchanging nature of economies and societies in those areas of regional Japan that were remote from Tokyo. Government policy thus not only retarded industrial growth in the remote areas, but also kept

primary production and its associated traditional rural images (even though they were rhetorically celebrated), hidden from international observation. It is in this scenario that fisheries and their local governing bodies fostered already entrenched roles while exploiting the opportunities offered by fishery technology and administrative politics.

### 2.7.1 Late 20th and early 21st century Japanese Fisheries and the Roles of History and Politics for Rural-Coastal Land Use

This section discusses the current role of fisheries in coastal development in Japan. It then recounts, from the late Tokugawa period, how the fisheries gained such a significant role. Except for the years of war in the 20th century, the local fishery associations of each town or village managed their local coastal fisheries environments and any (re) development that took place.

The fishing industry plays diverse roles in Japan. Not only does it provide the major source of protein in the Japanese diet, it provides income and employment in both large commercial and small local contexts. From the 1980s fishing has also and increasingly become, a source of recreation strongly associated with domestic tourism and particularly gourmet tourism. Ōshima et al (1994, 201-2) notes that the fishing port is a location that not only provides a point for the fishing industry to offload its catch, but also can be the ‘hub of the regional society around the fishing industry’.

They contend that Japanese research has yet to investigate the roles of smaller fishing ports’ as:

- A base for regional invigoration
- A base for distribution for fisheries product
- A base to gather scientific information
- A centre of community life

The last role includes recreational sailing and fishing, water sports such as windsurfing, beach use and a place ‘where urban dwellers can be in touch with fresh (fish) products’ (Ōshima et al., 1994 203). Interestingly, Ōshima did not frame any of these activities with reference to domestic tourism. Problems have arisen in the use of some fishing areas where commercial fishing now conflicts with recreational fishing (Ōshima et al., 1994 204). These problems range from illegal mooring and theft of and

damage to a variety of fishing goods and equipment, to disturbing the water environment with rubbish and inappropriate boating habits by both tourists and locals (interview with the Director of Himeji Port, 2001).

Several coastal and inland marinas (fisharinas) are being developed around Japan which have been designed to alleviate the conflicts between commercial and recreational use of the waters of Japan (Ōshima et al., 1994 209). (One such project, focuses on Shikama, a section of the commercial port of Himeji, where it has been planned to include public land and water facilities and this will be discussed in the case studies).

Ōshima (1994) notes that approximately one third of all Japanese fishing ports are located inside national parks and that the natural beauty of these parks is of great interest to developers as ideal locations for maritime recreation. From the mid-eighties to the mid-nineties, there was an increase in maritime recreation as a result of public interest in the environment and in improving personal physical health (Itosu, 1995 169) due in part, to changes in the public's social values and improvements in income levels. Recreational activities include:

- pleasure fishing,
- yachting,
- scuba diving and
- shell gathering (for food and hobbies)

However, this increase in public activity on the coastline has resulted in recreational coastal and harbour use competing with professional coastal fishing. As well, professional fishers have complained of reductions in fish numbers due to pollution from discarded bait and fishing lines. Research has shown that there must be efficient communication and negotiation between prefecture and village fishing co-operatives and developers to alleviate these negative impacts and provide inter-dependency on both fishing and recreational activities and not dependency on one of these in regional locations (Ōshima et al., 1994).

The fishing industry is significant to both the Japanese economy and its culture. Not only are the local fishing industries affected by local issues but also they can be seen as a microcosm of the prefectural economy, being affected by an aging population, depopulation, fisheries employment unpopularity, conflicts and competition with other

countries' fisheries and a focus for global economic and environmental issues. As various local and national economic challenges have arisen, reactive and narrowly focused solutions have been implemented which have yet to combine to provide a long term approach to economic sustainability for the fishing industry at the local scale. A 'knee jerk' reaction appears and these short term solutions not only exacerbate the problems in themselves, but also may fail to address the long term challenges (Uda et al., 2005).

Since the 1960s, the national fishing industry has faced major challenges. Factors include over-fishing, coastal degradation and land reclamation, pollution, difficulties related to fish processing and transportation (Totman, 2000 458), intensified restrictions on international fishing operations, increased imports and the decline in the number of fishery-dependant households and fishery workers. This latter factor is reflected in the decline in the number of people employed in fisheries from 550,000 in 1970 to 270,000 in 1999 and 202,000 in 2004 including 29,000 offshore (mostly pelagic) fishers; 34.5% of these workers are aged 65 years and over (Tajima, 2001 147).

When the economy fell into decline following the 1980s economic peak, the fish haul followed this trend, peaking in a five- year period to 1985, when 12,171,000 tons were produced. Despite the continuation of intensive fishing practices into the late 1990s, by 1999, production had almost halved to 6,626,000 tons (US) (Tajima, 2001 137). Intensive fishing practices included improvements in deep sea fishing technology, the use of ships that are more powerful and effective intensive netting. In 1999, domestic production of fish and shellfish was 5,935,000 tons compared to imports of 5,731,000 tons (Tajima, 2001 137).

The employment patterns of Japanese fishing households in villages and small towns had been categorised into two types since 1964. Either a family fished all year to gain income or the household head, usually a male, fished seasonally and he and/or his family tilled land in the off peak fishing periods (Japan National Commission Japan National Commission, 1964). By the 21st century, this latter type of lifestyle had declined in popularity with seasonal work being rejected in favour of service industry employment. In 1999, there were 197,000 fishery households (Tajima, 2001 147).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> According to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, fishery households include fishing boat fishery households, small fixed net fishery households and fishery households engaged in marine cultivation Tajima, M. (ed.) 2001. *Japan Almanac 2002*, Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun.

This small group provided 54.9% of domestically consumed fish and shellfish (Tajima, 2001 137), the rest being imported. From the 1990s, fishing communities began turning to tourism for economic revival (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2002 2).

According to the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2002 8), in the late 20th to the early 21st century, Japanese coastal fisheries in remote locations represented 85% or 220,000 of all fishers, with approximately 6,200 coastal fishing villages, most of which were 'distributed in geographically disadvantaged areas... (where) fisheries (were not) the most important sources of revenue in these communities' though seafood and marine products supplied approximately 40% of animal protein for the Japanese (Itosu, 1995 157, Tajima, 2001 145).

Pollution has contributed to the decline of the local catch, affecting the waterways along the peripheries of large urban areas including major bays along the Pacific coast through industrial and general wastewater, plastics, heavy metal, synthetic and organic compounds (Itosu, 1995 156). Thus, other areas of Japan are being investigated to develop various types of fisheries as a means of increasing both production and quality. Such was the significance of the fisheries industry that even in the 1980's, Tokyo Bay pollution led to 15,000 fishers losing their jobs due to the destruction of the once 'biologically thriving bay'. The combination-style, heavy industry and associated industry (konbināto) pollution of the Seto Inland Sea too, 'buried large areas of wetland and then spewed out a witches' brew of effluents into surrounding air and waters' (Totman, 2000 497).

Internal fishery organisation politics also presents challenges. For a coastal development project or fisheries community project, the interconnections within the fisheries' industry networks (Barclay and Koh, 2005 9-12) can become complex. Issues might include cultural preferences for breeding some fish species over others, decreases in rural electoral influence (due to depopulation) and the connections between fishery organisations and private industry in other fluctuating profit industries (such as in the building and construction industry) which can affect the ability of the rural fishing industry to contribute to economic revitalisation. Additionally, the network of national ministry departments which may need to play a role in coastal development can become complex as different departmental inputs are required.

A project on the coast of a national marine park such as a large resort can include disturbing hinterland forestry and river realignment or damming. This early stage process can involve a complex network of national departmental decision-making before prefectural and municipal organisations play their roles. Appendix 1 illustrates the top-down network of ministerial departments and cooperative organisations (and unions) that can become involved in such developments.

Therefore, although Japan may have had one of the world's largest fishing hauls throughout the 20th century, its fishing fleet and catch have declined (Tajima, 2001 146,147) and whilst its consumption of sea produce is one of the largest in the world, it is certainly no longer a nation characterised by large numbers of professional fishers. Seafood however, is a feature of gourmet tourism and Japanese coastal development plans include this in their tourism development strategies.

The preservation of local fishing practices in regional locations paralleled the Tōkaidō-based industrial development from the 1870s. These regional fisheries were maintained to feed the populations of the urbanised, industrialised cities into the mid-twentieth century. Although fisheries were located on coastlines throughout Japan, they were concentrated in areas that were not developed industrially. The local fisheries administrations continued in their role, using already established administrative systems, but at the same time advancing fishery technologies and exploiting their fishing grounds, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. This system endured despite the reorganisation of Fisheries Rights Laws during the American occupation (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, 1946), (Seidenstecker, 1951).

In Hyōgo Prefecture, the northern coastal villages were important fishing communities particularly from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century in terms of both the national economy and urban food provision. This section therefore argues that, due to historical factors, some fishing communities in Hyōgo have retained an important role and influence over the administration and regulation of their fisheries, supporting the thesis that the Fishery Co-operative Associations (FCAs) and their communities can still play an important role in coastal management into the 21st century.

This longevity raises questions for the case studies regarding:

- The various historical and political structures that have shaped fishing villages

- The importance of fishing culture and its influence on image making in an industrializing Japan
- The power that fishing villages have, or lack, in controlling their own industries' destinies
- The influence of the preceding three factors on the provision of prefectural and national government assistance for fishing villages into the 21st century.

### 2.7.2 Centralisation of Fisheries and Coastal Administration

Over a 250 year period, Tokugawa feudal authorities, established economic, political and social ties within the fishing villages that facilitated their transition into the Meiji period (Kalland, 1995). Rather than fishing territories developing as a result of commercialisation, the fisheries developed in an *ad hoc* manner as a result of the exclusive rights granted to local fishers and farmer/ fishers. Since some fishing organisations probably predated the Tokugawa period, other less entrenched primary production types (such as agriculture and forestry) and their administrative practices were targeted for reform prior to the fishery organisations (Kalland, 1995 147). Thus, the administration of the fishing village territories and their rights remained under the control of fishing village communities who decided on any changes within their own bureaucratic institutions. As such, border issues were resolved between the villages' tight knit cooperatives and this remained the situation until the Meiji Restoration.<sup>24</sup>

The roles of small scale coastal fisheries in major fish production, and their communal rights and ties, played an 'extremely large part (in) maintaining the unity and coherence of the traditional village' (Shibusawa, 1958 363). The Meiji government's restructuring included the reformation of the fishing industry while recognising the powerful community role of these local bodies. Nevertheless, in 1868, an Industrial Bureau was established to control agriculture, forestry and fishery production throughout Japan and, in 1875, the government declared offshore waters to be public property in a move to increase yields.

This change, together with enforced payments for fishing permits, diverged from previous traditions and customs and resulted in violent resistance from fishing

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<sup>24</sup> In 21st century Kasumi, an informant showed me a rock with a plaque commemorating a fisheries war between Kasumi and another village in the 1800s

communities. Therefore, an amendment, in 1876, led to public fishing rights being granted only where offshore waters remained as government property, and with management and control remaining with the local fishers' organisations.<sup>25</sup> However, the government was determined to institute greater control and established:

- 1880, the Marine Products Society (*Suisansha*)
- 1882, the Japan Marine Products Association to consolidate local fishing societies
- 1885, a Marine Bureau
- 1889, a fisheries training school whose graduates were offered important positions in Japanese fisheries, contributing to the diffusion of pisciculture
- 1893, a Marine Products Examination Office where all Japanese fisheries activities were examined, from marine animals to tackle
- 1901, further fisheries regulations.

Furthermore, the Meiji government promoted the use of new, more efficient methods of fishing including invasive techniques to secure better access to Asian fisheries (Chen, 2006), though the traditional fishermen were initially unwilling or unable to adopt these innovations (Murata, 1910).

By World War I, small-scale family businesses had maximised their exploitation of the coastal fishing grounds (Totman, 2000 379). By 1939, increased fish yields were the result of the inclusion of pelagic (upper layers of the open sea) fishing and, later, the use of offshore cannery boats. In this period prior to World War II, 90% of the catch was consumed domestically, yet imported fish products were already exceeding the yield of the Japanese fishing fleet (Totman, 2000 379) even though by that date, fishing methods included the use of large drag nets, requiring the use of trawlers at sea or of up to a hundred people in organised groups on land (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, 1946).

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<sup>25</sup> This paragraph summarises the reforms found in the Ōkuma volumes, Ōkuma, S. 1910. *Fifty Years of New Japan, kaikokugojūen shi*, London, Smith, Elder and Co.

### 2.7.3 The Fisheries Industry as the Marginal

As early as the 3rd century CE, fishers and farmers who were dependent on subsistence activities alone were considered subordinate in Japanese social stratifications (Hendry, 1995, 11) and, although the Meiji Restoration abolished the division into four social classifications of Samurai, peasants, artisans and merchants (Hendry, 1995, 74), social stratification of this nature was a significant characteristic of Japanese society until the 1940s.

The lifestyles of the members of Japan's fishing industry, though not its environmental science and regional population demographics, have been a neglected area of research, even though the remaining fishers now use advanced technology and practice long-distance fishing, aquaculture, sea farming and marine ranching (Nakahara, 1992, 214-215). The fishing industry is a high risk occupation with low occupational mobility, an uncertain income, and a chaotic family life in seasonal periods and small scale fishers can be held in low esteem by non-fishers (McGoodwin, 1990, 13). Formal education is not an entry requirement and may be a reason why the professional fisher is not held in high esteem by non-fishers and is considered 'less privileged... often separated, isolated from, and culturally despised by other communities even within a homogenous society, ethnically and culturally' (*ibid.* 1990, 26).

Although fishers have generally had a strong self-identity associated with their jobs (*ibid.* 1990 23) and want to maintain their occupational lifestyles in villages such as Kasumi, the number of fishers is shrinking. Meanwhile, women still play a strong role in the marketing and distribution of the catches, as well as having significant and varied responsibilities elsewhere in the community (*ibid.* 1990, 25). To explore the extent to which fishing communities are considered marginal in terms of modern Japanese society requires the examination of the small but intensive case study literature of the 20th and 21st century, in contexts other than natural science, environment or biodiversity.

Until 2002, Japanese fisheries were providing just over 50% of the fish consumed by the Japanese people, who are the second largest consumers of fish in the world (Tajima, 2001 137) yet, by the first decade of the 21st century, little had been written in English on the social status and structures of Japanese fishing communities other than contributions by Norbeck (1954), Martinez (1990) and Kalland and Moeran (1992, 1995). Since the total amount of fish imported into Japan outweighs that caught

by Japanese fishers (Tajima 2001)<sup>26</sup> fishing communities are struggling to come to terms with diversifying their roles in their peripheral communities. Where do the Japanese fishing communities fit into a largely urbanised society, both as providers of food and as managers of coastlines? Kalland's historical ethnography of fishing villages in Tokugawa Japan (1995) highlights the important relationship between peripheral fishing communities and urban Japan although he does not discern any local social marginality in this study, nor in his work with Moeran (1992) on contemporary villages and communities in the whaling industry.

Rural fishing villages in Japan, according to the available literature, and perhaps as illustrated by the lack of research, may have become marginalised in terms of society and of the desirability of this occupation. Such marginality and ruralisation however can become the exotic and staged authentic; perhaps a desirable state of affairs for tourism purposes and possibly, as discussed earlier, part of the(re) creation of an ocean going culture, as part of the national culture of Japan.

Throughout the Meiji period administrative changes, communal rights to fishing remained and this practice helped to sustain village community coherence and unity. Between the fishing rights riots of 1875 and 1933, fishing unions developed their political strength and fought the national and prefectural governments to maintain control over their fishing grounds. In 1933, the fishing unions were classified as industrial unions with the right to manage their own fisheries. This was believed to be the reason why traditional fishing village organisations remained intact up to the end of the immediate post-war period. Thus, despite the reconstruction of the various fisheries systems, which the occupying forces of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) (1946) considered feudal, the Fisheries Co-operative Association Law of 1948 granted fishers improved rights to catches while prohibiting the system of subleasing these rights (Seidenstecker, 1951 185).

By 1950, Edward Seidenstecker (1951 187) observed that there had been little overall change of power and income distribution because of the (feudal-styled) remnants of the dominant role that the owners played in the decision making processes within these FCAs. Furthermore, according to data collected from various ministries

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<sup>26</sup> The FY 2007-2009 statistics reveal that Japan's self-sufficiency in fish catch increased from 48% (2001) to 62% (2009). However, these latter figures are unreliable due to the percentage not reflecting that less fish is being consumed and the inclusion of stockpiled, snap-frozen fish and the changes in access to fishing zones (Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries 2010 pp16-17). At the time of editing this thesis, later data is unreliable due to the Fukushima incident following the 2011 Earthquake.

associated with Japanese fisheries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2002 5, Secor et al., 2002 18), FCAs were still based on ‘traditional fishery rights’ and were managing the fishing seasons, species, fishing methods and the fish processing and markets into the late twentieth century.

In addition, although FCAs have been amalgamating across Japan since the *Law to Promote Mergers between Fisheries Cooperative Associations* was passed in 1998, amalgamation targets have not been met, forcing the government to extend its amalgamation deadline to 2008 (Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries, 2002 5), even though the cooperatives’ financial situations have continued to decline due to worsening fishery catches (Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries, 2003 43). It can thus be argued that remnants of these early fishery association systems have been incorporated into the current structures of the Japanese FCAs.

The Japanese fisheries and their associations have therefore played an important and ongoing community role, as seen in the measures and controls imposed by the Tokugawa and Meiji governments. The case studies in chapters six and seven, will illustrate how these roles have been translated, broadened and perpetuated by modern governments, whereby fishing community organisations have been encouraged to take on broader roles related to coastal management, tourism, fishery environment integrity, aquaculture and other rural economy-building strategies while dealing with the national government’s policies of maintaining traditional fishing village cultures, and responding to diverse policy directives originating from various ministerial departments.

## **2.8 Coastal Urbanisation in the 20th Century-Preserving Core-Peripheral Spaces of Difference**

Following the period of post-WWII reconstruction, most land reclamation and expansion in the Pacific Coastal Belt has been for industrial purposes, either for increased space, closer proximity to deep-water harbours for heavy materials transportation or for improved coastal protection (Sargent, 1980 205-214). However, land was also reclaimed beyond the industrial belts. Rivers were diverted and lowlands drained to house employees of the local industries and to try to redistribute population beyond the Tōkaidō Megalopolis into regional areas. Himeji is a good example of this form of hinterland development. Areas that had been industrial and/or heavily

populated prior to the WWII bombings were also redeveloped in the post-war push for economic modernisation and growth (Sorensen, 2002 176).

While planning legislation for the rapid industrialisation of Osaka, Nagoya, Kobe, Yokohama and Kyoto began from 1919, this did not control the rapid urban sprawl around these cities that continued into the 1950s and '60s due to the rapid economic and therefore employment growth. Beyond the city boundaries, there was little planning control relating to location and land use, and a lack of plans for urban infrastructure. Only in 1967 were guidelines introduced for developers and, in 1968, *The City Planning Act* introduced *Urbanisation Promotion Areas* and *Urbanisation Control Areas* that aimed to prevent urban sprawl around these city areas (Alden and Abe, 1994 15).

In 1961, the national government initiated *The Pacific Belt Concept*, a regional plan to join, into one super zone, the four major industrial zones of Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka and Kitakyushu where 85% of the newly built factories, 88% of new factory sites and 70% of all public investment would be concentrated to generate 87% of national industrial production. Its aim was to concentrate public investment efficiently and to concentrate Japan's economic growth, which led to an unprecedented concentration of population whereby, over 25 years, 10.7million people migrated to the Pacific Belt, 5.7 million of whom moved to Tokyo (Abe et al 1994 34-35).

This 'regional' development, however, privileged the already populous cities along the Tōkaidō and Tokyo in particular. Strong criticism of the '*Concept*' from more peripheral prefectures, resulted in the *First Comprehensive National Development Plan* in 1962 to foster 'regional development nuclei and decentralisation of industry in order to prevent the over expansion of cities and reduce regional differences' (Alden and Abe, 1994 34). As Alden and Abe acknowledge, due to the prevailing 'laissez-faire economic principles, this plan only served to guide, not implement, and industrial development continued to be concentrated in the Pacific area attracting increases in the workforce and local populations overall' (1994, 34).

Thus major projects for the Tokyo to Kobe regions such as the *shinkansen* (high speed train), new highways and further port industrial complex development saw the population of the Pacific Belt grow from 40 million in 1960 to 70 million in 1990 (Hebbert, 1994, 70); a *kyodai-toshi* or Megalopolis (a mid-twentieth century term that

Gottman coined for American urban expansion on its eastern seaboard (Hebbert, 1994, 70)) was born.

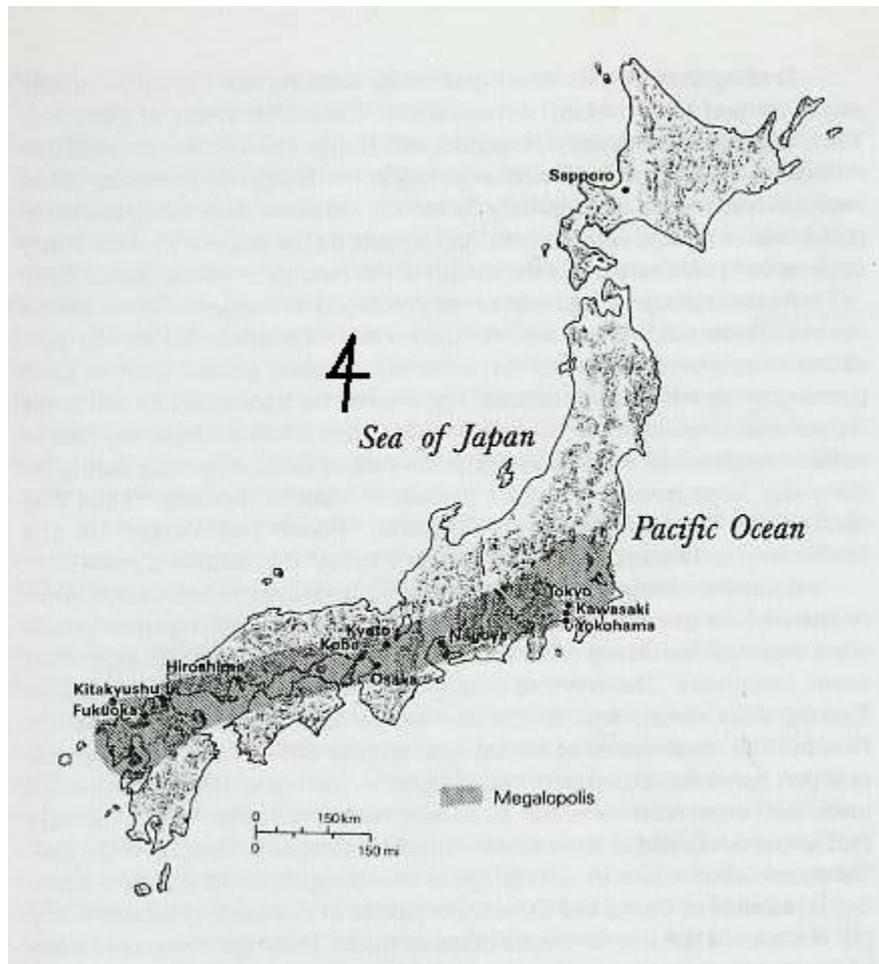


Fig 2-5 The Tōkaidō Megalopolis, 1995. Source: (Karan, 1997 20).

Where there is such a concentration of population and urbanisation, then infrastructure and the administration, laws and policy initiatives that confront and prevent regional problems are going to be focused on those areas (Alden and Abe, 1994, 13, 19). By the 1970s, Japanese city planners recognised the severity of regional depopulation with out-migration from villages and towns to nearby cities and then further migration towards the industrialised ‘big’ cities of the Pacific belt, a ‘billiards phenomenon’ (Shapira et al 1994 35, 37).

In turn, the megalopolis ports have continued to be the most strategically appropriate nodes for transportation of both imported raw materials and processed product exports, based on their historic nodal transport facilities and the evolution of their multi-modal facilities (Crowe-Delaney, 1997 29, 31). Conversely, many fishing villages and their

ports and harbours, particularly on the northern coastline and away from the major historic ports have experienced variable economic progress particularly when their major role remained that of providers of food to the nation.

Such redevelopment, on both coastlines, brings modernisation and also a loss of particular cultural and historic features and traditional skills. The next section discusses these issues.

### 2.8.1 Staged Authenticity

The staged authenticity of a rural lifestyle in many parts of post-modern Japan is associated with the benefits of being close to nature, but does not include the demands of a rural occupation. Lamenting the increase in urbanised development in rural areas in Japan, Kerr (1996 148) observes that even those urbanites who come to visit him are not visiting for the natural attractions, but to escape from their everyday Japanese life. He argues that the traditionally-styled wooden houses found in densely urbanised Kyoto city and north-west of Kobe are connected to a time past, are symbols of poverty and hard work and are thus targets for renewal and redevelopment (1996 148-149). The linked components of what constitutes 'nature' in Japan, that of rurality/ agriculture/ poverty, equate to Graburn's (1983) contention that images of rurality can signify hard work, rather than pleasurable leisure.

Thus, to circumvent these difficulties of identifying what constitutes nature/rurality in the contemporary world, an illusion, rather than a reality, of the natural and/or the rural is required. Illusory perceptions of nature were traditionally connected with religion. Asquith and Kalland (1997 2) refer to Lafleur's argument that, for the doctrine of the traditional Japanese religion Shintō to successfully continue alongside the parallel religion of Buddhism, it was necessary for the distinctions between nature and humankind, animate and inanimate to be blurred in order to 'come to terms with prevailing Japanese perceptions of nature'. In time, contrived images of nature, represented in all aspects of Japanese life, from classical to modern literature such as self-reflection through the philosophy of natural science in 1940 by Imanishi Kinji (Asquith et al 2002) and poetry, medicine, advertising and various forms of media, food production and of course tourism, legitimise the built and un-built landscape through the filter of Japanese perceptions of nature (Asquith and Kalland, 1997 2). Norbeck (1954 119) adds to this observation contending that the intertwining of Buddhism and Shintō in daily routines, together with the infiltration of western

culture, predominantly from the United States, has led to a continual combining of westernisation and many traditional practices. Their relationships with the imagery of nature thus play a strategic role in contemporary Japanese culture.

In the retail advertising sector, nature is often represented as the essence of everyday living in Japan (Asquith and Kalland, 1997 2). Department store wrapping paper echoes the symbols of the seasons, chambers of commerce decorate malls in seasonal motifs, travel brochures entice domestic travellers to make the most of regional, seasonal gourmet (*gurume*) foods and to experience short trip encounters with nature in the peak of seasons such as springtime, cherry blossom viewing, autumnal vistas, winter skiing or summer swimming (Parkes, 1995 82).

Kellert (1992 216) empirically tested the aesthetics of nature in Japan as ascribed in the literature by Japanese researchers such as Higuchi, Minami, Murota and Watanabe. These scholars argued that the Japanese have a distinctive identification and connectedness with nature as exemplified in such traditions as the tea ceremony or celebrations of the seasons. Using biophilia theory to ground his empirical research, Kellert concluded otherwise. His data revealed that the Japanese were only attached to select components of nature. It did not include closeness to all nature; rather their preferred role was that of an observer not a participant.

‘This affinity for nature was typically an idealistic re-creation or artistic rendering of valued aspects of the natural environment and usually lacked an ecological or ethical orientation’ or any accompanying knowledge of local ecosystems (Kellert, 1992 216). It is important to acknowledge that such research as Kellert’s highlights the sweeping generalisations used by Japanese researchers as well as by the non-Japanese. The use of staged authenticity, particularly of nature, is as much an advertising tool as it is a cultural marker, or maker, for a national image. Such research highlights how nature can be used to stage a cultural concept, preserving the core-peripheral spaces in order to preserve an apparently authentic image of ‘traditional Japan’.

### 2.8.2 Romanticising Tourism and the Marginal in Japan

The current uses of Japan’s coastal zones largely dictate their future uses, whether this is the romanticism of the coast and the oceans for tourism, the industrialization of the coastal zone to support the economy, or the degradation of a stretch of coastline that

provokes environmental protectionism and activism. In the Western context, Cau (1996) describes the removal of productive activities from coasts and ports that has resulted in declines in the vibrancy of port towns and the deterioration of their links to the wider national economy, leaving them to decay economically and socially. Conversely, some historic port towns such as Fremantle in Western Australia, Newcastle in New South Wales and Portland in Victoria, have been redeveloped in ways that have enabled their historic port elements to survive. Local and government organisations have contributed to the maintenance of the histories of these ports and this has been heavily factored in as a component of the ports' 're-identification'.

In terms of their socioeconomic environments, Hoyle has made significant studies of the regeneration and revitalisation of former and continuing working ports in the European, North American and African contexts (Hoyle, 1988, 1996, 2000), yet little specific theory has been advanced to complement these empirical studies beyond the application of general systems and dependency theories. Characteristically, such research has been focused on coastal/port development in its ecological and environmental contexts (Wong, 1998) and again with little theory beyond the supposition that the decline in tourist numbers occurred during periods of environmental degradation (Coccosis and Nijkamp, 1995 cited in Kay and Alder, 1999: 180). Other research has focused on marine and coastal tourism development and environmental issues (for examples see: Hall, 2001, Kay and Alder, 1999).

In the Japanese context, especially in English written/ translated material, there has been particular emphasis on the development of inland or enclosed seas, on environmental degradation due to over-development, on pollution from various sources, and on resort and recreational fishing and boating and marina developments (Yasui and Kobayashi, 1991, Sanbongi, 1991), and on ocean reclamation (Hotta, 1995) or artificial island projects (Shishido, 1991). This applied research, focusing on problematic issues and their solutions, largely emanates from the disciplines of economic and urban geography or from the natural sciences and lacks any sociocultural grounding or theoretical perspective.<sup>27</sup>

Much recent research has focused on the protection of coastal environments and mirrors the attitudinal changes since the late 1960s as careful and judicious coastal zone management has become an issue within the environmental and political arenas

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<sup>27</sup> The majority of the authors of these documents were previously employed as academics in public service, and are now employed as executives (*amakudari*) at the "ocean-face", so to speak.

(Cau, 1996, 61). The complex systems of mid-20th century Japanese coastal zone use frequently resulted in ecological disequilibrium caused by industrial development and other intensive land uses. In extreme cases, this brought about highly publicised industrial pollution-induced diseases (Huddle et al., 1975) and the extreme example of the recent and ongoing Fukushima disaster. Western literature has concentrated on the coastal/ urban transport communication relationships and on the transformations of historic coastal and river ports into larger intermodal seaports which ‘act as gateway(s) rather than central place(s)’ (Hoyle, 1988 3 cited in Cau, 1996, 62) and on occasion, those ports have lost out in commercial and political importance to larger centres elsewhere. While coastal research, such as that in Australia, focuses on land use, demographic, social and economic change in port towns, similar research is largely lacking in Japan.

### 2.8.3 The Connection to Nature: Place Commodification and Government Planning to Encourage Tourism

Robertson (1995, 98-99) argues that there is a social construction of the rural provider (farmers and fishers) as a nurturing parent, giving all to its ever-consuming young (the urbanised). The term *furusato* relates to one’s own hometown and refers to a place where one’s family unit once belonged, or is perceived to have belonged (Creighton, 1997 243). These images have often been combined, particularly in advertising, using the term *fureai*, a connectedness with nature. The concepts of both *fureai* and *furusato* are used to maintain images of rurality in Japan albeit often under reconstructed circumstances. The *furusato* is also seen as representing the non-urban, even though hometowns are found in a variety of locales. Creighton (1997) illustrates this use of *furusato* in tourism referring to the research of Ivy (1988, 1995) and Martinez (1990) together with her own work to demonstrate the perceived role that nostalgia-linked *furusato* plays in the promotion of tourism in peripheral bucolic locations through their marginalised/ traditional, local industries.

*Muraokoshi undo* is a term for a type of rural village revitalisation movement which ‘designates various efforts made by villagers and local government officials to revive the village society and economy in the face of constant out-migration, population aging and economic decline’ (Moon, 1997 221). Incorporating tourism and a (re) connectedness with nature, *muraokoshi undo* was believed, by local citizen groups, by

the three tiers of government (national, prefectural and local) and by many villagers to be a popular attraction for local Japanese tourists seeking *furusato*.

The national government has used images of 'back to nature' to promote *muraokoshi undo*. Initially a 'one village, one product' (*isson ippin*) approach (a concept initiated by Oita prefectural governor, Morihiko Hiramatsu in 1979 (Knight 1994)) was part of the aim under the 1977-1983 *Third National Development Plan* to encourage individual rural villages to be identified with a specific service or product (Knight 1994). The product or service could be part of the original village production, or a new product or service, or an invented tourism attraction. Voluntary support for this initiative was encouraged in order to develop a sense of self-help and community spirit. Whether the focus was on the environment, reconstruction of tradition or the designation of one product as the basis of the revitalisation, it was to be initiated by one or a small group of people in the given village who were eager to maintain their rural lifestyles. The end purpose was to encourage urban dwellers to travel as tourists to the villages (Moon, 2002 233).

The major problem with this initiative was that locals frequently became disenchanted with the lack of continuing government support following project failure particularly when nearby villages often adopted the same, or similar, themes. For example, from Sakaiminato to Hokkaido, Matsuba crab is a delicacy and 'local' dish. Kasumi, well known for its Matsuba crab, has to compete with other villages, towns and cities often with larger marketing budgets, who claim the speciality as their own and unnecessary competition has been created.

Moreover, in committing to the theme of 'reconnecting to nature' tourism many localities have identified themselves with commodified cultures and natures (Kalland and Moeran, 1992 30). Martinez (1990) explored the issues of exploitation in a village scenario whereby young, erotically dressed, female pearl divers are presented to tourists, while their real-life middle-aged counterparts actually dive for the pearls, a life threatening livelihood.

Encouraged by national and prefectural government initiatives, municipal communities have commodified select flora and fauna to symbolise or brand, and thus identify the particularities of their regions and settlements and thus of their tourist destinations. Yet not all flora used are indigenous to a particular region and introduced species, such as tulips, are prevalent in such marketing campaigns.

Neither have the symbols always represented nature; but rather they are symbols of past memories or activities. For example, the firefly (*hotaru*), a representative of a simpler life of the village past, has become a 'living creature of our hometown' (*furusato no ikimono*) in many places. This term, designated by the Ministry of the Environment to raise environmental consciousness, was intended to be for one village, town or city. However, other opportunistic villages have joined the *hotaru* movement and there are now at least eighty-five 'firefly villages' in Japan (Moon, 2002 225).

Moon notes many other types of commodification. These include the creation of parks, gardens, farms and villages with 'nature' themes including deer parks, flower gardens and log cabin villages, while some include experiential themes such as fishing, hunting, camping and fireworks. Festivals, contests and concerts are also elements of such reconstructed commodification. These examples are not so much representative of environmental consciousness, Moon argues, but are rather symbolic representations of past village life which reconnect only to a 'pseudo- nature', to the invented myths of nature. Furthermore, economic slumps have caused some primary producers to turn to 'green tourism' (*gurīn tsūrizumu*) where local history, culture and lifestyle are being used as attractions. The objective of this type of tourism is also to encourage urbanites to familiarise themselves with their 'food providers' and not just to regard the rural as the playground for urban people (2002 233).

'In the (global) leisure and travel industry, a focal point has been the growing emphasis on the creation and marketing of tourist experiences through place commodification', such as theme parks, casinos, spectacle events such as the Olympics and festival market places such as London's Covent Garden (Ioannides and Debbage, 1998 99) or Britain's extensive theme park construction of the 1980s (Gruffudd, 1995 50). Some Australian examples are Fremantle markets, the 'Worlds' in Queensland, Sovereign Hill in Ballarat and the Queen Victoria Market in Melbourne.

Such place commodification is not a 'modern' phenomenon. The 'Santa Claus Industry' occurred in a much earlier time and place whereby the gradual commodification of a traditional culture (not least by Coca Cola) led to tourist attractions, functioning alongside other local industries (Pretes, 1995). Such commodified places include sites of religious worship, temples, shrines and natural

geographical features and phenomena outside the visitors' usual or everyday experience.

In Japan, from as early as the 12th century, the commodification of naturally occurring hot springs, allegedly discovered by white cranes or local monkeys, were used (often equally allegedly) for healing or, more pragmatically, for warmth. By the time the travelling poet, Bashō (referred to earlier) was writing between 1684 and 1689 (Keene, 1996), local traders in hot spring towns were already capitalising on travellers offering them food, lodging and bathing equipment for sale and hire.

Such famous vulcanised springs (*onsen*) (Whittow, 1984 254) as those in Kinosaki, Hyōgo Prefecture, had been plumbed and converted to bathing houses by the early nineteenth century. Following suit, much later in the 20th century was the *onsen* of Himeji and in the 21st century, the new *onsen* of Kasumi, amongst others found throughout the prefecture and Japan.

As a last, but important, note on commodification for the purpose of capitalising on the marketability of a place or product, Japanese merchants from as early as the Edo period, advertised using signs in the form of banners, lanterns and multi-purpose hand towels (*tenugui*) which were an essential item when travelling. For example, *tenugui*, continue to be used to advertise shops and stage performances (Tajima et al., 2007 11-12). Commodification in the form of advertising in Japan is not a modern phenomenon.

## **2.9 The Reality of Tourism and the Rural-Coastal Setting**

The literature reviewed in this section depicts (mostly) rural coastal communities in Europe, but it has relevance to the case studies of Kasumi and Himeji in Hyōgo Prefecture with which they share several features:

*‘Coastal communities are often geographically remote from the non-coastal communities in their regions and even from one another because of the linearity of coastlines, such that communities tend to be strung out rather than clustered around a major population (centre) or distributed evenly throughout a region’*

(McGoodwin, 1990, 27)

Such isolated situations, where locals allegedly enjoy a ‘simple social environment, constituting a rejection of the complex demands and social restraints made on individuals who live in land- based communities’ (*ibid*, 1990 28), can be constructed as the romanticised rural coast. While these settlements maintain traditional community characteristics, this can also contribute to rural depopulation because such communities lack what the ‘urban’ has to offer its inhabitants.

*(T)here is a distinct tendency for the poorest regions to be situated on the geographical periphery ...and the more prosperous regions, with the benefit of market access, to be centrally located. This can be attributed to the concentrated political, administrative and legislative power as well as to the development of services versus the contraction of agriculture*

(Bahaire and Elliot-White, 1999, 295).

This section includes relevant literature on rural tourism development and coastal research by European geographers to outline some important integrative concepts that research on rural coastal development and change in Japan has yet to explore.

The Japanese urban population seeks ‘rest, repose, leisure, play and recreation and...villages for these purposes have begun to increase’ (Moon, 2002 232). Moon’s (2002, 241) conceptualisation of Japanese modernity in opposition to its traditionally depicted rurality, builds on Shields’ notions of peripherality and marginality. Expressed in terms of the urban/ rural dichotomy, Moon illustrates core-marginal or polar relationships and describes their shifts over time. These dichotomies express the images of the urban/rural in economic and emotive terms as they have developed over five decades (see table 2.2).

Table 2.2 A summary of Moon's urban-rural dichotomies and the opposing images that help to define them (in brackets) (2002, 241).

<b>Modernisation and urbanisation (1950s, 1960s, 1970s)</b>	<b>Idealisation of the countryside (1970s, 1980s, 1990s)</b>
Urban (rural)	Rural (urban)
Developed (backward)	Nature (culture)
Prosperity (poverty)	Heart-kokoro (materialism)
Sophisticated (rustic-inaka)	<i>Furusato</i> (home town familiarity and city, unfamiliarity)
The succeeded (the failed)	Humane living (crowded, polluted)
Science (superstition)	Sacred (secular)
Rationality (irrationality)	Communal spirit (individualism,
Civilisation (ignorance)	Authenticity (alien)
Modernity (tradition)	Japanese-ness (Western-ness)
Western-ness (Japanese-ness)	Rediscovery of cultural and regional difference (idealisation of the countryside)
Towards homogeneity of culture (urbanisation, modernisation)	Distinctive Japanese culture (perceived traditions embedded in the bucolic)

By the 1980s, however, the development of rural resorts, ski fields and golf courses became problematic because local communities were often not consulted over their development. Consultative processes were incorporated into the urban development laws but were tokenistic (Sorensen, 2006 135). 'Capital penetration and appropriation of village resources, such as land, by outsiders, thereby rais(ed) a dependency problem' (Moon, 2002 232), an example of Shields' and Brown's references to the high/ low relationship, as discussed in section 2.3.3.

#### 2.9.1 Coastal Built Environment and the Practicalities of Commercial Tourism Development

Cau (1996, 61) notes that the 'utility of water as a medium for transport, has been the main attracting force, concentrating a wide range of productive and commercial functions' on the coast. Since coasts also possess aesthetic values, such development is

at once dangerous and destructive. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of these characteristics offers humankind an opportunity to combine romanticism and functionalism both physically and figuratively (Tuan, 1974 115-117).

Such nostalgia combined with function has led to examples of coastal zone and waterfront development from the past being put to new uses, often combining utilities and attractions, and including protection of the coastal environment, the establishment of café culture on old port waterfronts, and new housing, industrial and transportation development together with the maintenance of iconic, architectural structures (Hoyle, 1988 13, Crowe-Delaney, 1997).

*Recreation and tourism in many rural areas have gone from being primarily passive and minor elements in the landscape to becoming highly active and dominant agents of change and control of that landscape and of associated rural communities.*

(Butler in Hall and Jenkins, 1998 3)

Tourism can play many roles in peripheral rural areas. It can generate income and employment (Williams and Shaw, 1982, cited in O'Sullivan and Jackson, 2002, 326). In peripheral areas distanced from major manufacturing and industrial societies, tourism is often sought as a replacement for primary industry in decline or as a stimulus where an industrial base has not been established (Buhalis, 1999, 342). Tourism's role can also be an adjunct to existing activities, which, in turn, can maintain at least the appearance of the social and cultural fabric of the local community. Curry et al (2001, 113) discuss rural change where rural land use has developed a 'symbiotic relationship' with tourism. Tourism, however, can also put demands on existing and developing activities especially should a locality become dependent on tourism (Buhalis, 1999, 355). Mathieson and Wall (2002 326) and O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002) question the benefits of tourism and the broad issues and impacts of its sustainability.

Tourism has played a role in the rebranding of ports, leading to the marginalisation of their transport function due to the reduced importance of their former role. Stakeholders such as developers and governments, often market ports and waterfronts as tourist attractions, drawing on the romanticism of their former uses even to the point where the promotion of their seafaring exoticism detracts from the original port functions, such as trade throughput.

Is there a further ‘pecking order’ relating to coastal land and natural resource use, (beyond Shields’ ‘high/ low’ discussed earlier in 2.3.3) in which hierarchical determinants within government frameworks are used to justify the presence or absence of coastal development? The bulk of the literature addresses this question in the context of established ports, rather than that of small fishing communities, which are food producers in an advanced economy, such as Japan. To date, the literature here falls short.

Tourism and its development have so far been discussed here, in terms of the (real or perceived) demands of the tourist, her/ his wants and needs, and of the history of places of geographic interest and of pilgrimages. MacCannell (1976) argues that it is the tourist who determines the attraction, as does Foucault (Davis, 2001 130), but policy and strategy are frequently determined by an even more powerful set of powerbrokers.

#### 2.9.2 Tourist Demand vs. Tourism Suppliers

Cheong and Miller (2000) discuss Foucault’s conceptualisation of how power is relevant to the study of tourism, indicating how power relationships govern the behaviours of tourists in various tourism systems. As such, and with regard to the Japanese government’s enthusiasm to develop certain rural localities into tourist attractions in order to improve local economies, ‘power manifests itself in different localised settings with their own rationalities, histories and mechanisms’ (2000 376) and, in terms of the (subordinate) targets (or places and people) and tourism agents, the latter are the primary instruments of change ‘responsible for repression or exclusion’ (2000 376). This is particularly relevant where and when the touristic experience is a part of the manipulation of a gaze which is instigated by marketing and by deliberate inclusions and exclusions of imagery (2000 376, 377). Cheong and Miller (2000 379) identify a sociological model for tourism comprising three standard elements: tourists, locals and several categories of brokers. The tourist’s role in this tourism power interrelationship is reduced to:

- being a sustainer of tourism systems by ‘gazing’ from the level of the individual,
- and thus contributing to the ‘productive effects of power at the institutional level’.

As such, Cheong and Miller (2000, 382) question the autonomy of Urry's tourist's gaze, arguing that this is directed by various power relations and is 'supported and justified by an institution of professional experts who help to construct and develop our gaze as tourists'. Thus, tourists are subject to a variety of manipulations and, although it may seem that the tourist seeks his/her own tour or place of interest, the manipulation of their research for the tour has, to some extent, already been done by government tourism agencies, marketing boards and tourism service providers. Calculated inclusions and exclusions by these powerbrokers form this information network.

To return to historical research, Francks (2009) discusses archival and museum evidence of advertising where, from as early as the 1600s, various advertising media were used to attract the attention of those echelons of Tokugawa Japanese society who were 'travelling', either because of the compulsory laws of *sankin kōtai* or for pilgrimage. Whether on flyers and parasols, in woodblock prints depicting famous actors in well-known locations, in the works of classical writers and poets such as Bashō (Keene, 1996), or in various businesses and stopovers on the Tōkaidō route which were specified in the *sankin kōtai*, particular destinations were promoted (Gordon, 2009 23-27). Later, Japan's industrial revolution in the Meiji period, and the advent of the railway system led to the promotion of further specified tourism destinations, many of which were based on the Tōkaidō route, for the Japanese domestic and international tourists.

Pilgrimages to religious sites were recorded in the Tokugawa period from 1603 (Moon, 2002). Such destinations and their uses were contributing factors in determining political decisions to open up a region to tourism (Vlastos, 1998). Geographic identifiers in such regions ranged from yellow rice fields, to onsen, to steam rising out from beneath the earth's surface in downtown Beppu in Kyushu. A strong sense of regionalism and its identification occurred in early Japanese tourism, and later in local histories, through the preservation and valorisation of regional and local arts and crafts, archaeological findings and other identifiers.

Wong (1993) has written about tourism and coastal development in terms of their environmental and social impacts, while Moon (2002), Rea (2000), Rimmer (1992) and Knight (1996) have discussed the rural revitalisation in Japan that has been a popular theme in the Japanese media. From the 1960s through to the 1990s, tourism was regarded as an economic 'saviour' for declining rural populations. Of particular

relevance was the Resort Law of 1987, which gave license to private companies to develop golf courses, ski resorts and multi-purpose/ performing arts complexes through regional and rural construction projects in an effort by the government to curb rapid urbanisation (Moon, 2002, 228).

As will be argued in the following chapter, both the Hyōgo government's *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* and the Welcome 21 Plan incorporated regional tourism and leisure developments as signifiers into their overarching statements. However, as Shapira et al. (1994) note, building a tourism destination in Japan has characteristically involved factors other than the attraction of tourists or rural revitalisation. The language in these two Prefectural Plans focuses on tourism, but they can also be construed as part of the national initiative (Hyōgo Phoenix Plan, 1997) to repopulate regional Japan by offering the Japanese urbanite an initial experience of coastal and rural tourism as a promising prelude to migration to regional towns.

### 2.9.3 Industrial and Experiential Tourism

A further tourism construct identified by MacCannell is where 'functioning establishments figure prominently as tourist attractions' (1976, 51) while 'making fetish of the work of others, by transforming it into an "amusement" (do-it-yourself) a spectacle...or attraction, ... guided tours... (where) modern workers, on vacation, can apprehend work as a part of a meaningful totality...the alienation of the worker stops where the alienation of the sightseer begins' (MacCannell, 1976, 6). The tourist participates in sightseeing and in the social structure of 'industrial' tourism (MacCannell, 1976 51-56). In Japan's frame of reference, 'experiential' tourism attractions range from tourists' participation in local folk crafts to observing the workings of aquaculture centres in fishing villages. MacCannell questions the depth of the tourists' awareness of these communities and their local industries (MacCannell, 1976 55). In the 21st century Japanese context, the issues of conscious and autonomous decision making by domestic tourists could also be examined in the contexts of:

- domestic tourists experiencing regional industries conscious of their participation as tourists
- their 'doing the right thing' for the national 'good'
- tourism in rural Hyōgo as a means of attracting counter urbanites.

#### 2.9.4 Development: Haphazard or ‘Concrete’?

The literature discussed so far has focussed on peripherality, marginality and on decision making processes that involve not only historically determined aesthetics, but also political and economic factors and the use of tourism both as a tool for Japanese nationalism (Siegenthaler, 1999) and as a justification for construction and municipal economic development (McCormack, 2000). Graburn (1983) however, argues that the strategies for and the aesthetics of this development have often been ‘haphazard’, while McCormack argues that such development in Japan is fundamentally driven by the construction industry. Graburn (1983 199) reasons that Japanese development is haphazard due not only to the existence of weak land use controls since the 1930s, but also to the influence of the American occupation and the ensuing weak zoning laws and to the ‘selling off’ of small rural blocks of land, which led to ugly developments in many rural areas. Since 1930, many rural populations have declined by 50% (Graburn, 1983 198). By the 1950s, rural unemployment was higher than 10% and, during the 1970s –1990s, the government spent vast amounts of money to encourage tourism from the urban areas to ‘isolated hinterland areas’ (Graburn, 1983 201). Industrial decentralization strategies promoting the moral and ecological values of the countryside, the now outdated ‘Law of Development of Comprehensive Resort Areas’ of 1987 (Funck, 1998 333) including ski resorts, golf and trekking courses and various transportation developments including roads and bridges, have proved to be less than successful attempts at improving the economies of peripheral/rural areas through tourism and counter-urbanisation (Graburn, 1983 196, 200).

Graburn’s studies of this haphazard development however, focus on the ‘rural’ of the immediate hinterland of major cities, mostly Tokyo. Provincial cities such as Himeji (Crowe-Delaney, 1997) and fishing towns such as Kasumi, show different manifestations of planning based on the nature of their historic roles.

Tourism development from the Meiji period onwards has focused on inbound tourism and thus on the consolidation of tourism routes (Nakagawa, 1998) and, more recently, on plans and strategies leading up to the *Resort Law* of 1987 (Rimmer, 1992). It is associated with the development triangle of construction involving the then Ministry of Construction, the developers and the politicians, known as the *doken kokka* (construction state) (McCormack 1996 25-76).

McCormack (1996 63) argues that Japan has become a construction state, where unnecessary use of concreting and building development has led to the removal of the natural topography at many sites, such as the mountain tops for the Kansai airport and the sands of Ieshima for sand replenishment on the Himeji coast. The Seto Inland Sea is one example where intensive reclamation of the coastline has led to the revegetation and 'renaturalising' of the coastal beds with the use of concrete tetrapods (Sekiguchi and Aksornekoae, 2008 88-91).

Conversely, concrete constructions elsewhere on the coastline are of debatable use. The need for the concreting of mountainsides, river banks and the actual riverbeds, and the construction of tunnels through mountains that lead to small villages are often considered unnecessary (McCormack, 1996 63) and can be detrimental to smaller village lifestyles where employment in construction has overtaken the role of agricultural employment in some rural communities, (Kerr, 1996).

The problem with McCormack's argument is that, while it refers to two major construction periods of the 1960s and again in the 1980-1990s, it generalises in spatial terms. Construction in or near the major cities does support his contention. His focus is on the Tōkaidō megalopolis and on the Pacific Belt, extending into Kyūshū. In his supplement (McCormack, 2000) he argues that much of the roadways construction throughout Japan was unnecessary.

For many roads, this may be so and this was the reason why Prime Minister Koizumi initially suspended potentially unnecessary construction as part of his great fiscal and economic budgetary restraints in the early 2000s (Mishima, 2007 731,741). However, there are many small, single lane and dangerous roads throughout rural Japan that link the rice fields and coastal regions but do not encourage motor touring. Arguably, some of the proposed major highways opening up the Kita Kinki (northern Kinki) district would encourage such tourism. Conversely, better roads can also facilitate rural out-migration and encourage former rural dwellers to maintain family connections in their home towns while living and working in larger cities, or use the now empty rural family home as a second, or holiday home.

Particular biases occur when these developments are seen from specific perspectives. Kerr, a long-time inhabitant of rural Japan and an observer of more than thirty years of construction and change in Japan, criticises both the social change and the political mind-set, lamenting the loss of the traditional aesthetics of everyday living. He notes

that many Japanese find the constructed Japan, where concrete and other materials line many waterways, mountainsides and buildings, welcome because it protects and improves transportation and living standards. Yet they are also rejected he argues, by the Japanese tourist as evidenced by the growth in outbound tourism figures (Kerr, 2001 182-183). Kerr does not however factor in overseas countries' competitive advertising and aggressive tourist campaigns that were directed at Japanese with high disposable incomes, in the 1980s and 90s.

Kerr (2001) refers to McCormack's argument (1996 66) for the need to reduce some of the 'concretisation'. However, in towns and villages built on some of the most unstable mountainsides and facing inhospitable northern ocean weather, the use of concrete has been necessary, and certainly, a sense of pride has developed in those villages and towns where these updated rural settlements are no longer as hazardous or inaccessible as they were in the past.

Kerr's main argument is that, in comparison to other developed countries in the late 20th century, Japan has lost its sense of maintaining its heritage, or of incorporating this into new developments. Rather it has maintained the concrete monolithic style of the 1970s (2001 192). Housing materials made of synthetic and reconstructed wood chip to make beams of indoor 'timber' poles for the tokonoma are found throughout Japan and he reminds the reader that pine forests are replacements for the pre-Meiji period natural forests. Nishimura (2005 3) disagrees, arguing that *machizukuri* (town and community-rebuilding projects) had their roots in local protests against environmental degradation.

Corruption, the offering of financial incentives and political pork barrelling within the construction and political arenas, are commonplace in Japan, as are arguments for unfettered development (McCormack, 1996). However, these ignore the fact that, in the 1960s, this development occurred when the new types of building were considered architecturally sophisticated compared to the seemingly backward style of traditional Japanese wooden houses and sheds, particularly on the coastline. In Kasumi, concrete buildings were constructed not only to show an increase in wealth, but also to ensure that extreme coastal and weather conditions, did not destroy the region's administrative and governmental hubs, as had occurred in the past. Conversely, Himeji, aside from Typhoon Murota in 1934, a seasonal rain front in 1938 and the Great Hanshin earthquake of 1995, has not suffered from coastal damage due to

tsunami and high seas since it is protected by the nearby islands of Akashi and Shikoku.

Therefore, these anti-modernistic arguments fail to acknowledge that there is a geomorphologic and meteorological threat to human habitation due to the difficult terrain of much of Japan including landslides, mountain-slides and liquefaction of soils in built up areas. Less protected roads and railway lines can slide off mountains. Country roads are characteristically winding and single-laned with side drops of between 1 and 2 metres into paddy fields and are considered dangerous. Highways 'leading to nowhere' (Kerr, 1996) actually do open up regional Japan for the time-constrained Japanese domestic tourist who is increasingly encouraged to explore Japan. Furthermore, road tunnels reduce travel time, and exposure to difficult weather and terrain.

It can be argued that the difficult terrain conditions may have been exacerbated by environmental degradation that began in the Tokugawa period due to deforestation, but nonetheless weather and geological threats do exist and require mitigation and engineering solutions. In Hyōgo Prefecture, the 1995 Kobe earthquake (Johansson, 2000) and the 1986 Amarube train (in Kasumi) blown by strong winds from a high bridge (Nakao, 2012) are but two examples of the challenges facing humans inhabiting the challenging Japanese environment.<sup>28</sup>

Political pork barrelling in the lead up to Prime Minister Koizumi's election was evident in the stopping and then the recommencement of highway developments dotted throughout regional Japan and was indicative of the continuation of the 'construction state', although the rate of construction has slowed down in some prefectures, mostly due to the depressed state of the economy in the 1990s (Hiwatari, 2001; Mishima, 2007).

Japan is not unique in experiencing private development of its coast. Pinder, Hoyle and Hussein (1988 254-255), note that in Australia, North America and Europe, development companies rather than local authorities were major drivers of the redevelopment of port and waterfront space, capitalising on redundant spaces and investing in hazardous coasts where development was beyond the budgets of the local authorities.

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<sup>28</sup> The Amarube Bridge was replaced by a safer concrete construction in 2011.

## 2.10 Action Groups and Local Citizen Movements

As this literature review has highlighted, stereotypes and various sources of image-making are frequently historical, political and nationalist in nature. They are often grounded in former time periods and promoted by various stakeholders such as development companies and government policy makers. Yet they influence the everyday lives of individuals. This national image-making needs to be considered in the contexts of local peoples' involvement in citizen groups and local council decision making. The stereotyping of the Japanese as conformist and non-litigious, in that they do not protest and that they do not participate in local citizen movements, has been disproved by Nishimura (2005) and Takao (1999).

In terms of action groups and local citizen movements in Japan, the research findings are diverse. Huddle et al. (1975), referring mainly to the case of Minamata disease, contend that the Japanese will only take action when there has been a challenge or threat. Conversely, Dore's monograph (1971), a collection of research on several Tokyo villages, illustrates that individuals have indeed developed local community groups and that these will take action against low level incidences of inconvenience. Takao (1999) also gives specific evidence of citizen participation in local issues, yet Nishimura (2005 2) observes that local confrontations in the past have been 'known as public nuisance'. Local participation in municipal government decision making processes for development is 'yet to be developed' despite laws instigated in 1992 to include citizen participation (Murayama, 2005 16-7) and the *machizukuri* movement (Nishimura, 2005). Takao (1999 14) argued that the current system of governance has yet to accommodate and incorporate local contributions in its regulatory systems.

Sorenson's history of *machizukuri* (2006) provides a complex chronology of the process, from which he concludes that local citizens need to address complex issues including challenging laws, and powerful government bodies and oppositional stakeholders. Kelly (1990) argues that an overriding dependency characterises regional municipal governments in the pursuit of prosperity given the funding power of the higher levels of government. Cheong and Miller (2000 373) explore research in the context of tourism development where 'locals are not always passive when facing economic and social change'. Active and resistant locals 'negotiate and contest' powerful industry and tourism organisations (*ibid*, 2000 374). Importantly, they argue, the locals most adversely affected (*ibid*. 2000 381) are characteristically those least involved in the tourism industry and those who do not earn income from that industry.

Asquith and Kalland (1997) argue that citizen movements by locals who are actively involved seldom have an all-encompassing, un-differentiated and positive attitude towards nature, but that they possess a selective respect towards culturally conceived concepts of what is or is not harmful. They contend that this pragmatism may be one reason why immediate problems are resolved, yet why it is difficult to mobilise the public in environmental problem solving more generally and therefore, why it is local, social problems that engender their participation. The case study of Kasumi will explore this issue further.

## 2.11 Discussion

Recalling the four goals of the literature review, this chapter has:

1. examined stereotypes of Japan and their impacts on social science research on that country
2. discussed Shields (1991) and Tuan (1974 and 1977) as overall intellectual reference points for the research hypothesis
3. re-examined the tourism literature on contemporary and historic Japan and
4. analysed the various social, political and administrative factors that contribute to the making of rural coastal space which are pertinent to Hyōgo Prefecture.

While other literature has focussed on the expansionist policies of the early and mid-twentieth century in order to explain Pacific coast development in Japan, this chapter has sought to highlight how the concentration of settlement was also influenced by the attraction of deltaic topography within an extreme physical environment which simultaneously confined and defined Japan's human settlement patterns. It was a natural reaction for successive governments to contain major settlement and industrial development away from the harsh climatic regions of the north/ north east of Japan, in part to cement their authority over the powerful warring clans and to secure their interests in relation to international conflicts.

Over many centuries therefore, government policies and structures have contributed to the core/periphery nature of culture and development in Japan (Morris-Suzuki, 2001 90-91). Other literature has focused on political and economic threats and trends, but this chapter, while not dismissing this material, has taken a geographical approach that incorporates those physical and cultural influences that have contributed to Pacific coastal dominance.

So far, this chapter has summarised the range of geographic, historical, political and economic factors that have contributed to the administration of coastal land use in Japan, commencing with the contribution of the late Tokugawa period to large city development, which included the use of the Tōkaidō road, its urbanisation and its predominantly linear industrial and consequent urban development. The Tokugawa form of governance played a major part in the development of one of the earliest urbanised societies in the world, wherein the development process resulted in particular political, cultural and spatial dichotomies.

Core/ periphery driven policies on coastal development led to a concentration of industrialisation, urbanisation and heavy transportation development on the Pacific coast. This was in contrast to the preservation of fishing production on the remote/ rural coastal areas of the Sea of Japan and, more generally, these policies created a contrast between the urban-industrial, ‘modern’ developments and the remote, ‘traditional’ fishing and their associated agricultural communities.

Tokugawa policy direction not only influenced Meiji development, but also much of the planning for the Pacific Belt into the 20th century, culminating in the development of the Tōkaidō Megalopolis. In the larger coastal cities fisheries, and increasingly fish-processing industries, were maintained; however planning also led to many peripheral coastal regions having few economic options beyond the fishing industry and limited fish processing.

A spatial discrimination in terms of core and periphery was managed also in agriculture and sericulture, and still exists in post-industrial Japan whereby various cultures and localities experience social and economic marginalisation such as in Okinawa and Hokkaido. Japanese identification of the peripheral can even render it as the undesirable. As late as 1996, laws restricted victims of Hansen’s disease (Leprosy) to isolated rural towns on islands and in mountainous areas, away from the Tōkaidō,<sup>29</sup> (Miyasaka, 2003; Kitano, 2002). Aside from the latter example, however, tourism plays its role within these peripheries providing marginalised examples of Japanese culture.

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<sup>29</sup> In the early 21st century, 700 mostly elderly patients remained isolated (Miyasaka, M. 2003). A Historical and Ethical Analysis of Leprosy Control Policy in Japan. 8th Tsukuba International Bioethics Roundtable (TRT8) in 2003, University of Tsukuba, Tsukuba Science City, Japan, Available from: [http://www.clg.niigata-u.ac.jp/~miyasaka/hansen/leprosy\\_policy.html](http://www.clg.niigata-u.ac.jp/~miyasaka/hansen/leprosy_policy.html) [Accessed 10 June 2005]., Kitano, R. 2002. The End of Isolation: Hansen's Disease in Japan. *Harvard Asia Quarterly* [Online], V1, no page numbers, Available: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~asiactr/haq/200203/0203a005.htm> (under reconstruction) [Accessed 3 August 2004].

Later in the 20th century, as tourism became more of an ‘independent industry’ on the international stage, Japanese national government policy has sought to use it to stimulate economic advancement in peripheral areas and acknowledging these area’s ‘traditions’. Chapter Three discusses how tourism has intersected with industrial development and the railway system of the Pacific Belt and how Japanese policy processes have attempted to deal with tourism in the 21st century.

Given its influence on both tourism and national identity, *nihonjinron* now needs to be put into its correct context (Nagatani and Tanaka, 1998 4); in itself it can be an issue of study and research where ‘subjectivities cannot be totally reduced to objective realities: perceived images are reality too, an ‘existential authenticity’’. Such perceptions, however, need to be monitored and Shields (1991, 23-24) highlights the semiotic argument whereby the pragmatics of such approaches do not reduce research projects ‘to a thorough-going subjectivism of cognitive maps of utopias’ but, as Goodman (2005 70) argues, they acknowledge that ‘each society has its own “chests of facts” on which to construct and legitimate’.

In her forward to Hendry’s, *Interpreting Japanese Society* (1998), Sugiyama-Lebra (1998 xiii) has acknowledged that much of the American literature on Japan has contributed to the stereotyping of Japan and applauds the importance of a ‘new’ approach to writing on Japanese society wherein American readers (and others) are offered ‘new insights...to re-sensitise them to the epistemological problems of studying other cultures’. The research project reported on in this thesis, begun in 2000, is attempting to do the same in the context of human geography. It does not just focus on Japanese tourism policy or use Japan as an area of study. Rather, it aims to understand the development of tourism in coastal regions using examples that have their roots in historical settlement and coastal development policies.

Within the context of this thesis, the two coastal locations studied in Hyōgo Prefecture are particularly interesting and exhibit in varying degrees the phenomena of *peripherality* and *marginality* when they are considered in the contexts of the decision making processes of both the national government of Japan and the Prefectural government of Hyōgo.

## 2.12 Conclusion

The breadth of this literature review has been necessary for several reasons. Firstly, it establishes the need to take a non-stereotypical approach to the fieldwork component of this research as well as to the use of secondary sources. Furthermore, it has been important to address the past impact of *nihonjinron* on social science research in Japan. This has not been debated as rigorously in the sub-discipline of Human Geography as has been the case in Anthropology and Sociology.

Secondly, in relation to, but also moving on from *nihonjinron*, the question of the creation of traditions in terms of nationalism and national prosperity arises. Here the literature discusses how pre-existing land use practices have determined current policies and how, in order to revitalise rural economies, the idealisation of nature and of those primary productive practices which fit within these idealisms, have been used as attractions for urbanites, in their potential roles as both tourist and counter-urbanite.

Thirdly, rather than just depending on disparate case studies, this literature review uses Tuan's theories on *Space and Place* (1977) and *Topophilia* (1974) which engage with the myriad issues encountered in the paradox of western research on Asia in the social sciences. In the context of this research, these include the perceptions of nature, space and the environment; the role of culture in determining policy for tourism; the role of tourism policy and nationalism in rural revitalisation; and the interactions of tourism and nationalism.

Fourthly, the literature discusses marginality and peripherality in the context of coastal Japan. This sits well in a discussion of spatial development in Japan and complements research on the country's urban planning issues, a topic which, other than in the work of Witherick and Carr (1993) and Kelly (1990), has generally lacked a theoretical perspective and where Kelly to draws attention to the important role of researching the regional (*ibid.* 1990 211).

Shields (1991) contributes significantly to the arguments on how tourism in marginal and peripheral places becomes a platform for perpetuating national image-making. This is relevant in Japanese Studies where Japanese national policy is dominated by the core; the primate city of Tokyo directs local initiatives, such as the reinvention of farming villages and their festivals and traditions not only as tourism attractions, but also as images of Japanese national identity.

These centralised policies have led to a process of place commodification, based in part on current land uses, including, in some rural coastal areas, fisheries. The economic difficulties that fishing communities face, have been reinscribed into an image of deep-seated connectedness with nature (*fureai*). Harking back to nationalism, image-making and place commodification, *fureai* has become a trope of tourism and coastal development for many fishing villages. In this process, the hard work of the fisher is replaced by a romanticising of this marginalised industry, where the seemingly rural-coastal idyll, becomes a potential opportunity for resort developers.

In the past, western literature characteristically considered Japan as an overall area for study in which the issues and events that occur in Tokyo or Osaka or other large cities were representative of all of Japan. Hiwatari (2001: 22) complained that researchers on Japan have yet to achieve policy relevance and Mouer and Sugimoto (1995) and others rightly argue, that empirical detail is crucial in order to contextualise what are potentially outdated theories and generalisations (Clelland, 2000).

It is argued in this thesis that national and prefectural tourism policies are problematic when implemented at the local municipal level due to these various dimensions. This literature review indicates that there is a need for research that can contribute to the better understanding of the complexities within development policies for rural coastal Japan. This thesis aims to compare and contrast coastal development in two case study localities within the one prefecture, Hyōgo examining the role of peripherality, the distinctive Japanese political, administrative and planning system and the cultural perceptions of the coast, landscape and tourism by various stakeholders and role-players.

The next chapter will discuss Japanese regional and coastal development and tourism policy in a historical context to provide a background to the methodology and the following chapters on the two case studies.

### **3 TOURISM POLICY FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT: RECENT, CURRENT AND PROPOSED STRATEGIES**

#### **3.1 Introduction: Governance in Tourism Planning**

Chapter two reviewed literature that highlighted the distinctive use of the Japanese coasts in the Tokugawa period and onwards and which in turn contributed to land use patterns that have continued into the 21st century. It also discussed how the Japanese railway system played an integral role in coastal development and the facilitation of urbanisation along the Tōkaidō. The railway companies used tourism to assist in this development.

Railway companies in the Osaka-Kobe districts used domestic tourism not only to promote train travel, but also to advertise their affiliated companies' labour and housing opportunities to potential new inhabitants of the expanding Pacific industrial belt (Sand, 2003 132-133). Meanwhile, improvements in international trade and relations provided opportunities for showcasing a modernised Japan willing to enter the world markets for international tourists. Thus, while tourism development in Japan can be examined chronologically, it also needs to be considered in relation to governance.

By the late 20th century, various national ministries encompassed domestic tourism within their remit, while they also had other responsibilities including international tourism, urbanisation, nationalism, regional development or construction. Tourism had become an annexure in many planning strategies, both in national and prefectural cross-departmental projects. In turn, these policy connections and their directions were subject to the overall priorities of the governments of the day. As a means of elucidating some of these interconnections, it is appropriate in this chapter to consider the introduction of former Prime Minister Koizumi's *Welcome Japan 2005* policy, given his government's aim for greater transparency in government policy and practice.

The time-frame of this thesis research, 1997-2002, was at the crossroads of where one national tourism policy framework ended and another began. By the time this author had begun research, the *Welcome 21 Plan*, which was first formulated in 1987 to begin in 1996 (Soshiroda, 2005 1111,1116) with an end period of 2000-2001, had been interrupted due to the Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995. What evidence remained of that plan was in the form

of the municipal plans for coastal redevelopment and summary brochures of the policy aims and the MLIT White Paper for Tourism 2001.

As the literature review demonstrates, the dominance of Tokyo as a primate city created prefectural and municipal hierarchies that included strong, dichotomised relationships between core and periphery, and between large cities, small towns and villages. Jacobs (2003) contests this, due to what he argues as the gradual introduction of decentralisation policies and strategies.

In the case of tourism planning processes, authority and decision making remained centralised into the 21<sup>st</sup> century and, since national strategies are translated and filtered down into local projects, they therefore become convoluted. The decisions made at the national level, lose impetus at the municipal level with the latter's increase in budget obligations and the re-prioritisation of projects at any time. This set of relationships therefore has the potential to diminish opportunities for developing sustainable rural economies in remote areas, particularly in the 1990s and early 2000s (Rozman, 1999 4-5). If a single source of department or agency funding or project direction is stymied at any point in the process, an entire multi-faceted project can come to a halt. 'Bureaucratic politics' while in theory promoting policy coordination between departments and ministries can in practice fail to do so. Therefore the complex tourism planning network will be discussed along with the pertinent policies.

Furthermore, decision makers overseeing tourism projects in the prefectural and central authorities may not share the values and attitudes of their rural counterparts. As Schnell (2005 213) argues, 'most contemporary Japanese were born in urban areas and have no personal experience of growing up in a rural village' where *furusato* is a 'pervasive, nostalgia-driven ideal...representing whatever is felt to be lacking in contemporary industrialised society'. The concept of *furusato* is a creation that may be detached from the new generation of tourists that recent and current policies aim to reach.

While *furusato* is a nostalgia-driven ideal which can lead to a perception of the countryside as a pilgrimage site for thousands of urbanites to travel to on holidays and weekends, nature and tradition are concepts that have been commodified by government policy makers in many tourism strategies. These strategies can sit uneasily with regional development

initiatives related to the placement of industrial development, as discussed in the literature review. In the 1980s, the Ministry of Construction's Seacoast Division considered that, for the mid-1990s, areas of Japan, which were 'less polluted', would be investigated for the development of various types of fisheries (Itosu, 1995) as well as for their tourism and leisure potential. Nonetheless, in the later 1990s, plans were also drawn up to redevelop polluted land into tourist and leisure destinations in Himeji (Abōshi port) and Kobe in Hyōgo (see Fig 1-2). Even though the top performing industrialised prefectures exhibit the consequences of industrial pollution, high density development, and urbanisation and associated over-urbanised problems, tourism is also being used to maintain the economies of the Pacific conurbation.

Soshiroda (2005) and the report by OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2002) best document the policies of the *Welcome 21 Plan* by way of their critical commentary about the tourism policy in Japan. The latter includes the domestic tourism policy outline, entitled *A Vision- Tourism-based Community Development*, and is embedded within the white paper with terms such as rural and tourism transportation, regional revitalisation, leisure and recreation (MLIT 2001a 29, 44, 52). The 'Vision' title is difficult to find in the English version of the White Paper, but its aims are also referred to throughout *Hyōgo 2001* (see Appendix 11), in chapter 3 of Hyōgo's 2010 Vision for Rural Revitalisation: the Time for Agricultural, Forestry and Fisheries Industries and their Communities (*Hyōgo-ken sangyōrōkubete nōrinsuisan*, 2001 92) and chapter 4 of the Tourism White Paper (*Kankōhokusho*) (tourism white paper) which is dedicated to domestic tourism policy (MLIT 2001c).

This chapter will demonstrate that early policies aimed at international tourism contributed to the urban-rural dichotomy as much as the introduction of the road system of the Tokugawa period and railway-tourism system of the Meiji period previously discussed in chapter 2.4.2. It will review the tourism and regional development policies leading up to Hyōgo Prefecture's '*Hyōgo 2001 Plan*' and show its connections to the national *Welcome 21 Plan*. The chapter will then consider how local and municipal governments have attempted to implement projects emanating from the plans in the period 1990 to 2005.

One last consideration before the discussion moves forward. The Japanese international tourism industry has relied on pilgrimage sites, domestic tourism attractions and hospitality

as the main features for its national tourism industry, save for a few theme park developments aimed at international tourism, such as Tokyo Disneyland. To maintain the domestic tourism industry, the upfront measure for the tourism decision-makers would be to ensure that tourism attractions be well-utilised by Japanese themselves. Inbound tourists want the 'full' Japanese experience, documents Sahara (2012 55). It makes common sense, he argues that Japanese should patronise their home tourism attractions. This is pragmatic, considering that in inbound off-peak periods, domestic tourism should be supported by national patronage.

### **3.2 Past 'Welcomes' in Tourism**

Tourism policy has been embedded into a variety of ministerial portfolios since the Meiji era. Sand (2003), Traganou (2004), Schnell (2005), Cooper and Flehr (2006), and particularly Soshiroda (2005) however, point to a common theme of the use of international tourism initiatives by the government to promote domestic economic revitalisation and expansion projects under a "Welcome" theme. Soshiroda (2005) also argues that past tourism policies have set precedents for current policy decision making.

This section, based on Soshiroda's research, outlines the development of inbound tourism policy in Japan from the onset of the Meiji period to 2003. From the mid-Meiji period, there was a strong emphasis on imagery of a 'civilised' / 'westernised', and 'modernised' Japan to attract foreign tourists. Initially, this included early measures to restrict foreigners to city tourist precincts (Soshiroda, 2005). Later foreign tourists were gradually encouraged to travel further inland (Treves, 1905 305) and along the Pacific coast (Tōkaidō). Russian travellers could also enter from the north through Tsuruga in Fukui Prefecture and then travel along the Tōkaidō (Wells, 2004 204).

Soshiroda (2005 1102) categorises Japanese tourism in relation to chronological divisions of inbound policy. The period 1859-1912, marks the end of the Edo (period) and beginning of the Meiji periods through to the foundation year of the establishment of the Japan Travel Bureau (JTB) and the Welcome Society. In this phase, policies focussed on restricting foreign tourists both in number and, in terms of their distance travelled to no more than 40 kilometres from each major settlement. This was later relaxed to include twenty tourist routes which were established linking Hakodate, Niigata, Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki,

Kyoto, Tokyo and Osaka, based on the Harris Treaty of Trade Agreement<sup>30</sup> and gradually incorporating the Sendai- Nagasaki, Tōkaidō, Tōhoku and Sanyō railway lines and the international ports of Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki (*ibid.* 2005 1106).

