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INAKA GA KOKORO NI FURERU: THE PRACTICES AND PARLANCE OF CULTURAL
EXCHANGE IN THE JAPAN-AMERICA GRASSROOTS SUMMIT

by

GARY LAMAR WALSH JR.

Under the Direction of Dr. Faidra Papavasiliou

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of the John Manjiro-Whitfield Commemorative Center for International Exchange (CIE) and its sole undertaking the annual Japan-America Grassroots Summit. The CIE's goal is to foster greater mutual understanding between Japanese and American citizens through what it terms grassroots exchange. To achieve this, the CIE aids in organizing a weeklong cultural exchange program held alternately in the United States and Japan complete with a three-night homestay. As a participant-observer in the 25th Annual Grassroots Summit held in Japan, I address the underlying influences shaping this cultural exchange program and limits to achieving its goals. I also address how the summit's structure and use of historical narratives affects the experiences of Americans who attend the summit when it is held in Japan.

INDEX WORDS: Cultural Exchange, Cultural Diplomacy, Soft-Power, Non-Profit Organizations, Narrative, Tourism, Japan

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by

GARY WALSH

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2016

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May 2016

DEDICATION

To my wife and children

Thank you for your patience and support

To my fellow Grassroots Summit participants

Thank you for your time

To my sensei

Thank you for introducing me to Japan

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work truly began nearly twenty years ago when I first traveled to Japan. I stayed in a small house with a tin roof occupied by a fisherman, his wife, and four children. They didn't have much and I couldn't communicate with them at all, but their hospitality and generosity left a considerable impression. Since that time, I have stayed with numerous Japanese families as part of the Japan-America Grassroots Summit. I thank the families, volunteers, and organizers of the summit for their hard work in making that program possible. Without their efforts, I would not have made the Japanese friends that I have today nor met other amazing American participants. Therefore, this project is dedicated to the numerous Japanese and Americans that I have had the privilege of encountering as a participant in the Grassroots Summit. I appreciate their willingness and openness in sharing their thoughts and personal histories without which this project could not have been completed.

I would also like to thank my wife and children for supporting me throughout my graduate education. My research has taken me far away from home at times as well as taken many years to finish. The completion of this work is as much the result of my efforts and energy as well as theirs. Lastly, I wish to extend my gratitude towards my thesis committee for their guidance and expertise. Their support and suggestions have aided me in refining my writing as well as pushed me towards improving as an anthropologist. Moreover, they have assisted me in weaving together the various and seemingly disparate threads of tourism, narrative, and the nation-state which pervades this work.

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1 INTRODUCTION

“The movement of national-cultural self-fashioning often retrace the lines of fetishistic investment in the most general sense. In Japan, refined high culture is one such site, where, for example, Noh theater, tea ceremony, and Kyoto politesse attain the realm of desirable banality for the domestic bourgeoisie and approved export status as icons of Japaneseness” (Ivy, 1995, p. 11).

1.1 Tropes of Arrival: Situating the Other

We arrive at Ōita airport after a three-hour layover at Haneda—this after traveling about 16 hours from the United States. We are informed that the bus ride to our hotel will take almost another hour. Exhausted and searching for our luggage, we are under surveillance. Video cameras are pointed at us, but with no explanation or interaction from the camerapersons. Many of us are wearing badges around our necks that we received when we first landed in Narita airport. Printed on each badge is our name and the name of our final destination. I see that many individuals are wearing their badges without any expressed instructions to do so. Regardless, once we have acquired all of our luggage, I notice that I am carrying a small bag slung around my shoulder and a larger orange backpack. Others, by contrast, have large four wheeled suitcases that they sluggishly pull along.

Upon departing the airport, the air remains as stale and warm as inside despite it being around 9pm. Perhaps it is because it is the rainy season. As we migrate outside to our respective buses, we provide our names to someone holding a clipboard before boarding. As I enter the bus, there is some quiet conversation which ceases gradually as the bus begins moving. Looking out into the gloom, I can faintly make out a road sign reading *tobidashi chūi* with a caricatured boar above the Chinese lettering—indicating that these animals may suddenly appear on the road. No

one else seems to notice. In fact, everyone is asleep. There aren't many people on the bus, I think to myself. Maybe 9 or 10 including the driver. I remember these buses being usually packed with people and the presence of multiple buses headed towards multiple hotels. This time there seems to be only three buses headed to the same place: the Suginoi hotel in Beppu.

As we arrive at our destination the bus begins to struggle up a steep incline on a narrow road. I wonder if this the only approach to the hotel as I look out the window to see the hotel perched atop a tall hill that overlooks Beppu below. My concerns are not altruistic; rather, I often find myself leaving my hotel and exploring the local nightlife. Further up the hill, the bus tries to turn a corner but a car blocks our path. Surprisingly, the narrow corridor leading to the hotel is a two-way road and our bus and the car next to us begin slowly moving past one another narrowly missing each other. After this brief incident, the bus finally pulls up to the front of the hotel. Despite this being July, there are bright lights, Christmas lights and decorations in fact, strewn about. I lethargically depart from the bus to see an illuminated plastic Santa Claus who, according to the sign next to him, is resting at the Suginoi hotel as a break from his hard work during Christmas.

Entering the hotel, our drained physical state is contrasted by the exuberance of several individuals wearing pink *happi* (a loose Japanese coat with wide sleeves that extend halfway down the forearm) while others are holding a banner welcoming us. Again, some pictures are taken and a camera is pointed at us. I did not want to have my picture taken, but I knew it was inevitable. There are at least two people recording us, one was holding a video camera while another was taking pictures. Given that this wasn't my first trip, I knew they were there to record this event, edit it, and share it with us once we had concluded our journey. We are told that our hotel keys and a hotel map are waiting for us at a special desk in the lobby. On approaching the

desk, we are inundated with information: wake-up times, breakfast times, departure times, and bus numbers. We are also told when the *onsen* (hot spring bath) in the hotel will close. By now, we have been traveling for almost 24 hours straight. Yet, we all know that we must get up early tomorrow to begin our participation in the week long 25th annual Japan-America Grassroots Summit.

1.2 Towards an Ethnography of Grassroots Exchange

1.2.1 Research Question

This thesis is an examination of the John Manjiro-Whitfield Commemorative Center for International Exchange (CIE), its sole cultural exchange program the annual Japan-America Grassroots Summit (hereby referred to as the summit), and American citizens who pay to attend the Japanese summits (hereby referred to as participants). Herein, I define cultural exchange as “the reciprocal exchange of symbols, artifacts, rituals, genres, and/or technologies between cultures with roughly equal levels of power” (Rogers, 2006, p. 477). This definition remains problematic, however, and, therefore, I seek to address two questions with this research. First, what actually constitutes cultural exchange in programs like the Grassroots Summit and what are the underlying influences shaping that exchange? Second, what impact does this have on participant experience?

To answer these questions I apply George Marcus’s (1995) call to “follow the plot, story, or allegory” (p. 109). Perhaps more precisely, I follow several stories. The first is about a shipwrecked Japanese boy named John Manjiro (also known as Nakahama Manjiro or John Mung) who was rescued by Captain Whitfield in 1841 and subsequently educated in America and returned to Japan to ultimately use this education in opening Japan to the West in 1854 when Commodore Perry arrived in Tokyo bay to formalize diplomatic relations between Japan and the

United States. The second story is about the CIE, an organization that emerged during a period of increased economic and political tension between the US and Japan and found the story of Manjiro a means of bridging the cultural gap between the two countries. Finally, there are the stories of those that attend the summit, particularly why they attend and how they understand grassroots exchange. In following these stories, I wish to achieve two goals. First, I wish to problematize the CIE's use of the term grassroots and examine how the CIE uses official versions of Manjiro's life to give purpose to itself and the summit while also serving state interests for both the United States and Japan. Second, I wish to provide a detailed ethnographic account of the summit so as to illustrate how participants, organizers, and even host families have differing goals and interests regarding their attendance and involvement in the summit.

1.2.2 What is the Grassroots Summit?

The CIE is a Public Interest Incorporated Foundation (PIF) based in Japan, and emerged from the John Manjiro Society in 1992 to foster U.S-Japan relations through grassroots exchange. The CIE defines grassroots exchange as “the free exchange of opinions between individual citizens of America and Japan, and through this to further mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries” (Center for International Exchange, 2016). To achieve this goal, the CIE has organized a weeklong Japan-America Grassroots Summit for the past 25 years. The summit is predicated on a little known historical encounter between the shipwrecked fisherman John Manjiro and American Naval Captain William Whitfield in 1841—predating official U.S-Japan relations. The summit is therefore a ceremonial re-enactment of the amicability and hospitality between these two individuals and their respective cultures.

Every even year, the CIE holds the summit in a different U.S state. In odd years, the summit is located in a different Japanese prefecture. Citizens of either country and of any age are

welcome to attend, although the majority of Americans who attend are either high school students or adults over the age of 40 that have previously worked in Japan or have a Japanese ethnic heritage. The summit is comprised of a homestay, an opening and closing ceremony as well as local tours and activities. These activities range from visiting aquariums to practicing calligraphy. Before attending the summit, up to 200 potential participants are able to select one location from a variety of places to visit in the selected prefecture or state as part of their local session. The local session also determines where participants will stay with host families for four days and three nights. The homestay component of the summit is unique as it allows participants to live with local families as part of creating understanding between the two countries. Over the past twenty-five years, a total of 43,000 Japanese and Americans have come together to organize and participate in the annual Japan-America Grassroots Summit. This number includes participants, local organizers, government officials, CIE board members, and host families. Moreover, current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Ambassador to Japan Caroline Kennedy and, direct descendant of Commodore Perry, Dr. Matthew Perry, have recognized and endorsed this program. While this briefly explains the CIE and summit, to better understand the CIE's ideological roots requires a detailed examination of John Manjiro's life and legacy as situated within the history of Japan-U.S relations.

1.2.3 Historicizing the John Manjiro Story

To paraphrase the CIE's telling of the Manjiro story, John Manjiro was lost at sea on the island of Torishima in January, 1841. For six months, Manjiro and four other fisherman struggled to survive as they were marooned on the remote island. In June, the fishermen were rescued by William Whitfield who captained the whaling ship *John Howland*. Manjiro was given the name John and came to live in Fairhaven, Massachusetts with Captain Whitfield. While

there, Manjiro learned English, navigation, and American values such as democracy and freedom. In 1851, Manjiro risked his life in returning to Japan due to the government's isolationist policies. The arrival of Admiral Perry in 1854 led to the birth of modern Japan and the end of this isolationism. Manjiro played an important role in this transformation by sharing his knowledge of American culture, technology, and values with Japanese. The bonds of friendship that formed between Manjiro and Whitfield have continued for 170 years and symbolize the potential for grassroots exchange.

The legacy of John Manjiro's life is more nuanced than this, however. When John Manjiro was rescued by Captain Whitfield in 1841, the country that would become Japan was under the rule of a samurai government known as the *bakufu* which lasted from 1603 to 1867. During this time, the samurai government led by the Tokugawa clan enforced a policy prohibiting foreigners from entering the country and from Japanese leaving the country under the penalty of death. This *sakoku* (isolated country) policy was initiated in order to solidify the Tokugawas' power over the country and resulted in the expulsion of Catholic missionaries, European traders, and prohibited other Japanese (including other governing samurai) from traveling to Europe or the Americas. Trade did continue with the Dutch, but only on the island of Dejima near Nagasaki (Laver, 2011). When John Manjiro returned from the United States in 1850, he was arrested and summarily questioned (Nagakuni & Kitadai, 2003; Warinner, 1956). However, he was not executed because he proved to be a valuable informant for the Tokugawa government. In essence, the Tokugawa government did not value his knowledge because it could transform the country but, rather, allow them to better manage the increased foreign encroachment of the European and American powers in and around Japan during the middle of the 19th century (Keith, 2011; Morris-Suzuki, 1997).

On July 8, 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry in service of the United States Navy led four steam-powered warships into the harbor at Tokyo bay. On July 14, 1853 in what is today Kanagawa prefecture, Commodore Perry succeeded in meeting the head of the Tokugawa bakufu, Tokugawa Iemochi. The purpose of America's presence in Japan was to establish formal diplomatic relations in light of Japanese treatment of shipwrecked American whalers in Japan, to establish a coal refueling station, and to expand trade in Asia (Henning, 2000). Manjiro became an interpreter and translator for the Tokugawa bakufu and later aided in the negotiations of the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854. However, he did not have direct contact with Commodore Perry or the Americans that arrived in Japan, nor is it fully certain that Manjiro actually participated in these events at all (Van Sant, 2000). What is certain is that Manjiro would only later return to the United States in 1860 as an emissary (Nagakuni & Kitadai, 2003). In 1854, Commodore Perry returned to Kanagawa with eight ships. During this time, the Treaty of Peace and Amity was drafted allowing for formal diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States and the opening of the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate. This began to mark the end of the Tokugawa era and the sakoku policy that defined it as these political events resulted in severe economic and social turmoil (Henning, 2000).

In 1858, another treaty was signed between the United States and Japan in what the Japanese termed the unequal treaties beginning with the Treaty of Peace and Amity (Henning, 2000). These treaties resulted in the opening of more ports and created designated cities in which foreigners could reside while depriving the Japanese of punishing foreigners for crimes (Keith, 2011). Foreign trade flooded Japanese markets with foreign goods and foreign currency resulting in a severe rise in inflation and the destabilization of Japan's monetary system (Henning, 2000). Inflation and social unrest resulted in protests and outright rebellion among some of the samurai

lords. The demand for a change in leadership resulted in the Boshin civil war from 1868 to 1869 between those supporting returning the emperor to the throne and those supporting keeping the Tokugawa in power. In 1869, the last Tokugawa ruler, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, returned power to the emperor resulting in the beginning of the Meiji Period (1868-1912) and sweeping political, economic, and social reforms (Henning, 2000).

During the Meiji period, the bakufu government became a scapegoat for Japan's lingering social problems while lending credence to American intervention in the country. Early American scholars played a key role in re-narrating the very recent past by framing Japan's economic development and partnership with the West during the late 19th century as putting it on the right course towards civilization, which had been stalled under the sakoku policy (Henning, 2000). However, by 1942, leading Japanese cultural authorities feared that the rapid economic and social developments brought about during the Meiji period were causing the Japanese people to lose their identity under a Euro-American model of modernization. Thereof, a group of intellectuals held a symposium entitled "Overcoming Modernity" in 1942 that resulted in a book proposing a third alternative to modernity that was distinct from the Euro-American and Soviet models. This would serve as a guide for post-war Japan and its colonies in Asia (Koschman, 1993). This third modernity never came to pass as Japan surrendered to the United States in 1945. Through the American occupation, Japan's economic rise and restructuring by the late 1950s allowed a new narrative to emerge in Japan to interpret its history over the past 100 years. In this case, the Taishō (1912-1926) and early Showa (1926-1989) periods were when Japan lost its cultural focus and its proper civilizational development went astray.

In essence, Japan had begun its process of modernization in the Meiji period and continued briefly into the Taishō era, but only through American intervention was Japan put

back on its proper course again. Under the guidance of the United States, immediate post war Japan was a time when the Japanese could essentially have a second chance at modernity (Gluck, 1993). However, in order for Japan to be modern, this required the country to define its past. The Tokugawa period, previously viewed as prohibiting progress, was now viewed as the time in which Japanese traditional values and cultural practices were established but lost during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Simultaneously, the arrival of Commodore Perry and the end of the Tokugawa period were cast as an era of beneficial change. Historical figures such as Sakamoto Ryōma and Nakahama Manjiro typified this type of public memorialization of the past in the form of individuals making history (*jinbutsushi*) whereby such men were poised as people who understood the value of foreign contact and who saw it as a means to create a better future for the Japanese (Gluck, 1993). Again, Americans played an important role in establishing these narratives such as Emily Warriner (1956) who promoted John Manjiro as a founder of Japanese modernity in her work *Voyager to Destiny*.