In terms of creating an image of modernisation, from approximately 1890, old buildings reminiscent of the feudal era were replaced, such as the flagship *Imperial Hotel*, which was rebuilt for a second time in 1922 to a design by Frank Lloyd Wright, whose internationally acclaimed architecture represented the ‘modern’ (Fig 3-1) (Tiltman, 1964 5, 6-7).

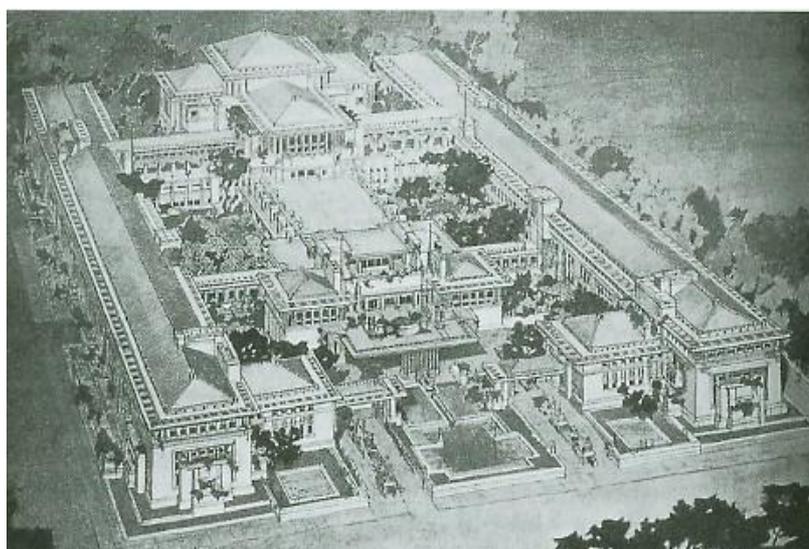


Fig 3-1 Westernisation of buildings and landmarks designed by the well-known international architect Frank Lloyd Wright were developed as part of re-imagining Japan for an international audience. Source: (Stripe, 1999 29)

The next period was between the years 1912 and 1941. In 1916, the first international travel policies were established by the imperialist Ōkuma government including the opening of the Russo- Sinese and Korean oceanic links from Nagasaki. Further development of railways and hotels was managed by the National Railway and by local governments to further attract foreign tourists. The Fuji-Izu-Hakone belt and the Seto Inland Sea were earmarked to become national parks and ‘fast’ trains were established between Kobe, Tokyo and Shimonoseki. The establishment of national parks was designed to attract foreigners to summer and winter recreational pursuits (such as hiking, which had been popularised by German trends) and coincided with hotel development on the edge of national parks. Cheap

<sup>30</sup> Following American Commodore Perry negotiating the successful opening of safe-haven ports of Shimoda and Hakodate in 1854 to foreign vessels, American Consul-General Harris Townsend negotiated for American, religious immunity, trade, diplomatic and consular agents to travel to Edo, and importantly here, travel privileges for Americans in Japan (Totman, 2000 282).

and long-term loans as part of government policies were offered to developers and 'significant destinations' were designated, (Fig 3-2) (Soshiroda, 2005 1106).

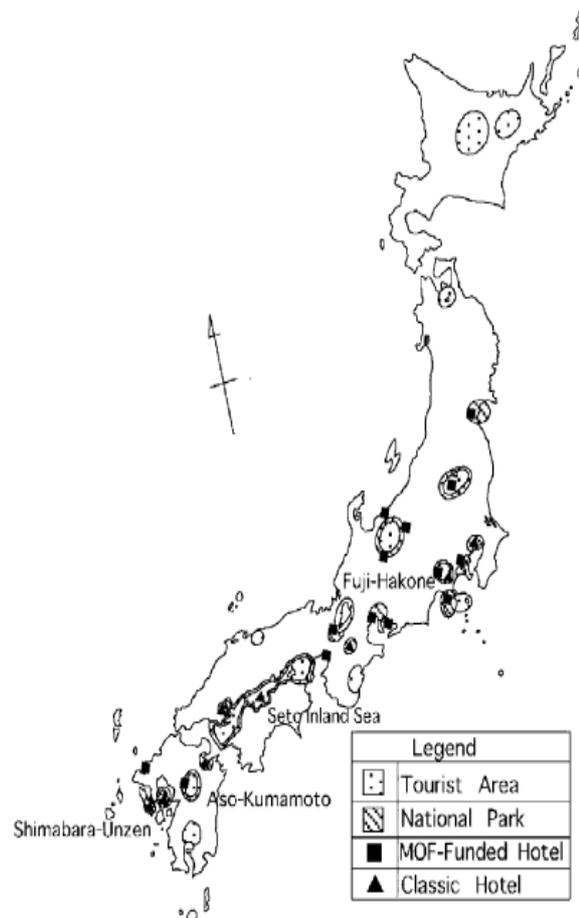


Fig 3-2 Primary destinations and funded hotels in 1930-1931. Source: (Soshiroda, 2005 1107)

In the period 1945-1970, the National Tourist Association (1955), the Basic Tourism Law (1963) and the Japanese National Tourism Organisations (1964) were re-established for inbound tourism with the theme of peace and harmony (*ibid.* 2005 1103). Tourism expansion was seen as a component of agricultural, technological and economic advancement. The Tourism Industry Council (TIC) was established in 1948 and, in an advisory capacity, selected particular cities and towns for tourism development in conjunction with the Five Year Economic Recovery Plan (*ibid.* 2005 1108). Food production and power supply were emphasised in the next plan in 1952, which coincided with the opening up of such famous

destinations as Beppu, Aso, Sendai, Matsue and Kyoto (Fig 3-3).<sup>31</sup> The importance and focus of the Seto Inland Sea was highlighted in two reports: the *Development of Tourist Facilities around the Seto Inland Sea* (1950) and the *Promotion Plan of Marine Tourism in Seto Inland Sea* (1953), presented by the TIC (*ibid.* 2005 1109).

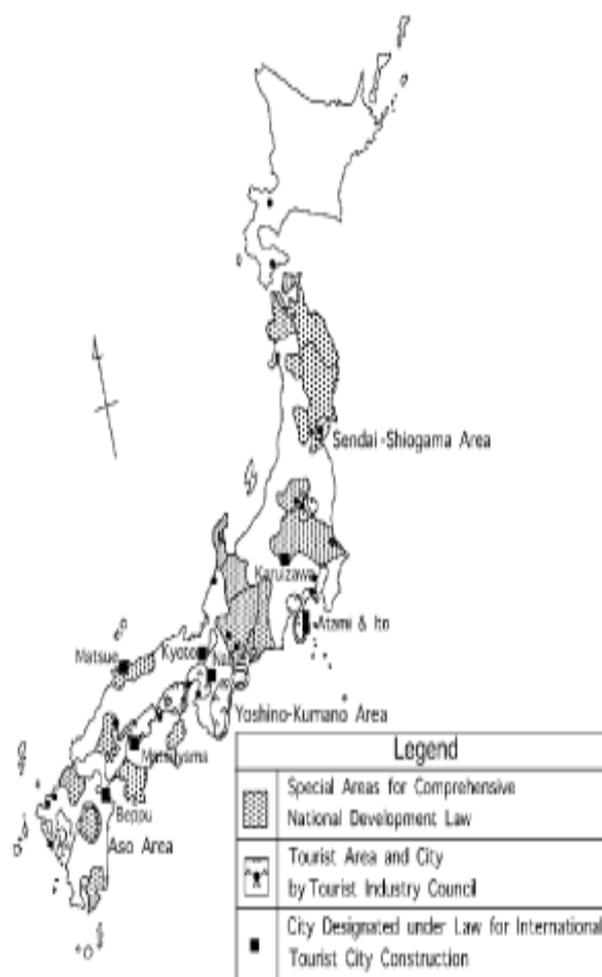


Fig 3-3 There is a strong correlation between special development and tourism destinations, as outlined in this map of the Tourism Industry Council in 1951. Source: (Soshiroda, 2005 1108)

The *Tourism Planning Acts* and *Specified Area Development Plans* of the mid 1950s-1960s emphasised construction and concentrated tourist and more general infrastructure development in the larger cities in the Pacific Belt Zone of Tokyo- Osaka.

<sup>31</sup> Already established historical sites of onsen, volcanoes, ski fields, the home of foreign author Lafcadio Hearn, Japanese traditional artisanry and royalty

In preparation for the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo, the Nikkō, Keihin-Shonan (suburban Tokyo area), an extension of the Fuji-Hakone-Izu, and Keihanshin-Nara areas were promoted to tourists by the TIC. Only in the latter part of this period was the San'in further developed. However, the Osaka Expo in 1970 would bring about a further concentration of tourism promotion on the Pacific coast facilitated by more shipping and airport developments and the Osaka-Fukuoka shinkansen, an example of co-development focussed on that southern region of Japan (*ibid.* 2005 1109).

The period 1970-1996 was one of international trade imbalances and overall economic stagnation, albeit punctuated by the 1980s boom period. Outbound tourism policies were encouraged in an effort to redress trade surpluses, particularly with the US. Economic stagnation was addressed with policies, which focussed on domestic tourism and conservation, with the exception in 1985, of the designation of *International Tourism Model Districts*' by the Ministry of Transport (*ibid.* 2005 1110).

Parallel to the mid- twentieth century *Tourism Planning Acts* and *Specified Area Development Plans* (noted earlier) was legislation for a set of comprehensive *National Development Plans* and related laws covering the environment and local planning. These were intended to function as a unified system to promote and control urban and regional development, and included the *Construction Standards Act 1950*, the *City Planning Act 1968* and the *National Land Use Planning Act 1974* (Cooper and Flehr, 2006 72). These regulations encompassed all types of structural development including those with tourism themes, but they specified neither details nor the manner of decision making at the municipal level in this period. Thus, much of this development occurred near or within the castle towns that had formed the basis of regional control by the centre from as early as the Edo period under the Tokugawa Shogunate (Traganou, 2004 12).

### 3.2.1 Nature-Themed Tourism

Prefectural developments of the 1960s had included scenic beautification planning in an attempt to create a balanced development as a result of the Urban Planning Act of 1968. From 1962, the first of several updates of the *Comprehensive National Development Plan* focussed on themes of: 'new industrial cities', 'integrated residence policy' and 'integrated

interaction policy'. The Ministry of Railways recognised the role that domestic travel (*tabi*)<sup>32</sup> and international tourism could play in revitalising the Japanese countryside (Nakagawa, 1988 27). However, as Cooper and Flehr argue, these were developed according to the 'perceived needs of the moment' where:

*Most resources in urbanisation and planning are consistently directed to national economic development before local and regional community wishes are taken into account (ibid, 2006 72).*

It was only later that the tourism policies of the 1970s (Ivy 1995) and onwards had a considerable impact on the municipalities of Kasumi and Himeji. During this period, regional and rural or remote municipalities began to be affected by various economic initiatives from the top-down approach of national governance (Callies 1997). Tourism 'strategies' began to try to redress such problems as depopulation and underperformance by local primary industries. Tourism development projects were directed simultaneously at both domestic and foreign visitors. Soshiroda (2005) argues that the final phase of tourism planning in this period was directed to the attraction of foreign currency exchange and therefore of inbound tourism. At the prefectural level (and municipal levels), however, regional revitalisation had become a policy goal, as exemplified in Himeji (Public Relations Section Planning Bureau Himeji City Office, 1993 7, 40-41) as was rural revitalisation including development projects elsewhere in Hyōgo (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 2000 12-13, 18).

While the 1980s was a boom period for the national economy, rural revitalisation strategies at the national level had already begun and were focussed on encouraging local communities to address their images (Rausch, 2004 5), and to 'internationalise' in order to attract a new wave of tourists that now included markets from elsewhere in Asia (Soshiroda, 2005 1111). Municipal and prefectural governments and their tourism agencies were encouraged to re-

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<sup>32</sup> The term for Japanese travel which incorporated tourism (tourism was not usually a word used usually for domestic travel). Travel in Japan was encouraged through the railway systems as Nakagawa illustrates, and it was a typical habit of early Japanese travellers, when visiting for any length of time, to eat, drink and stay for one or two nights (See Graburn, 1983). For example, hot springs (*onsen*) were a focus of this type of travel, a pass-time what we westerners would term as 'tourism'. Cont. This travel, a day trip, known as *higaeri*, (日帰り) contrasts with one night-two *days ippaku, futatsu* (一泊、二日). In the publication *一泊二日の温泉宿&日帰り湯の旅* edited by 月刊うらら編集部, translates as *One-day and Overnight Stopovers to Hot spring Hotels*, (a monthly publication by Henshū), a modern guide to Japanese hot springs and accommodation. Some of the destinations and activities belong to sites of old *onsen*, which have been one type of travel destination since religious pilgrimages began (see Graburn 1983).

examine their current tourism industries and strategies in order to improve the existing attractions and to explore new opportunities in an increasingly competitive local tourism market. *Ryokan* and *minshuku* were fostered and, on a grander scale, support was given for the development of international and convention tourism centres and for performing arts centres in regional locations to foster '*fureai*', a connectedness to nature (*shizen*) and to 'the old home town' (*furusato*). Hyōgo prefecture amongst others benefited from performing arts centres being constructed in many of its municipalities (Rozman, 1999 7). Local governments were encouraged to inject funding into construction projects (Sorensen, 2003 526). They therefore encouraged 'unique' themed developments such as the largest nugget of gold (a fibre-glass model) display in Awaji island (no gold mines, however) and Narcissi and other mass plantings of flora (found throughout the municipalities of Hyōgo), camel rides and even a giant egg timer at the Tottori sand dunes. Many of these were based on western concepts such as Disneyland, (Tokyo), Swiss spas (Sapporo and outer Hokkaido), Universal Film Studios (Osaka) and other similar non-local cultural attractions and were encouraged to support the construction industry (McCormack, 1996 97-101).

For much of its history Japanese tourism policy has been subservient to image creation, economic development, redevelopment and construction. As such, much of the decision making has been based on urban perceptions and has been connected to the development of leisure and travel facilities for urbanised Japanese tourists (Alden and Abe, 1994 19, 32). Conversely, in the 1990s, policy makers sought to remedy a range of rural problems through tourism planning. This has led to uncoordinated, inconsistent and environmentally unsustainable tourism policymaking as a number of ministries and agencies, which had been allocated national funding, focussed their efforts on construction projects (Director of Fishing Port 2000 and President of Kasumi Tourism Association 2000, McCormack, 1996 96).

In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, a 'return to nature and the environment' has become the latest tourism theme. Cynically it can be suggested that Japan's 'natural' attributes are already available with little or no need for further injections of construction funding. The same could be said of industry tourism (excursions based on factory tours) and 'experience' tourism, where tourists are encouraged to participate in what remains of 'traditional' farm and folk industry practices. Certainly, in these rural areas, depopulation and reduced primary production are recurrent features of a 'return to nature'. Additionally, the organisational structure of the MLIT administrative system and its associated agencies contribute to the

tourism planning processes and have to be negotiated with prefectural and municipal planning, which will be discussed in the next section.

### **3.3 An Example of a Project Planning System: Setting the Framework for the Case Studies**

Figure 3.4 below highlights the complexity of tourism planning (MLIT 2002 42) when, in its effort to improve 'leisurely' vacations for Japanese, the MLIT revealed that no less than twelve ministries and their agencies were involved in domestic tourism planning.

Confusingly, in a third chapter of a subsequent edition of MLIT white papers, 'maintaining and activating the vitality of regions and cities' discusses yet again, regional revitalisation utilising Japanese domestic visitors together with international tourism planning (MLIT, 2002 30-31).

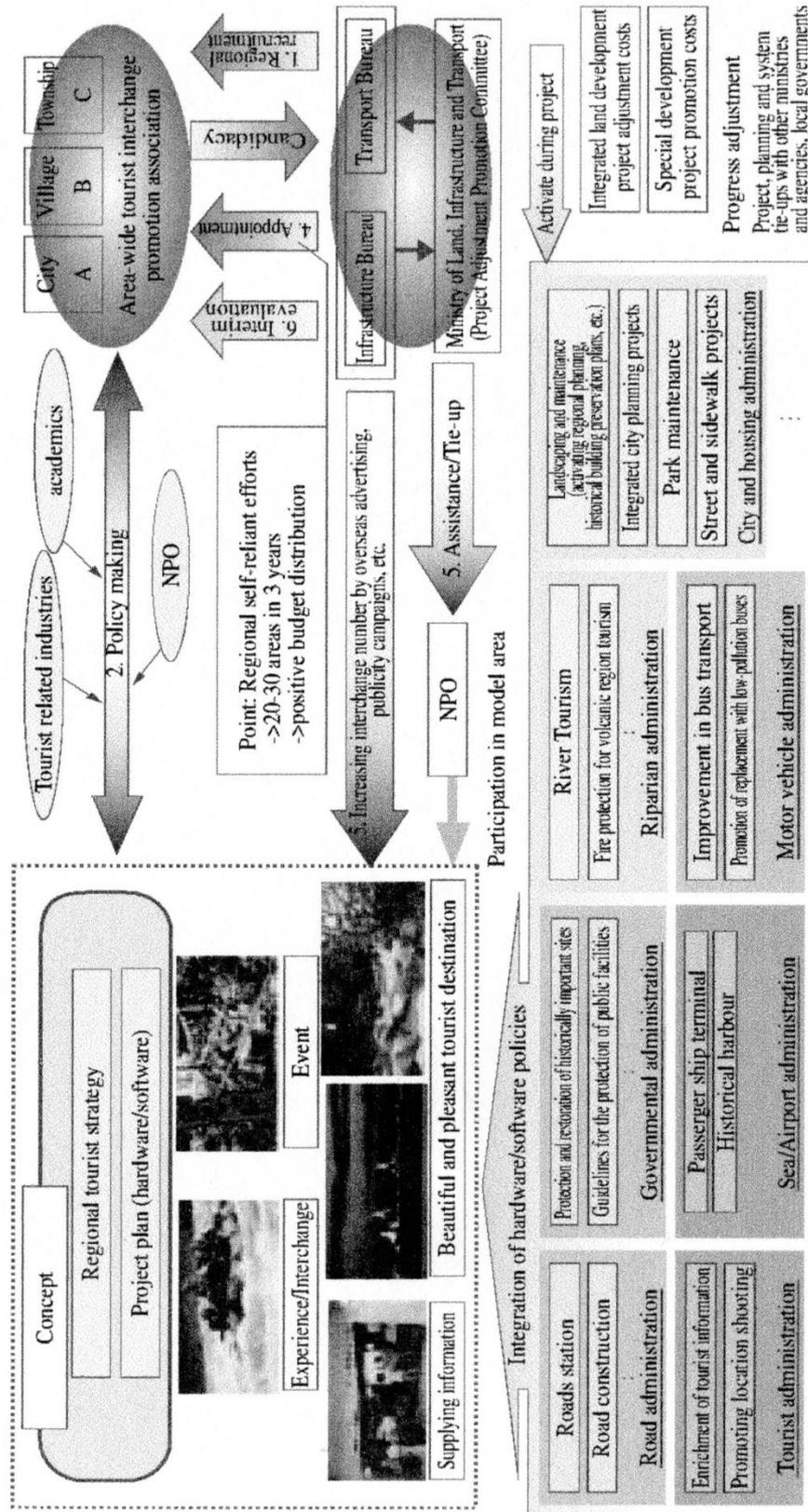


Fig 3-4 An example of prospective '(p)roject planning and systems tie-ups (sic) with other ministries and agencies, and local governments as set out by the MLIT. Source: MLIT, 2002 43

Taken from the pages of MLIT white paper, 2002, figure 3.4 illustrates several issues from the observation of this type of framework or concept map and this convolution directly reflects the nature of several Ministerial contributions. Rather than just representing the tasks at hand, it reflects the multifariousness of the inner workings of ministry departments and their roles in tourism projects.

The concept map is created from the MLIT policy viewpoint. At the time of the map's development, the Ministry of Tourism had just been incorporated into the MLIT, therefore any changes of this representational map were added onto the original (the English replaces the Japanese in a summary version). This, like many of MLIT's pre 2001 White papers, resulted in complex diagrams produced for the general public and the departments and supposedly issued to the departments involved. The complexity however, reflects the number of departmental roles within the ministries who together will be involved in any one project.

For example, the underlined administration sections under the heading 'Integration of Hardware/ Software Policies' may involve individual staff from National and Prefectural departments who oversee these sections. The Ministry of Construction may also be involved in this 'integration' if there is to be any building of structures, which may include the building of tourism information booths, or pavements with digital instruction posts offering tourism directions, or road construction.

Furthermore, whichever department is involved in the projects, it will take its lead from a national or prefectural department according to the status of the area under the department's control. Therefore, as the case study of Kasumi will illustrate, a river tourism project can be led by prefectural engineers if it is riparian, or by national water engineers depending on the importance of the usage of the river water. Conversely, a prefectural water engineer may be in control of a river project should the river border the local Fishing Cooperative Association's area of management, but they will only have a consultative role in the process due to their volunteer status in managing that coastal area. If however, tourism takes precedence in a policy, which is clear in this diagram, where it is the main concept, then the FCA may take a more active role, representing an NPO, village or township. In the lower right hand corner of the diagram in Figure 3.4, is written 'Progress adjustment, project planning and system and tie-ups with other ministries and agencies, local governments'.

Along with the ‘costs adjustments’ this can be used as the disclaimer for changes to any projects.

To better explain the flow of information and possible finance flows to implement tourism projects, a list below is provided (taken from OECD, 2002 5) showing the aims and organisation of the national tourism administration.

*The 5 goals of MLIT administration are:*

- 1. Supporting a joyful life*
- 2. Enhancing global competitiveness*
- 3. National Safety*
- 4. Preserving and creating a beautiful and benign environment*
- 5. Enhancing regional diversity*

*The organisational chart of the National Tourism Department (MLIT) is:*

*1. Planning Division*

- *Total coordination of tourism policy, research and planning, promotion of inbound tourism, international affairs*

*2. Regional Development Division*

- *Regional development by tourism promotion, provision of tourism tourism-related facilities, sustainable development of tourism, registered hotels and ryokan*

*3. Travel Promotion Division*

- *Supervision of travel agents, development of tourism industries, promotion of tourism demand for Japanese, consumer protection, etc.*

*Tourism promotion and development is expected to be the major field where the synergy of administrative (sic) is fully realised, since tourism is closely related to transport policy (air, land and maritime), provision of infrastructure, regional development policy, building communities with diversity and achieving higher quality of life.*

Together with the organisational structure of departments and agencies illustrated in Appendix 1, an observer begins to understand the extensive network of local and government processes, where funding for tourism projects is often determined by higher order projects, while incorporating tourism into other projects can provide extra funding.

### 3.3.1 Local and Municipal Government

The workings of the Japanese government and central-local government relations are well documented. Steiner (1965), Reischauer and Jansen (1995), McCormack (1996), Takao (1999), Totman (2000) and Tajima (2001 64-71) comprehensively examine the problems of

the Japanese governmental system up to the late 20th century. One of the issues identified by Hata et al (1991 384) is the difficulty of long-term coastal management planning stemming from the division of responsibilities between a number of administrative bodies. While the case studies presented in the following chapters will primarily highlight the administrative intersections of harbour and fisheries management, municipal governments also face challenges in this regard.

Simply, the central government of Japan is located in Tokyo. It is a unitary system with two-tiered local government of prefectures and, within the prefectures, municipalities. There are 47 prefectures in Japan. In the mid-1990s, there were approximately 3,234 municipalities (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 1994 4) although with municipality mergers (*gappei*), this number decreased to 1,771 in 2010 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2010). As an example, in Himeji, the municipal council, which sets the basic course of municipal administration, comprises 45 members chosen directly by city residents in elections held every four years. Convening in regular sessions four times a year, the council members discuss proposals and pass resolutions on them. There are also five permanent and five special committees devoted to the investigation and consideration of particular aspects of the council agenda (Himeji Municipal Government (no year) 73).

Takao (1999) details the considerable functional, fiscal and political powers that can be exerted by municipal governments. However, malfunctions and misguided use of municipal funds can expose them to the scrutiny of the central government and the public. This is one reason why municipal authorities tend to remain silent when controversial issues arise at the municipal level and within municipalities. Conversely, municipal governments claim that there is 'unnecessary interference [by the central government] with their (municipal) independence' (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 1994 5-7, Schebath, 2006 81). Although changes were beginning to occur in the late 1990s, the control of funding for large development projects depends on which national government department has overall control of the project (Takao, 1998). In addition, Jacobs (2003 619) argues that the prefectures can determine the direction of some central government funding.

In the Kasumi municipal council, optimal use of central funding for nationally directed projects only occurs at the municipal level when there is a local representative who has been employed in the Prefectural and/or National government or departments and who has

maintained good connections and communications with their former colleagues. Should a Mayor have previous Prefectural employment, his connections will increase the funding opportunities for the municipality which he manages (Appendix 2, interviews with Kasumi Municipal Representative of Hyōgo Prefecture Legislative Council, Tajima Fisheries Research Institute, Kasumi, 2001; Kasumi Town Planner, Kasumi Town Hall, 2001).

### 3.3.2 National Change, Municipal Alteration

Each new National government or Prime Minister can potentially change policy directions at the Prefectural level and thereby disrupt plans and projects. Therefore, overarching statements for one set of development plans, regardless of how effective they have been, can be altered, postponed or terminated, at any stage depending on the National government's new fiscal and budgetary agendas (Takao, 1999 82).

For example, the new national roadways project instigated by Koizumi's predecessor Mori Yoshiro included Kasumi's new roadwork, the Tottori- Kyoto connection but Kasumi's residents, businesses and tourism industry were adversely affected due to the Koizumi government's decision to cease further national road works, which included the unfinished Kasumi road project. Later, due to ministerial pressure, construction resumed and in 2005-2006, the Kasumi by-pass leg of the road works (which had been proposed to complement a tourism project) was finally completed a decade after its commencement in the mid-1990s. The Tottori-Kyoto connection was an example of two plans in partnership, a construction/tourism initiative to 'open up' and further encourage both tourism and counter-urbanisation to a section of regional Japan. As indicated in section 3.3, the MLIT tourism division at central government level acknowledges that tourism and transportation are linked. The Kasumi by-pass debacle (which it became) was a direct revisit of the policy changes at central level.

From this discussion of local level policy being affected by central decision making, the next section will move back to the national level to explore the Tourism Policies of the Welcome Plan 21 (for 1996-2003), the document that has affected tourism in the case study areas of Himeji and Kasumi and had significant impacts on these communities.

### 3.4 The White Paper for Tourism 2001

#### 3.4.1 Introduction: Looking Back to Critique Japan's Forward Planning Approach to Tourism Policy

後の祭り、今だからわかることだが With the benefit (wisdom) of hindsight.

The White Paper for Tourism 2001 (MLIT 2001a) was a combination of international and domestic tourism objectives. The overall theme for this white paper, summarised below, was to ensure that despite national economic hardship as a result of the Hanshin Earthquake and the economic slump of the 1990s, domestic tourism should be used to reinvigorate local economies, lifestyles and health together with focus on nation building.

To address the flagging domestic tourism industry, nine areas focussed on development of policies for:

1. Improvement in coordination with municipal and local bodies
2. Improvement of local tourism services for consumers.
3. Protection measures for the preservation of tourism resources and development
4. Maintain or put into place, tourism and recreation institutions
5. Provision and maintenance of tourism relations bodies
6. Accommodation and stay-overs service and quality
7. Maintaining and founding of tourism institutions
8. Counter measures for tourism safety in times of disaster
9. Procedures of tourism promotion by local authorities

As detailed in section 3.2 of this chapter, since the Tokugawa period, the tradition of religious pilgrimage to shrines encouraged local communities in rural Japan to provide accommodation at inns and to sell local produce to pilgrims (Siegenthaler, 1999 178-179). Subsequently these activities evolved into 'typical' rural tourism operations of locals providing hospitality to travellers. Unique local attributes became destinations for sightseeing visitors.

The 'modern' stages of tourism development initially included the early twentieth century promotion of international tourism routes based on the Tōkaidō road but this was extended to include other foreign tourist destinations as railway and industrial development occurred. This section considers how such traditional influences have directed decision making processes where the reimagining and restructuring of tourism and leisure have been combined with national policy making in an attempt to develop sustainable municipal economies (Traganou, 2004 221, 222, Morris-Suzuki, 1998 35 37, 38, Siegenthaler, 1999 191).

This section also examines the government's reflections on past tourism strategies offering an insight into the problems besetting tourism planning in Japan. Notably, a critique of the *Welcome Plan 21* has been undertaken in an attempt to achieve greater transparency in Japanese policy making. The official critique of this plan is therefore a retrospective approach to the assessment of this policy. It reflects the introspection that was a feature of the Koizumi administrative style and provides a useful perspective by highlighting the policy strategies in terms of their expectations.

#### 3.4.2 Welcome Plan 21 for 1996-2003

The main aim of the *Welcome Plan 21* was that tourism should interact with other key industries and thereby play a role in supporting declining local economies and industries (Soshiroda, 2005 1104-1105). The 'expansion of destinations to local regions beyond the traditional hubs of Tokyo, Kyoto and Nara and regional revitalization had been promoted as one of the purposes for promoting inbound tourism' (*ibid.* 2005 1105).

The *Welcome Plan 21* was a broad overarching statement that did not specify areas to be developed and did not identify policy directions to achieve a balance of investment and uptake between large cities and towns and regional tourism development (*ibid.* 2005 1111). The earlier strategy of tourism-themed destinations continued under this policy, incorporating remnants of the Resort Laws (Rimmer, 1992), as exemplified by developments characterised by concrete constructions (McCormack, 1996) and theme park overdevelopment (Hendry, 2000) exemplify city-oriented development of 'regional' areas.

It needs to be remembered, however, that the so-called Fifth Plan, ‘The Grand Design for National Land in the 21st Century’ was also operational at this time. This plan sought to extend the provision of public facilities, administration, GNP, research and development, transportation hubs and population beyond the Pacific Belt axis into peripheral regional areas where connections and international economic relationships had already been established (Rimmer, 1998 166-167). There is little discussion in the literature of the parallel nature of the plans’ objectives and consequences. The duality of the *Plans* particularly at the final stage of the *Welcome Plan 21* resulted in the opposite of its objective, which was to open up corridors of tourism routes throughout Japan. The result instead was an even greater exclusion of some remote villages and towns in Hyōgo, the community leaders of which had sought support from the promise of improved tourism development. Rural and remote tourism administrations from beyond the corridors were challenged to compete for funding against outer Tokyo and Osaka and against other relatively favoured areas, such as Beppu and Fukuoka in Kyūshū for East Asian tourists<sup>33</sup>. These locations are considered ‘regional’ in terms of the *Welcome Plan 21* (Soshiroda, 2005 1105), but have respectively, an international university and an international airport with Fukuoka also having a long functioning, international port. These initiatives did not open up areas such as rural, coastal Hyōgo but instead, promoted these favoured cities (Koizumi, 2005).

Fitting in with the international inbound tourism policy of *Welcome Plan 21*, were national policies aimed to promote event and convention tourism and thereby assist in rural revitalisation. For example, the FIFA World Cup, 2002 was regarded as having the potential to regenerate the Japanese economy by attracting tourists to the outer areas of Japan, with the aim of reaching the national goal of 10 million tourists by 2010 (Soshiroda, 2005 1104).

The foundation of the policies of this period was collaboration between the national and prefectural governments and the private sector with the gradual and overall intention of delegating policy authority and issues to the prefectural governments (*ibid.* 2005 1115). However, such collaboration could only be effective when there was strong communication between the major central ministries, the prefectural and municipal governments and private enterprise; if this did not occur, private sector construction opportunities failed to foster village traditions, such as in the Iya Valley in Shikoku where villagers turned their backs on

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<sup>33</sup> Beppu as discussed earlier is in Oita Prefecture home of the one town-one product initiative and one of the Ritsumeikan educational chain. Fukuoka was traditionally an entrepot for Asia.

their local traditions in the 1970s to the 1990s and moved to nearby areas to take up higher paying construction employment (Kerr, 1996).

Meanwhile, Hyōgo prefecture's regional development continued to focus on the Pacific coast from Kobe to Himeji, evidence of specifically tourism themed development declined except for the Abōshi beach redevelopment and the concretisation of various urban coastal hamlets as will be illustrated in the case studies. Small north coast towns such as Kasumi struggled to receive active consideration under revitalisation campaigns that had promised support for those remote and rural towns and villages that fitted the criteria of being regional and rural and with compromised economies.

### 3.4.3 Criticism of *Welcome Plan 21*- a Ministerial Reflection

In 2002, a review of tourism policy in Japan based on data obtained since 1999 was produced for the OECD (Directorate for Science Technology and Industry, 2002). Domestic travel, according to the review, had declined for four years and, from 2001, overnight trips had dropped by 11.7%, while business-related trips had dropped by 40% since 2000. The number of nights for 'pleasure' had also decreased by 28% from the peak in 1991 (Directorate for Science Technology and Industry, 2002 4).

Although focussing on international tourism, the OECD review also draws attention to problems for Japan's domestic tourism policy and rural revitalisation where:

- despite the fact that international tourism policy directs domestic tourism policy, only 4.37 million international tourists visited Japan in 2005, while in 2002, 60.6 million Japanese drove as tourists throughout Japan and 59.9 million participated in domestic travel (Tajima, 2001 271)
- domestic tourism growth and progress towards rural revitalisation remained below government expectations (Directorate for Science Technology and Industry, 2002 6-10)
- the government had failed to provide long-term economic solutions specifically for regional and rural municipalities within Japan

Bland and disorganised ways of tourism planning were also criticised. One suggestion was for the creation of a landscape that was more appealing to tourists, but more importantly, the MLIT report identified that the industry needed 'core tourism facilities and cooperation

among different entities: the national and municipal governments and commercial tourism industries' (MLIT, 2002 44).

Campaigns such as 'Visit Japan' for inbound tourists and 'Real Japan', promoting domestic tourism have been constructed using the international themed districts which included 'broad area themed routes for tourists' (MLIT, 2003 42) (Fig 3-5). The themed tourism district division was extended in 2003 to incorporate the *Jōshinetsu* district, creating additional pressure in funding competition. The challenge with such combined themes, is that the main cities and favoured regional areas retained the most international exposure, thus attracting both further tourism yen and government funding.

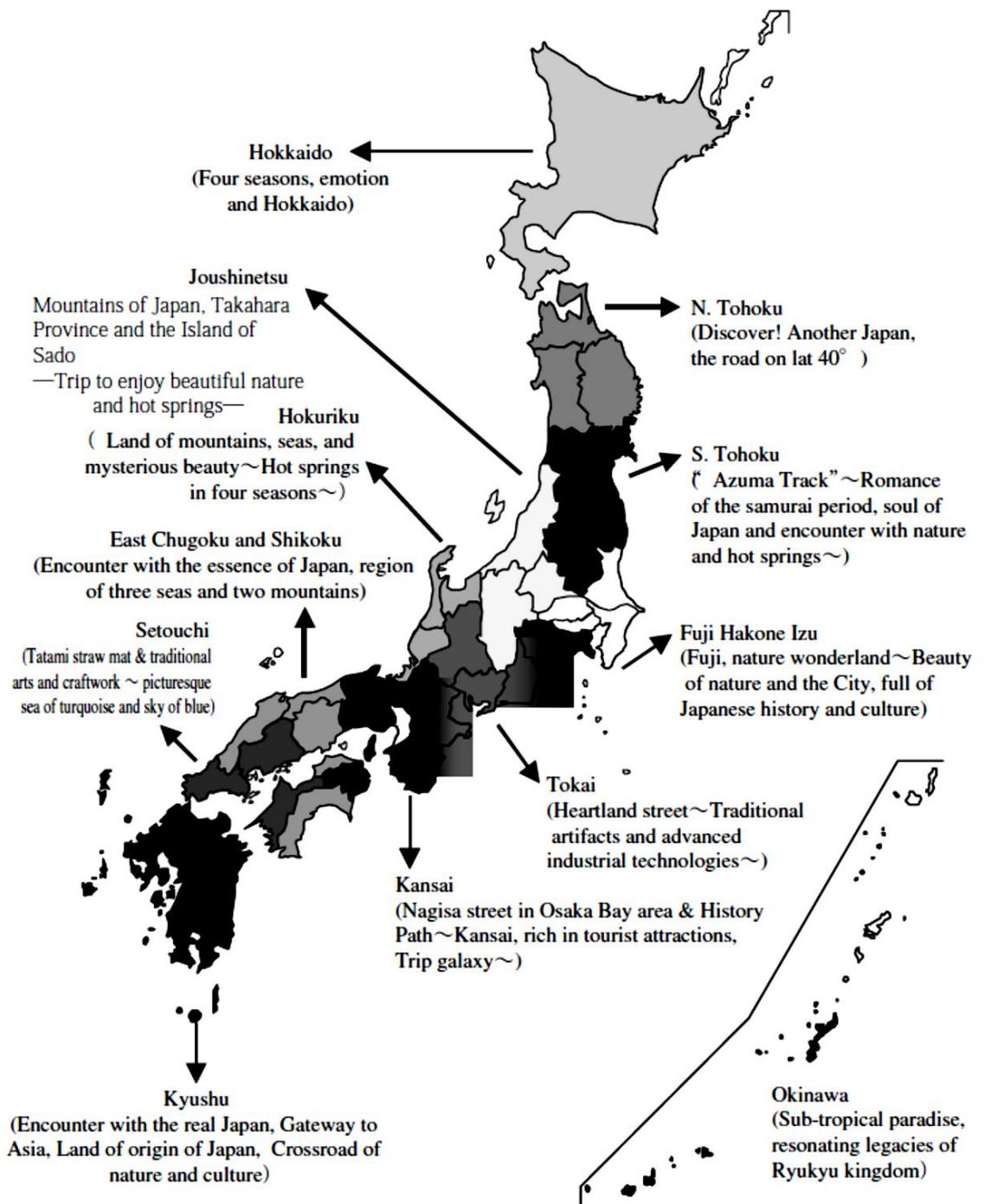


Fig 3-5 International tourism themed districts in the later 20th century. Source: (MLIT, 2003 42)

### 3.5 Welcoming Japanese Back to the ‘Real Japan’

By 2001 the MLIT acknowledged that there had been little progress in planning for domestic tourism (MLIT, 2000 22). Sharing the understanding that promotion of ‘leisurely vacations’ was essential for the creation of a ‘prosperous and comfortable’ society, twelve ministries, agencies and departments became involved in tourism initiatives. They sought to stimulate

travel demands through a '*Real Japan Campaign*'. Core programmes of this campaign were activities to publicise destinations and raise the quality of domestic tourism (MLIT, 2003 42). Every prefecture had at least three programmes ranging from railway station reconstruction to advertising promotions for their municipalities. Areas of interest for future development included camping, reconnection with the farm, fishing villages, forestry, clubs for children, and water-sports and associated activities (MLIT, 2001b 189-207). Such programmes within the campaign were not dissimilar to those from the '*Discover Japan*' and '*Exotic Japan*' initiatives of the 1970s, with similar associations of nostalgia, 'traditional' image creation and a focus on the railways (Ivy, 1988).

Yet, at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and under MLIT auspices (but now also encompassing the former Ministry of Construction), national policy on the provision of urban infrastructure pushed for significant improvements in major cities to make them attractive for international tourism (MLIT, 2002 33). The central government, with a *Private Finance Initiative*, (a policy encouraging private enterprise to fund and then sell infrastructure to the central and prefectural governments) wanted to utilise private industry expertise and capital to upgrade infrastructure such as transportation hubs in order to make them more useful and attractive and they sought to redevelop vacant land for these purposes.

It can be argued that this type of urban policy again redirected funding away from those smaller towns and cities eager to improve their domestic tourism product. For example, a major developer's website confirmed the essence of Tokyo's primacy claiming that 'to revitalize Tokyo is to revitalize Japan' (Sorensen, 2003 225; Mori, 1998 4), because the national government requires Tokyo, as a global city, to remain competitive with such cities as Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore, and to maintain its role as the Asian region's leading city (Sorensen, 2003 519).

The national tourism programmes were planned so as to be divided between the appropriate departments within the MLIT, which would drive these initiatives for the country's promotion of tourism (MLIT, 2002 39). It is likely that the more powerful Land, Infrastructure and Transport divisions of MLIT (with associated projects with the Ministry of Economy Trade and Industry) could redirect the funding from the tourism budget to multiple-use projects, such as ports, which are clearly trade facilitators first and tourism hubs

second<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, where such multiple use projects occur, the port authorities can, if needed, expand the throughput facilities (cranes or dock development) by redirecting funding from tourist projects, such as passenger terminals, particularly if passenger shipping has declined.

Ports and their operations are functioning and independent entities (Miyashita, 2005) that have international issues to negotiate (Robinson, 1998 21, 38). In relation to tourism, however, and on a national scale, the challenge was to direct tourists into rural areas and, in the period 1996-2002, tourism projects were being encouraged for rural areas, despite the push for further tourism growth in Tokyo (Koizumi, 2005 and Tokyo Tourism Agency, 2005).

### 3.5.1 A Central Design, a Central Theme, a Development Opportunity

One major project type, initiated by the MLIT, and aimed at contributing to the improvement of tourism facilities in remote towns' is the *michi-no-eki*. Hyōgo Prefecture had twenty-five in 2001. This 'street station' is designed to be managed by locals selling local produce and generally promoting the local area's tourism attractions and offering goodwill and hospitality. Figure 4-6 illustrates a typical layout, but in is this author's experience, local authorities have characteristically been involved in façade design and there is scope for variety (Fig 3-6, 7, 8, 9).

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<sup>34</sup> See <http://www.mlit.go.jp/common/000026153.pdf> for organisational structure.



Fig 3-6 Creation of vital regions with distinct appeal. The *michi-no-eki* design template used throughout Japan, houses toilets, tourism information, a ‘rest stop’ and promotion of regional fare. Source: (MLIT, 2002 43) Note the small tower on the roof here and in Fig 3.7.

*Michi no eki* not only stock local and regional produce, but often provide larger town-produced packaged foods and souvenirs as well. Located on main highways into the inland or in coastal towns, they also provide meals ranging from the rural-themed to the cafeteria-styled. Their aim is to provide tourists with local hospitality and service, but usually rural employees are rather shy and are not entrepreneurial; they tend to wait for customers to approach them (Japanese as well as foreigners). At the other extreme, it was this author’s observation that larger multi-level establishments at the bigger tourist destinations, such as the snowfields, can be, at peak times, crowded, dirty and with unfriendly service for the Japanese customer.



Fig 3-7 Muraoka, Hyōgo *michi-no-eki*. The car park in front is alongside the main road. Source: author



Fig 3-8 *Michi-no-eki* in Kasumi. The three buildings alongside the chimney are all part of the complex.  
Source: author



Fig 3-9 *Michi no eki*, north of Himeji, Hyōgo. Source: author

The *michi-no-eki* has its coastal counterpart, the *umi-no-eki* (Fig 3-10) and this type of development is covered in more detail in chapter seven. The hub template, although pertaining mostly to passenger terminals, is found in many smaller ports including fishing ports where leisure boating is accommodated or planned but it does not necessarily include tourist information services.

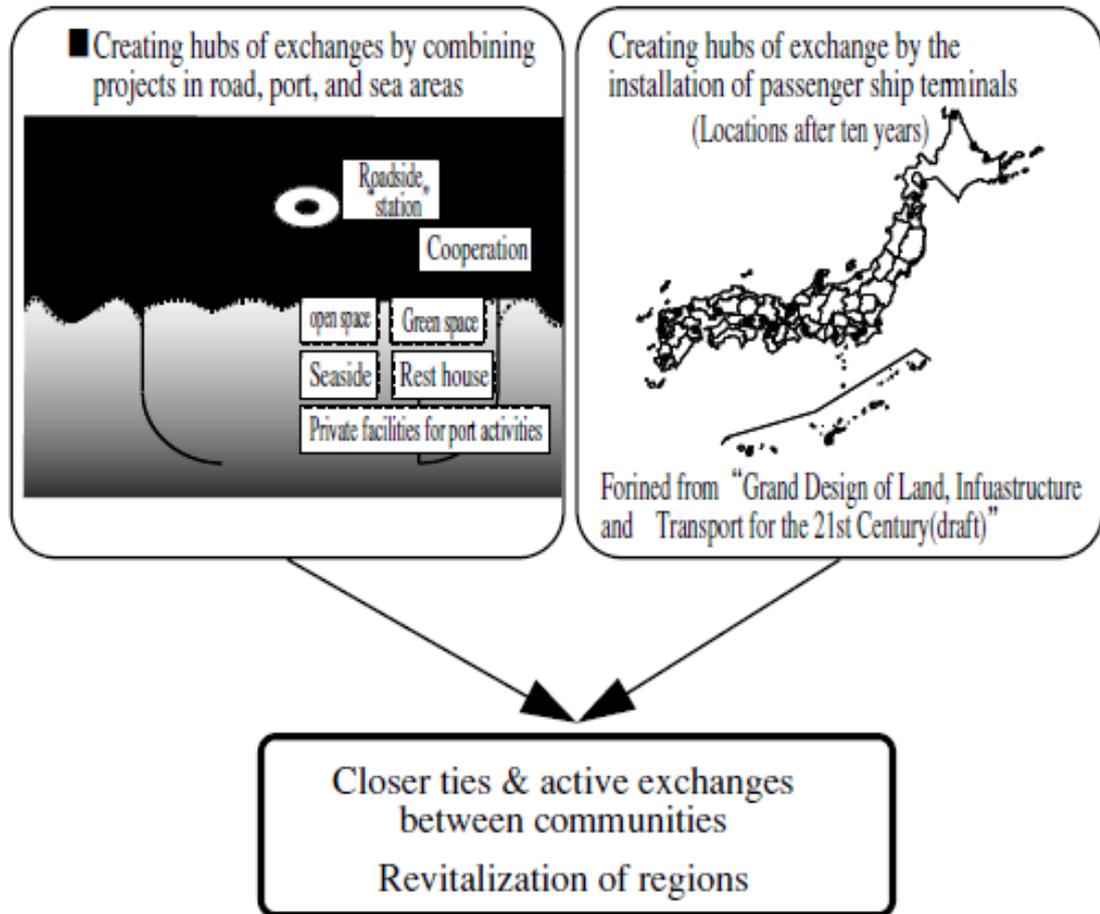


Fig 3-10 Creation of Seaside Oasis (includes umi-no -eki) and centre of activities (MLIT, 2002 44) ("Forined" (sic) in the diagram -read "formed").

### 3.6 A Prefectural Level Plan- Hyōgo 2001

As noted earlier in the thesis, in the 1990s the National and Prefectural governments believed that tourism could assist in creating opportunities for a more equitable spread of economic development in regional Japan. Promotional material by Kansai business leaders on the Kansai region contended that the growth of the Tōkaidō megalopolis had contributed to heavy pollution in Kobe and Himeji. However, it argued that Hyōgo Prefecture more broadly, following the burst of the 'economic bubble' in the early 1990s, had much to offer in terms of a better way of life where 'instead of desiring wealth, people dream of a life filled with diversity and abundance' (Anon, 1994 100-101).

The 1990s saw the beginning of the post-industrialist tourism trend of *furusato sosei* – the creation of hometown identity. This was financially supported by the national government

whereby municipal lobbyists would compete for block grants for projects (grants had begun in 1989). Highly competitive support funding was given based on the population figures of the municipality. Successful municipal applicants were those who showed leadership and creative policy making in solving local problems (Thompson, 2003 94-95).

The recognition of the issues facing rural Hyōgo which had been ‘largely ignored and forgotten in the headlong rush to promote further economic growth’ were now a ‘priceless asset’ to be ‘shared by all’ (Anon, 1994 101). The focus on Tajima, in particular, acknowledged the beauty of its natural environment and the opportunity to recapture for tourists what city life had taken from them, ‘where the simple life led in farming ... and fishing villages is being re-evaluated and better appreciated’. Roughly translated it boasts of the connection of the North- south road and the opening of Tajima airport to encourage mid-week travel. Hyōgo will pioneer a new way of healthy living and appreciation of the simple life of living in farming and fishing villages (Fig 3-11) (*ibid.* 1994 101). Such hopes for rural revitalisation and counter-urbanisation, or the *yūtārūn* (u-turn), have been played out in many tourism initiatives into the 21st century.

## ハーモニー

産として巨大な価値を持ち始めたからだ。

### 世界に示すライフスタイル

兵庫県を南北に貫く幹線道路、そして但馬空港の開港が多くの人々をこのエリアへ引きよせる。そこには、都市が見失った四季の織りなす美があふれているからだ。都会のライフスタイルのみが人々の憧れであった時代から、農山村や漁村のライフスタイルが新しい価値として見直される時代へ。バブル崩壊とともに日本が見始めた夢は、多様性と豊かさを感じさせる生活の実現だ。都市部と地域部がフレキシブルに交流する新しいくらしの提案。たとえば一週間の四日を都市で過ごし、三日は農山漁村で暮らす。一週間のうちに流れる時の速さが異なり、五官に感じる世界が多様になる新鮮な驚き。兵庫県の南北を結ぶ交通体系の充実や自由時間の増大が、その可能性に拍車をかける。そして、兵庫は、関西が世界に示す新しいライフスタイルの旗手として、また二十一世紀へ受け継がれるべき日本の姿のプレゼンターとして、ますます重要な役割を担うことになるだろう。

**Showing the World How to Lead a Better Life**  
Completion of the Hyogo Prefecture north-south trunk road and the opening of Tajima Airport

Airport are certain to attract a growing number of people to this area. It is a region of natural beauty expressed throughout the four seasons of the year, something the city lost long ago. Our society is changing. We are moving from an era in which people yearned solely for city life to an era in which the simple life led in farming villages and fishing villages is being re-evaluated and better appreciated.

Now that the economic bubble has burst, the Japanese dream has changed. Instead of desiring wealth, people dream of a life filled with diversity and abundance.

There are now proposals being made for a new way of living that incorporates a flexible exchange between urban life and rural life. For instance, one spends four days of the week in town and three days in the country. How refreshing it would be to change pace in the middle of the week. How pleasurable it would be to perceive with your five senses the diversity of environments that exist. The implementation of a traffic network linking the north and south of Hyogo Prefecture and the increase in disposable time will someday bring this dream lifestyle within reach of everyone.

Hyogo Prefecture, as the pioneer in developing a new lifestyle that the Kansai region will show the world and as the example for all of Japan to aspire to emulate in the 21st century, is expected to have a brilliant future.

Fig 3-11 Kansai Promotion of Hyōgo Prefecture. Source: (Anon, 1994 101) Harmony: ‘Showing the World how to lead a Better Life’.

The main objective set out in the national *Welcome Plan 21* was to encourage prefectural governments to take responsibility for local tourism development. One example at the Prefectural level can be seen in the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan*; its theme promoted landscape aesthetics and aspired to the general development and rejuvenation of the entire Prefecture.

### 3.6.1 Hyōgo Tourism and Development

National construction and development laws and decentralisation development plans which included the Resort Law of 1987 and a variety of other National Plans (Rimmer, 1998 162; McCormack, 1996 44-65) from the 1950s onwards, have led to an avalanche of white papers and other policy documents, many of which incorporated new and past projects into future planning visions for regional and rural economic revitalisation.

By the late 1990s, the MLIT National Tourism White Paper 2001 outlined the need for economic revitalisation incorporated into a rural repopulation strategy through a revised tourism agenda within the Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries (2000 61). Earlier, since the 1990s, the Hyōgo Prefectural government had redeveloped a list of projects (Appendix 11) to improve facilities throughout the prefecture, several of which were to encourage urban citizens to appreciate rural/regional landscapes and environments as tourists and/ or counter-urbanites under the theme ‘Warm Heart of Hyōgo’ (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1998 Part 1, Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 24). These ‘warm heart’ projects were highways linking north to south and east to west connecting major towns and smaller cities and including other multi-modal transportation links. As of 2005, the Harima airport and the Yumura heliport had not begun construction. All the traffic access projects had been completed as had Kobe and Kansai airports.

One project aimed to link the Sea of Japan coast and that of the Seto Inland Sea with routes following cherry tree lined rivers (Fig 3-12) encouraging urbanites to enjoy countryside Hyōgo. Street, highway and river beautification was planned, directing city dwellers to the rural delights of summer retreats from the city heat, autumnal delights for the aesthetic and nostalgic, intoxicating spring festivals under heavily blossomed cherry trees and the chance to soak in hot springs after a wintry day on the mountainous, snowy slopes (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 21; Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1998).

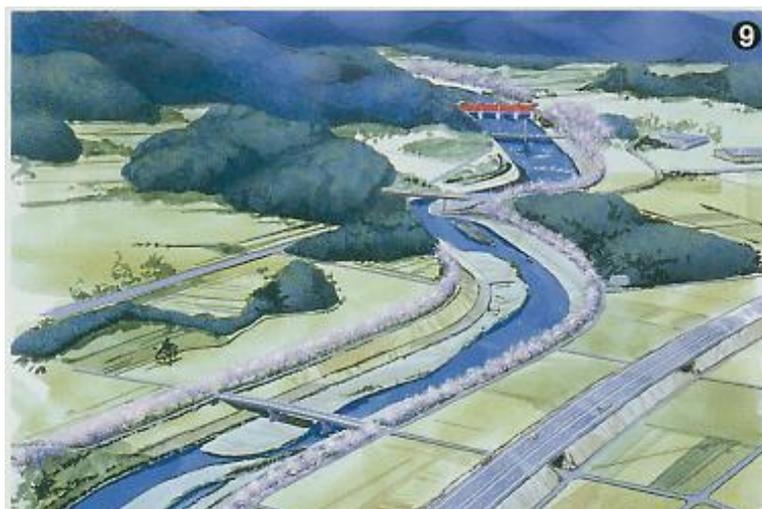


Fig 3-12 Cherry tree lined rivers. An artist's image of a corridor stretching from the Setonaikai to the Nihonkai. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 21).

The *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* (see Appendix 12, Hyōgoken 1998) to which 'Warm Hyogo' was affixed, was to redevelop Hyōgo Prefecture to take it into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Furthermore, in order to revitalise the flagging prefecture's rural economies in the peripheral coastal region, revitalisation included the promotion of local industry and encouraging rural relationships to attract counter-urbanites.

The *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* was a long term plan that originally began in 1990-1991 and that had a projection for future through multi-staged planning into the mid-21st century. Following the Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995, the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* was then 're-examined several times' by policy makers (Hyōgo Prefectural Government 1998)<sup>35</sup> re-evaluating its aims including rural revitalisation through green tourism (Hyōgoken 2000). For Himeji Port, in light of the earthquake interim, disaster management directions were to be followed while a concurrent plan that included projects for Hyōgo fisheries and ports was to be used until new plans and instructions were to be issued from the Prefectural Port Management (interview with Himeji Port Manager, 2001).

The last versions of the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* therefore contained the disaster management plans that finally took the prefectural government towards the next decade of planning. However, the focus on the encouragement of the experience of *furusato* and its culture remained (see Appendix 12, p9/10) as did the aim of encouraging tourism in the Tajima district (see

<sup>35</sup> A summary version is in English under the title 'Towards the New Ago of Hyogo'.

Appendix 12, p5/8). For this period, Hyōgo prefecture needed to focus on the Kobe redevelopment. For the development of other areas such as Himeji and Kasumi, projects that had begun before the Hanshin earthquake, were no longer a priority.

The remnants of the prefectural plans and projects were to be followed according to a needs and funding basis until the next set of plans were to be put into place. According to the Himeji Port Manager and the Director of Himeji Port, outstanding projects were to be worked on, across any of the prefectural departmental portfolios as funding became available. Therefore if recreational facilities in tandem with a coastal redevelopment project, which would also be an opportunity to attract domestic tourism to the final project development, but whose finance would come from a 'non-tourism' portfolio such as an environmental agency, the project could still go ahead, not necessarily as a 'tourism' project, but in its final analysis it could be deemed as a successful 'tourism project'. This was the case for a redevelopment of the Western port section of Himeji, the Abōshi Port as described by the Director of Himeji Port (see Appendix 8). Tourism objectives were reordered, but not necessarily discarded.

As such, the promotion of Hyōgo Prefecture, improvements of its lifestyle and other initiatives, have been themes for several plans. The overarching statements of the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* incorporated the issues of an aging population, the distribution of affluence in society, the environment and pollution, urban planning and free time and relationships, - an overall reassessment coloured by Japan's economic growth in the 1980s and the following economic slump and disasters of the 1990s. The resurgent focus on these values incorporated throughout the *Plan* was used as a catalyst to encourage counter-urbanisation, to foster rural revitalisation, to address the issues listed above and to take into account the natural environment in its planning strategies.

At the time of the interview with the Port Manager of Himeji (2001), he handed this author a copy of '*Hyōgoken sangyōrōkubē & nōrinsuisanbe 2001*' (*Hyogo's 2010 Vision for Rural Revitalisation: the time for agricultural, forestry and fisheries industries and their communities*). In the interview, he said that this was the only plan that was in the office. (On closer examination, the *Hyogo 2010 Vision* contains similar strategies to the *Hyōgo 2001*, understandably updated to manage the Hanshin disaster response programmes.)

While fisheries and tourism hold a joint role in the Himeji Port, another aim in this document was to maintain community identity while anticipating the population growth of Hyōgo's major cities. Meanwhile guidelines for improvements in transportation and other infrastructure were also mooted to improve regional lifestyles and to maintain rural populations. Domestic tourism continued to play a key factor in this 'vision', with reference to good food, local culture and community, the reference to day trips, camping, sightseeing and visits to a variety of 'mura' (village) themed destinations. The expectation was that tourism remained a key contributor to rural revitalisation (Hyōgoken sangyōrōkūbe & nōrinsuisanbe 2001, 83, 92).

A more accessible document<sup>36</sup> was the English publication: *Hyōgo: Today and Tomorrow* (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993) and, although this was aimed at attracting foreign-affiliated investment into the prefecture, its roots are in the remnants of the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* (See Appendix 12). It identifies sixty-five projects including a Tajima resort development (at Kasumi), the Himeji Station redevelopment, the *Himeji Port Renaissance 21* project (Shikama redevelopment) and the Harima Airport (north Himeji) (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 16) (see Appendix 11). The furtherance of all of these projects was also disrupted by the 1995 earthquake. Although many of these projects had been completed or were near completion in 2001, thirty-five projects<sup>37</sup> most of which were expressways (pertinent here are those of Tajima-Kyoto and Wadayama in Central Hyōgo), remained unfinished. While it can be argued that what appears to be a fair distribution of projects into the regional areas of Hyōgo, in 2002, the projects on the 'Future of Hyogo' project list did not have a communication corridor (41), the Tajima airport (44) became a 'white elephant' with flights not only reduced, but unreliable (Flight Attendant Japan Airlines 2005)<sup>38</sup> and the other projects in the Tajima north region were already in place, but were listed due to improvements that did not occur, or were funded largely by the local business community, particularly the Tajima Mari-culture Centre in Kasumi (9) which locals considered unsuccessful as the following case study will illustrate.

The themes of respecting well-being, enhancing social welfare and promoting mutual respect, were reflected in getting back to a simpler tourism experience and observing and enjoying the traditional and modern industries that 'keep Japan going' (Hyōgo Tourism Association,

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<sup>36</sup> In English

<sup>37</sup> 2000 edition of *Hyōgo: Today and Tomorrow* (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 2000 18)

<sup>38</sup> Pers. Comm. 2005

1999 20). Figures 3-13 and 3-14 illustrate the ‘Warm heart of Hyōgo’, themes prior to the Hanshin earthquake under the auspices of the construction foreshadowed in the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* by private and public developers. The performance centre and Swiss- styled centre were considered to be underperforming at the time of this fieldwork, by the manager of the North West Centre (Interview 2000). Figure 3.15 illustrates a more cost effective project development after the earthquake in 2002. Similar projects were found in other revitalisation programmes throughout Japan (Rozman, 1999).



Fig 3-13 A performance centre North West of Himeji. It is a large centre with facilities to accommodate several groups with kitchens and dormitories. Source: author



Fig 3-14 “Swiss”-style student accommodation in an Artists/Performance Centre in Sanda, North East of Himeji. Source: author

**「森室」でグッスリ...**

「バーベキュー」  
「山のそばで」  
「ふるさと」  
「あそび」  
「あそび」  
「あそび」

まわりは、杉の木が  
おいしい空気と静かな環境。  
全シーズン宿泊できる  
「ハンモック」と「ほりごたつ」のある  
新田ふるさと村のログコテージ。

ご家族と会社仲間とお友だちと、宿泊券でご利用ください。

千ヶ峰登山  
新田不動の滝  
ハイキング  
千ヶ峰そば  
そば打ち塾  
溪流釣り  
あまごつかみ  
サイクリング

アウトドア派から鍋を囲んでの宴会派まで、  
四季を通じて使い方がいろいろ。

あそびながら木の香りと楽しさいっぱいの室内  
オールシーズン宿泊できます。

ハンモック  
バーベキュー  
おん子キャンプ

●入村料  
大人(中学生以上)  
1人 300円  
子供(3歳以上小学生まで)  
1人 200円  
●お食事のご利用もできます。

施設名	種別	利用料金	備 考
ログコテージ	1泊	18,000円	1泊2食(朝食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	2泊	32,000円	2泊3食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	3泊	45,000円	3泊4食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	4泊	58,000円	4泊5食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	5泊	70,000円	5泊6食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	6泊	82,000円	6泊7食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	7泊	94,000円	7泊8食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	8泊	106,000円	8泊9食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	9泊	118,000円	9泊10食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	10泊	130,000円	10泊11食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	11泊	142,000円	11泊12食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	12泊	154,000円	12泊13食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	13泊	166,000円	13泊14食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	14泊	178,000円	14泊15食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	15泊	190,000円	15泊16食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	16泊	202,000円	16泊17食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	17泊	214,000円	17泊18食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	18泊	226,000円	18泊19食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	19泊	238,000円	19泊20食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。
ログコテージ	20泊	250,000円	20泊21食(朝食・昼食・夕食)付。お風呂・トイレ・洗面所・洗濯機・乾燥機・冷蔵庫・電子レンジ・テレビ・DVDプレイヤー・ゲーム機・おもちゃ等付。お布団・お寝巻き付。

利用時間15:00～翌10:00

しんでん 兵庫県/神崎町  
**新田ふるさと村**  
SHINDEN FURUSATO VILLAGE  
〒679-2401 兵庫県神崎郡神崎町新田340-1  
TEL/FAX (0790) 33 0670

Fig 3-15 The Log cabin experience. The *furusato* or ‘old home town’ experience in a natural environment aimed at the children’s camp tourism market.

These types of development projects often incorporated tourism in their rationales but they provided only short term employment stimuli, mostly during construction. Once these projects were completed, they were handed over to the local and municipal authorities to manage. The result was that many projects were open-ended in scope, could be mismanaged or abandoned if unsuccessful and sometimes remained semi-developed when funding was redirected elsewhere. The derelict remains of the track of the Himeji monorail are an example of an unsuccessful tourism/ transport project (Demery L. W. Jr, 2005). Opened in 1966, it performed below financial expectations and was finally decommissioned in 1974. It was to be fully dismantled in 1991, but remnants were still standing in 2002, and have been left to deteriorate (Fig 3-16).



Fig 3-16 The remains of the Himeji monorail track. Outlined in red the track has several remaining pillars. This view is from Himeji's inland aquarium.

An important point needs to be made here. The *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* (and its summary *Towards the New Age of Hyōgo*) is an overall vision, highlighting projects, tourism-based or otherwise, to be undertaken in a designated period of time. The time-frame for these plans did not have completion dates; rather the time-frame was for projects to commence in approximately 8-10 years' time. Certainly, in all the author's interviews with major role players in the public service, in fisheries, tourism, municipal leadership and administration (Appendix 2), the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* was not well known and was considered unimportant for their duties. For them, the practicalities of the individual projects were central to their roles<sup>39</sup>. As the manager of the Himeji Tourism Department explained, it was the big business families in Himeji city together with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry who directed the nature and number of development projects. As the discussion in the previous chapter argues, it was the funding

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Himeji Tourism Manager and Hyogo Director of Ports and Harbours.

directed to particular localities that enabled opportunities for development; as McCormack (1996) contends, it was the construction sector at the national level that lobbied for funding to be directed to projects at the prefectural level.

In individual interviews (Appendix 2), according to the Himeji Port Manager (2001), the Port Director of Himeji Port and formerly of Kasumi Port (2002) and the Director of Hyogo Ports and Harbours (2001), for coastal development projects which could also involve tourism projects, the boundaries between the various *Plans* became indistinct as major projects continued or were discontinued by the Port management authorities. Reprioritisation of projects, other project demands and funding schedules and availability or new geographical hazards where safety measures were required became the first priority. The fieldwork process did not specifically search for anomalies prior to the research period of 1997, but what it did discover between 1997 and 2002, was that various projects had been finalised, added to the Hyōgo ‘list’ for further improvement, omitted, or left dormant. The myriad reasons for these various changes of projects are beyond the scope of this project to investigate including their questionable feasibilities, except for one, the Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995.

### *Earthquake*

Edgington (2010) well documents The Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995 that seriously affected the Hyōgo capital city of Kobe. This disaster should only receive brief attention here would it not be for the Hyōgo Phoenix Plan and its repercussions for the Kasumi and Himeji tourism industries.

The *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* quickly became obsolete as the urgency of disaster management became the priority and in time, redevelopment followed the series of Phoenix Plans (Hyōgo Phoenix Plan, 1997, Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 2001a). As discussed earlier and later in the case study chapters, physical evidence of the aims of the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* and the *Welcome Plan 21* remain in the buildings constructed and in projects both completed and incomplete at the time of the earthquake in both Himeji and Kasumi. Other plans such as the Hyōgo Bijon (2001), appeared to be a standby, but at the local municipal level, as in the other Plans, it was the actual projects that were the focus of both Himeji and Kasumi ports’ public servants.

From the earthquake's epicentre in Awaji Island, damage extended north to populous Kobe and caused great disruption to Hyōgo and Japan. Rescue efforts, the reconstruction of Kobe's and Awaji's transportation, commerce and administration systems and disaster management strained the prefectural and national economies and influenced policy (Edgington, 2010 7) for more than a decade.

The mission of the Hyōgo *Phoenix Plan* was reconstruction and disaster management, and these aims were also included in national plans (Rimmer, 1998 165). As time progressed, the reconstruction theme was used for other projects throughout Hyōgo prefecture in areas less affected by the earthquake, to promote other ideals such as “Live in Harmony and Create a Warm-Hearted Hyōgo” where the phoenix logo was used on ‘What's On in Hyōgo’ materials (Fig 3-17).



Fig 3-17 The Hyōgo Phoenix logo. This brochure, loosely entitled “Getting connected with nature”, promoting music performances in Sanda, 2001, still carried the Kobe earthquake redevelopment logo (bottom right) seven years after the disaster.

For Hyōgo, the earthquake caused more than the destruction of its capital city; it redirected funding from projects in rural and remote areas into the reconstruction of disaster areas (Mayor of Kasumi 2001). Furthermore, the Prefectural government, in an effort to reconstruct not only Kobe, but also all of Hyōgo, developed various plans under the overarching Phoenix Development Plan (RMS, 2005 6-7). With large amounts of funding promised from various sources both national and international, the Hyōgo government not only reconstructed Kobe, but also planned a resurgence of development for the whole Prefecture to include new roads, highways, beautification of the state and rural repopulation plans (Edgington 2010).

Kobe city received funding for its redevelopment allocated by the Hyōgo government, at a level that some argue was far more than necessary (Johnston, 2005), and where new construction overtook reconstruction and community rebuilding. In terms of certain rural revitalisation aims, many projects were put on hold (Olshansky R. et al., 2005 36). Meanwhile tourism had reached a hiatus, not only in Hyōgo but also nationally and a new approach was promised by the different approach of the new Koizumi government.

### **3.7 Koizumi's 'Plan, Do, See' Approach: Addressing the Tourism and Regional Issues**

While this thesis focusses on the period of 1997-2002, this author had the opportunity to return to Japan in 2005 to participate in the Student World Tourism Summit in Beppu. It was at this summit that I had greater exposure to the policies of the then Prime Minister Junichirō Koizumi's new *Plan, Do, See* approach, which was intended to allow for greater transparency in policy development and implementation. Implicitly, this was a criticism of projects of the 1990s, some of which had on occasion, been delayed for decades and had become obsolete. Koizumi's speech in 2005 at the World Student Summit for Tourism, in Beppu, Kyushu 2005<sup>40</sup>, confirmed the lack of success in tourism policy to that point in time. For that reason, I include the basic premises of his policy in the discussion of tourism policy as he was already in power in 2001.

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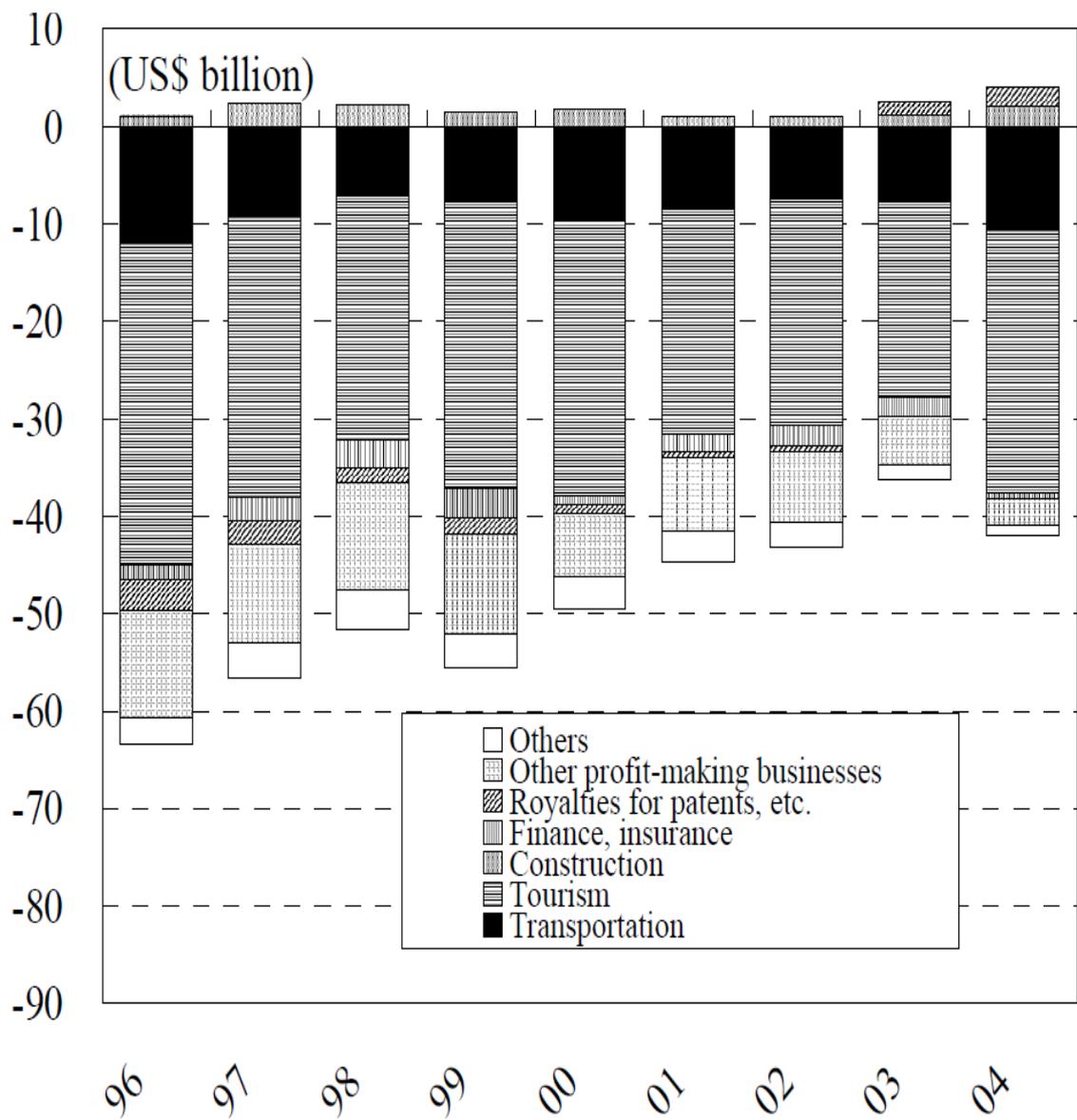
<sup>40</sup> This author attended the World Tourism Summit for Students as a fieldtrip opportunity that was funded by the Ritsumeikan University in Beppu Kyushu, Japan in 2005. A public question and answer time was given by the then Chairperson for Japan Ecotourism Society who was also a Minister in the House of Representatives

Several major powerbrokers and decision makers in the tourism sector attended the Summit, which explored the future of tourism in Japan. On the final day 400 attendees from around the world, the Chairperson of the Japan Ecotourism Society (and also the Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry), the director of the United Nations Centre for Regional Development (UNCRD) and the President of the Japan National Tourist Organisation (JNTO), listened to Prime Minister Koizumi (2005), who acknowledged that the dominance of old and much favoured tourist destinations and styles of tourism was not contributing to the development of regional tourism in Japan, nor to rural economic sustainability. He also regretted that the national government had ignored professional development in the tourism industry. This elite government group also announced that, even in 2005, Japan's economy had yet to recover to expected levels following the collapse of the economic bubble in the early 1990s. Regional Japan had suffered depopulation, low and negative economic growth and challenges to its cultural identity.

While the reliability of these figures is questionable it needs to be remembered that the MLIT at this time, included domestic tourism development and recreation, coastal development and leisure projects as part of its overall tourism development, which also included international tourism (See chapters 2,3, and 5 MLIT 2001a). The statistics for construction are also interesting (Table 3.1). In the explanation of terms and building categories, the English version does not mention tourism at all.

Table 3.1 Estimate of Construction Investment 1977-2002. (Source: Statistics Bureau of Japan. 2001)  
\*Units are in 10 million Yen. The peak of construction investment was in 1992.

<b>Y1977</b>	<b>1978</b>	<b>1979</b>							
*387,986	426,860	479,219							
<b>Y1980</b>	<b>1981</b>	<b>1982</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1986</b>	<b>1987</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>1989</b>
494,753	502,198	500,689	475,988	485,472	499,645	535,631	615,257	666,555	731,146
<b>Y 1990</b>	<b>1991</b>	<b>1992</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>1994</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>
814,395	824,036	<u>839,708</u>	816,933	787,523	790,169	828,077	751,906	714,269	685,039
<b>Y 2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>							
661,948	612,875	568,401							



Sources: Ministry of Finance and Bank of Japan

Fig 3-18 Services Trade, Japan 1996-2004 (Nitta, 2005 3)

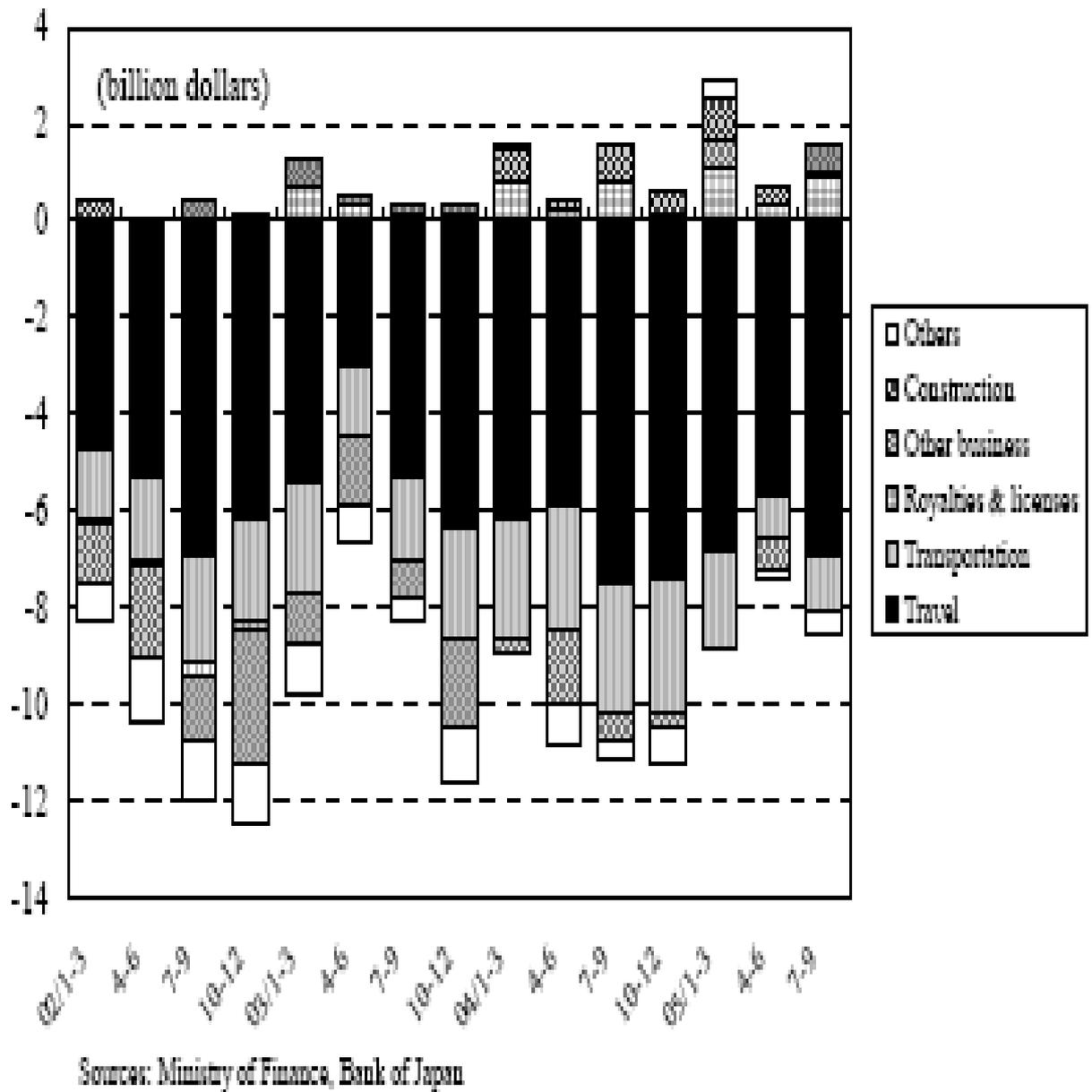


Fig 3-19 Breakdown of Service Sector Trade Balance, Japan 2002-2005 (Nitta, 2006 no page numbers)

Fig 3-18 indicates that there was also a downturn in the construction industry in 2002 but an upturn is shown in 2005 in Fig 3-19. A stimulatory measure was proposed with the further construction of airports (MLIT, 2003). However, in 2005, according to an informant employed by a Japanese domestic airline, flight attendants were being offered wage and flight reductions due to domestic airlines running at a loss. This airline was considering further staff cuts as late as 2007 (Anon, 2007).

### 3.7.1 The Koizumi Plans and Strategies

Towards the end of the Koizumi era, the new ‘*Yokoso (Welcome) Japan*’ campaign was created to improve the international tourism trade deficit, while also encouraging Japanese to visit regional areas of Japan (Koizumi 2005). Koizumi acknowledged that it was time to develop tourism to a level commensurate with Japan’s position in the world economy. He noted that Japan had some of the lowest inbound tourism statistics in comparison to its position as the second largest economy in the world. The inbound-outbound tourism budget deficit in 2005 was almost 300% (with six million foreign visitors in 2004 compared to 17 million outbound Japanese).

At the same 2005 Summit, according to the President of JNTO 2005, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation estimated that, by 2020, 40 million visitors would have passed through East Asia and the Pacific region and Japan would be seeking an increased share of this market focussing on tourists from Korea, Taiwan, United States, China, Hong Kong, United Kingdom, Germany and France. For the Japanese economy, Koizumi (2005) stressed, the Japanese tourism industry needed to tap into these cash resources and aim for tourism levels comparable with those of France, while local municipalities would receive support to develop their own tourism plans.

Koizumi (2005) recognised that, increasingly, younger generations of Japanese were becoming more estranged from the culture of Japan and its geography and he emphasised that strategies should be put in place to redress this situation. The tourism objectives above, he believed, could be combined to re-establish local arts and crafts and to offer these ‘new’ domestic tourists the experience of their home country’s various cultures of the *furusato*.

Also at the Summit, the Director of the UNCRD acknowledged that regional development and sustainable tourism initiatives in Japan should include:

- Academic research into a diverse range of tourism-related problems, including language barriers
- Tourism summits
- The promotion of youth tourism
- Bus and rail passes for locals
- More flexible transport passes for foreign tourists

- Call centres staffed with translators for foreign tourists with specially designed hired mobile telephones or access to telephone booths
- A re- invigorated campaign to attract visitors from China and South Korea through re-establishing traditional connections, particularly through the Asian gateway of Fukuoka, Kyushu.

Thus, the government (Koizumi 2005) publicly identified tourism as offering an opportunity to bring about regional economic diversity and sustainability through:

- Enhancing the population's awareness of Japanese culture
- Encouraging the continuation of folk arts and crafts and traditional farming and food processing by locals
- Maintaining existing populations while encouraging re-population from densely populated cities

Targeted initiatives for tourism change and renovation included:

- Advertising regional Japanese destinations instead of the popular hotspots such as Tokyo and Kyoto
- Reducing national tourist agency domination whereby little of the tourist dollar filters down to the local communities
- Moving away from mass or group tourism in favour of smaller numbers. In recognition that not only should cultural and environmental heritage be preserved, but that some tourism impacts should be reduced. (Although it was not acknowledged smaller groups would use a larger number of smaller vehicles, such as family cars).

At the time of writing, the domestic tourism figures were not available to be included in this thesis, to indicate the success of the *Yokoso Japan* campaign. Interestingly however, the main features in *Yokoso Japan* feature heavily throughout the tourism white paper of 2001. Additionally, the Japanese economy was still in recession, yet anecdotal evidence indicated that following the 9/11 terrorist attack in New York, some students from Himeji University were planning to capitalise on the cheap flights and travel to Hawaii due to the early stages of Japan and US tourism support as a result of the attack.

### 3.8 Discussion

As already noted, various versions of Tourism White Papers in Japan have reported that tourism provided an opportunity to regenerate regional economies despite both the central and prefectural governments experiencing varying success rates in fulfilling their development and construction goals (MLIT, 2002, MLIT, 2003, MLIT, 2006). The Koizumi government's philosophy declared that planned, approved and publicly announced development projects, must reach completion and tourism projects were included in this directive. While some projects, which had begun in Koizumi's era were already in mid-stage or completed by the expiry of his term of government, several projects that had been initiated by his predecessor, Yōshiro Mori and put into action in the 1990s, had been stopped in mid-development or were left in limbo due to the re-evaluation of their political viability by 2002.

Such stagnation, pre-Koizumi, can be blamed on a government system based on construction interests and complex forms of corruption within the system (McCormack, 1996). For example political support by the central government for theme park developers amidst the financial investment pressures of the stagnating 1990s (Williams, 1998 192), and the unyielding control by the triangle of central government, and the tourism and construction industries often justified tourism developments in terms of their apparent commercial and actual construction opportunities (Cooper and Flehr, 2006 71).

Furthermore, several problems in tourism planning were not only highlighted by the presenters at the 2005 World Tourism Summit, but by the local (disenchanted) researchers of rural Japan who were also attending. Questions were raised about:

- domestic and international tourism planning issues being resolved by using the same planning schemes
- ecotourism, a term used globally to indicate ecologically sustainable tourism but claimed as 'economic tourism' by the Chairman for the Japan Ecotourism Society (Aichi 2005)
- the connections between government, tourism and private enterprise.

In this case, some of the Japanese conference representatives and post-graduate researchers were under the impression that the owner of the host University consortium which was promoting Kyushu tourism, was also a good friend of the prime minister. Certainly the University has business interests in companies who provide construction, student

accommodation and bus transportation such as private sector sponsorship of Creotech (Japan), Yamashita Sekkei ( a construction consultancy) and Kumagai Gumi (a construction firm)(Anon, 2005) as outlined in their websites (Creotech Co LTD., 2010), (Yamashita Sekkei Inc., 2004), (Kumagai gumi Co. LTD., 2010). These post-graduate researchers believed that rural revitalisation was for the privileged few with powerful connections. Their anecdotal experiences are confirmed by Cooper and Flehr (2006 82-84) and Sorenson (2003 528-529). Although the government representatives sketched out impressive ideas for rural revitalisation through tourism, putting these plans into action was seen as uncertain given an expected change of government.

The 2005 Summit reinforced the field work anecdotes of this author's informants in 2001, namely that the redirection of tourism away from current core towns and cities in Japan is a monumental task. Many towns and small cities do not have the local income to promote their own tourism attractions, nor can they find appropriate consultancy or models for planning and implementation, or for the development of suitable and sustainable attractions. Tourism and transportation agencies, associations and municipalities have favoured monopolisation and mass media manipulation of the tourism industry; specific tourist route domination occurs and corruption and mismanagement exists.

Confirming this frustration of the peripheral towns, in 2007, the Tokyo Metropolitan government and its agencies reinvigorated its international tourism marketing sending delegates internationally to promote Tokyo and its wards (Yes! Tokyo, The Tokyo You Have Never Seen 2007). Moreover, if the fiscal system is to change as McCormack (1996) recommends, then the question is how will new tourism policies be implemented and financially supported?

The Koizumi government claimed that conjoining the themes of tourism and nationalism brought about two-fold benefits whereby:

- regional towns' and cities' economies could be improved by tourist yen
- *and* younger tourists, who would be able to travel to regional Japan, would learn the various regional cultures of the nation.

Two problems were not addressed. Firstly, in 2003, the percentage of people aged 15-60 years and older fell to 50% of Japan's population (Japan Productivity Center for Socio-Economic Development, 2006) and those over 65 constituted 21 % of the total population or 26.82 million (Statistics Bureau and Statistical Research and Training Institute, 2006 (no page number provided)). This means that tourism is being marketed to a shrinking younger generation who, in the current economic climate, have less disposable income (as acknowledged in the 2005 summit by the plan to discount transportation for younger tourists). Secondly and most importantly, the MLIT have 'selected areas for the tourism renaissance subsidy system and practical plan for creating tourist destinations' suggesting thirty-three different places where they will 'provide partial financial assistance for environmental improvement programmes for hosting overseas visitors and similar programs implemented by private organisations' and to promote better cooperation between travel and marketing agencies (MLIT, 2006 40). Kobe city, along with thirteen other areas nearby, is eligible for this tourism renaissance subsidy despite being already heavily funded by other invigoration schemes such as the Phoenix Earthquake funding, in which tourism and leisure attractions have already been included in the reconstruction (Fig 3-20).

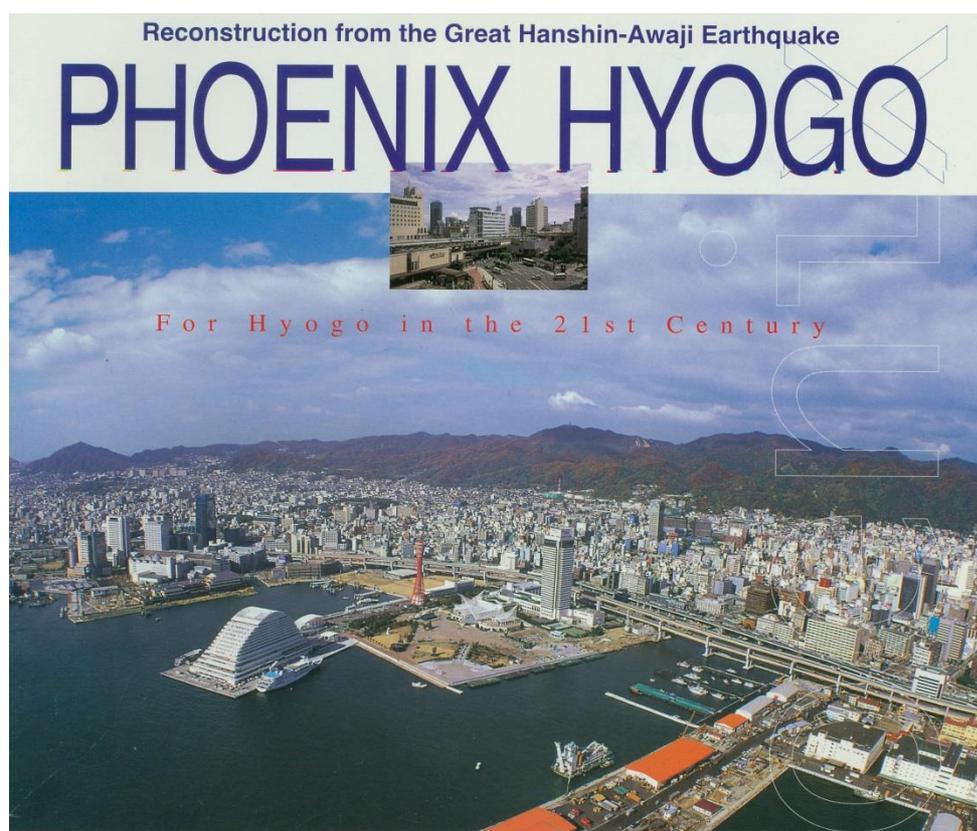


Fig 3-20 Reconstructed Kobe port. The port district includes a direct factory outlet, evening festivals and retail promenades. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1997)

However, no other area in Hyōgo Prefecture is included in this plan. The new *Welcome Japan* or *Yokoso Japan*, which continued after the 2007 elections, remains a well-intentioned plan for tourism overall in Japan, but as this chapter has already discussed, these tourism ‘welcomes’ and ‘renaissance’ ideas have yet to sustain rural and regional revitalisation.

### 3.9 Summary

This thesis’ fieldwork concluded in 2002 and only touches on the initiatives of the tourism policy of early the Koizumi era in order to assess the earlier *Welcome Plan 21*. Later in that era, major changes took place, which included the Tourism Nation Promotion Act highlighting tourism as a cornerstone of Japanese national policy, together with the Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Plan. Peripheral Japan, with international tourism destinations already in place, such as Okinawa and Nagano (MLIT 2007), was a focus given that the impact of the terrorist attacks of September 2001 in the United States was affecting inbound tourism globally.

This chapter has discussed how, in the Tokugawa period, travel and early forms of tourism in Japan contributed to the development of the Pacific Belt and to the core-periphery imbalance of central administration and regional control, a relationship initially contrived to provide civil unity and political control in a divided nation. Early tourism policies in the Meiji period, which were internationally focussed and reinforced by image creation through the vehicle of tourism, set a precedent for future styles of tourism policy making for the central government.

National tourism (development) plans such as the *Welcome Plan 21* have directed tourism and development at the prefectural level. However, in the wake of the Great Hanshin earthquake, development in Hyōgo had to assume a role of resurrection and redevelopment of the Kobe area and this took precedence over other development projects. Tourism projects many of which were already in a hiatus were stalled or unfinished adding to a series of past failed or redundant projects.

Soshiroda criticised the main feature of the *Welcome Plan 21*, its’ least descriptive or ‘non-structural’ policies (2005 1117). The case studies demonstrate the problems of the lack of prescriptive tourism development, particularly when there is a ‘carry-over’ effect from one

Plan to the next. This chapter demonstrates the complexity of tourism projects as various ministries and their agencies, become involved, combined with the justification of policy directives that the tourism industry will revitalise for regional Japan, improving the construction and fishery industries among other economic, social and cultural expectations.

Meanwhile rural towns in Hyōgo prefecture that were trying to improve their tourism opportunities were having to wait for stalled projects to be completed a decade after the Kobe earthquake, only to be faced with a shift to new tourism policies and priorities in the 2000s as summarised in Table 3.2 on the next page.

This table summarises the cross-over of tourism policy across ministries. Research on these policies did not uncover the reasoning for this other than interdepartmental use of tourism policy is expected to assist external departmental projects.

Table 3.2 Summary of Major Tourism Policies and Plans

<b>Hyōgo 2001 Plan Main Themes</b>	<b>Hyōgo Vision 2010 (MAFF prefectural Division) Main Themes</b>	<b>White Paper MLITT 2002 Main Themes</b>	<b>A New Vision (2000-1), Real Japan &amp; Visit Japan (2001-2002). Main Themes</b>
<p>Incorporating elements the Welcome Plan 21 for tourism.</p> <p>Focussed on rebuilding after the Great Hanshin earthquake of 1995 including the incorporating of the Phoenix Plans and the earlier 1990s projects.</p> <p>Connecting urban to rural</p>	<p>Rural revitalisation through tourism via MAFF not MLIT</p> <p>Revitalisation of the farming, mountain and fishing villages. Volunteers to support the rural.</p> <p>Tourism specifics include Tajima-product branding, local foods, attracting people to the local nature and coastal culture.</p> <p>Tourism for the purpose of agri-business</p>	<p>Focussed on the low increase in domestic travel of .02% from 1999-2000.</p> <p>Nature based themes</p> <p>Domestic tourists encouraged by way of 'low cost pastimes' such as nature sightseeing, festivals and inexpensive activities.</p> <p>Visit traditional Japan: Okinawa, Aomori, Hakodate and Nagano. Increase foreign and domestic tourism through movies (NHK supported), special travel tickets and better internet service</p>	<p>Incorporated regional tourism development to increase international inbound tourism</p> <p>'Vision' a precursor to 'Real' and 'Visit' Koizumi's domestic policy, nationalism and rural revitalisation</p>
<b>Phoenix Plans for Tourism Main Themes</b>		<b>White Paper MAFF 2002</b>	<b>Yokoso Japan (International 2001)</b>
Hyogo tourism revitalisation inspired by Kobe and the marketing of 'resurrection'		Green Tourism, interconnections between urban and rural peoples, improve fisheries	Tourism Action Plan, international tourism income, Regional revitalisation

This chapter has highlighted the on-going influence of powerbrokers' roles and the on-going desire for Japan to recreate traditional and other images in order to reinvigorate its regional areas. In retrospect, it can be seen that there was a need for separate tourism policies; the future aim of the Koizumi government. Problematic in the tourism planning of White Paper 2001, is the lack of policy differentiation between international and domestic tourism, and the high expectations of tourism development, driven from the central government but managed at the municipal level.

The White Paper for Tourism 2001 (MLIT 2001a) re-addressed what could be accomplished by reassessing tourism goals following the earthquake and the slump in the domestic economy. The tourism white papers make claims on future budgets and describe what should be achieved by the end of a designated period. This does not necessarily mean that all objectives will be achieved, but they are included in that time period's budget to meet objectives and drive goals. The particular feature of the Welcome 21 Plan was its 'non-structural' approach aimed at short-term remedies to repair long-term problems. Remnants of previous plans made their way into the *Welcome 21 Plan*. These included some of the tourist attractions covered in the case studies.

However, the (new) Welcome Japan of 2005 (including the *Yokoso Japan*) was drafted in 2001, later incorporating the Koizumi government's aim to institute change in policy development style to what was to become the 'Plan, See, Do' approach, including more careful analysis of (particularly tourism construction) projects so that they could be completed rather than lie dormant in their early stages of development (Koizumi 2005). However, in 2001-2002, overlaps between tourism policy changes still existed (that is during the period of the drafting of the next white paper). Construction of projects could be hastily started in the first stage, before being abandoned if new policy objectives were mooted. Two examples include the temporary cessation of regional road works (chapter 7) and the restriction of new local port projects (MLIT 2001 25).

Prime Minister Koizumi aimed to change such tourism project hiatuses, focussing on transparency and realism of project completion from the beginning of government policies for tourism development to the tangible ends of the projects (Koizumi, 2005). The case studies of Himeji and Kasumi, will detail the various actors and the relationships between them in terms of finance and information flows. The case study research highlights, as Bestor et al (2003, 1-70) argue, that doing research in Japan is beset with a deep and complex set of processes that must be dealt with, before the issues at hand can be researched from a social scientific perspective.

## 4 METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Introduction

*So where the studies come from has little to do with scholars' concerns in their research. What is most important is what kind of questions a scholar asks (Narita et al., 1998 82).*

This chapter outlines and evaluates the main techniques applied in this research project to gather data and information in order to examine the argument that, national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism in Japan, are problematic when implemented at the local level and cannot always improve local economic conditions.

#### *Research Design*

Tonts (1998 53) argues that theory alone is not adequate in the study of the 'nature of rural change' but that a variety of research techniques and data collection methods are needed to provide 'a comprehensive overview' and 'accommodate a more holistic interpretation' of the research settings. Maxwell (2005 2 ) defines this reflexive process as 'collecting and analysing data, developing and modifying theory, elaborating or refocusing the research questions and identifying and addressing validity threats'. Therefore, a range of techniques based on the induction approach have been used in this study.

In his PhD research, Tonts employed a 'variety of methods consistent with those used in Australian and overseas studies of rural and social economic change', which included documentary and archival analyses, questionnaires, interviews and surveys. As he notes, 'the nature of rural change cannot be understood through abstract theorisation' (*ibid.* 53).

As discussed in the literature review, and particularly in the English language context, social research on Japan has been more frequently conducted in the social scientific fields of anthropology, politics and history where a humanistic perspective has often been

employed, and also in economics. Conversely, research conducted by Japanese scholars has often taken a scientific –deductive approach (Hiwatari, 2001 22).<sup>41</sup>

Tonts' research design, as his research progressed and the data was analysed, was influenced by newly discovered literature, which prompted him to adapt his 'methods to take into account the unexpected findings, leading to new research questions with better design' (*ibid.* 53). This author heeded Tonts' experience for two reasons: 1) his study areas had not been researched before by the induction method and; 2) it was acknowledged from the outset that there could be 'unexpected findings'. Preliminary work for this project, highlighted the lack of documentary evidence, changes to the local tourism website for Kasumi and, in the fieldwork phase, the late disclosure of key issues within that municipal government. Similar discoveries characterised the Himeji field research.

In the Japanese context, Takaaki Uda<sup>42</sup> complains of the lack of broad spectrum research methods and cross-disciplinary approaches pertaining to Japanese coastal development and its impacts and consequences. He also advocates a more holistic approach to research on coastal development issues in order to alleviate the environmental degradation that characteristically follows Japanese coastal development.

The original research design was triggered by a confession by a municipal government website writer in Kasumi, who had made it known that this small town was struggling to improve its economy. A decision was subsequently made that a comparative approach could be useful and that it would therefore be necessary to obtain much needed data from as high a level of various administrative government bodies as possible. The research questions and possible improvements in the research design were influenced by the restrictions of conducting field research in a short time period, access to data in Japan at a time when digitisation of documents had not yet begun and when Hyōgo Prefectural construction and development was still affected by the Hanshin Earthquake of 1995. The

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<sup>41</sup> For examples, see *Geographical Review of Japan* (Association of Japanese Geographers), *Journal of Geography* (Tokyo Geographical Society, a physical geography society)

<sup>42</sup> Takaaki Uda, Doctor of Engineering and Executive Director, Public Works Research Centre, Tokyo with over thirty years research experience in Japan, corresponded by email with the author, supporting the cross-disciplinary approach to the study of Japanese coastal development.

beginnings of this research began in the Hyōgo Cultural Centre in Perth, Western Australia at a time when there was scant evidence that the Japanese economy would continue its downward spiral.

In the context of this chapter it is useful to recall the thesis' argument that higher level policies in Japan, designed to increase tourism in Hyōgo Prefecture, are problematic when implemented at the local level and do not always improve local economic conditions.

It had been decided from the outset that this research should include interviews with key players and stakeholders in Kasumi and Himeji and possibly from Hyogo Prefecture, notwithstanding the difficulties of gaining access to these players.

It was also understood that the fieldwork had to take place in the peak season of fishing in Kasumi from early November 2001 to the end of January 2002 and that a great deal of participant-observation would be required. Interviewing local people would have to be organised around the fishing activities. Questionnaires would be developed for local people in Kasumi and for tourists who visited this Northern Region. Cloke et al. (2004, 131) argue that questionnaires can be used 'in tandem with other methods'. For Himeji, the fishery industry was not integral to tourism, as it is in Kasumi, but coastal development of the port area was important, so interviews and documentary research were considered to be a more effective way of exploring the issues of tourism in Himeji.

This chapter discusses the networking opportunities that were realised in the course of this research, describes the associated research methods and techniques and then reviews them. The research also involved textual analysis of reports, development proposals, interview transcripts and the consideration of actual developments. This material will be considered in the light of planning, sustainability and cultural criteria.

#### 4.1.1 Unravelling the Networks of Local Government

Administration and governance both in Hyōgo prefecture and at the national level in Japan is complex. As discussed in the literature review, government reform, in the form of decentralisation and the moving of responsibility to more local levels, may lead to greater transparency in decision making processes in the future. This is a challenge for a system of

national, prefectural and municipal governance that was put in place to enact centrally controlled policies of industrialism and expansionism, in the late 19th century.

Local governance organisations include Prefectural governing and administrative bodies that can be located throughout the prefecture. For example, the Tajima Research Fisheries Institute (TRFI), a Hyōgo Prefectural body, is situated in Kasumi, a town which was formerly a high producer of fish. This was therefore one reason for the institute's location on the Sea of Japan coastline. However, its Prefectural head office is in the Pacific coastal city of Kobe. For the Prefectural Ports and Harbours administration, the head office is located in central Kobe and it oversees port development for both Kasumi and Himeji. The director of the Himeji Ports and Harbours, (who oversees port throughput and legislation regarding shipping, imports and exports, coastal redevelopment and reclamation projects) is located in the port of Himeji. The manager of the port however, is located in central Himeji and oversees general non-shipping administration such as liaison with fish processors and other similar industries.

The tourism administration component of the present research encompasses private and public organisations, partially interacting with each other, from the municipal to the Prefectural level. In Kasumi, the tourism association although a public organisation, has limited resources and depends on local, private assistance including volunteerism. Each new policy direction from the national government generally filters down to hospitality and tourism provider representative organisations; for example, *onsen* or accommodation bodies, which tend to splinter into ever more specialised groups.

The travel agencies have connections with railway companies such as the Japan Railways Group that, through their past histories of being public services, have maintained their connections with agencies such as the Japan Travel Bureau and the Ministry for Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT).

#### 4.1.2 Participant Observation

Atkinson and Hammersley (1998 249) argue, that participant-observers cannot 'study the social world without being part of it'. This was particularly the case in Kasumi in the

public offices of the TFRI, where, on occasion, I assisted in office duties. This was a serendipitous situation which gave me an opportunity to observe and participate in the inner workings of a fisheries research facility in Japan. Likewise, my aim in travelling in the Kinki (Kansai) region was to observe and understand the tourism industries in context and, essentially like any tourist, to take photographs and to diarise my experiences. The essence of being a tourist is being an outsider observing the unfamiliar, partaking in the holiday or travel experience, away from home and the familiar (Williams, 1998 7).

Being a participant-observer in Kasumi meant that some community members knew that I was doing research for a PhD in Australia. Aside from the interviews, I did not make it known to the surrounding community that I was a researcher, but clearly I was not Japanese, was not the local English teacher and so was considered a foreign tourist in a town promoting its coastal tourism. When I was not asking questions in formal interviews, I was engaging with the touring public, noting the way they talked to strangers and to friends. Not once could I say, however, that I was part of the native Japanese tourism experience; my Japanese tourism experience was that of a foreigner.

My extensive experience in tourism and hospitality, and particularly with Japanese business people and hospitality staff in my homeland of Australia, together with my retail property development experience, gave me a well-informed, background from which to ask questions about the tourism and hospitality industry. Not only did this experience inform the framing of the original questions, but also how to frame and redirect questions mid-interview when government and other officials would try and steer questions away from my foci of inquiry; namely the R-Plan in Kasumi, and the identification of tourism power brokers in Himeji. This experience was also useful when interviewing the *minshuku* owners and business owners, and managers of industry, in order to lubricate the flow of conversation. Atkinson and Hammersley (2011) discuss and contextualise the inner working issues of participant-observation. What they do not discuss is the experience that the researcher brings with her.

De Walt and De Walt (2011 21) do bring this aspect to the discussion and recall Margaret Mead stressing the importance of listing the observer's skills for the Participant-Observer

process. While this author's research is not aimed at the investigation of tourists and tourism as an activity, it was my observations of the workings of the tourism industry and tourism destinations in the Kinki region that led me to a greater understanding of the aims and outcomes, impacts and failures of tourism policy as implemented from the national, to the prefectural and municipal levels. Furthermore, a rapid appraisal can provide a researcher with impressions which can then be used to develop rapport (Atkinson and Hammersley 2011 51). This author familiarised herself with the domestic tourist attractions in the region, facilitating the creation of questions to optimise data collection in questionnaires, a procedure, where objectivity and subjectivity must be recognised in the process (Cloke et al, 2004 129-130). While the discussion by De Walt and De Walt (2011) relates to ethnographic longitudinal research in an impoverished community, one argument holds true; the significance of understanding what was important to the members of the community (*ibid.* 56). In this author's experience, it was clear both that an outsider cannot determine a successful or unsuccessful tourist activity on mere observation and that government statistics can be misleading when they involve the use of selective data.

#### **4.2 Introductions and Networking**

This author was a participant of the inter-university exchange programme agreement between Curtin University (then Curtin University of Technology) and Himeji Institute of Technology (HIT now University of Hyogo) in 2000 and under which this fieldwork was conducted between 2001 and 2002. In Japan, this was guided by two HIT supervisors: Professor Reiko Kinuhata and Dr Yumi Hasegawa, who offered on-going moral support and assistance and enabled me to access the technology and services available to Himeji students thus making the research process in a foreign language less difficult.

Considerable negotiation took place in order for me to undertake the Kasumi component of the fieldwork. The interview appointments were accorded official acknowledgement from the Hyōgo government where, as part of the introductions with the manager of the Hyogo International Association (HIA) in August 2001 and, later in September following the initial TFRI introduction, further contacts were made (Appendix 2). The interviewees were generally aware of the sister state relationship between Hyōgo Prefecture and Western

Australia.<sup>43</sup> The Hyōgo Prefectural government acknowledged this international relationship and this, together with the endorsement of the Dean of HIT and prestigious and/ or professional connections, proved advantageous in obtaining interviews with high ranking prefectural government officials who provided further introductions and a succession of interviews followed in a snowball manner.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4.2.1 Connections and the Snowball Effect in Hyōgo-Ken

The main chain of connections developed through the exchange policy between Curtin University of Technology and Himeji Institute of Technology.<sup>45</sup> In Hyōgo Prefecture in 2001, a series of “old school tie” networks extended from HIT to the Director of the International Relations Division of the International Affairs Bureau of the HIA. The HIA Centre in Kobe facilitated interviews with the just- retired Tourism Director of Japan Railways, Fukuchiyama Division (north east Tajima was originally part of its tourism administration) and the Director of the North Kinki Tourism Organisation (NKTO). The NKTO is the tourism administration body that represents the north of two prefectures: it consists of the regions of Tajima, Tango and Tanba (Hyōgo) and Wakasaji (Kyoto) and is funded by the Hyōgo and Kyoto Prefectures and tourism companies within the region.

The second chain of networks developed within the Fisheries system. The first interview in Kasumi at the offices of the TFRI, in September 2001, was attended by the Director of the TFRI, the Director of the Tajima Fisheries Association (TFA) and senior staff. The acceptance by the two directors of the TFA and the TFRI of the research project and their recommendations led to their seeking official sanction for the research from Hyōgo Prefectural Fisheries, the provision of accommodation in Kasumi, the use of the TFRI office facilities and the opportunity to interview TFRI and TFA staff.

These are two examples of the chains of connections that facilitated the arrangement of the interviews and, while most of these people no longer kept in social or professional contact

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<sup>43</sup> A formal liaison and code of co-operation began in 1982 between the governmental institutions of those two states. <http://www.hyogo.com.au>

<sup>44</sup> For another research perspective, see Fetters 1995.

<sup>45</sup> Several public institutes amalgamated in Hyōgo to become University of Hyōgo.

with each other, the nature of the public service in Hyōgo Prefecture was such that there were only ‘several degrees of separation’ between them and this facilitated my introductions.

These connections within the Prefectural administration are significant, especially in the executive positions. Once one person committed to an interview, others in similar ranking positions agreed to participate. However, because the networking connections between the various respondents sometimes extended for as long as 30 years, other benefits ensued. In Japan, at the Prefectural level, directorial positions are changed every 5 years. Therefore, when this author interviewed the retiring Director General for Himeji Ports and Harbours, he informed me that, twenty years earlier, he had been the Director General at Kasumi Ports and Harbours and helpfully confirmed some of my research findings for Kasumi.

Although these governmental connections were considerable, without the connections and inner networking of Professor Kinuhata, the ‘snowball-effect’ of gaining further interviews in both Kasumi and Himeji, would not have progressed to the extent that it did. The Himeji networking involved Professor Kinuhata arranging an interview with the manager of the Himeji Port, while the Director of the Himeji Port and Harbour assisted in organising the interview with the Manager of the Himeji Tourism Organisation.

This system of *kone* (connection, also known as *nemawashi*) is not unique to Japan, but much has been written about this component of Japanese culture (Dore, 1971; Nakane, 1973; Reischauer 1995; Sugimoto, 1997; Hendry, 1993).<sup>46</sup> A significant proportion of the fieldwork interviews were facilitated through the professional relationships of Professor Kinuhata and the reciprocity that this engendered. This introduced me to the Tajima Fisheries Research Institute in Kasumi and, through this contact, to the community and the various stakeholder networks in the town. This ‘snowball’ effect (Curry et al 2001 112) led to:

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<sup>46</sup> These anthropologists have researched Japanese networking in society, in business, school ties, in- group connections and obligations.

- the early arrangement of interviews with the Director of the TFA and Director of the TFRI and,
- the TFRI Director then seeking permission from the Hyōgo Prefectural Government for this author to utilise the TFRI facilities.
- the use of a large office, where maps, diagrams and books could be spread out on large tables and where informal interviews and discussions in *zadankai-style* (round table discussions) could be conducted if needed and,
- the opportunity to improve this author's Japanese language skills and dedicate time to research.

Within this environment, this author was able to observe (and occasionally participate in) the workings and the social environment of a provincial Japanese public office and therefore to better understand the hierarchical systems which operate both within the prefectural environment and between this prefectural outpost and the local community culture.

#### 4.2.2 Arranging the Kasumi Field Trip

Professor Kinuhata arranged an initial interview with the Director of the TFA based in Kasumi. She had met him previously as a result of her research work and he was willing to arrange an interview at the TFRI.<sup>47</sup>

A formal 'round table' meeting was held in the offices of the TFRI<sup>48</sup>, which included not only the Director of the TFA but also the Director General of the TFRI, and his research assistant who acted as his interpreter. After exchanging formal greetings and business cards, the research assistant presented a short, informal lecture in English, explaining the workings of the Institute, the Kasumi fishing industry and its position in the Tajima fisheries industry. In open discussion, I was able to present the aims of my research. Realising the limitations of my interpretation skills and the resultant language barriers, while showing great respect for my supervisor, the Director General of the TFRI prompted

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<sup>47</sup>TFRI is a Hyōgo government research institution

<sup>48</sup>August 2001

his assistant to interpret and then assumed control over the meeting, offering his help in the project. The Director General of TFRI then gave us an enthusiastic guided tour of the fishing town, its western port which conducts the fisheries throughput, a fisheries processing factory, and a land reclamation project near the Institute where aquaculture, fish processing and associated research was conducted. We also observed the last of the day's fish auctions.

A week later at HIT, I was formally invited by the Director General of the TFRI to use its facilities in Kasumi. He drew up a formal letter of offer, to be signed by my HIT supervisor and the Dean of HIT. The Director General also sought official permission from the Hyōgo government and I was given the office space, noted above, at the Institute.<sup>49</sup>

Later, informally, the Director General of the TFRI emphasised to me that this research project was well regarded as a positive academic exercise for the town, in which he felt that Kasumi, its industry, local people and major stakeholders would be treated respectfully and with a dignity that he felt was often lacking in foreign research about Japan (see the *nihonjinron* discussion in Chapter 2). This recognition allowed me access to the town and its industries, since I was seen as not just reporting on the negative side of Kasumi.

An important, introductory interview was arranged by the Director General of the TFRI with the President of the Kasumi International Association (KIA) at the Kasumi Town Hall (*Kasumi-cho Yakuba*), the centre of local government administration and planning. This was fruitful in that the secretary of the association volunteered to act as an interpreter for me while the president offered to translate and edit my letters of introduction for both the business and general questionnaires.

Timetabling for the Kasumi fieldwork had to take into consideration the busy fishing season (and the accompanying peak in the tourist trade). Thus, the Kasumi interviews were conducted in two blocks; pre and post peak season (in November 2001 and January 2002)

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<sup>49</sup> In November 2001, I negotiated with the Director of the TFIR, the use of a computer with internet connection from the Institute as automatic international software for keyboards was still in its infancy.

interspersed with interviews with representatives of the Hyōgo Government Division of Ports and Harbours and other government executives and with field observations.

#### 4.2.3 Translations and Interpreters

All of the formal interviews were conducted with volunteer interpreters to augment my Japanese language skills<sup>50</sup>. Since the funding for my research did not allow for professional interpreters, volunteers were my only option. In Kasumi, the interviewees and interpreters from the KIA, either knew each other or had mutual connections in other situations. The presence of local Kasumi interpreters however, did not appear to obstruct the interviews and many of the interviewees were outspoken, frank and opinionated.

I relied on my supervisors from HIT for interpretation for the Himeji component of the fieldwork. Professor Mikio Ouchi also interpreted for the interviews with the director of the Hyōgo Ports and Harbours.

The basic interview questions (Appendix 3) were handed to the interpreters prior to their interviews, as were sets of open ended questions or headings. In order to assist their specialist knowledge, the interpreters were also given the URL addresses of two dictionary websites: ‘WWJDIC Word Search’ (Breen, 2008) and ‘The Online English-Japanese Oceanic Dictionary’ (Nakauchi, 1980).

#### 4.2.4 Questionnaire and Interview Production

Three sets of questionnaires and 51 interview schedules were developed for Himeji and Kasumi. The interviews preceded the questionnaires and the responses received from them were used to develop the directions of inquiry followed in the questionnaires.

For Kasumi, two questionnaires were developed, one for the Kasumi business community and another for the general community. The interviews (35) in Kasumi were directed at

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<sup>50</sup> The author’s qualifications include BA Asian Studies (Japanese Language & Geography) (Hons) (Graduate Diploma in Education, Japanese language) and 15 years’ experience in tourism and hospitality management, marketing and property development.

local stakeholders and significant role players in the community, while the Himeji interviews (16) were directed to the tourism, port and fishery role players followed by a questionnaire which was administered to tourists. The Prefectural interviews were conducted with the major role players within the Hyōgo Prefecture Ports and Harbours Division, who implemented the policies for coastal tourism.

In both case study locations, informal discussions were also undertaken as the opportunity arose. This often resulted from the way in which the tourism industry is used to support non-tourism businesses and loosely linked businesses and services (such as the taxation department in Kasumi-cho).

### *Tatemaie*

It was decided that a qualitative approach to the majority of the fieldwork research in the form of interviews, was required in order to negotiate and develop tactics for gathering information since a quantitative-only approach would not 'realise the explicit' (Kerlin, 1999). With interviewees, it was possible that political issues and their personal views, lack of knowledge, power plays and a host of other factors could work to conceal actual agendas or the implications of a particular situation for individual respondents. A common response to this problem in Japan is known as *tatemaie*, where underlying cultural nuances and other ploys in conversation are used to conceal the real issues at hand.

I interviewed as many people in the local government system in Kasumi as possible, from representatives from the Mayoral office to clerical officers and from across several departments to try to gain an overall picture of the workings of a rural community that has promoted tourism to supplement an economy based on a declining fishing industry. In these interviews, it was useful to use a variety of techniques given the gap between *tatemaie* and *honne* (Hendry, 1995; Nakane, 1973).

Briefly, *tatemaie*, which is used in Japanese conversation and communication, is loosely translated as a process that does not reveal the depth of reason or cause of a situation and 'the realisation of the explicit', whereas the concept of *honne* provides the full truth or reasoning behind a whole situation; the explicit (Hendry, 1995 46, 108, 175). *Tatemaie*

includes the polite formality and desire to maintain harmonious relationships overriding personal views and opinions and perhaps the reality of situation (Hendry, 1995 46-47). To say that this form of communication is called a lie is simplistic and is culturally nuanced from an English speaker's perspective. Rather, a problematic situation can instead be conveyed as representation (*tatema*) without actually revealing the actuality of anything problematic or drastic (*hon*). Therefore, the interview strategy was to present the problem, allowing the interviewee the opportunity to tender the actuality of the circumstances, such as the difficulties of local coastal development, from their perspective. For the interviewer, rather than solely depending on hearsay about local problems, the person in authority was given the opportunity to confirm the nature of the issue or problem with perhaps further discussion. This strategy proved successful, although the results often highlighted other local issues, as the case studies elucidate.

In a town the size of Kasumi, and considering the time constraints of the fishing season and of my government visa, the use of connections (*kone*) for the interviews was beneficial. My initial informant and network co-ordinator, a Doctor of Marine Biology and Director of the TFRI, was also aware of these limitations. Therefore, with his assistance, I selected a broad range of people whom we considered to be the most reliable informants. *Tatema* still surfaced but the individual agendas of those in positions of power were often revealed.

An important consideration in evaluating the qualitative data from these informants was to acquire information that had been concealed in the *tatema* fashion. Nonetheless, a number of Kasumi residents, were generous with their time and straightforward in their opinions and accounts even though the local economy and many small businesses were struggling. Their responses contrasted with those of four Kasumi representatives of government and the chamber of commerce who, although they were keen to impart their personal histories and their family involvement in the area, also constructed (*tatema*) stories based on mad cow disease (the national concern of the day), and how the Japanese would turn away from meat and towards Kasumi fish for nutritional safety!

Conversely, in Himeji, major stakeholders in family businesses were less prepared to discuss their local economic problems and were restrained in their views of their local government. Later research revealed close ties between the decision makers in local government and several of these business cliques. However, middle-level government officials in Himeji were more forthcoming with information about the influence of local business stakeholders in local affairs.

The Directors of Hyōgo Ports and Harbours and Himeji Ports and Harbour were likewise straightforward in their sharing of information regarding the Himeji and Kasumi coastal developments. Interviews were conducted with the relevant stakeholders who were involved in coastal developments including the local Port Authorities, Hyōgo Tourism Organisation and the NKTO.

The prevailing – and long standing – economic downturn had placed most coastal development/redevelopment on hold just prior to and during the period of my 2001-2 fieldwork. There was therefore little opportunity to interview those developers who had withdrawn their support and moved on to other ventures. Furthermore, at the time of the fieldwork component of the research (2001-2002), the Koizumi government had just taken over leadership of the nation in April 2001, which gave rise to major administrative change and a hiatus in development and construction under the new government's fiscal policy.

#### 4.2.5 A Question of Ethics

At this point, it is necessary to discuss ethical issues in relation to introductions and networking and the roles that these play in Japanese business relationships.

The research was also based on archival and documentary evidence, much of which was readily available. In the initial stages, it was not envisaged that there would be a need to collect information of a confidential nature. However, if, for the benefit of research, such information was presented to the researcher, under Human Research Ethics policies, recorded permission was required from the informant.

In the planning stages of the interviews, it was the intention that interviewees were not to be in 'subordinate positions' vis a vis the interviewer and that their informed consent for interview/ questionnaire responses would be gained through working with Japanese intermediaries and the provision of a written statement in Japanese and English on the aims of the interview. Generally, this procedure was followed. However, some interviewees were quite insulted by the procedure of a written information statement and consent form. They considered that, by already allowing an interview to be conducted in their offices, the provision of a signed statement of consent seemed superfluous. Furthermore, the signing of a consent form made some interviewees wary of its intention. When the requirements of the Ethics Statement were explained to them, they thought that it was a waste of time and an insult to their status; only an executive could allow such an interview in the first instance. Furthermore, most government interviews were granted by and conducted with high officials, fully aware that my interview documentation would be used for the purpose of a doctoral thesis; otherwise, they would not have consented to an interview in the first place.<sup>51</sup> Explaining this procedure to an interviewee also placed one Japanese interpreter (also a networking contact) in a demeaning situation.

As part of their requests to third parties for interviews, it was necessary for my contacts to explain the purpose of my research and to state that the information received was to be used for the purpose of writing my thesis. Thus, when an interview was granted, the interviewee was aware from the moment that I entered his (almost invariably his) office of the nature and purpose of my visit. The HIA, representatives of the Hyōgo government or staff from HIT, had already explained my status and research roles. In other words, I was already perceived as having official authority in Japan to conduct this research.

Thus, the Curtin University requirement to gain written consent for the interview had the potential to pose problems. Firstly, Japanese do not usually 'sign' documentation other than official documents or those relating to household matters such as receipt of goods.

Secondly, they do not sign usually using a pen, but use ink and a stamp (*hanko*) with their family name on it, which satisfies all their cultural responsibilities. Nonetheless, the interviewees whose responses are presented in this thesis did eventually sign.

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<sup>51</sup>These reasons were fully explained to me by the interviewees.

### 4.3 Primary and Secondary Sources

Basic quantitative data was collected on population, workforce and local industries (primarily fishing and tourism) in both Himeji and Kasumi and this included photographs and government strategies for local initiatives under the Hyōgo 2001 Plan. Primary and secondary sources were accessed in an iterative manner because each would offer in-depth information and knowledge of issues with which I was initially unfamiliar. I accessed the libraries of the Australian National University, HIT, and Himeji City.

#### 4.3.1 Secondary Sources

Secondary sources were collected first as these provided the information which formed the basis for the interviews and questionnaires. These included:

- Socio-economic data dating from approximately 1960 to the 2001-2002 present on Kasumi, Tajima, Matogata and Himeji from various sources including census, prefectural and local governments, including the Himeji Port Authority and other government organisations such as the NKTO
- The town planning section at Kasumi Town Hall provided me with maps and historic records
- Detailed information on recent and proposed project developments was accessed from sources such as developers' documents and government reports, the Himeji public library and archival research,
- Maps of Kasumi and Himeji showing topography, the changing coastlines and developing street patterns
- Tourism brochures from tourism booths and agencies
- Newspaper articles, mainly sourced from Japan
- Material from various journals that focus on Japanese cultural, environmental, tourism, coastal and geographical themes
- Material from Kasumi local historical collections
- Museum publications
- Government documents and plans from various public offices
- Photographs

Extensive notes and photographs were taken at various tourism destinations along the Japan Sea coastline and the San'in National Park. Overall, an archival collection of over ten boxes, four books of field notes and 624 photographs of the research areas was assembled.

#### 4.3.2 The Validity of Government Publications

My Japanese supervisors were amused at the suggestion of recreational development being planned along the Himeji coastline, a proposal of the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan*. In fact, they were unaware of the Plan. The local version of the Plan, promoted by Himeji -shi (city) featured a marina and recreational port facilities at Matogata, an eastern port in the Himeji industrial district. According to one academic, the general promotional material for Himeji City, was little more than propaganda (*senden*). An interview with the manager of Himeji Port revealed that he, too, was initially unaware of these development plans. However, with a little office searching, he found that a marina, complete with retail outlet and restaurant (known as *umi no eki* or sea station) had also been mooted for Matogata. He then offered me a copy of the latest government initiative for the development of Hyōgo Prefecture, called *Hyōgo nōrinsuisan bijon 2010 nō no jidai o tsukeku nōrinsuisan gyō; nōsangyoson* (English Title: *Hyōgo Vision 2010*)<sup>52</sup> (Hyōgoken sangyōrōkubē & nōrinsuisanbe 2001), a Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery publication that superseded the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan*.<sup>53</sup>

At the time of its first edition, the *Hyōgo Vision 2010 Plan* (in Japanese) had much broader and less detailed aims and objectives than its predecessor. For government departmental agendas such as those of the Tourism Division, it described few of the future intentions for tourism development in Hyōgo and focused more on the expectations of the government for the general improvement of the infrastructure of the Prefecture. Plans such as *Hyōgo Vision 2010*, are a reflection of the policy of the National government of the day. The Prefectural government's senior public servants then draft overarching mission statements in accordance with the National Plan while, at the same time, trying to progress local

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<sup>52</sup>Name reduced here for simplicity.

<sup>53</sup>There is also another Plan, the *Hyōgo Plan 2005-2010*, which also superseded the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* as a result of the Great Hanshin Earthquake which relates more to disaster management, community and the environment.

development projects already under way under the guidelines of previous plans including, in this case, *Hyōgo 2001*. However, such plans can be made obsolete, postponed or terminated mid- building stage according to the demands of any new National government, as the case studies will illustrate.

#### **4.4 The Himeji Field Work**

A slightly different approach was used in obtaining the interviews with the Himeji role-players due to the differing time constraints and cultural attitudes of the interviewees. We were able to be more direct and to include fewer cultural formalities than was the case in the rural context. My informants made reference to the Sister- State relationship between Hyogo and Western Australia to set up the interviews. Reference to my connections with HIT and my home stay family also facilitated interview opportunities.

A business questionnaire was considered unfeasible due to the discovery that the business community in Himeji had strong, historical networks over four generations including major commercial associations such as the ‘Lions’, ‘Soroptomists’ and the Chamber of Commerce. In my research of council documents, it was discovered that their interests were known to the council, as were their family and friendship ties. It was therefore decided that a tourist questionnaire would be designed to assess the relevance of the *Hyōgo 2001* targets to the actual tourism developments and initiatives.

##### **4.4.1 Interviews**

Fewer general community interviews were conducted in Himeji because the local tourism and development issues had less of an impact on the general community than was the case in Kasumi. Himeji business community interviews were difficult to obtain and observation and secondary information proved to be more useful than were the initial interviews that I tried to conduct with some business leaders who were often evasive in responses.

Nonetheless, the Himeji interviews with seven participants conducted between August 2001 and February 2002 (Appendix 4) featured prominent government representatives in tourism, and port and fisheries administration who were at the coal-face of implementing policy and involved in gauging local community feedback and reactions to these policies.

All interviewees gave in depth interviews and were generous with supplying copies of plans for various developments. A preliminary interview in 1997 with the then Himeji Port Administrator of Hyōgo Prefecture was conducted in order to discover the issues facing the future of Himeji Port.

As with the Kasumi interviews, there were opportunities to enter all the public offices for interviews, to sit, chat and meet with the senior directors and to be given plans and information about the case study areas. If the interviewees considered that the information offered was more confidential, I was ushered to discreet corners of an office or taken on unofficial tours of sites. Conversely, I would occasionally and ceremoniously, be chaperoned in a government car with two staff or staff interpreters. On one occasion, I was not expecting to take photographs, just to conduct an interview. The interviewee then organised for a driver, government car, camera and film, while he took me out to view the coast and talk about big companies, yakuza and, of course, my topic.

In Himeji, the key persons interviewed offered one hour time slots. All interviewees gave me extra time except for the Manager of the Himeji Tourism Association, who was busy as he had a very hands-on role in a tourism focussed city (Appendix 9).

#### 4.4.2 Tourist Questionnaires

Two tourist questionnaires focused on the northern Hyogo tourism region. The first one, the 'Himeji General Tourist' was for Himeji and its outer region residents of all ages and a second focused on a cohort that the Koizumi government was aiming to target, the 'Senior Teens-Early Twenties' age group.

For the 'Himeji General Tourist' questionnaire, information was based on data that this author gathered from the Northern Kinki tourism fieldtrip and included information from interviews with the Director of the NKTO and the Director of the Fukuchiyama train station and tourism agency. Given the respondents' time restraints, the popular style of multiple-choice questions predominated in the questionnaire given to the Himeji locals. In December 2001, one hundred questionnaires were distributed by hand to urban dwellers

from within and around the Himeji municipality, a group to whom both the NKTO and the Matogata developers direct their tourism marketing strategies.

#### *Himeji General Tourist Questionnaire: Aim and Design*

The aim of this questionnaire was to discover whether the Himeji residents, being the closest Pacific, seaboard city community to Kasumi in terms of rail and freeway transport, utilised these direct and highly accessible transportation modes to take advantage of current tourism developments at Kasumi. Roads and public transport were part of the rural revitalisation initiatives of the tourism plans. This questionnaire was also used to discover the reasons why or why not this sample of tourists did or did not travel to or holiday in Kasumi and other towns in its vicinity.

Together with the assistance of Dr Hasegawa, in December 2001, I designed a questionnaire for tourists, based on travel to the North Kinki region that included an open-ended section (Appendix 5). These questionnaires, distributed in January 2002, were mostly multiple-choice and focused on modes of transportation, places visited and types of leisure activities sought. Questions also included why they chose these destinations and whether they would return to Kasumi and the surrounding area and their reasons for return.

#### *Sampling Method*

My Australian supervisor agreed that a sample of citizens from Himeji city and surrounding suburbs was consistent with the targeted urban residents encouraged to travel to rural Hyōgo within the *Hyōgo 2001* Tourism Strategy. My initial inquiries into a group of over two hundred choristers, who gathered once a week in central Himeji, revealed that there was a range of ages, employment, and variation in living location, which included those living within Himeji city, and those who lived an hour's drive away on the city outskirts. I took the opportunity to survey this easily accessible group.

The distribution time was limited as was my access to the participants' potential returns. A group member, who had volunteered to address the group over a microphone, gave instructions and a 'thank you in anticipation' to potential participants. The questionnaires were given to people who had already visited Kasumi or nearby towns for short holidays

(Appendix 5). The participants were encouraged to write in their own personal comments and to return them in the following week. One hundred and ten questionnaires were distributed personally to the participants, one per family.

### *Reponses*

The response rate was 98% of the 100 participants and a broad age range was represented. Due to a printing error, the employment statuses question was omitted. A senior member of the group advised me that the choir of approximately 200 members contained retirees, professional and skilled people; 66% were female. The women were fulltime and part-time employed, contributed to the Himeji arts and other community projects in a volunteer or financial capacity, and included retirees, university students, fulltime home-makers and carers for disabled or aged family members. The respondents to the questionnaire were 76% female and 24% male.

Table 4-1 Tourist Questionnaire Respondents

(\*two participants did not respond)

Age	Number (raw data)	Dwelling in Himeji Municipality*	Dwelling outside Himeji Municipality*
20+	28	75 people	22 people
30+	21		
40+	20		
50+	19		
60 and over	11		

### *Young Travellers: Aim and Design*

Young adults were proving to be a group steadily engaging in tourism (interview with Hyōgo Division of Tourism Director, 2001). This cohort, second only to retirees in their uptake of tourism activities (Koizumi, 2005), were in their early to late twenties, unmarried and at the onset of their career development. Although this demographic was beginning to be recognised by tourism organisations, it was not until 2002, that the Koizumi government began to identify ways to formalise future tourism planning to specifically consider this age group. They are considered to be the future trendsetters in tourism, since the tourism authorities feel that their needs and wants will differ greatly from those of the

current retirees and family tourists. It is predicted that they will be the dictators of change in tourism when they retire, because, unlike their already retired counterparts, they will have done the bulk of their travelling before they reach retirement (Koizumi, 2005).

The purpose of this questionnaire was to gauge the desires of this important tourist age group as domestic travellers (Koizumi, 2005) and was inspired by a questionnaire about tourism in the Kansai region.<sup>54</sup>

### *Sampling Method*

To find a random group was proving difficult due to my other field work demands. An opportunity arose when a professor at Kobe Commerce University (KCU) invited me to guest teach an English class in November 2001. She provided a possible solution by suggesting that her students may want to participate.

### *Design*

This questionnaire was based on the same set of open-ended questions about their leisure and tourism activities that were asked of members of the similar age group in Kasumi. Following a short explanation and guarantee of anonymity, (no names were to be written on the sheets), the students recorded their answers on paper in a listening exercise (Appendix 6).

### *Response*

A sample of nineteen students (86%) from a group of twenty-two participated. Three female students felt that their English was 'not good enough' and, giggling, declined to participate.

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<sup>54</sup> The retired Director General of the NKTO provided me with a copy of this survey. The survey was aimed at as large a cross section as possible and was conducted by information collectors, who surveyed commuters at the Osaka train station. Questions were based on where people go as tourists in the Kansai region.

## 4.5 The Kasumi Field Work

In Kasumi, municipal tourism data is collected and collated by the fishing cooperative, which then provides the Kasumi Tourism Association (KTA) and the municipal government with statistics on tourism numbers, accommodation preferences and statistics and data on length of stay. Tourist numbers are also supplied by tour coach companies and by the cooperative's staff, who collect car registration details. Accommodation figures are dependent on providers and on the willingness of customers to complete surveys. Details from surveys issued to rail travellers also depend on travellers' good will (interview with Director of Fukuchiyama Tourism 2001).

### 4.5.1 Interviews

The Kasumi interviews were conducted with prominent (and other) members of the Kasumi community in the months of November 2001 and January 2002 in Kasumi and at the Kobe head office of the Hyogo Prefecture Ports and Harbours (42 Interviews Appendices 2 and 3).

#### *Design and Organisation*

The questions were designed to discover the respondents' opinions and understanding of the redevelopment of the Kyū Kasumi<sup>55</sup> coastline, and the current status and future stages of the major coastal redevelopment project, the Renaissance Plan (R-Plan). The questions were also structured to discover as much as possible, the respondents' knowledge of the reasons for the development initiative and its cessation, who were the major players, what were the funding sources for the project and what they thought could be the alternative uses of the coastline (Appendix 3). Other topics related to the issue of tourism arose in the course of the conversations and these included the direction that tourism was taking in Kasumi, and the challenges for tourism in a rural fishing town.

Some of the interviewees requested pre-reading of my questions but, having been forewarned by Japanese academics of the various ways in which some officials may

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<sup>55</sup> Kyū Kasumi is the original village where most of the population, businesses and fishing industries are located.

'hedge around' issues, this did not occur. The absence of pre-reading also provided opportunities for open-ended discussions, particularly with some local government executives who then relaxed and gave freely of their time and ideas.

I tried to use a fresh notebook for each interview because my interviewees, although not necessarily fluent in English, often became distracted by trying to read any Japanese names or script written in my notes. However occasionally I used this to my advantage when I needed a break in the interview to catch up on my notes or more strategically, to have a certain term or phrase emphasised and explained in more detail. When executive staff of the Hyōgo Government noted my knowledge of the district, they were encouraged to provide more detailed discussion and information on the issues related to Kasumi and Himeji.

When I entered public offices for interviews, I would normally sit, chat and meet with a variety of staff as well as the senior directors who would be formally interviewed. I was thus able to view the workings of several of these offices and was given plans and information about the case study areas that, on occasion, had not even been disclosed to the local people of Kasumi and Himeji.

With the help of the TFRI Director and his staff, interviews with various key players were organised. Prospective interviewees were contacted by telephone, and were offered an introduction about who I was and my research interests. All consented to an interview with me, together with my interpreter who, we disclosed, was a local. Several times in these telephone introductions, other names were offered by the interviewees to be included for future interviews. Generally, interviews were booked for one hour with a coordinated interview schedule including formalities; however running over time was not unusual in Kasumi. Recording the interviews (with a small cassette tape recorder bought locally) was fraught with difficulties due to extreme changes between room temperatures and below freezing outside temperatures, and was thus abandoned.

For the Kasumi coastal development issues at prefectural level, interviews were conducted with high-ranking interviewees who had backgrounds in coastal engineering and coastal

management, marine biology and aquaculture, fisheries, hospitality and tourism. A cross disciplinary approach was facilitated by my researching the jargon of the coastal engineering and fisheries workplaces and their associated terminologies, thus avoiding taking up extra time and interrupting the flow of conversation by the explanation of terminology. Through this process, more time was afforded to the interviewees out of their busy schedules to directly answer my questions and to discuss and expand on issues relevant to the research.

As is typical in such interview processes in Japan, the interviewees were sometimes accompanied by one or more junior staff who facilitated the interviews with their English language skills or provided general statistical and other specific information. In such circumstances round table discussions, known as *zadankai* (Narita et al., 1998 73) were effectively being conducted. Several interviews were conducted in offices around low coffee tables, where we all sat on sofas taking tea or coffee. The attending junior staff were allowed to speak only according to their rank and at the prompts of their seniors. Valentine (1990 40) also used unstructured interviews of this type and participant observation in seven months of fieldwork in Japan.

#### *Young Kasumi People*

Interviews were also conducted in November 2001 with a small cohort of five Kasumi residents in their 20s on their future prospects for and views on life in Kasumi and their leisure and tourism habits (Appendix 4). They were eager to share their dreams and aspirations of travel and life and were reflective in their comments. These interviews were open ended, but questions were based on the lifestyle of the young community members. These interviews were conducted at the Kasumi Town Hall in a private office space, provided by the town planning section.

#### 4.5.2 Questionnaires

The Kasumi questionnaires were developed at HIT in September 2001 with the assistance of my supervisors<sup>56</sup> in offering translation and questionnaire experience. This included the production of a revised version in November 2001 at the TFRI OFFICES in more polite language so as not to cause offence to prospective participants. They were distributed in that same month.

On the advice of my supervisor, Dr. Yumi Hasegawa (HIT), I followed her methodology of a multiple-choice format for the questionnaire design, importantly supplemented with open-ended questions. As for the interviews, a less formal questioning technique was used to gain responses that were more detailed. Hasegawa's research had indicated that Japanese people have become adept at answering questionnaires and would often answer according to what they consider is required of them. Japanese data collection agencies and other organisations use a limited range of methods, in particular multiple choice or agree/disagree responses to a set statement (Hasegawa, 2000). Multiple-choice is a popular method because it is assumed by the data collectors that many people do not want to waste time writing long sentences. Such results are also easily tabulated, enabling quick publication. This study included both multiple choice and open ended questions. It was anticipated that the inclusion of some familiar multiple-choice-styled options would assist the respondents to feel comfortable enough to freely voice their opinions to the more open questions (Simon-Maeda et al 2006). When the argument of Cloke et al. (2004 131) is considered in its Anglo-European context of 'unspoken assumptions', difficult to interpret data may come forth 'in different social situations'. The cultural differences between this author and her research subjects and the challenges involved in the research processes of questionnaire development and data collection are not unique to the Japanese context. Furthermore, and surprisingly, respondents exhibited spontaneity and candour in the open ended questions, characteristically in large, easy to read script.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Himeji Institute of Technology. Professor Reiko Kinuhata's interests are on the impact of recreational and industrial development on fishing villages of the Seto Inland Sea in Hyōgo Prefecture and Dr. Yumi Hasegawa works in the areas of translation and Information Technology

<sup>57</sup> Interpreted by this author as a kindness to a foreign reader of Japanese.

Initially participant-observation field work was conducted in Kasumi and Himeji to identify research themes. These observations together with the responses from the initial interviews with the community and business members in Kasumi and Himeji guided the development of the questionnaires (Appendices 3, 7 and 8). In Kasumi, the general questionnaire included basic demographic data to gain an understanding of the participants and their family profiles.

Two types of questionnaires (*ankēto*) were conducted in 2001, one directed to 120 of the general public of Kasumi and the other to 20 local businesses in Kasumi (Appendices 7 and 8 respectively). The purpose of the questionnaires was to obtain opinions from both the business and the general community, to compile a profile of what this regional Japanese community sought for the economic improvement of its town and to discover if there were images of rurality and nature contained within their answers. The business questionnaires included questions on basic employment data such as number of employees and how many women were employed. (This data was collected for the purpose of future research on Kasumi population change, but has not been used in this study.) The questionnaires were written in Japanese.

In spite of my research being well-planned and assisted, my resources were limited. The town planner, assuming that the questions would be in multiple choice format, suggested that a sample of 500 people would be suitable, but the postage costs (just under AUS\$800.00) proved prohibitive. The cost of postage (distribution and reply, plus paper and reply envelopes) restricted the size of the survey to 120 potential respondents.

In consultation with my Japanese supervisors and my Australian supervisor, the possibility of a 30% return on 120 questionnaires, incorporating open ended questions seemed possible and had the potential to provide a reliable outcome. Furthermore, when it was disclosed to the town community that a novel format of questionnaire was being posted by a foreigner, government officials assured me that the keen interest would be reflected in the locals' response rate since they were being offered an opportunity to voice their opinions in a way that rarely occurred in a town the size of Kasumi and due to their 'Japanese culture' of not publicly expressing opinions (interview with Town Planner 2002,

Appendix 2). The town hall office generously offered to supply distribution envelopes and fully sealable, pre-paid reply envelopes, addressed to myself at the town office.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4.5.3 General Public Questionnaires

The aim of the Kasumi residents' questionnaires was to gauge local reactions to tourism development in Kasumi and their opinions on the image of their town. It was important not to include leading questions in the open-ended section so that participants could have the opportunity to provide their own perceptions of their lifestyle and natural environment. This author understands, however, that participation in such data collection activity can prompt opinions that otherwise may not be raised or considered.

##### *Sampling Method*

For the general questionnaires, a random list of residents' addresses from the local electoral roll was generated. I worked with a staff member at the Town Hall and I requested that the list of respondents to the general questionnaire be a selection of people living permanently in Kasumi, so that responses could be returned within a short time period and, because the permanent residents would experience a greater range and intensity of impacts from local tourism. Two business owners, who had received both questionnaires, responded to both the general and the business questionnaires. The 120 general questionnaires were distributed by mail.

##### *Responses*

The response rate was 38% (47 replies) and approximately 75% (or 36) of these respondents utilised the opportunity to provide answers in the open-ended section. Most of those who completed the open ended section gave enthusiastic and passionate responses, corroborating the Town Planner's prediction. The average family size was 5.4 with family residency in Kasumi ranging from one to 16 generations. Four families could trace their local ancestry over 15-16 generations (approximately 300 years), one family for 13

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<sup>58</sup> I decided that I could spend approximately ¥20,000 (AUS\$350.00) including envelopes. At this time, I did not know that the Town office would be kindly supplying envelopes.

generations and two families for ten generations, but the average generational residency of those surveyed was 4.4 generations.

Responses indicating that the respondent held a second job were less than 10%. This again may have been due to taxation declaration reasons as it was expected that this figure would be much higher due to the seasonality of the fishing and its dependent industries of tourism, service and local food processing and the fact that 28% of the respondents were employed in these industries. In the off-season of June-August, of the working women, 14% were employed fulltime and 12.4% were employed part-time. The age range of the respondents was 25-77 years. The average age of the respondents was 55. Seven females with an average age of 44 responded. As expected by local custom, most of the survey respondents were male.

#### 4.5.4 Business Questionnaires

A separate questionnaire survey was sent in November 2001 to twenty businesses with the same aims as the General Public Questionnaire: to gauge locals' reactions to tourism development in Kasumi and their opinions on the image of their town. It was anticipated that the open ended responses would vary between the two groups, due to their differing interests with respect to the local tourism industry and its impacts.

#### *Sampling Method*

The town planner supplied a list of businesses to contact based on their proactive participation in several past town planning issues. To reduce the possibility of a poor return rate, less active business stakeholders were not sampled.

#### *Comment*

The business questionnaire was sent to owners and managers of businesses whose main focus was on tourism, hospitality and gourmet products. In Kasumi, these included *minshuku*, fishing boats, sea food processors, restaurants, tourism agencies including JAL Tajima<sup>59</sup> and JR Kasumi station, leisure fishing, fishery associations, other

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<sup>59</sup> Japan Airlines' Tajima agency

accommodation providers, a museum and local retailers. Their business addresses were all in the old section of Kasumi (Kyū Kasumi), the area encompassing the tourism attractions connected with the fishing industry.

I was concerned that there would be a lack of impartiality involved in this decision but the reason that the town planner had suggested that these businesses should be used was that these recipients were interested enough in their town and had participated in town projects and debate on the improvement of business in Kasumi. From experience, he considered that those business people who did not participate in local events and debate would probably not reply to a foreigner's questionnaires. I found this to be true in my participation in local events where the same people tended to do the groundwork for festivals and similar events. Overall, I concurred with his logic and, in later interviews, I found him to be genuinely concerned for the township of Kasumi. He was quite outspoken in his views about the future of Kasumi's economy. However he acknowledged and respected other townspeople's' views. Later, in informal chats with locals and impromptu interviews, others confirmed that the planner strove for impartiality.

*Responses: Business Questionnaire*

It was anticipated that, given the limited funding, such an approach would produce the richest response data. This proved to be correct; the response rate was 90% (18) and 55% of those respondents (10) chose to use the open-ended comments section. Furthermore, at the beginning of the research for background information on Kasumi (in 1999-2000), it was noted that the town's population was 1388 and declining. The businesses surveyed employed >19.09% of the population (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.2 Age and Gender of Employed persons in the Surveyed Kasumi Businesses \*\*No age given.

Age	Men	Women
10+ (teens)	1	9**
20+	55	24
30+	40	15
40+	40	25
50+	31	16
60+	14	3
70+	2	
Total	183	82

Interestingly, regarding the data from the *minshuku*, only one respondent answered question 10 (Appendix 8). The Kasumi taxation inspector, in an informal conversation with this author, commented that the reason for the low response rate for this question and in general was likely to be related to taxation declaration (Appendix 2). The services that the Kasumi *minshuku* offer beside accommodation are seafood, particularly *Matsuba-gani* crab in a *kaiseki* (formal meals, served in several courses), with alcohol, private bathing, robes and breakfast. Some owners of *minshuku* may have small farm holdings that provide food for the *minshuku* as well as local markets and some owners manage crabs in onsite aquaculture units of the *minshuku*. A *minshuku* owner may own two or more ‘empty’ accommodation properties. In many cases such mixtures of activities may not be fully declared for taxation purposes

In order to corroborate the information provided to me in Kasumi, and to learn a little more of the workings of the fishing industry and to see a successful regional port, I also interviewed the fisheries director and retired director of the town of Sakaiminato in neighbouring Prefecture of Tottori, which has overtaken Kasumi as the major producer of fish in the Japan Sea Region of North-Western Honshu. The results of these two interviews are found in the discussion/ conclusion chapter.

#### **4.6 Travelling With Japanese as a Participant-Observer in the Kansai and Kita Kinki Districts**

##### *Aim*

The thesis research design was intended to include travel to other tourism destinations in the region to investigate tourism attractions competing with those of Kasumi and Himeji. I used the various forms of transportation that domestic tourists used, to visit attractions highlighted by the Hyogo, Prefectural and National tourism strategies.

##### *Method*

The efficient Japanese public and private transportation systems were utilised to travel to various places for this fieldwork. Public buses were used to travel south from central Himeji to the Himeji ports. Diesel train was used to travel to and from Kasumi. Various

train services (public, private and *shinkansen*) were used to travel along the southern coasts of Hyōgo and Osaka Prefectures and inland to Kyoto. A popular tourism route was travelled by coach, visiting central and east Hyōgo and various generous Japanese associates and Kasumi locals took me to tourist destinations in the Kita Kinki district. These journeys gave me opportunities to observe and gather photographic data on many domestic tourist destinations in Hyōgo and in neighbouring Tottori, Kyoto and Osaka Prefectures as well as on (touristically) undeveloped areas of these regions. Using the train, group coach and private car modes of transportation that Japanese tourists use when they holiday in Japan, gave me an opportunity to be a participant-observer. I travelled on some nationally-observed holidays, in the winter peak period when hotels, agents and restaurants offered packages and in peak ski times.

The tourism attractions visited in the Kansai region were:

- *Yaegaki Sake* and Spirits (the largest sake producer in Himeji-Shi)
- 'All you can pick' soy beans and sweet potato digging in outer Himeji
- Himeji castle in peak and off peak hours and on seasonal holidays
- Himeji *nishi-oyashiki-ato 'koko-en'* park (a garden park based on a samurai village)
- Seasonal festivals, both traditional and entrepreneurial
- Various souvenir vendors
- The central avenue of *Ōtemae Dori* (the main tourist road leading to Himeji Castle)
- Museums, shrines, shopping districts
- Coastal and city tourism attractions in Kobe,
- Osaka-fu (downtown Osaka and the town surrounding Universal Studios of Japan)
- Kyoto-fu (small temples, famous Japanese and international tourism destinations and restaurant)
- Hot springs (*onsen*)

On the northern coastal region, I visited major tourist attractions along the San'in coastline as part of the Northern Kinki tourism region including nearby competing tourism dependent towns in Tottori Prefecture and Kinosaki and Amanohashidate in Hyōgo Prefecture. Field notes and photographs were taken on tourism and coastal developments

in Kobe and the towns on the southern coastline of the Seto Inland Sea between Kobe and Himeji and to the west of Himeji. In the fishing and tourism town of Sakaiminato, I conducted an interview with the Director of the Fisheries Institute using the questions and technique used for the role-players in the Tajima Fisheries Association (TFA).

#### **4.7 Discussion of Results**

Rural revitalisation in national tourism policy depicted the ‘rural’ and regional as the traditional culture of Japan, assuming that this traditional image and lifestyle would be a draw card for urban Japanese wishing to experience Japanese culture. To recall the argument, tourism policy in 1997-2002, privileged the bucolic in order to maintain the concept of Japanese nationalism and those non-urban- old home town traditions that were to be found in the rural and regional Japan were beginning to be promoted within tourism strategies at the regional level. Furthermore, *fureai*, the connectedness of nature and community, was used in municipal advertising, particularly after the disruption of many communities following the Kobe earthquake of 1995 (discussed in Chapter three). These concepts and policy initiatives were (re)visited in the interviews, questionnaires and field observations.

The purpose of the research interviews and open-ended questionnaires was to obtain qualitative information to inform the overall research project which investigates regional coastal tourism development in Hyōgo Prefecture as discussed in Chapter 1.2.

Additionally, questions were framed within these methods of enquiry to assess the respondents’ cultural perceptions of the coast, landscape and of tourism/recreation and they included questions which sought to obtain both local community perspectives and the tourists’ perspectives

##### *Fieldwork Issues*

As discussed earlier, time and funding constraints provided me with only a small window of opportunity to conduct fieldwork in Kasumi and that was in one of the two peak times (mid-winter and mid-summer) for tourism in Kasumi,. As the fishery industry is closely

tied to the working of tourism and vice versa, the issue of research in winter did not at first appear to be problematic.

The weather in the peak winter season of Kasumi fishing and tourism is inclement with below zero temperatures and winds blowing in from Siberia across the Sea of Japan. This played havoc with several pens and two tape recorders, one provided by HIT and the other by my volunteer interpreter as an emergency back-up. Both tools were battery dependant and both refused to record. It was not safe to drive along the snowy coast to the city of Toyooka and I did not have independent transportation. In the end, pencil and paper were the materials used to record the interviews. Within a matter of weeks following this fieldwork, digital recordings on small mobile phones were being used by local Kasumi people to successfully record images of the Christmas snow in this same location. My newly purchased camera and borrowed tape recorders had become redundant tools for fieldwork.