By the 1980s, Japan became the second largest economy in the world and shifted from a debtor nation to the United States to a creditor nation (Gluck, 1993). The rapid economic changes and increased internationalization of Japan's economy and middle class again changed perceptions of Japan's history. In this instance, questions of Japan's uniqueness emerged to account for its rapid economic growth and supposed social harmony and mass-middle class society (Gluck, 1993; Morris-Suzuki, 1997; Mauer & Sugimoto, 1990). This was also a period of increased international presence for Japan, resulting in ambivalent attitudes towards Japan's past. The *sakoku* policy was viewed as a time of peace and stability, even internal innovation, among some political thinkers who wanted to remove Japan from world affairs. Others, like Prime Minister Kaifu (1989-1991) viewed the Gulf War as an opportunity to showcase Japan as a

global leader in the post-Cold War world order (Gluck, 1993).

However, Japanese leaders continued to vacillate between the importance of insularity and greater openness resulting in Japan's financial support as opposed to sending troops and resources to assist the United States' efforts in Kuwait and Iraq (Gluck, 1993). After criticism from the United States, Japanese politicians began to mobilize cultural diplomacy initiatives as a means of improving Japan-U.S relations. The CIE emerged in 1991 as part of these initiatives and found parts of Manjiro's life and legacy a practical and important narrative to serve as an allegory for U.S-Japan relations. Manjiro, poised as the first Japanese to learn from the U.S and, from this education, allowing Japan to modernize, serves as an exemplar of how two different nations can learn from one another and progress into the future amicably. Yet, historical documents show that Manjiro's contributions to Japan's modernization were limited and he was hardly mentioned at all in Japanese texts during his lifetime. Although Manjiro did participate in delegations to the U.S in 1860 and again in 1870, he was not an influential member of the samurai class. Moreover, the purpose of foreign delegations and sending Japanese abroad to study in America and Europe during the 1860s and 70s was to learn how to produce modern weapons and ships, the knowledge of which was later used to overthrow the bakufu in 1868 during the Boshin civil war to restore the emperor as the legitimate ruler of Japan (Van Sant, 2000). Contact with the West was less about friendship and cultural exchange than about developing Japan as a modern nation state and defending its sovereignty during Manjiro's lifetime (Van Sant, 2000, Morris-Suzuki, 1997). Yet, the Manjiro story as told by the CIE ignores these historical contexts by focusing solely on John Manjiro's western education and his descendants' continued correspondence and friendship with the Whitfields after Manjiro's death in 1898.

1.3 Methods

1.3.1 *Research Contexts*

In following the various allegories and narratives surrounding the summit, my thesis does not focus on some facet of Japanese or American culture. Rather, what I am actually setting out to study are two temporary social aggregates that are the product of historical conjunctions and contingencies coming into contact with one another and how both are reliant on a perceived Other. To acknowledge this, my usage of the term Japanese and American are indexical of power relations in this thesis. That is, the usage of these terms is not of my own choosing but an appropriation of the terminology used during the summit where the words American and Japanese gain intelligibility only through their binary opposition. As Bruno Latour (2005) remarks, “for every group to be defined, a list of anti groups is set up as well” (p. 32). Thereof, the usage of the words Japanese and American are not a means of delineating specific groups for observation on my part, but reference already pre-existing categories which American participants are placed into during the summit based on their respective interactions with “The Japanese”. I argue that who is determined to be Japanese or American in Japan-American cultural exchange is figured by who receives the cultural transmission and who provides it. I do not suggest that this host-guest dichotomy is stable or understood by participants in this way, only that the rhetoric and structure of the summit create such a relationship and maintain it.

The significance of this project rests in the fact that existing literature on NPOs states what they should do in order to facilitate cross-cultural understanding and/or describe the importance of cultural exchange or diplomacy as opposed to utilizing an ethnographic lens to discuss how NPOs fulfill their mission goals (Feigenbaum, 2001; Nye, 2008; Schneider, 2003).

Where ethnographic methodologies are present in the research of non-government and non-profit organizations, however, Lashaw (2012) argues that they have tended to focus solely on the progressive elements of such organizations as opposed to critiquing their practices and those that carry them out. That is, researchers have tended to ignore how non-profits “assert the universality of their ideals and effectively protect themselves from interrogation” (Lashaw, 2012, p. 18). Furthermore, while reports on the activities of Japan-America societies is readily available, these are not critical assessments of these organizations practices and views. Rather, they are summaries of their annual activities and reproduce the clichéd rhetoric of mutual understanding and need for multicultural competency in a globalized age.

Lastly, this work is also important given that tourism has become one of the dominant means by which people are exposed to cultures outside what they consider their own (Franklin & Crang, 2001; Jack & Phipps, 2005). While the CIE nominally creates an even platform for discussion and enrichment, as with any organized tourist experience, such cross-cultural encounters are always mediated to some degree and laden with political motives and power dynamics (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; E. Bruner ,1991; E. Bruner, 2005; Picard & Di Giovine, 2014; Rogers, 2006; Urry, 2005). This begs the question of who is involved in organizing grassroots exchange and for what purpose.

1.3.2 Fieldsite

Given the historical links between New England and Japan and my own personal history with the country and its people, I dedicated a large part of my academic career to the study of Japan. In my hometown of Newport, Rhode Island, there stands a statue of Commodore Matthew Perry. He is also buried there. Each summer, the city of Newport, Rhode Island holds the Black Ships Festival to commemorate this event as well as celebrate Japanese culture. The city of

Fairhaven Massachusetts, home of John Manjiro, the first Japanese man to live in the United States, was less than an hour away from my home. Moreover, my high school was one of the first in the nation to offer Japanese language courses. I took these courses for three years and, in 1996 and 1997, I was offered the chance to travel to Japan. Although the 1996 trip was not technically the Grassroots Summit, the CIE allowed me to borrow and repay money to attend a student trip including members from the United Nations International School in New York City, Tenafly High School in New Jersey, another High School in Pittsburgh that I cannot recall, and my high school: Middletown High. This trip took place in the same location as the 1995 summit in Kagoshima prefecture.

Yet, as I continued to go on the summit well after high school, I began to see Japan in more nuanced ways and I also began to apply a more critical eye towards this cultural exchange program. In conceptualizing and executing this research, then, I borrowed heavily from my five previous experiences in Japan as a participant in this program. I was well aware of the summit's structure in terms of how it portioned out the week between the ceremonies, home stays and local sessions. This allowed me to plan ahead in terms of when and where I would talk with informants. Lastly, I had witnessed many opening and closing ceremony speeches and how they always reiterated the same tropes of U.S-Japan friendship, diplomacy, and the history of John Manjiro.

I continue to attend the summits for many reasons. Most participants attend the summit only once or twice, so participants that serially attend the summits are rare. The summit allows for me to enter into communities that I would otherwise have no access to or reason for being in. Furthermore, the summit allows me to experience smaller cities and towns. In essence, the summit affords participants the chance to experience a wider Japan outside of its cultural or

economic cores. Such spaces, I feel, grant more intimate and novel encounters with Japanese. Admittedly, I prefer to homestay in the smaller cities or rural settings that the summit provides. I identify more closely with the individuals that inhabit these areas in terms of socio-economic status, interests and linguistic registers. This is not to say that such encounters represent a more authentic Japanese experience. Rather, my own working-class background dictates the kind of encounters I want to have and seek out while in Japan.

I conducted my fieldwork in several locations in Ōita prefecture as this is where the CIE had chosen to hold the 25th annual Japan-America Grassroots Summit. This was my fifth time attending the summit. As an attendee of this summit, I witnessed the opening ceremony in the city of Beppu, the closing ceremony in Ōita city, and attended the local session and homestay in Saiki. In selecting my fieldsite, I chose the Saiki local session because I knew it to be a smaller city surrounded by rural areas away from the larger cities of Beppu and Ōita city. I also knew from the description in the summit brochure that it was an example of *shichōson gappei* (municipal mergers). As areas become depopulated due to the deaths of aging residents who constitute the majority of rural towns and the outward migration of remaining younger residents, the government incorporates smaller villages and towns into larger municipalities. I wanted to experience this in person and the lives of individuals in a smaller Japanese city. Indeed, I did come to see many elderly residents and abandoned homes symbolic of *shichōson gappei* while in Saiki. I also attended a post-summit program in Kumamoto city, but came to find that I was the only attendee of the summit to choose this program. Thus, I did not engage in fieldwork in Kumamoto as there were no other American participants to interview. Given the constant movement of myself and my informants due to the summit's schedule, I found myself

conducting research in several locations over the course of the day and partaking in several activities.

1.3.3 Data Collection

James Clifford (1992) noticed that anthropologists had come to study as much as in the conventional village as Geertz stated, but also in institutions such as hospitals, laboratories, and even tourist hotels. Clifford (1992) also called for more attention to those spaces where travel occurs but are largely ignored as sites of cultural interaction. The various hotels, airport terminals, and roadside stops encountered during the summit, or what Mark Augé (2008) calls non-places, are transitory but nevertheless important because they serve as sites of cultural contact and facilitate narrative construction. In essence, these are places where culture is conventionally perceived as absent but actually where a tourist habitus is reproduced. Pierre Bourdieu (1977) describes habitus as the uncoordinated but patterned embodied dispositions that restrict what decisions and actions are possible by individual agents. Moreover, such dispositions and attitudes are taken as natural due to a lack of reflexive understanding of what brings such dispositions about and maintains them. This is especially the case in regards to purchasing souvenirs, interactions with hotel and airport staff, and the use of the English language among participants. Also, such non-places serve as nodes during the trip where participants share information, concerns, and future goals and so continuously reshape their narratives of travel throughout the summit (Franklin & Crang, 2001). In my fieldwork, I often conducted my interviews in airport terminals, hotel dining halls, and on buses.

Because of the short duration of the Grassroots Summit, I wanted to focus only on other Americans as opposed to the Japanese who host and organize this event. For the purposes of research, however, I wanted to better understand the reasons why participants attend this event.

Moreover, I wanted to understand how they define the term grassroots exchange as used by the CIE. Finally, given the summit's focus on exchange and mutual understanding, I was curious as to how participants thought they contributed to this process. To investigate this, my ideal strategy was to use the resources of the CIE to aid in finding informants before I arrived in Japan. During the IRB review process, I contacted the CIE in order to gain permission for this study. I received a letter from the CIE executive director informing me that I had permission to do so and that the Mr. Ishikura, Head Section Manager of International Policy Division of the Ōita Prefectural Government, was also interested in my research. I was in correspondence with the secretary general of the CIE and Mr. Ishikura's office up until the summit began in July. We had discussed e-mailing participants before they arrived in Japan to see if they would like to meet me during the summit for an interview. This plan did not materialize as the secretary general of the CIE told me that the number of applications for the 25th summit were exceptionally low. While the CIE continues to advertise that the summit attracts 100 to 200 participants every year, the Oita summit attracted only 87 participants. Of those, 15 were from a mixed high school and college group and comprised the 68 individuals that partook in the homestay part of the summit. The remaining 19 participants were invited American guests during the opening and closing ceremonies. This was a marked decrease from previous years. For example, 83 participants home stayed in the 2013 summit in Shimane and 95 participated in 2011. The secretary general feared that a call for research participants might deter applicants from attending and so lower the expected attendance further.

Again, my ideal was to establish contact with at least thirty participants before attending the summit. I would use a preliminary questionnaire to ask the participants why they attended and what they expected from the summit. The questionnaire was open-ended in that it required

participants to respond to six questions in their own words. Then, I would use another open-ended questionnaire after the summit to address what they did on the summit and how they reflected on their experiences. During the summit, I would engage in conversation with some of these participants during the opening and closing ceremonies as well as free time in the hotels. My second objective was to record and take notes on the opening and closing ceremony to both describe the organization of the summit and provide context for my analysis on the use of narratives by the CIE. However, I was only able to achieve my second objective as I intended. After initial enthusiasm from the CIE and Ōita prefectural government, I did not receive any direct cooperation from either during the summit. As the summit neared, I contacted the International Policy Division of Ōita prefectural government as they had stated that some of their staff members would assist me with my research when I arrived in Japan. The office did not respond to my e-mails. When I arrived in Japan, the secretary general of the CIE did not approach me regarding my research.

In addition, I also contacted five Japan-America societies that had previously aided in hosting the summit in the United States. From my experience, American participants in the Japan summit tend to be from host cities that held summits in previous years. Two Japan-America societies showed interest in my research and e-mailed their members. Yet, these two societies were unaware if any of their members were attending the summit. Counter to my previous experience, only one individual that I knew of attended the summit from San Diego (site of the 24th annual summit). When I contacted the Japan-America Society of San Diego-Tijuana before attending the summit, they replied that they had no knowledge of any of their participants attending the summit.

Thus, in establishing my data collection methods, I was met with frequent dead ends.

Despite this, my previous experience with the summit was an asset. Because I understood how the summit was structured, I knew when would be a pertinent time to find and interview informants. I employed semi-structured interviews so that I could address my central research questions within a limited timeframe. I also utilized self-reporting to allow my informants to respond to me via e-mail while they were on the trip and after they had returned to the United States. Establishing rapport was not an issue because I was also a summit participant. In this regard, my informants and I often ate breakfast together at the hotels, engaged in the same activities, and rode on the same buses.

Therefore, I sought out my hotel roommates, local session partners, and individuals that I had become acquainted with on previous summits to serve as informants. In addition to the assistance I received from the CIE and Hiromi Smith (a pseudonym for a founding member of what would become the CIE), this approach resulted in fifteen reliable informants and a depth of ethnographic data as opposed to more generalized data from several possible informants. This was actually a substantial amount. Although the CIE listed that 67 individuals home stayed, it did not appear that 67 participants attended the summit. There were some rumors from those I talked to that the number was actually less than 50. Among the individuals that I talked with during the summit to conduct my research, I had five key informants. This thesis focuses heavily on information provided by these individuals.

1.3.4 Key Informants

I first met Bob in 2007 during the Noto Peninsula Summit. This was Bob's first time attending the summit and my first time returning to Japan since 1996. Bob is a 70-year-old retired adult educator from New Jersey. His stepfather was Japanese and he visits his stepfather's relatives after the summit. During breakfast in the 2015 summit, Bob and I were having a

conversation and I was discussing my work. Bob promptly introduced me to Dr. Matthew C. Perry who was also in attendance at the breakfast buffet in our hotel. Dr. Perry is the 4th generation descendant of Commodore Perry and is an ecologist currently residing in Maryland. He also is affiliated with the Whitfield-Manjiro Friendship Society in Fairhaven, Massachusetts. Although I had seen Dr. Perry on previous trips, this was the first time I spoke with him. I talked with him periodically throughout the summit and continued to talk with him via e-mail after the summit was over. Amy was another summit participant whom I first met in 2011 during the Kōchi summit. She was with one of her daughters, and I was surprised she remembered me. Amy is a middle-aged woman who has an interest in Japanese ceramics and previously lived in Japan in the 1990s. She is currently working on her Master's degree in Fine Arts.