#### *Nature, Furusato and Fureai*

The literature alluded to in Chapter two informed the direction of the initial research as did the research on tourism policy in chapter three. In order to evaluate the tourism policies by which Kasumi sought to improve its local economy and to assess the role of tourism in Himeji, the concept of 'nature' (Asquith and Kalland 1997, 1-35) was included in the questions. This was commensurate with the views of the Kasumi general population interviewees who drew attention to *shizen* in their conversations, as did the responses to the general questionnaire, as shown in Table 4.3.

The surveys and questionnaires provided an opportunity to begin to test 'cultural perceptions of nature' through the use of several terms and to consider how they were being used in tourism development. In the primary and secondary data, on Japanese rural and regional tourism the concepts of returning to nature, closeness to the environment and rural culture were used in the tourism 'conversations'. One purpose of the interviews was to determine whether such perceptions do play a role in the understanding of role-players, key-players and stakeholders in the provision of tourism in rural and regional areas.

Therefore, in the business questionnaire, question 7.5 alludes to the use of *furusato* (Appendix 8) in government publications (based on tourism policy), in ‘nature scenes’ depicted in words and illustration within the plans for domestic tourism at the prefectural and municipal levels of government and by public and private tourism organisations in advertisements depicting rurality. The word ‘*furusato*’ was not used in the general questionnaire in order to see if the locals were aware of and would use it spontaneously.

Conversely, because it was often used by interviewees in Kasumi municipal government employment at all levels and by local people, but not by industry interviewees in the tourism and hospitality sectors (such as food processors and restaurateurs and *minshuku* owners) the word ‘*shizen*’ was used in the Himeji Tourist Questionnaire to test its corresponding usage or omission from the tourists’ perspective.

Table 4.3 The use of the words *shizen* and *furusato* by respondents of the questionnaires

Respondents	<i>Shizen</i> /nature	<i>Furusato</i> /home town
Kasumi (general)	25 (56%)	0
Kasumi (business)	0	6 (6.3%)
Himeji	27 (28%)	0
Young	0	0

Kasumi respondents frequently used the word *shizen* (nature) in their interviews (together with the term for clean air and environment (*kankyou*)). This included the five young Kasumi respondents who used the word in their description of why they liked living in Kasumi. ‘*Shizen*’ was used by 56% of the respondents in the Kasumi General Questionnaire as a feature of Kasumi tourism. In contrast, the Mayor and Deputy Mayor, President and Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the Member of Parliament did not focus on *shizen*, but on tourism, accommodation, the businesses already in place, and the future coastal resort plan. Additionally, *shizen* was not a term used by the respondents to the Business Questionnaire.

Of the 'Himeji General Tourist' Questionnaire focus (choir) group, only 28% of the respondents confirmed that they were attracted by the nature of the area (see Table 4.3), while 49% were attracted to the gourmet cuisine (restaurants) and 45 % to the hot springs (services and hospitality).

The term *furusato* was not used spontaneously in any of the survey questions or responses. I noticed this with the young travellers from Kobe University as well and, after gathering the questionnaires, I asked them whether they would consider *furusato* in terms of holiday or domestic travel; all responded negatively. In an informal setting with a group of Kasumi people, one community member brought up the term *furusato* but the rest of the group dismissed it.

In contrast, when the respondents to the Business Questionnaire were asked to consider one or more essential features for Kasumi industry growth, the 'amenity of the historical village/ home town' theme (*furusato toshite kaitekisa*) and 'sustainable leadership' each received a vote of 55%, with 'a diversity of attractive sightseeing/ tourism features' attracting a vote of 45.5%.

From these samples, it can be seen that the local tourism providers surveyed in Kasumi recognise the demands of the Himeji tourist for tourism and hospitality, but not their demand for nature, even though it had been a component of tourism planning and regional/ rural revitalisation at the national and regional levels for some time. Paradoxically, the concept of *furusato* was a strong factor in the business providers' responses, not for *furusato* in itself, but for the amenity of *furusato*. This will be discussed further in the case study of Kasumi in chapter section 7.2.

Finally, it is interesting to note that, while the attractions of *onsen* and *gurume* can also be found in cities throughout Japan, it is not known whether the rural element (and possibly the concept of nature) play a part in their value as tourist attractions and therefore whether what constitutes nature in Japanese tourism should have an extended definition.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

Participants in the interviews included key stakeholders, role-players and local community members in Kasumi. In Himeji and Kobe, interviews were held with informants in the tourism industry and the ports and harbours prefectural and municipal divisions. There were two interviewees who had roles overseeing Kasumi and Himeji: the Director of the Hyogo Ports and Harbours Division, and the Director of Himeji Port, who was formerly a Tajima Fisheries Manager in Kasumi.

The questions were framed to develop an understanding of the roles of the key stakeholders and role-players in tourism planning issues. As such, a range of data was sought, to identify any historic trends or resurgence in interest in tourism that might indicate why such decision making in tourism development occurred. Having access to plans and other official documents and the results of prior research, enabled me to converse with key persons in government roles about the contexts of tourism and coastal development in Hyōgo prefecture. In turn, their answers provided me with the opportunity to interview further stakeholders and to formulate the questionnaires.

This initial access to documents also informed the development of the questionnaires for business and households, and directed primary and secondary data sourcing, field observations and historical research on patterns of development and considerations of socio- political/ cultural issues in order to determine the factors influencing the spatial imbalance of coastal development (including tourism projects) across Hyōgo Prefecture.

The following two chapters are the case studies of Himeji and Kasumi respectively, beginning with a discussion of coastal and tourism development in their individual scenarios.

## **5 HYŌGO TOURISM AND CONSTRUCTION: HIMEJI COASTAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **5 Introduction**

*Case study research excels at bringing us to an understanding of a complex issue or object and can extend experience or add strength to what is already known through previous research (Soy, 1997).*

To recall the thesis argument, national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism in Japan, are problematic when implemented at the local municipal level and cannot always improve local economic conditions. Factors related to this argument include the potential for land-use conflict and the existence of different perceptions of local landscapes notably those of the local community and the (frequently hypothesised) tourist. The aim of the case study chapters is to compare and contrast the coastal development of Himeji and Kasumi using three frames of reference:

1. The role of peripherality
2. The distinctive Japanese political/administrative/planning system
3. Cultural perceptions of the coast, landscape and tourism/recreation

Chapter three set the stage for the case studies and investigated the extent to which the histories of settlement patterns, and national and prefectural politics and governance have affected coastal tourism development in these two areas of Hyōgo Prefecture. A dichotomy in coastal settlement and investment patterns is evident between industrialised Himeji in the south on the Pacific coast and the small fishing settlement of Kasumi in the north on the Sea of Japan. Chapter four highlighted not only the difficulties of collating a broad range of evidence for this thesis, but also the need to assemble a broad range of information in order to elucidate the complexity of issues in both case study areas, and to demonstrate how and why the Pacific coastal area of Hyōgo Prefecture remains a favoured location for continued development. Through the case studies of Himeji and Kasumi, this and the following two chapters will demonstrate the disparities in regional tourism development, which still favour the Pacific coast notwithstanding political rhetoric to the contrary (Koizumi 2005).

This chapter demonstrates Japan's distinctive political, administrative and planning systems in the example of Himeji and together with the Kasumi chapters which follow it, exemplifies how the perception of 'nature' is and has been used to encourage the development of tourism

attractions on the two Hyōgo coastlines. It also demonstrates that tourism development is favoured on the Pacific coastline of Hyogo, even though the coast of Himeji is already dominated by fish processing, heavy industry, shipping lanes, and a service dock for large recreational boats. In addition, re-development proposals for heavily polluted, abandoned sites encompass modern industry and recycling projects. The Himeji case study highlights the factors that contribute to this on-going concentration of industrial and recreational development. Within this port zone characterised by industry and utilities, various stakeholders have identified an opportunity for tourism development.

The focus of this chapter is Himeji. It introduces the city's geography and considers how much of its industry, which is coastally located, came to be in its current condition. It will also consider how and why the various ports under the Himeji Port Authority (HPA), collectively known as Himeji Port, have been earmarked for further, in part tourism-related, development despite the aims of the HPA to maintain the port area as a working port for heavy industrial use.

The coast of Himeji has experienced all the consequences of industrial development: land reclamation and intensive construction of advanced infrastructure, such as port facilities and railway and road networks. Himeji Port served to relieve pressure on Kobe port throughput following the 1995 Great Hanshin Earthquake, yet although Himeji is nationally and internationally known for its notable tourism attraction, Himeji castle, its tourism industry association has struggled to achieve an increase in tourist numbers since 1993 (Himeji City Tourism Association, 2000a 3).

While this chapter will not focus upon the individual businesses and organisations contributing to tourism development in Himeji, it will investigate the cultural attitudes that have been instrumental in maintaining the tourism industry in Himeji and in particular the fishing, water sports and associated leisure pursuits in and proposed for the coastal areas adjoining the Himeji working port district.

## 5.2 Himeji-shi: The Broad Scale View

Himeji municipality, or Himeji-shi, is situated on the 62,781ha of the Seto Inland Sea (*Setonaikai*), where a quasi-national (multiple use) park was designated in 1934 (Environment Agency, 1994). The islands of Shikoku and Awaji ‘divide’ the Seto Inland Sea into a bay area that contains Kobe and Osaka. Historically, this provided Himeji with a safe harbour for shipping and, prior to its heavy industrialisation, a safe fishing ground.

Himeji is a city of traditional manufacturing where the production of (*matsubara*) nails for Himeji castle in the 1700s led the production of iron chains for shipping in the Taishō period and this industry has continued into the modern period. In the 21st century this industry comprised of 30 companies in Himeji, provides 70% of Japan’s shipping chain with a production value of ¥1.5-2.0 billion in annual sales (Metal One Corporation 2006). In 1939, the Nippon Steel Corporation further developed the Western Port of Himeji in the Abōshi area with an iron and steel factory (City of Himeji, 1993 25) and ancillary industries followed. This is a typical coastal use system known as a Maritime Industrial Area (MIDA) as described by Vigarie (1981 25).

Himeji as the location of the Kawanishi aircraft assembly plant, its feeder rail yard to the southwest and its two military bases became an important target for Allied bombing in the Second World War (A-2 Section XX1 Bomber Command APO 234 1945).

The city was designated a core city by the national government in 2006.<sup>60</sup> The municipal offices, town hall and other administrative offices and public transport centres are located in one of its nine divisions, Middle No 2 in Himeji city central<sup>61</sup>. Proposals related to matters such as city regulations and annual budgets are discussed and agreed upon in city council meetings. City council resolutions are executed through the mayor, the deputy mayors and chief treasurer and the large body of municipal managers (Himeji Municipal Government 73).

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<sup>60</sup> Cities with populations over 300,000

<sup>61</sup> In 2006, the number of divisions was changed due to local government amalgamations (*gappe*).



Figure 5-1 The nine subdivisions of Himeji-shi. Source: (Himeji Port Authority, 2007).

Himeji's central business district (Middle 1) (Fig 5-1) has an extensive transportation system that includes the shinkansen. Its train station provides information for both Japanese and international visitors alongside its domestic transport services. On the perimeter of this transportation hub are bus stations, taxi ranks and the central shopping district. In this precinct, there are hotels that cater for international and domestic tourists. Several retail shopping centres are located between the central and coastal districts. Various supermarkets, fast food and retail outlets are found throughout the municipality, as are a variety of restaurants catering to international and Japanese tastes and budgets. As at all larger department stores in Japan, these retail outlets feature special exhibitions on rural produce. Himeji has been generally re-developed in lineal belts since 1946 with heavy industry on the coastlines from Abōshi to Mega ports, green belts linking to the hinterland and main roads lined with retail and service businesses, interspersed with housing. The main roads converge on Himeji central and Himeji castle. High and medium density housing extends to the urban perimeter where the various campuses of the University of Hyōgo are located. Heading north and inland, the land use pattern becomes a mixture of village clusters and market gardens,

where some communities are home to museums, performance centres and other local attractions.

Himeji hosts various cultural activities including international opera, ballet and theatrical companies and has two performing arts centres. The museums of fine art, history and sciences, a history library, zoo and other government and privately owned tourist and leisure attractions are found along the road leading to Himeji Castle (also known as Shirasagi-jo or White Heron Castle). The majority of tourism, amusement and nature park features are located in the city precincts of Middle 1 and 2 (Figure 5-1 and figure 5-2).

The castle was used as a military base between the first and second world wars (Terry 1927 663) and although it was UNESCO ‘World Cultural Heritage’ listed in 1993, its cleaning and maintenance was still performed by the Himeji section of the Japanese self-defence force (observed by this author in 2002). Located in Middle 1 district the castle is Himeji’s signature tourist attraction; 662,000 domestic and international tourists visited the castle in 2001 (Himeji City Tourism Authority Development Sector TRANS, 2001 3). In that same year, of a total of 7,466,000 visitors to Himeji-shi, 3,776,000 visited museums, heritage buildings and other historical places of interest, including the castle, as well as the Engyōji Shrine, a listed shrine for national pilgrimage (and the film location for “The Last Samurai”). Other Himeji tourism attractions of cultural interest mostly include festivals with 3,280,000 visitors. Tourism figures that included coastal visits constituted only 410,000 with golf, camping and marine sports as the main contributors (*ibid.*, 6). According to the Director of Himeji Port (Appendix 9), these visitors ‘had not found their way’ to the coastline.



Figure 5-2 Ōtemae-dori, Himeji-shi. This main street leads from the railway station straight to Himeji Castle. Source: (Public Relations Section Planning Bureau Himeji City Office, 1993 22).

### 5.2.1 Population

As discussed in chapters two and three, a major objective in the Meiji period was to encourage the local labour force to move to regional locations such as Hyogo Prefecture, to further develop heavy industry and assist in the coastal infill (horikomi) and reclamation projects.

Table 5-1 below illustrates the boundary changes made in the Meiji period and more recently that have contributed to the increase in Himeji's population figures. Following the amalgamation into what is now Himeji-shi in 1967, (Fig 5-3) and a period of rapid industrial growth to 1975, the population has more than doubled to 436,086. The amalgamation of smaller municipalities not only occurred inland, but also along the coastline to include a strong base of manufacturing and industry, as, in 21 years, Himeji Municipality had more than doubled its area growing by 166.40 km<sup>2</sup> (Himeji Public Relations, 1990 6).

Table 5-1 Himeji: Changes in Population and Area. Source: (Himeji Public Relations 1990, Statistics Bureau, 2008)

Year	Population	Area
1888	25,487	3.03km <sup>2</sup>
1940	140,000	
1946	190,000	106.69km <sup>2</sup>
1950	212,100	
1967-1975	Inland & Coastal	Amalgamations
1975	436,086	
1989	453,586	273.09km <sup>2</sup>
1999	485,857	274.31km <sup>2</sup>
2009	536,070	



Figure 5-3 Himeji local government amalgamations. The top map shows Himeji central in 1888, (outlined in red) and the amalgamations with surrounding towns up to 1946. The lower map shows the amalgamations from 1946 to 1967 (Himeji Public Relations, 1990 6).

### 5.2.2 Economy

The municipal-level *Himeji Century 21 Plan* envisioned research and development, technology and industry as the future economic base for Himeji (Himeji City, 2001). Himeji coast, as part of the Harima Coastal (Seaside) Industrial Zone, is a well-established manufacturing area of the municipality. As global and consumer needs change however, so too has the significance of its heavy industry (Figure 5-4) which was largely located on the coastline.

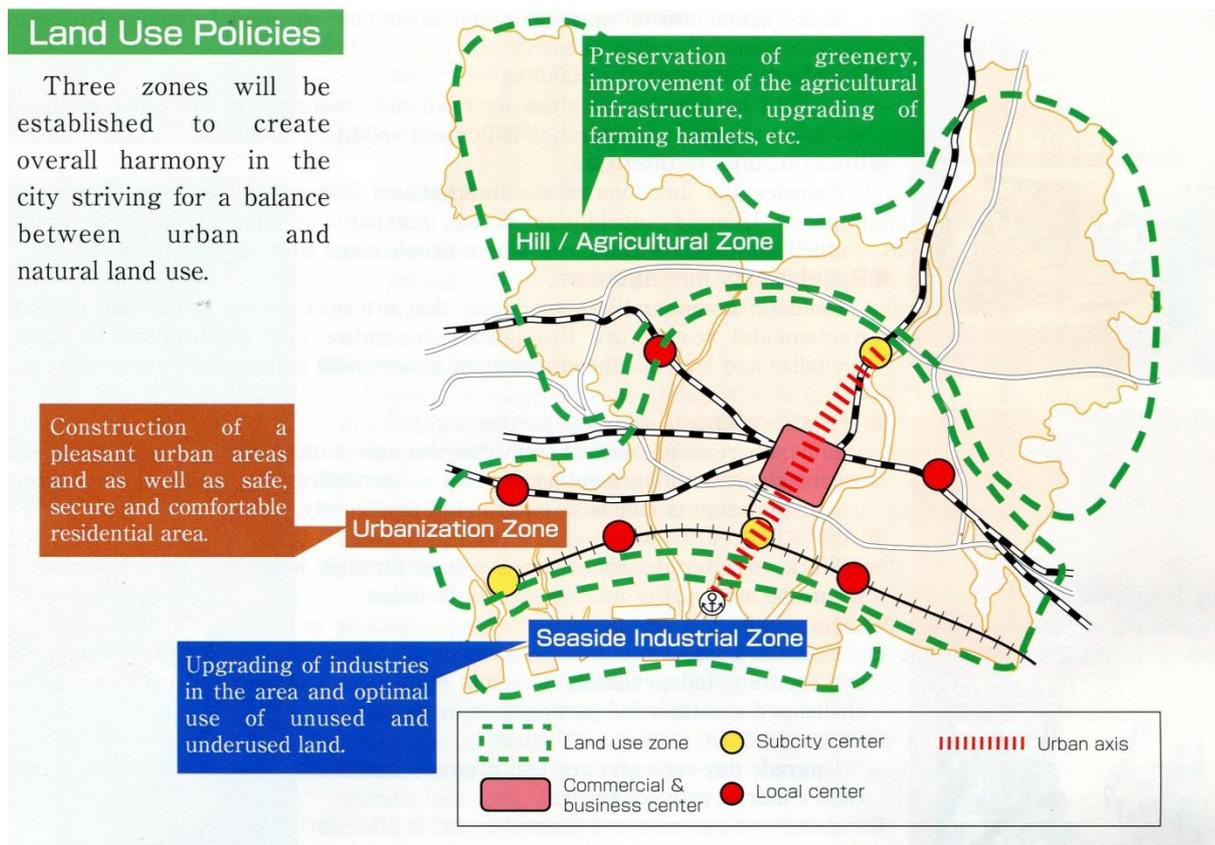


Figure 5-4 Himeji Century 21 Plan excerpt. This clearly indicates the coastal (seaside) zone remaining as an industrial space. Source: (Himeji City 2001 6)

Due to improvements in technology and mechanisation, now-redundant heavy and light industry buildings have come to house service industries such as retail warehouses. Some smaller, older industrial buildings have been redeveloped to accommodate such changes; many have become empty or are used for storage. In 2000, recycling plants occupied larger redundant and underutilised industrial spaces. Manufacturing activity still includes:

- Steel and metal production and recycling
- Electrical products and machinery (including data storage research such as that conducted by Daicel and television development at the Toshiba Himeji Works Plant)
- Chemicals
- Leather goods and tanning
- Textiles
- Foodstuffs (including boiled fish paste and refined sake)
- Electricity, gas and fuel (including town gas, LP Gas, Benzene, Kerosene)
- Other (matches, glue, gelatine, golf clubs, furniture, ceramics).

Within a 25 kilometre radius of Himeji central are the purpose designed and built urban/ science/ industrial developments of the Nishi-Harima Technopolis, the Harima Science and Garden city, (including a housing complex), several universities and the SPRing- 8, (Super Photon ring) (Sabien, 1995 83-84) all of which are part of the Kansai Research Complex that also incorporates Kobe and Osaka (Figure 5-5).

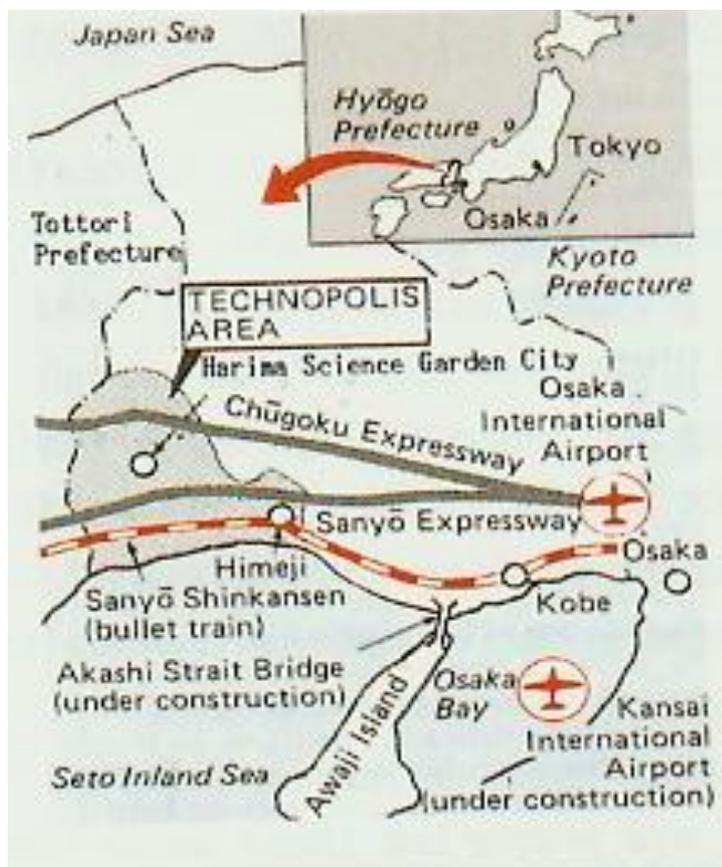


Figure 5-5 Himeji Nishi Harima Technopolis. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Government Nishi Harima Technopolis Council, c1999 2).

### 5.3 Coastal Himeji

The coastline of Himeji has multiple uses and for the most part, until the development of a sporting dome on the Shikama port, there had been defined delineation between heavy industry, light industry and dwelling and recreational space with a greenbelt dividing the heavy industry from the light industry and urban district (Crowe-Delaney 1997).

This section summarises the trends of development and land use of this heavy industrial port. It discusses the place of recreational fishing within a busy port and then questions the need

for coastal tourism in a port district, while changing from one type of environmentally suspect heavy industry to another in the course of the 21st century.

### 5.3.1 Himeji Port Development

Table 5-2 below provides a chronology of the development of the Port of Himeji, compiled from the data supplied from the Shikama Kaiun website (no date) and Takokoshi (1930 359). It had been a shipping harbour since the 1700s.

Table 5-2 Chronology of Himeji Port Development

Date	Himeji Port Development *(ton=1000kg)
1600s	Harbour for domestic and foreign shipping
1853	Shikama harbour constructed
1883	Abōshi port and commissioned for shipping
1931	Incorporated nationally, as a major port
1940	The Kawanishi aircraft Assembly plant, its feeder rail yard to the southwest and its two military bases made it an important target for Allied bombing in the Second World War Mission Report, 1945
1951	Abōshi, Shikama and Hirohata combined to form Himeji Port
1959	Opened as a port to international vessels
1962-65	Industrial park construction and opening
1967 1969	Port area enlarged to include a port protection area or greenbelt. Construction to include Ōtsu and Suka (a small, inland suburb where HPA building now stands)
1975	Port Centre building constructed
1976	Construction begins for Tōba industrial park's LNG facility
1989	Nakajima infill for dock development Shikama passenger terminal completed.
1990	Designated animal quarantine station
1992	Mega fishing harbour completed. The oldest lighthouse in the region is restored at Shikama
1995, 1996	The Great Hanshin Earthquake Installation of 40 ton* crane at Nakajima side of Shikama port The establishment of the Himeji port sales association to improve business
1998	The completion of the Nakajima- Shikama port container terminal
2000- 2003	Fixed term agreement for Nakajima international container terminal work. Himeji Sports Dome opens. The establishment of an inland container transportation route from Seibu port industrial park

Hazardous industry was established along the Himeji coast, as part of a national system of manufacturing that relies on water for industrial processing, the transportation of the labour force, product sales routes and various other activities (Itosu, 1995 156). As with all of the national coastline since 1947, it is managed on a 'sector-by sector' basis whereby, at national and prefectural levels, government departments plan, develop and manage coastal development projects, often without consultation and co-ordination with each other (or with fishing cooperative associations and other municipal role-players), leading to a 'patchwork' of projects that may conflict, overlap with or negate each other (Uda et al., 2005 1, 5).

For the Himeji coastal district, the planning strategies of the past have become its current challenges. In terms of industrial development, there are concerns over the future uses of former heavy industrial sites. At the grass roots level, these challenges relate to conflicts over the use of formerly industrial port areas for professional and leisure purposes. In terms of the environment, there are the ecological consequences of existing and former land and ocean uses, while in terms of tourism and recreation; there are issues, related to planning, development and business self-interest.

### 5.3.2 Coastal Reclamation

Land reclamation and expansion is regulated under the Public Waterways Act, and developments in the mid twentieth century were claimed to have been for public benefit (Itosu, 1995 160). In 1969, the total length of Japan's coastline was 27,792 km. By 1989, the coastline length had expanded to 34,386 km, yet only 15,952km is deemed to require protection from coastal erosion (Itosu, 1995 156).

By 1993, only 45 % of Japan's coastline remained 'untouched' (Environment Agency, 1994) and the coastline of Himeji and its port provides an example of the progress of land reclamation and the extension of the land area. From the late Tokugawa period to 2001, land has been reclaimed from the Seto Inland Sea as a result of sand dredging from the nearby islands for the purpose of improving harbour access and port development and to facilitate the transportation of raw materials and manufactured goods. This is despite the area being designated as a national park in 1934. Between 1978 and 1991, 1,500 ha of seaweed beds and 800 ha of tidal flats were lost from the entire Seto area, mainly due to reclamation, dredging and other human activities. Natural coastlines have been converted to artificial ones dominated by concrete structures which do not provide habitats for living organisms or allow

for the processes of ‘purification of organic pollution and denitrification’ (Sekiguchi and Aksornekoae, 2008 88-91) (Figures 5-6,7,8,9).



Figure 5-6 Harima district and Himeji coast pre-1868. The orange block centre right is Himeji Castle. The large river to the left of the castle is the Yumesakigawa and the river to the right is the Ichikawa. The orange square bottom right is Kobe. (Map: Courtesy of Himeji Port Authority)



Figure 5-7 Himeji coastline, 1893. The blue areas highlight where rivers have been canalled and infilled. The red arrow indicates Hirohata port. (Map: Courtesy of Himeji Port Authority)

Extensive land reclamation for heavy industrial development in 1938 and 1939 in Hirohata was the result of the expansionist policies of the Taishō government 1912-1926. Hirohata harbour had easy access to plentiful water, ‘cheap land and seclusion from foreigners’ (Erselcuk, 1947 125). In figure 5-7, the red arrow highlights Hirohata and the red line indicates the future coastline in 1923, also indicated in figure 5-8 by a larger red arrow. In figure 5-9, the coastline of Hirohata (1993) has expanded again and the thin red arrow indicates the earlier coastline profile of 1923 (fig 5-8). Following WWII, the reconstruction of Himeji was part of the next stage of Pacific belt expansion, extending westwards from Kobe.

This sequence of coastal development has led to a confusing naming of ports, which were at one stage separate coastal townships but now remain so in name only.



Figure 5-8 Harima district and Himeji Port and district in 1923. The large river mouth of the Ichikawa is visible. The red arrow indicates the former port area of Hirohata. (Map: Courtesy of Himeji Port Authority)

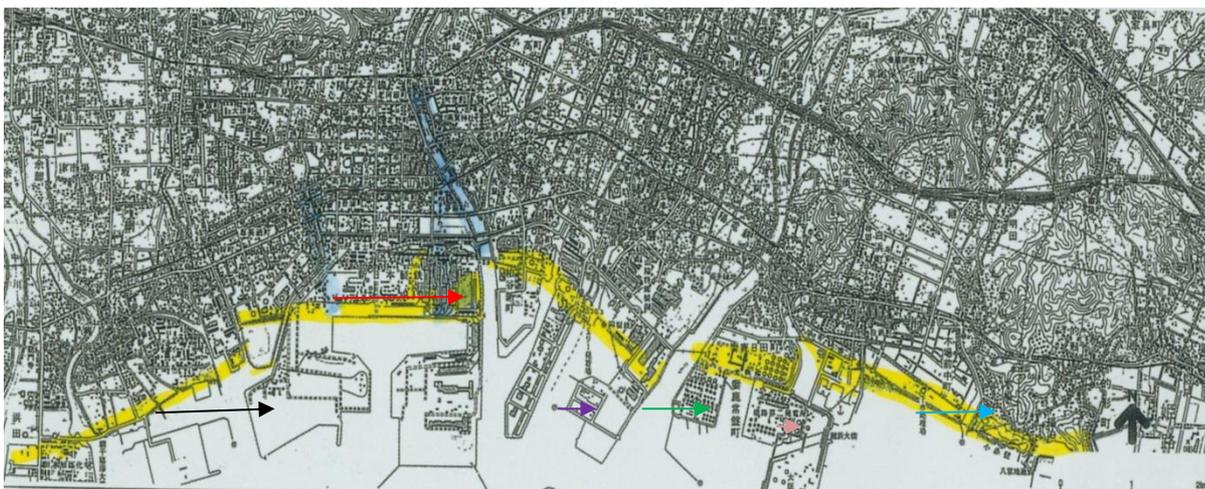


Figure 5-9 Himeji Port district 1993. The (blue) canals, formerly rivers, indicate how the coastline has been redefined since 1893 (fig 5-5 above). The yellow line indicates the coastline in 1949. Arrows indicate the main port areas: black=Abōshi, red=Hirohata, purple=Shikama, green=Nakashima pink=Mega and blue= Shirahama. (Map: Courtesy of Himeji Port Authority)

The Himeji coastal area has been transformed by industrial development, its precursor role being as a shipping port for the Harima district in the 1600s (Takokoshi, 1930 359). Its role in heavy and military industrial development has been mostly supplanted in the early 21st century by its use as an area for recycling and utilities services. Its multifarious uses over time have led to a variety of role-players and stake-holders being involved in planning for its further development. The port development sector has a stake in maintaining Himeji port as viable working port district. This now includes the further development of the port as a recreational and tourist area. The next section will discuss the challenges facing such tourism development in Himeji.

## 5.4 The Current Port District of Himeji and its Uses

Himeji Port extends for 18 kilometres, east to west (Public Relations Section Planning Bureau Himeji City Office, 1993 25). It was initially a single port, initially based on fishing and trade, but by 2001-2002, it consisted of six ports each with individual functions based on manufacturing and heavy industry. Over time, and due to the redundancy of some of these industries, this has led to the development of multiple-use port areas (Figure 5-10).



Figure 5-10 Hirohata and Shikama ports, Himeji. Heavy industry use is indicated in grey. The white areas are open storage land for woodchips from Western Australia. (SiMAP, 2001 32).

The ports and piers identified for the purpose of this study are from west to east: Abōshi, Hirohata, Shikama, Mega, Shirahama, and Matogata (relatively undeveloped) (Figure 5-11).



Figure 5-11 The heavily redefined coastline of the Himeji Port District. The Ichikawa River is between Shikama and Mega Ports. Source: (Himeji Port Authority, 2007).

A section of Mega Port is specifically used for fisheries (Figure 5-12). The ports and wharves (including unused or little used wharves and harbours) are managed by the Himeji Port Authority under a Director and staff on site at the Shikama Port Office, while the areas

unrelated to the working port (throughput and wharves) are overseen by the Himeji Port Manager, whose offices are in the central business district. Vacant land may also be managed by the Port Manager if there is no Port Authority precedence. This is where there may be building development for fish processing such as freezer units.



Figure 5-12 Aerial View of Himeji Port facing west. In the mid-ground is the Ichikawa River. In the foreground is Mega fishery and industrial port. Source: (Public Relations Section Planning Bureau Himeji City Office, 1993 25).

Prior to 1995, large construction projects were planned to facilitate national decentralisation policies. In conjunction with this, in 1997, the coastal area was to be redeveloped to incorporate a larger port district (interview Port Director of Himeji 1997).<sup>62</sup>

Until the decline in heavy industrial demand beginning in the early 1990s, the Himeji coast and its hinterland had been developed in various categorised zones to try to delineate industry from housing. Generally in the vicinity of the port, lay the heavy chemical and industrial and utilities areas, behind which were zoned greenbelts (Figure 5-13) then light

<sup>62</sup> In an interview for this author's honours dissertation (Crowe-Delaney, 1997).

industry interspersed with pachinko parlours, box-built retail and service outlets<sup>63</sup>, graduating into housing which was probably constructed before the 1920s (the housing sectors of the old castle area of Himeji) and finally new housing estates.



Figure 5-13 Osaka Gas and chemical storage, Shirahama and Mega Ports of Himeji Port district. Key: Solid green=green belt. Source: (SiMAP, 2001 32)

In 2002, the land use pattern of Himeji port was diverse and the Port Authority experienced shipping demands, which included the transfer of heavy and dangerous cargo including LNG and other industrial materials. It also contained a shipping lane for passenger ships (Himeji Port Authority, 2007). From 1995-2003, incoming and outgoing ship numbers declined as did throughput, from 34,251,459 to 25,072,217 tonnes. In the period 1997-2003, as Kobe port resumed its activities following the Hanshin earthquake, Himeji Port throughput declined from 446,093million yen (AUD\$5,294,117,321) to 297,821million yen (AUD\$3,536,493,096.70) (Shikama Kaiun) (X E Corporation, 2008). Its long-shore wharves do not provide anchorages and it is considered only fair shelter (Ports.Com. 2010)

<sup>63</sup> Prefabricated concrete warehouse style retail space

The graph below (Figure 5-14) indicates the utilisation in Yen value of the Ports of Himeji and Kobe. It highlights the significance of, and trends in, throughput for Himeji Port and the contrast with the Prefecture's major port of Kobe. The Great Hanshin Earthquake of 1995 temporarily closed the Port of Kobe, its figures plummeted for the year (Exports 2,889,699, Imports 1,450,035) while the figures for the Port of Himeji showed a rise in exports (136,517) while imports remained constant (217,697). Port throughput peaked for Himeji in 1997, but slumped, as did that in Kobe Port into the 2001. Himeji throughput had not returned to the levels of 1990.

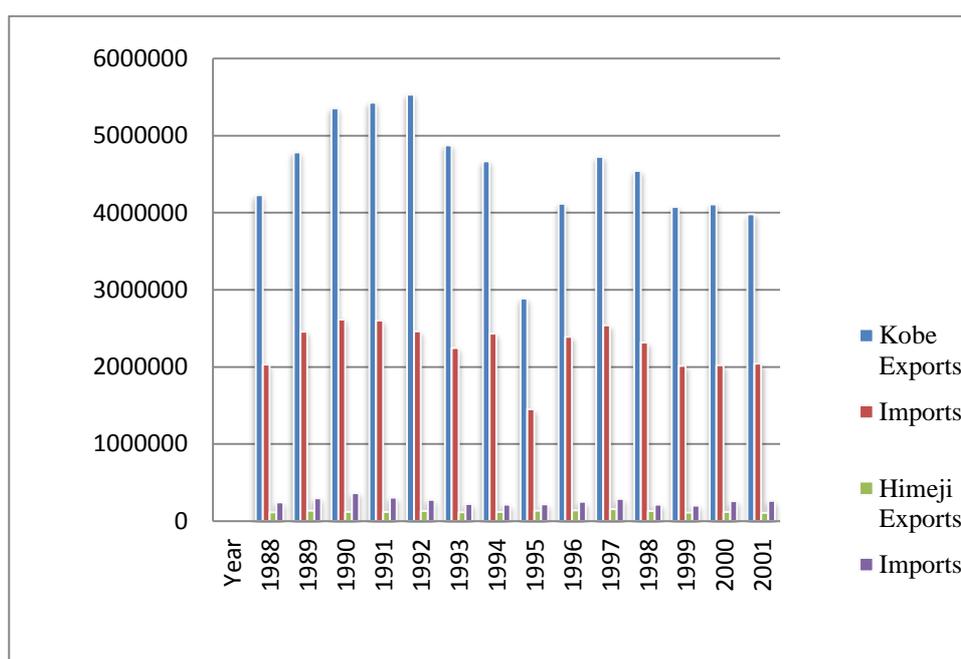


Figure 5-14 Himeji and Kobe Throughput in Yen Value. (units: 1millionYen) compiled from MLIT and Bureau of Statistics (2001). Source: Hyōgo Prefecture Government 2001

Although now somewhat dated, these figures for Himeji shipping and gross tonnage indicate the need to further diversify the use of its coastal area. In a 20 year period between 1980 and 1999, shipping numbers had decreased from 40,690 to 30,023 vessels. Gross tonnage throughput had peaked in 1992 at 37,472 (1000 metric tons) and had since declined to 30,108 (1000 metric tons) (Hyogo ken Himeji minato kensei jimusho 1999).

#### 5.4.1 Fisheries in Himeji

As the Japanese fishing industry has declined so too has that of Himeji. The statistics for Himeji were difficult to source due to the industry, at the time of writing, being involved in fish processing, aquaculture and other value-added production and as such being also categorised as manufacturing, industry and commerce (METI). Additionally, a breakdown of

statistics was not available for the individual municipalities. This led to a difficulty in sourcing past fishing statistics for Himeji. The Statistical Bureau of Japan has publicly drawn attention to the difficulties of compiling longitudinal data on Japan from ministerial records, since they have failed to understand the importance of correct data collection over time (Kitada, 2010 Komagata 2010). The Hyōgo government however collected data on the state of its prefectural fisheries by region and table 5-3 below illustrates the decline in numbers of administrative staff, the total number of professional fishing boats and those fishers employed in Hyogo.

Table 5-3 Hyogo Prefecture administration staff numbers by ocean region; total number of professional fishing boats and fishers employed. Source: Compiled from Hyōgo Commerce Trade and Tourism Statistics, Source: Hyogo Prefecture (2003)

Location	1993	1998	2003
Hyogo. Total	5016	4730	4137
administrative staff			
Setonaikai	4377	4139	3582
Nihonkai	639	591	555
Vessels and Fishers			
Boats	8197	7858	6872
Employees	na	4109	3574

The use of the coastline also gives an indication of the state of the Himeji fisheries. Himeji Ports allows the discharge of ‘dirty ballast’ (Ports.Com 2010), contaminated seawater with the remnants or residue left in cargo tanks that previously carried crude persistent refined oils (Maritime Dictionary 2010) while many ports require the time consuming dumping at sea and exchange with clean water before docking.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> A cursory glance on the internet of maritime guidelines by various international insurance companies reveals that ships dumping dirty ballast in ports, is not a recommended practice.

In 2001, seven recreational fishing locations were identified among the heavily industrialised ports from Abōshi, the Osaka Gas site on Shirahama Port to the eastern parameters of Himeji, including Nakajima (All Japan Safe Casting Union Hyōgo Association, 2001 126-133). By 2002, the fishing grounds of nearby Ieshima and other islands of the western Seto Inland Sea were providing less polluted fish, and these were being processed at sheds and factories in the Himeji- Mega port. At the time of this fieldwork, 2001-2002, the Himeji Municipality had begun the process of amalgamation with Ieshima, a town that is a major supplier of fish in Hyōgo. By 2005, only Ieshima was recommended as a recreational fishing location in Himeji, together with the purpose built recreational fishing site of Nakajima jetty on the mainland (Himeji City 2011). It is projected that Himeji will continue to amalgamate with other smaller municipalities<sup>65</sup>. Significantly, amalgamations lead to increased prefectural and central government funding, and in the case of the amalgamation with Ieshima, this provided an increase in Himeji's fishery production statistics<sup>66</sup>.

### **5.5 The Challenges to Planning for Himeji Tourism**

In any season, the Himeji central business district streets can be busy with locals, domestic and international tourists, although its busiest season is autumn with photography enthusiasts, trying to capture the quintessential image of the castle in autumnal colours for various photographic competitions (Figure 5-15).

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<sup>65</sup> By 2006 amalgamation also included Yumesaki-cho, Kōdera-cho and Yasutomi-cho.

<sup>66</sup> Statistics were unavailable at time of writing.



Figure 5-15 Inland Himeji in autumn. Locals and visitors tour the paths of Himeji Castle for photography, cycling and strolling. Source: author.

### 5.5.1 Himeji Tourist Trends

Himeji City's tourism administration has a complex tourism industry to manage, involving the maintenance and administration of its castle, a World Heritage Tourism attraction (Figure 5-16) and an average of 662,000 visitors annually (Hyōgo Prefectural Board of Education Cultural Asset Protection Office 2003) almost all of whom are Japanese (Figure 5-15). Other tourism facilities include four museums, for art, history, literature and science, a performance hall, two swimming pools, two parks (one modern and one based on a samurai

garden), four sporting facilities, a zoo, a children's park and play area, a golf course and a recreational yacht harbour. There are also several historic sites, including burial mounds, shrines and temples many of which host associated festivals.

Overall, Himeji's tourism industry, like its population and its port trade has required policy boosts in order to bring about expansion. Several special events over a ten year period have generated spikes in tourism numbers. Yet overall, in a decade where tourism was allegedly a component of regional planning, Himeji's tourist numbers remained almost static and this was not desirable according to the manager of Himeji Tourism Association (interview 2002).

Between 1991 and 2000, tourism numbers rose from 6,265,000 to 7,466,000 (Himeji City Tourism Association, 2000a). These changes are highlighted in table 5-4. The peaks for 1993 and 1999 corresponded with festivals commemorating respectively the ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi and 'Welcome to the 21st Century'. These figures indicate that tourism has failed to generate its expected increase in revenue which is a reflection of the national situation (Tajima, 2001 204)

Table 5-4 Himeji Tourist Numbers 1991-2000.<sup>67</sup> (Himeji City Tourism Association, 2000a)

Year	Tourists in 1000s	Percentage changes
1991	6,265	
1993	7,324	+14%
1999	7,734	+5%
2000	7,466	-3.5%

<sup>67</sup> Disappointingly, the report did not provide annual tourism income estimates.

In 2000, the average travel expenditure per adult tourist per trip to Himeji was approximately AUD\$532, and AUD\$195 for expenditure within Himeji. The national average expenditure on domestic travel in 2001, was AUD\$1,254 per adult tourist trip (Tajima, 2001 270).

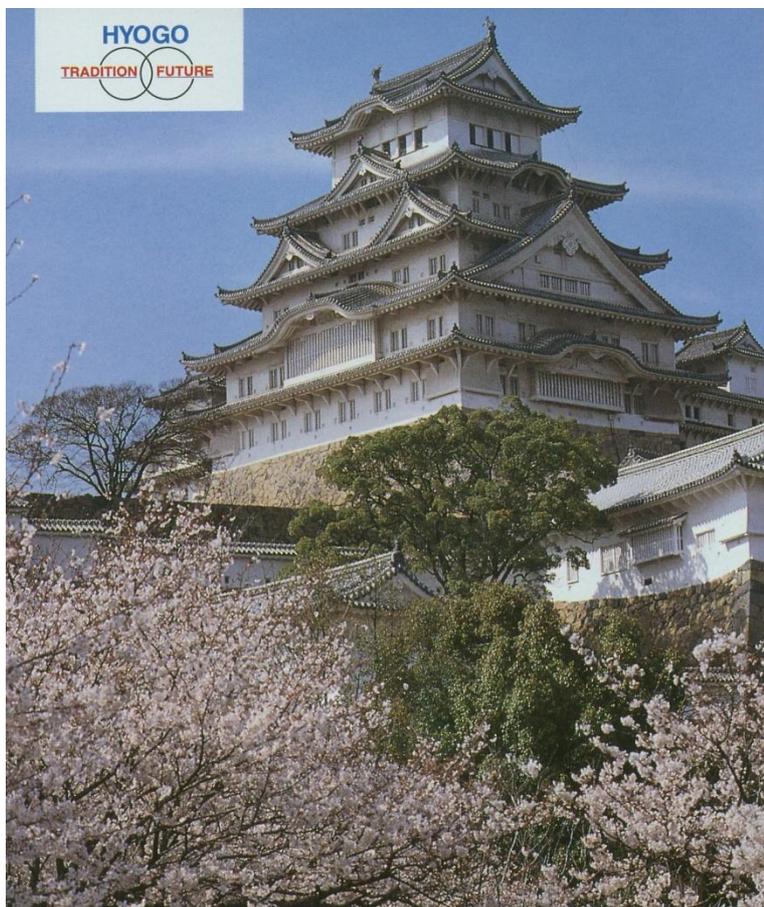


Figure 5 -16 Himeji Castle. A Hyōgo promotional brochure featuring the castle and a slogan combining the past with the future circa 2000 (Hyōgo International Tourism Association, ca2000 front page).

To take 2001 as an example of official expenditure, the Himeji city draft budget for tourism, was ¥150,394,000 (AUD\$1,761,016.00) to be spent on tourist attraction maintenance and expansion, various forms of assistance to private guide companies (the information provided did not clarify how this money was to be utilised), tourism information centres, development and promotion of international tourism, contributions to corporate development, tourism campaigns, national treasure campaigns, a street gallery and garden display, the Himeji Castle festival, a Noh event, a castle day, and other event and association fees (Himeji City Tourism Development Sector, 2000).

The promotional focus of the Himeji Tourism Basic Plan 2001 featured the benefits of Himeji as a convenient and inexpensive accommodation location in relation to regional

attractions such as traditional Kyoto and Universal Studios Japan (USJ Osaka) and the city maintained its public profile through various media outlets (Himeji City Committee for Tourism Planning 2001 5). Other goals included improving the image of Himeji as a tourist attraction, focussing on hospitality and city culture, the introduction of a slogan for Himeji and the promotion of local culture including food and other local highlights, such as craftwork and the possible development of further attractions. Redevelopments of the Himeji railway station precinct and tourism information networks were also prioritised.

These features are included in the municipal level master plan *Himeji Century 21 Plan* (Himeji City 2001) where land use policy included the establishment of three zones of hill-agricultural, urbanisation and seaside (coastal) industrial zones. Reference to coastal redevelopment did not feature strongly in this master plan, except a note on the complex rezoning of Shikama into industrial and urban zones, its' upgrade of current (heavy) industry and the optimisation of underused land and an illustration of Shirahama coastal port area reverting to an urban zone (for tourism) (*ibid.*, 6, 16). These token references do not reflect the extensive projects planned for coastal development as discussed later in this chapter.

#### 5.5.2 Stakeholder and Role-Player Relationships: Himeji Business Networks

The *Himeji Century 21 Plan*, (from April 2001 to March 2013) also includes 'systematic measures to actualise policies' and 'short-term specific guidelines for administrative and fiscal management' to actualise projects (Himeji City, 2001 1-2). Not only has the Himeji Tourism Department had to manage its responsibilities as a municipal government department, it has also had to negotiate with the local business community to effect change. This section illustrates the issues that the department faces in this regard and then looks at the *Himeji Century 21 Plan* for the development of the municipality to 2014.

Powerful families, tracing their business roots back to the Meiji period, hold positions of influence and leadership in the CoCI, the Himeji Tourism Association (HTA) and other business associations.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Out of respect to the goodwill of Himeji participants, they remain anonymous, although the manager of HTA did name names.

*Development is controlled by a few highly influential and well established business families. Improving Himeji's tourism industry has been compromised by a lack of co-operation and coordination between the various stakeholders.*

- Supervisor 1 (informal comment); Manager, HTD (interview 2002).

In order to perpetuate their local companies' position in the Himeji tourism market and to maintain family businesses as much as possible, companies associated with tourism and hospitality have maintained their support for coastal tourism development in Himeji. Some Himeji family businesses have been established for over six generations in local business. Part of the process of sustaining such business therefore, is not only to maintain their strategic locations and their dominance in the market over any competition, but also to maintain their prominence and bargaining power in local associations and business organisations such as the Himeji Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CoCI). In field observations, at many local social-business gatherings, it was the same business leaders who were not only conspicuous but, as I was informed, had maintained social cliques over several generations. It was not uncommon for presidents and former presidents of business clubs to have attended school together, for their parents' generation to have done likewise and for their sons to be educated in similar schools, thus preserving the system of an "old boys' network".

These long term social and business connections were also identified in the various documents on the future development of the Himeji coastline. An example of such connections in Hyōgo tourism development was when a current prominent Himeji family in hospitality and tourism development was involved in the promotion of tourism for Hyōgo Prefecture in the 1930s and in the establishment of the CoCI in 1922 (Midzutsuki, 1932 157)<sup>69</sup> with two later generations represented in the CoCI in 1988 and 2001 (Ministry of Transport and Construction Section, Hyogo-ken and Himeji-shi, 1988 v; Himeji City Committee for Tourism Planning, 2001 18). Furthermore, the board of the *Himeji Port Renaissance Plan 21* had over thirty committee members who were members of these

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<sup>69</sup> Publication's spelling of author's name.

interest groups and powerful business leaders (Ministry of Transport Construction Section Hyōgo Prefecture and Himeji Municipality 1988).

Therefore, many locals felt that personal business interest rather than community interest lay at the heart of tourism decision making. Anecdotal comments indicated that the industrial and coastal development history of Himeji included collusion between various municipal councillors who had stakes in local businesses and major industrial corporations. Both role players in tourism and several Himeji locals suggested that favouritism, nepotism and self-interest influenced the development of some late 20th century tourism and leisure attractions in the Himeji area. It was certainly this author's experience that at the various informal gatherings, these families and friends dominated the guest lists.

*They are friends-all friends*

- Himeji Tourism Department administrative representative.

For a more tangible example, the upgrading of the Himeji train station, which is used by domestic and international travellers, begun in 2002 and almost finished in 2005, also included the upgrade of a large retail centre. This benefitted a leading food chain and a few established businesses, but the remainder of this new city centre development contained many unleased retail spaces.

Furthermore, conflicts were not an unusual experience for the Himeji Tourism Department manager. He sought cooperation from established businesses to support the expansion of tourism for the rest of the municipality. The Department had encouraged the extension of the tourism routes beyond the traditional Himeji city limits into the rural areas; approximately one hour's drive by car. This would facilitate a regional approach to tourism rather than a Himeji-city-centre-only experience.

*'Stakeholder' interests, particularly those of local business owners who have long term financial interests in the city centre's development, frequently fight with us. I am fighting with them about the lack of co-operation from the central Himeji tourism providers to develop more extensive tourism routes into the countryside*

- Manager, Himeji Tourism Department (Appendix 9)

The manager also indicated that there was a lack of cooperation between the Himeji Tourism Association and the Himeji Tourism Department of which he was also an administrator and the co-ordinator of policies and meetings. He was a role-player who constantly had to bargain with the major stakeholders in local tourism.

While the traditional tourism image of Himeji is of its castle, temples and gardens (Figure 5-17), these publicly owned/ managed attractions are surrounded by privately owned enterprises which are dependent for their income on the continuing profile of these iconic structures.

It needs to be noted that in 2001 -2005, the majority of the transport routes, the railways and buses serve the middle district one and two with connections to the Shikama district to Himeji Port and Abōshi while Nada district is rural with few amenities (Refer to figure 5-4). To travel from Himeji station to Shikama Port however, takes approximately 20 minutes by a frequently stopping bus on a winding route, even though the direct distance is approximately 5 kilometres from the castle to the Shikama port. Urban development extends north from the castle until the northern hills are reached. Prone to land slips, these hills are unsuitable for building and are covered in thick bamboo and pine forests. Overall, therefore, Himeji city is part of a coastal development landscape.



Figure 5-17 Destination focussed tourism for the historic and cultural city of Himeji. Note the calligraphy in orange, a promotion in “tradition and sophistication” Source: (Himeji City Tourism Association, 2000b).

The aim of incorporating tourist attractions at a distance from the city centre not only conformed to the prefectural guidelines to improve rural economies through tourism, but also to refresh the tourism image of Himeji itself and not just to focus on the castle and its surrounding tourism facilities and outlets. However, the Himeji tourism providers already installed in that traditional area did not want brochures to advertise the outer perimeter tourism attractions, which, they believed, would detract from their own operations (Figure 5-17). Figures 5-18 and 5-19 highlight the few changes of tourism destinations over a fifty year period.

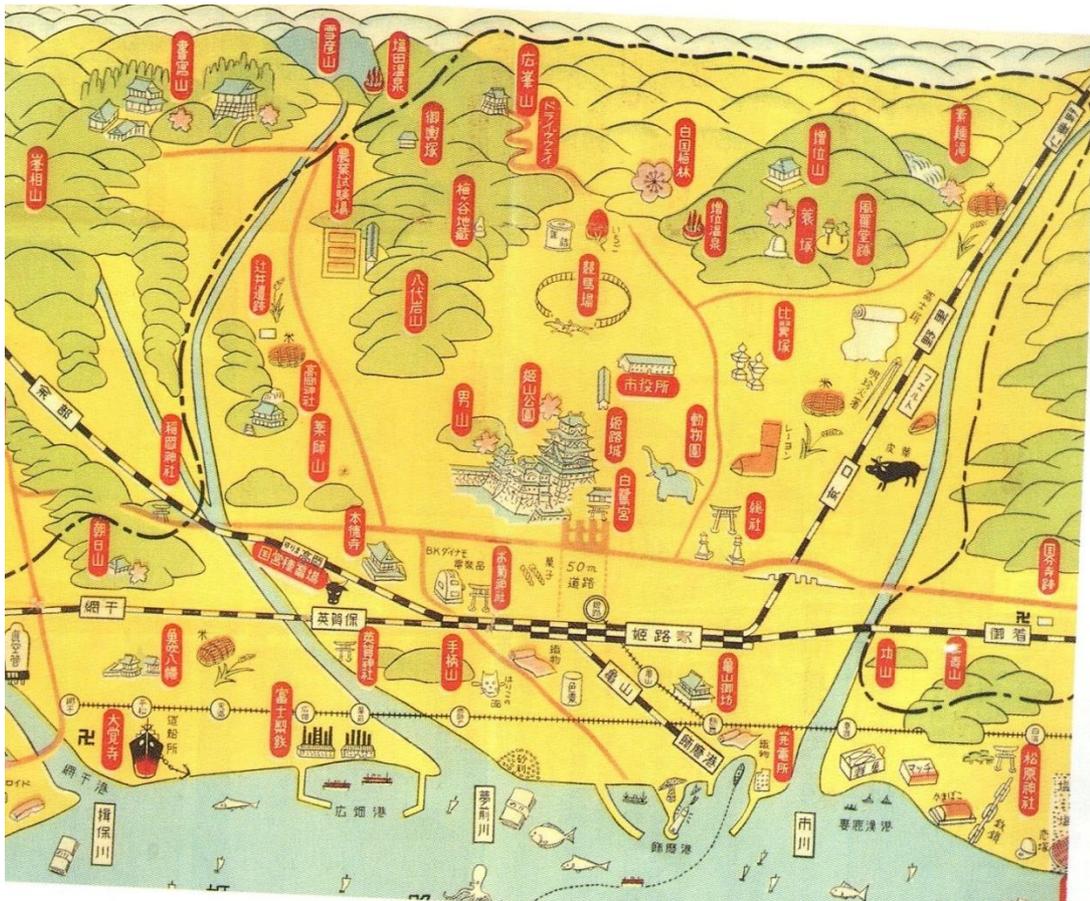


Figure 5-18 Tourist routes of Himeji 1951. The northwest destination is the Mt Shōsha temples. (Himeji Public Relations, 1990 28).



Figure 5-19 Tourist routes of Himeji 2001. The northwest destination is again the Mt Shōsha temples. Source: (Himeji Tourist Association and Himeji City Office, 2000 3-4).

Towards the end of my field trip in Hyōgo, this author was made aware that the president of the HTA, (and a former president of the CoCI) at the time was also the director of a high profile restaurant chain first established in the Meiji period. Although it was impossible to interview him, the evidence of his and his family's influence and contribution to Himeji city's tourism over a long period was evident as was their role in the system's "old boy's network". His predecessor had strongly supported the development of parkland around the Himeji castle. In the same vicinity, a multi-storey complex was developed on land that was acquired following a fire that destroyed the CoCI buildings on the site. The redevelopment included an information centre for tourists and locals, local produce outlets, a library specialising in women's issues, a gymnasium, restaurants and a centre for international exchange and performance thus further concentrating the city's tourism focus on the central/castle area.

### 5.5.3 Systematic Planning for Himeji

The *Himeji Century 21 Plan* priorities are categorised in table 5-5 below.

Table 5-5 Himeji Century 21 Plan: Features, Objectives and Initiatives (Himeji City 2001)

<b>Priorities and Features</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Major Initiatives</b>
<b>Citizen Participation</b> Reliable City management-increase the efficiency of government and financial administration	Transparency of public documents. Promote Himeji. Increase decentralised powers.	Public Relations. International exchange. Improve public and private sector.
<b>Health and Safety</b> National Sports and Recreation	Promote Himeji as an example of a healthy and safe community	Build a sports park and martial arts gymnasium.
<b>Culture and Learning</b> Create a Himeji Cultural Renaissance. Utilise Himeji's cultural traditions and heritage.	Local culture, internationalisation, youth support	Upgrade existing tourism facilities including educational, cultural facilities & museums, websites and traditions.
<b>Strength and Vitality</b> Stimulate local economy. Promote Tourism. Improve Rail systems. Improve environment. Stimulate local economy. Elevate railways and improve city centre. Upgrade the designated areas. Build a broad based transportation network: Harima Airport Project as well as water transportation.	Industry upgrades and expansion. City centre revitalisation. Comprehensive transportation.	Industry improvement in: construction, heavy industry, city upgrades, tourism improvements and additions, fishing, R & D, international tourism, wholesale markets, farms for produce and tourism. Improve the use of the SPring 8 and other science projects to be improved by PR. Extensive transportation improvements in all modes. Rezoning of land-use around Shikama.
<b>Attractiveness and Comfort</b> Improve landscape of urban areas. Afforestation and create waterfront environments for recreation. Roads and parking. Preserve existing environments and create new ones.	Improve delineated zoning.	Beautification of parks, city and urbanscapes. Improvements in water waste management. Improve river environment.

The projects contained within these major initiatives are too numerous to list here (approximately 300), but an example is shown below in Fig 5.20 of a proposed area for tourism development (blue) for Shirahama and the safe in-harbour re-development for the adjacent busy fishing and industrial (food processing) port of Mega (red). The features, objectives and major initiatives, have governmental authority crossovers, which were identified as posing a major problem for project implementation (Himeji Tourism Department, Interview 2002 Appendix 8).



Figure 5-20 Shirahama foreshore redevelopment proposal. In the forefront is the side elevation showing the extensive multi-tiered pathways and underwater breakwaters. Source: Hyōgo Prefecture, 2001 30)

Himeji City's emblem 'represents the city's development through concise planning' (Figure 5-21) (Himeji City, 2001 19).



Figure 5-21 Himeji City's emblem, based on the Roman alphabet 'C' for 'concise' and 'city' (International Relations Section Himeji, 1990).

The following case studies indicate the challenges for tourism development in Himeji and the difficulties in achieving the city's objective of actualising these projects 'concisely'.

#### 5.5.4 Coasts, Construction and Planning Crossovers

The administration of the Himeji coastline and its tourism-related development is managed by several municipal and prefectural departments. Conflicts of interest, not only over use but also over land administration where different prefectural and municipal government departments have diverse jurisdiction over various coastal waterways, affect the timing of development projects and the flow of funding, as explained earlier. Furthermore, from within various national and prefectural bureaus and departments, role-players develop plans that impact on each other's areas of administration, so that, for example, the 1999 plan *A Start for New Coastal Systems* was overseen by no less than five government administrative bodies at prefectural and municipal levels, under the guidelines from several national departments (Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries, 1999) exemplifying the planning conflicts highlighted by Uda et al (2005)

In a conference on beach erosion, academics and engineers highlighted the problems that exist in Japan over the management of coastal issues (Appendix 14). These same ministries and their departments are also involved in other forms of coastal development including, road works, tourism development and foreshore development.

Such crossovers in planning responsibilities result in public and private use conflicts. The problems for Himeji Port are commensurate with Ōshima's findings where he noted that the increase in public activity on the coastline resulted in coastal and harbour space competing with professional coastal fishing. As well, professional fishers complained of reductions in fish numbers due to pollution from recreational fishers' discarded bait and fishing lines. In addition to the challenges of deindustrialisation and redevelopment, the Himeji coastline and its waterways and fisheries provide examples of such conflicts.

#### 5.5.5 A Contrast in Coastal Land Use

The crossovers in planning are seldom better exemplified than in the multiple uses of the Himeji coast and its port district. Three major role players were interviewed by this author:

1. The Director of the HPA who is employed by the Hyōgo Prefectural government, and is located in Shikama Port and together with his staff, controls the development (including tourism) of the waterfront.
2. The Himeji Tourism manager, located in the central business district, oversees the management of Himeji tourism operations (which can be coastal) and co-ordinates the major tourism stakeholders, such as local business people.
3. The Himeji port manager, also located in the city centre, like the tourism manager is employed by the municipal government and, amongst other duties, manages several port uses such as the retail outlets and fish processing tenants and oversees the management of marine products processing.

Of the three interviewees, only one, the Director of Himeji Port Authority, identified any conflict of use. He did not identify a conflict of interest between tourism and port use *per se*, but rather between recreational and professional port uses. This raises an interesting dilemma. Within local and central government tourism planning, the tourism activities of recreation (*rekurēshon*) and leisure (*rejā*) are included in descriptions of domestic tourism. As discussed in the previous two chapters, domestic tourism has also been used as a vehicle to improve municipal, particularly coastal, economies based on fisheries. Therefore, in the course of improving local economies through tourism (and recreation and leisure), there is the potential for conflicts with other coastal land uses. The case study ports in this chapter highlight these port development problems, but they also highlight the general acceptance of multiple uses within the Himeji port district.



Figure 5-22 Coastal development in Nada, Himeji. Early stages of development for a proposed fisharina-style development, which remains unfinished, overgrown and unusable. Source: author.

According to the Director of the HPA, such projects caused land use conflicts including:

- recreational fishing vs. commercial fishing in commercially designated areas,
- illegal mooring,
- theft of, and damage to, a variety of fishing goods and equipment,
- disturbance of the aquatic environment by rubbish or through inappropriate boating habits by both tourists and locals (Figure 5-22, 23).



Figure 5-23 Jetty in Nada. An employee of the prefectural fishing authority highlighted the grass growing through unkempt netting, unused fuel barrels and fishing boats with untidy nets; a clear indication of poor maintenance. Source: author

In addition,

*non-local recreational fishers compete with local recreational fishers and with small local commercial fishing enterprises and this increased competition together with poor fishing habits were contributing to the depletion of fish stocks.*

-Director, Himeji Port Authority, (2002)

Meanwhile the existing small recreational fishing ports along the Himeji coast posed problems.

*Recreational fishing, as a type of leisure tourism, has not been cost effective. It is difficult to collect licence and mooring fees. For harbour services, such as those at the working and recreational harbour in Abōshi, professional fishers' licences are expected to contribute 7 million yen to 30 million yen per annum in income to the Himeji government.*

-Director, Himeji Port Authority, (2002)

Local ordinances came into effect in 2002 for each small port in Hyōgo to restrict pleasure boats from mooring indiscriminately. Hitherto pleasure boats had paid fees to the local Fisheries Union to moor their boats. Now they will have to pay their fees directly to the Hyōgo government.

*Any further development of small ports will be for local residents only. Rejā (leisure and recreational) fishers and small commercial fishers will be separated into two groups based on these laws. However, it is my past experience that despite the new laws coming into effect, fee collection is difficult. The reasons are varied: unlicensed boats, licence fee payment refusal, unclear ownership and owner transience.*

-Director, Himeji Port Authority, (2002)

#### 5.5.6 Working Ports

The hazardous nature of the port industry operations conflicted with the proposed plans to develop the port area for tourism (Crowe-Delaney, 1997). In 2000-2001, most land adjacent to the port was either: part of a greenbelt adjacent to gas and other utilities (Figure 5-24), barren due to severe pollution from a variety of chemicals (Figure 5-25), or developed for industry, shipping and hazardous chemicals and materials storage such as on the Shikama/Nakashima wharves (Figure 5-26).



Figure 5-24 A section of greenbelt, Mega Port, Himeji. In the background is the electricity utility tower on the port of Shikama. Source: author.



Figure 5-25 Mega Port, Himeji. Barren land in the foreground of a fisheries port with the shore protected by tetrapods. Source: author.

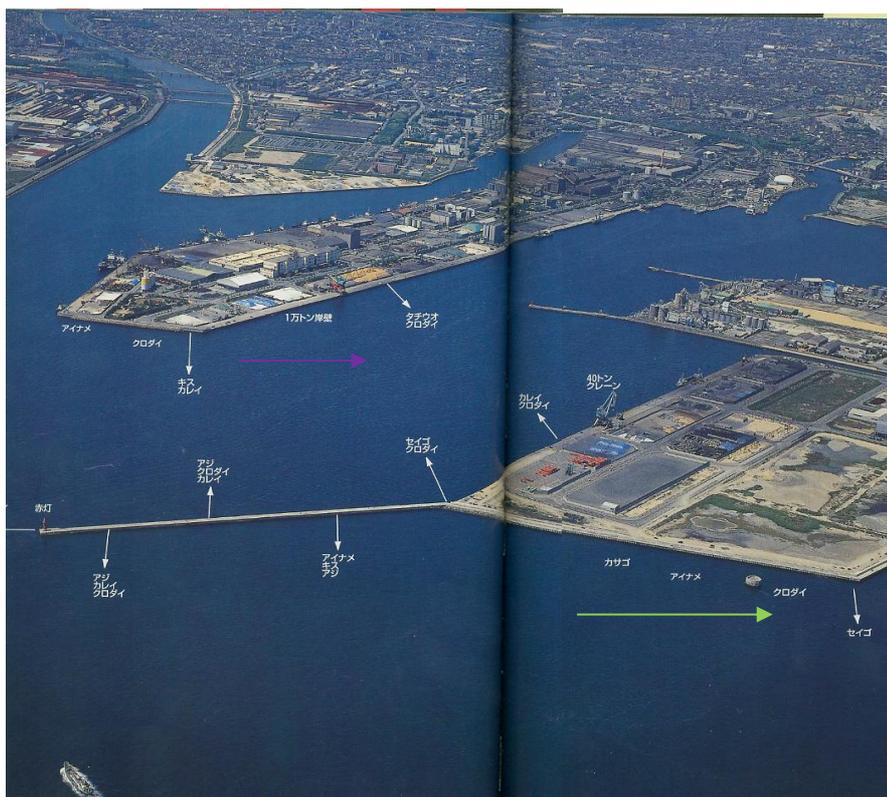


Figure 5-26 Shikama Port and Nakashima wharf, Himeji Port. Fishing spots are highlighted even in the heavy industrial ports. Shikama (purple arrow) and Nakashima (green arrow) wharves. Source: (All Japan Safe Casting Union Hyōgo Association, 2001 130-131).

### 5.5.7 Tourism Development within a Heavy Industrial Port-The Working Port of Shikama

As noted earlier, planning for the redevelopment of the Shikama Port for tourism and recreation, the “Marine Town Shikama”, included the redevelopment of its old rail yards (Crowe-Delaney, 1997 45). The Port and other authorities aimed for the redevelopment and enhancement of port tourism and the establishment of passenger liner terminals (Himeji City International Relations Section, 2000 20), based on the 1988 *‘Himeji Port Renaissance 21’* and the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan* (Ministry of Transport Construction Section Hyogo Prefecture and Himeji Municipality, 1988 i).

In 1997, port authorities were still hopeful that further stages of this redevelopment would ensue since Himeji Port had taken over large components of port throughput due to the 1995 Kobe earthquake. The port authorities believed that Himeji would retain this role and continue its growth both as a port and as a site for tourism (Crowe-Delaney, 1997 44). However, only a smaller sporting dome, a port-to- port connecting road and a marina behind the Port Authority’s office have been constructed. The development of a restaurant atop a

new cylindrical hotel, a “pro-shop”, large rectangular terminal and “strolling path” (Figure 5-27) extensive landscaping, car parking and retail outlets for local produce did not go ahead (Ministry of Transport Construction Section Hyogo Prefecture and Himeji Municipality, 1988).



Figure 5-27 Proposed Shikama Port redevelopment. (Ministry of Transport Construction Section Hyogo Prefecture and Himeji Municipality, 1988 frontice).

Instead, available space in the Port Authority building had been leased to a small restaurant and other offices but, by 2001, these had closed and the authority became the major tenant. Although there was signage that advertised the building as a hotel, in 2002 the reception was closed and the foyer was being used as a shelter for bus travellers. The passenger liner terminal was no more than a line of coloured awnings (Figure 5-28)<sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup> Field observations by author.



Figure 5-28 Himeji Port Authority Offices and the port-side hotel, Shikama. The public marina is at the rear of this office block. Source: author

In the period of the field work in 2001-2002 no cruise ships were observed by this author (Figure 5-29), other than ferries, although, according to the port website, two small cruise ships of 103 metres and one large liner of 167 metres and 23,000 tons had berthed there by 2007 (Shikama Kaiun ca 2005).



Figure 5-29 A gateway for ocean liners? A shopper boards the local ferry at Shikama, but no ocean liners are in sight. Source: author

Furthermore, little development had taken place further along the Shikama port “arm” in 2000-2001 (Figure 5-30).

*We are certain that there will be no further tourism development in Himeji Port in the immediate future.*

- Director General of Hyōgo Ports and Harbours and his staff (interview 2002).



Figure 5-30 Shikama pier, Himeji, 2000. A heavy industrial building is beyond a car park area that has remained undeveloped. To the left is the Himeji Port monument facing south to the Seto Inland Sea.

Source: author

#### 5.5.8 The Unsuitability of Mega and Shirahama Ports as Tourism Destinations

Mega fishing port is 5 metres deep and, until 1992, 20 tonne ships transported sea bream (*tai*) by sea to its major distribution and processing plants. Now the preferred form of transport is by truck over land. A large auction shed is located here (Figure 5-31) and commercial, retail and local buyers come to buy fish where, according to the manager, the 2001 turnover for marine products, such as nori (seaweed) was 60 million yen (AUD \$753,195.00) per annum while for fish, it was 100 million yen (AUD \$1,255,173.00).

In and around Mega and Shirahama, are several small yachting harbours for medium to large sized boats. The distance between any of the three ports is no more 2.5 kilometres and Matogata is 5.5 kilometres across the bay from industrial Shirahama port. Shirahama seaside contains a number of small sandy beaches that have been reconstructed from the tidal flats and canalised river systems.

Two interviews with the Himeji Port Manager (2001) provided information on these areas as did a field trip to Mega fishery port to the east of its industrial port district (Figure 5-33).

*Fish and other raw marine products are shipped to the port where wholesalers then buy and sell on the fish. Produce comes from as far away as Tottori, to the west of northern Hyōgo and Ieshima, an island south west of Himeji*

-Himeji Port Manager (interview 2001)



Figure 5-31 Mega port, fisheries pier. The Ieshima fish processing sheds are to the right (Shikama industrial port can just be seen in the background). Source: author.

Despite his department having investigated the option of a tourism project for an *umi no eki*<sup>71</sup> no plans had been made at that stage for future tourism development and he did not have any official record of the port's chemical pollution levels;

*The foreshore is working port with sheds for fish auctions and packaging and it is mostly used for the redistribution of fish from Ieshima to fish processors, wholesalers and restaurant buyers. There would be no tourism development because the Mega industrial Port district was so heavily polluted.*

-Himeji Port Manager (2001)

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<sup>71</sup> (trans. 'sea station' where tourists in a restaurant atmosphere can try local produce and purchase souvenirs)

The manager confirmed that there was to be further recreational fishing development to the east of Mega along the Shirahama coast adjacent to the Mega fishery port where there is also a small, but state-of-the-art fish processing factory undertaking cleaning, filleting and scaling, with some breeding and freezing. Three union groups and one private company controlled the factory and most of the product comes from the former municipality of Ieshima in the western Seto Inland Sea, south-west of Himeji. Recreational tourism, however, was not too distant, located near Shirahama's heavy industrial site, on land reclaimed and developed on the Seto Inland Sea that also housed LNG-Osaka Gas and Kansai Electricity (See Figure 5-23 above). Nearby, there is also a jetty jutting into the ocean for recreational fishing (Figures 5-32, 33).



Figure 5-32 Himeji recreational fishing centre on Shirahama jetty. Three kilometres west is the Shikama wharf and Himeji industrial port, beyond the fishery shrine. The hill to the far right is in Mega. Source: author.



Figure 5-33 Shirahama fishing Jetty, Himeji. The jetty is in red. Source: (Hyōgo Prefecture, 2001 30).

There is a row of beach houses along the Mega/ Shirahama foreshore (Figure 5-34). Some small restaurants open there in the summer season and some houses are rented out in summer. If the dwellings are inherited, they may be used as second homes.

A 2001 official document detailing the development of the shoreline west of Mega which is also known as Shirahama, includes a recreation zone with sandy beaches and multi-tiered embankments to reinvigorate the fisheries port area (Hyōgo Prefecture, 2001 30). In 2001, the Shirahama foreshore had been partially redeveloped with concrete canalling and infill (Figure 5-35) and it may be further developed into a multi storey recreational facility.



Figure 5-34 Mega -Shirahama flood gates. An undeveloped foreshore where beach houses/ second homes may be developed in the vicinity of the Mega working port. Source: author.

Mega is a working port for the processing and transportation of seafood. Its grounds are polluted, as are its waterways which are prone to flooding. The port's throughput will increase as the fish production from the soon to be amalgamated municipality of Ieshima will be redirected to these Himeji ports. While the earlier figure 5.20 depicts a sunny, sandy coastline, it is in close proximity to the heavily polluting industries seen in figure 5.32.

## **5.6 Industry, Environment and Fishing**

The population of the entire coast of the Seto Inland Sea (approximately 35 million) represents 28% of the total population of Japan. Such a degree of urbanisation and coastal development, even though there are some undeveloped enclaves, has contributed to the pollution of the tidal flats and seaweed beds resulting in a decline in all types of fishery except for aquaculture. Since the 1950s, dredging, channelling and the enlarging of the two channels of the Seto Inland Sea, natural seasonal fluctuations of temperature and salinity, heavy industrial development and sea transportation have all led to extensive pollution and algal red tides due to eutrophication having adverse effects on the marine flora and fauna (Figure 5-35) (Environmental Management of Enclosed Coastal Seas, 2001 63-72).<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> EMECS (Environmental Management of Enclosed Coastal Seas) is an international scientific body established by the Hyōgo prefectural government in 1994



Figure 5-35 Red Tides of the Seto Inland Sea. The extent of red tides (in pink) recorded in 2000 shows that the largest concentration is along the Himeji-Kobe and the Osaka industrial coastlines. Source: (Environmental Management of Enclosed Coastal Seas, 2001 69).

According to local academics in informal interviews (Appendix 8), pollution along the Himeji coast of the Seto Inland Sea has rendered many fish unsuitable for human consumption although recreational fishers and some commercial fishers continued to fish in these waters and many fishing publications (All Japan Safe Casting Union Hyōgo Association, 2001) still encouraged such fishing until 2002. Despite such pollution, recreational fishing continued at Himeji port in 2002 (Figure 5-36).



Figure 5-36 Multiple-uses of Himeji Port, 2002. Local onlookers were horrified that these two young men were fishing in such polluted waters. Source: author

The final stage of redevelopment of 600ha of a former heavy industrial site at Hirohata occurred in 2003. This new plant recycled rubber tyres into heavy oil using a scrap melting furnace and a gasification facility. Owned by the company, Nippon Steel, the plant is ranked as a core business for “Hyōgo-Eco Town” by the Ministry of Economy Trade and Industry and the Ministry of the Environment (Environmental Affairs Division Nippon Steel Corporation, 2003 24).

Another major industrial development is the ‘Ace Plan’ for Abōshi, on a rectangular piece of reclaimed land jutting into the Seto Inland Sea (Figure 5-37). It is a water treatment plant that recycles waste products into reusable materials and achieves energy recovery (Figure 5-38). Sub-stations throughout Himeji return recycled water to the waterways for agricultural purposes, but the main treatment plant is in the Abōshi port (Japan Sewage Works Agency 2000). The shipping of the waste materials is in close proximity to the Shikama public-use recreation marina, the local ferry service, the fishing port of Mega, the undeveloped areas of Matogata and other local fishing spots.



Figure 5-37 Ace Centre, Abōshi. Waste Recycling Network channels to the coast of Himeji. Source: (Japan Sewage Works Agency 2000)

Himeji Port is a working port and this section has highlighted the environmental issues associated with its current mix of uses. The following section discusses the potential for recreational port use and some other issues associated with recreational fishing.

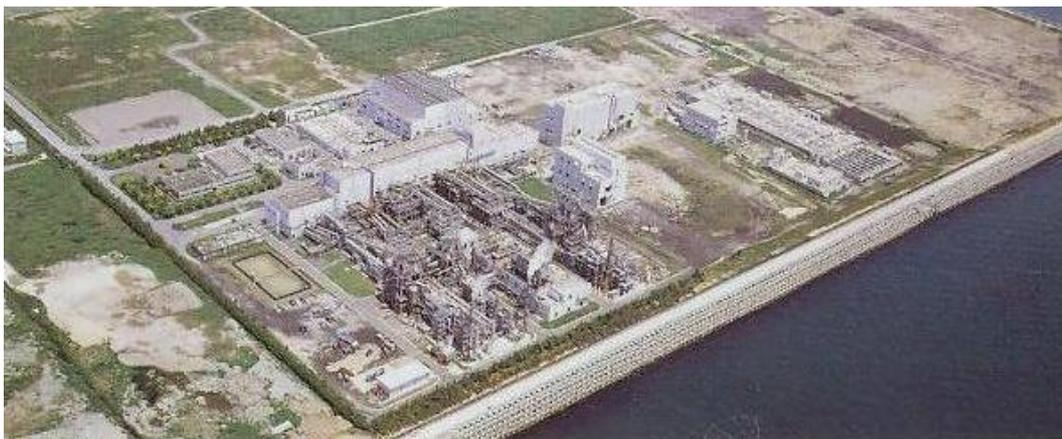


Figure 5-38 Waste Water Recycling Plant, Abōshi. Source: (Japan Sewage Works Agency 2000).

#### 5.6.1 Tourism and Coastal development- Matogata and Ōshio

Along the easternmost coastline of Himeji are hamlets, such as Matogata and Ōshio, where small harbours and other parts of the coastline were identified for redevelopment (Figures 5-39, 40). The Matogata area in particular has several inlets and fishing jetties for licensed fishers. In the 1990s, Matogata was targeted by Himeji Municipal Government for redevelopment, as a “Model Marine City of the 21st Century” (Public Relations Section Planning Bureau Himeji City Office, 1993 41).



Figure 5-39 A suburbanised village in the town of Nadahama and, in the foreground, Matogata groynes which are used as a car park. Source: author.



Figure 5-40 The haze of green nets of the Ōshio golf driving range are a backdrop to the Nadahama recreational fishing harbour, approximately 5 kms east of Shirahama Port. Source: author.

These hamlets, rural in terms of their limited facilities, can be accessed by bus or by a 20 minute car drive from Himeji. It is questionable whether locals here would benefit from tourism since there are no developed tourist facilities or services and most employment is currently found outside the villages. To this author, the fishing jetty was a recreational attraction, but the Director of the Himeji Port (2002 interview) did not consider this a tourist attraction; instead it was a problematic fishing port, deprived of an income due to an inefficient licencing system, while the parked cars, were probably owned by local inhabitants. The Director of the TFRI, closely inspected another photograph of Nadahama and commented on its unkempt nets and fishing gear (2001 interview). In the nearby town of Ōshio, so named after its use as a former salt mine, is the Shiseido golf course (Figure 5-41) and a small university for women (Figure 5-42).



Figure 5-41 Shiseido golf course, Ōshio. The golf course, developed on the former Ōshio salt mine, is in the foreground. For perspective, Osaka Gas (approx. 5 kms west) is in the background. Source: author.



Figure 5-42 Ōshio. The entrance to the golf course overlooks a university. Source: author.

### 5.6.2 Recreational (Tourism) Park Redevelopment at Abōshi Port

The problems that beset the Director of HPA, outlined in section 5.5.5, did not discourage the development of a recreational fishing and tourism development in Abōshi (Fig 5-43). The next section will discuss this project and the source of the support for such a development.

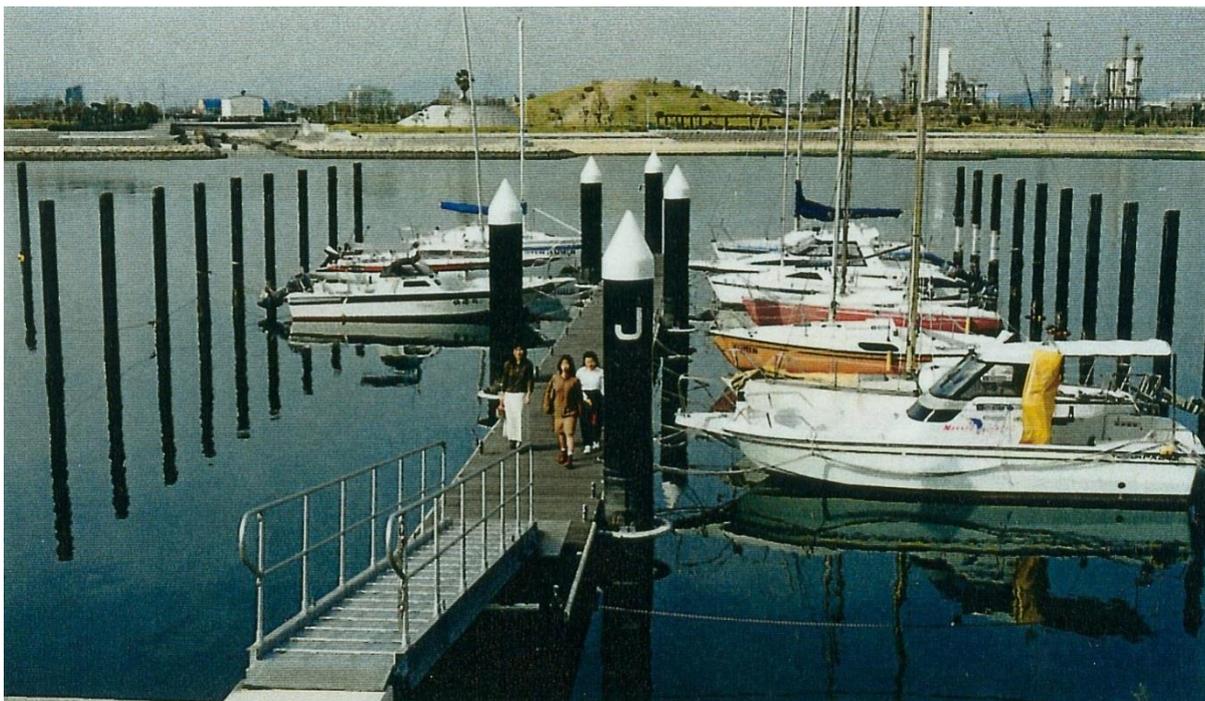


Figure 5-43 Mixed-use of the coast of Abōshi. Recreational boating, parkland and heavy industry depicted in a staged photograph for promotional purposes. Source: (Port of Himeji, ca2000)

According to the Director of the Himeji Port Authority,<sup>73</sup> 24 of the 65 Hyōgo Prefectural development projects (Appendix 11) were still pending in 2001 including the Himeji Port redevelopment. While government redevelopment projects for Matogata and the further redevelopment of Shikama were in limbo, the Director of the Himeji Ports Authority was able to instigate change in Abōshi with the co-operation of a large corporation that had industrial interests in the area (Figure 5-44).

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<sup>73</sup> An engineer, he has now retired and after having to wait a year (by law), he could work in the private sector, a process known as *amakudari* or job from heaven.



Figure 5-44 The redevelopment of Abōshi parkland (outlined in red) is surrounded by land for future industrial development and contains a few remaining smaller industries. Source: (Port of Himeji, ca2000)

The area was cleared of many ground pollutants and landscaped with trees, shelters and walkways to become recreational parkland even though the redevelopment had not been publicised in any of the municipal public brochures. However, it is still within the Abōshi industrial precinct and is only 200 metres North West of parkland and 2.5 kilometres from the LNG utilities port (Figure 5-45).



Figure 5-45 Abōshi Nigasa Community Park. The park overlooks LNG facilities and heavy manufacturing to the west. Source: author

The area is extensively paved and reinforced with concrete retaining walls, steps and platforms (Figure 5-46).



Figure 5-46 Coastline of Abōshi, Himeji. This walkway is an extension of the Nigasa community park redevelopment. Source: author

In its early stage of completion, the parkland was mostly used by locals, but the director hoped that it would become a tourist destination and also be used for recreational boating (See earlier Figure 5-20). However, with so many competing tourist parks in Kobe with good views and tourism services and attractions including retail, it would be difficult for Abōshi Nigasa Park to attract more than the local people to the area.

The Abōshi Nigasa Community Park is an example of domestic tourism and recreation facilities being redeveloped on redundant industrial land. It had taken six years to complete in three stages with the redevelopment project controlled by the one department, the Himeji Port Authority (Figure 5-47). However, it is at the west end of the Himeji port cluster, close to industry and distant from the busy ‘hub’ of Shikama port and the ‘green’ port of Matogata.



Figure 5-47 Heavy industrialised land north east of Abōshi Nigasa Park. The Himeji Port director proudly stands on the formerly industrialised land that is now used for recreation. Source: author

The *Himeji Century 21 Master Plan* identified new objectives to improve the overall waterfront environment ‘for rest and recreation’ (Himeji City, 2001 8). Even so, industry maintains its primary position in the use of the coastal land of Himeji.

### **5.7 Discussion: The Suitability of the Himeji Industrial Port Area for Tourism**

Is Himeji port a suitable location for tourism? Prior to the Kobe earthquake, tourism development under the Himeji Port Renaissance Project was one of 65 Hyōgo Prefectural projects that were scheduled to be completed in the early 21st century (Appendix 11 the Future of Hyogo) (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 16). In fact, in the Himeji coastal zones, only the marina and the oval sports dome have been completed. The Kobe ‘Nishinomiya and Ashiya Marina’ projects, also planned in the mid-1990s (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 20-21), were completed by 2005, but the later stages of the Himeji port area development have yet to take place (see Appendix 11 Revised Hyōgo Plans). As noted in the introduction to this chapter, tourist numbers to Himeji remained essentially static for almost a decade before they began to decline in the current century. In this same period, various recreational projects were planned, some of which came to fruition, yet they did not increase visitor numbers to the area to any significant extent.

As discussed in section 5.4, Himeji, as a 'secondary' port, is subordinate to the various primary ports for which it can provide a throughput facility in the event of disasters. Such situations leave it vulnerable to subsequent decreases in port throughput and port activity, which can cause fluctuations to its income and its role as a working port. This occurred after 1997 when Kobe Port resumed its full working capacity.

Thus, additional and potentially more stable income and uses for Himeji Port are being sought from tourism and localised recreation and leisure. While the port's suitability for such mixed use, as highlighted in this chapter, is questionable, the influence of the construction industry and the desire to implement projects that promised increased income for the port, appear to have justified the initial investment in tourism and recreational developments. While coastal Himeji is peripheral to the larger urbanised and industrialised areas of the Tōkaidō megalopolis, it is nevertheless a location for industrial activity and a focus for construction. Its scarce flat land, deep harbours and other natural amenities have been exploited for this purpose.

McCormack (2000) argues that high levels of government and private enterprise construction corruption have been major factors in both the continuing industrial/commercial development of these Pacific coast areas and the remodelling of the physical landscapes. The prevalence in Himeji of heavy industrial development, outdated industries and structures, polluted environments, a growth in smaller construction projects such as prefabricated concrete walled pachinko parlours and now the vast re-concretisation of coastal Abōshi all support McCormack's contention. Certainly, during the bubble economy from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, this may have been the case as Himeji by 2002, was well endowed with newly constructed buildings that house shopping centres, public parks, arts facilities and gardens, which have generated less than their expected income.

According to a major business stakeholder, many locals regard the concreted children's playground, and kokoen- the samurai garden, to be unsuccessful projects. The same judgement applies to the remains of the pylons of the defunct Himeji central monorail, and the inland aquarium built on a mountain and now considered inappropriate due to its distance from the sea. One academic informant observed that the prefectural and national governments, having allowed the heavy industry in this area to forge ahead prior to the decentralisation laws, then made the resulting tax revenue more readily available for Himeji's redevelopment. He also argued that the local business leaders, who were on the council or the boards of development projects, had exploited this 'compensation' to further these questionable recreation related projects.

As certain decentralisation powers and revenues have gradually shifted to local government, this has allowed for increased input from general community stakeholders who often considered that many of these recent coastal tourism projects were inappropriate and who believed that the monies could have been better spent elsewhere or in different ways. Local and municipal governments will therefore find it difficult to generate community support for future proposals of this type since they are unlikely to generate profits, due in part to insufficient consumer demand.

Strategies to generate labour and consumer demand, as described by Jacobs (2003) whereby towns and cities increase their population size as a result of promoting in migration, amalgamation with adjoining municipalities and other population enhancing strategies, can enable municipalities, such as Himeji, to gain 'designated city' status and thereby make them both eligible and more competitive for higher levels of funding from the national government coffers. Himeji became such a designated city in 2006.

Himeji has therefore become a site for construction that has sought to encourage leisure activities for locals while simultaneously improving its domestic and international tourism potential. It has a well-developed industrial sector that is trying to adapt to economic and environmental changes. Its industrial landscape, particularly along major roads to the port was already lined with closed factory buildings in 2002 but, with changing economic demands globally and locally, Himeji City Council has planned for further redevelopment of its coastline for multiple-usage.

At the same time, Himeji is an example of coastal degradation as a result of land reclamation, industrial pollution, the dredging of the Seto Inland Sea and intensive urbanisation. The coastline of Himeji is now built upon reclaimed land and associated river and drainage infill. As such, its fishery industry now has to rely on 'cleaner' fish caught from sources that are more distant. Conflicts of interest arise between professional and recreational/ leisure fishers in locations where professional fishers still work. A major issue of coastal management is the reclamation of coastal land for and by the local inhabitants. Building marinas and parklands, such as in Abōshi, to try to segregate these users of the coast, is one example of the city's attempts to remedy such conflicts. However, the challenges of repairing coastal damage are considerable and are not helped by decreased port throughput and illegal moorings, both of which deprive the Himeji port of income.

Tourism development in Himeji exhibits conflicts of interest between local power brokers and this has been an impediment to the coherent development of tourism infrastructure in the

region inland from Himeji. Conflicts of interest between departments do not seem to be the issue here; rather it is competition between local business stakeholders vying for the tourist yen and prefectural development funding.

Even though tourism and its associated infrastructural development are often planned simultaneously by different bodies this, in itself does not appear to have been the cause of the abandonment or failure of local tourism projects in this case. What these projects do illustrate however, is McCormack's arguments that the thirst for construction projects has taken precedence over the practicality of the end use of such construction and that little consideration had been given to the implications of mixing land uses in areas that were previously zoned as strictly as possible for specific purposes.

As discussed in chapter three, tourism has been used by the national government as a means of facilitating industrial and economic development in Japan. Layers of tourism policies, embedded in other policy agendas, have fostered similar strategies for over a century. Over the latter half of 20th century, Japan's tourism policy did not change to meet the increasing demands of an activity that has become a global phenomenon, contributing to the country's economy in its own right. Governments have rather seen tourism merely as an add-on to more traditional economic, urban and regional development.

On such an industrialised coastline as that at Himeji, it is questionable whether the city's ports should or could accommodate any tourism development over and above the provision of recreational spaces for its own community. Himeji castle is a world tourism icon and there is potential to develop tourism north of Himeji's established tourism nodes. The issues highlighted by the major role-players in government indicate that, with a fresh approach, tourism industry stakeholders may be able to improve tourism income in the area in and around Himeji if a more collaborative approach were to be taken.

An overall argument of this thesis is that tourism development policy on the Pacific coast in the highly industrially developed area of Himeji, is of dubious logic although nonetheless has been encouraged and supported. Stakeholders in Himeji's Chambers of Commerce became members of committees overseeing certain developments precisely because they did have businesses at stake.

Tourism development in Hyōgo Prefecture is supported, in cities such as Kobe and Himeji that already have well established and varied economies, and which are wealthier

municipalities due to their industrial and other tax incomes. Furthermore, these cities receive government support due to their regional status in terms of their distance from Tokyo and other major metropolitan areas. This makes them eligible to receive funding or at least planning allowances for development.

Furthermore, Himeji's 'designated city' status in terms of population, also entitles it to national funding. It can therefore be seen that the wealthy areas of the Pacific coast do in fact, receive additional funding support for tourism or for projects that can be developed for tourism and recreational purposes. Nevertheless, even here, 'getting back to nature' or connecting with it (*fureai*) through culturally specific activities such as fishing, and water sports and recreation are promoted. Following on from this, images based on Japanese perceptions of nature and seasonality are used in prefectural and municipal publications to sanction further coastal development in locations that appear unsuitable for such recreational purposes.

The next chapter will compare the tourism development experience in Himeji with that of the fishing town of Kasumi on the Sea of Japan, where coastal tourism development has been planned through a resort development and other amenity enhancements, but has faced numerous problems in achieving this aim.

Note: Ieshima amalgamated with Himeji in 2005, undoubtedly improving Himeji's fishery statistics.

## **6 HYŌGO TOURISM: KASUMI COASTAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, case study material on Kasumi is used to consider the initial thesis that, in Japan, national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism, are problematic when implemented at the municipal level and do not necessarily improve local economic conditions.

The small fishing town of Kasumi on the Sea of Japan provides a contrast to the large scale development on the Pacific coast of Hyōgo. Nevertheless, this town has also been affected by national and prefectural policies that sought to use coastal development focussed on tourism as a means of revitalising the local, and in this case the rural, economy.

Kasumi's fishing industry is under pressure for a range of local and national reasons, as this chapter will highlight. Local businesses based on the fishing and tourism industries are interdependent and what affects one, impacts on the other. National budgetary constraints, policy changes, bank closures and business collapses from the mid-1990s through to the mid-2000s, have also affected the Kasumi economy. A further complicating factor is that regional revitalisation strategies have placed pressure on the Kasumi municipal government to respond quickly to injections, diversions and withdrawals of funds from the prefectural or national governments. This has produced piecemeal results in the furtherance of certain projects, or even their discontinuation. Therefore, what appeared to be a large per capita investment at the onset of one major economic revitalisation scheme became a series of loosely connected and scattered projects some of which were terminated at various interim stages. The local fisheries provide continuity in terms of their cultural and social significance and therefore remain central to the small community of Kasumi. In the past, improvements to road and rail transportation, to send the fish to markets, and land reclamation and infill, which allowed for the development of safe harbours, have sustained both the industry and the town.

Land reclamation, which has provided space for activities such as fish processing and fisheries research, has enabled Kasumi to broaden its land use and economic base and allowed at least some community members to continue to live in the town. However, community values and the attractions of the Kasumi lifestyle are no longer enough to maintain a stable population and the fisheries and tourism industries, are unable to prevent

the departure of those who now choose to live in the cities. Given its aging population, the decline of its fisheries and a local tourism industry that has yet to tap significantly into domestic tourist wealth, Kasumi faces many challenges.

As noted in the previous chapters, several national government ministries and prefectural departments, often work simultaneously on projects and these are characterised by varying levels of consultation and collaboration (Uda et al 2005). This situation, together with historical changes, national cultural trends, development practicalities, depopulation and threats to the integrity and security of primary production can adversely affect small towns with vulnerable economies.

Therefore, these complexities of geography, community, industry and local politics, intersect and are in turn affected by the impacts of changing prefectural and national politicking, as well as by global shifts. The politics of development in Japan, as McCormack (1996) illustrates, are evident in this case study of Kasumi. To make this account more comprehensible, historical and contemporary maps and illustrations are used here and a numbering system is used to locate the place of some of the photographs on a map of Kasumi (Fig 6-12). As foreshadowed in chapter 4, the information provided from the results of the questionnaires, and interviews (Appendices 4, 5, 6 and 7), provides primary source material, and this is supplemented by information from the plans for the coastal development projects. Because population issues intersect with the fisheries and tourism strategies, details of the population will be discussed early in the next section.

## **6.2 Kasumi: Background**

Kasumi is a coastal town located in the division of Tajima in northern Hyōgo (Fig. 6.1) and in the national park, the San'in Kaigan. The population declined from 14,502 in 1995 to 14,081 in 1999.<sup>74</sup> The population, which further declined to 13,998 people in 2000, lives in an area of 137.14 square kilometres though most are concentrated in the north-facing coastal settlement of Kyū Kasumi or old Kasumi, which is the focus of this research. These were the

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<sup>74</sup> The rate of decline for Kasumi over this period was 3.5%. The whole area was experiencing population decline. Figures for neighbouring Takeno and Kinosaki indicate similar rates of decline for the same time period of 2.2% and 5.4% respectively (Statistics Bureau of Japan. 2000). Kasumi figures courtesy of the municipal government

last available population figures for the area before the amalgamation of Kasumi with nearby townships. Although specific figures on these issues were not available, there is evidence of multiple home and land ownership, and of second generation vacant home ownership, where owners may use the former family home as a holiday home (known as a ‘second home’), rent it or leave it vacant in the long term.



Figure 6-1 The location of Kasumi and Himeji in Hyogo prefecture, 2000. Tajima district is in pale blue. Kasumi to the north is outlined in yellow and Himeji in the south is outlined in dark blue. The population density figures are highlighted in pink and the area in square kilometres in blue. Source: (Hyogo Prefectural Government Department of Planning Management and Statistics Administration Bureau 2001)

Kasumi is historically a fishing port with several small fish-processing factories located beachside; their number fluctuates as owners sell their businesses, move locations or close them altogether. The major fishing catch is *Matsuba-gani*, (Snow Crab), squid, prawns, flat fish and cuttlefish. Marine products are the most important primary produce contributions from the area. In 2000, the annual catch totalled 8.5 million kilograms with a value of 3.5 billion Yen (Kasumi Machi Suisan Gyōshinkō Kyōkai, 2001 21). Manufacturing, which includes value-added processing of marine products and other food processing, is more important to the local economy. The value of manufactured fishery product in the same year was 24 billion Yen (*Ibid.* 2001 21). Further inland, farms produce nashi pears for the nashi pear-wine industry, while various other agricultural products are mostly for local consumption.

The region of Northern Tajima extends along the entire north coast of Hyōgo Prefecture where its coastline remains mostly ‘rocky (and) precipitous ... due to steep marginal down warping of mountain land’ (Trewartha, 1965 37). As such, the northern coast has a limited hinterland with restricted areas of alluvial soils and the steep mountains are closer to the north coast than to the south thus creating a steeper gradient for orographic rainfall. There are deep water offshore trenches that stop abruptly at the shore. In winter, it can be inhospitable due to heavy and prolonged snowfall and can be prone to destructive tides. Due to this rugged topography and the presence of winter snow at the shoreline, Kasumi has limited potential for industrial development and large maritime transportation.

Toyooka, to the east of Kasumi, is the capital city of Tajima, and is the business, retail and industrial centre. From Kasumi, trains run west to Tottori prefecture and east to Toyooka (See Chap 1, Fig. 1-2). From there, trains and major highways connect across Honshu to the cities of Osaka and Kyoto. There is a direct train service to Kasumi from Himeji, and a major toll way, which also connects central Tajima (Wadayama) to Kobe. While most of Tajima’s roads are sealed and connected to the villages, they are basically former agricultural tracks. Many are narrow and allow only one car to pass at a time, as their concreted canalised kerbs have a metre drop to the rice fields below. The major toll way is therefore the preferred road to travel especially in the snow season.

Tajima’s inland tourism industry consists of hot springs, snow skiing, and other rural tourist attractions including farm visits based on beef production, where the focus is on the gourmet

products consumed in the locale. The coastal tourism of Tajima includes water sports, fishing, camping in summer, family accommodation, *minshuku*, local produce and gourmet cuisine.

### 6.2.1 Land Reclamation and Development in Kasumi

As was the case with other harbours in Hyōgo during the Meiji period, the redesigning of Kasumi Bay began in order to accommodate the growth of larger fishing boats. A jetty, on what is now the Eastern Port, was initially connected to a road network extending into the town's hinterland (Fig. 6-2).

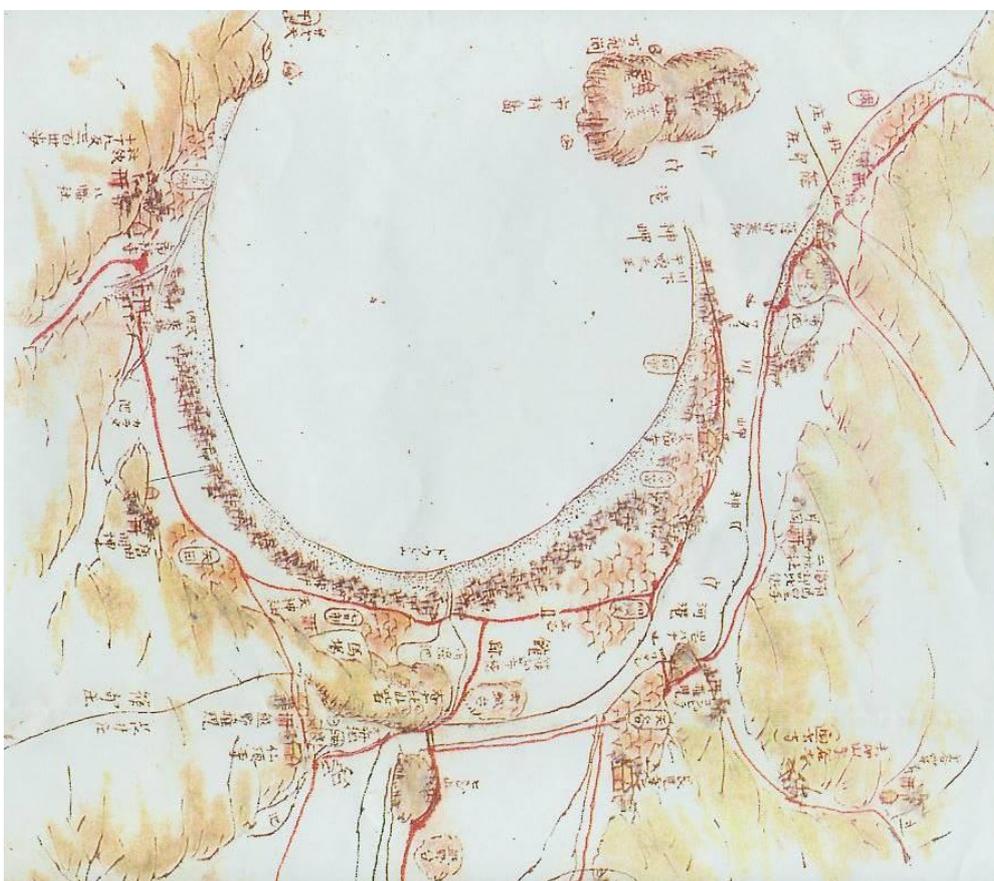


Figure 6-2 Kasumi Bay early Meiji period. This map shows that settlement occurred behind a line of pine trees. A sand bar points north to a small island and to the east, a jetty juts into the ocean. (Map: Courtesy of the TFRI)<sup>75</sup>

A later map from 1939 shows intensive reclamation and re-routing along the Kasumi coastline (Figure 6-3). Several smaller river channels had been canalised into grids to ease

<sup>75</sup> Maps produced in this period often did not show scale and north point. Place names were commonly written facing outwards around the islands.

flooding, control irrigation and develop agricultural space, mostly for rice. Kasumi Bay by then was divided into the Western and Eastern ports and the sand bar had been infilled to create a land bridge to the former small, mountainous island.



Figure 6-3 Kasumi Port, 1939. Kasumi Bay includes the western (W) and eastern (E) ports separated by the sand bar which is now a land connection to a former island (Refer to figure 6-2). The jetties in the Western port were built around 1912. The red circle highlights the Daijyōji Temple. (Map: Courtesy of the TFRI)

Pine trees, which provided some protection for the foreshore and the settlement behind it (Fig 6-4) were removed and replaced by buildings, a railway line (built in 1868) and more

roads. Four jetties in the Western port replaced the jetty of the Eastern port and agricultural land has been developed further along the Yadogawa River toward the Daijyōji Temple.



Figure 6-4 Kasumi, 1912-25. The eastern port of the north facing fishing village was still exposed to the open sea despite the introduction of rock groynes, indicated by the waves at the bottom right. Source: (Matsumoto, 1978 301).

However, the land reclamation did not protect the foreshore from erosion and, despite rock groynes being built along the exposed coastline in the early 1950s, erosion remained a hazard for dwellings and sheds (Figs 6-5 and 6-6)



Figure 6-5 High tide damage to the Kasumi foreshore and wooden buildings, 1950. Source: (Matsumoto, 1978 301)

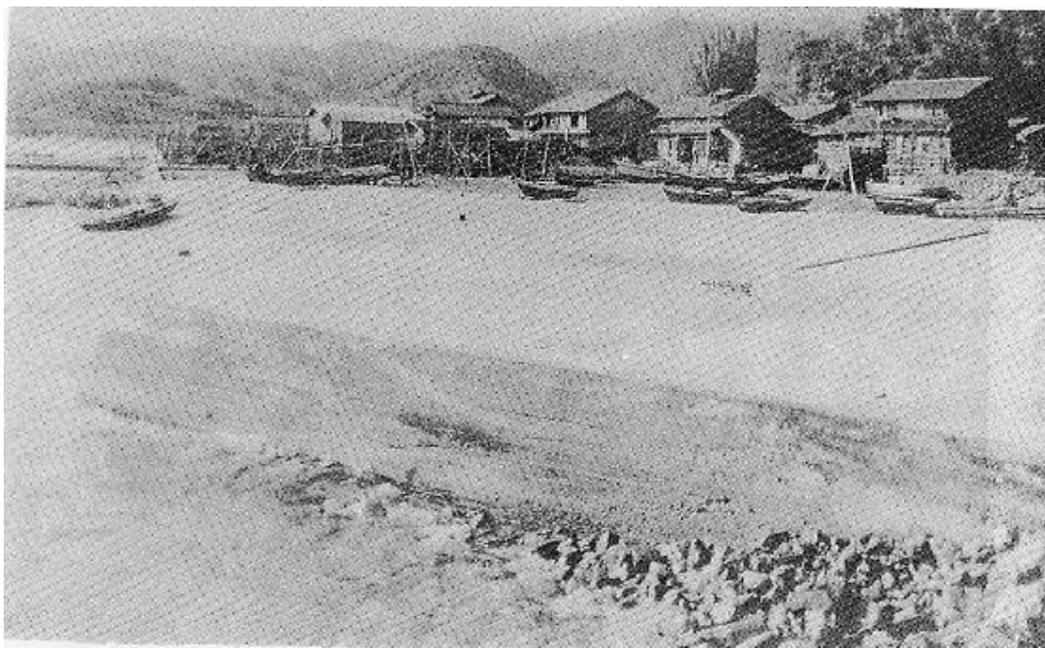


Figure 6-6 Extensive beach erosion in 1952. Source: (Matsumoto, 1978 301)

By 1973, the jetties of the Western port had been extended and upgraded. At the Eastern port, on the former jetty site, further land reclamation prepared the site for the future Tajima Fisheries Research Institute (TFRI). Extensive groynes and jetty development juts out at right angles to the coastline (Fig. 6-7).

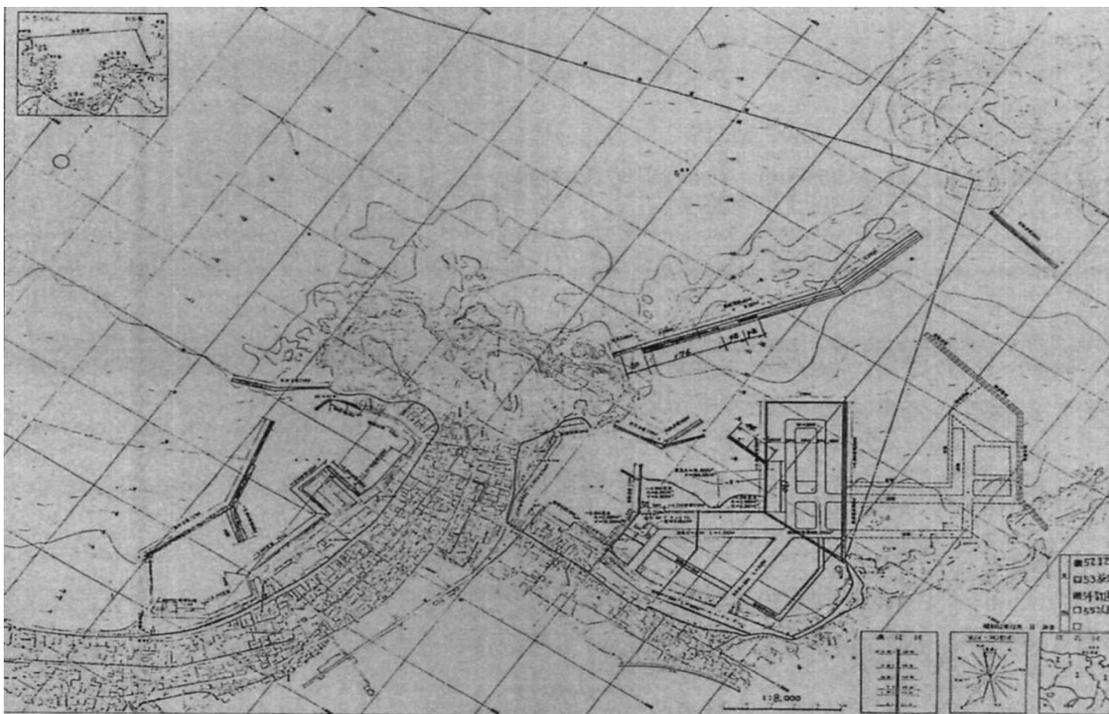


Figure 6-7 Kasumi Western and Eastern Ports, circa 1973. The proposed structure in the middle of the eastern port (facing north) had not been built by 2010. Source: (Ōnishi, 1998 26)

Although they were of historical and architectural interest, many of the wooden buildings have been replaced by sturdier concrete constructions. Typhoons, destructive high tides, heavy snowfalls and exposure to Siberian winds still impact on the foreshore (Fig. 6-8).



Figure 6-8 Kasumi foreshore, 2001. A concrete wall, mid ground, separates the beach from the coastal road that is lined with housing, *minshuku* and small businesses. Source: author

Between 1988 and 2000, several revitalisation projects took place in the eastern port district, including the construction of the TFRI and its aquaculture centre, the Kasumi Maritime Museum and the Imamura Family Inn, a municipally managed accommodation and function centre built on a cliff top. Extensive use of tetrapods not only created safer harbour conditions for fishing and research vessels, but also platforms for recreational fishers and protected breeding grounds for fingerlings and crabs (Fig. 6-9).



Figure 6-9 Kasumi Eastern port, 2005. Facing north out to the Sea of Japan are the TFRI (yellow), the Imamura Family Inn (green) and the Kasumi Maritime Museum (red). Source: (All Japan Safe Casting Union Hyōgo Association 2001 195)

Inland along the Yadogawa River, 1990s reconstruction projects included levees and the redirection of rivers (Fig.6-10). Several locals claimed that the construction of a new dam further inland has coincided with an increase in flooding in Kasumi. An informant connected to the Hyōgo Rivers Department confirmed that the dam's engineers voiced concerns that the dam could contribute to coastal and hinterland flooding, but it was built nonetheless. Other new developments included housing on agricultural land bordering the Yadogawa. Some locals chose to relocate there from older houses or to create living space for their extended families (Fig. 6-11). The housing is built approximately a metre above the rice fields.



Figure 6-10 Kasumi Levee across the Yadogawa. In the foreground is a concrete levee development. Source: author



Figure 6-11 A modern housing estate adjacent to a levee and agricultural land, east of the Yadogawa. Source: author

## 6.2.2 Land Use

While the Western Port Bay is approximately 1,350 metres across at its entrance, the majority of development has occurred in the oldest settled area of Kasumi to the east of the Yadogawa River. Post 1950s development extends south-east (Fig. 6-12).

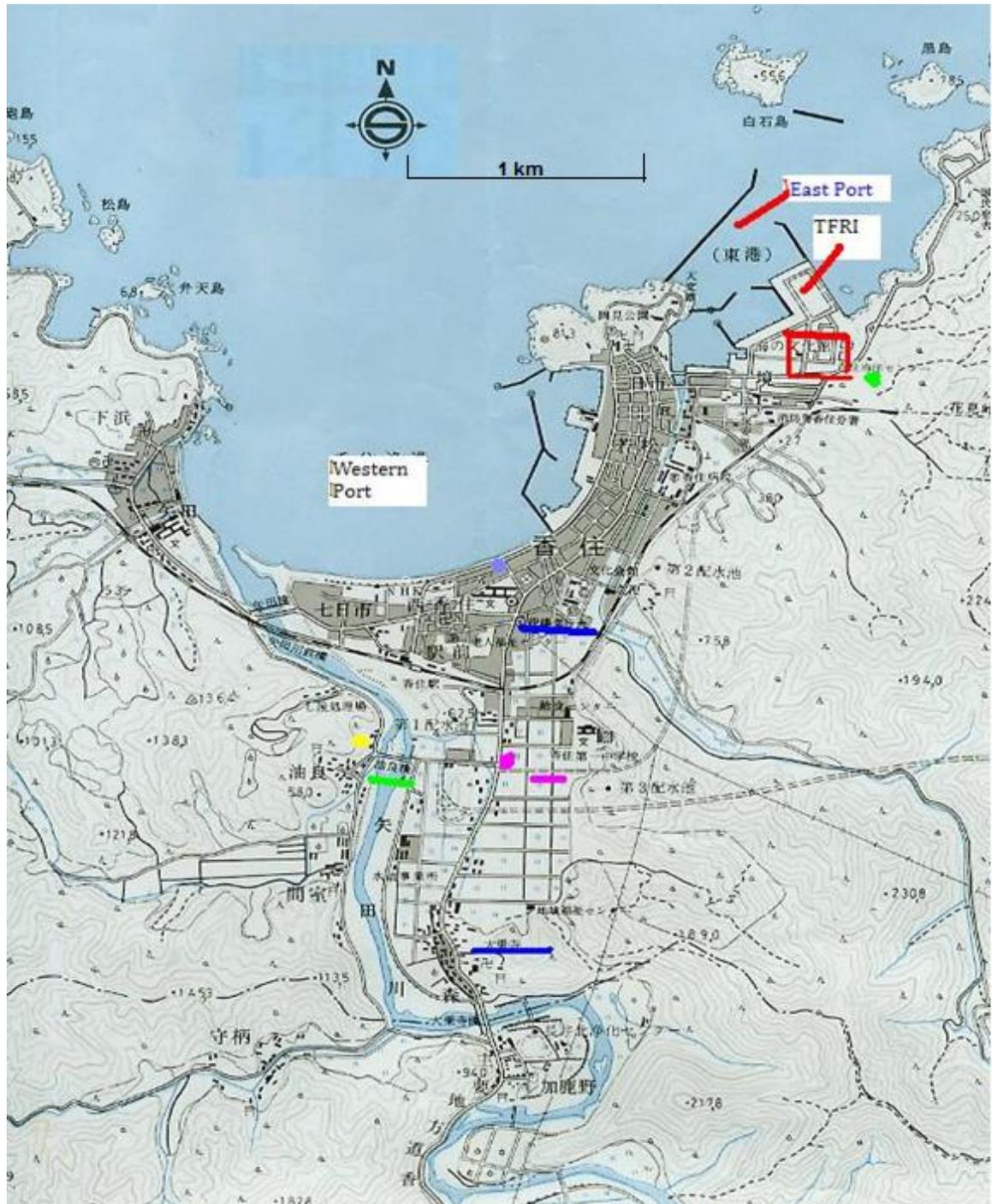


Figure 6-12 Kyū Kasumi, 1998. Key: (1) Pink -retail, (2) yellow-agricultural hamlet, (3) north blue- line municipal office sector, (4) south blue line- Daijyōji Buddhist shrine, (5) green dot-Imamura family inn, (6) green line- river levees, (7) red square- Marine Museum, (8) Lilac dot -site of the Western Port Renaissance Plan and beginning of fish retail and restaurant strip.

The western port coastline of Kasumi is lined with the Fisheries Cooperative Association, union and administration headquarters, auction sheds, wholesale and retail outlets, and restaurants, one of which serves locals only. Further to the west of the western port are the small ancillary businesses of fish cold storage/ retail, seafood processing, more restaurants and some local minshuku, offering an overall regional food experience focussing on local marine and agricultural produce for tourists.

These land uses extend along the river and its hinterland and include small fish processing factories, housing, schools, restaurants, bars, cafes, general retail, pachinko parlours and the municipal hub. A large laundry business services the hospitality industry. Agriculture is located further south along the Yadogawa, although garden plots can be found on the coast. Many of those who own agricultural land live adjacent to their plots, although there are also people who have multiple businesses that include farms and they travel to their different properties by car. Interspersed in this settlement is a Shinto Temple, cemeteries and small Shinto shrines dedicated to the local deity.

Housing styles vary from those whose facades are historically maintained (Fig 6-13), through to fishing village-styles with shop fronts facing the main road (Fig 6-14),



Figure 6-13 Traditional house and street front, Kyū Kasumi. Four generations of family members live in this house, large by Japanese standards. Its boundaries are between the foreground electricity pole and the mid ground pole. Source: author



Figure 6-14 Fishing village housing in Kyū Kasumi. Weathered by the ocean, these houses and shop fronts have been renewed or restored. (11/01). Source: author

and modern two storey dwellings (Fig 6-15) to those perched on steep slopes in mountain settlements (Fig 6-16) which belong to the descendants of the Heike clan who retreated to these mountainous regions following their defeat by the Genji in the 12th century (McCullough, 1988).



Figure 6-15 Streetscape Kasumi, 2001. Retail, cafes, pachinko parlours and housing line this street that heads north from the station to Kasumi beach. Source: author



Figure 6-16 Mountain housing overlooking Kasumi Bay. Steep street-fronts are lined with shops and the houses of people who are descendants of the Heike. Source: author

Further inland, modern agricultural housing is located adjacent to farming plots (Fig. 6-17) while older style buildings are a short distance from these plots (Fig. 6-18).



Figure 6-17 Agricultural land, Kasumi. Adjacent to the modern post office (not shown) are flatland agricultural plots (top) lined with modern housing, which contrast with difficult to access, mountainside, agricultural plots (below). Source: author



Figure 6-18 Housing along the Yadogawa. Local residents' vegetable plots alongside drying persimmon. (Refer to Figure 6-12, (6) for location) Source: author

Along the main road leading into Kasumi from the south, are three businesses established in the Meiji period; a sake distillery (Figure 6-19), a food processor of vinegars, pickles, pear wine and condiments and a soy sauce (*shoyu*) producer. Newer businesses reflect the influence of the global economy, such as petrol stations, supermarkets, convenience stores and clothing shops (Figure 6-20).



Figure 6-19 Kasumi Sake Brewery. This building is adjacent to the Daijyōji shrine (Refer Figure 6-12 (4) for location) Source: author



Figure 6-20 New development in Kasumi. A group of retail shops at a new crossroads leading to agricultural land are located behind the Cosmo petrol station (Refer to Figure 6-12 (1) for location). Source: author

Delineated blocks to the east of the *Yadogawa* and south of the more densely populated *Kyū Kasumi* exhibit a mixture of rice, vegetable and flower fields on either side of the road. The

Daijyōji temple founded by the Buddhist monk, Murayama in the 17<sup>th</sup> century is located at the inland edge of this old and central area of Kasumi (Figure 6.21).



Figure 6-21 The Gateway of Daijyōji Buddhist Temple (Refer to Figure 6-12 (4) for location). Source: author.

A hot springs bathhouse (onsen) was opened in 2000 while further along this road is a michi-no-eki that has a restaurant and sells souvenirs and local products (Field Research 2002).

### 6.2.3 Kasumi Coastal and Economic Development

By 1942, the built environment of Kasumi had changed from that of a traditional coastal fishing village to that of a substantial fishing port. The local waters, served by the Oki cold mass and the Tsushima warm current, support sardine, two types of mackerel, *Matsubagani*, squid and other fish. Between 1973 and 1997, with the exception of horse mackerel, the yields of all these species declined rapidly, due in part to overfishing which has been intensified by the implementation of the Economic Exclusion Zone, which limits Japanese fishing grounds to 200 kilometres from its shores. This means that its previous exclusive fishing zone is now shared with Chinese and Korean fishers (Sakai Fisheries, 1999).

In the early and mid-twentieth century, substantial development of the town took place (Figures 6-22 and 23). Its economic peak began in the 1960s and continued through to the 1970s when much of the town was redeveloped. Intensive fishing with improved technology

ensured that the Kasumi fisheries were the largest producers in the division of North West Honshu.



Figure 6-22 Kasumi Western Port, 1942. (Refer Figure 6-12). Source: (Ōnishi, 1998 16)



Figure 6-23 Kasumi port, 1950s. A decade later, the Western port (foreground) had been developed to include the expansion of the main jetty and a breakwater. In contrast, the Eastern port (mid ground) retained sandy beaches lined with pine trees which extend to the hinterland. Source: (Ōnishi, 1998 17)

In 2005, the concrete-dominated buildings of the 1970s were still signifiers of the town's former economic prosperity (Fig. 6-24) while, in the sea, the extensive use of tetrapod breakwaters and groynes highlighted the significance of the fisheries industry to the local economy (Fig.6-25).



Figure 6-24 The Kasumi Town hall and Municipal Offices on the main street. Source: author.

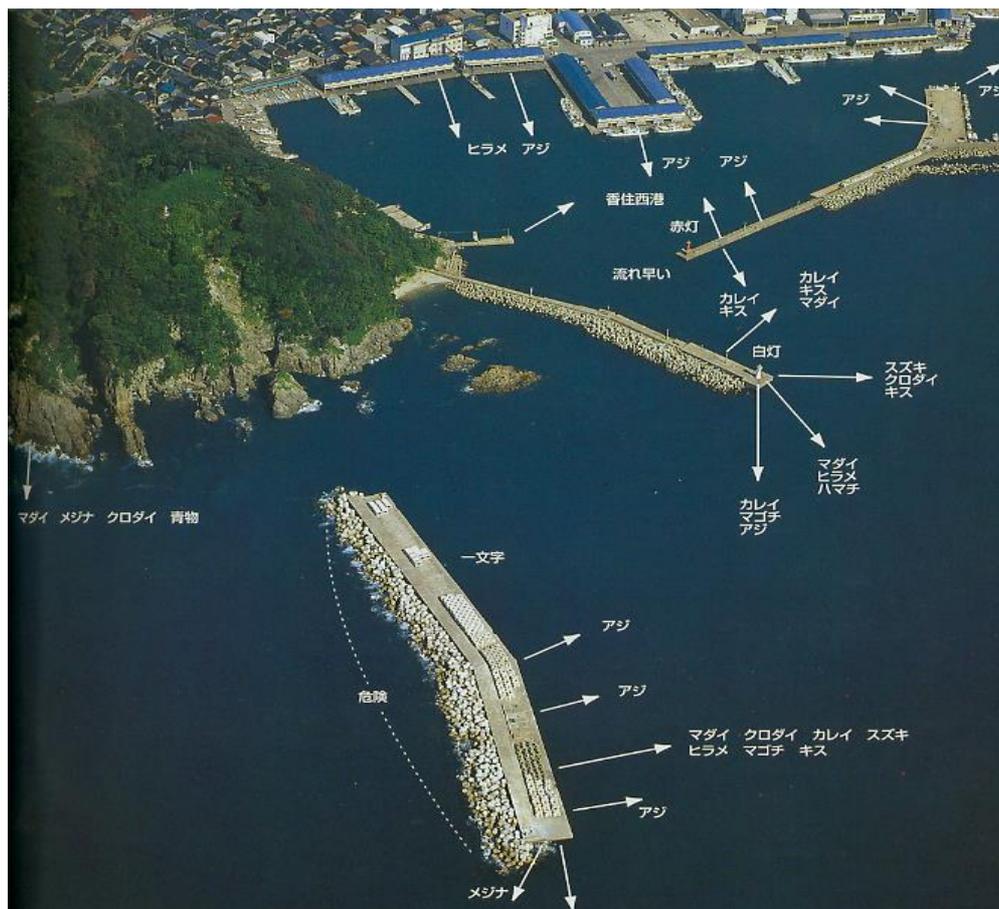


Figure 6-25 Western Port Kasumi, 2005. Blue roofed auction and maintenance sheds face north to the sea. Source: (All Japan Safe Casting Union Hyōgo Association, 2001 194).

The over-exploitation of Kasumi's natural resources , and the resultant unsustainability of its fishing industry<sup>76</sup> are now testing local peoples' faith in the sustainability of their community. Kasumi can no longer support its declining population through its fishing industry alone. This is due in part to a reduced labour pool as a result of an aging population, out-migration and the undesirable image and hard working conditions of the fishing industry.

### 6.3 Fisheries and the Tourism Industry in Kasumi

Kasumi has been a tourist destination since the Meiji period, when its natural coastline was an attraction for wealthy tourists offering them relief from the rapidly urbanising and industrialising environment of the Pacific coastline (Figure 6-26). Nonetheless, due to the significant income generated from marine products and their associated industries, Kasumi still identifies itself as a fishing village despite its changing employment profile.

<sup>76</sup> Such exploitation is a national phenomenon, pressured by advertising and consumer demands (Francks 2009).



Figure 6-26 Late Meiji period tourists relaxing in coastal Kasumi. Source: (Yamazaki S, 1994 86) (Neither exact date nor tourists' hometown supplied).

An important phase in the development of Kasumi corresponded with a decline in the income generated from marine products in the period from 1985 to 1999. While fisheries production had begun to decrease from the late 1970s, it was not until the introduction of laws pertaining to the Economic Exclusion Zone, which restricted fishers to within 200kms of their nation's coasts, that this decline became severe. Given the other impacts on the national economy in the later 1990s, the national government was already attempting to arrest the decline in rural regions through its *furusato* rejuvenation projects. However, this could hardly compensate for the financial decline of the Kasumi fishing industry from ¥8,549,866,000, in 1985 to ¥4,968,462,000 in 1999. In 1986 the yield was 21,238 tonnes but this had fallen by 1999 to 10,701 tonnes (Kasumi Municipality Kinosaki-Gun Hyōgo Prefecture, 2001 17). By 1999 however, the relative importance of the Matsuba crab to the industry had increased. It accounted for 27% of the total yield, but contributed 39% of the marine income. The industry's dependence on such a seasonal product, in an area where winter is severe, has considerable potential to create a sequence of impacts affecting the income and welfare of the wider community.

The Kasumi tourism industry is based on the fishing industry, on local agricultural produce and manufactured products and importantly, on its local reputation for hospitality. The connection between tourism and fishing is due to gourmet tourism or *gurume tsurizumu*<sup>77</sup>.

### 6.3.1 Gourmet Tourism

Gourmet tourism or *Gurume tsurizumu*, encompasses the overall experience of the local *minshuku*, and the Kasumi 'atmosphere' which can include aquaculture educational tours, coastal fishing, ocean watching, scenic coastal tours or owner-driver touring of scenic areas, consumption of local agricultural products, visits to local shrines and high-end tourist activities which include water sports, deep sea and coastal fishing and associated accommodation. It is also about purchasing produce en locale and sending it home or to colleagues, friends and family. *Gurume tsurizumu* in Kasumi is highly dependent on the production of fish. Restaurant types range from privately owned restaurants with seasonal and set course menus to those found in *minshuku*, which are expected to provide guests with multiple courses (*kaiseki*) of local seafood.

The fishing industry representatives, many of whom work in conjunction with the TFRI, include members of the fisheries union and cooperative, have considerable input into both the tourism industry and fishery production. Local fishers (who, characteristically, are also union and co-operative members) can have multiple roles not only as fishers, but also as owners of fish processing plants (freezing and drying), restaurants and other associated businesses. They may also be members of the chamber of commerce and the prefectural government. This intersection of interests also encompasses fisheries related businesses such as auctions, wholesale and retail sales, and further seafood processing such as the manufacture of reconstituted 'seafood' products.

Marketing emphasises the quality and freshness of the local ocean produce. Packaged products are printed with local motifs or symbols on the wrappings displaying area branding. However, the 'gourmet' and local product marketing style is not exclusive to Kasumi and

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<sup>77</sup> Or *gurume no tabi*

throughout Japan at almost all major train stations and at retail shops near tourism attractions, retail outlets stock various ‘local’ products claimed to be exclusive to that town or region.

### 6.3.2 Tajima Fisheries Research Institute

A major prefectural project in the 1990s was to further enhance the Tajima region’s fisheries with a mariculture and fishery research institute for the aquaculture of the roe of red sea bream, flatfish, abalone and turban shell. The Tajima Fisheries Research Institute (TFRI), situated on the Kasumi Western Port (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 20), was an addition to the Tajima Fisheries Association (or Management) Office which had a small outmoded aquaculture centre. Reporting to the prefectural head office in Kobe, the TFRI was originally established to conduct research to improve the Kasumi fisheries and those of Hyōgo Prefecture more generally, but its role has expanded to include research into most aspects of fisheries and aquaculture production and fish processing.

As discussed in chapter three, the post-war expansion of the Japanese economy led to the development of its coastal areas. Kasumi’s history, in terms of fishery production, is recorded in U.S. military reconnaissance records (the village was then known as the Tajima fishery station). Following WWII, SCAP<sup>78</sup> recorded various remnant industries throughout Japan including 118 government supported fisheries, and marine products research stations and branches. The lowest order in this chain of fisheries production was the prefectural fisheries experimental stations (*kenritsu suisan*) whose tasks were multifarious and included:

- supporting fisheries research laboratories, which conducted research on problems of local interest, both biological and chemical,
- the operation of large fisheries research vessels which would sell much of the fish they caught to the public and transfer the subsequent income to the government to help defray the expenses of the individual stations which managed the vessels,
- fisheries investigations and monitoring by police or patrol vessels, operating from these stations (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, 1946; Krug and Day, 1947).

These three roles are still conducted by the TFRI in Kasumi today.

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<sup>78</sup> Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers

The current TFRI focus has centred on the patrolling of the North Western Sea of Japan to prevent illegal fishing, and to continue to test and address the effects of pollution from the 1997 oil spill, from the Russian oil tanker *Nakhodka* that affected the Western Sea of Japan fish populations including Kasumi's major winter productions of the Matsuba crab at least until 2001-2002. Tests of these crabs found that they were not only smaller in size, but that they had soft shells, which readily broke, or legs that fell off (Field observation December 2001). In 2001, the institute staffed by thirteen casual and permanent land and sea staff, still focussed its research on the quality of the Matsuba crab and on squid production and processing.

Other roles of the TFRI included at-sea fisheries classes for Kasumi secondary school, the provision of advice for private deep sea fishing tours and providing manufacturing and machinery advice to local producers. In field observation in 2001, two women sought advice from the TFRI director. They were from the mountainous regions of the town, already produced vegetables, and were interested in buying fish processing machinery to puree fresh seafood 'off cuts' with binding agents to produce *kamaboko*, a popular slightly chewy seafood product found in soups (Kazuko, 2002 104). This fish processing was to supplement their income from agriculture. In this same year, the institute's role increased to include educational tours for the general public under the industrial tourism initiatives of the MLIT (Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transport 2001c) (Fig 6-27).



Figure 6-27 The Tajima Fisheries Research Institute. A tourist bus waits at the entrance. Source: author.

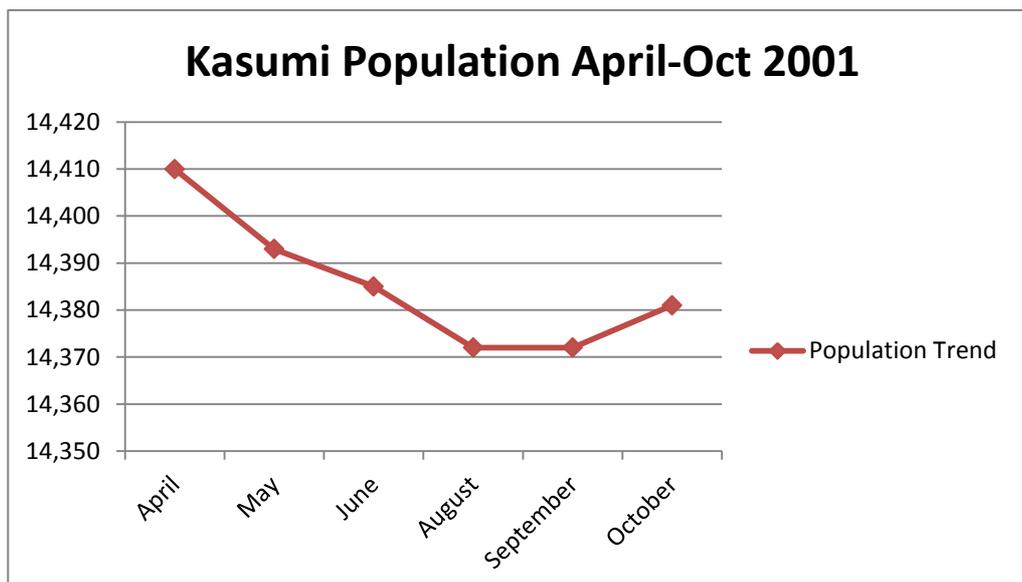
From a solely fishing role prior to the early twentieth century, the various Kasumi fishery organisations roles now include deeper and broader responsibilities, including research and coastal management and tourism development strategies as well as land based data collection.

### 6.3.3 Community Profile: the Population Challenges for the Local Industry

In the fieldwork period of November 2001- February 2002, the interviewees, when asked what they thought were the important issues facing the Kasumi economy, responded with: the Economic Exclusion Zone, disturbance of fish breeding grounds, over fishing, imports, tourism competition, priority making, pricing and oil spill pollution. No-one included the problem of population decline, although the aging population was identified by a local medical practitioner (pers. comm. Appendix 2) and was a common theme in all fishery industry statistics in the TFRI and the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries.

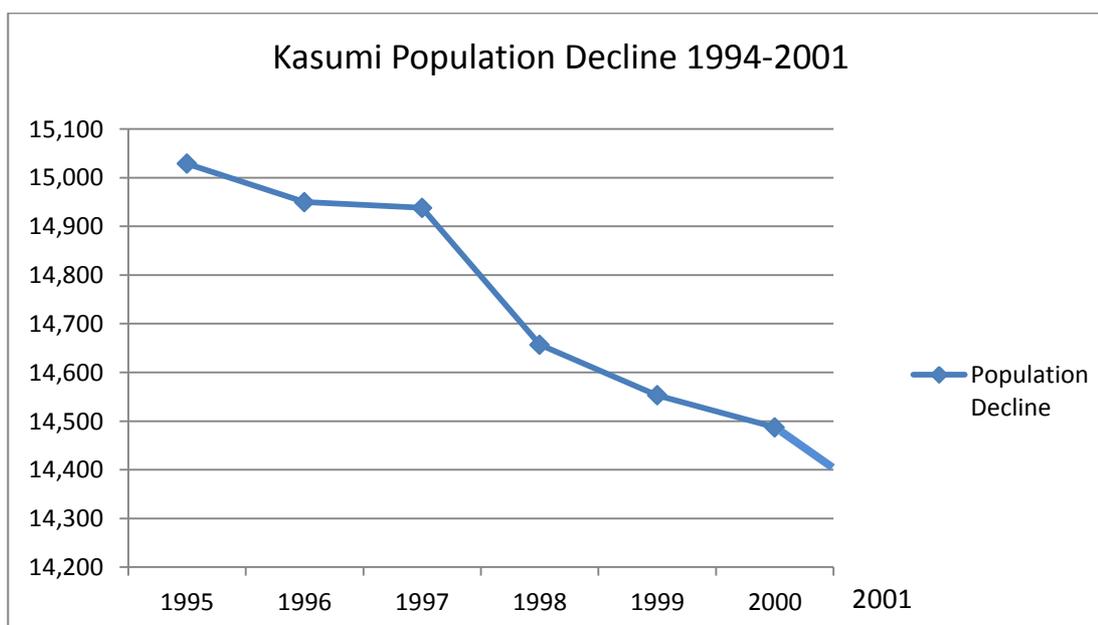
For the year of 2001, the official statistics indicated a rapid decline in population numbers. It was observed in the fieldwork that contributing factors to this trend other than births and deaths, encompassed in and out migration, including secondary and tertiary schooling for teenage students, the arrival and departure of international English teachers and their accompanying families, employment exchange programmes with China and South Korea and employment relocation particularly within the fisheries research sector and fisheries industry. The population statistics available for Kasumi in 2001 ranged from between 14,081 and 13,998 in the same Tajima government publication (Office of the Tajima Regional Local Government Business Association, 2001 4, 22). In the local statistics collected through the Kasumi Fisheries Industry Promotion Association, the 2001 population was 14,410. The latter data were collected on a monthly basis and so these are used here to indicate the variation experienced in less than a year (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 The Population shift in Kasumi 2001 (Source: Kasumi Machi Suisan Gyōshinkō Kyōkai 2001).



Over a six year period beginning prior to this research period and ending with the neighbouring municipality negotiations regarding amalgamation, the population was declining. Table 6.2 highlights the population decline in year on year terms.

Table 6.2 The Population Decline from 1994-2001 (Source: Kasumi Machi Suisan Gyōshinkō Kyōkai 2001)



The population was declining not only due to morbidity but also out migration, encouraged by opportunities for suitable employment, city lifestyles and better education options

elsewhere. Universities are largely located on the Pacific coast. However, it was not only the tertiary education age group that was affected by out-migration, but also the secondary school age group. Depending on a family's financial situation, the year level and a student's future study plan, a student could leave Kasumi as young as 13 years of age to board or to live with other family members in cities that provide a wider range of secondary schooling. Statistics are unreliable for this type of boarding since students can claim the family home as their domicile for census purposes. Nevertheless, this is a common practice despite there being two secondary schools in Kasumi, one of which has a fisheries course for 16 year olds which includes research and involvement with the TFRI.

Households may accommodate up to four generations of family members with the elderly being cared for in the home but contributing to daily tasks as in Fig. 6.28 where women can be seen preparing vegetables, shelling nuts or preserving persimmon and similar tasks. A high care retirement facility has been built on the outskirts of Kasumi. In 2000, people over the age of 65 represented 22.7% of the population of Kasumi (Fig.6.29). For the Prefecture as a whole, this age group represents 16% of the population (Tajima Regional Administration Group, 2001 22). Since the 1950s, women have outnumbered men in Kasumi by approximately 8% (Kamitown Tourism Association, 2005 21).



Figure 6-28 An elderly woman pushes dried fish in a converted baby stroller. Source: author



Figure 6- 29 Elderly and middle aged women working in a fish processing factory. Source: (Kasumi Municipality Hyōgo Prefecture, 1995 54)

Women hold various workforce roles, which include being employers and business partners. One businesswomen owned several small businesses servicing the local people who, she believed, came first before tourists. She hired women who were relatives, friends or locals who worked in order to supplement their family incomes. Other women, who were wives or relatives of the fishermen, carted the daily catch by barrow to the auction sheds and, although they did not participate in the auction bidding, they did all the other work of sorting and preparing the fish (Fig. 6-30). In other local businesses, women held core roles in maintaining their husbands' or family's businesses, often combining this with child rearing, housekeeping and elderly relative care.



Figure 6-30 Fisherwomen of Kasumi. Under shelter at the western port, women who are clad in wet weather clothing and gloved, sort the crab catch that men bought and sold at auction. Source: author.

Women of all ages worked in casual, part-time and seasonal employment in the fish processing factories in Kasumi. In one factory, which was also a retail business and gourmet restaurant catering to the tourist trade, the owner employed thirteen women on a casual basis but, at the time of the interview, he was worried about them as he felt he could no longer support such a large number of employees into the future (Fig. 6-31).



Figure 6-31 Women predominate in the fish processing area of this factory (Refer to Fig 6-12 (8)). Source: author

Small business owners try to maintain their operations in Kasumi. The local supermarkets and other small businesses, such as the launderer, drycleaner and the butcher in the town were owner operated and employed as many local people as possible under casual and part-time agreements. Business owners often had multiple business interests and thus were able to sustain the local economy by keeping as wide a range of services as possible in the town. A second generation gas supplier also operated a plumbing business, and, as a kitchen manufacturer, had expanded operations into Toyooka. This family of four generations has a separate, large residence in Kasumi that was over two hundred years old. The residence also has a separate entrance where neighbours could buy comestibles such as vinegars and sauces. Semi-retired business people and other small retail businesses sold non-perishable goods, books, cameras and film in shops with residences attached. Other small businesses that were small franchises such as a bakery shop would hire women for shop front duties.

Local professionals too, held dual roles. One medical professional had taken on the extra responsibility of providing emergency care for the elderly since there was a shortage of doctors in the Kasumi area. He was licensed to do this and was on 24 hour call.

The Mayor also noted the importance of maintaining employment in the community and revealed that he too would be obliged to make thirteen municipal workers redundant within the next three months (Interview Nov 2001); in fact, nineteen municipal government workers were made redundant in two weeks in December 2001 causing an outcry and the pursuit of legal action for redundancy payments for long-term employees. The Director of the TRFI was also concerned about the employment prospects of several of his staff including nine sailors on the research ship, which, under prefectural instruction, had experienced a reduction in its number of sea days (Interview Dec 2001, Appendix 2).

#### 6.3.4 The Challenges to the Fishing Industry

The practicalities of everyday fishery industry life in Kasumi were the focus of individual, informal interviews with four local women, three of whom were prominent in the community and three of whom were involved directly in fishing. They portrayed it as an arduous industry with significant impacts on the labour market, demographics and economy of Kasumi. In the past, rituals and prayers had been offered for the safety of the fishermen and, from the wharves, women would wave, wishing their menfolk a safe return from the risky life at sea. Although the town maintained these traditions by encapsulating them within festivals and calendared rituals, two of the women alluded to the continuance of purification rituals that entailed exclusion practices particularly related to the care of the sick and death at sea (Interviews 2001). Modern technology and environmental pressures have intensified and broadened the range of issues that the industry and associated role-players must face.

When asked what they thought were the important issues facing the Kasumi industry, the major role-players and stakeholders of the Kasumi fishing industry, expressed the following opinions based on their experiences (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Challenges facing the Fishing Industry of Kasumi

Issue	Details
Economic Exclusion Zone	The 200 nautical mile EEZ now renders it illegal for Japanese fishing boats to sail into Chinese and Korean waters. However, Korean and Chinese ships exceed their quotas and do not recognise the Japanese waters as outlined in the exclusion zone regulations.
Disturbance of Fish Breeding Grounds	Fish breeding grounds are being disturbed by land reclamation, (although submerged tetrapods were being tested as successful breeding and protection areas for juvenile crabs and fingerlings).
Overfishing	Continued overfishing, locally and regionally, by professional fishing association members and locals.
Imports	Local retailers importing cheaper crab and fish from China, Korea and Russia.
Tourism competition	Other towns and villages such as Takeno and Kinosaki creating their own 'unique' crab tourist attractions and thus luring tourists away from Kasumi.
Lack of Prioritisation	Kasumi fisheries' problems are a small and marginal issue for the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF); which employs over 300,000 people and focusses on agriculture.
Pricing	Processed fish products from Kasumi do not sell well in wholesale markets in the big cities where supermarket groups have controlled pricing policies, making it difficult for local produce to be sold at competitive prices.
Oil Spill Pollution	On January 2nd 1997, the Russian oil tanker <i>Nakhodka</i> released approximately 5,000 tons of oil onto Japan's north western sea affecting many coastal marine environments (Yamamoto T et al., 2003). This led to 'rumours' that the Kasumi Matsuba crab population had been polluted. Correspondingly, tourism numbers declined. In 2001, the Kasumi municipal government noted that tourist numbers had finally regained their pre-1997 levels. However, in 2001 even in peak season, some crabs had soft shells and broken or dismembered legs, "probably from a disease" (Interview Nov 2001) (Fig.6-32). <sup>79</sup>
Crab harvests	Unstable crab harvests in both quality and quantity, affecting auction prices.

Interviewees: Director of Hyōgo Port and staff, Fishery employees, fishery industry owners, Director of the TFRI, Associate Director of the TFRI, President of the Fisheries Co-operative Association.

<sup>79</sup> In the off season, this condition was prevalent in the young crabs caught (Makino, M. 2008)



Figure 6-32 Tajima Fisheries Research Institute Assistant Director and staff measuring size and quality of Matsuba crab in 2001. Source: author

These issues however, were not the priority of the local community; other issues were much more personal and were connected with lifestyle and culture.

### 6.3.5 Fishing Culture as Embedded in the Community

The fishing industry is Kasumi's traditional activity. Of the locals interviewed, those aged 50 and over recounted fishing's halcyon days of the pre-1980s and its importance to their community identity. They also stressed their attachment to the sea, whether it was in terms of recreation or economy. Those under 50 years of age did not consider fishing as an attractive employment option for themselves or their children, even though this age group was well represented in employment in the administration and research of the fisheries. Several interviews revealed conflicts of opinion within the Kasumi community as Table 6.4 illustrates.

Table 6.4 Community Perceptions of Fisheries enhanced local business  
(no statistical data was supplied by the FCA)

<b>Negative Perceptions</b>	<b>Positive Perceptions</b>	<b>Interviewee</b> (see Appendix 2)
The romantic image which remains of the old-style fishing village is deterring progress towards a modern rural community lifestyle		Town Planner
Kasumi's past successes as a major fishing town contributed to the community's unrealistic sense of local pride; That somehow its economy would 'miraculously' turn around		Hyōgo Port directors, fishery and industry owners and employees of the TFRI
	Fisheries-related tourism enhances our door sales (we believe that) in winter, local product sales are boosted by tourists who were attracted to Kasumi for its fishing industry; In summer for the beaches and recreational deep sea fishing who also used michi-no-eki and factory door sales	Owners of sake, <i>shoyu</i> and <i>su</i> industries, nashi farmer, FCA President and staff, municipal representatives
Fishing is not a desirable job and will not attract counter-urbanites		Young locals, town planner, the local municipal prefectural representative

The collective qualified and expert opinions from the interviews with the three Hyōgo Port directors, the fishery and industry owners of Kasumi and the employees of TFRI as summarised in the table above strongly contrast with those of the general community members who used the opportunity to express their opinions in the General Kasumi questionnaire's open ended section (see Appendix 6). The latter group believed that there had been a decline in the much needed sense of local pride that was derived from fishing as a form of employment and a lifestyle.

The group of Kasumi, non-fishing industry, business stake-holders (see Appendix 2, interviewees 1,2,3,5,11) claimed that this view of the fishing industry was instead a 'stubborn pride', and a few influential owners within the fishery industry agreed with this comment. These non-fishing stakeholders opted for progress and change, and argued that

nostalgic attitudes and ‘pride’ (in fishing) were useless since they did not address the town’s immediate issues such as depopulation and did not contribute to future planning for the Kasumi economy.

Furthermore, according to the Director of the TFRI, even those students who had been on the fisheries secondary school early training scheme did not necessarily enter the fisheries industry following graduation. The lack of incentives included low salaries for an unsafe job that is seasonally demanding but has concomitant downtime. The interview results from those employed in clerical positions revealed that this age group (mid 20s –mid 30s) preferred the jobs of this type to employment in the fishing Industry.

#### **6.4 Identifying Tourism Issues in Kasumi**

Not only is Kasumi’s tourism sector impacted by local challenges, notably to the fishing industry, it is also affected by national and global events and by natural hazards, which can seriously affect businesses with limited profit margins. In 2001, internet seafood and other local produce sales from neighbouring towns and prefecture-wide business groups began to affect local retailers and although statistics were not available, the drop in numbers of visitors was causing concern (interview 2001, fish retailer). As the following sections indicate, conflicts of interest within Kasumi have fostered competing business strategies and divisions in community attitudes.

The following four sub sections address the topics which emerged from of the interviews with major business (tourism, fisheries and retail) stakeholders and role-players in Kasumi.

##### **6.4.1 Environment**

Most major role-players gave their opinion as to the current state of Kasumi’s natural environment as a contributing factor to its tourism problems (Table 6.5):

Table 6.5 Problems with the Kasumi Environment

<b>Comment</b>	<b>Interviewee</b>
<u>Beach degradation</u> The groynes in Kasumi Bay, put in place to curtail beach erosion, led to the sand disappearing, thus narrowing the beach.	Deputy Mayor of Kasumi
<u>Loss of the natural amenity of the sea coast</u> The factors of natural destruction, human – induced sand erosion, overfishing, the building of the lighthouse and the groynes have all contributed to the costs of the coastline’s ongoing maintenance and it can now only be sustained through continued artificial reefing for coastal protection- a ‘catch 22’ situation	Kasumi Tourism Association Director
<u>Inland environmental degradation</u> and redirection of the river system had contributed to the beach erosion	An engineer who had participated in the river development project; a director of the Hyōgo Ports and Harbour in Himeji, formerly of the Ports and Harbours in Kasumi

#### 6.4.2 Locals versus Tourists

Kasumi businesses that are not involved in fisheries and related industries, generally do not cater for ‘outsider’ custom. As elsewhere in rural Japan, some small retailers did not turn on their lights when they were open and they held a limited variety of produce, catering only to local customers’ needs. This included shop keepers who were semi-retired or whose spouses worked elsewhere.

*I do not like Japanese tourist, they are rude and want a lot. I believe in local customer and community and what they want.*

-a successful, local business woman (see Appendix 2)

This view is understandable. Most tourists are ferried by coach to the fish retailers who sell them seafood and then organise the transportation of these gourmet souvenirs to their final destinations (often to friends and colleagues) by independent couriers. Meanwhile the tourists go upstairs to the fishmonger’s restaurant, eat set meals, file down the stairs to the awaiting coach and are ferried on to the next town. These tourists often do not get to see

Kasumi beyond the bus and restaurant window or to spend money in non-designated outlets (Fig. 6-33).



Figure 6-33 Fresh fish retailer. Staff attend to tourists who purchase fresh food souvenirs across the road from the Western port. Source: author.

The Kasumi respondents were asked what they thought was needed to improve tourism and some chose to make use of the ‘extra comments’ section (general questionnaire 2001 Appendix 5) and the responses which are summarised below reflect their negative perceptions of the current impacts of the tourism industry on their community:

*rubbish, heavy traffic congestion and the lack of car parking; the tourists’ lack of respect; the lack of good manners and driving courtesy.*

However, when offered two choices of what they wished for the future of Kasumi’s tourism industry, only six respondents chose the status quo, while 44 respondents desired further development of Kasumi’s tourism. This was in contrast to the interview responses of several young local people (see section 6.7.5) who wanted no further development or the return to a natural, and less spoilt environment in Kasumi.