Brian, Heather, and Mariko were new summit participants and all were from Texas. Brian and I shared a hotel room together during the summit, so we talked frequently. Brian is an art instructor at Lamar University from Beaumont, Texas. He is in his mid-30s and is married to a Japanese national. He frequently returns to Japan and has held both solo and group exhibitions of his artwork in Japan. I met Heather while waiting for the plane to Ōita prefecture. Heather is an older woman and also resides in Texas. Although I did not know this when I first met Heather, after the summit I found that she was staying in Tokyo for a couple of days as part of the summit optional programs. Heather and I talked at length about the summit as we were staying in the same hotel and went sightseeing in Tokyo for two days. Mariko was one of two other participants that attended my local session in 2015. She is a student and has a Japanese mother. Because we attended the same local session and both spoke Japanese, we talked frequently about our experiences and relationship to Japan as well as the summit.

Other informants included four undergraduates from Colorado College who were attending the summit to give presentations on Japanese internment camps in the United States during WWII. These informants called themselves the Amache Group after their affiliation with the Amache Preservation Society. One of these informants was preparing to transfer into a graduate degree in Business while another was working on applied linguistics. I also spoke at length with Aiko Yamashita, a local café owner in Saiki city, Gordon White, a Ph.C in Anthropology at the University of Kentucky and organizer of the 2008 summit in Kentucky, Terri Allison, a student at Ritsumeikan Pacific University and a summit volunteer, and summit participant David Brown, a middle-aged naturalist from Washington D.C and his wife. Lastly, I talked briefly with John, a former Navy Aviator, who I met in the 2011 summit.

1.3.5 Ethical Considerations

In terms of ethnographic protocol, I protected individual names through the use of pseudonyms except those figures that readers could easily discern by titles or context (e.g. Dr. Matthew Perry or the CIE Secretary General). My only concern regarding my position as a researcher would be how my analysis of the summit and its narratives would be received by individuals like Dr. Perry or Mr. Whitfield who attend this program and whose ancestors are used by the CIE in the promotion of cultural exchange between the United States and Japan. While I never directly criticize their practices or involvement in this program, I do provide alternative explanations to the historical legacy of John Manjiro and Commodore Perry. One of my informants, Dr. Perry, was very open regarding his thoughts on the summit and I mention his insights throughout this work. However, Dr. Perry has written on the contact between his ancestor Commodore Perry and the Tokugawa Shogunate in the 19th century for the purpose of promoting Commodore Perry's legacy and importance in U.S-Japan relations. However, my

research posits that the summit's uses of such narratives is actually a barrier to cultural exchange because it entrenches the normalcy of the nation-state as the locus of cultural identity while also placing historical encounters between these countries in a telos of amicable U.S.-Japan relations.

1.4 Literature Review

The literature review that follows focuses on the themes of tourism, narrative, and national culture. I begin with tourism as this helps to address my first research question in terms of how practices of cultural exchange are shaped and by whom. Bridging the link between my first question and my second, my review of narrative theory allows for a better understanding of how the stories of John Manjiro, the CIE, and participants intertwine in the process of cultural exchange. Stemming from these sections, the concepts of heritage and tradition are especially important as it is these notions that solidify national-cultural affiliations as well as produce sites of touristic interest. In this regard, my section on heritage and tradition is followed by how these are utilized for the purposes of constructing a national identity. I then discuss the implications of selling culture as product as this is essentially the venue by which cultural exchange occurs (Jack & Phipps, 2005; Rogers, 2006; Rojek & Urry, 1997). Given this, I end my literature review with a discussion on how these themes are related to Japan specifically in order to problematize cultural exchange between Japan and the United States.

1.4.1 Tourism Approaches

The Anthropology of tourism begins in earnest in the 1970s following the sociological study of tourists by Cohen (1972) and MacCannell (1976). Sociologists primarily sought to typologize tourist behavior while early anthropologists focused on the impact that foreign tourists had on indigenous populations as opposed to studying tourists themselves (Burns, 2004). This was further divided into two themes. One major trend was to trace how tourism industries

became established in the places they did, particularly as this related to postcolonial societies or among indigenous communities (Stronza, 2001). The second trend was to understand the impact of the tourism industry and tourists on local populations (Burns, 2004; Rojek & Urry; 1997; Stronza, 2001). According to Burns (2004), early anthropologists of tourism focused their research on exhibiting the negative consequences of tourism as opposed to focusing on possible advantages to the political, cultural, religious, and social lives of locals. Anthropologist Valene L. Smith (1989) created the host-guest dichotomy in order to study tourist impact by framing tourists as hosts and the locals as guests that provide economic services in the form of performances and souvenirs. This led seminal authors in the anthropology of tourism such as Turner and Ash (1975), Mathieson and Wall (1982), Smith (1989), and Lea (1988) to claim that tourist industries are largely managed by outsiders and, thus, the economic gains from tourism are largely denied to the locals that actually work in the tourism industry. For these authors, tourism reflected earlier imperial practices and consisted a form of neo-colonialism. In the former, local labor and material goods were extracted for foreign consumers. In the latter, an influx of tourist also brought with it hotels, tourism agencies, and travel infrastructure owned and financed by foreign businesses (Burns, 2004). However, such approaches failed to look at hosts as consumers of their own and other cultures and that locals are acutely aware of the fantasies that hosts have of their culture and so serve to pander to those stereotypes (E. Bruner, 1991; Clifford, 1997).

Further disagreements came from authors such as Cohen (1988) and McKean and Smith (1989), who argued that the host-guest dichotomy and notions of exploitation were too generalized and kept indigenous peoples within a static temporal frame (E. Bruner, 1991). Furthermore, Cohen (1988) argued that the authenticity of tourism performances and goods

should be understood from an emic and holistic perspective. That is, Cohen advocated understanding how the practices and commodities that surround tourism came about and were understood by the locals as well as tourists (Burns, 2004). Today, the anthropology of tourism has begun to focus on all the varieties of tourism that occur while abandoning a host-guest dichotomy (Aramberri, 2001; Burns, 2004; Stronza, 2001). In regards to the notion of hosts and guests, Aramberri (2001) states that the host-guest paradigm cannot be used to account for most types of tourism today given that that most tourist experiences are mediated by impersonal financial exchanges as opposed to direct reciprocity which a host-guest paradigm implies. In this case, a true host-guest relationship would imply that the visitor would come to serve as host for those that lodged, fed, and entertained him previously (Aramberri, 2001).

In regards to my own research, I once perceived the travel brochures produced by the summit, hotel souvenir shops, and the happi coats worn by summit volunteers as trite and superfluous, that it made the trip less authentic. However, after conducting my fieldwork and research, I realize that such thinking prevented me from grasping the complexity of transcultural flows of people, ideas, and objects that pervade the summit. That is, I failed to consider how participants narrated their experiences of travel and how this imbued their journeys with personal meaning. I also failed to consider how localities cater to tourists and that this can create new meanings, opportunities and a sense of place for locals. In this case, the welcome banners, promotional materials, and volunteers in happi coats is as much a spectacle for the participants as it is an effort to display enthusiasm and pride on the part of the Japanese. Participants are not simply duped tourists, and selected sites of interest during the summit are not simple simulacra of Japanese culture. Rather, the participants and the Japanese 'hosts' are situated in complicated forms of meaning making based on the increasing ability, if not necessity, of the world's people

to travel and experience the “Other”. Still, the question remains: are summit participants tourists?

Walter Hunziker and Kurtz Krapf argued that a tourist is defined as a “person who travels outside of his normal environment for a period of more than 24 hours” (Mathieson and Wall, 1982, p. 1). Given this criterion, this definition applies to summit participants. However, such a definition leaves too much unacknowledged or simply taken for granted. Nor does it address how the term tourist is understood and even stigmatized by individuals who travel (McCabe, 2005). That is, people that who tend to avoid labelling themselves tourists as it signifies someone who has the means to vacation but is not authentically engaged with the culture in which they find themselves because they blindly follow itineraries and shop for mass reproduced souvenirs as opposed to genuine cultural artifacts (Cary, 2004; Clifford, 1997; MacCannell, 1976; McCabe, 2005; Franklin & Crang, 2001). The issue of a normal environment is also questionable. While I will not argue that participants may have a sense of a normal versus foreign environment, such a restrictive definition does not provide a sense of how people define a normal environment nor why they would travel outside of it. Then there is the qualitative difference between summit participants and what the term tourist implies. The classic image of the tourist is a passive receiver of culture who is indifferent to local conditions and has no permanent connections with a place once it has been visited (McCabe, 2005). In this case, tourism is both an experience and a product that, once consumed, ceases to matter. The summit, however, portrays participants as quasi-diplomats engaging in acts that mutually enrich hosts and guests. None of my informants identified as tourists during the summit, but felt that some of the activities encountered during the summit were “touristy”.

What makes something touristy, however, requires some unpacking and is important to my research given that, although the CIE uses the term summit for its cultural exchange program, this event is essentially a themed form of mass-tourism. To elaborate, mass-tourism is distinct from individual travel or work related travel such as migration or business trips in that it involves a group of individuals who go on a trip together for leisure (Rojek, & Urry, 1997). Second, I use the word themed because of the use of two historical figures and that the summit is designed around enriching participants through homestay encounters and cultural activities. One of the foundational scholars of tourism studies, Erik Cohen (1972), identified two forms of mass tourism that are important to address here. The first type is organized whereby the tourist remains within an “environmental bubble” (Cohen, 1972, p. 167). This is exemplified by planned vacations put together by travel agents whereby a group of individuals are largely restricted to particular spaces (e.g buses, hotels, sights of interests) and follow strict itineraries. Individual mass tourists share a certain freedom with their time and the spaces they choose to occupy while abroad. They are also not forced to stay within an assigned group. However, while they may travel alone, the trip is still organized by a third party and these tourists have some foreknowledge of the experiences they are likely to encounter at their destinations. The summit has characteristics of both types of tourism which are significant in two ways. The first is that the local sessions and official ceremonies serve to inculcate participants into particular ways of seeing and understanding Japan collectively. The homestay and free times in the hotels constitute the individual mass tourist experience in that participants still represent a larger group but are given the chance of having more personal contact with Japanese.

To touch on this briefly, before the opening ceremony and local sessions, tour buses take participants en masse to sites of interest and hotels where summit volunteers regulate the time

and bodies of participants. After the local sessions begin, host families take over this function but participants are separated from one another and have some control over where they go and what they want to do. A participant does not become an individual tourist in Cohen's (1972) sense until the summit is over and participants spend a night in Tokyo before returning to the United States. That is, when their association with the larger group is dissolved. Although these definitions are conceptually useful in describing the summit, such a framework does not adequately address individual participant experience. Despite the summit as a form of mass tourism in which participants pay to travel in a group, not all tourists experience or want to experience such a trip in the same way (Uriely, 2005). Indeed, this was revealed to me when asking informants about how and why they wished to attend the summit.

Another important point to address is that tourist studies has traditionally conceptualized tourism as a break in everyday routines and as a form of leisure (Franklin & Crang, 2001). However, dispelling the presumption that quotidian concerns and practices are suspended in tourism, tourists tend to find comfort in new spaces by enacting rituals and schedules that are similar to those they partake in back home, nor are they entirely free of them (Jack & Phipps, 2005; Edensor, 2001). While I agree that the summit presents an opportunity that is out-of-the-ordinary, tourism is often stressful, unrewarding hard work (Picard & Di Giovine, 2014). For the summit, narrow cramped buses, language barriers, hot and humid conditions, culture shock and constant movement are common. This poses two important questions: Why would someone want to go on a weeklong trip that offers little free time and relaxation? More importantly, why would a participant leave their domestic life only to enter another with a host family? Again, returning to my informants, participants attending the summit have varying motivations and objectives for doing so despite the fact that the CIE frames summit participation through formal speeches

during the opening and closing ceremonies as a diplomatic endeavor. Thus, there is a schism between what officials of the summit say participants do and what participants actually say they do.

Because I thoroughly analyze the summits' promotional materials to provide a full sketch of the summit's organization and recruitment strategies, another important area that I address in this research is John Urry's tourist gaze as a model for understanding the underlying facets that shape participant experience. For Urry, (1990) foreign destinations appeal to the viewer because they are represented as charming or unusual, creating fantasies that are distinct from the quotidian experiences of the tourist. Popular media and the tourist industry promote tourist destinations in ways that shape how tourists view the locals and how the locals present themselves for tourists (E. Bruner, 2005; Urry, 1990). In this regard, I agree that the brochures the CIE and Ōita prefectural government distribute to participants before the summit can influence a participant's experience by emphasizing a singular narrative of local culture and history. But such narratives and representations can be read in multiple ways. For some of my informants the brochures had little influence over their local session decisions, in other cases, they aided in selecting those sites that they felt were indicative of Japanese tradition. Moreover, while the CIE's promotional brochures may try to entice the viewer by indicating that the summit is a significant event, experiences with host families come with no precursory narrative or itinerary. In part, it is the host families and organizers of the local sessions that control how local culture is gazed upon and narrated.

MacCannell's (2001) concept of the second gaze is important in addressing this. In brief, the second gaze refers to the tourists' ability to see but realize that what they are looking at is not in full view, that the locals, too, possess a particular way of seeing and knowing. In the case of

Japan, this can be an active decision by the locals to restrict a foreigner's access to temples or ceremonies, or tourist maps that intentionally leave out sites that are not conducive to the marketed image of the area (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). A similar approach occurs in the Ōita and CIE brochures enticing participants to taste particular foods, or experience the relaxation of immersing the body in an onsen pool (volcanic hot springs) as part of the authentic local experience as opposed to the kinds of gang related activity that I witness in my last night in Ōita city. More importantly, these materials serve in shaping the reason why the summit exists and even what experiences participants are supposed to have. This delimits the purpose of the summit, creating a singular interpretation of grassroots exchange along with prescribing the role of participants. Yet, as my research shows, the personal accounts and practices of participants do not always conform to the statements as espoused by summit officials. Rather, they construct their own sense of what is and what is not an authentic cultural exchange experience.

1.4.1 Authenticity in Tourism

The word authenticity is derived from the same root word as authoritarian, indicating that the etymology of the word rests in singular and dominant forms of meaning (Cobb, 2014). The idea of the authentic as original and indubitable, however, is made all the more problematic as locals, charged with performing their traditional culture, have come to redefine what it means to be culturally authentic in light of globally circulated products and images (Bianchi, 2009; Cary, 2004; Clifford, 1997; Cohen, 1988; Edensor, 2001; Hashimoto, 2003; Martinez, 2012; Uriely, 2005). In this regard, globalization has had less of a homogenizing effect as it has had a hybridizing effect on cultural expressions despite the fact that the tourism industry continues to promote authenticity in terms of something that is unique to a place and has always been there (Cobb, 2014). The issue with heritage tourism, then, is that authenticity is illusory in so much

that locals constantly engage in alterations or hybridization of cultural forms based on market demand and imported resources which nominally would delegitimize their claims to the past (Hashimoto & Ambaras, 1998; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Wang, 1999).

Early tourism scholars such as Daniel Boorstin (1964) and Robert Hewison (1987) viewed heritage tourism as types of staged events in that they were ahistorical and inaccurate in their re-staging of the past. This, of course, brought the notion of authenticity into the foreground for later scholars who critiqued the very notion of what constitutes a true or accurate experience, particularly as this is tied to ideas of tradition. Following Boorstin (1964), MacCannell (1976) argued that authenticity is a much more complicated process as it involves both performers of culture and an audience, and, indeed, sometimes these roles can become interchanged. The issue here, however, is that it assumes that there are distinct boundaries between what is made visible to tourists as cultural outsiders and what is practiced by the locals themselves. For MacCannell (1976), this constituted the difference between the front stage where culture was performed by locals for tourist in the form of restaurants, dances, and craft demonstrations versus the lives of the locals as actually lived which constituted the back stage.