#### 6.4.3 Reality versus Imagery

As outlined in chapter 2.3.4, the rural idyll has been characterised as a site of enjoyment of the harmony of nature and humankind without the latter having to do the hard work of farming or to suffer the isolation and lack of access to services of a rural location. The rural-

tourist idyll is depicted in Japan not only as a tourist attraction that re-engages the urbanite with nature, but also as an agent that can revitalise rural economies through tourist expenditure. As discussed in chapter 3.6, such images are also used to encourage counter-urbanisation. While some Kasumi locals have continued to maintain their own community allegiances with a primary focus on the locals, many other businesses now wish to promote tourism.

In the interviews with local role-players, respondents were asked to define what they thought were the inhibitors of the growth of the tourism industry in Kasumi. While some business owners believed that local enthusiasm and ‘stubborn pride’ created cultural challenges (See section 6.3.5), most of these role-players highlighted infrastructural challenges that needed to be overcome (see Table 6.6).

Table 6.6 Infrastructural Challenges for Kasumi Tourism Industry

Tourism Issues Identified	Details
Expensive accommodation	Only expensive accommodation was available because the family-oriented camping ground was closed to the public in the 1990s due to lack of custom and the costs of maintaining it.
Unreliable timetabling changes for airlines into Tajima airport	<i>'The list of airlines that fly to Tajima Airport is maintained on a best-effort basis. Schedules change frequently, and not all airlines make their route information readily available. Please consult airlines directly for the most accurate flight listings'</i> (Japan Airlines 2002). In late 2002, the website for Tajima Airport (completed in 1994) became unavailable. However, the airport was still operating flights to Itami domestic airport in Osaka.
Trains	Infrequent transportation system whereby trains only run twice daily or not at all in certain weather conditions.
Advertising	Uncoordinated advertising by tourism businesses.
Lack of Professionalism in Tourism	A local tourism association that is not regarded by local major stakeholders as being a professional operation and an effective marketer of Kasumi tourism
Conflict of Interest	Personally motivated Chamber of Commerce president and vice-president who did not support Kasumi tourism but instead favoured their own importing businesses from China
Tourism Industry Disinterest	The next generation of <i>minshuku</i> , restaurant owners and fishers do not wish to continue in their parents' businesses.
Rundown operations	Rundown, outdated tourist operations (Fig.6-34)
Rundown operators	Unmotivated and aged operators
Severe and extreme weather conditions	Strong winds stop train services which serve both local passengers and tourists (Fig.6-35), winter snow remains a hazard even on newer roads, with landslides blocking major transportation networks on numerous occasions.

Interviewees: The Hyōgo Port directors, fishery co-operative director, tourism industry owners and the TFRI director. JAL flight attendant.



Figure 6-34 The entrance to the unsheltered jetty, Eastern Port, where tourists can board a San'in Kaigan tour boat. Source: author.

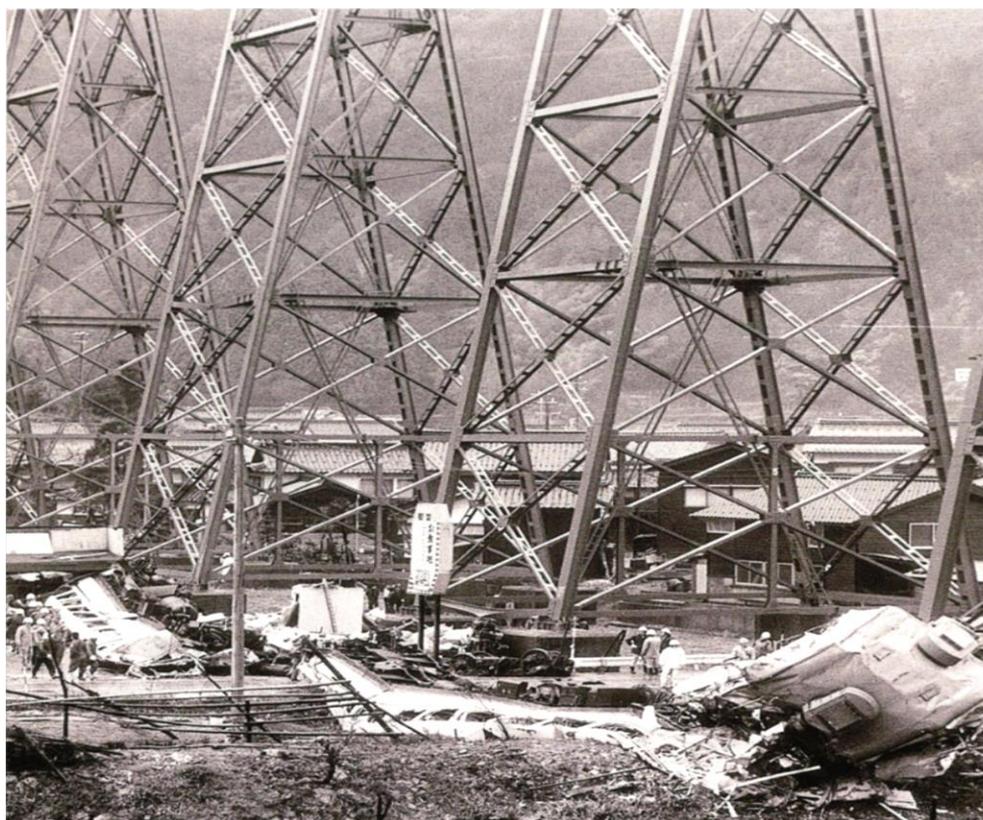


Figure 6-35 The Kasumi train trestle bridge accident. In 1986, strong winds blew a train off the Amarube Bridge killing several workers in a factory below but no passengers. A similar incident occurred in the 1990s. Source: (Kasumi Municipality Hyōgo Prefecture, 2005 39).

Despite the identification of such issues by the major stakeholders, for the general population, the images that symbolised the Kasumi lifestyle and its tourism product, were more positive:

*fish, the scenic and rugged beauty of the coastline, the natural environment (shizen) of the area and good and friendly service.*

This is in many ways the classic cultural stereotype of rural Japan and contrasts sharply with the views of the local trade focussed business entrepreneurs who did not focus on tourism.

#### 6.4.4 Favourites versus ‘Newcomers’

The Deputy Mayor (Interview 2001 Appendix 2), when asked what he considered to be the main challenges for Kasumi tourism, believed that it was the dominance of the major travel companies such as Japan Travel Bureau, Japan Rail and bus companies associated with Kita Kinki Tango Railway who concentrated their efforts on the tourism destinations of their subsidiary and ‘connected’ businesses. He believed that this monopolisation needed to change in order to put Kasumi on the tourist trail. Nevertheless, when some tourism business operators, fishmongers and restaurateurs were interviewed about large company dominance, they believed that other towns’ tourism industries were a positive for Kasumi tourism. This was because the larger tours included Kasumi in their itineraries, on the way to better-known attractions such as the *onsen* at Yumura and Kinohaki and the sightseeing of Amanohashidate in North Kyoto. However, these tours offered Kasumi stop-overs only staying in the town for a matter of hours with no overnight component. Kasumi local business operators did not realise that the companies in the major resorts and the tour bus companies paid the highest fees to the Northern Kinki Tourism Association (NKTA) (see 6.5.1 below) in order to gain a majority vote and thereby to determine the best tourism routes that worked to their own best interests, as the Director of the NKTA explained (Interview 2001 Appendix 2). Figure 6-36 indicates the main tourism routes in Hyōgo Prefecture and such maps were available at tourism kiosks in 2001. Although the maps changed in 2005, in neither case was Kasumi highlighted.



Figure 6-36 Hyōgo Prefecture's tourist routes English Version. The dark green lines indicate the main tourist routes while the main tourist attractions are shown in pink with illustrations in some cases. Kasumi coast is Kasumi town. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Government Investment & Tourism Promotion Division, 2001 16-17).

## 6.5 The Effectiveness of Tourism Industry Representation

Kasumi's fishing industry is intrinsic to its tourism industry. The representation, administration and decision making for Kasumi's tourism is shared between various bodies, but weighted according to local industry dominance or the importance of an organisation's role in the local economy and is thus heavily influenced by the fishing industry.

The administration of local tourism per se, is conducted by established role players and stakeholders, confining tourism income opportunities to areas and businesses already established and recognised as tourism destinations and dominated by those same stakeholders' businesses. Additionally, although there is no single reason for this, it seems that, as local tourism policies are established, a local representational body is selected or set up to implement the tourism projects, which can be staffed by volunteers as well as paid staff. In contrast, the FCA has a powerful role to play in coastal management. Where prefectural tourism policy encroaches into the coastal zone, the FCA then administers the policy and its projects. As well, the municipal administration plays a role in tourism in terms of funding

and management beyond the designated coastal zone. However, bureaucratic overlap can occur in policy development and implementation of projects. From the prefectural to municipal level and across departments, tourism, coastal management and other development projects can overlap. National issues may result in projects being impeded at municipal level. For example, national policy on fisheries pollution and food security, may take precedence over prefectural and municipal tourism projects.

Another example of overlap is at the prefecture departmental level. At any one time, a coastal development project, which includes fisheries and tourism, may have several coastal management departments involved (from all three government levels). To complicate matters further, if a local community group is involved and has received some prefectural funding to support its project, it too has input into the management of the project, although this is to certain extent dependent on the project's importance and the group's enthusiasm. Chapter seven highlights examples of such overlaps.

Businesses in Kasumi can choose to be represented by a variety of tourism associations most of which charge a membership fee. Advertising and marketing can be organised by these representatives or the tourism provider can choose to create their own. To be included in Japan Tourism Business (JTB) or Japan Rail (JR) promotions, the tourism business is expected to be a paying member of a registered and associated tourism body such as the NKTA, which represented the northern regions of Kyoto, Hyōgo and Tottori in 2001-2002.

This section considers the problems associated with four local and regional tourism bodies where some major role players may not have had the administrative skills to manage such a complex industry and where new and small players faced well established and well financed competitors. Representatives from the NKTA, the KTA, the Kasumi Chamber of Commerce and the Municipal offices were interviewed (see Appendix 4). The theme of the interviews with the latter three was the contribution of tourism to the future of Kasumi's economy. The director of the NKTA was asked about the future opportunities for tourism in Kasumi. Again, these interviews were semi-structured and were based on a standard set of questions (see Appendix 9).

#### 6.5.1 Regional and Local Tourism Groups - Connected by Association

The director of the Northern Kinki Tourism Association (*Kita Kinki Kyōkaisha*) (Fig.6-37) revealed that its membership and voting power were based on a sliding scale related to the size and income of each tourism based-company. Therefore, the choice for small operators to

remain ‘independent’ was often a financially based decision because only those companies whose membership contributions were at the top end, such as coach companies, could be effective decision-making (i.e. large vote wielding) members of the association.

When asked about the efficacy of the tourism groups and associations, which represented Kasumi, the small *minshuku* owner (Appendix 2) believed that the NKTA support was improving as he had been visited several times by its representative. In his opinion, the Tajima Tourism Association (not interviewed) was unreliable, favouring big companies over smaller ones. He was a member of a group of ten Kasumi *minshuku* that together had expended ¥1,000,000 (Aus\$10,700) on advertising and marketing. He made no comment on the KTA.



Figure 6-37 Northern Kinki Tourism Association offices and parking, Toyooka, Hyōgo. Source: author.

The outcomes of various development projects illustrated the benefits of having connections in the right places. The director of the NKTA revealed that his hometown of Takeno in Tajima (Hyōgo) had just been earmarked for a beachside redevelopment that included facilities for water sports. Although he did not say who was funding the project, this rejuvenation initiative was part of the regional rejuvenation projects supported by the Hyōgo Prefectural government (Chapter 4). This project, as I was informed in a later interview by the TFA Manager in Kasumi (November 2001), was hoped to have been developed in Kasumi to replace a stalled but much larger coastal re-development called the Renaissance Plan (discussed in greater detail in chapter 7).

Such connections between local development and local role-players in the area are not unusual. The then incumbent manager of the Tajima Regional Administration Group (who had also organised my meeting with the director of the NKTA) was a retired regional tourism director of Japan Rail, who, in his role as the JR tourism director for over 20 years, had overseen the implementation of a Hyōgo-Tajima *furusato* rejuvenation project which had focussed on his home town of Izushi.

#### 6.5.2 Kasumi Tourism Association and the Chamber of Commerce

These two bodies represent tourism businesses at the grass roots level in Kasumi and are primarily made up of volunteers and casual staff. The interview with the Director of the Kasumi Tourism Association (KTA) was very informal but informative- and was held in the local Kasumi office. He was casually dressed in his honorary position and was a ‘salary-man’ who also owned a quiet *minshuku*. The KTA’s office was strategically located next to the Kasumi train station, but was run down and did not attract tourists as an information booth or centre. Although it was a centre for data collection and its archives were available to local businesses, similar data was also available at the FCA and the municipal offices. The association’s role was to market local tourism and tourism products and to liaise with the Tajima Tourism Association and the NKTA.

By comparison, in a meeting with the President and Vice-President of the Kasumi Chamber of Commerce, these representatives stated that they considered tourism to be only a third or even fourth industry for the community, behind their own import businesses. Both these representatives emphasised the importance of their own business interests with Chinese trade companies. A local businessperson (non-tourism) who attended this interview with me was disappointed at the lack of understanding and unprofessional representation (his words) by these men. This person considered that the fees paid by businesses to the Chamber of Commerce were to represent all fee-paying Kasumi industries, not just those of the senior incumbents.

#### 6.5.3 Municipal Government

The municipal government plays a large role in the management and development of non-fisheries related tourism in coastal Kasumi. For example, at one end of the local tourism continuum, it manages the Imamura Family Inn and function centre, while at the infrastructural level it administers the development of roads and other infrastructure

necessary for tourism development. This is done in conjunction with the Kasumi FCA. For prefecturally funded projects, a municipal representative presents development plans to the prefectural government that are then identified as eligible for *furusato* and similar project funding (Interview with Kasumi Municipal Representative- Appendix 2).

In the 1990s and early 2000s, despite some local community dissatisfaction, the mayor and deputy mayor played significant decision making roles in a local tourism project, the Renaissance Plan (R-Plan) (see chapter 7). At that time, it appeared that several proponents of the R-Plan had cooperated as local assembly members in order to ensure that the project would go ahead as smoothly as possible. Fiscal discretion over transfer payments from the prefectural government was maintained by the municipal government for particular stages of the R-Plan. A prominent local business person not involved in fishing and tourism, together with an executive municipal staff member labelled the assembly as dishonest, but would not disclose the reasoning behind this claim. Over the time that I observed the workings of the municipal mayoral office, misleading information was given to me by the Mayor in an interview and many of the senior municipal staff whom I had informally interviewed in relation to general municipal administration, did not show any support or faith in this senior incumbent.

Furthermore, another major role-player and stakeholder, the municipal representative to the Prefectural assembly (see Appendix 2), had been in support of various tourism rejuvenation projects in Kasumi; his business, he claimed, depended on it. However, in his interview (2001), he stated that he had already become involved in another project aside from the mayor-supported Renaissance Plan, namely web advertising and sales, a relatively new project to Kasumi in 2001, and that this involved much less personal investment and greater support from prefectural funding for regional and rural areas.

Conversely, as a result of the funding relationship between the Kasumi municipal and Hyōgo prefectural governments, the latter has the potential to influence the decision making processes for municipal development including vetting proposals, relinquishing certain decision making processes to the municipal leaders or conversely, demanding that certain projects go ahead using municipal funding (Sabien 1995). An example of this occurred in the winter of 2001-2002, where during my fieldwork it was observed that major water works had to be undertaken in the main street of Kasumi. This was during the peak tourism period and was disruptive to tourist traffic. The town hall's secretary had explained that the resumption of major road works on the Kasumi bypass, a national and prefectural project on the

perimeter of the township, could not go ahead until these local works had been completed. Thus, the efficacy and timing of projects can be affected when there are different policy and politicians' agendas at different levels and when national and prefectural political power broking filters down to the municipal level. The fiscal and administrative constraints at higher levels of government thus have local impacts at the municipal level.

In Kasumi, the web of connections and relationships, business and otherwise, can either maintain the fluidity of such relationships or inhibit communication with the Prefectural government. As in many small communities, Kasumi business owners play various roles within the local economy and have a variety of government and entrepreneurial connections and alliances. Local government staff members have been characteristically discreet in such relationships, trying to maintain their integrity. However, those elected into government positions in the past, have utilised such relationships on occasion, sometimes to the detriment of the community. The then Mayor in particular appeared to have lost favour in his community and was generally perceived as an embarrassment in the eyes of the interviewed business leaders (Interviews 2001, interviewees 1, 2, 3 Appendix 2). In the Mayor's opinion (interview November 2001), Mad Cow Disease would increase, leading to the Japanese returning to the consumption of fish as the only protein in their diet. He also thought that the sourcing of deep sea mineral waters was a project that could bring Kasumi greater economic prosperity. Both these ideas were dismissed by the wider community, including the Hyōgo Ports and Harbours officials in a later interview (Appendix 8 2001).

Senior Kasumi municipal government officers appreciated the nature and extent of the local development problems and tended to have a more realistic view of how they might be addressed. While the town planner, several business people and the fisheries representatives recognised the local issues and had some constructive thoughts on how to deal with them, their views were at odds with those of the then current elected officials and the representatives from the Chamber of Commerce (Appendix 2). One government officer was anticipating the replacement of the Mayor with a better connected incumbent and this occurred following a protracted period of uncertainty from February 2002, when the Mayor submitted his resignation, to 2003 when he finally left office (Personal communication with interviewee 8, Appendix 2).

These interviews revealed inconsistencies in the perceptions of the local powerbrokers over the roles of and directions for tourism in Kasumi. As the following sections further indicate, this lack of direction led to several business stakeholders undertaking their own initiatives.

Yet, of the Kasumi municipal role players, only the Deputy Mayor identified realistic strategies for the community and the tourist industry.

## **6.6 Kasumi's Business Community**

In the interviews, the leaders of the business community were keen to share their opinions and knowledge of the local economy. Overall they were proactive in their community and wished to maintain its culture and integrity as a fishing village in a modern economy. The key role-players in the municipality were likewise enthusiastic contributors as they too were locals affected by the declines in the tourism and fishing sectors. While these people were keen to work hard for the community, it was apparent that many of them had no heirs to take on these roles.

In this set of interviews, the following topics and their problems were highlighted by the key role players (Table 6.7). Information from the questionnaires completed by various stakeholders, including those sent to business owners and those sent to the local community members, is also included here since it became obvious that these respondents identified similar issues. While the KTA was considered by the business community to be ineffective due to its low budget and lack of power, it is of note that the KTA director identified many of the same issues raised by the business sector as a result of his awareness of the Association's detailed collection of data.

Table 6.7 Categorisation of Tourism Issues and the Respondents who identified them.

Topic	Tourism Issues Identified	Respondent
Lack of Business Stakeholder Co-operation	A need for collaboration and unity amongst the Kasumi local business owners	2,5,7,8
	A lack of co-operation and co-ordination between the Kasumi local business sector and the fishing and tourism industries. Each blamed the other for this lack of co-ordination resulting in local division	1,2,4,6,7,8,9
	Kasumi Tourism Association records indicated that 20% of minshuku businesses had been unsuitable for purpose for over ten years	2,8,10,11,12
	A lack of collaboration with other tourism associations	2
Education	A lack of research, effort and practical ideas; professional tourism consultation for Kasumi was required and there was a great need for hospitality education	2,4,5
	Kasumi people were too narrow- minded and did not think of others; local tourism ideas were narrowly focussed and only addressed short term solutions	2,6
Tourism Image	Kasumi does not have a tourism history comparable with those of some of its neighbours/competitors (Fig. 6-38)	2
	The beach lifestyle (swimming and other beach-related activities) needed to be re-emphasised in Kasumi culture	1,3,10
Advertising	The need for effective public relations; marketing and advertising to promote the local landscape	1,4,5
	The Prefectural government focuses its tourism promotion on Kobe and Osaka. <sup>80</sup>	1,2,3
Budget	The tourism budgeting of the Hyōgo government is unbalanced and solid objectives should be identified for that budget with clearly defined goals	1,2,3
	There is an excessively tight budget for the local tourism association	1,2,3

Respondent Key: 1. Local councillor/ municipal representative to the Prefecture, 2. KTA Director (voluntary), 3. Owner of various businesses, 4. Owner of a three hundred year old, successful company, 5. Various stakeholders (see chapter 5 section 4.1), 6. Mayor, 7. Prominent local businesswoman, 8. Director of Kita Kinki Tourism Association 9. Owners of intersecting businesses in tourism and fisheries, 10. Town Planner, 11. Large Minshuku Owner, 12. Fisheries Cooperative Association President

<sup>80</sup> Osaka is the leading city within the Kinki district. The boundaries for tourism may change as districts rather than prefectures become foci of tourism planning.

The responses indicate that there was a perception among some in the Kasumi community of a bias in prefecture budgeting and advertising towards locations on the Pacific coast. In terms of the other issues, their concerns appear to be much more localised. However, if the factor of education is entered into the total equation, and given that education is nationally funded, then it was valid to question the appropriate budgeting for effective tourism education in towns such as Kasumi, where there were limited resources at the local level. MLIT White papers suggest that the number of tourism management courses nationally was quite limited until recently (Ministry of Land Infrastructure Transport and Tourism, 2010 29 and 39).



Figure 6-38 Kinosaki onsen in the Meiji period. A major competing tourism attraction, Kinosaki has been a historic natural hot springs destination since the Tokugawa period. Source: (Yamazaki S, 1994 56)

#### 6.6.1 Interview with a Local Business Person

A successful local identity and entrepreneur owns two florist shops and a local restaurant. In 2005, she re-opened a retail outlet that included the town's fourth supermarket, third florist, and a small restaurant (one of several) in close proximity to the train station. Her husband is a bank manager in another town. She is the eldest of four sisters, whom she employs, together with an old school friend, in her restaurant, which mostly caters to locals. She was not interested in venturing into the tourism industry.

She expressed the view that diversity was the key to the sustainability of the Kasumi economy although she was much in favour of businesses focussing on the locals first and

tourists second. She supported the basic idea of a resort for Kasumi. In addition, she believed that supporting the fishing industry was the best option for the local economy, but that this should be a more diverse enterprise; not just focussing on the crab catches, which were seasonal and susceptible to environmental disruption. The related tourism industry thus needed broadening to include potential attractions such as Kasumi's cultural and historic features and the nashi pear industry, which should be promoted as a 'clean' crop and thus as contributing to the overall image of a rural town in an unpolluted environment. This linked to the research question on Japanese cultural constructions of the rural and of nature. In this period, while cultural constructions of nature were being appropriated in urbanised settings such as in coastal Himeji to encourage tourists to appreciate the 'nature' of the coastal environment, by contrast, the more authentic, rural-natural setting of Kasumi was not being exploited by Kasumi locals for the promotion of local tourism and gourmet products. Rather they were rejecting the cultural constructions of 'nature' used in government promotional publications, and instead exhibiting their modernised lifestyles and tourism attractions against a backdrop of the local natural environment.

#### 6.6.2 *Minshuku*

One of the main tourism businesses in Kasumi is the *minshuku*, a Japanese version of 'Bed-and-Breakfast' accommodation, with an emphasis on family ownership and service and on providing local, seasonal food mostly served in the evening. The owners provide traditional relaxing clothing such as *yukata* (a cotton dressing gown) and footwear. The guest may sit at variations of traditional dining settings reminiscent of upper class dining as provided for the samurai travelling in the Tokugawa period. Two successful *minshuku* owners claimed that they owed their success to providing a friendly family atmosphere that reflected the rural lifestyle (Interviews 3 and 3A, Appendix 2).

In Kasumi, *minshuku* businesses range from those where the *minshuku* is the main business focus, to those that are one of several businesses run by a family where each business supplements the others to maintain the household's income over the four seasons. Some *minshuku* owners supplement their incomes from rice, nashi fruit and spring onion farming, while some farmers have used their farmland to build *minshuku*<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> Guest figures are unreliable because: a) tourists who visit some smaller *minshuku* may choose not to stay overnight, but to visit for a multiple course seasonal menu, generally relaxing in *yukata* (cotton robe) and conversing for a few hours and b) tax evasion occurs.

The following accounts are based on the responses of two leading Kasumi *minshuku* operators and two other local tourism stakeholders (Table 6.8). Kasumi *minshuku* owners depend on the appeal of the town's village-like, natural and rural environment to set it apart from neighbouring competitors.

Table 6.8 Categorisation of *Minshuku* Issues and the Respondents who identified them.

Topic	<i>Minshuku</i> Issues Identified	Respondent
Staff	Difficulty of sustaining <i>minshuku</i> family businesses into the next generation as it was regarded as an 'old person's' job, 'old style' and too 'traditional'; private and social life were compromised by this type of employment	3,4
	Maintaining trained staff was also a major difficulty	1
Seasonality	Kasumi <i>minshuku</i> depend on the short peak seasons of crab in winter and sea sports and other beach attractions in summer with seasonal troughs in patronage between them.	1,2,3
Tourism Image <sup>82</sup>	Kasumi already offered a beautiful lifestyle for both tourists and locals; further coastal development would only destroy the natural environment	1,2
	Plans to retain tourists in the area for longer stays and for repeat visits should be addressed rather than developing a short term development solution such as the R-Plan	1,2
Reasons for Individual Advertising	Advertising styles reflect the individuality of the <i>minshuku</i> atmosphere	1,2
Guests	Less than one third of the <i>minshuku</i> owners were young people; Japanese guests were increasingly demanding and want more privacy, bathrooms with pedestal toilets and lockable, larger rooms as opposed to the traditional six tatami size <i>minshuku</i> accommodation	1,4
Lack of Business Cooperation	Some local <i>minshuku</i> owners had become too independent, rejecting joining co-operative groups and adopting new ideas. Smaller owners were not appreciative of their guests and did not rank them as 'number one' in their businesses	2

Respondent Key: 1.Large *Minshuku* Owner, 2. Small *Minshuku* Owner, 3.President of the Fisheries Cooperative, 4.Municipal Clerk (see Appendix 2)

<sup>82</sup> It is important to note that these images affect the *minshuku* businesses as they are used to market the benefits of the overall experience, which is popular in this type of domestic tourism in Japan, similar to the more expensive *ryōkan* (Guichard-Anguis, 2009b. 76-101).

The following is a brief description of the two *minshuku* styles represented in Kasumi.

*Modern-style Minshuku*

A modern, four storied *minshuku* with individually styled rooms, was managed by a second generation owner. The business had been in the same location for over thirty years and the son had taken over management for the past 12 years. The foyer invites the guest to a peaceful environment with soft lights and a fountain. This atmosphere, claimed the owner, was part of the attraction of the establishment. The site was formerly a rice field and a small rice field adjacent to the *minshuku* remains mainly for aesthetic reasons, but it is harvested and the rice is processed locally. Although the *minshuku* is the family's principal business, the father who started the business, now works in another company's rice fields.

Guests mainly came from Osaka and Kobe. The owner was slowly proceeding with expensive renovations. He maintained a private modern Japanese-style *rotenburo* (outdoor hot spring). His business was known for its focus on seasonal menus, family-style service, appropriate lighting and making sure that his guests felt and 'looked good' in that atmosphere<sup>83</sup>. He organised most of his own advertising and marketing as he found that many local *minshuku* owners were not professional in their marketing approach (Fig.6-39).

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<sup>83</sup> Part of Japanese hospitality tradition is that a guest should look comfortable and aesthetically pleasing, thus being seated in front of the *tokonoma* with their back to it, where some seasonal ikebana and scrolls are placed. It is a place of honour based on traditional practice (Coaldrake, W. H. 1996).



Figure 6-39 The stylised calligraphy on the brochure for this *minshuku*. A combination of traditional and modern architecture has been used for the building (Courtesy of Sadasuke *Minshuku*).

### *Family Home Minshuku*

The income of this *minshuku* business, which was operated within the family home, was supplemented by their farm's production of nashi (a type of crunchy, apple-shaped pear) for eating and selling to wine producers. The owner also worked seasonally in other agricultural businesses – a modern form of *dekasegi*, as he had to sometimes live away from his home. Although this was a secondary business, the *minshuku* was taken as a serious enterprise with repeat guests visiting for over thirty years. The winter seasonal *kaiseki* (a beautifully presented meal of five or more dishes) of crab was the evening specialty, served from the kitchen adjacent to the Japanese style dining room with floor seating, where it was important for the guests to feel special. The owners kept live crabs in an aquaculture system in a storage room beside the house that also stored local fruit and vegetables. Proud of this 'modern' facility and of their business, the owner and his wife both shared the businesses'

duties although there was a division of labour. He was pleased that the larger *minshuku* owner, described previously, had new buildings as this would attract more business to the town and he was prepared for the ‘overflow’. He also owned another house across the road from his *minshuku* where he maintained his hobby of a formal Japanese-style bonsai garden, which he showed to selected guests. His son, who was in his mid-twenties and lived independently nearby, was employed elsewhere and did not aim to be employed in the family business.<sup>84</sup>

## **6.7 Community Relationships and Images of Coastal Kasumi**

This section combines responses from interviews and the open ended sections of the household and business questionnaires (Appendices 5, 6, 9). There was no clear distinction between the views of these latter two groups. In developing the questions for the various survey groups, the possibility remained that, by using open ended questions, further themes would become evident. The issues of connectedness to Kasumi and community pride were widely expressed, albeit with a sense of ambivalence in several cases.

### **6.7.1 The Respondents’ Profiles in the Questionnaires**

The aim of the general household questionnaire was to discover wider community attitudes to the fishing industry and the related tourism industry. Those surveyed included a broad representation from various age groups who were living in Kasumi who were employed in or associated with the two major industries in Kasumi: fishing and tourism. The aim of surveying respondents from a broad age range (36 to 80 years of age) was successful albeit from a small and constricted data pool. Ultimately, across the age range, there were similar views on maintaining the Kasumi community and environment (chapter four section 4.3).

As the questionnaires were produced before the fieldwork at Kasumi commenced, it was an unexpected finding that those who were employed in one type of industry were also employed in others, and that many family members often contributed to the overall household income sometimes being employed in similar jobs or in the same enterprises as

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<sup>84</sup> To maintain his anonymity, his employment is not described here.

their parents.<sup>85</sup> Because it is such a small community, those people who had several jobs did not always declare all their occupations in municipal-run surveys due to the information being available to the taxation inspector who also lived and worked in the town and whose wife worked on the municipal council. From field observations, married women appeared to have several roles in the community. Many women had two jobs or cared for their extended families (the elderly and children) while doing part-time work. Those who had businesses often had several business interests.

Connectedness to the community was also expressed in the ancestry of the Kasumi respondents. The questionnaires revealed that 17 respondents could trace up to 3 generations who had lived in the town; 13 respondents could trace 4-10 generations; 3 respondents could trace 11 generations and over; 2 respondents could not give an exact number, but knew that their families had been living in Kasumi for over 300 years.

Male respondents<sup>86</sup> were mostly employed in the service, fishing and tourism industries and marine food processing. The breakdown was 17% in the service industry, 15% fishers, 7% in marine products processing, 9% in farming and 9% in tourism. (The men's jobs included heavy lifting and/ or supervisory roles within the fishing industry.) Ten had 'side' employment to supplement their income, while 14% of the women, mostly mothers (of major income earners) and wives, contributed to their household incomes by taking on part-time jobs.<sup>87</sup>

The majority of the respondents' ancestors' occupations were as fishers, farmers, or fishing combined with farming and/or carpentry. They included a watchman for the town's rice storage and a samurai. Two of the businesses represented several generations of trade history

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<sup>85</sup> These results surprised all three supervisors and my major Kasumi informants, although the latter did know of locals who held down several jobs, including public servants who were by law not allowed to have second jobs

<sup>86</sup> In this particular town, gender traditions led to men taking up particular roles within family and business. (Takeda, H. 2006, Kinoshita Thomson C. & Otsuji E. 2003)

<sup>87</sup> In the past, townspeople involved in primary production, such as those from Kasumi, would have to take part in seasonal work away from home known as *dekasegi* (出稼ぎ). However, this term, which may have indicated hardship, did not come up in the responses. The question asked was, "Did you have a supplementary income?" (a 'job on the side', *kengyoushiteiru shigoto wa arimasuka*).

including a three hundred year- old Sake products industry and a three-generation vinegar and pickling manufacturing firm.

The main aim of the business questionnaire was to discover whether the respondents knew about the region's various tourism associations, and to discern what they believed was essential for the development of the Kasumi tourism industry. The respondents' businesses were varied and, as explained in chapter four, the response rate was low. As discussed in chapter four, the town planner had expected such a response rate from the business questionnaires. There was no indication however, that this was due to any agenda. However, the interviews with this group were most productive.

#### 6.7.2 Pride in the Local Environment and Industry

Throughout the interviews with the major stakeholders and role-players, these participants punctuated their responses with the term "Kasumi pride" (see section 6.3.5). While one local business person regarded this 'pride' as a hindrance, others talked positively about Kasumi, its natural environment and friendly, but hardworking, people. However, the aforementioned local business person claimed that this sense of pride hindered the progress of Kasumi from becoming more than just a 'fishing village'. This informant believed that the people who had such pride were stubborn and could not see any future for the town outside of the fishing culture and the 'money' from the current and often fishing-related forms of tourism.

Several stakeholders highlighted challenges for Kasumi, in terms of the environment, the social fabric and the economy. The formal and informal interviews and the questionnaires (see Appendices 4, 5, 6, &7) revealed that most locals had positive perceptions of, and an affinity with, the locality and its natural environment, which linked to their sense of pride in the coastal environment and thus to the fishing industry and, in turn, to its role in the history of the community. Many questionnaire and interview respondents perceived links between the nature (*shizen*) of Kasumi, its coastal environment and fishing, which combined to produce a lifestyle related to the natural environment, the village atmosphere and its fishing industry. Additionally, while all respondents referred to this 'trinity', there were those who did not want to participate in the fisheries themselves, but who enjoyed the village/ rural ambience associated with it.

As well, in all the interviews, participants would refer to stories of local history, culture and environment that had been passed down orally and most were concerned that these stories could be lost. In a later visit in 2005, I also noted that the local honorary historian gave a series of lectures about the Kyū Kasumi history to an audience who were mostly retirees, like himself. The impending municipal amalgamation had led to a fear that Kasumi's local cultural sites including natural/ Shinto and religious shrines and other cultural identifiers would be lost. This local historian had documented and published a local cultural history in an effort to preserve Kyū Kasumi's cultural and historical identity (*Kasumi choū kyoū iku iinkai* 2005).

The images that local townspeople recalled of Kasumi's townscape and beaches pre-1970 focussed more on the natural environment of the area rather than on its economic prosperity.



Figure 6-40 The immediate view north west from the Tajima Fisheries Research Institute, Kasumi. Source: author

Photographic evidence of the pockets of natural beach on the eastern port supported such local connections with the coast (Fig. 6-40), not just as a fishing port, but as a place for local community gatherings (Fig. 6.41). Responses from interviewees (1, 7, 8 and 11 Appendix 2) with three men and one woman as part of the stakeholder group revealed that they yearned for the day when there would be soft, sandy beaches and towering pine trees again.

Similarly, all the 20-35 age group members from the public service (Appendix 4 and 6.7.5 below), wanted Kasumi to maintain its undeveloped environment keeping the ‘nature’ and with no further modernisation.

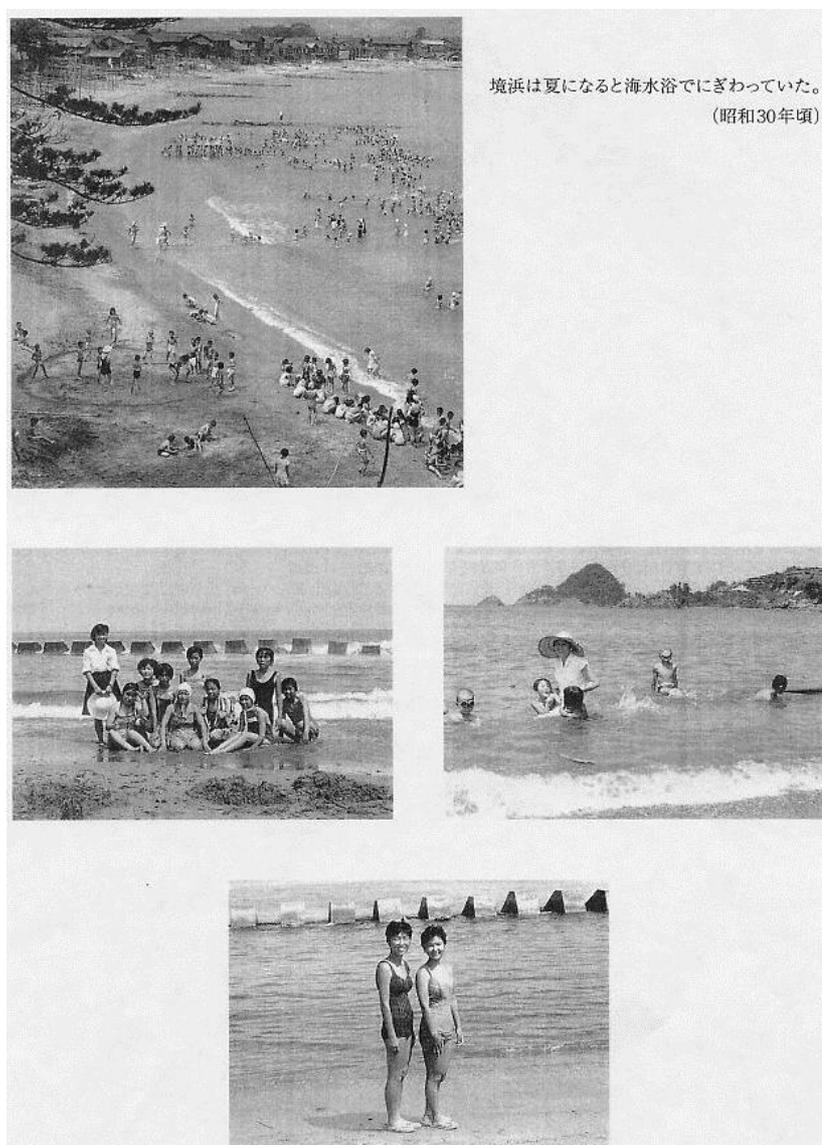


Figure 6-41 Kasumi beachside recreation, 1955. These family photographs of locals on sandy beaches are part of a locally published history and also record the ubiquitous concrete breakwaters in the background. In the top picture, note the wooden buildings in the background. Source: (Ōnishi, 1998 7).

The general questionnaire revealed that most locals proudly recognised and acknowledged that Kasumi possessed fine examples of an untouched natural environment that has become scarce across Japan. Responses summarised are

*The opportunity to offer urban tourists, a 'real rural experience' - not an urbanised version - and to pass on the pride of living in a town such as Kasumi.*

*Gourmet foods and cuisine of the sea and land, the beautiful land and seascapes, recreational fishing and swimming and the overall clean environment (this latter comment usually refers to the lack of pollution in the air and sea).*

### 6.7.3 Kasumi Locals and their Economy

In contrast to their declaration of local pride and praise for the idyllic nature of Kasumi's natural environment, local responses were less positive when considering their town's economy. Furthermore, responses in both the surveys and interviews revealed a trend that is not commensurate with the models of harmony and groupism or working together that are conventionally reported as the basis for community co-operation in Japan (Reischauer and Jansen, 1995, Nakane, 1973, Hendry, 1993). Instead, the Theme B comments in particular reflect a division of opinion within the community between the desire to preserve the natural environment and the desire for industrialisation, an issue frequently raised globally and certainly not unique to this enclave in Japan.

#### Theme A: Cooperation

- Tourism means income and survival, but townspeople need to get together;
- Long-term vision instead of short-term selfishness;
- need to work together to make a beautiful town;
- combined operations for quality products

#### Theme B: Questionable Stereotype of Love of Nature

##### For Development

Stereotypes of the Japanese 'love of nature' discussed in the literature review were also contradicted with such comments as:

- Factories wanted
- Put open space (referring to the abandoned Renaissance Resort site - see later in chapter seven) to practical use;

##### For Nature

For some, their appreciation of Kasumi's 'nature' was a potential attraction to the area, and to the enjoyment of living in the town:

- A need to harmonise with nature;
- Townspeople should appreciate nature and the white beach
- No over-development;
- loss of original character;
- a relaxed lifestyle.

#### 6.7.4 Community Leader Interviews

Three key role players, in detailing the core challenges for Kasumi, emphasised the community profile and culture and other community issues that could not be addressed by amalgamation (see Table 6.9).

Table 6.9 Key Stakeholders Detail Core Issues for Kasumi Revitalisation.

Town Planner	Deputy Mayor	Councillor/ rep at the Prefectural level
<p>-Kasumi needed to upgrade its infrastructure while maintaining its rural culture and atmosphere.</p> <p>-the revitalisation of businesses depended on the 30-60 year olds and locals should not expect participation from the 20s age group because they were the least interested age group.</p> <p>-the town needed to not only maintain / recreate an old style atmosphere, but also an old-style community attitude that would encourage and foster counter urbanisation particularly of the older age groups.</p>	<p>-population decline</p> <p>-unemployment</p> <p>-women’s workforce participation; in Kasumi approximately 70% of women want to work, but child care facilities are inadequate.</p> <p>-development project continuity</p>	<p>-counter-urbanisation/ u-turn (yūtān) policies would not make a significant difference to Kasumi’s population or economy unless reasonably priced housing was available.</p> <p>-locals who had inherited family homes, had bought out their neighbours or other home owners and pushed up the Kasumi land and house price situation.</p> <p>-locals were unwilling to sell excess land or empty houses for less than their expectations and so (as in Himeji), owners preferred to leave these assets vacant or unused.</p>

The Kasumi town planner, believed that the impending amalgamation of Kasumi with three other municipalities within the next three years would provide solutions to core issues that

other national government strategies, such as those focussed on tourism, could not address. The incorporation of finances, labour, administration and budgets for several smaller municipalities all suffering the effects of depopulation, would allow them greater access to resources than they could obtain separately. The national policy strategy to amalgamate small debt ridden or poorly functioning municipalities into larger municipalities, which included Kasumi and three surrounding municipalities, would only be successful if they possessed a variety of industries and businesses. Tourism attractions alone were not sufficient to sustain a local economy.

The Deputy Mayor noted that various social and environmental challenges were perceived to be interconnected. With the change (through an election or otherwise) of national government there is also the chance of changes of administration within the prefectural government and a new town planner may be installed. This creates problems of continuity and, in the case of national (and thus prefectural) change, it is not unusual for a flow-down effect to occur leading to local projects being delayed, changed or abandoned.

A fourth leading community role-player, the Director of the Tajima Fisheries Research Institute, noted that there would be difficult infrastructural challenges in the future as Kasumi sought revitalisation. While the Kasumi town centre is a built-up area between the western and eastern ports, further east and west, there is only a narrow strip of development and many coastal areas will remain undeveloped due to the difficult terrain and weather patterns (see above Fig.6-8 and 6-12) and the eventual designation of this coast as a 'Geopark' (Interview TFRI director 2001).

### 6.7.5 Interviews with Local Young People on their Lifestyle Aspirations

Since the early Tokugawa period, the Japanese have had an economic history based on a sophisticated culture of consumerism (Francks, 2009). In the 21st century, for rural people, the cities are the places of culture, consumption and experience (Agnew et al., 1984, 284) and they plan their trips there accordingly. Kasumi locals who travel considerable distances to partake of urban cultures of consumerism therefore devote considerable thought to this activity.

For those who choose to live in Kasumi, what factors/ attractions affected their decision to remain there? Six local people aged 24-35 and employed by the municipal government were willing to discuss their daily lives in Kasumi, so a set of open-ended questions was developed to ascertain their attitudes to life in Kasumi. This age group represented 10% of the Kasumi population in 2000. It is also the age group that local, prefectural and national policies seek to retain in municipalities of this type. The respondents all worked in the town precinct and were not available on weekends, so the interviews were held during office hours. As indicated in Chapter 4, open-ended questions, although more difficult to tabulate, allowed the participants greater freedom to discuss their experiences of their town. Furthermore, they were not restricted to the rigid style of multiple-choice that beset so many Japanese questionnaires. These participants offered more in-depth answers than had been expected which contributed to their descriptions of their community's characteristics (Table 6.10).

Table 6-10 Kasumi Lifestyle Issues for the 24-35 age-group

Question	Answers	Respondents
What do you think about Kasumi's lifestyle?	like living in Kasumi because of: -the natural environment, -close to overseas travel destinations and affordability -cost of living cheaper than that of the big cities -enjoyed and appreciated living close to their work -proud of Kasumi and wanted it recognised by 'outsiders' as a comfortable and natural community to live in.	All informants
Social relationships were problematic	wanted to get married in their twenties, have children early and remain in Kasumi	2 women in early 20s
	some younger men did not want to get married early despite wanting to remain in Kasumi, stating that they did not want to lose their freedom	2 younger men
	difficult to find a wife; their current girlfriends lived in other towns and did not want to move to Kasumi.	2 men
	'old- fashioned, small-town' gossip was annoying	Unmarried-2 young men & 2 young women
	gossip was a community support mechanism, whereby her children were being watched over by community.	a newly married informant with children
Kasumi Employment	chose to work in public service because they did not like employment in <i>minshuku</i> or the fishing industry; particularly those who were brought up in family owned businesses.	3 Men
Where Do You Go To Shop?	preferred Toyooka for clothing and to go to the cinema, then Tottori city in Tottori-ken.	Females early twenties
	Convenience was more important, therefore Kasumi or Toyooka.	2 Married women
	Kobe was also an attraction as a place to pursue personal relationships and a larger and exciting retail experience.	All
Where Do You Go for a Holiday?	-Osaka and its theme parks -Okinawa for sea sports -India, Thailand, Hong Kong, Guam, United States for 7-10 day holidays	2 men and two women (single) All
	Would you consider Himeji?	Himeji school excursions but never a holiday All

## 6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed coastal and socioeconomic development in Kasumi in Northern Hyōgo Prefecture from the late Tokugawa period when a major aim was to protect the community from extreme climatic conditions and later to accommodate small scale industrial development for the fisheries. Similar primary production specialisation strategies were adopted throughout Japan, and such strategies have continued beyond the end of the Second World War and into the 21st century.

The early 1970s was the beginning of the peak of the Kasumi fishery production. Until the mid-1980s, the iterative restructuring of its coastal economy provided stability for the fishing community and for this lucrative industry, but also led to the town's modernisation and changes to its scenic amenity. Some small tour businesses developed at that time but had become run-down. Development slowed to a halt by the first half of the 1990s, but included the construction of accommodation for the fishery union and associations, fish processors, and restaurants but not the updating of existing tourist amenities. The further development of the coastline provided safer and improved harbour access for the fishing industry, improving its research and technology. The extensive concretisation of the bays, the buildings and sea walls changed the picturesque fishing village into a small commercial industrial townscape. Despite Kasumi's once-leading position as a primary producer in the North-West fisheries region, its tourism industry rebuild of the 1980s and the improved living conditions, it is still suffering what most of rural Japan experiences, namely depopulation.

To alleviate single industry dependency at the onset of the decline in the Kasumi fisheries, major business stakeholders took steps to diversify the local economy by further developing the tourism industry and promoting development in the local industries, using not just seafood, but other local foods to be included in a gourmet tourism 'trail'. The promotion of local *minshuku* and fishing-related tourism businesses were examples of these new directions. By the mid-1990s, Kasumi's gourmet tourism strategies had become more sophisticated. However, the well-established tourism businesses of nearby towns were also expanding and, with greater entrepreneurial and monetary support, they were redeveloping their already well-established tourist attractions.

The competition of the neighbouring towns' tourism industries, the escalating expectations of tourists for modernised accommodation in rural towns, the decrease in fishing stock due to the EEZ, the *Nakhodka* oil spill and over-fishing have all contributed to the pressures on the small scale rural municipal management and administration. Additionally, in an environment that includes prefectural and national government demands and politicking, this has meant that the leadership of the municipality of Kasumi has had to contend with large players from elsewhere; a competition in which they have been outperformed to the detriment of the local needs of the Kasumi community.

There are also work-social factors at play here. The work-life of a Kasumi fisher is labour-intensive with exposure to extreme weather in dangerous conditions, associated with a low wage and an undesirable social image. The increasing undesirability of fishing as an employment choice, and the resultant depletion of labour resources due to aging and depopulation, increases the burden of maintaining catch volumes for those remaining fishers. Similarly, fewer people are now willing to work in the Kasumi tourism and hospitality industries. Tourists have high expectations of their accommodation and demand year-round availability of seasonal (albeit perceived to be local) product, leading to imports of seafood from China, Russia and smaller Asian countries. Additionally, push-pull factors for hospitality (*minshuku*) staff were the undesirable working hours and the lure of big city employment opportunities and lifestyles.

This research indicated that business stakeholders agreed that four sets of factors were the most relevant to the future sustainability of the community:

1. the profitability of local businesses,
2. the range of businesses and public services available for the local community,
3. general employment opportunities, and
4. lifestyle amenity

Interestingly, only the Deputy Mayor considered population decline to be the greatest threat to the sustainability of Kasumi.

The responses to the research questionnaires and interviews suggested a community that was willing to share a variety of ideas to improve and sustain Kasumi. Responses to the questionnaires confirmed those of the interviews that a plethora of creative input has not

been matched by a comparable level of strategic coordination and consequently the inadequate identification and prioritisation of potentially successful ideas. Furthermore, the lack of faith in the town's leadership from the business community had fostered the development of splinter groups in tourism and hospitality, which continued to go ahead with their individual advertising and initiatives. The divergence of opinion, the marketing splinter groups, the divisions between the tourism and fishing groups, and those who embraced both, and between those who wished for further modernisation and those who desired a return to the natural environment, present a picture of dynamic and varied community opinion and actions, and does not at all reflect the theories of either groupism or 'love nature' theories that have been ascribed to the vast majority of the Japanese community in various literatures Nakane (1973), Asquith and Kalland (1997).

This chapter has highlighted the range of opinions held by both local community members and interested stakeholders as to the direction that the Kasumi economy should take. It has also highlighted the dilemma of a lack of adequate professional assistance for the management of major projects in uncertain times, and the perceived overlap of responsibilities among various agencies and stakeholders.

By 1997, after much local community debate, engineering consultation and early stage financial assistance from the prefectural government, a new direction was accepted in general by the Kasumi community for its economy and environment. This was in the form of a major tourism development which would aim to rejuvenate precisely those aspects that many locals identified as worth maintaining, namely fishing, tourism and a strong community. Chapter seven provides the second component of the Kasumi case study. It will focus on the major tourism projects that were sought to bring about the resurgence of the fishing industry through gourmet tourism, and through a major resort and accommodation project, the rejuvenation of both the economy and the municipality.

## 7 SOLUTIONS FOR A COASTAL DILEMMA: A SET OF STRATEGIES FOR RURAL REVITALISATION IN KASUMI

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the strategies instigated at various scales and degrees of remoteness for Kasumi to stimulate its economy. At the regional scale, several of these initiatives can be seen as part of Tajima's revitalisation within the Kita (Northern) Kinki Region tourist region. It will first discuss a medium term, micro-strategy to foster snow-crab, gourmet tourism in Kasumi by combining the traditional industry of fishing with tourism. It will then examine two 'ongoing' projects, the Kasumi Bypass and the Renaissance Plan (R-plan). In 2001-2002, when the Kasumi fieldwork was being conducted, these latter strategies were in various stages of 'progress,' creating a complex situation for the community.

It needs to be noted that at the time of the fieldwork for this research 2001-2005, there was no clear distinction between these development projects in terms of the sequencing of the proposed works. There were several projects in mid and final stages of funding or completion and at times, certain interviewees in the relevant departments at the municipal and local fisheries levels did not know what was happening with regard to these projects due to financial and political issues at higher government levels.

Prior to the mid-1990s, gourmet tourism, as part of the national government strategy of 'one village one product' to improve regional tourism, sought to link a specific product or attraction to many regional villages or towns. To implement further strategies such as the 'furusato' projects, the Hyōgo prefectural government supported rural municipalities' initiatives to improve regional tourism and their local economies. The R-Plan had a local focus; it sought to attract various sources of government and local business funding for a major resort development. Local business participants were expected to contribute 1% from their 'development of new events and products' budget as an initial investment for the 'big project' named 'Hyogo- the home town living with the sea' (*umi ni ikiru sato*) (Kasumi Machi 1993 26). Much was hoped for from this project in terms of the revitalisation of the community's economy (*ibid.* 1993 26). The gourmet tourism strategy had been in place since the 1980s when the snow crab festival began. The R-Plan began its basic planning processes in 1986 (Kasumi Machi 1993 26). Developers broke ground for the Kasumi R-Plan in 1997. Construction on the route of which the Kasumi bypass was a part commenced in the later 1990s in the prefectures of Kyoto and central Hyōgo.

### 7.1.1 Fieldwork and Research on Tourism in Kasumi

As outlined in Chapter Four, during the period from November 2001 to February 2002, the peak season for Kasumi winter tourism, two questionnaires, a series of interviews, a questionnaire for tourists to the area and primary and secondary data were conducted in the town. Two local stakeholders, (business owners) believed that their contributions to this research would restart communication with the Prefectural government. In part, this occurred as will be explained later in this chapter. This chapter also illustrates the upheavals that resulted from the impact of these development projects in this busy season.

To set the scene, aside from the summer tourists and some day-festivals mostly involving the local community, and occurring throughout the year, central Kasumi is very quiet. Some small shops still practise the rural Japanese shopkeeper's habit of only turning on internal shop lights when a customer enters. Businesses close by 4.00 pm except for the two small supermarkets, the butcher and a petrol station that remained open to 6.00pm on a Friday. Vehicular traffic consisted of local drivers, taxis, which waited at the train station for a train that stops twice a day, not always with alighting passengers and small trucks transporting seafood to various food processing factories or to larger depots for national dispersion. This all changed in the peak winter period.

It is a peak season for two interrelated reasons. Matsuba crab is the featured catch and the fishers are busy optimising their catch for first auction and sales. As a result of this, Japanese tourists come to experience this delicacy as soon as it is caught and is at its freshest in season (*shun*). The first catch of the season is a day of much celebration and marketing. Tourists stay one to two nights to experience these winter attractions or to visit for a few hours to attend the main festivities and the gourmet restaurants.

The fieldwork experience at this peak-time underlined the contrast between the rural comings and goings of locals and the tourists' indulgence of food, relaxation in hospitable lodgings, albeit with the cramming of cars in parking bays or the cramming of tourists in buses. On the weekend festival of the first catch, beach roads became dangerous and noisy. At the fish market sheds, long queues developed for free food and sake and the atmosphere was congenial. This was the scenario from Friday evening when the first of the tourists arrived until Sunday midday. By two o'clock on Sunday afternoon, straggling visitors who

were driving independently, comprised the remnant of this onslaught. Tourist coaches and mini-buses had left, leaving parking spaces once more for locals and independent travellers. For this researcher, the quiet was such a contrast to the noise and excitement of the last two days.

As noted in chapter 6, this scenario was one that some Kasumi stakeholders wanted to turn into a year round business opportunity, while other stakeholders wanted to avoid this tourism impact altogether. It was also a scenario that national and prefectural tourism policies predicted would expand should there be improved infrastructure in this coastal town, prolonging visitor stays, promoting nature and rural-coastal attractions; and even a lifestyle that could encourage urbanites to relocate.

## 7.2 Gourmet Tourism and the Snow Crab

By the 1980s, many fishing communities were exploiting their local produce and cultures to encourage tourism and thereby improve their economies (Martinez, 1990). For Kasumi, local businesses were marketing the culture of the food experience of gourmet tourism.<sup>88</sup> Local produce and cuisine were combined with sightseeing or adventure/action tourism as a feature of *gurume* and these were advertised to attract Japanese seeking the pursuit of leisure. Kasumi tourism brochures promoted overnight packages, which included seasonal produce and local attractions such as clean beaches, hot springs and sightseeing and this type of tourism advertising has continued to the present.

Kasumi has prided itself on its gastronomic reputation maintaining that it has the ‘cleanest and tastiest’ crab in Honshū and, in winter, *gurume* includes the Matsuba crab; a prized seafood in Japan. In Kasumi, simple tourism brochures have therefore become glossy publications containing local recipes and traditional seafood preparation guides for the tourists (Figure 7-1).

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<sup>88</sup> Kasumi is not unique in Japan for gourmet tourism. For example, major train stations are always stocked with brochures advertising travel on JR trains to destinations where seasonal foods and sights are highlighted.



Figure 7-1 A typical *kaiseki* course for *gurume tsurizumu*. Several courses are aimed at the upper end market (Kasumi Municipality Hyogo Prefecture, 2005 54).

To promote the local snow crab harvest, the Kasumi fishery stakeholders adopted the festival approach that so many other towns and cities have assumed in order to showcase community cultural activities while using the festival opportunity to promote local produce and attractions. A plethora of festivals fill the Japanese national calendar, but the modern festival has become part of many tourism strategies for rural town revitalisation. The use of festivals for tourism aims to direct tourists to towns and villages throughout Japan and is linked to themes, experiences, foods or items that are identified with a locality or region under the ‘one product, one village scheme’ (*isson ippin undō*) (Ministry of Economy Trade and Industry, 2008). Such image creation/identification and branding focussing on uniqueness however, has not been altogether successful along the Northern Kinki coastline where many villages and towns claim to have the ‘best tasting’ crab’.

A stimulus project from the Hyōgo Prefectural 2001 plan (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1998) included the regional rejuvenation of the Tajima coast and the 2001 Tajima Festival. This ‘one-off’ event was designed to further ‘stimulate development in this region’ aiming for an increase in tourism and consequent economic and population growth in rural towns and villages through the project *Future of Hyogo* (see Appendix 11) (Sabien, (a) 1995 87). Over two hundred thousand Tajima residents and officials and four hundred organisations participated, of which seventy-two groups represented the agriculture, forestry and fishing industries. Eight groups represented the tourism industry.

The festival's aims were to develop Tajima's traditional cultural base, utilities and trade links with countries across the Sea of Japan; to establish communications, information technology transfer systems and transport corridors through the region; to encourage the development of new tourism opportunities and improve the service industry; and to revitalise the agricultural and fishing industries.

The actual results however, were the introduction of an unreliable airline service and the duplication of local gourmet attractions along the coast. Continuing outmigration of population ensued and, following these relative failures, further projects targeted at enhancing the rural economies were initiated by the end of 2002. Neither the Japan Brand concept, a project introduced in 2004 and later criticised for its focus on already established tourism destinations and attractions including traditional cities and artisan-ware production, nor a questionable successor to the *Welcome Japan* rural revitalisation strategy (Rausch, 2008), has managed to direct economic and population growth to declining towns such as Kasumi which, by 2006, had been amalgamated with other neighbouring towns, such as Mikata-gun and Hamasaka-cho. Between the years of 2001 and 2005, the town therefore adopted a micro-strategy instead. This strategy included targeting different age groups with different *gurume* activities. For example, for tourists considering Kasumi, the gourmet experience could form part of a regional tour, or part of an action package where the food is the least expensive item (Figure 7-2).

The *minshuku* experience, a more expensive option, includes the formal and traditional *kaiseki* (multiple course meal) (Figure 7-3) with or without a stay over and generally caters for couples-only customers.

## 歴史と自然あふれる但馬に 5つの街道が新登場

# 但馬新街道

TAJIMASHINKAIDO

京阪神からすぐ足を伸ばして、自然の生輝、但馬へ。雄大な自然のなかで思いっきり羽根を伸ばして深呼吸したいなら、但馬の旅がオススメ。花あり、歴史あり、グルメありで楽しいひとときを過ごせます。

### 温泉三昧

水辺の自然と産業にふれる旅  
四季の花と歴史にふれる旅

### 花暦

高瀬植物と生きものにふれる旅  
雄大な海と芸術にふれる旅

**スタンプラリーにチャレンジして  
豪華賞品をGETしよう!**  
**抽選で149名様にプレゼント!!**

- ①ご旅行の際に(株)印のスタンプ設置場所にお寄り下さい。
- ②各コースに設置されたスタンプをハガキに押しして下さい。
- ③押ししたハガキに必要事項をご記入の上ご応募ください。

※本スタンプラリーは一人一当選とさせていただきます。  
※スタンプは、コースごとに4ヶ所異なる4枚の(但馬輪山街道は4ヶ所5町)を押しして下さい。  
取組となる抽選の上、2005年7月中旬に賞品の発送をもってかえさせていただきます。

お問い合わせ先 但馬観光連盟 TEL.0796-24-5051

## 香美町

兵庫県 香美町観光ガイド 秋冬編

(旧香住町・旧村岡町・旧美方町)

楽しい山・川・海  
人が躍動する  
実証と美生の食育  
香美町へようこそ!

Figure 7-2 Examples of Kasumi tourism marketing focussing on family and younger markets. Source: (Kamitown Tourism Association 2005; Tajima Tourism Association, 2001 2).

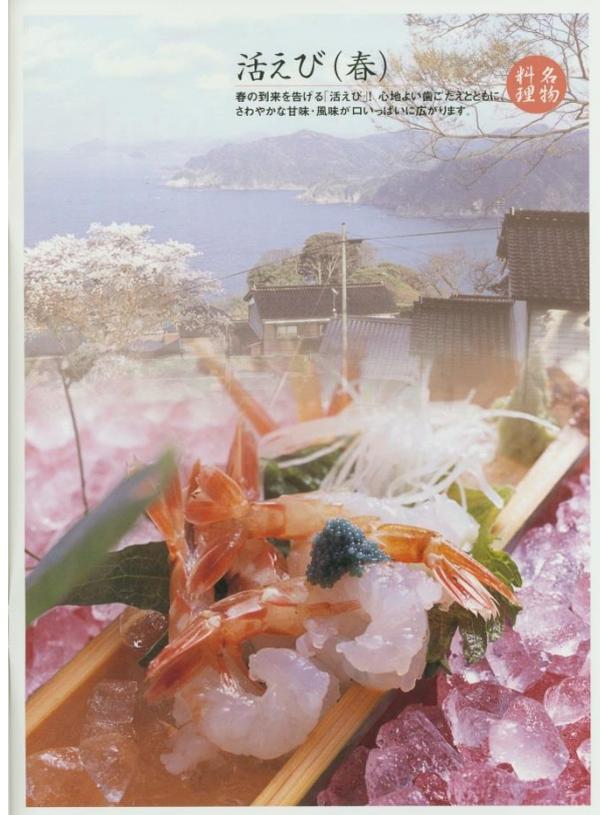


Figure 7-3. A publication promoting summer foods of Kasumi. (Courtesy of Kasumi Town hall, 2005)

The Kasumi tourist bureau and various Kasumi fishery stakeholders, including the municipal government, also publish small cookbooks promoting the use of local products. These are made available to visitors to Kasumi, particularly in the peak season as part of the overall festival to promote the seasonal catch.

### 7.2.1 The Impacts of Tourism Marketing

The first catch of the winter season has traditionally been a time of great celebration and Kasumi, like other rural towns, now attracts a brief national television feature that captures the early morning seafood auctions. Annually, television crews go to Kasumi to film every detail of the catch: as it is brought ashore (Figure 7-4); the first auctions, the prices and the various associated festivities.



Figure 7-4 The first boat arrives with the first of the crab catch. Two women wait for the boxes of crab that they will push on the yellow trolley. Source: author.

In a sequence of 'reality television', television personalities interview visitors who exclaim the ubiquitous, "*Oishii!*" (It's delicious!). In the first week of December, a 'traditional' crab soup-eating festival, which was established in the 1980s, is held and televised. Competitors, mostly from the Kansai region come to win the 'most crab soup eaten' (sic) prize (Figure 7-5).



Figure 7-5 Kasumi soup competition, 2001. Source: author.

Barrels of locally produced sake are donated and offered free to locals and visitors who drink the sake from cleaned, empty crab shells. Local manufacturers of vinegars, preserved products, sake and the employees of the public hot springs also attend, filling customers' orders, and local farmers sell their produce.

At such festivals, traffic levels are high and parking is at a premium as temporarily uniformed locals direct tour coaches, small buses and cars along the single-lane streets (Figure 7-6, Figure 7-7). The traffic is further disrupted by couriers who arrive in the town to deliver the fresh crabs as souvenirs throughout Japan (Figure 7-8) and in contrast, on the following day, the streets are eerily empty (Figure 7-9).



Figure 7-6 A lull in the busy coast road traffic. A forklift gains access to the road as traffic is flagged to stop. Source: author.



Figure 7-7 Tourists' cars parked on the coast road obscure the sea views and cause traffic hazards. Source: author.



Figure 7-8 A crowded car park adjacent to a seafood market. Source: author.



Figure 7-9 The coast road is quiet the day after the crab festival. Source: author.

Income for Kasumi spikes at this festival time commensurate with this peak activity. The sources are both from the tourist expenditure and from the prefectural budget for the tourism industry as part of its overall regional funding support. Local seafood business owners claimed to make a profit at festival times, but actual figures were unobtainable<sup>89</sup>. There were no claims of sufficient profits being generated to ‘keep the town going’ for the rest of the year. At the smaller vegetable market stalls, transactions were by cash in hand only and so no record of purchases is likely to exist.

### 7.3 A ‘Concrete’ Dilemma: Bypassing a Renaissance Plan

As previously indicated, both Kasumi and Himeji are situated on coastal national or quasi-national parks and the northern coast of Hyōgo is seen officially as providing a cultural and material connection to the rural for Hyōgo urbanites. As part of the list of sixty-five projects to develop Hyōgo Prefecture (shown in Appendix 3), a significant aim was to open up regional Hyōgo and thus encourage citizens to appreciate their prefecture’s natural environment; an aim that was to be facilitated by the Tajima domestic airport<sup>90</sup> (completed in

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<sup>89</sup> A local public servant who wished to remain anonymous due to his connection with the prefectural taxation department, claimed that such difficulties were common in trying to find accurate income figures (informal interview December 2001)

<sup>90</sup> Approximately 5 kilometres south west of the Tajima capital, Toyooka.

1994) and a 'Furusato Cherry Blossom Corridor'. This corridor would stretch from the Seto Inland Sea of Himeji to the Sea of Japan (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 1993 20), with the route extending into Tajima and culminating at the Kasumi waterfront.

However, by the mid-1990s, tourism figures had plummeted in Kasumi. The number of overnight visitors had fallen from 396,000 in 1985 to 238,000 by 1995 (Kasumi Municipality Hyogo Prefecture, 2005 54). Several small projects, such as a new community centre, a multiple purpose hall and a hotel-convention centre (Figure 7-10), had already been built in the period from late 1980s to early 1990s in Kasumi as the result of a series of political promises and subsidies to improve rural community amenity.

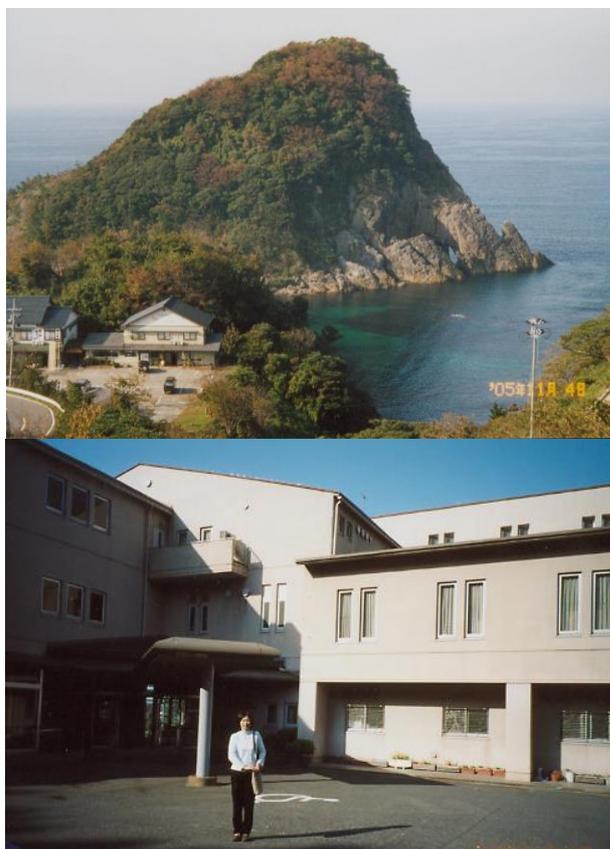


Figure 7-10 Imamura Family Inn (convention centre) and its views facing the north west towards the National Park of the Sea of Japan (Refer to Figure 6-12). Source: author.

Then, in the late 1990s, as part of the national project to open up regional Japan, a section of the greater project of the Kyoto-Tottori, east-west Highway connection, the Kasumi bypass commenced construction. These building works caused protracted disruption to the Kasumi community and its environs. This bypass was part of a national road works scheme, which,

together with the R-Plan, was drafted in 1986 and therefore preceded the Koizumi era tourism initiatives (Kasumi Machi, 1993 26).

The aims of the bypass, at the regional level, were to assist in the opening up of the northern Kinki district prefectures of Kyoto, Hyōgo and on to Tottori, and to reverse the decline in tourist numbers in the district's small towns due to the difficulty of traversing roads that were small, winding and snow covered in winter. On a national scale, a desired outcome of connecting the major settlements along the northern coastline through the three prefectures was to reinvigorate the construction industry.

The Kasumi section of this route was being built at the same time as the ground preparation for the 'Renaissance' resort development was being undertaken. In fieldwork observations, it was evident that both of these works were causing major disruptions to the incoming tourist and local traffic. Not only were family homes displaced, but also small businesses were affected. The bypass project led to a variety of businesses and homeowners having their land resumed (albeit with compensation) by both the municipal and Hyōgo governments (Figure 7-11).



Figure 7-11 Houses overshadowed by the bypass. To the rear, some buildings were demolished. Source: author.

For one family business offering plumbing and LPG supplies, part of their premises had been acquired by the Hyōgo government and, although they were compensated, the disruption to their business and of supplies to their customers created stress for the owners (Figure 7-12). Excavations destroyed part of their buildings and they could only rebuild once the bypass had been completed.



Figure 7-12 Disruptions to local business, 2001. The remains of the building are on the right and office on the left.  
Source: author.

The town's sake business had part of its land resumed for the bypass pillars but engineers later deemed the land unsuitable for construction as it contained natural artesian hot springs and the area was later rezoned for use as a hot springs bathing facility, (to be mostly used by locals).

Then, in the national context, and as part of Koizumi's national reforms for fiscal reconstruction from 2002, which had opposed this expensive construction industry initiative, nearly all road works were stopped in their pre or mid construction phases throughout Japan. In the wider context, these reforms aimed to reduce wasteful expenditure, and to improve the nation's public finances for future generations by easing long-term debt liabilities. In the short term and the local contexts, however, many rural areas were adversely affected by dislocations resulting from these reforms (Mulgan 2002 2, 3).

For Kasumi, the impacts included the cessation of work on the Kasumi bypass section of the Kyoto –Tottori East –West Highway in 2001 and the community was left in limbo while waiting for the works to resume. This retrenchment was a clear example of policy decision making favouring the central core rather than periphery. In contrast, to the south in the central Hyōgo town of Wadayama <sup>91</sup> (see earlier Figure 6.36), road reconstruction at an important intersection in the Tajima region, continued. Traffic at this location was diverted and became slow-moving adding an hour or more to car travel times from the southern cities to Kasumi.

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<sup>91</sup> Wadayama is home to a major cement production industry.

Pressure from various ministerial and entrepreneurial sectors including the Ministry of Construction,<sup>92</sup> led to a reconsideration of this hiatus to road construction nationally and bypass construction recommenced in Kasumi in 2003. Nevertheless, community morale in Kasumi remained low due to the decrease in tourist numbers and the protracted nature of the construction process for the Renaissance Plan (Town Planning Officer see Appendix 2).

Meanwhile, municipal funding allocated for the revegetation of the Kasumi coastline, was hurriedly redirected to the renewal of drainage pipes along the road into the town centre, a project that began in mid-January 2002. The national government stipulation for this drainage work came as a surprise for the local town planning office and had to be finished before the bypass road works on the outskirts of the town could resume in 2003. The town planning officer noted that, although repair of the drainage system was needed, this had been planned for in the future within the next three year municipal budget (Pers. Comm. January 2001). Within weeks, the drainage works disrupted town traffic during the peak of the winter tourist season.

The Kasumi bypass section, was eventually finished in late 2005 (Figure 7-13). The local tourism industry had been disrupted by the works for approximately four years, but the regional bypass of which the Kasumi section was a part, had begun in the late 1990s. Therefore, the Kasumi tourism industry, which was already in a difficult situation, saw their predicament exacerbated by a national road works project and a protracted political stand-off which extended over a seven year period.

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<sup>92</sup> The Ministry of Constructions was amalgamated with the Ministry of Transport in 2002 to form the new MLIT.



Figure 7-13 The Kasumi Bypass. This expressway is parallel to a local Kasumi road in the foreground. Photograph courtesy of Toshiko Kurano.

### 7.3.1 The Beginnings of the Renaissance Plan

At the same time as the bypass construction began, so too did the breaking of the ground for a resort development in the Western Port area of Kasumi (See figures 6.7 and 6.12 and Figure 7-14 below). This was the ‘Renaissance Plan’ waterfront redevelopment (R-Plan) with a projected cost, at 1995 figures, of US\$70,000,000 (AUS\$78 million in 2001 conversion rates) (Sabien, (a) 1995 89). The ‘R-Plan consisted of ‘community, monument, recreation and resort zones as well as a man-made reef’ (sic) (*ibid*; 89) under the *Block Act of Development of Special Regions -The Act for the Improvement of Comprehensive Resort Areas (1987)* and *The Act on the Extraordinary Measures for the Development of Depopulated Areas (1980-1990)* (Appendix 9 in Sabien, 1995). The R-Plan was a set of eight staged tourism projects to be developed along the Kyū Kasumi coastline that had begun in the early 1990s with the opening of the Imamura Family Inn (See Figure 7.10).

In 1991, guided by the *Hyōgo 2001 Plan*, a few selected officials from the Kasumi municipality and the Hyōgo Prefectural Ports and Harbours division consulted with a research professor from Osaka University to consider a long term strategy, the R-Plan, to improve the Kasumi shoreline and develop a resort on the water's edge (Figure 7-15). The R-Plan was to be completed in stages because the Japanese economy was expected to revive by the end of the decade and funding would be gradually released from the prefectural government for such projects. A Kasumi business person and a TRFI representative who later participated in an R-Plan community discussion group (interviews November 2001),

revealed that support from the Hyōgo Prefectural government included initial funding for the land reclamation and the site foundations upon which local businesses and other private enterprises could then build a hotel and tourist resort (Figure 7-16).



Figure 7-14 An excerpt from the early drawings for the Renaissance Plan development, Western Port Kasumi. From east to west are the 'Resort Zone, the Coastal Recreation Zone and the 'Getting back to Nature Zone' respectively.

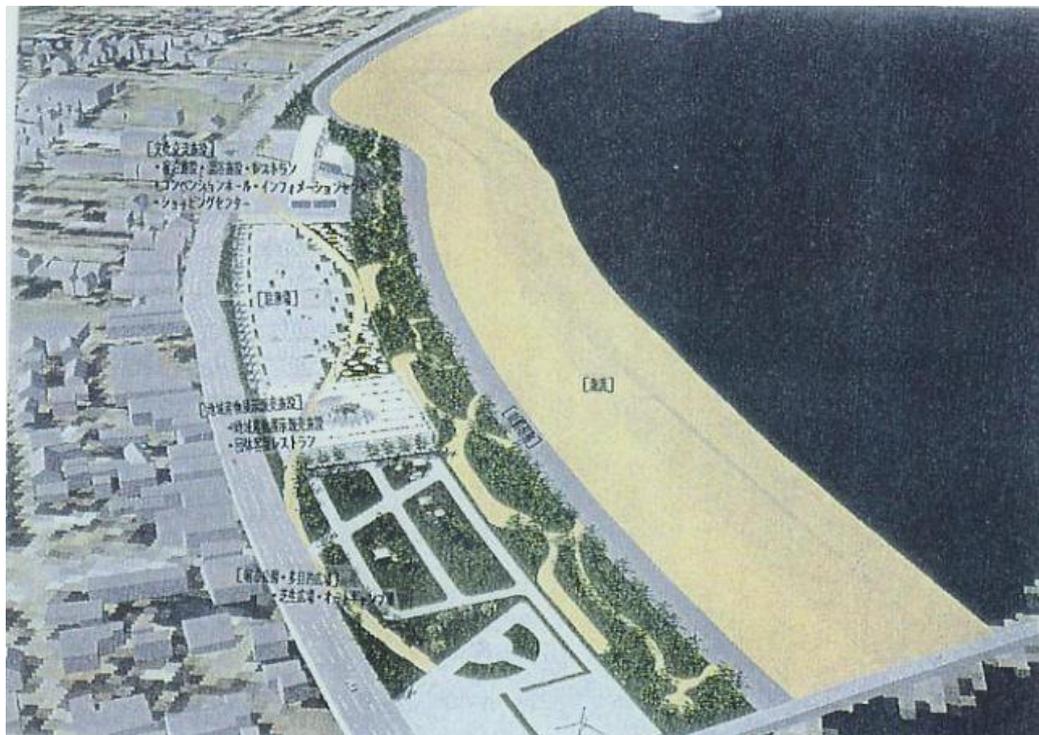


Figure 7-15 The R-Plan Kasumi Beach. Note the multi-lane road that would replace the narrow coastal road. Source: (Osaka University Computer Graphics, ca 1993).



Figure 7-16 The R-Plan later stage diagrams. The resort zone was located to the east, in the centre was the recreation zone and to the west, the 'connectedness to nature' zone. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries Fishing Ports Division et al., 1993 2-3,4)

Sabien (1995) explains the process of providing funding for this project, in his fieldwork as a participant observer in the Hyōgo government. The funding negotiations were conducted between several national government departments and the prefecture. The application procedure, under the *Furusato Foundation for Loans Private Project*, (*ibid*, 1995) required the participation of a private promoter who, representing the town requiring revitalisation, made an application to the Prefecture which, in turn, was modified and forwarded to the national Foundation which assisted in the procurement of joint financing from financial and other institutions. The foundation would also conduct a comprehensive study and examination of the project and notify the local government of the results of these examinations. The local government would then issue *Furusato Local Bonds* to procure the necessary funds and provide a *Furusato* loan to the private project promoter (*ibid*, 1995).

There were problems from the outset. According to a Kasumi business person (see Appendix 4 interviewee 2) the consultation processes in the form of local meetings included approximately twenty-three local business leaders who had formed a consortium to decide the budget for the commercial enterprise planned for the resort (Figure 7-17). The budget was estimated at 1 billion yen and a private enterprise group (unnamed) was considering whether to undertake conducting the development. Local construction companies and other entrepreneurs were then expected to develop and commercially populate the reconstructed site which would include the relocation of local retail and wholesale fish markets and stalls

from the eastern port to join the major fish processing operations and restaurants already on the western port main road.



Figure 7-17 The north elevation of the proposed Kasumi Renaissance Resort. The central feature was to be a multi-storey resort and retail building. Source: (Osaka University Computer Graphics, ca1993).

Meanwhile, the municipal government also had similar ideas for redevelopment but the consortium and the municipal government did not work together. By the late 1990s, not only did funding become problematic due to the decline in the national economy, but there was also no agreement as to who would be the leaders of this regional private enterprise initiative. Ideas on the nature of the project also changed and cultural and research facilities were also considered for inclusion. Meanwhile, under the directive of the Mayor, the Kasumi municipal government injected funds into the building of a maritime museum, which commenced in 1993. Construction of new buildings for the Tajima Fisheries Research Institute and aquaculture ponds also began (Kasumi Municipality Hyogo Prefecture, 2005 149, 152). The museum was considered outdated and a possible waste of funds before it commenced according to the Director General of the TFRI (Pers. Comm. November 2001) as it could not compete with the SeaWorld maritime attraction in nearby Kinosaki.

### 7.3.2 The End of the Renaissance Plan

As seen in the following maps (Figure 7-18, Figure 7-19), the Kasumi Bay has been subjected to several stages of development prior to and since 1938 (see Figure 6.3). Much of that development occurred offshore to improve and safeguard the coastal environment and the fisheries and to create safe harbours. The R-Plan, (the last two stages are highlighted in orange and yellow on the maps), would therefore capitalise on funding that had already been invested in the town over several decades and particularly in 1997 when preparation for the beachfront resort began. Most of the money provided for the R-Plan had been injected into this further beachfront preservation and underpinnings before the final stage, the resort building, was postponed. According to the Mayor (interview November 2001), the hiatus in development was due to the lack of prefectural funding and the extended downturn in the national economy. In his interview, while the Deputy Mayor had inferred that the national economic situation was problematic, he also pointed out that the lack of stakeholder co-operation had contributed to uncertainty over the future viability of the project, though a long-term vision remained that the R-Plan could be revived in a more solvent economic future (interview November 2001).

By February 2002, the land stage remained incomplete. Kasumi people had been waiting since 1992 (Anon, 1993) for the R-Plan to rejuvenate their townscape, industry and economy.

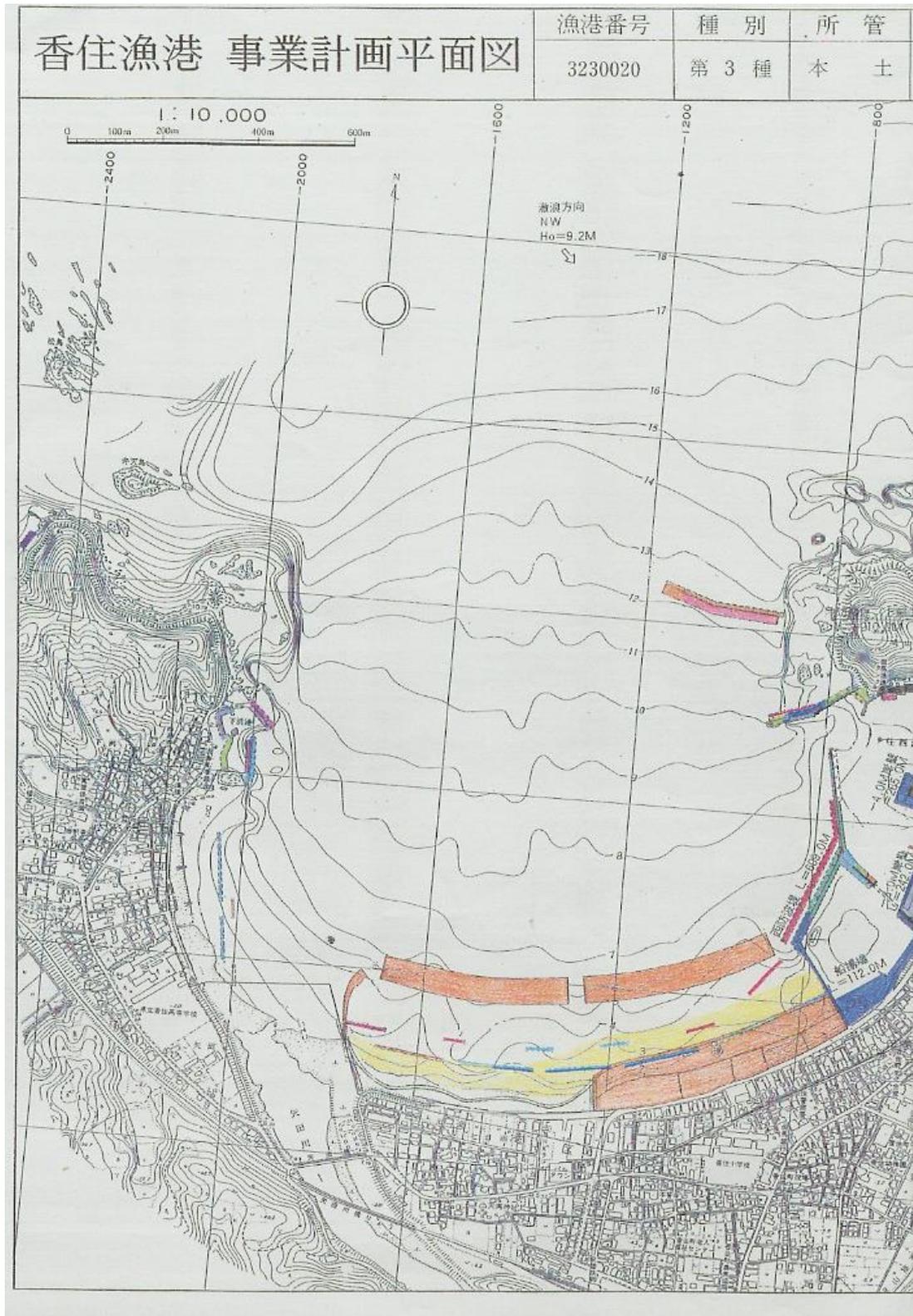


Figure 7-18 Kasumi Western Port: Stages of development. Map Courtesy of the TFRI. For time periods, see key in fig 7-19.

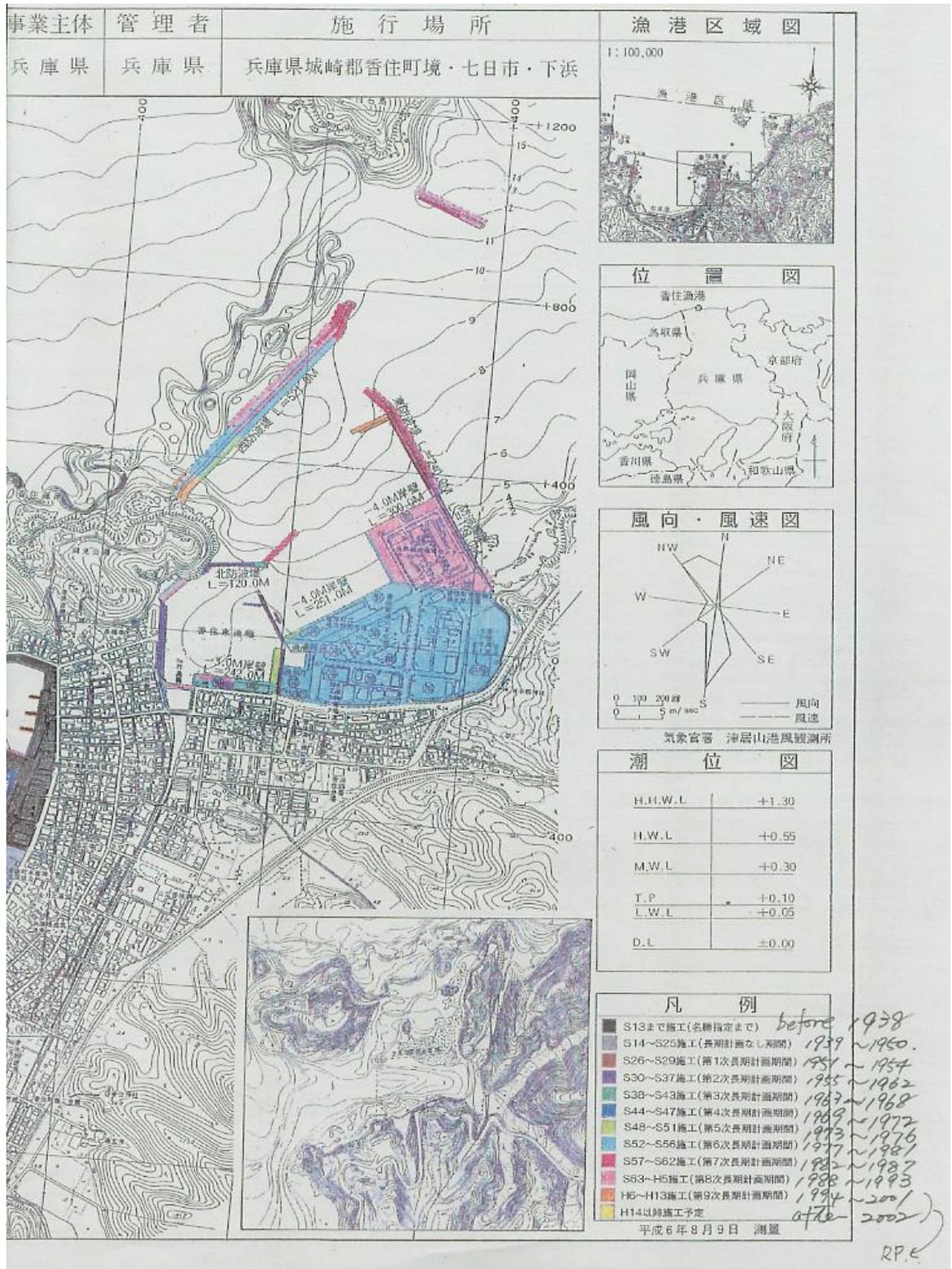


Figure 7-19 Kasumi Eastern Port development. The key indicates the dates of completion for the coastal development. For scale see fig 7-18 (Map courtesy of TFR).

### 7.3.3 What was the Aim of the R-Plan?

According to the TFA Port Manager (interview November 2001), the R-Plan was developed for two reasons: to prevent further coastal erosion; and to develop a swimming beach and leisure area for domestic and international tourists to the Kinki region, particularly for people from the *Keihanshin*, a collective term for the cities of Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe. These cities however, have their own tourist attractions serviced by six or eight lane highways. The time travelled by car to Kasumi from Himeji on the Pacific coast can be two to four hours in good weather, more in peak holiday periods, and over four hours in snow.

The R-Plan was originally mooted under earlier 1980s legislation of the Resort Law of 1987 (Kasumi Machi 1993 26, 27) and later was indirectly supported through national *Welcome Plan 21* funding (TFA Port Manager interview November 2001). In what could be described as a 'trickle-down' process national government funding as part of its overall international tourism initiative was directed to the larger regional tourism districts such as the *Keihanshin*, and this led to the involvement of the University of Osaka in the first stage of the R- Plan's ground preparation. This was led by the prefectural government, as part of the prefectural level tourism planning and development.

The objectives of the R-Plan were to generate a future for the local tourism industry that would complement the gourmet and sightseeing attractions already in place (*ibid.* 2001) and create a 'Tajima project that would be the model for 'tomorrow's furusato' (*Tajima-shi tashikyoku*). The resort would make redundant, the already rundown attractions and unused facilities and move the 'centre' of the town's retail sector from the existing commercial street frontage to the resort building. According to the KTA Director and the Mayor (interviews November 2001), the R-Plan would solve the population and business problems of Kasumi. The resort would have a 'home-style' atmosphere and its western zone would provide a natural environment for children and a place for recreation and interaction with nature and between people. The TFA Port Manager, Kasumi councillor/municipal representative and several locals (interviews November 2001) concurred that the R-Plan would make Kasumi's amenities available for tourists year round and not just in the popular times of summer and winter. Thus, the spin-offs were meant to include improved employment and repopulation opportunities.

However, as the artist's impression illustrates, a 'home-style' atmosphere was not evident in the modernist architectural style of the proposed buildings (Figure 7-20) and, despite the

presence of such amenities at the destination, the winter weather would continue to make car travel to Kasumi an arduous and unpredictable task while the unreliability of flights into Tajima airport would be a further deterrent.

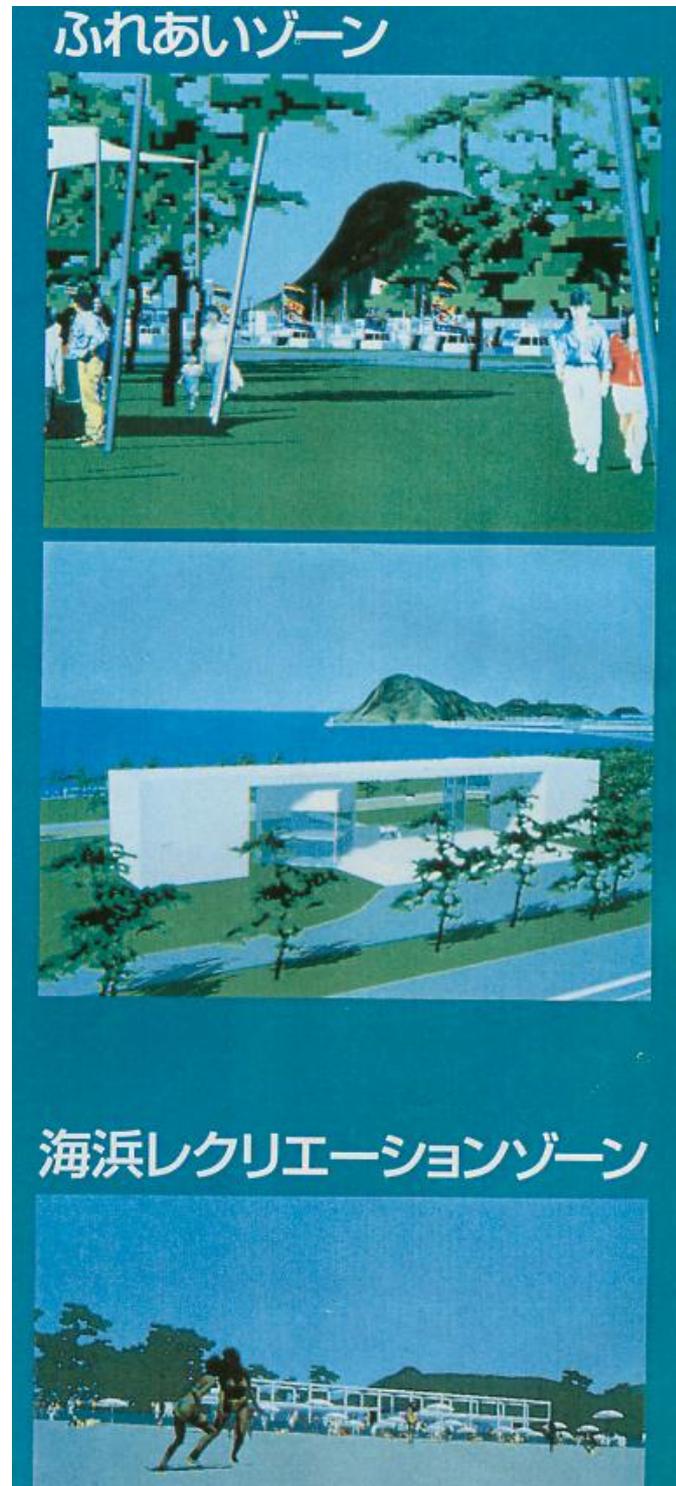


Figure 7-20 An artist's impression of the R-Plan's recreation and nature zones. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries Fishing Ports Division, 1993 3)

### 7.3.4 Tourism Trends during the First Stage of the R-Plan

As discussed in Chapter Three, statistics collected from different sources were found to be inconsistent and/or unreliable. Nevertheless, the trends in tourist numbers indicate the challenges facing Kasumi.

The Tajima Furusato Project (the revitalisation of the northern Tajima area) was a response to adverse trends in the tourism industry during the period 1994-1999 (Table 7-1 and 7-2). The only positive figures were those for the Tajima region in the winter of 1999 and may be explained by the opening of a new aquarium and increased promotion of the Kinosaki district *onsen* and the outlying Muraoka *michi no eki*. The region's depressing figures overall were affected not only by the 1995 Kobe Earthquake and the nation's economic recession, but also, in 1997 for Kasumi, by the Nakhodka oil spill (see chapter six, section 6.3.2). The gourmet tourism industry of Kasumi became a victim of that disaster.

Table 7-1 Kasumi and Tajima Day and Overnight Visitors (total accommodation types) in 1,000s, Percentage Shifts in the period 1994-1999 (Tajima Regional Administration Group, 2001 32)

	1994	1999	% shift	1994 overnight	1999 overnight	% shift
Kasumi	1,283	459	-64%	680	170	-75%
Tajima	13,103	9,927	-24%	4,009	2,641	-34%

Table 7-2 Kasumi Seasonal Visitors in 1,000s, Percentage Shift in the period 1994-1999 (Tajima Regional Administration Group, 2001 32)

	Spring Kasumi	Summer Kasumi	Autumn Kasumi	Winter Kasumi	Spring Tajima	Summer Tajima	Autumn Tajima	Winter Tajima
1994	269	432	241	341	3463	4790	2608	2242
1999	35	160	59	205	2099	3276	2006	2546
%Shift	-88%	-64%	-75%	-41%	-39%	-32%	-23%	+14%

The seriousness of the Kasumi visitor decline was underplayed by the representatives of the TRFI, stating that the fall in tourism numbers was "possibly due to the 1997 oil spill" and rumours of "unhealthy crabs" (interviews Asst. Director and Secretary November 2001). Yet the decline in tourism numbers was probably also due to the redevelopment activity on

the coast and the delays and problems related to the bypass, which extended into central Hyogo at the town of Wadayama where traffic jams and extensive detours were experienced for a protracted period (fieldwork 2001-2002). Excluding the winter season, the whole Tajima region had experienced negative growth in tourism, despite the revitalisation projects that had been in progress in the region over the previous five years or so.

#### **7.4 After the R-Plan: a Review of Kasumi Tourism**

Enthusiasm in Kasumi for the R-Plan declined as it became increasingly evident to the local community that the Japanese economy was not recovering quickly from the economic recession that had begun in the early 1990s. The development of the Kasumi foreshore was in limbo and this zone was still vulnerable to coastal degradation and so was largely unusable by tourists.

Furthermore, in July 2000, inland and to the south of old Kasumi, the Yadogawa *Onsen* had opened and an initial surge of tourists visited the newest *onsen* in the region. This resurgence of tourism elsewhere encouraged local business leaders to reassess the R-Plan. They requested that a specialist advisor from the Hyōgo Prefectural government reconsider the viability of the planned retail shops and recreational attractions such as deep sea fishing (*shinsōtsuri*). (At the time of my field observations (2001-2002), deep sea fishing was provided to tourists by the TFRI to encourage FCA members to take on this opportunity to utilise their fleets and enhance their incomes).

Between 2000 and January 2002, the business group and the specialist met four times. Yet at these meetings, no alternative development projects were agreed upon; the final decisions on development remained with the Kasumi municipal officers. The business leaders therefore felt helpless because there had been no progress (Figure 7-21). Except for the R-Plan, suggestions for the improvement of the Kasumi economy had been varied. The recently built Yadogawa *onsen*, built near the Sake factory, was a pristine, yet characterless example and its initial tourism success had rapidly waned. Other short-term profit, retail tourist projects experienced the same outcome. The mayoral – mooted, piecemeal and un-researched, deep water extraction suggestion (an expensive process of collecting deep ocean current water to access unproven health benefits) was abandoned. Only a small group of successful businesses were capable of not only formulating a set of economic development strategies but also of implementing them (Interview with informant 2, Appendix 2).

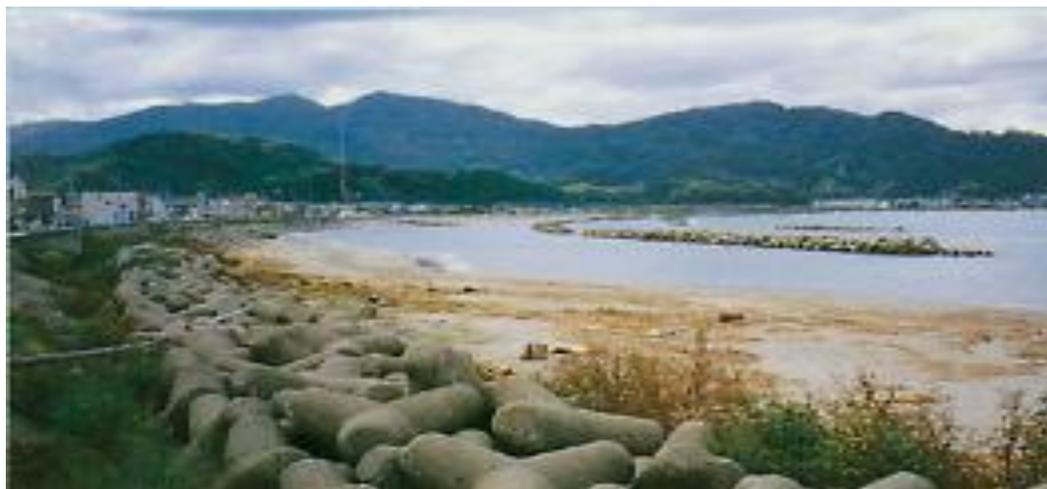


Figure 7-21 The Kasumi foreshore recreation zone, waiting for the final construction phase. Source: (Hyōgo Prefectural Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries Fishing Ports Division et al., 1993 4)

In 2001-2002, there was discussion between the relevant stakeholders from the FCA, the fisheries union, general and fish processing businesses and interested community members to debate and negotiate any remnants of the R-Plan. It was agreed that the first and most important task was to prevent further erosion of the beach and foreshore. It had been difficult to obtain money from MAFF and, even in November 2001, the cost of this project to date had yet to be fully calculated. Stage two, which was the planting of pine trees, was meant to occur within the next 5 years. Stage three was to be the building project and the reinterpretation of the existing foreshore, its buildings' designs and purpose (Figure 7-22).



Figure 7-22 The Kasumi resort zone in 2001. (As a reference point for figure 7.23, mid ground is an NHK tower). Source: author.

Meanwhile, in 2000, the local tourism industry remained moribund. By 1999, total *minshuku* visitor nights had fallen to 115,000, only to rise slightly in 2000 to 138,000 (Data supplied by the FCA in 2001). The sightseeing ocean excursions numbers had fallen from 33,000 in 1996 to 13,000 by 2001 (data supplied by the FCA in 2001). The delayed R-Plan development therefore coincided with plummeting tourist figures. However, the stalled developments may not have been the sole reason for this fall in visitor numbers.

As outlined in chapter 4 (section 4.5.2) 100 questionnaires were distributed to people from Himeji who had visited the Tajima region at various times and 98% responded. The table below details the comments of 62 respondents who had been to Kasumi.

Table 7-3 Himeji residents who have visited Kasumi, Tajima. Reasons for Return.

Number of Tourists who had been to Kasumi	Planned/ Desired Activities
2	to have the whole Kasumi experience in winter
3	to buy the local produce,
3	to do winter sightseeing
6	had a range of unspecified activities for both winter and summer
23	return for the <i>gurume</i> courses.
25	did not desire to return to the region

When they were informally interviewed following the written responses, those who did not want to return responded that they had already experienced that area and wanted to explore other regions (Appendix 5).

#### 7.4.1 The Chain of Decision Making and the Unfeasibility of the R-Plan

In 2001, despite the four year stalemate on the development of the R-Plan site, some locals still had faith in the future of the plan. Yet, when he was interviewed in 2001, the Deputy Mayor conceded that there would be no further development of the resort. This was because the Prefectural government had withdrawn its support for the R-Plan due to the site

becoming unfeasible as a leisure venue site for locals and a belief that the leisure boom would soon finish. Thus, an investment focus on the tourism initiatives would be a misdirection of prefectural funding. Furthermore, he understood that private investors were now seeking more financially stable investment opportunities (unspecified) particularly in the public sector.

The Deputy Mayor believed that the development of a conference centre in a resort environment would provide a place for city and country people to have a place to communicate and interact. He considered that construction of such a facility would be a useful strategy for the future sustainability of the Kasumi community (even though a modern cultural/community centre had already been built in the previous decade).

Then in February 2002, without community consultation (and prior to my interviews with the Hyōgo Fishing Port Management in Kobe), the Mayor made a surprise announcement that there were new options for the redevelopment of the R-Plan site. A large multi-level car park and community centre were scheduled for completion by 2004 and would include conference rooms and new municipal offices on the beachfront, while unused areas would be planted with pine trees (*matsu*)<sup>93</sup>. Also under his consideration was the restoration of the bathing beach for both locals and tourists as a place of recreation, like that of the past.

By 2001, the agenda for the R-Plan had only extended to the construction of artificial reefs in order to retain and improve the sandy beaches of Kasumi, which had been degraded earlier by the building of an upriver dam project in inland Tajima (Figure 7.23).

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<sup>93</sup> Common on the coastlines of the Sea of Japan



Figure 7-23 Kasumi harbour in the off season, 2005. A lone fisherman sits in the middle of the R-Plan site. (As a reference point for figure 7.22, note the NHK tower in the left background). Source: author.

It was my final interview that revealed the end of the decision making process on the R-Plan. This was with the Director General of Hyōgo Prefecture's Fishing Port Management Division in Kobe, together with his Deputy and a senior staff member (interview December 2001). The division's roles included the collation and consideration of various statistics, including those on issues that affected the Kasumi economy, its fishing and tourism industry and any coastal development plans. The Director General explained that timelines for the R-Plan budget included Prefectural funding support until 2007, although consultation was required with the Kasumi community regarding any funding reconsideration or adjustments.

Their consideration of Kasumi's issues appeared sincere and they spoke with compassion about them; they knew the area well as we discussed streets and future prospects for land redevelopment. The decision for further redevelopment however was moot; these government officials believed that the municipally-owned Imamura Family Inn provided sufficient hotel accommodation for tourists to the locality, and so no further investment in that field was required. The Director and his staff conceded that they were at a loss to offer solutions for Kasumi, for the problems of the continuing decline in the population, and the fisheries' labour force and the reduction in fish stocks. The latter was part of a larger issue at international level including the Total Allowable Catch (TAC), which not only restricted Kasumi fish yields but allowed the expansion of neighbouring nations' fishing zones into former Japanese waters. Upgrades of the TFRI research vessel or additions to its patrol were not matters for budget consideration and these had to be achieved from present funding.

By 2005, only the first stages of the R-Plan had been completed which was the reclamation and revegetation of an open beach. There was little prospect of further recreational development on such a scale as the R-Plan being undertaken.

## 7.5 Discussion

*Tourism means income and survival; (It) needs academic research and feedback and connection with tertiary institutions to include Kasumi in marine sciences; Hospitality-educated, young people are required.*

Kasumi local <sup>94</sup>

The issues raised in section 6.2 and the data in table 7.1 on the decline of the *minshuku* (and other accommodation) overnight visits, suggests that Kasumi, although it is a fishing town that has a tourism industry, is not currently a place of choice for tourists to visit or return to visit. By contrast, the Himeji tourist questionnaire revealed that 40% of this small cohort would return for the very attractions that Kasumi currently offers; its winter-themed gourmet tourism set in an environment of rural hospitality as encapsulated in the experience of the ‘traditional’ *minshuku*. They considered it a place where the Japanese tourist could experience nature, local produce and the Japanese coastal-rural idyll.

As indicated in this chapter and in chapter 6, many strategies have been devised and, on occasion, even partly put in place in an attempt to revitalise the economy of Kasumi. These have included tourism initiatives, expanded fisheries research roles, coastal redevelopment to improve both the tourism and the fishing industries and facilities, and particularly the ‘one solution fits all approach’ of the Renaissance Plan. These strategies however, have been beset by the lack of utilisation of pre-project information and proper project management.

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<sup>94</sup> The Kasumi local did not feel that the Tajima Fisheries Research Institute, which is set up to conduct such studies in Kasumi, was sufficiently attracting potential students.

In the Kasumi context, effective planning and development has been affected by:

*1. The lack of well-compiled sets of data and the existence of conflicting information.*

The case studies in these two chapters highlight that a rural-coastal tourism project can involve a number of departments within several ministries over the three tiers of government. Data that has been gathered is frequently not shared between departments, ministries and levels of government before the next stage of a project ensues; examples of this include the Kasumi R-Plan, multiple prefectural road works, the *onsen* site, the municipal road works, and the river diversion (see chapter 6).

In terms of tourism projects, strategies developed by the municipal and prefectural governments for Kasumi have led to competition for visitor numbers between the Kasumi Marine Museum, and the neighbouring Takeno beach facilities and the high-tech Kinoshita Aquamarine park (a Sea-World theme park of the type found in the United States and Australia).

Data collected from a variety of sources or initiated from within an organisation can be used to justify or support tourism attractions and facilities already in place or even to support the pecuniary and entrepreneurial interests of the survey makers. In Kasumi, tourist information is collected by the local FCA and distributed to the Kasumi Tourism Association. The former Fukuchiyama JR director collected data for the Tajima region, commenting that his focus was on advantaging his hometown of Izushi. The manager of the North Kinki Tourism Association collected data that would advantage his hometown of Takeno. Accommodation providers also contribute information and statistics to the FCA and KTA, but this can be unreliable due to *minshuku* owners' inadequate bookkeeping and their suspicion when supplying their information to data collection authorities. Much of the data collected is in the form of template style accounts and multiple choice responses.

Data about tourism and tourism related industries is collected through the various government and private organisations, such as the Tajima Regional Administration Group, the North Kinki Tourism Association, and the Keihanshin, and Fukuchiyama Tourism organisations that operate under the auspices of Japan Railways. As well, there are the various tourism agencies such as the Japan Tourism Bureau and other tourist agencies including All Nippon Airways. Data is also collected from the various fisheries groups, who

manage the coastal environment, and provide information on fisheries employment in long distance recreational fishing and those *minshuku* who also provide seafood menus and hire hospitality and accommodation staff. As new groups and associations arise, they too can contribute data. This diversity can compromise the authority of data from any single source.

*2. The lack of well-coordinated inter-organisational communication for cohesive tourism planning and project management at various stakeholder levels*

Tourism is an industry that involves the ‘wider economy, society and environment and therefore needs to be integrated into broader planning processes (Ingram, 2008 85). As Uda (2010 230) argues, in several coastal engineering projects throughout Japan, there is a ‘lack of comprehensive coordination between several related authorities’. Several projects in Kasumi that had been part of larger strategies promulgated in the 1980s suffered from a lack of continuity and funding during the 1990s and this has led to problems for future rejuvenation projects.

In December 2001, the R-Plan was at a stalemate, impending municipal amalgamation was seen as a cultural threat to Kasumi, the Kasumi municipal government was due to change its leadership and possibly to lose its responsibility for the fisheries and municipal businesses in its region and the town was obliged, by higher levels of government, to undertake municipal drainage works as part of the bypass project instead of their preferred coastal beautification initiative. The ‘stop-start’ approach of national road politicking impacted adversely on Kasumi. Although the state of the economy was perhaps the major reason for the failure of the R-Plan project, it was not until the time of my interviews with directors of the prefectural government department of the Hyōgo Ports and Harbours Directors in January 2002 that the Tajima Fisheries Association was formally advised of the cessation of the Renaissance Plan project.

*3. The lack of effective identification of the problems associated with Kasumi tourism, the assessment of its natural assets and existing tourism attractions, and strategies for their enhancement, in a rural and coastal context.*

The major problems faced by Kasumi are not just statistical and bureaucratic. The population decline and the decrease in fisheries employment have long been well documented, as outlined in chapter 6. However, the cultural issues, the role of the fisheries, and the meaning

of not only the natural, but also the historical environment of tourism in the local culture also need to be identified and assessed.

The hard- edged design of the Kasumi resort building was intended as a model for the new *furusato* project for the Tajima region. This led to controversy in terms of community support, conflict about the development in terms of maintaining the town's current amenity and identity and confusion as to how this development should be used to optimise Kasumi's tourism potential. The relevance of this design to the national initiative to attract urban Japanese to the rural idyll, to experience and perhaps live and work in the perceived Japanese traditional culture was also questionable. The fishing industry in Kasumi remains central to the town's identity. Although it remains an industry that underpins the environmental and tourism image and the social traditions of Kasumi, it has become for many an undesirable industry in which to work.

The remaining population retains a sense of pride in this community, as the data in this chapter indicates, but it is also the natural environment that makes Kasumi an attractive place in which to live. The major informants still saw potential in the area's natural environment as a tourism attraction, which included the promotion of local, fresh produce and rural hospitality as a tourism attraction. The fishing industry also used the environment to promote gourmet tourism in unpolluted surroundings. According to the Kasumi town planner, it is this same ambience that attracted new inhabitants to the town, while keeping at least some of the locals within this same area. At the time of this fieldwork, the festivals provided income spikes, but there was no record of such income injection providing for a longer and reliable flow of income for the community.

In terms of local community perception, Kasumi had a variety of social, cultural and environmental attributes that - properly managed and maintained - could provide tourists with attractions while maintaining a community integrity that includes environmental, social and traditional features that remain as the identifiers (Rojek 1997) of this small-sized community. The community's challenge is that it needs the coherent input of a united group of key stakeholders and role-players to protect, manage and interpret these features to the 'outside' world.

## 7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the tourism industry in Kasumi that is based on gourmet seafood, *minshuku*, sightseeing and to a lesser extent, recreational fishing and has highlighted the distinctive political, administrative and planning systems governing tourism in this rural-coastal town.

It has revealed that there are many divisions of opinion, attitude and expertise regarding approaches to tourism and hospitality and their management in Kasumi. Those interviewed and surveyed in the general community of Kasumi held a variety of opinions. The business sector has been divided in its opinions on the future direction of the town's tourism industry. The drive for a better economy has led to a division within the tourism and hospitality industries, whereby professional *minshuku* businesses and restaurants have decided to develop their own advertising strategies, distancing their businesses from those who have a less professional approach in the *minshuku* and food businesses. There has been only partial support for the tourism associations and this has in part been justified by the successes of more favoured localities over Kasumi in obtaining support for future tourism developments.

This thesis argues that national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism can become problematic when they are implemented at the municipal level and therefore that they cannot always improve local economic conditions. Related to this argument is the near axiomatic existence of a land-use conflict resulting from several different perceptions of local landscapes notably those from the local community 'perspective', the tourist 'perspective' and the various governmental perspectives (as reflected in their tourism strategies). The Kasumi case study is illustrative of such diverse perspectives. It is also a reflection of the challenges that face Japan nationally, those of an aging population, depopulation of non-urban environments, and a conflicted fisheries industry. At the Kasumi municipal level, role players had to negotiate these challenges on an unequal playing field, responding to the vagaries of national politics, prefectural policies involving competing municipalities and where Kasumi's municipal and business leadership has sometimes been questionable and selfish in terms of local government and business management.

Therefore, this case study has identified that more sophisticated leadership is essential for Kasumi, ideally supplied by a Mayor who is well connected in the prefectural milieu and

who can lead with professionalism in municipal management, directing the community through future challenges. These now include the complexities and extra layers of financial management associated with municipal amalgamation.

The remaining evidence of the Renaissance Plan, stalled before it had really begun, is the first – stage ground redevelopment of Kasumi Bay. Local records show that this bay has a history of extensive beach erosion due to destructive high seas and extreme weather conditions. The early stage reconstruction of the coastline and its concretisation in 1997 was necessary for the safety of the community, its infrastructure and its fisheries - based economy, and not only as a base on which to erect a tourist resort development. Therefore, in early 2002, this coastline showed no signposts of further tourism development, only confirmation of the ongoing need for coastal protection.

## **8 CONCLUSION**

### **8.1 Introduction**

As outlined in chapter one, this thesis argues that the national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism activity and expenditure in and to diffuse this across Japan, can prove to be problematic when attempts are made to implement them at the local and municipal levels. As such, they cannot always improve local economic conditions.

The challenges to policy implementation include land-use conflict and differing perceptions of coastal landscapes, notably those from the local community ‘perspective’ and the tourist ‘perspective’. This thesis has used the topic of coastal development in the case study localities of Himeji and Kasumi in Hyogo Prefecture, Japan with particular reference to:

1. The role of peripherality,
2. The distinctive nature of the Japanese political, administrative and planning systems,
3. Japanese cultural constructions of the coast, landscape, tourism and recreation as a means of investigating this issue.

This chapter firstly summarises the descriptions of the two case study areas to indicate their social and economic differences and similarities. It then highlights the major findings of the thesis with reference to the three themes outlined above. The significance of this research will then be discussed and evaluated. Finally further research opportunities arising as a result of this research will be identified.

### **8.2 The Case Study Areas**

#### **8.2.1 Himeji and Kasumi: Coastal Tourism Attractions and Port Development**

To recall, the economy of Himeji is diversified. In the mid-twentieth century it was reliant on heavy chemical industry and in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century it, to a considerable extent, replaced that industry with ‘cleaner’ activities such as electronics manufacture and recycling. Its fishing industry had been reduced to the processing of seafood, but the city has recently been amalgamated with Ieshima municipality which has retained a fresh fishing industry. Himeji has several inland tourist attractions including an aquarium, a children’s park, a small zoo, and a monorail (now closed). Parklands, castle gardens and a modern multi-storied community services and retail building and samurai village-styled garden are adjacent to its major tourist attraction, Himeji castle.

By contrast, the Kasumi economy is reliant on its fishing industry which over recent decades has become connected to a gourmet tourism industry showcasing local foods including traditional produce such as sake, and pickled products. Kasumi coastal and inland tourism businesses are diversifying to include artisanal small scale production and *minshuku* experiences. Table 8.1 below summarises the tourism attractions and port development projects of Himeji and Kasumi.

Table 8.1 A comparison of the case study locations of Himeji and Kasumi in 2001-2002

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Himeji</b>	<b>Kasumi</b>
Population	500,000	1400
Area	274.31 km <sup>2</sup>	137.14 km <sup>2</sup>
Economic Structure	heavy industry, manufacturing, R&D, ocean products (e.g. seaweed production, fish processing), tourism	professional fishing, seafood processing, tourism and hospitality
Nature of tourism activities	World Heritage Tourism-Himeji Castle, festivals, outdoor activities, port attractions, leisure port activities and cruise ships	Gourmet tourism, <i>minshuku</i> , natural coastal sightseeing, leisure fishing,
Tourists	7,466,000 (2001)	170,000 (1999)
Religious Pilgrimage sites	Mt Shōsha Temple, one of Japan's major pilgrimage attractions Meditative forest walks Several buildings and scenes used in the movie 'Last Samurai'	Daijyōji Temple a single building dedicated to Buddhist art Small coastal rock formations dedicated to local Shinto deities
Recent tourism development projects	Coastal sports stadium, lights show The multi-storied building adjacent to the Himeji castle is a venue for former open air markets and festivals	Bay made safe from tidal destruction by coastal engineering works Boardwalk and ablution blocks
Relationship to the national and prefectural plans →direction of policy	National→prefectural redevelopment of sunset industrial sites Prefectural and municipal expansion of inland tourism	National→prefectural fisheries and rural tourism initiatives
Other policies and programmes	Municipal amalgamation, fisheries acquisition	Municipal amalgamation

As Table 8.1 indicates, Himeji and Kasumi are t vastly different in size and economy, yet both have business role-players and stakeholders who seek to further the development of tourism to improve both their own businesses and the local economies.

### 8.2.2 Factors Affecting the Tourism Economies of Himeji and Kasumi

Himeji's tourism industry is focussed on the international attraction of the World Heritage listed Himeji Castle. Nearby Mt Shōsha Shrine is part of a larger religious national and international pilgrimage trail. Himeji has a sufficient variety of accommodation and other facilities to cater for all tourist budgets.

By contrast, Kasumi has yet to develop a sophisticated and sustainable tourism industry beyond its current role as an established sightseeing destination. In spite of this, the tourism industry is expected to be capable of supporting the community to a greater extent and therefore contributing to the rejuvenation of its economy.

Both Himeji and Kasumi have tourist information bureaux, associations and offices. Himeji, however, possesses a business and tourism system whereby many of the key tourism stakeholders also play other roles in the community. The tourism hierarchy includes the business leaders of large companies as senior stakeholders who may also hold honorary, but prime, decision making positions in the large and active Chamber of Commerce and various tourism organisations. Kasumi business owners who take up honorary positions in local tourism organisations, may not be representative of the larger local industries (even including larger *minshuku*) and, in contrast to their Himeji counterparts, they may have to follow directives of other local bodies notably the Fisheries Cooperative Association, which is also required by the national and prefectural environmental policies, to appropriately manage the coastal environment and therefore Kasumi's coastal tourism development. For both municipalities, tourism is regarded as a sustainable industry within their respective economies. Figure 8.1 shows how both economies are experiencing similar challenges affecting their coastal development and their industries. It also illustrates the close interdependence between tourism and coastal development in Kasumi. This is not the case in Himeji where coastal development is largely dependent on the ports, shipping and associated industries.

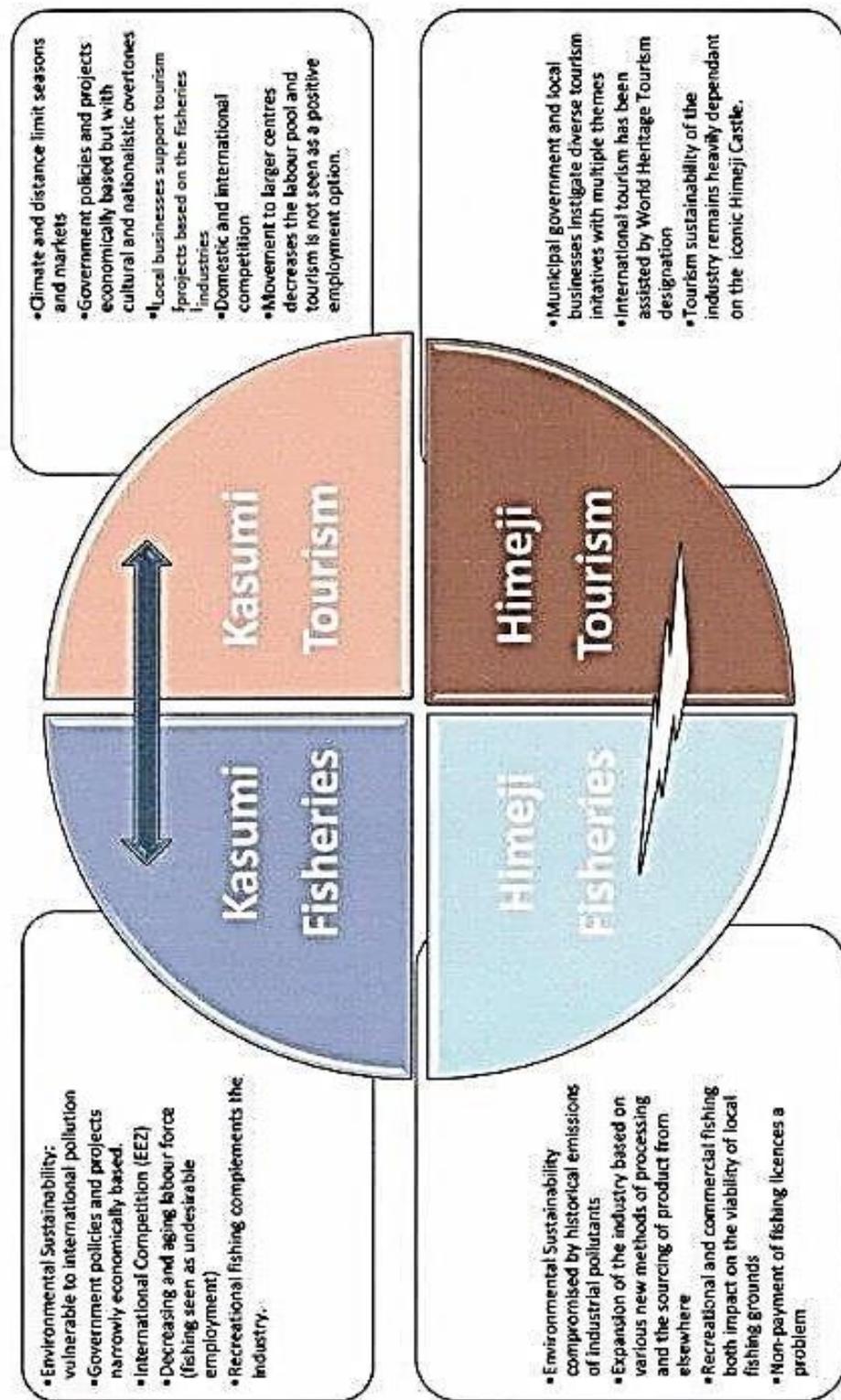


Fig 8.1 Factors influencing tourism and fisheries in Himeji and Kasumi

This aim of this thesis has been to investigate the local effectiveness of regional and national policies for tourism development and the socio-cultural perceptions that underpinned and/or influenced these policies in the two localities. Both locations are at a significant distance from Tokyo, the central administrative focus of Japan. Kasumi is also peripheral, if not remote, at the Prefectural scale whereas Himeji is in close proximity to the prefectural capital of Kobe. In this discussion of relative peripherality, the ports of Abōshi and Mega, both distant from central Himeji too had their own problems with being ‘off the tourist map. This thesis also aimed to discover whether the relevant regional policies were influenced by cultural perceptions related, among other things, to place, environment and location.

The nature of the coastal developments proposed for both these locations was as different as their locations and their population sizes. However, tourism policy is directed by national overarching policies, which in turn, guide prefectural and then municipal practices. Nevertheless, appropriately directed development policies are required to accommodate the individual economic and geographic positions of the case study, and indeed any, municipalities.

### **8.3 Findings**

#### **8.3.1 Peripherality: the Political, Planning and Administrative Systems and ‘Concretised’ Development**

An overall finding was that peripherality and cultural perceptions both play a role in Japan’s distinctive political, administrative and planning systems. The impacts of Japan’s political and economic history, its settlements, and the evolution of its sophisticated transportation networks, initially influenced by the alternative residence (*sankin kōtai*) system, have contributed to the geographical and cultural distinctions between the towns and cities of Japan. For Himeji and Kasumi, their roles in the Japanese economic and political systems have remained the same since the early Tokugawa period. As such, Himeji is distinguished as a ‘castle town’ with the traditional or conservative but nevertheless positive social overtones that accompany this status notwithstanding its more recent port and heavy industry history. Kasumi remains a relatively insignificant fishing town. These reputations endure despite both municipalities having been amalgamated with several of their neighbouring municipalities and having turned to tourism to add breadth to their economies.

There is a deliberate ambiguity in the use of the term ‘concretisation’ in this subheading. The popularity of ‘concrete’ development, as argued extensively by Mc Cormack (1996), gives

physical form to projects which benefit the construction companies and sustain industries that would otherwise have been compromised during the nation's negative economic growth phase during the 1990s (chapter section 2.9.4). The Himeji case study in chapter five demonstrated that, despite the need for tourism to expand to the north of the central business district, major players in the Himeji tourism industry rejected a proposed extension of the Himeji tourism route beyond the established tourism district contiguous with Himeji Castle. Documentary evidence lists the same industry players or their company representatives, as being involved in various plans for sections of the area between Himeji city and its coastline for tourism, hospitality and leisure development.

This demonstrates how various, experienced and tightly-knit stakeholders have been able to direct funding in order to maintain and grow local infrastructure for development projects which are beneficial to them rather than being responsive to regional development goals.

#### 8.3.1.1 Opportunities for 'Natural' Development: the Peripheral and Marginal in the Political, Planning and Administrative System

The strong, networked stakeholders who compete for tourism infrastructure funding in cities such as Himeji are experienced in seeking prefectural and national government funding. The case study of Kasumi (chapter 6) provides a contrast to this; with a declining and aging population, falling production, and distance from markets and important economic and political hubs, the community is unable to compete equitably for prefectural and national funding. The promise by the national government to support regional tourism development (chapter 3) therefore does not operate on a level playing field. As chapters six and seven demonstrated, what may have been initially conceived as rural and remote area development strategies have not always excluded larger towns and cities and indeed such settlements may have fared much better in the competition for development funds in part because they possess informed, well-connected and experienced stakeholders and role-players. Therefore, the limited funding and official planning support extended to Kasumi is a reflection its lowly position in Japan's economic and municipal hierarchy.

Nonetheless, as chapter seven demonstrates, the Kasumi community stakeholders and role-players have sought various ways to maintain their local identity, industries and amenities. They have competed for and failed to obtain funding support for the R-Plan, but have amalgamated with several smaller municipalities to once again seek funding from this larger base. Where there was once a plan for a major renaissance of their coastline, there is now a plan to conserve the 'natural' coastal environment to encourage domestic tourists. As Shields

argues (see chapter 2), there is a necessary relationship between the core and periphery. The marginalised contribute to this relationship, but they do so in an inequitable fashion.

The curtailment of unfettered development, that McCormack (1996) discusses and which Kerr (1996) abhors, has allowed Kasumi to maintain its cultural heritage, language dialect and identity as a fishing town. Even as Kasumi improves its likelihood of obtaining tourism project funding by amalgamating with other municipalities, local historians have been documenting the sacred sites and historic features of Kasumi for fear of losing the Old Kasumi (Kyū Kasumi) culture, landscape and language. In a type of citizen movement, community members have contributed local stories and photographs of local histories for collation and publication. Kasumi's identity has found its way into publications in which community members contribute recipes for local produce. The locals' use of space and place (chapter 2 and 3) has been maintained and over time as Tuan argues, this has evolved, providing an opportunity for 'nature and culture' to again be 'sacred' and for the coastal environment to be 'preserved'.

### 8.3.2 Central Government Decision Making: the 'One Policy Fits All' Approach to Tourism Strategy

Between the Meiji period and the Koizumi era, planning for domestic tourism was seen as less important than catering for international tourism (Soshiroda 2005). Furthermore, domestic tourism has been used a supplementary economic instrument to drive regional and rural revitalisation and to support the construction industry.

Japan already possessed a sophisticated service industry steeped in religious and political history and tradition oriented towards domestic travelling Japanese. This travel was initially in the form of pilgrimage, where hospitality and accommodation for the traveller were provided by a nationalistic service sector in a countryside that had been depicted and popularised by the poet Bashō among others (see chapter 4).

International campaigns such as the *Welcome 21*, despite their often professed intent, did not do much to encourage international visitors to the 'real heart' of rural and regional locations of Japan, such as Kasumi. Like the Koizumi government's *Welcome Japan* campaign, the earlier policies were driven by a mantra-like belief, that projects which improved bucolic tourism attractions, would benefit regional economies. Instead, tourism policy was dominated by advertising and marketing for the major tourism players such as the attractions in Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka (Soshiroda 2005, Directorate for Science Technology and

Industry, 2002) a process that continued through the first decade of the twenty-first century. This tourism policy approach was not dissimilar to those of the Meiji era, although their intent was different. These tourism strategies divided Japan; representing a core and a periphery, city and country, the modern and the traditional.

This dichotomy is not only represented in tourism marketing. It also limited opportunities to access funding and professional support for tourism development in rural/peripheral areas. At the turn of the twenty and twenty-first centuries, the central government considered tourism as a tool for regional economic rejuvenation. However applying for tourism development funding is competitive and municipal representatives with resourceful connections tended to be more successful (chapter 7.5).

### *8.3.2.1 Fishery Cooperative Associations on the Rural Coast*

Seidenstecker (1951) argued that the fishery cooperative associations were the Japanese group most resistant to change. Furthermore, they possessed political power because the fisheries industry was the major food producer at that time. Sixty years later the FCAs retain considerable influence over tourism and coastal development. The Kasumi FCA influences the types of development allowed in coastal areas in local rural/ regional settings, the management of eco-systems in fisheries locations and the nature of tourism development in the coastal area and its immediate hinterland. It was the FCA that decided to close, albeit temporarily, the Kasumi camping grounds and attempt to attract 'higher end' tourists and it was the members of the FCA, whose subsidiary businesses were the local restaurants and fresh fish markets who supported the Renaissance Plan for the Kasumi coast. Both projects failed to come to successful fruition. The camping grounds re-opened and the Renaissance Plan was abandoned.

A distinctive feature of the Japanese coastal planning system therefore is that the FCAs maintain a powerful and consultative role that extends beyond the fisheries industry. Whether or not the actions of the FCAs facilitate successful economic, social or environmental outcomes, they provide examples of how sectional interests can sway the implementation of local and even national and prefectural goals.

### *8.3.2.2 The Role of Networks in Coastal Development Projects*

Major stakeholders in both case study communities appeared to be able to exert influence on public sector decision making strategies. The research in Himeji revealed that a number of

business leaders had gained their status as a result of inheriting their positions, and third generation proprietors managed their families' companies.

The style of networking in the urban industrial sector of Himeji was reproduced in the fishing industry in Kasumi. The members of the FCAs in rural and regional areas, collectively do what they believe is best for the maintenance of their local economies yet, in Kasumi, it was evident that a power base of a few stakeholders and role-players led the cooperative and that such family connections were common in several fishing towns outside Kasumi.

### 8.3.3 Cultural Perceptions of the Coast, Landscape, Tourism and Recreation in Tourism Policy and Strategies for Regional Development

#### 8.3.3.1 *The Roles of Nature and Nationalism in Tourism Policies*

The perception of connectedness to nature (*fureai*) and the connection of the 'old home town', (*urusato*) and the role these concepts play in national and prefectural tourism policies were presented in chapter four. However, the findings from the surveys and interviews argue otherwise.

One rationale for the 'old home town' and 'back to nature' approaches for the promotion of regional tourism, or more aptly the policy for counter-urbanisation, was rural and regional revitalisation of local economies. Nevertheless, a survey (Table 7.3) revealed at least some tourists' lack of desire to make return visits to Kasumi. Furthermore, the concept of participating in the 'natural' environment through active involvement in the fishing industry was generally unpopular with the Kasumi locals. Interviewed participants in municipal government, had no desire to be employed in the fisheries industry (chapter 6.3.5) or in *minshuku*. This contradicted the aims of national policies, driven by a perception of the role of the traditional Japanese rural lifestyle that, once experienced, would re-awaken the Japanese 'connectedness' to nature (*fureai*). Rural, traditional living, hard work, large, extended families and long commutes were less attractive than the modern lifestyles to which generations of Japanese urbanites and even some ruralites have become accustomed. To recall Schnell (chapter 3.1) *urusato* is a 'pervasive, nostalgia-driven ideal' for 'contemporary Japanese (who) were born in urban areas and have no personal experience of growing up in a rural village' (2005 213).

### 8.3.3.2 *National Identity, Political History, Economics and Culture in Twenty-first Century Japanese Domestic Tourism*

The idea of tourism as an economic panacea has become embedded in Japanese economic and political culture. Historically, domestic tourism has been a significant industry in Japan. Long distance travellers and pilgrims required stopovers on their way to pay homage to Shinto shrines where local villagers provided food, beverages and accommodation. Unique, local traditions and locations became attractions in themselves and, together with compulsory travel to the capital Edo, stimulated a culture of tourist travel, which encouraged the development of hospitality businesses in towns as well as at locations in between towns that were used as travellers' rest stops. In time, places made famous by various artists and poets, often commissioned by local business owners, became places of interest in their own right.

As part of the planning system for 'the lost decade' of the 1990s, when Japan's economy stagnated, the use of tourism policy as a mechanism to revitalise regional and rural economies, created a new set of problems. The research detailed in chapters 5, 6 and 7, identified unused, abandoned or underutilised tourist facilities. Many Japanese were travelling abroad rather than patronising local tourism destinations such as Himeji or Kasumi. The literature in chapter 2.5 underlines the argument for the existence of a dichotomy of coastal development in Hyōgo Prefecture. As Totman (2000) contends, the political power struggles in the Tokugawa period led to the establishment of a core-periphery, which in the twenty-first century is perpetuated by:

- a) the national government view that the rural and regional in Japan is the location of nationalistic traditions and industries such as fishing, and that
- b) the fishing industry and other bucolic traditions should be maintained, at least in part, by counter-urbanites who have re-discovered Japan's national identity and
- c) the Prefectural and Himeji governments' privileging of tourism and coastal development in the Southern coastal area. The fact that Himeji's northern sister city is Tottori city in Tottori Prefecture, and not Kasumi, indicates that the fishing town has been bypassed for this urban-rural partnership.

### 8.3.3.3 *The Perception that Tourism is a Lucrative and Sustainable Industry*

In both case studies, tourism income has been declining and in several ways and in some locations, the industry does not appear to be sustainable (see chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Notwithstanding the various tourism strategies to improve tourism in regional Japan, domestic tourism is an unstable, volatile activity and therefore its ability to consistently sustain lucrative businesses is questionable. Both locations have been experiencing declines in tourist numbers and Kasumi's local tourism employees frequently move to larger cities.

Profitability statements for tourism at both case study sites were unavailable at the time of this research. The anecdotal evidence in Kasumi suggested that, for a family-owned business such as a small *minshuku*, it provided a supplementary income to families also involved in agricultural or seafood processing. Other indicators that Kasumi tourism was an unreliable business were: the closure and subsequent reopening of the camping grounds; the seasonality of restaurant closures; the second home sector where houses remained empty and locked; and the unviability of the R-Plan project.

For Himeji, some evidence for decline was detailed in the interview with the Himeji Tourism Manager, while the physical evidence included the number of empty hotels, small restaurants and retail properties in the train station and port districts, areas used by both travelling business people and tourists. Other projects that reflected Himeji's downturn in tourism were abandoned structures left to deteriorate, such as the Himeji Port Hotel complex and the monorail.

### 8.3.3.4 *Urban Expectations and Rural Reality*

The National Tourism Policy Review (Directorate for Science Technology and Industry, 2002) report (chapter 4.5.2 ) did not address the issues of urban demands on rural tourism structures, the difficult and demanding nature of the Japanese domestic tourist or the role that the media play in constructing the Japanese rural idyll.

In the interviews with the Kasumi *minshuku* owners the findings demonstrated problematic relationships between locals and visitors. The owners complained of the high expectations of urban tourists who would only be satisfied if amenities were similar to those that they experience in the cities. *Minshuku* owners had to bear the cost of renovations to meet these expectations. Fast restaurant service was expected despite the onslaught of busloads of tourists arriving within hours of each other, testing casual serving staff who would otherwise be employed in less demanding roles. In contrast, during the period of this research, NHK

television, a Tokyo based company, was popularising rural life in documentaries and soap operas, creating idealised impressions of rural values and landscapes which contrasted sharply with the ‘valueless’ and artificial lifestyles that, they imagined, their city dweller viewers actually experienced. Staged authenticity is thus maintained in idealised rural locations and the people who live there are manipulated and caricatured by the demands of the consumer, the urbanite, whose expectations of rural life are in turn manipulated by government and media role players who see this imagery as a means to attract the urban dwellers to experience the allegedly more truly Japanese lifestyles of the rural inhabitants. These processes not only maintain the dichotomy of the rural/urban situation, but also create tensions that need to be managed in order to encourage urbanites to embrace the rural.

Thus the Japanese tourists are fulfilling their created identities as gourmet consumers of seafood, and are maintaining their ‘Japanese-ness’ as guests in an overnight *minshuku* stop-over (chapter 4). The tourists further become part of the staged authenticity as they don the traditional clothing provided by the *minshuku*, and sit on *tatami* in strategically aesthetic placements, at best in front of a *tokonoma*.

#### **8.4 Discussion: Peripherality, the Role of Traditional Fishing and Rural Cultural Perceptions in Tourism**

While ultimately based on research in Hyōgo Prefecture, this enquiry also explored, through secondary sources, those cultural features that have characterised Japanese domestic tourism policy and regional development initiatives.

The case studies in chapters five, six and seven exemplify the distinctive uses of the coastal environment wherein a clear urban-rural dichotomy exists in Hyōgo Prefecture. Throughout the twentieth century, smaller fishing settlements on the northern coastline of Hyōgo on the Sea of Japan, like many along that coastline, changed little and therefore preserved what might be considered the innermost characteristics of Japanese culture. Nevertheless, by the late twentieth century, these locations were significant commercial fisheries using advanced technology, and having access to fish stocks from less polluted waters as compared to the Pacific coast areas, where the fisheries industry has been relegated to fish processing in many cases.

#### 8.4.1 The Role of Fisheries in Tradition and Nature in the Rural Coast

As the literature shows (chapter 2), the notion of nature as a part of Japanese culture is part of the theory of Japanese uniqueness or *nihonjinron*. Not only has this theory of uniqueness been created by onlookers of Japan, but it has also been incorporated into Japanese culture by major players in the Japanese national government in order to further policy objectives over various periods in Japan's history. This was particularly evident in Kasumi where, despite younger, local people not wishing to enter the fishery industry, government policy is still directed towards a regeneration of this fisheries industry as a means by which to attract urbanites to Kasumi and its environs. But, as a Tokyo informant expressed it, "I no more relate my Japanese culture to fisheries and catching fish or to living in rural Japan".

Established tourism companies and tourist destinations and attractions utilise and promote nature and its place in Japanese recreation and leisure as an expectation of domestic tourism - a 'must-do' which is not only connected to culture and history, as at the Kinosaki *onsen*, but is also centrally and traditionally related to being Japanese. These regional and rural features were what Prime Minister Koizumi was referring to when he called for tourism to invite the younger generations of Japanese tourists to experience the essence of Japan (chapter section 4.8).

Meanwhile the entrepreneurs of the *onsen* region have taken advantage of coastal imagery of their location and provide the Japanese tourist with representations of Japanese cultural history, fishing, coastal habitation and fish knowledge enclosed in glass aquariums, five star hotel resorts and concrete fish pools within metres of the 'real thing'. This is a prime example of using nature as a strategic device for tourism development both in terms of enhancing what is already a tourist attraction (the *onsen*), and, exploiting an avenue for government financial support by incorporating fishery education through the development of aquaria and fishing ponds. For a brief moment in the tourist's holiday experience, they become once again attached to the spirituality of nature in contrast to their status as urbanites who are 'distanced from the nature spirits and the visual of the countryside' (Tuan, 1977 158).

Nonetheless, this idealised rurality does not replace the realities of the fishery lifestyle, or negate the fact that it is a hard, dangerous and isolated occupation. Staged authenticity is thus more likely to be found in resorts and tourist centres closer to the main cities in Hyōgo Prefecture where, within an hour's car drive from Kobe, the day tourist can enjoy forests, castle remnants, and reconstructed historic shrines. Within a two hour drive, the urbanite can

enjoy fields of European flowers and experience farm life activities. Within three hours in winter, the snow fields of Hyōgo beckon. These would seem to be sufficient for most Japanese tourists and would-be rural inhabitants who wish only to be an observer of rather than a participant in rural life (Kellert, 1992 216).

The theme of idealising nature, particularly in tourism policy, has led to a multiplicity of initiatives in the case study areas. Eager to make use of the development opportunities afforded by their city, Himeji's major stakeholders have encouraged coastal development for a variety of purposes. Ferries for local domestic use dock in the vicinity of recreational fishers in boats or on the piers to a backdrop of heavy industrial development, dangerous utilities manufacture and storage and general port throughput. However, many semi-professional and recreational fishers have lost interest in fishing in these polluted and degraded environments and this has produced a local landscape of abandoned vessels and untidy jetties.

These signifiers of utilising the sea for the purposes of fishing, shipping and transportation not only engender a sense of place as Tuan argues (1977), but also frame the sea and the coast as cultural components of 'being Japanese', as formerly outlined in the Ōkuma volumes of pre WWII propaganda. In post-industrial Japan, they are once again being used as an idealised means of getting back to, or connectedness with nature and Japanese 'home values' of *fureai* and *furusato*, as discussed in chapter four and as identified in the case studies.

Place commodification by governments eager to encourage tourism as a form of enticement to would-be counter-urbanites has led to a series of tourism strategies for coastal rejuvenation by the national and prefectural governments for Hyōgo Prefecture. These various strategies, as the case studies reveal, have had limited results, with large budgets being consumed by ideas for redevelopment based on inappropriate ventures, such as the Renaissance Plan for Kasumi and the extensive concretisation of the shoreline at Abōshi in Himeji.

### **8.5 Evaluation: Tourism Policy Efficacy**

The National Tourism Policy Review of Japan, 2002 noted that 'sluggish demand is partly attributed to the degradation of tourist destinations and travel products in Japan. The underlying issue is the inability to manage resources and the tourist destinations in an integrated format...creating a system or structure that satisfies the needs and demands of both residents and tourists' (Directorate for Science Technology and Industry, 2002 9).

Wall and Mathieson (2006, 309), argue that the lack of frameworks for conceptualising tourism projects, that involve community, natural resource management and policy are characteristic of unsuccessful tourism industries (sections 2.8.3 and 2.9).

The main indicators that they found to be hampering sustainable resort tourism globally (*ibid.* 2006 313-314), were equally applicable to the Hyōgo case studies:

#### 1. Inadequate Forecasting

- The Kasumi bypass delay and the protracted nature of its construction is an example of the lack of concern or consideration at the upper levels of government for the impact of their actions on a small rural town considerably reliant on tourism

#### 2. The Inefficiency of Planning Measures

- This includes an overall planning framework that has not taken into consideration past tourism failures and successes and has been inflexible in terms of gauging future trends.

#### 3. Scale of the Development

- The scale of the Kasumi R-Plan was too great for the size of the community.
- For Himeji, overambitious port redevelopment has led to unleased offices, and underutilised working and recreational port facilities

#### 4. A Failure to Specify Goals

- Strategies need to meet clear local needs rather than match broad top-down objectives. Objectives such as those in the Kasumi scenario to improve tourist numbers, promote rural and regional development or to encourage counter-urbanites, each have their own different challenges.
- The same can be said for Himeji and its port redevelopment in terms of knowing what and who would use the buildings and facilities that had been built. Purpose-driven evaluation research and projections would better inform these objectives.

A contribution of this thesis is to demonstrate through these examples that national and prefectural policies designed to increase tourism in Japan, are problematic when implemented at the local municipal level, to a large extent for the four reasons specified above. However, these difficulties are intensified by increases in the physical, bureaucratic and social distance between central decision making role-players and the local communities.

### **8.6 The Marginalised and the Misunderstood in Japanese Geographical Research**

It is evident from the relative lack of literature of this type that qualitative human geographic research on Japan is a marginal pursuit and specialists have documented the difficulties of conducting this type of fieldwork (Bestor et al 2003). Despite the focus of tourism policy on rural and regional towns and villages in Japan over two centuries, few comparative studies of its impacts have been undertaken.

Japanese academics and business entrepreneurs who were interviewed in Hyōgo Prefecture as a part of this fieldwork, not only questioned the legitimacy of research into the human factor in tourism, but also the selection of relatively unfashionable case study areas which they felt did not represent Japan. “Why not study Tokyo or the Tsukiji Fish markets or a beautiful place such as Kyoto?” These observations offered a counterpoint to Shields’ (1991) depiction of the marginal becoming an iconic image and a representation of nationality and, over a period of time, also becoming a tourism identifier (Rojek, 1997). Most tourism research on Japan has focussed on mainstream attractions only, with less popular areas being perceived as non-representative of national identity and not worthy of study. Given the rhetorical focus by government on the rural as the ‘real’ Japan in national tourism policy, the empirical material presented here has sought to remedy this imbalance and address this apparent paradox.

The people interviewed from the community of Kasumi acknowledged their own marginalisation, which they perceived as neglect of their town by the prefectural government in terms of education, and support and guidance in all matters related to tourism, leading to a concern for the loss of Kasumi’s community identity, particularly given the contemporary process of local government amalgamation. The people also understood the problems of the local fishers who were competing against other larger organisations both private and government-run, which were beginning to erode the decision making power of local fishery cooperative associations.

A further acknowledgement of the marginality of this type of research became apparent in Himeji, where the tourism association welcomed ‘outside research’ and several interviewees complained of the nepotism and the outdated and conservative tourism policy formats that characterised the local industry. Those same interviewees questioned the government decision makers who delayed progressive or budget-wise projects, but who also allowed the continuation of controversially, less prioritised projects.

These problems and difficulties alluded to by these respondents are by no means unique to Himeji, Hyōgo or Japan. Nevertheless their study in the contexts of both human geography and tourism and coastal development in the marginal areas of Japan as contained in this thesis is novel. It is also significant not only because it has been undertaken in the context of a long history of rural and coastal development which has incorporated tourism in many guises for over three centuries, but also because it documents the social and environmental impacts on the ground of national and prefectural planning policies undertaken in a period of considerable economic and political change.

#### 8.6.1 Contribution to Literature and Research

Mouer and Sugimoto (1995), Befu (1989, 1992, 2001) and others offer alternative frameworks to the *nihonjinron* approach on which much literature about conceptions of Japan has been based. This thesis has employed more specifically geographical approaches based on Shields’ arguments on peripherality and marginality in *Places on the Margin*, (1991) together with a revisiting of ideas from Tuan’s *Topophilia* (1974) and *Space and Place* (1977) to identify those influences on government decision making which result not only from spatiality but also from historical settlement precedent which have directed future land use. Hitherto the literature on Japanese rural, coastal development has not received the benefit of focus and theory to the extent that has been the case in Japanese urban studies. This thesis has used the contributions of Tuan and Shields for this purpose.

The data collected for this thesis, has provided some interesting findings beyond the initial research questions, and has questioned the ideas of homogeneity of social and cultural processes, popularised in the research observations of many Japanese business models (e.g. Nakane 1973) and indeed of Japanese society more widely (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995).

## 8.7 Future Research

The format of taking a longer chronological gaze into Japan's development history has not only enabled a fuller comparison of the two case study areas, but has suggested opportunities for further research into the interactions between the role players, stakeholders and other factors which have contributed to or retarded growth in coastal tourism development in Japan.

### 8.7.1 Case Study Finding- the Existence of Strong Business Networks Allows for Better Funding Access for Tourism Development but not Necessarily for Sustainable Tourism Outcomes

Despite the existence of in-group and local community disagreement on policy aims and direction, the major stakeholders in both case study communities appeared to have some influence over public sector decision making strategies. Their long generational experience coupled with old business network ties particularly in hospitality, and tourism and municipal politics, led to their dominance in decision making processes. While this has often helped in obtaining funding for tourism developments, their outcomes have been mixed and even questionable. Major business stakeholders from the period of the Meiji Restoration set about encouraging business development in the further reaches of Japan beyond the then major centres of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe. This prompts the question of the role or influence that their modern descendants and counterparts play in obtaining funding support from the public and private sectors in the 21st century. Does this process of networking remain in traditional 'castle' towns such as Himeji?

There is an opportunity here for not only qualitative research, but for the collection of more empirical data over a number of detailed case studies.

### 8.7.2 Wider Fisheries' Issues including Womens' Roles in Japanese Fisheries

Research on topics of this type remains difficult for a foreigner in Japan (Bestor et al 2003). For coastal development and within the fisheries industry, there is a lack of transparency in the identification of the major stakeholders and of the role-players in the creation of fisheries policy locally, nationally and internationally. The issues involved in the operation and management of local and international fishing zones have yet to be fully made public due to the power and influence of major Japanese stakeholders over fisheries policies and the difficulty in identifying them.

For the average fisher in Japan, fishing is an uncertain livelihood in the long term. While the consumption of seafood remains a significant component of national identity, in the 21st century, there are growing concerns over fish extraction levels in Japanese waters. Japan now imports more seafood than it catches. A further issue is where will the labour force come from if Japan seeks to maintain its local fishing industry?

It was evident from the Kasumi fieldwork that women played a significant part in the local fishing industry. Their roles were diverse and their ages governed the particular roles and tasks that they could undertake. There is an opportunity to research the roles of women in Japanese fisheries to better identify the community and commercial contributions that women make and to identify whether their needs are being met and their representation is commensurate in the development of planning strategies in an industry in which they are integral to its daily maintenance and functions.