This relates to Michael Herzfeld (1997) in regards to the official version of culture as represented for an outside audience by suggesting that tourism creates stages of cultural performativity which are not necessarily fake but constitute their own cultural spheres. The point that Herzfeld wishes to make is that certain elements of culture are intentionally suppressed in order to create an externally visible unified and valorized culture to outsiders. Thereof, Herzfeld (1997) extends Benedict Anderson's (2006) notion of the imagined community by accounting for the schism that often exists between culture as practiced and that which is venerated through state discourse and why citizens will often uphold the latter while also practicing the former.

Yet, as Herzfeld (1997) points out, what culture means and how it is practiced is hardly universal. That is to say, there are many different ways to be Greek or Japanese, for example, that do not conform to the stereotypical imaginary of such cultures. In this sense, Herzfeld (1997) makes a clear distinction between those images and ideas associated with the promotion of particular cultures and the endemic understandings of national faults that collectively bind individuals of a culture together. In this sense, there exists a quotidian culture as practiced in the routine lives of the people complete with social flaws and failings as contrasted with official cultural forms.

On the surface, both Herzfeld's (1997) and MacCannell's (1976) arguments have salience for the summit in that there is a distinction between the host families lives as lived and the cultural activities provided during the summit that serve to represent their particular way of life. Yet, I critique this idea further in this work in that host families show a variety of participation in so-called traditional and modern cultural forms. Thus, the distinction between MacCannell's front stage and back stage is not at all clear and it precludes the mutual gaze of both American participants and Japanese hosts in reflecting on the various activities and objects experienced during the summit.

Given this, Cohen's (1988) point is especially relevant to the summit as cultural displays are not only performed in front of American participants but Japanese organizers, host families, and support staff as well. In Cohen's (1988) view, different individuals possess various sensitivities, knowledge, and experiences in such events like the Grassroots Summit. To restate Urry and Larsen (2011), the tourist gaze is a powerful element in how tourists view new cultural environments but that gaze is informed by various elements which ultimately construct if what is being seen is authentic or not. This brings me to another critical point, which is a move from

object-centered authenticity to one of existential authenticity (Wang, 1999). The object-centered approach is akin to MacCannell's (1976) arguments regarding authenticity in the sense whether the object or action that is being viewed is what it claims to be. However, an existential approach is a move towards understanding authenticity in regards to how an experience generates feelings or sentiments as possessed by the observer (Wang, 1999). In the tourism experience, existential authenticity manifests when tourists interpret the events going on around them independent of the official explanations such as those provided by tour guides, brochures, or websites (E. Bruner, 2005; Steiner & Reisinger, 2006). Such an approach is central to this research because I compare both the summit brochures and the narratives as espoused by the speakers of the official ceremonies to those of participants. Given this, another significant approach in my research has been a focus on narrative.

1.4.1 Narrative Approaches

Japan has a rich cultural history

Japan bombed Pearl Harbor

Japan ate a grape

The final statement seems absurd in the chain of phrases above. However, this statement illustrates a critical point and why I have chosen to focus on narratives as an analytical tool in understanding the summit and cultural exchange in general. Here I use the term narrative in both the textual and oral sense and that both serve to order experience into temporal and spatial frameworks. Jerome Bruner (1991) argues, "a narrative is an account of events occurring overtime" (p. 6). Narrative is not a story, but the process by which that story is told. Narrative is the practice of describing how something happened as well as why something happened. Still, narrative is a somewhat convoluted process and I only touch on some basic elements here to

provide a grounding for why a narrative approach is important to my research.

First, narratives reduce a series of innumerable actions by way of attributing particular motives to what Paul Ricœur calls a series of actants (Dowling, 2011). In this regard, Japan stands in for the totality of the Japanese people who, through time, have produced what is generically referred to as Japanese culture. Individuals can be ascribed to contributing to that culture, but the totality of all individuals is impossible to reproduce in a single utterance. Thus, Japan stands-in as a synecdoche that both signifies innumerable individual actions and it assumes that Japan has a beginning at some point from which these actions stem. This is significant because the very use of the term Japan-America in Japan-America Grassroots Exchange grants a sense of agency to the two countries but really refers to the actual people attending the summit. This notion is further taken up below in my literature review where I discuss the links between time, nation, and culture.

Thus, the second point I wish to address is that narratives temporalize these actions and respective actants in a chain of causality so that event X may be explained by motive Y. This argument helps to explain the CIE's rhetorical choices in describing the participants and CIE's purpose. Here, Japan and America serve as the actants conducting cultural exchange. But to do this, time is a necessary element in narratives that serve to make past actions relevant and coherent. As Ricœur points out, history is about recounting human volition and placing it in a teleological sequence so that the outcome of an event can be traced in a linear fashion to corresponding motives, beliefs, and actions in response to external circumstances (Dowling, 2011). The issue here is that multiple interpretations of the past can be generated and, thus, one narrative can be invalidated but only through the replacement of a new narrative which leaves itself open to the same invalidation and critique as the one it replaced.

Yet, historical narratives like the Manjiro-Whitfield story as told through the CIE are closed narratives in the sense that the accuracy and thematic importance of the narrative is circulated and controlled largely by the CIE during the summit (Ochs & Capps, 1996). Again, to borrow from Ricœur, the actual telling of the narrative as it passed down through time both reinforces the importance of the descendants of the Manjiro and Captain Whitfield while also situating these individuals and American participants temporally, or what Alfred Schutz (1970) called a community of time. In this regard, despite begin separated by the chasm of time, American participants in the summit become consociates with Manjiro and Whitfield in the act of cultural exchange. This particular viewpoint helps shape my own interpretation of the closing and opening ceremonies which serve as the venue by which this process is carried out.

Furthermore, I believe that Tedlock and Mannheim (1995) provide an important methodology in researching and writing about this social phenomenon as narrative is essentially dialogic. Host families and participants possess pre-existing attitudes about Japan and the United States, and even what Japanese think Americans think about Japan and vice-versa. In this case, the interactions between Japanese and participants are already influenced by other discourses stemming from their education, popular media, literature and a myriad of other sources. That is to say, it is heteroglossic. The Japanese and American participants are speaking as individuals, but their respective voices carry the attitudes and semantic categories of others. Participant experiences are informed by other sources preceding their visit and even other participants during the summit given that past and present travel experiences are frequently shared between tourists as they travel together (E. Bruner, 2005). Indeed, this conformed to my own experience as two informants frequently compared the summit to previous trips they had participated in as volunteers.

Therefore, I don't view the summit as a central entity but the sum product of the various voices of volunteers, participants, summit organizers, host families and texts which underlie their interaction (Tedlock & Mannheim, 1995). Edward Bruner provides an essential approach in tying together these threads as mentioned here by both providing a temporal element to narratives as well as a dialogical one that is specifically directed at tourism. E. Bruner's (2005) work has been dedicated to examining how tourists and organizations narrate the experience of travel at various stages of the tourist experience and that tourism narratives are cyclical. Moreover, these experiences are the result of differing groups with different intentions and goals resulting from these narratives. In this sense, tourist agencies, governments, popular media, and the tourists themselves influence each other in how tourist destinations are talked about or represented. This process is not confined to oral narratives but also appears in written or even pictorial form. However, such instances are shaped by even broader schematic frameworks through metanarratives or master narratives of travel.

That is, master narratives act as powerful scripts that provide foundations for understanding and action in the world (E. Bruner, 2005). E. Bruner's (2005) arguments also coincide with travel scholars Jack and Phipps (2005) in that tour guides and official pronouncements at ceremonies for travelers promote this process. In the context of the summit, the historical figures John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield serve as the progenitors of American-Japan friendship and so legitimate the summit's existence. When prefectural officials, CIE board members, and select American participants speak during the opening and closing ceremonies of the summit, their topics, word selection, and information they convey are shaped by this master narrative. Noel Salazar (2014) provide a good comparative example regarding travel in Tanzania in which popular cultural imaginaries about the movie *The Lion King* and nature documentaries

shape wildlife tourism while also restricting the discourse of travel guides. The locals become affixed to these themes and tour guides play to the imaginaries of an exotic African other to sustain the tourism industry. In conducting an ethnography of the CIE and summit participants, it is impossible to ignore how these narratives operate as they are central to defining the summit's structure and tourist articulations of their experience.

To address this, I borrow heavily from Edward Bruner's (2005) concept of the pre-tour, on-tour, and post-tour experience of tourists and how these constitute distinct stages in narrative production. Pre-tour narratives are the preconceptions that tourists have about their destinations and the people that inhabit them before they arrive. During the pre-tour stage, preparatory narratives serve to explain the activities and sites participants will encounter while also orienting them temporally and spatially in the form of maps and itineraries (Adler, 1989). On-tour narratives refer to how tourists discuss their travel experiences as it is occurring. These narratives can be influenced by contact with locals, other tourists, and tour guides. Finally, post-tour narratives are expressed in the stories that tourists tell when they get back home. Post-tour narratives have their inception during the trip as tourists make conscious choices about what they will share with others, or not, before they return home (E. Bruner, 2005). Pre-tour and on-tour narratives constitute most of my ethnographic information as these were expressed by my informants during the summit, particularly during the local sessions. The pre-tour narratives presented by the summit are expressed in chapters 2 and 3 and consist of the summit's promotional materials as well as the opening ceremony. The pre-tour and on-tour narratives of my informants consists of their purpose for attending the summit and reflections on their local-session activities. This is covered in more detail in chapter 4. Chapter 5 focuses on post-tour narratives of both the participants and the CIE as it is during the closing ceremony that the CIE

recapitulates the purpose of the summit and local session activities. Moreover, I asked my informants their thoughts regarding how they defined grassroots exchange and the importance of the Manjiro-Whitfield story after experiencing the summit.

1.4.2 Heritage and Tradition

Heritage and tradition are tricky concepts to untangle in that both appear as interchangeable terms. According to Harrison (2013) and Hashimoto (2003), heritage is correlated with both tangible objects and intangible properties such as performance art and oral traditions that are given historical and cultural value. Heritage is also largely conceived of in positive terms and can take the shape of monuments, geography, languages, and festivals as opposed to historical legacies of violence or colonialism (Harrison, 2013; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Harrison (2013) further states that traditions are those quotidian practices and values that create a sense of continuity with present societies to those of the past, particularly as associated with small self-sufficient communities. The practices and beliefs that constitute a heritage, however, often coincide with periodic fears over an uncertain future or with the fear that ways of life as connected to the past will be lost (Harrison, 2013; Ivy, 1995). Moreover, as Harrison (2013) adds, the notion of heritage has often been associated with those historical aspects of a culture that stand out as distinct from the present and are remarkable for their age, size, or distinction from current practices or beliefs.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) adds to this by pointing out that heritage is a process. Heritage has no singular definition but, rather, constitutes a series of acts that give new life and new meaning to traditions often through the display of artifacts, the construction of historical narratives, and performances (E. Bruner, 2005; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Uzzell, 1998; Walsh, 1990). Museums, the tourism industry, and I would argue

non-profit organizations such as the CIE, are influential in constructing what constitutes as heritage (E. Bruner, 2005; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Uzzell, 1998; Walsh, 1990). Beck, Giddens, and Lash (1994) argue that tradition has a temporalizing effect in that it does not so much as indicate the past but marks the present, or modern. That is, tradition is an active process in that it must be continuously maintained and interpreted. Through the display of so-called traditional crafts, architecture, performances, and foods, both the past as well as the modern is constructed (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Tradition continues into the present but only as anachronism because it is distinct from the processes and practices of the now.

The work of Hobsbawn & Ranger (2012) and Hewison (1987) were seminal in pointing out the contrived nature of tradition by focusing on how museums, historical preservation, and folklore studies were integral to the constitution of the modern state and its political identity. In this sense, the concept of heritage was a very European project as it coincided with the formation of national identities and boundaries (Anderson, 2006, Harrison, 2013). Modern nations looked towards antiquity in order to construct continuity with the past and, in so doing, define the past as the progenitor of the nation but also to distinguish the state at the forefront of history. Archaeology was especially drafted into this service by both uncovering and displaying artifacts associated with past peoples who were then placed concomitantly with the current residents within the national borders that such artifacts were found (Bender, 1999). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) and Martin (2011), points out that when these objects became institutionalized and housed in museums or universities, their interpretations became mediated by experts.

Yet, the selection of folk practices, artifacts, and even architecture from the past relies on a paradox. First, while relying on expert meanings, the items that represent heritage can also be

organized, arranged, and displayed in various ways to promote certain kinds of interpretations (Harrison, 2013; Martin, 2011; Merryman, 2005). Thus they remained polysemic despite presenting fixed meanings regarding their importance and provenance. Second, heritage is not interchangeable with history. Heritage is a selective process that takes place in the present through discriminating collection and conservational practices (Harrison, 2013). A further irony attached to this is that through the collection and display of ancient artifacts by foreign states, other nations can develop their own sense of cultural history as in the case of French and British excavations in Egypt (Butler, 2007). Yet as Benedict Anderson (2006) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012) point out, the practices and symbols that constitute national cultures are rarely old and it is not coincidental that they coincide with the creation of the nation-state.

1.4.3 National Culture

Marilyn Ivy (1995) uses the term national-culture in a very specific sense. The term is written with a hyphen to indicate the inseparable relationship between the nation and what constitutes as its culture. In this sense, each nation is presented as having its own unique symbols, customs and artifacts that are distinct from its neighbors, thus erasing the fact that national borders are historical byproducts and cultures do not sit in place (Clifford, 1992) Elites such as politicians use their authority to indoctrinate a core national identity among citizens through the selection or modification of traditions, particular symbols, and historical events (Herzfeld, 1997; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Harrison, 2013). In essence, heritage is an active process that does not simply mean preserving past objects and customs but, rather, national cultures are created by promoting a specific series of objects, narratives, locations and traditions that can serve to orient a group of people towards a shared sense of identity, past, and

destiny (Anderson, 2006; Beck, Giddens & Lash, 1994; Harrison, 2013; Hobsbawm, & Ranger, 2012).

However, the concept of distinct national cultures assumes that everyone within national borders shares a common set of values, beliefs, customs, and sense of history by which a national culture sustains itself (Herzfeld, 1997, Mitchell, 1995). Critiques of national culture typically point to the internal diversity of many countries in terms of languages, ethnicities, religions, and even socio-economic status (Mitchell, 1995; Harrison, 2013; Minkov & Hofstede, 2011).

However while citizens may not possess a collective and shared understanding of a national culture, the idea of a national culture is nevertheless ever present and does define how a country portrays itself. The point to address is that the past is never destroyed in the formation of the state, but that in the process of creating a national culture, some preexisting values and practices are selected, usually from a dominant culture, and modified, while others are downplayed or dismissed (Fujitani, 2004; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Tai, 2003). Thus, national cultures have little to do with the disparate groups of people. Rather, it serves to promote the practices and tastes of societal elites as the dominant and natural culture of a nation.

Such dispositions and attitudes are taken as natural due to a lack of reflexive understanding of what brings such dispositions about and maintains them. To elaborate, national projects of culture making are always involved in inventing tradition by amalgamating regional customs, material culture, and festivals (Fujitani 1998, 2004; Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012; Vlastos 1998) but are carried out through institutions and embodied practices by the populace, or habitus. While Bourdieu (1977) states that habitus is flexible and changes over time (that it is diachronic), most Japanese understand Japanese culture as affixed to the nation-state and discursively express Japanese culture as both homogenous and static (Ivy, 1995; Lie 2009). This

has an effect on both how the Japanese see themselves while also shaping such events as the grassroots summit.