### 8.7.3 Tourism Education and Research

In terms of tourism, several issues at national level will affect rural/coastal communities such as Kasumi and larger regional cities such as Himeji. Many Japanese tertiary institutions are currently developing programmes in tourism education. Will tourism education contribute to a tourism industry and tourism planning workforce that serves not only international tourists but also domestic tourists? How do rural and coastal issues fit into these education programmes? Will these programmes be vocational or will they lead to research initiatives that can benefit a tourism industry criticised for its repetitious strategies and its lack of industry-experienced educators?

Gourmet tourism is connected to the Japanese national identity and is included in the tourism marketing for *onsen*, religious pilgrimages, fisheries and agriculture. How integral is Gourmet Tourism to the primary production sector in small rural communities and to the 'authentic' Japanese domestic tourism experience? The tourism industry, rural as well as urban, has yet to be analysed as a sustainable, long term business practice in Japan and the case studies indicate that only some components of the industry such as the Himeji Castle and some individual businesses in Kasumi exhibit long term success and potential. Further, sensitive research based on action participation (participant observer) models and qualitative data collection, rather than the efficient but limited multiple-choice survey research format, may lead to richer sets of data that in turn, can provide insights into the prospects for the sustainability of tourism in rural-coastal environments.

In the context of population strategies, more qualitative research is needed in other small settlements and truly rural areas. This is in part because migration figures for larger districts that contain smaller villages and towns can disguise the demographic trends in individual small towns and therefore fail to identify the grass roots level issues. Studies in a larger number of like-sized villages and towns could produce better evidence upon which rural rejuvenation policies could be based. With universities and colleges starting to offer courses in tourism and hospitality at the beginning of the 21st century, and current Japanese marketing to mainland Asian tourists, there may be a renewed enthusiasm for the national government to reconsider more research-informed Japanese domestic tourism policy.

## **8.8 Conclusion**

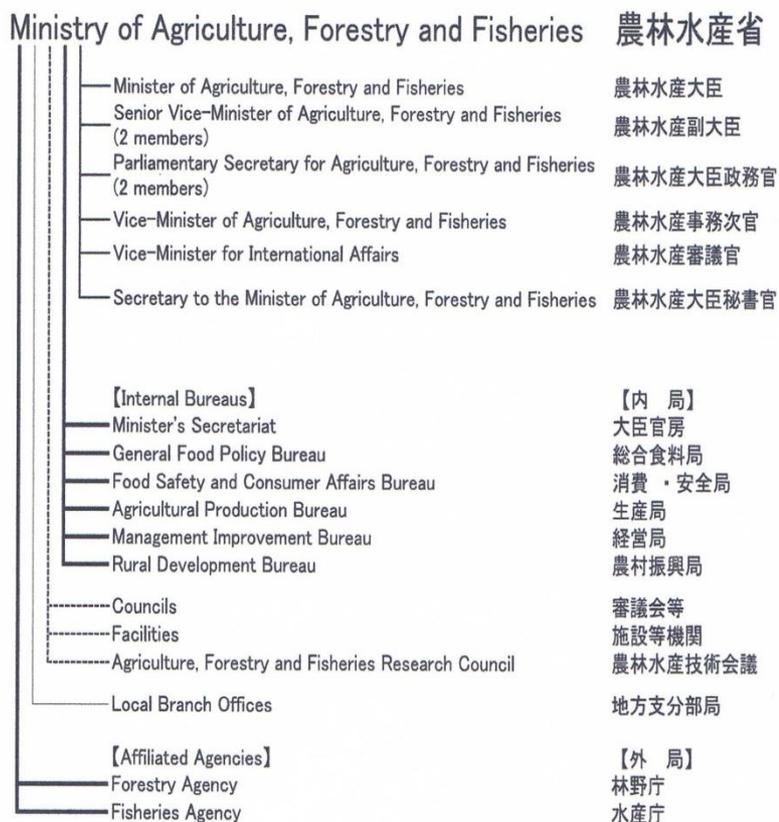
From the evidence provided in this thesis, Japanese tourism policies and the strategies to which they have been related have proved unable to provide revitalisation economically, demographically or socially for these two municipalities.

This thesis identified national and prefectural policies in the context of tourism in Japan, as problematic when implemented at the local municipal level and found that they cannot always improve local economic conditions. In part this is because Japanese tourism development policy has become complex. Its policies have characteristically been developed over time as add-ons to other projects, rather than as a set of independent initiatives designed to enhance the industry itself and to produce well-defined outcomes.

Rural revitalisation, within which much tourism policy has been incorporated, requires an overall approach that seriously examines the long term effects of such strategies and includes direct consultation with the major stakeholders at the local level. It should not be dominated by short term political point scoring that cannot be sustained beyond political campaigns. The impacts of these short term strategies appear to have a greater and more adverse effect on the smaller towns, particularly where projects run into difficulties or do not produce the outcomes of economic revitalisation. Lastly, and with particular reference to the nature of this thesis, not only local inhabitants and tourism practitioners, but also Japanese coastal engineers argue for effective and sustainable coastal development, using a more comprehensive approach. They have called for social science research and consultation to complement hard scientific research and for case study investigations to balance the national economic and political rhetoric that currently characterises coastal development planning and practice in Japan.

## Appendix 1 The MAFF Organisational Structure and its Associated Cooperative Organisations.

### 英文農林水産省組織・機構名



—	Internal Subdivision	内部部局であることを示す
—	Positions to preside, to carry out the functions and in charge of coordination	所掌事務を分掌し、又は総括整理する等の職であることを示す
-----	Councils, Facilities and Extraordinary Organizations	審議会等、施設等機関及び特別の機関であることを示す
—	Local Branch Offices	地方支分部局であることを示す

Minister's Secretariat	大臣官房
Director-General	官房長
Director - General for Policy Coordination	総括審議官
Director - General for International Affairs	総括審議官(国際)
Director - General for Technical Affairs	技術総括審議官
Councillor (Policy Evaluation, Minister's Secretariat, Deputy Director-General, Management Improvement Bureau)	政策評価審議官(兼経営局)
Councillor (Deputy Director-General for International Affairs)	審議官(国際)
Councillor (Deputy Director-General, Food Safety and Consumer Affairs Bureau)	審議官(兼消費・安全局)
Councillor (Deputy Director-General, Agricultural Production Bureau)	審議官(兼生産局)
Councillor (Deputy Director-General, Agricultural Production Bureau, Environmental Affairs)	審議官(環境兼生産局)
Counsellor (Deputy Director-General for Environment and International Affairs)	参事官(環境・国際)
Counsellor	参事官
Senior Counsellor for Press	政策報道官
Administration Division	総務課
Office for Press	報道室
Policy Planning Division	政策課
Personnel Division	秘書課
Legal Affairs Division	文書課
Budget Division	予算課
Accounting Division	経理課
Auditors Office	会計監査室
Welfare Division	厚生課
Regional Liaison Division	地方課
Information and Policy Evaluation Division	情報評価課
Information Analysis and Policy Evaluation Office	情報分析・評価室
Information Analysis Office	情報分析室
Food Security Division	食料安全保障課
Office of Food Self-Sufficiency Affairs	食料自給率向上対策室
Environment and Biomass Policy Division	環境バイオマス政策課
Global Environment Policy Office	地球環境対策室
Biomass Policy Office	バイオマス推進室
International Affairs Department	国際部
Director-General	国際部長
International Policy Planning Division	国際政策課
External Trade Policy Office	対外政策調整室
International Economic Affairs Division	国際経済課
Export Promotion Office	輸出促進室
International Cooperation Division	国際協力課
Cooperatives Inspection Department	協同組合検査部
Director-General	協同組合検査部長
Coordination Division	調整課
Inspection Division	検査課
Statistics Department	統計部
Director-General	統計部長
Administration Division	管理課
Statistics Planning Division	統計企画課
System Management Office	システム管理室
Management and Structure Statistics Division	経営・構造統計課
Census Statistics Office	センサス統計室
Production, Marketing and Consumption Statistics Division	生産流通消費統計課
Consumption Statistics Office	消費統計室

General Food Policy Bureau	綜合食料局
Director-General	綜合食料局長
Deputy Director-General	綜合食料局次長
Administration Division	總務課
Accounting Office	經理室
Policy and Promotion Office	政策推進室
Commerce and Marketing Division	流通課
Wholesale Market Office	卸売市場室
Food Industry Policy Division	食品産業企画課
Food Industry Environment Policy Office	食品環境対策室
Food Industry Promotion Division	食品産業振興課
Food Service Industry Office	外食産業室
Commodity Investment Affairs Official	商品取引監理官
Staple Food Department	食糧部
Director-General	部長
Rice Policy Planning Division	計画課
Rice Supply and Demand Adjustment Office	需給調整対策室
Consumption and Marketing Division	消費流通課
Marketing and Processing Management Office	流通加工対策室
Grain Trade Division	食糧貿易課

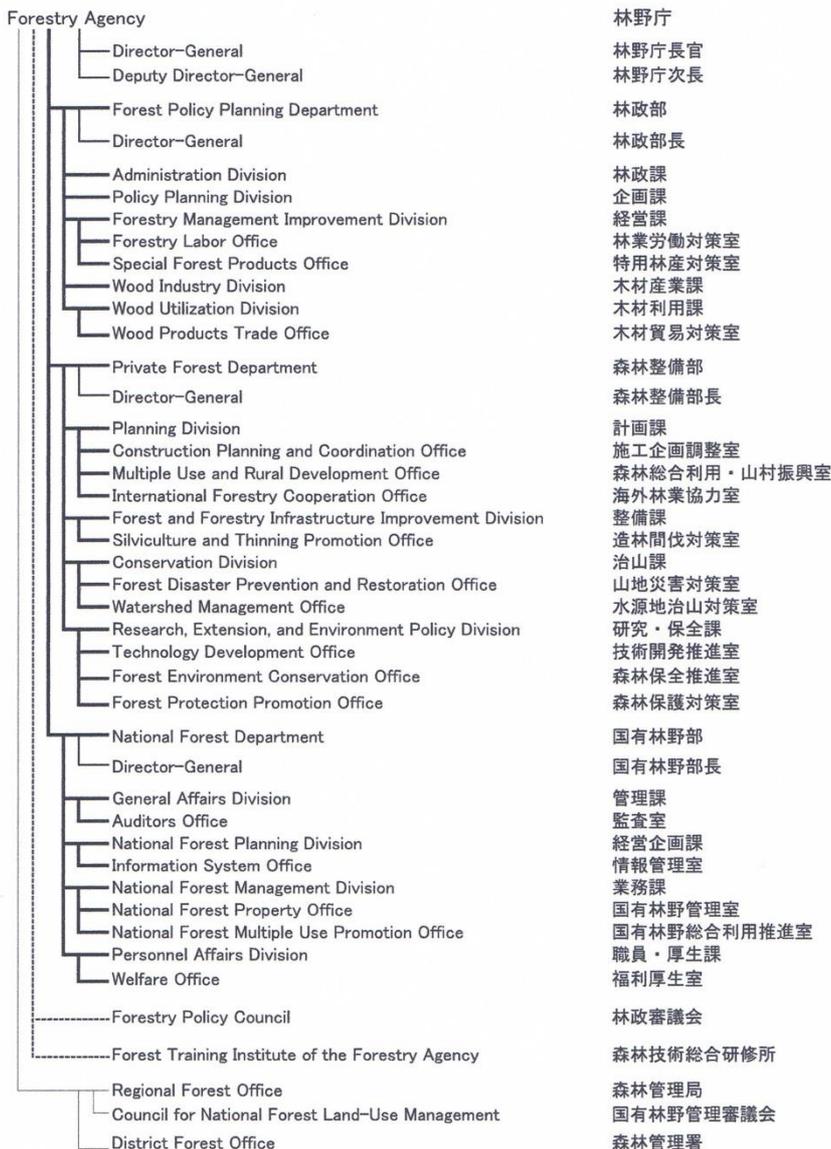
Agricultural Production Bureau	生産局
Director-General	生産局長
Administration Division	総務課
Agricultural Production Promotion Office	生産推進室
International Affairs Office	国際室
Agricultural Production Support Planning Division	農業生産支援課
Wild Animals Damage Prevention Office	鳥獣被害対策室
Technology and Extension Division	技術普及課
Intellectual Property Division	知的財産課
Plant Variety Protection Office	種苗審査室
Agricultural Production and Marketing Promotion Division	生産流通振興課
Marketing and Processing Industries Office (Regarding vegetables and fruit)	流通加工対策室
Flower Industry Promotion Office	花き産業振興室
Regional Products and Industrial Crops Office	特産農産物対策室
Sustainable Agriculture and Environment Adaption Division	農業環境対策課
Livestock Industry Department	畜産部
Director-General	畜産部長
Livestock Industry Policy Planning Division	畜産企画課
Livestock Industry Farming Office	畜産総合推進室
Livestock Industry Environment and Management Policy Office	畜産環境・経営安定対策室
Livestock Production and Feed Division	畜産振興課
Animal Production Technology Office	畜産技術室
Feed Supply and Demand Planning Office	需給対策室
Grassland Development Office	草地整備推進室
Milk and Dairy Products Division	牛乳乳製品課
Meat and Egg Division	食肉鶏卵課
Marketing and Trade Policy Office	食肉需給対策室
Horse Race Supervision Division	競馬監督課

Food Safety and Consumer Affairs Bureau	消費・安全局
Director-General	消費・安全局長
Administration Division	総務課
Food Safety and Consumer Policy Division	消費・安全政策課
International Affairs Division	国際基準課
Labelling and Standards Division	表示・規格課
Food Labelling and Standards Surveillance Office	食品表示・規格監視室
Plant Products Safety Division	農産安全管理課
Agricultural Chemicals Office	農薬対策室
Animal Products Safety Division	畜水産安全管理課
Fish and Fishery Products Safety Office	水産安全室
Plant Protection Division	植物防疫課
Plant Quarantine Office	検疫対策室
Animal Health Division	動物衛生課
International Animal Health Affairs Office	国際衛生対策室
Director, Consumer Information	消費者情報官

Management Improvement Bureau	経営局
Director-General	経営局長
Administration Division	総務課
Tax Policy Coordination Office	調整室
Management Improvement Policy Planning Division	経営政策課
Direct Payment for Land - extensive Farming Office	経営安定対策室
Disaster Management Office	災害総合対策室
Agricultural Structure Improvement Division	構造改善課
Agricultural Management and Structure Improvement Office	経営構造対策室
Agricultural Land Operation Office	農地業務室
Agricultural Human Resources Development Division	人材育成課
Women and Elder Affairs Office	女性・高齢者活動推進室
Agricultural Cooperatives Division	協同組織課
Agricultural Cooperatives Organization Office	経営・組織対策室
Finance Division	金融調整課
Agricultural Insurance Division	保険課
Agricultural Insurance Actuaries Office	保険数理室
Agricultural Insurance Supervisor	保険監理官

Rural Development Bureau	農村振興局
Director-General	農村振興局長
Deputy Director-General	農村振興局次長
Administration Division	総務課
Rural Policy Department	農村政策部
Director-General	農村政策部長
Rural Planning Division	農村計画課
Rural Policy Promotion Office	農村政策推進室
Hilly and Mountainous Areas Development Division	中山間地域振興課
Hilly and Mountainous Areas Development Promotion Office	中山間整備推進室
Rural Resources Recycling Office	地域資源循環室
Interaction Between Urban and Rural Areas Division	都市農村交流課
Urban Agriculture Office	都市農業室
Rural Environment Division	農村環境課
Rural Environment Conservation Office	農村環境対策室
Rural Infrastructure Department	整備部
Director-General	整備部長
Design Division	設計課
Project Planning and Coordination Office	計画調整室
Construction Planning and Coordination Office	施工企画調整室
Overseas Land Improvement Cooperation Office	海外土地改良技術室
Land Improvement Planning and Management Division	土地改良企画課
Water Resources Division	水資源課
Agricultural Water Management Office	農業用水対策室
Facilities Management Office	施設安全管理室
Farm and Rural Land Resources Division	農地資源課
Management oriented Farmland Consolidation Office	経営体育成基盤整備推進室
Land, Water and Environment Conservation Office	農地・水・環境保全対策室
Disaster Prevention and Restoration Division	防災課
Disaster Restoration Office	災害対策室
Rural Development Director	農村整備官

Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Research Council	農林水産技術会議
Chairman	会長
Member of Council (6 members)	委員
Council's Secretariat	事務局
Director-General	事務局長
Research Counsellor (Deputy Director-General)	研究総務官
Director, Research and Development (Agricultural Production)	研究開発官 (食料戦略)
Director, Research and Development (Food-Safety and Basic Field)	研究開発官 (食の安全、基礎・基盤)
Director, Research and Development (Environment, Forestry and Fisheries)	研究開発官 (環境)
Senior Program Officer	研究調整官
Director, Technical Public Relations	技術広報官
Administration Division	総務課
Coordination Office	調整室
Research Policy Planning Division	技術政策課
Biotechnology Safety Office	技術安全室
Research Promotion Division	研究推進課
Business-Academia Cooperation Office	産学連携室
International Research Division	国際研究課
Tsukuba Office	筑波事務所



<p><b>Fisheries Agency</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Director-General</li> <li>— Deputy Director-General</li> <li>— Fisheries Policy Planning Department <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Director-General</li> <li>— Counsellor</li> </ul> </li> <li>— Administration Division</li> <li>— Vessels Management Office</li> <li>— Policy Planning Division</li> <li>— Fisheries Structure Improvement Office</li> <li>— Fisheries Management Improvement Division</li> <li>— Fisheries Cooperatives Office</li> <li>— Fisheries Processing Industries and Marketing Division</li> <li>— Fishery Products Trade Office</li> <li>— Director, Fisheries Insurance</li> <li>— Resources Management Department <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Director-General</li> <li>— Councillor</li> <li>— Counsellor</li> </ul> </li> <li>— Resources Management Division</li> <li>— Resources Management Promotion Office</li> <li>— Enforcement Office</li> <li>— Fisheries Coordination Division</li> <li>— Recreational Fishing and Coastal Waters Activities Coordination Office</li> <li>— Far Seas Fisheries Division</li> <li>— International Affairs Division</li> <li>— Overseas Fisheries Cooperation Office</li> <li>— Resources Enhancement Promotion Department <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Director-General</li> <li>— Counsellor</li> </ul> </li> <li>— Research and Technological Guidance Division</li> <li>— Marine Technology Office</li> <li>— Resources and Environment Research Division</li> <li>— Ecosystem Conservation Office</li> <li>— Fish Ranching and Aquaculture Division</li> <li>— Fisheries Infrastructure Department <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— Director-General</li> <li>— Planning Division</li> <li>— Construction Division</li> <li>— Fishing Communities Promotion and Disaster Prevention Division</li> <li>— Fisheries Facilities Disaster Restoration Office</li> </ul> </li> <li>— Fisheries Policy Council</li> <li>— Fisheries Coordination Office</li> </ul> <p>Advisor to the Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries on International Affairs (Fisheries)</p>	<p>水産庁</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>水産庁長官</li> <li>水産庁次長</li> <li>漁政部</li> <li>漁政部長</li> <li>参事官</li> <li>漁政課</li> <li>船舶管理室</li> <li>企画課</li> <li>水産業体質強化推進室</li> <li>水産経営課</li> <li>指導室</li> <li>加工流通課</li> <li>水産物貿易対策室</li> <li>漁業保険管理官</li> <li>資源管理部</li> <li>資源管理部長</li> <li>審議官</li> <li>参事官</li> <li>管理課</li> <li>資源管理推進室</li> <li>指導監督室</li> <li>沿岸沖合課</li> <li>遊漁・海面利用室</li> <li>遠洋課</li> <li>国際課</li> <li>海外漁業協力室</li> <li>増殖推進部</li> <li>増殖推進部長</li> <li>参事官</li> <li>研究指導課</li> <li>海洋技術室</li> <li>漁場資源課</li> <li>生態系保全室</li> <li>栽培養殖課</li> <li>漁港漁場整備部</li> <li>漁港漁場整備部長</li> <li>計画課</li> <li>整備課</li> <li>防災漁村課</li> <li>水産施設災害対策室</li> <li>水産政策審議会</li> <li>漁業調整事務所</li> <li>国際顧問（水産）</li> </ul>
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#### Regional Agricultural Administration Offices

Tohoku Regional Agricultural Administration Office(Sendai)  
Kanto Regional Agricultural Administration Office(Saitama)  
Hokuriku Regional Agricultural Administration Office(Kanazawa)  
Tokai Regional Agricultural Administration Office(Nagoya)  
Kinki Regional Agricultural Administration Office(Kyoto)  
Chugoku-Shikoku Regional Agricultural Administration Office(Okayama)  
Kyushu Regional Agricultural Administration Office(Kumamoto)

District Agriculture Office

#### 地方農政局

東北農政局  
関東農政局  
北陸農政局  
東海農政局  
近畿農政局  
中国四国農政局  
九州農政局

地方農政事務所

#### Facilities

Plant Protection Station  
Naha Plant Protection Station  
Animal Quarantine Service  
National Veterinary Assay Laboratory  
Training Institute of Agricultural Administration  
Policy Research Institute, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

#### 施設等機関

植物防疫所  
那覇植物防疫事務所  
動物検疫所  
動物医薬品検査所  
農林水産研修所  
農林水産政策研究所

## Incorporated Administrative Agencies

Food and Agricultural Materials Inspection Center  
 National center for Seeds and Seedlings  
 National Livestock Breeding Center  
 National Fisheries University  
 National Agriculture and Food Research Organization  
 National Agricultural Research Center  
 National Agricultural Research Center for Hokkaido Region  
 National Agricultural Research Center for Tohoku Region  
 National Agricultural Research Center for Western Region  
 National Agricultural Research Center for Kyushu Okinawa Region  
 National Farmers Academy  
 National Institute of Crop Science  
 National Institute of Fruit Tree Science  
 National Institute of Floricultural Science  
 National Institute of Vegetable and Tea Science  
 National Institute of Livestock and Grassland Science  
 National Institute of Animal Health  
 National Institute for Rural Engineering  
 National Food Research Institute  
 Bio-oriented Technology Research Advancement Institution  
 National Institute of Agrobiological Sciences  
 National Institute for Agro-Environmental Sciences  
 Japan International Research Center for Agricultural Sciences  
 Forestry and Forest Products Research Institute  
 Forest Tree Breeding Center  
 Center for Forestry and Agriculture Development  
 Fisheries Research Agency  
 Hokkaido National Fisheries Research Institute  
 Tohoku National Fisheries Research Institute  
 National Research Institute of Fisheries Science  
 National Research Institute of Fisheries and Environment of Inland Sea  
 Seikai National Fisheries Research Institute  
 Japan Sea National Fisheries Research Institute  
 National Research Institute of Far Seas Fisheries  
 National Research Institute of Aquaculture  
 National Research Institute of Fisheries Engineering  
 National Salmon Resources Center  
 National Center for Stock Enhancement  
 Marine Fisheries Research and Development Center  
 Agriculture & Livestock Industries Corporation  
 Farmers Pension Fund  
 Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Credit Foundations

## Councils

Council of Food, Agriculture and Rural Area Policies  
 Incorporated Administrative Agencies Evaluation Committee  
 Japanese Agricultural Standards Council  
 Agricultural Materials Council  
 Veterinary Affairs Council  
 Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Insurance Council

## 独立行政法人

農林水産消費安全技術センター  
 種苗管理センター  
 家畜改良センター  
 水産大学校  
 農業・食品産業技術総合研究機構  
 中央農業総合研究センター  
 北海道農業研究センター  
 東北農業研究センター  
 近畿中国四国農業研究センター  
 九州沖縄農業研究センター  
 農業者大学校  
 作物研究所  
 果樹研究所  
 花き研究所  
 野菜茶業研究所  
 畜産草地研究所  
 動物衛生研究所  
 農村工学研究所  
 食品総合研究所  
 生物系特定産業技術研究支援センター  
 農業生物資源研究所  
 農業環境技術研究所  
 国際農林水産業研究センター  
 森林総合研究所  
 林木育種センター  
 森林農地整備センター  
 水産総合研究センター  
 北海道区水産研究所  
 東北区水産研究所  
 中央水産研究所  
 瀬戸内海区水産研究所  
 西海区水産研究所  
 日本海区水産研究所  
 遠洋水産研究所  
 養殖研究所  
 水産工学研究所  
 さけますセンター  
 栽培漁業センター  
 開発調査センター  
 農畜産業振興機構  
 農業者年金基金  
 農林漁業信用基金

## 審議会等

食料・農業・農村政策審議会  
 独立行政法人評価委員会  
 農林物資規格調査会  
 農業資材審議会  
 獣医事審議会  
 農林漁業保険審査会

## Cooperative Organizations and Associate Societies

### Supports:

Hyogo Prefecture  
 City of Kobe  
 Kobe Port Promotion Association

### Cooperative Organizations:

Fisheries Agency  
 Japan Coast Guard  
 Japan Meteorological Agency  
 Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry  
 Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology  
 Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport  
 Ministry of the Environment  
 The Headquarters for Ocean Policy, Cabinet Secretariat  
 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan  
 Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Hyogo Prefecture  
 Fisheries Research Agency  
 Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency  
 Japan Business Federation  
 Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)  
 Japan Federation of Ocean Engineering Societies  
 Japan Foreign Trade Council, Inc.  
 Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation (JOGMEC)  
 Kansai Economic Federation  
 Maritime Disaster Prevention Center (MDPC)  
 National Institute of Advanced Industrial Science and Technology (AIST)  
 National Maritime Research Institute  
 Osaka Bay Area Development Organization  
 Osaka Science & Technology Center  
 Port and Airport Research Institute  
 The Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry  
 The Kobe Chamber of Commerce and Industry  
 The New Industry Research Organization (NIRO)  
 The Japan Port and Harbour Association

### Associate Societies:

Acoustical Society of Japan  
 Advanced Marine Science and Technology Society  
 Architectural Institute of Japan  
 Coastal Development Institute of Technology

Deep Ocean Water Applications Society  
Engineering Advancement Association of Japan  
International EMECS Center  
Japan Association for Environmental Law & Policy  
Japan Association of Cargo-handling Machinery Systems  
Japan Cement Association  
Japan Civil Engineering Contractors' Association, Inc.  
Japan Deep Sea Technology Association (DESTA)  
Japan Dive Association  
Japan Dredging and Reclamation Engineering Association  
Japan Electronics and Information Technology Industries Association  
Japan Electric Measuring Instruments Manufacturers' Association  
Japanese Association for Coastal Zone Studies (JACZS)  
Japanese Society for Extremophiles  
Japan Federation of Construction Contractors  
Japan Hydrographic Association  
Japan Institute of Construction Engineering  
Japan Institute of Navigation  
Japan Marina & Beach Association  
Japan Marine Construction Engineering Association  
Japanese Marine Equipment Association  
Japan Marine Recreation Association  
Japan Marine Surveys Association  
Japan Maritime Public Relations Center  
Japan Ocean Development Construction Association, Inc.  
Japan Paint Manufacturers Association  
Japan Recreational Diving Industry Association  
Japan Robot Association  
Japan Sediments Management Association  
Japan Society for Marine Surveys and Technology  
Japan Society of Civil Engineers  
Japan Society on Water Environment  
Japan Weather Association  
Japan Welding Society  
La Société franco-japonaise d'océanographie  
MARINO FORUM21  
National Association for the Promotion Productive Seas  
Ocean Policy Research Foundation  
Organization to Promote Amenities of Sea and Beach  
Research Institute for Ocean Economics

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*Cooperative Organizations and Associate Societies*

Seismological Society of Japan  
Shipbuilding Research Centre of Japan  
The Chemical Society of Japan  
The City Planning Institute of Japan  
The Ecological Society of Japan  
The Geodetic Society of Japan  
The Geological Society of Japan  
The Hyogo Industrial Association  
The Institute of Electrical Engineers of Japan  
The Iron and Steel Institute of Japan  
The Japan Association of Marine Safety  
The Japanese Association for Petroleum Technology  
The Japanese Institute of Technology on Fishing Ports, Grounds and Communities  
The Japanese Society for Marine Biotechnology  
The Japanese Society of Fisheries Engineering  
The Japanese Society of Fisheries Oceanography  
The Japanese Society of Fisheries Science  
The Japan Institute of Energy  
The Japan Institute of Marine Engineering  
The Japan Iron and Steel Federation  
The Japan Machinery Federation  
The Japan Petroleum Institute  
The Japan Society of Industrial Machinery Manufacturers  
The Japan Society of Mechanical Engineers  
The Japan Workvessel Association  
The Marine Acoustics Society of Japan  
The Mining and Materials Processing Institute of Japan  
The Oceanographic Society of Japan  
The Overseas Coastal Area Development Institute of Japan  
The Physical Society of Japan  
The Remote Sensing Society of Japan  
The Service Center of Port Engineering  
The Shipbuilders' Association of Japan  
The Ship's Electric Installation Contractors' Association of Japan  
The Society of Exploration Geophysicists of Japan  
The Society of Instrument and Control Engineers  
The Society of Resource Geology  
The Society of Sea Water Science, Japan  
Waterfront Development Association

**Appendix 2 Interviewees in Kasumi, their Roles and Employment**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Industry</b>	<b>Interviewee</b>
Aug 2001	Himeji Institute of Technology	Professor Reiko Kinuhata
Aug 2001	Hyogo International Association	Manager of International Division
Aug 2001	Hyogo Prefecture Division of Tourism	Manager
Sept 2001	Fukuchiyama Central Train Station and Tourism	Director <sup>1</sup>
Sept 2001	North Kansai (Kita Kinki) Tourism Organisation	Manager <sup>2</sup>
Nov2001 Dec 2001	Kasumi Local Community	Local business people 1) non tourism related utilities and building supplier 2) businesswoman with several local businesses 3) owner of large Minshuku 3a) owner of small Minshuku 4) vinegar company director
Nov 2001	//	General Community members 5) owner of local factory and food processing
Nov 2001	//	6) Kasumi local politician/councillor and municipal representative to the Prefecture 7) Medical Practitioner's Spouse
Nov 2001,2005 & 2010	//	8) Casual Public Servant (female) 9) Medical Practitioner 10) Office Manager Dental Surgery 11) Interpreter

<sup>1</sup> The recently retired Director General of the NKTO and former Director of Fukuchiyama Tourism Japan Railways (JR), incorporating his hometown of Izushi, the major tourist attraction of the Tajima district.

<sup>2</sup> Hometown Takeno.

Nov 2001 and 2005	//	12) Kasumi local municipal employee
Dec 2001	//	Taxation Inspector personal communication
Nov 2001	Kasumi Tourism Association	President
Nov 2001	Chamber of Commerce	President
Nov 2001	//	Vice President
Nov 2001	Tajima Tourism Association	President
Dec 2001	Hyogo Prefecture Ports and Harbours	Director General
//	//	Associate Director General
//	//	Port Planner
Jan 2002		Former Port Manager of TFA <sup>3</sup>

**Appendix 2 cont.**

	<b>Kasumi Municipal Office</b>	
Nov 2001	//	Mayor
Nov 2001	//	Deputy Mayor
Nov 2001 and Jan 2002	//	Town Planner
Nov 2001 and Jan 2002	//	Secretary of Town Hall
Dec 2001/2003	//	General Staff member
Nov 2001	//	Director of Industry
Nov 2001	//	Department of Industry Staff (six members)
	<b>Fishing Industry</b>	
Nov 2001	Tajima Fishery Association	Director General, Port Manager

<sup>3</sup> Currently Director of Himeji Port Administration of Hyogo Prefecture in 2002 and retiring in 2003.

//	Tajima Fisheries Research Institute	Director General,
//	//	Assistant Director,
//	//	Secretary
//	Kasumi Fisheries Cooperative Association	President
//	//	Junior staff member
//	Kasumi Fishing Union	President
	<b>Tourism Industry</b>	
Nov 2005	JAL	flight attendant personal communication

Example of mid-field work Schedule November 2001

5<sup>th</sup>

9:45 Interpreter will pick up researcher

10: 00~11:00 Interview Uemura(Tajima Fisheries Association)

11:00~ 12:30 put together questionnaires for posting

13:00~14:00 interview Mayor and pick up envelops from municipal offices

Organise postage from HIT, address and post questionnaires

6<sup>th</sup>

9:00~10:00 Interview deputy mayor

7<sup>th</sup>

13:00~14:00 interview Kamemura (Fisheries Cooperative Association Director Industry Section)

14:00~15:00 interview Tanioka (Kasumi Town Planner)

15:00~16:00 interview Okazaki (Municipal Secretary)

### Appendix 3 Interview Questions: Kasumi

Thank you for allowing me to interview you for my research into the tourism development of Kasumi. Your comments/ opinions will be used in my doctoral thesis as already explained by Dr. Shimamoto.

今日は、香住の観光開についての私の調査に、時間をとっていただきありがとうございます。島本博士の方から既にご承知おき頂いておりますように、私の博士論文に是非ご意見を頂きたいと願っています。

The renaissance plan was certainly a grand plan for Kasumi. The Japanese economy of the period (time) of the Plan's inceptions (beginning) was at its peak. The Plan is now past its goal of completion for 2000.

ルネッサンス計画は、香住にとって本当にすばらしい計画でありました。日本経済は、この計画が発案されました当初は、全盛期でありました。しかし、そのプランは、2000年完成には及んでいません。

1. What was your opinion/ visions/ aims of the Rplan?

ルネッサンス計画についての、あなたのお考え、あるいはビジョンについてをお話下さい。

2. Getting back to the fishing industry, Kasumi depends on the fishing industry as a tourist attraction. Many other fishing towns in Japan and indeed the world have now diversified their economies to make their town's futures secure.

Do you think that Kasumi cho 's future still lies in expanding its tourism economy?

お話を漁業に戻しますが、香住は、観光客を引きつける物として、漁業に依存しています。他の漁業の町や世界では、今や、それぞれの将来を守るために経済に変化を与えて来ました。香住町の将来は、観光産業を広げていくことにあると思いますか？

3. If there is another (or further plans) for Kasumi, what will it/ they be?

もし、他に何か将来にわたっての計画があるなら、それはどのようなことでしょうか。

4. For any new building and business growth (economic growth) labour is needed.

Where will it come from?

新しい建物を建設するにしても、新しい事業を行うにしても（経済的成長をはかって）労働者が必要とされます。それは、どこから来ますか？

5. Which leads me to this question. What do you think of the u-turn phenomenon?

このようなことが、私の疑問とするところです。Uターン現象をどうお考えになりますか？

## Appendix 3 cont.

6. Kasumi depends a great deal on the fishing industry. Many 'u-turners' may not be interested in this industry. What do you think Kasumi cho can offer them?

香住町は、水産業に大きく依存しております。Uターン者の多くは、この産業に興味を持たないかもしれません。香住町では、彼らにどんなことが提供できるでしょうか？

7. There is a big surge (increased popularity) for the furusato style resorts, full-time residential development and 'second home' in Japan. What do you think about keep the style of Kasumi Fishing Village and promote the Old Kasumi Town as furusato?

ふるさとという形でのリゾート、住宅開発やセカンドホームが日本では人気が高まっています。香住町の漁業スタイルを維持し、故郷としての古い香住町を宣伝するような考えがありますか？

8. Has the local fishing industry and processing industries and in particular the Fishing Co-operative Association offered an alternative solution to the Rplan?

地元の水産業界特に、加工組合、漁業組合などでは、このルネッサンス計画に代わる解決法を提案しましたか？

9. The Kasumi High School has the only fishing industry school boat in Hyogo. Do you think that the school is successful in retaining young people to stay in Kasumi and the fishing industry?

香住高校は、兵庫県で唯一水産業に関連する学校で、船を所有しております。若者の香住定着また、漁業への定着に成功していると思いますか？

10. The Hyogo government has promised money to develop regional tourism. How would you like to see it spent or do you think that money should go into attracting a stable population?

兵庫県は、地方の観光開発にお金を出資する事を約束しています。それをどのように使われたと思いますか。そして、そのお金が香住町の安定した人口につながると思いますか・？

11. Would you like to see Kasumi cho have more control over its economy or would you prefer more help from Hyogoken 香住町は、その経済を統制していくと思いますか？あるいは、兵庫県からのさらなる支援を提案したいですか？

## Appendix 4 Interviews: Young Kasumi Local People

### Interviewees, employment, gender and age cohort:

*Five Municipal Staff aged 24-35*

Female Aged 35 married

Female aged b/w 24-30 \*two children, married.

Female aged 24 single

Male aged 27 single

Male Aged 25-35 single

*Fisheries Cooperative staff*

Male aged b/w 24-30 \*\*single

\*She did not want to say her age

\*\*He was worried that his age would show he was too old and still single.

Interviewed in Municipal Offices in November 2001. Conducted in Japanese and English

### Questions

#### *Tourism-based Questions*

Where do you holiday within Hyōgo Prefecture?

With whom did you travel?

What modes of transportation do you use to holiday in Japan?

What do you understand as *furusato* and does it apply to your holidays?

#### *Local Community-based Questions*

What makes you want to live/ stay in Kasumi?

Are you interested in the fishing industry?

Would you want to work in that industry?

Do you want further development in Kasumi?

What do you like or do not like about the Kasumi lifestyle?

Where do you shop in Hyōgo?

Would you consider going to Himeji to shop, sightsee or other tourism activity?

## Appendix 5 Himeji Tourist Questionnaire for Choir Participants

1. 20代 2. 30代 3. 40代 4. 50代 5. 60代  
6. 70代 7. 80代以上

## (2) 職業

1. 会社員 2. 自営業 3. 公務員 4. 学生 5. 家事従事  
6. その他

## (3) 性別

1. 男性 2. 女性

## (4) 住所

1. 姫路市 ( ) 町  
2. 姫路市以外 ( ) 市 ( ) 町

## (5) 1年間に約何回旅行をされますか？ (日帰りを含む)

1. 約 ( ) 回 2. しない

## (6) 旅行の主な目的は何ですか？

1. グルメ 2. 自然観察 3. 美術鑑賞 4. ショッピング  
5. 温泉 6. その他 ( )

## (7) 香住町, 竹野町, 天橋立, 浜坂町, 城崎町のいずれかに行かれたことはありますか？

交通手段は何を使われましたか？ (該当箇所に○印をいれてください)

それは、何年前のことですか？また、季節はいつでしたか？

	自家用車	定期バス	貸切バス	ツアー	年前	季節
香住町						春・夏・秋・冬
竹野町						春・夏・秋・冬
天橋立						春・夏・秋・冬
浜坂町						春・夏・秋・冬
城崎町						春・夏・秋・冬

	電車	学校の遠足	年前	季節
香住町				春・夏・秋・冬
竹野町				春・夏・秋・冬
天橋立				春・夏・秋・冬
浜坂町				春・夏・秋・冬
城崎町				春・夏・秋・冬

\*注 問(7)で「行ったことがない」と答えた方…問(8), 問(10)へ  
問(7)で「行ったことがある」と答えた方…問(9), 問(10)へ

(8) 今後、行ってみたいと思っている場所があれば、その目的について該当箇所に○印を入れて下さい。(複数回答可)

冬	香住町	竹野町	天橋立	浜坂町	城崎町
蟹を食べる為					
蟹を買うため					
観光目的					
民宿の料理					
温泉					
日帰り					
その他					



### English Translation

1. What age group are you in?
2. What is your occupation? 1. Company employee, 2. Independent business, 3. Government employee, 4. Student, 5. Housework, 6. Other
3. Your gender
4. Your Residence, in Himeji or out of Himeji (suburb)
5. How many times a year do you travel, including day trips?
6. What is the main purpose of your travelling? 1. Gourmet, 2. Nature tourism, 3. Appreciation of autumn culture, 4. Onsen, 5. Other
7. Have you visited the places listed below, when, by what means and in which season?

	Private Car	Tour Bus	Bus	Tour	Train	School Excursion	Year	Season
Kasumi								
Takeno								
Amanohashidate								
Hamasaka								
Kinosaki								

8. From now (winter), if you would like to go to these places, what attractions would you consider?

Winter	Kasumi	Takeno	Amanohashidate	Hamasaka	Kinosaki
Crab eating					
Crab buying					
Sightseeing					
Minshuku dining					
Onsen					
Day trip					
Other					

Summer	Kasumi	Takeno	Amanohashidate	Hamasaka	Kinosaki
Marine Sports					
Camping					
Fishing					
Minshuku dining					
Onsen					
Day trip					
Other					

9. If you could go to the above places again, what and where would you go/ not go. What special things would you like to do? (Tables the same as in question 8).

10. The questions below relate to Kasumi. If you are a person who has travelled to Kasumi, please indicate if you visit the same places.

1. If you chose Kasumi, what or who are the main attractions?

1. Beautiful scenery, 2. A friendly minshuku or shop, 3. Crab experience, 4. Water sports, 5. Deep sea fishing, 6. Other.

2. If you choose not to return, the reasons are:

1. too far, 2. It is too costly, 3. Sightseeing is not your preference, 4. There are better place than Kasumi,

5. Traffic is too bad, 6. Other

3. If Kasumi proved a facility/ attraction that you particularly like, do you think you would go? (What facility is that?)

That is the finish of the questionnaire, thank you for your participation.

### **Appendix 6 Survey of Young Travellers in Kobe**

Participants: Kobe Commerce University, English Language Students

Age cohort: 19-22 years

Live in and near Kobe

Questions:

Where did you holiday within Hyōgo prefecture?

With whom did you last travel in Japan?

What modes of transportation did you last use to holiday in Japan?

What do you understand as *furusato* and does it apply to your holidays?

Conducted in English

## Appendix 7 General Kasumi Questionnaire

## 「香住町における観光産業についてのアンケート」

レスリー クロー・デラニー 2001年11月

1. あなたの性別と年齢を教えてください。 性別（男・女） 年齢（ 歳）
2. 何人家族ですか。 （ ）人
3. 家族構成を教えてください。
 

10代（男 人・女 人）	20代（男 人・女 人）
30代（男 人・女 人）	40代（男 人・女 人）
50代（男 人・女 人）	60代（男 人・女 人）
70代（男 人・女 人）	80代以上（男 人・女 人）
4. 何世代前から香住に住んでいますか。 （ ）
5. あなたの先祖は何をしていましたか。 （ ）
6. あなたの職業は何ですか。
 

（漁業・水産加工業・農業・観光業・製造業・商業・土木建設業・  
小売業・飲食業・サービス業・公務員・ ）
7. 兼業している仕事はありますか。 （ある・なし）
8. “ある”と答えた人にお聞きします。どんな仕事で場所はどこですか。  
（ ）
9. ご家庭の女性のお仕事について聞かせて下さい。
 

仕事をされている女性について、おひとりずつ、仕事の種類（具体的な内容）と  
労働時間（フルタイムかパートタイムか）を教えてください。

（例：妻 美容師 フルタイム、母 農業、娘 ウェイトレス パートタイム）
10. 香住に住んでいる理由を教えてください。 理 由
 

(1) 仕事を香住でしているから	（ ）
(2) 祖先から香住に住んでいる	（ ）
(3) 都会では生活したくないから	（ ）
(4) その他	（ ）

11. 香住の観光産業についてどう考えますか。

(1) 発展をのぞむ (2) 今のままでよい

(3) その他 ( )

12. 香住の観光産業は何が魅力とと思いますか。

( )

13. 観光産業で迷惑に感じていることがあれば、お書きください。

( )

14. 観光産業がよい影響をもたらしているとおもうことがあればお書き下さい。

( )

15. 10年後の香住はどうあって欲しいと思いますか？以下の中からひとつ選んでください。

(1) リゾート (釣り舟, リゾートホテル, マリンスポーツなど)

(2) 工業用の港 (ハイテク企業の誘致など)

(3) 運送用の港

(4) 漁業用の港

(5) その他 ( )

16. 観光産業に関するあなたの意見をお書き下さい。

(ご協力ありがとうございました。)

**English Translation**

1. What is your gender and age?
2. How many members are in your family?
3. Which age group do they belong?
4. How many generations of your family have lived in Kasumi?
5. What (work/ business) did your ancestors do?
6. What industry do you work in?
7. Do you have another job as well?
8. If yes, what industry is that?
9. In your family, if the women work, what sort of job do they do? Please indicate if they are free time, part-time, in agriculture etc.
10. Please indicate the reason for continuing to live in Kasumi?
  1. Your work is Kasumi-based. 2. Generations of family have lived here. 3. Central based decision (company move) 4. Other
11. What is your opinion about the Kasumi tourism industry?
  1. Should there be more development 2. It is as good as it is, 3. Other ideas
12. What do you think is the charm about Kasumi tourism attraction?
13. What do you think are the negatives about Kasumi tourism?
14. Tell us what you think would be a good stimulus for the (Kasumi) tourism industry?
15. Kasumi in ten years; what is your opinion about how it should be?
  1. A resort. 2. Industrial Port district (such as high tech) 3. Shipping Port 4. Fishing industry port. 5. Other?
16. Do you have any opinions about the tourism industry that you would like to add?

## Appendix 8 Kasumi Business Questionnaire

## 「香住町における観光産業についてのアンケート」

レスリー クロー・デラニー 2001年11月

1. あなたの業種は何ですか。 ( )
2. 香住で仕事を始めてどのくらいになりますか。 ( 年)
3. あなたの会社の従業員の数と年齢構成を教えてください。

年代	総数(人)	うち女性(人)
10代		
20代		
30代		
40代		
50代		
60代		
70代～		

4. あなたは北近畿広域観光連盟と但馬広域行政事務組合を知っていますか。
  - 1) どちらも知っている
  - 2) 北近畿広域観光連盟を知っている
  - 3) 但馬広域行政事務組合を知っている
  - 4) どちらも知らない
5. 但馬広域行政事務組合に加盟している方にお聞きします。観光連盟のサービスをどう思いますか。
  - 1) たいへんよい
  - 2) よい
  - 3) 普通
  - 4) もう少し工夫が必要(意見をお書き下さい)
 ( )
6. 北近畿広域観光連盟に加盟している方にお聞きします。観光連盟のサービスをどう思いますか。
  - 1) たいへんよい
  - 2) よい
  - 3) 普通
  - 4) もう少し工夫が必要(意見をお書き下さい)
 ( )

7. 香住町の観光産業（の発展）にとって、何が重要であるとお考えですか。

該当するものに○をつけてください。（複数回答可）

- 1) 担い手、後継者
- 2) 他の地方公共団体等からの一層の援助
- 3) 水産業と水産物
- 4) より多様な魅力をもつ観光地や観光物
- 5) ふるさととしての快適さ
- 6) その他（意見をお書き下さい）

( )

8. 観光産業の発展のためにどんな計画をされていますか。

( )

9. 兵庫県は観光産業の発展のために予算を組んでいます。どこに分配されるといいと思いますか。

10. 民宿あるいは釣り船を経営しておられるかたにおたずねします。

どちらかに○をしてください。（民宿 ・ 釣り船）

- 1) お客さんはおもにどこからきますか ( )
- 2) どんなグループですか ( )
- 3) ひとつのグループの平均的な人数は ( 人)
- 4) どんなサービスをしていますか ( )
- 5) どんな広告をだしていますか ( )

11. 水産加工業の方におたずねします。

- 1) どんな種類の加工品をつくっていますか ( )
- 2) どこへ出荷していますか ( )

（ご協力ありがとうございました）

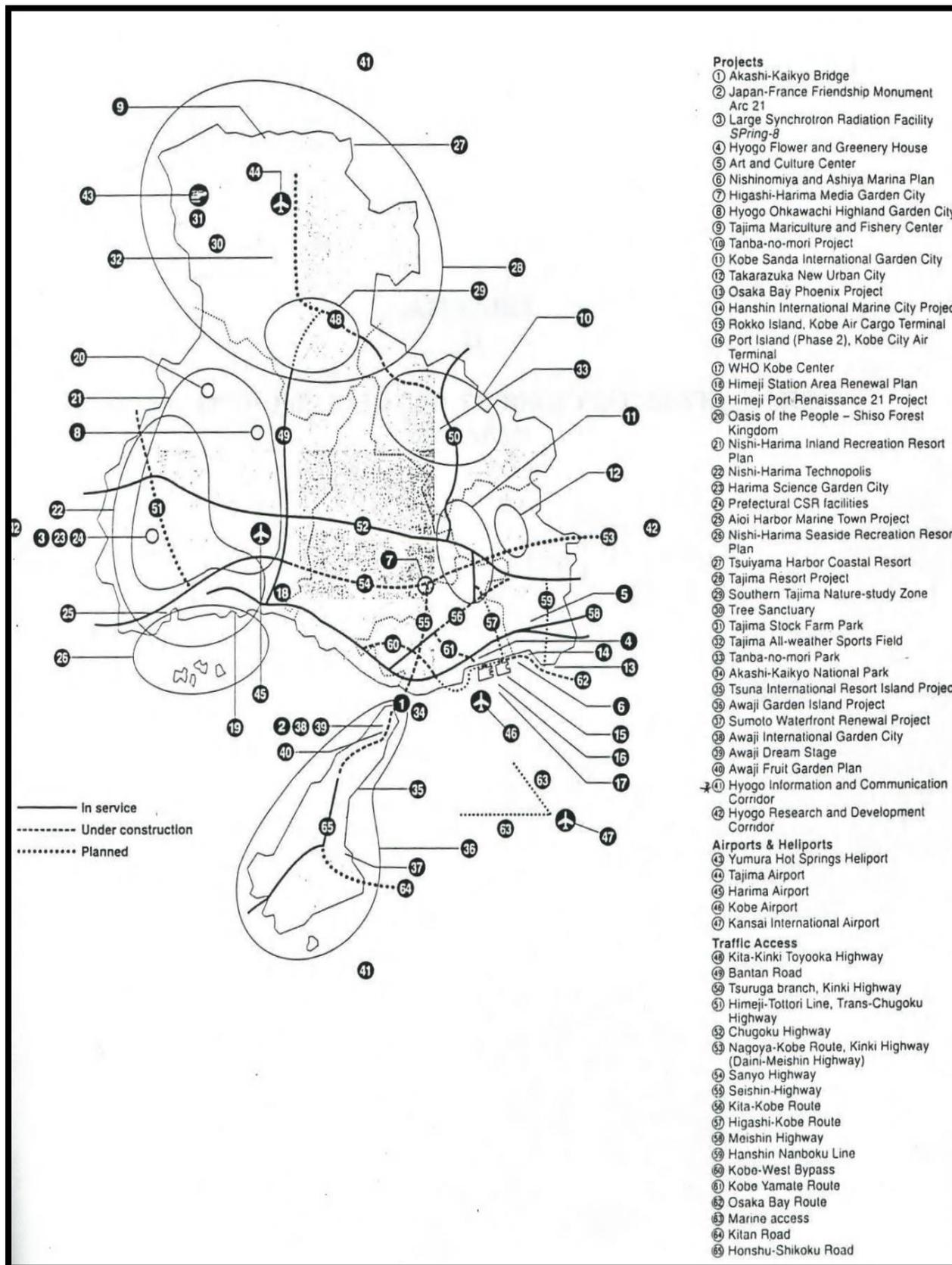
**English Translation**

1. What is your industry?
2. How many generations has it been in Kasumi
3. What is the age group and gender of your staff?
4. Do you know about the Kita Kinki Region Tourism or the Tajima Tourism Associations?
5. If yes, then what do you think about the Tajima Tourism Association and their service?
6. \_\_\_\_\_ the Kita Kinki Region Tourism Association and their service?  
(Very good, good, ordinary, please comment).
7. What do you think could be added to improve the Kasumi tourism industry? Please add anything else.
  1. A new person in charge (alluding to Mayor), 2. Another level of public body, 3. Deep water industry and water products, 4. More tourism displays, touristic themes, 5. Furusato theme, 6. other
8. What do you think about the development (R-Plan) for the Kasumi tourism industry?
9. About Hyogo prefecture's tourism planning, what are your comments on the budgeting?
10. For those in the management of the minshuku and fishing business, please indicate from the list where does your custom come from and how many?
11. About marine products,
  1. what sort of products should be sold, 2. Where do you ship your produce?

## Appendix 9 Himeji and Hyōgo Interviewees

Date	Industry	Interviewee
1997	Himeji Port Authority	Director 1997 incumbent
1997	//	Assistant Director 1997 incumbent
Oct 2001	Hyōgo Ports and Harbours	Port Planner
Nov 2001	//	Director General
Nov 2001	//	Assistant Director General
Aug 2001	Fukuchiyama Tourism	Director (formerly Director of JR tourism Fukuchiyama)
Aug and Dec 2001	Local Business	Major business stakeholder in Himeji 1
Aug and Dec 2001	//	Major business stakeholder in Himeji 2
Sept 2001	North West Performance Centre, Kita Harima- Himeji.	Manager
Aug-Dec 2001	Himeji Institute of Technology	Supervisor 1 (academic informant)
Aug-Dec 2001	//	Supervisor 2 (academic informant)
Aug and Sept 2001	Himeji Port	Himeji Port Manager (Marine Products) (A major role-player in public relations for the promotion of marine products)
Sept 2001	Hyōgo Prefectural Division of Tourism (Kobe)	Manager
Feb 2002	Himeji Port Authority of Hyōgo Prefecture	Director 2002 incumbent (formerly port manager of TFA)
Jan and Feb 2002	Himeji Institute of Technology	Local Academic
Feb 2002	Himeji Tourism Association	Manager

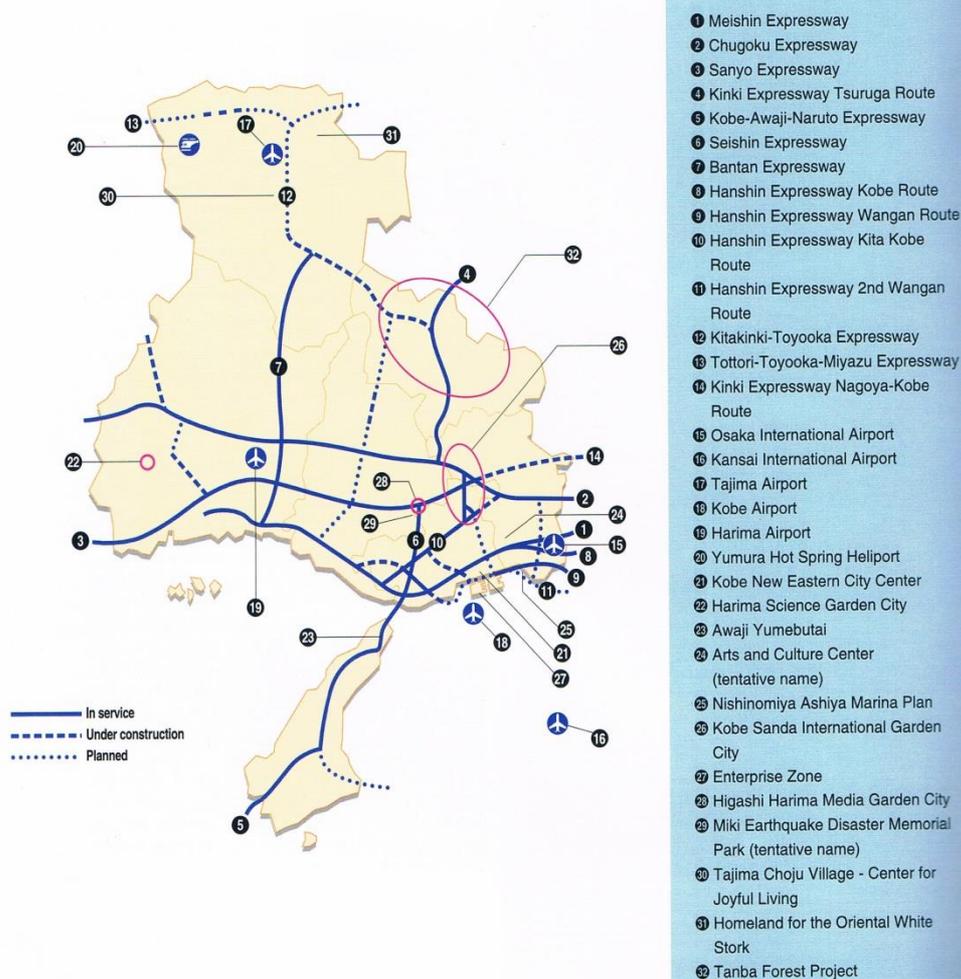
Appendix 10 'The Future of Hyogo' (65 Projects) (Hyōgo Prefectural Government 1993 17)



## Revised Hyogo Plans (32 Projects) (Hyōgo Prefectural Government, 2001 18)

### Projects Toward the 21st Century

The development of the Kansai-Setouchi International Metropolis, centered in the Osaka Bay Area, is steadily progressing, as is represented by the opening of the Akashi Kaikyo Bridge (Pearl Bridge). A variety of other projects are also under way within Hyogo Prefecture, in preparation for the arrival of the coming century.



## Appendix 11 Excerpts from Hyogo 2001 Prefectural Development Plan and Associated Summaries in English (Hyogo Prefectural Government 1997) and in Japanese

Towards the New Age of Hyogo 1

Page 1 of 1

### Towards the New Age of Hyogo



### Our Actions Today Open Up Our Future

Under our basic slogan, "a symbiotic networking society," Hyogo Prefecture has advanced various measures to achieve "spiritually rich Hyogo" according to our long-term and comprehensive plan scheduled for completion in the year 2001 (the Hyogo 2001 Plan).

In January 1995, when the 2001 Plan entered its final stage, the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake struck southern Hyogo leaving extensive damage. The "Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Restoration Plan" to be completed by year 2005 was established to facilitate speedy recovery. On the national level, in the new National Comprehensive Development Plan, realization of a disaster-resistant country is now a major topic.

In line with these movements, and on the basis of experiences acquired from the earthquake, the Hyogo 2001 Plan has been re-examined comprehensively from various perspectives, and the results so far are summarized in an interim report, which is our attempt to elucidate "basic ideas on the creation of new Hyogo for the early 21st century."

As back-up to the year 2001 Plan, we have considered the future of Hyogo together with residents, through long-term simulations and public forums on relevant issues.

Behind such endeavors always lies the idea that the future is not something that simply arrives, but is something that we create ourselves. In other words, the actions we take today open up the future. From lessons we learned following the earthquake, we have undertaken to reconstruct our prefecture. Our actions will undoubtedly be the driving force in advancing the restoration and serve as a source of energy in pioneering the Hyogo of the coming century.

As we face the arrival of a truly mature society, a concerted effort is required of every resident in the prefecture, in order to open up a bright new century for Hyogo.

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[Report on the Comprehensive Review of the Hyogo 2001 Plan](#)

[Reference](#)

[Home Page](#)



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## Towards the New Age of Hyogo



### 1st heading Realization of Living-oriented Society " In Pursuit of Affluence "

#### Respecting Lifestyles

The 21st century is just around the corner, and the question is, how is our living going to change with the times? Given the growing call for reconsidering the present lifestyle based on mass consumption, and pursuing instead, a lifestyle in which one can truly feel affluent in every way, the question is: how each of us can create our new lifestyle and what kind of society would be desirable for this purpose?

By taking such current trends into account, Hyogo Prefecture intends to achieve, in cooperation with the community, a new society in which the lifestyle of each individual is respected.



#### Four Kinds of Affluence in the New Society

In order to achieve this new society, attainment of the following four kinds of affluence is essential:  
First, "affluence of space" for a pleasant life, through promotion of exchanges among the people by making the most of the expansive land and diverse regional characteristics of the prefecture, and preservation of the natural environment and beautiful scenery in Hyogo.

Second, "affluence of time," where each person can design their own lifestyle, freely use their mind and body, feel content, enjoy an exciting life, and can cultivate their spiritual being.

Third, "genuine affluence of goods and services" requiring the establishment of an economic mechanism in which each one of us can choose goods and services of true value yet which cause minimal harm to the environment.

Fourth, "affluence of human relationships," the basis of which can be established by widely promoting the type of relationship in which people come together at their own will, develop consideration for each other, and decide to enjoy life together.

When these four kinds of affluence are achieved, a truly affluent Hyogo can be realized. That is, a Hyogo where each person will act in consideration and with responsibility, and will enjoy leading a purposeful life.

# 兵庫2001年計画仕上げの方策

## ～創造的復興と活力ある成熟社会をめざして～

### 1 序 説

#### (1) 計画策定の趣旨

兵庫県では、これまで「共生型ネットワーク社会づくり」を基本理念とし、2001年を目標年次とする長期総合計画「兵庫2001年計画(昭和60年12月策定)」に基づき、「こころ豊かな兵庫」をめざして各般の施策を、県民とともに進めてきた。

この「兵庫2001年計画」では、計画推進の課題として県民ニーズや社会情勢の変化、技術革新の進展等の条件変化に対応し、計画の柔軟で機動的な運用を図ることが求められていることから、平成3年3月には補完計画として「1990年代の重点方策」を明らかにした。

その後も時代の変化を見据えた絶えざるフォローアップを継続しており、平成4年度からは、2030年に至る兵庫の課題群調査を実施し、その中では、2030年を見通した長期シミュレーションを行うとともに、これを議論の素材として県下各地で2001年県民フォーラムを実施した。

平成7年1月17日には阪神・淡路大震災が発生し、大きな被害をもたらすと同時に、多くの貴重な教訓を残したが、その教訓を生かすとともに、国において検討の進む新しい全国総合開発計画も視野に入れつつ、平成7年度には、兵庫2001年計画の総合的点検を実施した。

総合的点検では、その結論として「兵庫2001年計画」の達成が不可欠であるとして、残された計画期間内における主要方策を示す誘導指針のとりまとめが必要であると提唱しており、その要請に応じて「1990年代の重点方策」に代わる新たな補完計画のとりまとめをしたものがこの計画である。

#### (2) 性格と役割

「兵庫2001年計画」は、時代潮流など21世紀兵庫を展望し、多くの県民の議論を経て、兵庫の進むべき方向を明示したものである。

この「仕上げの方策」は、兵庫2001年計画の基本理念をさらに発展させることを基調としつつ、兵庫2001年計画の総合的点検で明らかにされた課題や今後重点的に推進すべき点に取り組むため、2001年に至る期間の主要方策をとりまとめたものであり、県政運営の長期総合指針であると同時に、県下の自治体や民間活動の誘導指針、さらには県民の行動指針となることを期待するものである。

また、この計画は阪神・淡路大震災からの復興を目指して平成7年7月に策定された阪神・淡路震災復興計画の主なプロジェクトを内包しており、両計画の完全な整合性を図ることによる効率的・計画的な復興の推進・均衡ある県土の形成に資するものである。

さらに、計画期間が2001年を超える長期計画に関しても、21世紀初頭の新たな兵庫の創造への基本的考え方を示しており、主として理念面から諸計画間の整合性を確保しようとするものである。

#### (3) 計画の期間と構成

「仕上げの方策」の計画期間は、平成8年度から平成12年(西暦2000年)度までの5ヶ年間とする。計画の構成は、序説、21世紀初頭の新たな兵庫の創造への基本的考え方、分野別重点方策、地域別重点方策から構成されており、人口・経済見通しの修正を参考に掲げている。

##### ① 序説

計画の趣旨、性格を明らかにする。

②21世紀初頭の新たな兵庫の創造への基本的考え方

21世紀初頭の望ましい兵庫社会の創造に向け、その基本方向や踏まえるべき視点、課題等についてとりまとめた。

概ね2010年までを目標とする長期ビジョンとして、兵庫2001年計画の総合的点検においてとりまとめたものであり、この「仕上げの方策」でも、基本的・中心的考え方になるものである。

③分野別重点方策

計画期間内に重点的に推進する事項を5つの政策分野に分けて記載する。

④地域別重点方策

計画期間内に重点的に推進すべき地域整備の方向とそれを具体化する方策を、県下7つの地域に分けて記載する。

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[ Feedback ]

jan 7, 1997

兵庫文化の水準を高め、震災からの創造的復興を果たしていくため、国内外の優れた芸術文化に身近に接する機会を拡充するとともに、文化施設などの収蔵品の充実を図る。また、企業などを含む国内外の文化施設の協力のもと、それらの収蔵品の公開展示を進める。さらに、特色ある各種イベント、展覧会、コンクール等の開催・誘致を進め、国際的な芸術文化の研究や交流の機会の拡充を図るとともに、芸術家が滞在しながら創作活動を行える場の整備を推進する。

<主要事業>

- ひょうご舞台芸術の上演
- ひょうごインビテーショナルの開催
- ひょうごアジア太平洋芸術フォーラムの開催
- 芸術村構想の推進

(4) ふるさと文化の創造と文化的遺産の保存・活用

*to encourage expansion + understanding of fucusaka culture*

ふるさとを大切に育む心と誇りと愛情を持った人づくりのため、各年齢層に応じたふるさとの歴史、風土に対する県民の理解と郷土意識の高揚を図る。そのなかで、先人によって蓄積された郷土文化に根ざす伝統行事やまつりなどの活性化を支援するとともに、内外との交流を促進する。

一方、各地域に受け継がれてきた有形・無形の文化遺産や歴史的遺産を後世に引き継ぐとともに、震災により損害を受けた文化財や歴史的まち並みの早期復旧を図る。また、世界文化遺産に認定された姫路城をはじめ、様々な歴史的・文化的遺産を県民や国内外の人々に紹介するとともに、これらの多面的な活用を図る。さらに、人文資源の整備とネットワーク形成を図り、広域的な歴史文化ゾーンの創造をめざす。

<主要事業>

- 郷土伝統文化の継承
- ふるさとの心の文化の醸成
- 文化財保存整備事業
- 野島断層の保存
- 歴史街道計画の推進
- 埋蔵文化財緊急発掘調査事業
- 指定文化財の復旧
- 埋蔵文化財の保全

(5) 幅広いスポーツ・レクリエーション活動の推進

*promotion of sports & rec<sup>n</sup> already in place per local field trip*

県民の日常生活の中にスポーツ・レクリエーション活動を取り入れ、すべての県民が、いつでも、どこでも、気軽に、体力づくり、健康づくり、自然とのふれあいが楽しめるよう、年齢や体力に応じた多様な活動機会の提供に努めるとともに、指導者の育成や資質の向上を図るなど指導体制の整備を促進する。また、県民の自主的な活動を支援するため、研修や交流の機会の充実を図るとともに、スポーツ・レクリエーション情報の提供に努める。さらに日常的なスポーツ・レクリエーション活動に対応するため、学校体育施設の地域開放を進め、社会教育施設、学校教育施設及び民間施設の施設間ネットワークを促進する。加えて、県民スポーツ・レクリエーション活動に対する気運を高めるために、国際的、全国的な各種大会の開催誘致に努めるとともに、競技者の競技力の向上を図る。

<主要事業>

- 県立学校体育施設の(夜間)開放の推進
- 生涯スポーツの振興

- 国民体育大会の開催準備の推進
- 東播磨スポーツ回廊計画の推進
- 競技力の向上
- 大規模自転車道の整備

#### (6) 心うらおう芸術文化・スポーツ施設の整備

県民の芸術文化・スポーツ活動の多様化、高度化に対応し、「文化首都関西」の一翼を担う国際的な文化創造・発信の拠点地域の形成をめざして、特色ある芸術文化施設や震災復興のシンボルともなるような拠点施設の整備を図るとともに、これら多様な施設の重層的なネットワーク形成を推進する。

また、学校施設、集会所などの地域施設や広場の活用を図るとともに、県民ニーズにあったCSR施設を整備し、これらの運営にあたっても利用者のニーズが的確に反映されるよう努める。

#### <主要事業>

- 県立武道館(仮称)の整備
- ひょうご花と緑の文化館(仮称)の整備
- 県立陶芸館(仮称)の整備
- 芸術文化センター(仮称)の整備
- 芸術の館(仮称)の整備
- 考古博物館(仮称)の整備
- 但馬ドーム(仮称)の整備
- 全県的CSR施設の整備
- 阪神野外CSR施設の整備
- 淡路夢舞台温室・野外劇場の整備
- 自然活用型野外CSR事業の推進
- CSR施設の充実
- 既存体育・スポーツ施設の整備充実

- 商店街の広域的連携
- 商店街等再整備計画策定の指導
- 商業基盤施設、商業施設の整備に対する補助、低利融資
- 埋もれた地域食品や林産加工品の商品化と販路の拡大

Tourism

to create new tourist attractions, promotion, campaign, beautiful.

(3) 多彩な観光資源の活用

阪神・淡路大震災による観光入り込みの減少に対応することはもとより、世界都市関西の一翼を担う兵庫として、国内外から訪れる人々を暖かく迎え入れる基盤づくりを推進する。

このため、被災地域に新しい観光名所を創造する取り組みを進めるとともに、震災で失われた拠点施設の回復を図り、さらには、これらを活用したキャンペーンを展開する。加えて、四季折々の集客イベントを開催するなど、被災地の観光復興を推進する。

また、県内の多彩な観光資源を最大限に活用するため、観光施設の整備を推進するとともに、地域特性を生かした観光ルートの開拓や、キャンペーンの全国展開を図るなど、積極的な観光振興事業に努める。

<主要事業>

- 阪神・淡路百名所づくり
- 神戸ルミナリエ、神戸まつり等の開催
- 観光復興キャンペーン
- 神戸国際会館の早期再建
- ファッションフェスティバルの推進
- 但馬・丹波における観光の振興
- 上山高原開発事業の検討
- おのこ愛ランド公園の再整備
- フラワーセンターの再整備

to create new tourist attractions

guide

to create new tourist attractions, promotion, campaign, beautiful.

Onokoro island Park

Kanji for ai (love) land (rando)

4 創造性と活力に満ちた農林水産業の展開

(1) 需要創造型農業の展開

世界の食糧事情への懸念に対応した食糧自給率の向上に資するとともに、新食糧法施行に伴う産地間競争の激化に対応するため、生産コストの低減や流通・加工システムの高度化を図る。

このため、農業生産基盤の整備、地域営農システムの構築を図るとともに、経営能力に優れた担い手や集落営農組織の育成・支援を促進する。

また、バイオテクノロジーをはじめとする先端技術を積極的に活用するなど、農業経営の高度化を推進するとともに、地域の特産品はもとより、米などについてもブランド化を進め、農産物の高付加価値化を推進する。これに加え、消費者ニーズの把握、新規就農者への助成などを推進する。

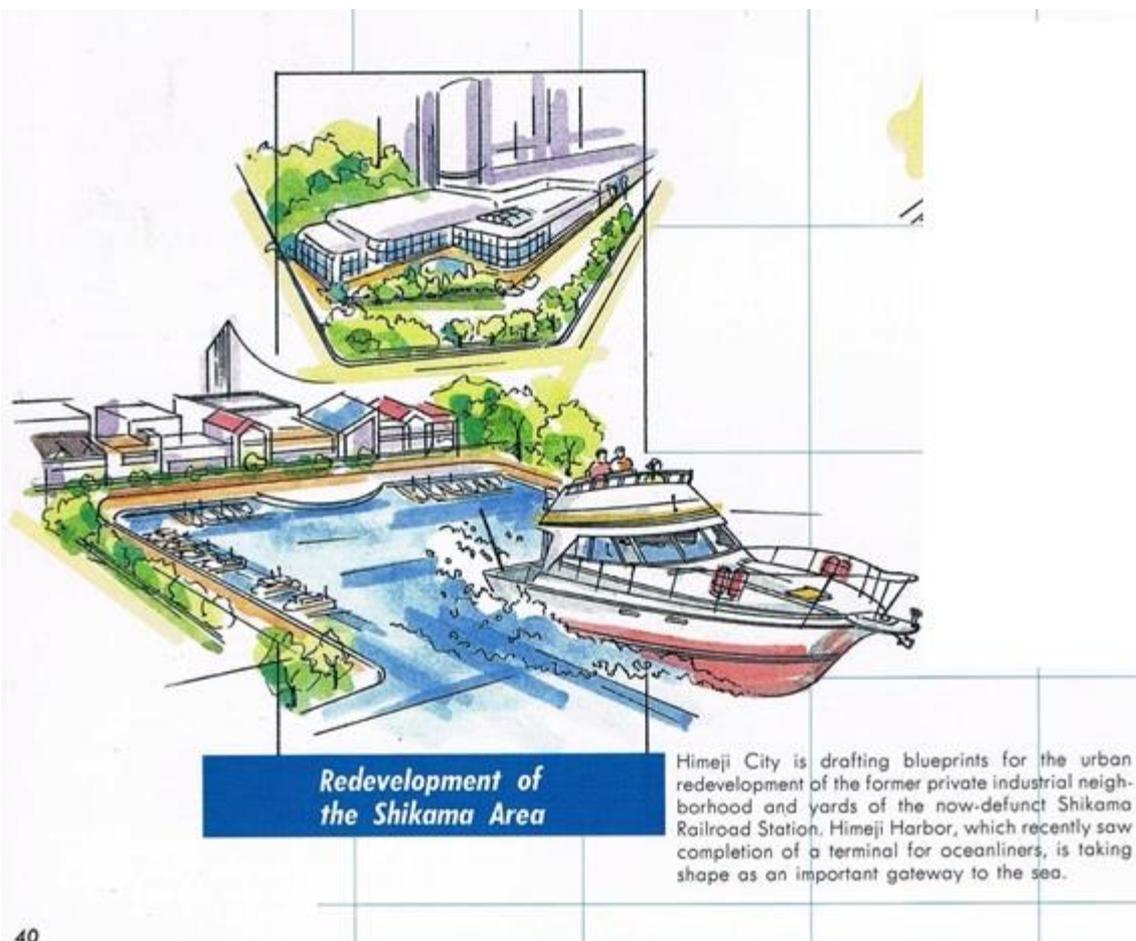
さらに、食肉の衛生管理や残留農薬対策にも留意し、農畜産物の安全性確保に努める。

<主要事業>

- 大区画ほ場整備事業の推進
- かんがい排水事業の推進
- 農道整備事業の推進
- 農林水産物のブランド化の推進
- 野菜産地の育成
- 高度な農業技術者の育成
- 多様な営農形態の育成
- 新しい農業技術の開発

primary

**Appendix 12 Major Projects for Himeji Port District on which interviews were based for major role players**



40



Source: City of Himeji, 1993, pp 40-41

**Appendix 13 Excerpt: Beach Erosion in Japan as a Structural Problem.**

*In Japan, coastal work is separated into four sectors. Port construction is carried out by the fisheries agency and the port department, respectively. Other coastal works are carried out by the river department, and protective works on the coastal forest and farmland is overseen by the Ministry of Agriculture. These works have been carried out independently in their respective areas of jurisdiction to which their control is confined. ... For example, when a long port breakwater is extended, sand is accumulated in the wave shadow zone of the breakwater due to longshore sand transport, resulting in beach erosion in the surrounding area. Construction work of the port is carried out by the port or fishing port authority, with little connection to the protective work on the surrounding coastline. Overall measures to solve the problems are difficult to adopt due to the sector by- sector administrative system. The port authority utilizes deposited sand as material for land reclamation, whereas in the eroded zone, only superficial methods are taken (sic), resulting in the transformation from a natural beach to an artificial coastline covered with concrete armor units... Each work is planned so as to present the maximum economical rationality in the short term without consideration of the degradation of the environment in the surrounding area; this is local optimization.... Coastal problems in Japan are not simply due to problems in coastal engineering, but are caused mainly (sic) a result of the social system in Japan, including the legal system. ...It is very difficult to change these situations through only administrative efforts, because they are deeply related to past administrative mindsets. With the collaboration of specialists, engineers and NPOs, a flexible social system that can be modified efficiently must be developed.*

*Permission granted to use from the Author*

(Uda et al., 2005 1-5)

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