1.4.4 Cultural Commodification

While the CIE does create a venue for cross-cultural dialogue and exposure, the summit is still fundamentally a tourist endeavor and, as such, participants pay a fee for their encounters in Japan. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) have rightly pointed out that the very idea of culture has increasingly become something that can be capitalized upon directly. Given this, culture becomes an entrepreneurial pursuit or what Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) call ‘ethno-preneurialism which “entails the management and marketing of cultural products and practices” (p. 51). This means that cultural productions may be produced by locals but that government and private organizations have a great deal of control regarding their sale, export, and marketing. The irony regarding heritage tourism is that the places and products once considered inviable and obsolete become revived simply for their value of being traditional and, in due course, places become both new destinations of travel as well as ethnographic repositories (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). This is best demonstrated by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s (1998) examination of Plimoth [sic] Plantation in which she argues that attraction through such sites for their heritage value make such sites more economically successful than the actual economic activity such sites were initially known for. Thereof, the presence of tourists can create a reflexive atmosphere on the part of the locals, or what Adrian Franklin and Mike Crang (2001) call a “cultural involution” (p. 10) which is the creation of a self-awareness on the part of the locals regarding their traits or products which otherwise remain mundane or unprofitable to them. Tourism developers therefore seek to utilize tangible and intangible cultural resources but frame them as underutilized capital on the part of locals (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2009; Love, 2007).

Heritage tourism proponents argue that cultural tourism has the effect of stimulating locals towards preserving their traditions or rediscovering them while also bringing in material benefits to their communities (Love, 2007, 2013, 2014; McKean & Smith, 1989; Smith, 2009; Shepard, 2002). However, the opposing view is that such commodification actually diminishes the authenticity of the tangible and intangible qualities of their heritage. More importantly, ethno-preneurialism forces such communities into a global marketplace in which not all tourist sites, activities, and artifacts are equally valued or profitable. Tourists are less concerned with the actual communities that provide the tourist experience or souvenirs than with bringing back photos and items to indicate their encounters with cultural others. In so doing, the kinds of culturally laden products produced through ethno-preneurialism decontextualize the power relationship between tourists and locals (Shepard, 2002).

Secondly, Rectanus (2002) points out that private businesses, museums, and non-profits have become cultural brokers in that they sell and promote particular cultures. In this sense, culture is used as part of diplomatic as well as entrepreneurial endeavors to improve a country's overall economy. Part of this strategy has been to engage in what Zykas (2009), Mandujano (2013), and Fan (2010) identify as national branding. National branding is the active means of managing a country's standing in the world by emphasizing particular and distinctive characteristics that are received positively by other nations. In essence, a country's brand is its image to the world and has a clear effect on tourism, economic investment, and political influence. In part, nations brand themselves through the sale and promotion of particular products, the organization of foreign tourism programs, cultural exchange opportunities, and through narratives regarding national culture. This creates for Herzfeld (1997) an act of disemia or a binary by which the outward image of a country's brand is distinct from the actual cultural

practices of a people. Applying this to Japan, the outward appearance of Japan is one of aesthetic refinement and a contributor to world arts, philosophy, architecture, and popular culture. Yet, the Japanese government still contends with its role as colonizer in World War 2, especially among Asian nations, and Japan is known for its sexual fetishism and popular cultural obsessions (Allison, 2006). Cultural branding strategies in Japan, therefore, shape the summit's structure in that the summit avoids addressing particular cultural practices while concentrating on traditional and seemingly innocuous activities. However, the heritage industry in Japan is not without its own problems in regards to cultural exchange as it is predicated on maintaining a binary opposition between what is authentically Japanese and what is foreign.

1.4.5 National Culture and Heritage in Contemporary Japan

Eika Tai (2003) and Takashi Fujitani (2004) demonstrate how concepts of heritage and national culture apply to Japan by stating that the concept of a unified Japanese culture was constructed simultaneously with the emergence of the Japanese state in the late nineteenth century when the Tokugawa bakufu (samurai government) was replaced by a constitutional monarchy under the Meiji Emperor in 1868. A distinct and unified notion of Japanese culture was further reinforced by Japanese anthropologists and folklorists along with colonial expansion in Asia throughout the first half of the 20th century (Figal, 199; Morris-Suzuki, 1997; Ryang, 2004; Tai, 2003). The mergers of local religious shrines, standardization of the Japanese language, and national holidays also contributed to this process to create an imagined community of Japanese (Anderson, 2006; Fujitani, 1996, 2004). This imagined community putatively possessed a shared national culture in the form of an official state religion (Shintoism), reverence for a divine emperor, and the belief that the Japanese constituted an ethnically homogenous race (Fujitani, 1996, 2004; Morris-Suzuki, 1997).

After WWII and the official rejection of the emperor as divine, Japanese national culture was redefined in light of American occupation and fast economic growth in the 1960s. That is, Japanese national culture rested on maintaining a distinct binary between the United States and Japan which continues to this day (Creighton 1997, 1998; Iwabuchi, 1994; Yoshimi & Buist, 2003; Watanabe, 2000). The literary genre known as *nihonjinron* (essentialist discourses of the Japanese) was instrumental in defining Japan's national culture after WWII and positioning Japanese culture as distinctly oppositional to American culture in several ways (Dower, 2000; Ryang, 2004, Tai, 2003; Watanabe, 2000). Benedict's (1967) *Chrysanthemum and the Sword* is considered a foundational text in *nihonjinron* scholarship and has had a considerable impact on the ways in which the Japanese viewed themselves and the world after WWII by catering to a sense of Japanese patterns of behavior as unique from those of Americans (Burgess, 2010; Dower, 2000; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1990; Ryang, 2002, 2004; Zykas, 2009). *Nihonjinron* arose in the 1970s as a literary genre due to Japan's increasing international economic and political presence in order to solidify what it meant to be Japanese in light of increased internationalization and to account for Japan's economic growth. Japanese scholars and businesses began to point out that Japan had become exotic to its own people due to increased international exposure and the adoption of Western-style tastes and practices (Creighton 1997, 1998; Ivy 1995; Robertson 1997). Tropes such as self-sacrifice, hard work, Japan's familial structure, and particular climatological influences provided a sense of Japanese uniqueness and national culture (Befu, 2001; Iwabuchi, 1994; Morris-Suzuki, 1997; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1990). Furthermore, national culture as espoused in *nihonjinron* texts have been used by politicians and corporations in the development of domestic tourism and cultural diplomacy (Watanabe, 2000; Zykas, 2009).

Today, while Shintoism and the emperor continue to constitute part of the core of Japan's national culture as laid down in the Meiji period (1868-1912), contemporary Japanese cultural identity has been further redefined through the valorization of unique crafts and lifeways putatively found in rural areas (Creighton, 1997; Ivy, 1995; Harootunian, 1998; Vlastos, 1998). In this sense, Japan's national culture takes the form of distinct local cuisines, local specialty products (*meibutsu*), points of interest (*meisho*), or, in the case of Manjiro, particular figures that are tied to local areas but also representative of the nation-state as a whole (Creighton, 1997; Zykas, 2009). For Ivy (1995) and Creighton (1997), the importance here is that the very concept of Japanese tradition only came to pass when Japan viewed the West as a civilizational and technologically superior entity during the late 19th century. Concepts of Japanese tradition provide ontological security in that they are poised as unchanging and, thereof, offers a stable framework by which a narrative of cultural identity can be composed (Giddens, 1991). The past, as selectively collected and preserved, provided a means of assuaging this ontological anxiety so that Japan could retain a distinct national identity while also becoming modern in the 19th century and again redefining its modernity after WWII (Fujitani, 2004; Gluck, 1993). Rural tradition is therefore situated as the opposite of Japanese modernity whereby constructed patterns of an imaginary past, as derived from real historical encounters with the United States, have become detached from their previous contexts and reworked in the present to resolve current anxieties about cultural loss and identity (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2012; Oedewald, 2009). The selection of particular narratives, customs, and cultural practices during the summit are indicative of this process as they serve to reinforce the idea that an authentic Japanese-ness as tied to a primordial, static essence exists while ignoring how such notions came to exist.

1.4.6 *Heritage Tourism in Japan*

Tapping into a heritage has increasingly become a means of creating economic viability for local areas, and Japan is no exception. Since at least the 1970s, prefectures in Japan have tried to draw tourists to rural areas by appealing to nostalgia and heritage while sustaining rural economies (Arlt, 2006; Creighton, 1997; Robertson, 1997). Ōita prefecture is heralded as one of the sites in Japan that influenced local revitalization efforts during the latter part of the 20th century by marketing local produce and regional handicrafts (Igusa, 2006). Ōita prefecture began one of the earliest responses to rural economic decline in this way by organizing villages to hyper-specialize in the production of one or two local specialties (*meibutsu*) (Knight, 1994; Igusa, 2006), and this has become an increasingly common practice in other parts of Japan which now focus on national and international tourists to take part in Japanese rural or traditional life (Jones, Nagata, Nakajima, and Masuyama, 2009; Love, 2007).

However, Japanese heritage tourism has been instrumental in refining a sense of national culture in that it was established for urban Japanese to purchase a sense of heritage and connection to the past as located in rural areas. The constant fear of encroachment of Western ways into all aspects of Japanese society provided the impetus for the preservation of particular ways of life that are endemically and distinctly Japanese (Creighton 1997, 1998; Ivy 1995; Robertson 1997). The means by which this was initially addressed, according to Ivy (1995), was through personal discovery, and campaigns such as Discover Japan or Exotic Japan in the 70s and 80s emerged to provide this. Although targeting young, single women, the overall narrative of these campaigns sought to both foster a sense of Japanese-ness on the part of the traveler while also creating a sense of awe and wonder for Japan's unique and hidden qualities—a theme that continues in present day travel campaigns and *nihonjinron*. More recent travel campaigns

such as Yokoso Japan or Japan Endless Discovery continue to depict rural Japan in a mythicized manner, where local artisans, temple priests, and farmers serve as cultural wardens preserving tradition and, thus, the country's essential spirit and unique identity (Moon, 2002; Oedewald, 2009).

The relevance to the summit is that local places and practices are also appropriated into larger narratives of national-cultural inheritance. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998) points out that potential loss is central in constructing narratives of preservation and this intersects well with Ivy (1995) who posits that Japanese traditions are given value precisely because they are in constant threat of disappearance. However, while Japanese marketers promote the idea that rural revitalization can occur through the sale of local goods or heritage tourism, this obfuscates the fact that Japan's rural communities are in decline from the same global processes that businesses seek to utilize in order to entice tourists to come to Japan or promote the consumption of Japanese products overseas (Love, 2010; 2013).

1.5 Chapter Overview

The following chapter describes the CIE, what are referred to as mission goals, and the summit's composition in depth. This chapter provides a thick description of the CIE to familiarize the reader with the structure of this Japanese Non-Profit Organization. I provide an overview of the CIE's history, board members, and undertakings. I also describe the stages of the summit including how it is planned and organized and by whom. Included is a detailed explanation of the Grassroots Summit's promotional materials. This provides context for my concluding section in the chapter which deconstructs the very term grassroots exchange as a means of further probing into the practices and parlance indicative of the summit which are the focus of the remaining chapters.

The third chapter focuses on the opening ceremony and how the John Manjiro-Whitfield story operates as a master narrative framing the summit's purpose and, by extension, the role and purpose of American participants. The chapter begins with a description of the local tours and opening ceremony followed by the story of John Manjiro as told by the CIE. This is followed by an analysis of the John Manjiro narrative and posits parts of Manjiro's life and legacy that are overlooked in the CIE's official telling. The chapter also addresses Dr. Perry's speech and the utilization of Commodore Perry as a symbol of Japan-American friendship in depth. I then discuss the concept of master narratives and why they prove an issue regarding grassroots exchange as the opening ceremony serves as a platform where only official tellings of Manjiro's life, Japan's national culture, and U.S.-Japan relations can be transmitted.

Chapter four focuses on the local sessions and homestay components of the summit more specifically. Here, I explore how participants came to learn about the summit and why they attended. I also point out how they raised questions of authenticity and drew meaning from their experiences. The chapter also contains examples from my own local tour and local session to sketch what the practice of being a participant in the summit looks like. The fifth chapter overviews the closing ceremony and discusses potential issues and limits of the CIE's approach. Here, I discuss how the closing ceremony decontextualizes participant experience to construct a narrative of successful grassroots exchange for the CIE. The final chapter readdresses my central research questions and potential ways the CIE can move forward in carrying out its mission goals more effectively.

2 THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE AND THE GRASSROOTS SUMMIT

“...the sale of culture has replaced the sale of labor in many places. This raises two immediate questions. What, in the realm of the identity economy, counts as capital, what as labor? And who controls the conditions under which culture is represented and alienated” (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009, p. 24).

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is intended to provide a substantial description of the CIE and the Grassroots Summit. The assistance of Hiromi Smith and the current secretary general of the CIE were crucial in providing necessary details regarding the CIE’s origins and summit planning. I begin this chapter by discussing how the CIE emerged from the John Manjiro Society during the early 1990s and how the Grassroots Summit came about. I then turn to the overall organizational structure of the CIE and provide a list of its mission goals. After this, I explain Japan’s NPO law and how this frames the CIE’s activities. From there, I explain how the summit is organized and by whom and include a discussion on the printed materials sent to potential participants before the summit begins. After establishing the CIE’s structure and how the summit is conducted, I then address how the CIE’s organization and involvement with the Grassroots Summit raises critical questions regarding what constitutes as grassroots in this program as well as the overall aims and undertakings of the CIE.

2.2 The CIE

2.2.1 *CIE Origins*

2015 marked the 25th year of The John Manjiro-Whitfield Commemorative Center for International Exchange (CIE)—a tax-exempt nonprofit organization registered by the Japanese government. The CIE initially began in 1990 in Japan as the Manjiro no Kai (John Manjiro Society). The first Grassroots Summit was held a year later in both Kyoto and Tokyo, but did not initially have a homestay component. According to one of its founding members, Hiromi Smith, the John Manjiro Society emerged during a time of increased criticism towards Japan from the United States—particularly Japan’s involvement in the Gulf War. Toru Takahashi, former secretary general of the CIE, and founding member of the Manjiro no Kai, stated that rather than sending troops, Japan took a passive role by providing financial support. For Japan’s political leaders, this negatively affected Japan’s perception in international politics. Such sentiments were also shared by the Manjiro no Kai’s president, Ichiro Ozawa. Takahashi strongly believed that the voices of politicians and business leaders were too dominant and created a barrier towards understanding everyday Japanese. Therefore, he wanted to create a platform where Japanese could share their thoughts and feelings at a personal level.

To improve Japanese-American relations, the Japanese and American governments drafted the Tokyo Declaration on the U.S-Japan Global Partnership in 1992. One of the stipulations mentioned in this declaration called for greater education and intellectual exchanges between the United States and Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1992). Anticipating these political developments, Ichiro Ozawa formed the Manjiro Society and served as its president. Today, Ichiro Ozawa continues to serve as the president of the CIE. The purpose of creating the Manjiro Society was to foster people-to-people exchanges to improve understanding

between Japan and other countries. Using professional and political connections, Ozawa and the other founding members of the Manjiro Society raised a substantial amount of money from businesses, politicians, and private citizens to fund the first summit. They originally invited 500 Americans to attend. Interestingly, the intent was to have 10 people from each state from 10 different fields including government workers, entertainers, and teachers. Another impetus for establishing the summit was to augment existing sister city relationships between Japan and the United States. The idea was to move the summit to different cities in the United States and Japan each year in order to reach out to more people from both nations than a sister-city relationship could achieve alone.

The founding members of the Manjiro society chose to name their organization after this historical figure as they viewed the relationship between John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield as pertinent representatives of their goals. This also led the Manjiro society to develop a home stay component as part of the Grassroots Summit. Hiromi remarked that the Manjiro and Whitfield relationship was unprecedented given that it was the first time an American and a Japanese spent a significant amount of time together. Takahashi also stated that Manjiro was the first Japanese to experience a homestay in the United States and was Japan's first communicator to America. Therefore, the summit's homestay symbolically represents the time Manjiro spent in the United States living and learning from the Whitfields for ten years in Fairhaven, Massachusetts.

In asking more about how the Manjiro Society came to learn about John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield, Hiromi stated that Ozawa's assistant was from Kōchi prefecture and a researcher of John Manjiro. Kōchi prefecture, once known as Tosa, was the samurai domain where Manjiro was born. Moreover, Hiromi was also closely related to the Manjiro's through the work of Emily Warriner (1956) who wrote the first book in English on Manjiro's life titled

Voyager to Destiny. Hiromi stated that in 1962 or 1963, Warriner came to Japan with her book so that it could be published in Japanese. She was an editor of *The Friend* in Hawaii and first encountered Manjiro's story in an article published in that newspaper. According to Hiromi, she wanted to know more about the story and travelled between Japan and the United States to learn more about Manjiro. In the 1960s, Warriner began looking for a Japanese publisher who would translate her work at the American embassy. Hiromi remarked that not many Japanese knew about Manjiro at the time and not many publishers were interested in publishing her book because it was considered not interesting enough "as the story did not have any romance."

Hiromi's father was a publisher and he was introduced to Miss Warriner through the embassy. Hiromi remarked that although her father did not think the book would sell, he was impressed by her enthusiasm. Through Hiromi's father, the book was translated and published. However, while preparing the book for publication, she discovered some new aspects about Manjiro's life. While in Japan, she met Kiyoshi Nakahama (4th generation descendant of John Manjiro). Through this encounter, she refined her work and the book was published in Japanese in 1964. Throughout this time, Hiromi met Warriner often and, in 1966, she was invited to study at the University of Hawai'i by Warriner. Hiromi stayed with Warriner for two years. In 1968, Warriner's published work *Voyager to Destiny* and dedication towards travelling between Japan and Hawai'i earned her the 5th class medal of the Order of the Rising Sun, which is a decoration from the Emperor rewarding individuals for their contribution to international relations or promotion of Japanese culture. During this time, Hiromi escorted Warriner to Tosashimizu City in Kōchi Prefecture where Manjiro was born to attend the unveiling of the Manjiro statue which stands at Ashizurimisaki. The statue served to commemorate both his life and the 100th anniversary of the start of the Meiji period which marked Japan's transition from feudalism to

modernity, a transition which Manjiro is said to have helped bring about. The brother of the current emperor and his wife were also in attendance. On a side note, the summit was held in Kōchi prefecture in 2011 and participants visited the statue which is currently located behind the Tosa Token center which holds dog fighting competitions.

In 1991, Hiromi was working at the U.S Embassy and overheard a Japanese man asking a marine guard to see Mr. Smith (Hiromi's husband). Hearing this, Hiromi approached the man who turned out to be Toru Takahashi and found that he was interested in founding the Manjiro no Kai. Takahashi knew that Hiromi's husband had visited Kōchi prefecture, but Hiromi indicated that her husband may have been there for work but that she knew more about John Manjiro. She also added that she lived with Emily Warriner. Upon learning this, Takahashi asked Hiromi to join the incipient society and "thought this was some kind of fate".

In order to continue the Grassroots Summit, the John Manjiro Society became an officially recognized non-profit organization in 1992 with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Economy Trade and Industry, the Ministry of Postal Administration, the Ministry of Construction, and the Ministry of Home Affairs. After this, the name was changed to the John Manjiro Whitfield Commemorative Center for International Exchange, or CIE. In 1998, the Japanese government passed the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (also known as the NPO law). After this law took effect, a plethora of diverse interest groups were able to legally form and raise funds for their initiatives. Although gaining NPO status earlier than the NPO law, the CIE was part of a trend of non-government and non-profit groups interested in promoting social and political change outside official governmental and corporate channels (Ogawa, 2009). In 2000, the CIE was granted special tax-exempt status. In 2013, the Japanese government revised the NPO law and the CIE had to decide to become a general foundation or a

public interest incorporated foundation (PIF). The CIE became a PIF in order to retain its tax-exempt status and to allow its donors to claim tax deductions for their donations.

2.2.2 *Japan's NPO Law*

As a non-profit organization, the CIE was established to create greater understanding between citizens of Japan and the United States. From its earliest inception, the CIE stressed the relationship between Japan and the United States in global politics. In 1992, Ichiro Ozawa (current president of the CIE and longest serving member of the Japanese house of representatives) stated in the CIE's first promotional brochure that "Cooperation between Japan and the United States is essential to the peace and stability of the world as well as its future development" (see Appendix A). Such sentiments became the foundational ideology on which the summit was premised and continues to this day. Indeed, the CIE's singular purpose is to ensure this through aiding in planning and promoting the Grassroots Summit. The CIE promises American participants exposure to a unique way of life, but the images, narratives, and activities that are part of that exposure are linked to state goals of projecting a positive national image. Thus, while the CIE operates independently from the Japanese government, it carries out a political function and this is directly tied to its existence as a non-profit organization in Japan.

According to Japan's NPO law, NPOs must not serve any one group or person in particular nor generate revenue for personal gain (Yamamoto, 1998). NPOs in Japan, however, are highly regulated and restricted in the types of activities that they can conduct by the government. Although the revision of the NPO law in 1998 was intended to reduce government influence in NPOs by giving prefectural governors the power to grant NPO status to organizations, this only applied to NPOs working within their own prefectures. NPOs that wished to have a national focus continued to require central government approval (Georgeou,

2010). Moreover, NPOs are organized based on particular categories such as sports and education. For NPOs involved in cultural exchange, the Ministry of Foreign affairs, which is an executive office of the Prime Minister, grants NPOs the ability to form so long as they conform to this office's definition of serving the public interest (Yamamoto, 1998). In short, government policy defines public interest and, thus, what kinds of activities NPOs can and cannot conduct in Japan (Georgeou, 2010; Nagasaka, 2008; Yamamoto, 1998). NPOs that directly undermine the government or do not comply with state agendas lose their right to operate (Georgeou, 2010; Yamamoto 1998).

In this sense, the summit is a form of cultural diplomacy working outside official national channels but serves national interests. Cultural diplomacy is defined as “the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding” (Schneider, 2003, pg. 1). First, this definition bears striking resemblance to the definition used by the CIE in regards to grassroots exchange. In both cases, the national affiliations define the individuals that take part in the act of cultural exchange. Terms such as Japan and America are used as a synecdoche both reflecting the respective governments and people as if they were semantically interchangeable. To engage in cultural diplomacy, the CIE presents Americans with what it construes as various facets of Japanese culture (language, customs, and art) in order to create a favorable impression of Japan and the Japanese that ideally translate into political and economic benefits for both countries (Mark, 2009). I argue that the language, images, and structure of the summit as utilized by the CIE are similar to travel marketing campaigns like Yokoso Japan or Japan Endless Discovery to depict Japan in a favorable light to conform to the national branding strategies of the Japanese government (Mandujano, 2013; Uzama, 2012).

2.2.3 The Organization and Undertakings of the CIE

The CIE is headed by sixteen board of director members from various, and prominent, positions in Japanese politics, business, and academia. Members representing Toyota, All Nippon Airways, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) and the Japanese House of Representatives are present. Kyo Nakahama, fifth generation descendent of Manjiro Nakahama (John Manjiro), also sits on the board. A secretary general and only two other permanent staff members are employed by the CIE. The CIE's central aim, or mission statement, is to "promote 'Grassroots Exchange', i.e. the free exchange of opinions between individual citizens of America and Japan, and through this to further mutual understanding and friendship between the two countries" (Center for International Exchange, 2016). Along with this statement, however, the CIE has four aims. The fourth aim is somewhat unclear as the sole function of the CIE is to promote and find sites for the annual Grassroots Summit according to its secretary general (Center for International Exchange, 2016).

- 1) To enable Japanese people to introduce their culture, politics and economics to people in the USA and other countries.
- 2) To enable people in the USA and other countries to introduce their culture, politics and economics to the people of Japan.
- 3) To use the good relationship between the USA and Japan as a foundation for spreading grassroots friendship throughout the world.
- 4) To partake in other activities within the field of grassroots exchange.

As a NPO, the CIE relies on donations and grants in order to operate in addition to funds from corporate members and sponsors. These sponsors include large Japanese firms such as Kikkoman, Aeon, and Toyota. Most of the funds donated by these firms do not go to the CIE but

rather to fund the Grassroots Summit directly. The CIE also has about 100 private sponsors who pay a membership fee of about \$30 a year. The CIE also networks with other organizations such as the Tomodachi Initiative (a public-private partnership between the U.S.-Japan Council and the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo) to pay for the cost of some high school and college age participants to attend the Grassroots Summit. Primarily, the CIE uses the funds it receives to pay for staff salaries, office expenses, promotional materials, organization of post-summit programs, and travel cost for the secretary general. The CIE staff's primary duties include:

- 1) Finding a location for the summit
- 2) Making promotional materials for the summit once a site is selected
- 3) Selecting a travel agency to organize the transportation and hotel stays of participants
- 4) Consulting with local organizers of the summit (the executive committee)
- 5) Organizing participants according to their local sessions and post summit programs
- 6) Establishing a Summit Volunteer Committee for the summits

The CIE staff is mostly preoccupied with selecting the site for the summit and creating promotional materials. Their goal is to find a site that can accommodate 200 participants. However, the summit usually involves around 2,000 individuals comprised of the participants in addition to volunteers, opening and closing ceremony speakers, local tour organizers, host families, politicians and business leaders and other guests in attendance at the opening and closing ceremonies. This is a major challenge for the CIE staff, as they must continuously work throughout the year to select a site in the United States and Japan. For example, after the 2015 summit ended in Ōita prefecture, the CIE staff began work on an annual activity report of the summit to publicly disclose its donors, attendance, and activities. From the end of the summit in July until next fall, the CIE staff will work with summit organizers in Atlanta (the site of the

2016 Grassroots Summit) including staff from the mayor's office, the Japanese chamber of commerce in Atlanta, and the Japan-America Society of Georgia. During this time, they are also at work finding the next summit in Japan (which is revealed at the end of the summit in the United States). Finally, the CIE also must work closely with travel agencies to make sure all participants receive proper travel itineraries and tickets as participants are continuously moved between various airports and rail stations based on where the summit and its subsidiary activities are held. According to the secretary general of the CIE, Japanese law prevents any company or organization from directly planning and arranging the travel of tour groups.

2.2.4 The CIE's Role in Organizing the Grassroots Summit

In Japan, the summit has been held in various prefectures across the islands of Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku, but never in its twenty-five year history has the summit been held in the islands of Hokkaido or Okinawa. Okinawa was annexed by the Meiji government in 1879 and Hokkaido was officially incorporated in the Japanese state in 1869 when it first became a prefecture. Both of these areas have indigenous populations that have historically been treated poorly by ethnic Japanese (Morris-Suzuki, 1997). According to the CIE's secretary general, the CIE selects sites to hold the summit at least a year in advance and preferably two years in advance in order to promote the next summit location at the closing ceremony. Sites are selected based on the board's decision, but finding a site relies on a mixture of existing relations between board members and prefectural government authorities as well as the secretary general building rapport with local businesspersons, NPOS, and cultural associations at potential summit locations. The CIE begins the site selection process in Japan by first considering locations where the summit has not been held before. The CIE also considers other criteria in the site selection process. These criteria include a variety of urban and rural areas for the local sessions, potential

number of volunteers and host families, and venues large enough to conduct the opening and closing ceremonies.

Even when meeting the CIE's criteria, not all potential sites are willing to host a Grassroots Summit. The city of Yokohama rejected the idea of hosting a summit due to the area's existing cosmopolitan atmosphere. That is, Yokohama, with its sizeable and visible foreign populations (home of the largest China town in Asia), did not view the summit as a worthwhile endeavor as it considered itself a multicultural hub. In 2015, the CIE faced difficulty in finding a venue and was rejected by multiple potential sites. Despite this, one of their board members originally from Ōita prefecture knew Katsusada Hirose, the governor of Ōita prefecture. Already a domestic tourist attraction for Japanese due to its *onsen* (hot springs) and local products (Knight, 1994; McMorran, 2008), Ōita had a well-established tourist infrastructure to accommodate summit participants and Governor Hirose was very interested in hosting the 2015 Summit.

Surprisingly, the CIE's role in organizing and executing the Grassroots Summit is minimal. The bulk of the work of planning the summit's structure, its cost, and finding host families is deferred to an executive committee and what the CIE calls key persons. Various representatives from the prefecture where the summit is held constitute the executive committee. The 2015 summit in Ōita consisted of fifteen executive committee members from prominent government positions, banking and commerce, and organizations that work closely with international businesses. These members included the Governor of Ōita prefecture, Mayor of Ōita city, Mayor of Beppu, Chair of Ōita Prefecture Chamber of Commerce, two Chairs from the Ōita Association of Corporate Executives, Chair of Beppu City Chamber of Commerce, Chair of the Ōita Prefecture Government Assembly, the Governor of the Ōita Rotary Club, the Region

Chair of the Lions Club, President of Ōita Bank, and the Chair of Tourism Ōita (Formerly known as the Ōita Prefectural Tourism Association). The purpose of the executive committee is to raise funds for the opening and closing ceremony, work on developing where local sessions will take place, what activities and entertainment will be provided for participants, and finding key persons (local coordinators) and host families. The executive committee also engages in fund raising efforts to pay for tours, catering, rental vehicles, audio-visual equipment, performances, and advertising to find host families. In addition to the money received from corporate sponsors, the cost and organization of the actual summit largely falls on the executive committee. The executive committee assigns a key person to each of the local sessions to act as local session coordinators. Key persons work with the executive committee in coordinating and selecting tours, entertainment, and various activities for participants. These activities can range from castle tours and visiting aquariums to calligraphy writing at local high schools. Key persons are responsible for finding someone to accompany participants during the local session activities as well as provide transportation between the various sites of the local session. Each local session is different based on the key person involved in its planning and what they believe their particular locality can offer participants based on the short length of the summit and available funding.

The use of key persons is the reason why the CIE does not consider potential summit locations based on criteria such as cultural value or local history. The key persons are primarily responsible for the local session programs and organization. Given that key persons reside where the local sessions take place, the CIE presumes they possess knowledge about the areas local culture, history, and sites of interest (*meisho*). The individual experiences each local session provides, these are subsumed by the broader prefectural advertising that occurs in the Grassroots Summit brochure and associated promotional materials. Indeed, this year's promotional brochure

focused heavily on the prefecture's current tourist campaign Onsen Ōita by making direct references to Ōita's hot springs accompanied by pictures. This is not surprising given the composition of the 2015 executive committee.

The Summit Volunteer Committee (SVC) is not officially part of the CIE, but they work closely to coordinate participants and run the summit when it begins. Thereof, volunteers are tasked with most of the actual work the summit entails. Volunteers make sure all participants arrive at the airport, distribute hotel room keys, direct participants to their correct buses, ride with participants on buses or trains to make sure they arrive at the correct destination, inform participants when to check out of their hotel rooms, and serve as interpreters. The Summit Volunteer Committee also helps in organizing the post summit programs that I describe below.

Applications to attend the summit are due by May or June. The CIE staff initially handles applicant submissions but turns them over to local session key persons in order to match participants with host families. Individuals that are interested in attending the summit may fill out and submit their application online or by mail. I asked the secretary general if anyone had been turned down from attending the summit given the use of the word application. According to her, in only one instance has an applicant been turned down due to unethical behavior during a previous summit.

The CIE mails applications and brochures out to previous participants, previous American host families, and volunteers. The CIE also works with the National Association of Japan America Societies (NAJAS) to promote the summit. While there are currently around 37 Japan America Societies located across the United States, the summit does not always attract members from these societies. In fact, I was the only member of the Japan America Society of Georgia to attend the entire summit. Despite attempts at using social media to promote the

summit, the CIE states that word of mouth and the previous year's summit location in the United States are the most common ways that participants find out about the summit. Given the responses from my informants, only three that I interviewed had ever heard of the CIE or Grassroots Summit prior to the year they attended the summit. Those that were unfamiliar with the CIE and summit were also surprised to find out that the program had been around for twenty-five years. For informants that were also first-time summit participants, the most common responses were that either they found out about the summit from a friend that had attended the summit in Japan or they, themselves, had hosted a Japanese citizen during the American summit. Some informants were not associated with local Japan-America societies but heard about the summit from individuals that were.

2.3 The Grassroots Summit

2.3.1 Summit Composition and Opening Ceremony

The overall cost for the Japan summits varies every other year depending on the value of the dollar to the yen and the international airport participants depart from. In 2015, the base price not including tax or optional programs ranged from \$2,490 to \$2,580. This price included airfare, hotels, meals and transportation. Despite the length of organizing and planning, the Grassroots Summit lasts for only five days (see Appendix B). The 2015 Ōita Summit Guide shows that the itinerary for the summit was scheduled for eight days. However, two of those days are designated travel days to Japan (due to the international dateline) and the final day is listed for departure back to the United States. Generally, the summit is composed of three distinct parts that span these five days.

The first part is the opening ceremony and welcome reception. For the 25th Grassroots Summit, the opening ceremony was held at the Suginoi hotel in the city of Beppu, Ōita

prefecture. The opening ceremonies can take place in various locations such as in 2013 when the opening ceremony was held in the Izumo Grand Shrine, but hotels are the most common locations. I describe the opening ceremony in more detail in the following chapter but, in brief, the official opening day of the summit has three components. The day of the ceremonies, participants are often taken to sites of interests around the location of the opening ceremony. For the Ōita summit, participants were allowed to choose from five optional “local tours” for an additional cost or remain at the hotel. In this sense, the first day of the summit is dedicated to guided tours. During the opening ceremony, CIE board members, summit organizers, and invited guests such as prefectural governors and local mayors give brief speeches regarding the historical figures John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield, gratitude for attending the summit, and address the importance of Japan-American friendship. The number of speakers differs between summits, but the 2015 summit had eight speakers and lasted for about an hour and a half. After these speeches, a small globe is exchanged from one descendant of Captain Whitfield to one descendant of John Manjiro, although their other descendants are in attendance. The globe is set on a small base and column and is held for one year by each family. In odd years the globe is held by the Whitfields, in even years the globe is given to Manjiro’s descendants. After this, participants are taken to the opening banquet where food and drink is served. Again, some speeches are given in the banquet hall and the ritual act of *kagami-biraki* is performed whereby CIE board members, local government officials, and invited guests from the United States (typically diplomats or members from organizations that work with the CIE) break open a cask of sake. This event officially marks the opening of the summit.

2.3.2 Local Sessions

During the next four days, participants separate into small groups and depart from their hotel based on their local session. Unless a local session choice fills up quickly or there is a natural disaster as in the case of the 2007 summit in Ishikawa prefecture, summit participants will receive their first out of two local session choices. Furthermore, local sessions are not guaranteed based on how many participants a local session can accommodate. For the 25th summit, there were eleven local sessions for participants to choose from. Each local session occurs in various parts of a prefecture and is headed by a key person who is responsible for organizing the local session events and host stays.

In the 2015 summit brochure published by the CIE, each local session has a brief description and greeting by the key person. A map of the prefecture is also provided whereby a number corresponding to each local session is placed on the prefectural map to indicate where the local session will take place. Some descriptions provide details on the types of activities and events participants can expect. Other times, local session descriptions are vague and only advertise the area's nature and scenic beauty. Five of the key persons from this year's local sessions were representatives of local chambers of commerce. Other key persons included the vice-president of a historical society, English teachers, and members of a volunteer international exchange group.

During the first day of the local sessions, participants are taken on buses to their respective towns or cities where they partake in various local activities. Participants meet their host families for the first time only at end of the first day of the local sessions unless the host family introduces themselves during the opening ceremony. In some local sessions, a smaller banquet or party is held among the host families to welcome their guests at the end of this day.

During the second day of the local sessions, participants spend their day again sightseeing or participating in activities. Sometimes a participant's host family is present (typically the host mother and children), but this is not always the case. It is only on the third day of the local sessions that participants spend the entire day with activities planned by their host families. The fourth day is typically a half day with host families as this day overlaps with the closing ceremony (see Appendix C for an example of a local session schedule).

2.3.3 Host Families

Participants largely do not know what their host families look like unless they contact them prior to arriving in Japan as the CIE provides them with information regarding their address, contact information, family composition, and hobbies and interests. At the end of the first day of the local sessions, host families gather at a central location whereby the participants then meet their host families. Host families are usually introduced to participants by a summit volunteer in attendance at the local sessions or by host families asking participants their names directly. During my local session, two host families were discussing between themselves who they thought was the participant that would stay with them. In this case, they were trying to figure out who I was based on the information they received about me from the CIE.

The host family selection process occurs well before participants arrive and is a collaborative effort between the CIE and the key persons. On the application form, participants are asked about their age, family composition, and hobbies. The CIE collects this information along with the preferred local sessions and sends it to respective key persons for each local session. Host families receive no financial compensation for their participation in the summit. They volunteer their own time and resources in hosting summit participants. In general, participants are paired with host families that most closely match their interests and family

composition. However, some host families ask for specific participants based on age or sex. Some host families have high school age children and desire to have a participant close to their child's age. Key persons will also use local connections and publications (such as local newspapers) to advertise for host families. In my case, the key person delegated finding host families to one of his subordinates at the local chamber of commerce. The key person for the local sessions knew of a local café owner who might know of interested host families. The café owner was also the instructor of an informal English language group and used this to find host families and match participants with those families.

Participants stay with their host families for four nights and three days. Though this takes up the bulk of the summit, the host families and participants do not spend the entire time together. Participants usually spend the evenings alone with their host families throughout the homestay portion of the summit and generally have only one full day and night with them. The reason for this is the planned local session activities and the closing ceremony. During the second day of the local sessions, host families will take participants to a central location (usually the same place they initially met) and all participants for the local sessions will spend the day engaged with various activities that do not always include their host families. Thus, not all participants share equal time with their host families. The following day is a free day with the host family and it is the final night that participants will stay with their host family. After this, participants and their host families leave to the closing ceremony. Depending on the closing ceremony venue, some participants will separate from their host families and take a bus from their local sessions. However, host families and participants are reunited for a final time during the farewell ceremony following the closing ceremony.

2.3.4 Closing Ceremony

The closing ceremony officially ends the summit and, like the opening ceremony, is pervaded by speeches by CIE board members, local politicians, and other invited guests. The closing ceremony also includes speeches from officials from the following summit. Hotel conference rooms are the most common venue, but in 2011 the summit took place in a botanical garden and in 2013 the closing ceremony was held in Matsue English Garden in Shimane prefecture. The closing ceremony lasts about an hour and functions as a recapitulation of the summit, a means for the CIE and other summit organizers to explain how grassroots exchange was achieved, and why the summit was a success. This year, the closing ceremony separated summit participants from their host families. Participants sat in the front rows, while Japanese host families and various guests sat in the back of the room. Summit participants were further divided by local sessions. According to the official CIE website, around 300 individuals attended the closing ceremony.

After the initial speeches, the secretary general provides a short presentation of the local sessions in which the area and local session activities are summarized for the audience. In 2015, the secretary general augmented this presentation by asking participants in the audience about their respective local session experiences. A translator was present to translate their statements for the Japanese audience. Lastly, officials from the next summit location in the United States provide a series of speeches, and video presentations. In some cases, a song relevant to the American summit location concludes this section of closing ceremony. For example, the song “Deep in the Heart of Texas” was sung near the end of the 2011 summit closing ceremony in Kōchi to promote the following summit in North Texas. The audience is encouraged to participate in mass karaoke as words to the song are displayed on a large projector screen.

After this, participants move to the banquet hall for the farewell party. Participants are reunited with their host families but, again, their tables are separated by local session areas. A few more short speeches of thanks are usually given ending with a toast to the host families and participants. Like the opening ceremony, Japanese and regional food specialties and local entertainment such as *taiko* (Japanese drums) or traditional dances are provided. The farewell party concludes with an announcement over a PA system as opposed to allowing the party to dissolve naturally. The farewell party is often a somber affair as host families part ways with American participants. Some participants cry and give hugs to their host families before they leave. According to my informants, their host families departed almost immediately after the farewell party ended. No one that I talked with had their host families visit them in their hotel rooms or partake in activities inside or around the hotel. In many cases, host families had their children with them and lived far away from the closing ceremony site, possibly preventing further interaction later into the night.

The sudden and abrupt dissolution of the party and departure of host families during the closing ceremony is indicative of the scripted behavior of tourists. Here, according to schedule, participants provide an emotive response on cue that appears individualistic but is pre-arranged and collective (Edensor, 2001). This is not to suggest that the participants' emotions are not genuine. Rather, they are part of the planned activities and sequence of events as organized by the CIE and other summit organizers. This also affords the CIE a predictable means of documenting these reactions, which are later published on their website. Moreover, the separation of participants during the closing ceremony restricts the possibility of grassroots exchange with a broader Japanese audience. Therefore, summit organizers produce what Edensor (2001) calls a stage where emotive reactions are expected to play out. Stages transform space

into places of social interaction for tourist and, thus, shape the ways that tourist behave and interact with hosts. The scheduled departure from host families prompts the response but does not guarantee its performance. The point, rather, is that summit organizers create and manage this display of emotion among participants and host families in a planned fashion. By keeping participants together with host families and local session key persons, organizers create both the meaning of their interaction while reinforcing expected normative patterns of behavior (Edensor, 2001). That is, host families and participants are engaged in a final conversation that prompts feelings and displays of sadness. A trope of departure is ensured in such a way as to corroborate the success of the summit.

2.3.5 Post Summit Work

This is most evident after the summit has concluded when the CIE publishes a brief post on their website regarding the most recent summit, a flash report and an annual activity report before the next summit begins. The web post appears initially before the flash report and annual activity report whereby the CIE displays pictures and brief statements on their website regarding the opening ceremony, local sessions, and closing ceremony under headers such as “Wrapping Up Another Successful Exchange; “Shimane Grassroots Summit Was a Great Success!”; “San Francisco Bay Area Summit a HUGE success!” However, the CIE does not necessarily have a means of measuring the success of the summit save for attendance. The flash report and annual activity report contain similar language with the addition of participant testimonials. The use of selected testimonials and images of American participants involved in the various stages of the summit aid in the construction of a narrative grassroots exchange that the CIE can use to further promote its organizational goals. In this regard, the posts, flash reports, and annual activity

reports are similar to the promotional materials sent before the summit begin, thus constructing a definitive pre and post-narrative of the summit.

The key issue is that participant testimonials and images are appropriated and rearranged into a new narrative that does not necessarily coincide with any particular participant experience but further corroborate the idea of success vis-à-vis grassroots exchange. In describing the Ōita local sessions the CIE printed the statement “[T]he American guests enjoyed unique cultural exchange programs and experienced the daily life of Ōita families through homestay,” to describe the events that took place as well as the meaning of the images of smiling participants and participants engaged in local session activities posted under this statement. This is not so much as a generalization of participant experiences, but reinforces a sense of normative participant behavior and notions of cultural exchange. The participants in the photos have no voice in describing the meaning of the images to viewers of the website, no means of temporalizing when the images were taken and how these moments were situated within their trip. Moreover, such statements indicate that the cultural exchange was a one way process and unique, whereby Americans are identified by their exposure to cultural encounters via the various local sessions and their inhabitants. Whether or not they actually enjoyed the moments in the photos or during their local sessions in general is not relevant. The expectation is that they did, and that participants to future summits will, too, in addition to encountering a unique experience.

The flash report and annual activity report for the summits in Japan are virtually similar in that they serve as detailed recapitulations of that year’s summit. Both provide the number of participants, names of executive committee members, the summit itinerary, names and images of important speakers, a list of the local sessions, details regarding the opening and closing

ceremony locations, and sections for participant comments. The annual activity report, however, differs in a few key ways to reflect on the CIE as a whole. In essence, it is an auditing mechanism for its board members to ensure that the CIE is fulfilling its mission goals as an NPO. The activity report is printed in Japanese with English translations next to or beneath the Japanese paragraphs. The annual activity report contains a list of corporate sponsors, names of executive committee members with their affiliated organizations (only in Japanese), corporate and individual donors, and additional sections describing CIE organizational and board member activity.

2.4 Promotional and Travel Guide Materials

2.4.1 Summit Guides and Tourist Brochures

The summit brochure is a joint product of the CIE and executive committee. However, since at least 2007, each brochure follows a similar format by offering participants a full preview of the summit. In essence, the brochure acts as a pre-narrative of the summit by both enticing participants by assuaging any concerns regarding the unpredictable while also emphasizing a unique, though prefabricated, experience. The summit brochure begins with messages from summit organizers followed by an explanation of grassroots exchange. Accompanying this description is an outline of the four phases of the summit: The opening ceremony, local sessions, closing ceremony, and post option programs. A brief explanation of the historical encounter between John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield is also provided. The brochure also includes information about the prefecture where the summit is held, wherein the prefecture's current tourist campaign language is interwoven. Besides boasting about the density of natural hot springs in the prefecture, the 2015 brochure made generic references to the area's local food, natural beauty, and climate while also prompting that Ōita can offer insight into learning about

Japan. Previous summit brochures utilized similar tropes. The Kōchi summit brochure in 2011 stated: “Kochi is a region of lush green forests and deep blue seas...” While the Shimane summit in 2013 contained the phrase: “Today, this land of untouched beauty remains hidden...” Each brochure provides statistics and trivia regarding the prefecture such as its population, capital city, average temperature, and sister city (there are 400 sister city relationships between Japan and the U.S).

The brochure then provides an itinerary of the summit including descriptions of the hotels for the opening and closing ceremonies (these are often different locations) as well as the addresses and phone numbers for these locations. Most of the summit brochure is dominated by descriptions for the local sessions and post summit optional programs. There are an average of five post-summit programs that participants can attend after the official summit is over. These programs take place in other parts of Japan, including an extended hotel stay in Tokyo. The pricing for the post summit programs are displayed along with what the CIE terms program coordinators. The post summit program page includes the line: “After the Grassroots Summit, you can extend your stay in Japan to discover more [sic] and make friends in other regions!” Many of these post summit programs also have host stays, thus promoting grassroots exchange beyond the summit. On the back page of each summit brochure are the projected costs of the summit based on the airport where participants will depart from the United States. The application deadline is also marked along with contact information for the CIE and travel agency. Included in the brochure is the application. Once participants pay for their trip, the CIE mails a summit guide and further promotional materials from the prefectural tourism office.

The summit guide is, on average, a 40-page booklet that provides detailed itineraries of the summit, local sessions, and post summit programs. The guide also provides airline

information, airport and hotel maps, meal-times, clothing suggestions, tips on Japanese bathing and toilet customs, as well as some basic Japanese phrases. The final page of the summit guide includes a comments section for the CIE. Included with the summit guide is a brochure from the official prefectural tourist department (e.g Kōchi Prefecture Culture and International Affairs Division, Shimane Prefectural Government Tourism Promotion Division). These materials often have glossy paper with high resolution photographs, detailed area maps, important historical events, important festivals and pictures of local products, and pictures of locals performing rituals or wearing traditional clothing. Unlike previous summits, the 2015 brochure for Ōita was not a multi-page booklet. Rather, Tourism Ōita provided a large folded pamphlet that contained a detailed map of the prefecture on one-side, including geographic data, and the other side information on the various regions of the prefecture. Each region was introduced with a sub-title such as Beppu Bay Area: Ōita's Onsen and Amusement Spot, thus providing a thematic introduction to the area. Local attractions, delicacies and souvenirs, and an explanation of the significance of the region to the prefecture's uniqueness were included. Along with traditional or historical attractions, the brochure also stressed Ōita's more modern facilities such as the Autopolis racecourse and Harmony Land amusement park.

The brochures for the summit portray the prefectures in Japan where the summits are held as distinct but also as contributing to the national-cultural whole. Ōita, for example, is exalted for its wonderful and abundant nature that is both regionally distinct but exemplary of Japan's unique and sublime nature. Consider the language used in the 2015 Ōita summit brochure published by the CIE: "Ōita has a rich history and cultural heritage that is unmissable [sic] for those who wish to learn about Japan..." The Shimane summit in 2013 is another good case in point in which Shimane prefecture was construed as the birthplace of Japanese mythology and,

thus, particularly unique to other areas in Japan. In this regard, the CIE appropriated specific advertising language as used by the prefectural government to entice participants to attend the summit as both a unique experience and significant to Japanese history. Such advertising obfuscates the means by which particular sites within contemporary geopolitical borders are appropriated for the purposes of constructing national identities and, subsequently, serve to orient the origins of the nation state (Anderson, 2006; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012; Fujitani, 1996, 2004).

2.4.2 Scripted Behaviors and Pre-Tour Narratives

The irony is that the CIE sends this information after the application process, so any in-depth information about a particular area or city is not provided during the local session selection process. Participants are only provided with a short paragraph on the various local sessions by respective key persons in the CIE summit brochure. Moreover, participants are generally unable to explore the areas outside of their local sessions as they are placed with host families and are unable to move around on their own. Although participants could stay in the prefecture after the summit ends, the summit guide and promotional materials are provided after their travel plans have been arranged. Therefore, it appears that these guides are intended as purely promotional devices serving to entice participants to return to the area or control the experience of participants more closely while they are there. However, no participant I have talked to during this trip or on previous summits that I have attended has ever returned to a previous summit location. As souvenirs, the guides may also work as an advertisement. As tourists tend to share their experiences with friends and family by structuring narratives around their souvenirs once they return, the promotional materials act as free advertising by enticing others to come to the

area while also reproducing official discourses and images of that place that serve commercial interests (Bursan, 2011).

This is what Jack and Phipps (2005) call a dominant script. Official guidebooks and brochures serve an informative function in that they make tourists aware of what exists in a particular area. In addition, they also serve to draw tourists to certain destinations and not others while restricting alternative interpretations or speculations by potential visitors. Dominant scripts convert geographical spaces into “places of consumption” (Urry, 2005, p. 22) by way of the narratives that surround them. Moreover, places of consumption only become relevant by their juxtaposition to other such spaces, the consumption of experiences or goods that cannot be found elsewhere (Urry, 2005). Like museums, however, the tourist industry has shifted focus from the product it provides to its relationship with potential customers. Dominant scripts focus a tourist’s attention away from considering alternative experiences or forms of consumption towards the level of hospitality and promise of delivering unique experiences—regardless of the quality of what is actually consumed or experienced (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). In short, tourism entices less through the products that it has to offer than the privilege of consuming products or experiences away from home. The following statement in the 2015 summit brochure exemplifies the use of dominant scripts in tourist advertising: “Mt. Takasaki is very famous for Japanese monkeys. July [when the summit occurred] is the season to be able to see their cute babies. After the encounter with the monkeys, lunch is planned at Umitamago Aquarium where attractive sea animals are waiting for you.” The statement entices the summit participant suggesting that monkeys, lunch, and sea animals are awaiting their consumption. The statement also provides the instructions, or script, of where and how these events are supposed to occur. Return visitors and locals are acutely aware of such dominant scripts and often provide alternative interpretations or

travel suggestions to tourists to subvert such scripts as in Jack and Phipps (2005) work in the Island of Skye where returning visitors provided alternative sites of interests or suggested places to avoid to new tourists. However, since all of the participants I interviewed either were new to the summit or had never been to Ōita, the dominant script provided by the CIE and Tourism Ōita was not readily apparent and only became remarked on in their post-tour narratives after the summit.

Given that the script is already prepared, it only awaits actors to perform the role of tourist. Travel guides and brochures, like those provided by the CIE, express the types of experiences participants can have, and are expected to have, while serving as instructions on how to have those experiences (Adler, 1988; Jack & Phipps 2005, Urry & Larson, 2011). Thus, such material creates tourists by placing bodies into a new set of performative practices (Adler, 1988; Edensor, 2001). They are a means of ordering bodies, disciplining them as it were into a tourist habitus. The materials provided by the CIE and Tourism Ōita serve to provide a singular explanation of the Manjiro-Whitfield relationship to thematically orient the summit in addition to branding the prefecture and what products and experiences are best suited for participants—and tourists in general. In essence, these materials shape the pre-narrative experiences and discourses of participants by creating a commonsensical, or doxic, understanding of the summit and the role of summit participants. This creates a particular identity among participants who are distinct from other American or foreign tourists they may encounter in two important ways.

As with Bourdieu's (1977) habitus, participants generate a shared sense of what they will see, what they will do, what is inappropriate behavior and what they will, or should, consume through their embodied behavior. Rojek and Urry (1997) place this in the context of tourism by suggesting the presence of a collective tourist gaze. While this implies the act of seeing, this

collective tourist gaze is more about constructing perceptions through discourses structured by professionals and institutions based on the type of tourism. In this particular case of tourism for cultural exchange, the CIE and executive committee are actively involved in promoting certain social texts that reflect specific class and ethnic attitudes. Such perceptions are carried out through the bodily practices (or their abstinence) of summit participants under the pretext of culturally appropriate behavior. The summit guidebook constructs a tourist habitus in subtle but important ways that also reveals the attitudes of summit organizers in facilitating cultural exchange.

The Japanese conversation lesson page provides a list of terms such as “I like X” “hello” “how much is X”, and also a few Japanese verbs. The verbs are presented in the normal-polite form, which is not necessarily apparent to someone who has not studied Japanese. Such speech is used to indicate social differentiation such as when addressing strangers or superiors. Informal forms of these verbs or colloquial expressions used in casual settings and among people of equal social standing are not present. Furthermore, certain expressions are omitted from the list such as asking for another round of beer, profanity or pick-up lines. Again, while this seems commonsensical given the context of the summit, the point is to address that that such a commonsense understanding is constructed. Papen (2005) provides a similar example in regards to a brochure for the Anmire Cultural Village which seeks to entice ethno-tourists interested in meeting and learning from the Damara people of Namibia. On the bottom of page two of the brochure, Papen (2005) points out a list of phrases complimented by a key to the orthographic symbols for the clicks used in the Khoekhoe language spoken among the Damara. The presence of these phrases and key, Papen (2005) claims, invites tourists to be more like the locals. Yet, the specific terms are selected and published by the makers of the brochure and not the Damara

themselves, suggesting the kinds of conversations and words that are appropriate for the ethno-tourist experience. In regards to the CIE guidebook, how participants are expected to behave is reflected in the types of phrases provided for them. Ways of speaking are also accompanied by new bodily practices, or *hexis*, that code movement and routines in socially significant ways as part of a tourist habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 2000). The summit guide includes instructions on how to bathe at an onsen, how to use a traditional Japanese toilet, caveats regarding the fragility of tatami mats, removing street shoes indoors, and making sure to wear proper slippers in the bathroom or to the onsen.

Such protocols are not simply intended to provide advice for foreign tourists; they imply what is considered deviant behavior within Japanese culture or, rather, one particular view of Japanese culture. The Ōita summit guide provided a clear case in point with a diagram explaining how to use public bathing facilities at an onsen. A figure that can be read as male, white, with red hair and wide-open eyes is shown standing and clumsily washing his back. The water and suds from his bathing splash onto a figure illustrated with a different skin tone and black hair with closed eyes. The presumption is that this man is Japanese and the other man is not. More significantly, that the Japanese know how to bath properly because a Japanese man is not perpetrating the faux pas. Following the proper steps of bathing, rinsing off all soap, entering the onsen, and rinsing again before leaving are not purely sanitary recommendations. Rather, they are protocols for performing bodily acts that show respect to other bathers. Interestingly, participants largely followed the social conventions listed in the summit guide because they were either already familiar with such practices or they simply wanted to adapt to the culture. Moreover, they also remarked on these practices by way of how odd they were at times but followed through because it created a fun and different experience. The point, however, was that

knowledge of such practices not only ultimately influenced their behavior but also appeared in their own discourses as they conformed to those practices, thus reproducing the prescribed social text of the summit guide while generating new forms of body hexis they would not necessarily conduct.

In addition, the travel itineraries provided in the summit guide reduce spatial experience into temporal sequence (Adler, 1988). That is, places and people are recast as a set of objectives in a timetable, with each objective allotted a certain time in a specific sequence before the next can be achieved. This disciplines summit participants by coordinating their activities collectively without the use of force. Rather, the participant becomes self-disciplined. This is not unlike an actor following a script, with each sequence of the itinerary filled with specific cues. In order to fulfill their specific itineraries based on their local session choices and post-summit tours, participants must plan when they will sleep, wake-up, eat breakfast etc., all for something they have no guarantee will actually occur. While we discipline ourselves every day to meet schedules, the point to draw attention to here is how easily new routines presented in the summit guide are adhered to by summit participants. Conversely, the information and itineraries in the guides can also aid in forms of resistance to these very schedules and activities. That is, knowledge of where to be and when allows a tourist to avoid activities and schedules as much as participate in them. This ultimately depends on the type of traveler and the amount of control he or she has over the sequencing and duration of travel experiences (Edensor 2001).

During the local sessions, opening and closing ceremony, my informants generally adhered to the summit's schedules. Though there were some complaints about how early they had to eat breakfast and check out of the hotels, they were punctual and arrived on time for the summit ceremonies. Summit participants that I talked to did not leave the hotels used during the

summit unless it was part of the itinerary. My hotel roommates, however, left the first hotel in Beppu as they arrived earlier than other participants did. We also left the hotel after the closing ceremony in Ōita city to sing karaoke and explore the downtown area. Such actions indicate that tourists can, and often do, go beyond itineraries to take advantage of gaps in the schedule or increase their amount of experiences. Admittedly, I often deviate from the summit schedule by finding ways to avoid the opening and closing ceremony speeches. I will often leave the hotel and come back during the banquet that follows these events. Yet, I am able to do so because I am familiar with the sequencing of these events given the five times I have attended the summit.

Lastly, the Ōita tourism brochure and summit guide frame the discourse of how potential tourists will talk about their trip and share it with others. That is, it limits what participants can actually say about their trip before they arrive. Yet, such materials become part of a “tourist ethnographic imagination” (Jack & Phipps, 2005, p 118). Local session choices, itineraries, descriptions of the region, and local specialties (*meibutsu*) and points of interest (*meisho*) displayed in the Tourism Ōita guide all become fantasies played out in the minds of participants. Thus, although dominant scripts may contribute to the disciplining of tourist bodies regarding their gaze and spatiotemporal orientation, such materials also drive affective processes. These materials are always future oriented in the sense that the tourist has not yet been to such places or encountered such objects, but he or she inevitably creates stories of anticipation and shares these expectations or desires with others (Jack & Phipps, 2005). This is a key component of the pre-tour narrative. Indeed, the pre-tour narrative would be impossible without such materials for they prepare the tourist for stories yet to come, stories they hope to create and then bring back home to share after their experience (E. Bruner, 2005). My informants expressed excitement over the summit guide, brochure, and Tourism Ōita brochure. They carefully went over the details of the

summit brochure to choose their local session---which they had some difficulty due to the numerous choices. They also shared the information in the summit brochure with non-participants in the hopes of enticing others to accompany them or simply to share their pre-tour narratives. The post-tour narratives of my informants; however, revealed that many of the local sessions and host stays, despite changes in itineraries and initial local session choices, went beyond their expectations. That is to say, it was more enjoyable than they had anticipated because of their local session's spontaneity and affability of their host families. Thereof, despite the dominant scripts offered in these materials, summit participants also constructed their own narratives of pleasure and purpose which I take up in chapter 4.

2.5 Putting Grassroots and Cultural Exchange into Perspective

2.5.1 *Defining Grassroots*

Cultural exchange programs putatively allow ordinary citizens to promote peace and understanding by cooperatively engaging with others from different backgrounds. The Grassroots Summit is distinct in achieving these aims in two ways. First, it allows for individuals of all ages to participate. In addition, the homestays provide participants the privilege of developing global relationships by learning about local cultures, histories, and concerns. In the nomenclature of the summit, this constitutes 'mutual understanding' and grassroots exchange. Still, the very issue of what is actually exchanged in the act of grassroots exchange requires some unpacking through an examination of the idea of grassroots and the relationship between non-profit organizations and cultural representation.

I asked a fellow Anthropologist studying in Japan and attending the 2015 summit what he felt the term grassroots means in Japan given that he had helped to organized a previous summit in the United States in 2008. He mentioned that the term grassroots in the United States has a

well-established meaning and practice, but that the term has generally gone out of style in the United States. Conversely, Japan has embraced the concept though its meaning and application in Japan is not the same. Rather, it is a means for motivating individuals to engage in collective activities. He explained the use of the term grassroots in Japan implies a different approach from top-down organization and that “people get more excited in Japan about it,” as a result. In Japan, the term grassroots implies a form of social and political mobilization that is organized for and by the masses usually to address specific and localized concerns (Takao, 2001). However, Japanese grassroots mobilization at a national scale has mostly visibly been characterized in recent times by protests over nuclear power and opposition to revising Japan’s constitution, particularly article 9 which prohibits Japan from declaring war. Moreover, the legitimacy of grassroots movements has gained increased currency in Japan due to the weakening of Japan’s state authority and deferral of state responsibilities (*gyōsei itaku*) to NPOs and NGOs in such areas as immigration, health, and education (Hirata, 2002; Takao, 2001; Yamamoto, 1998).

According to Srilatha Batliwala (2002), the term grassroots originated to refer to specific small-scale communities such as rural towns or urban neighborhoods. However, globalization has altered this definition drastically by way of bringing in multiple sources of capital, expertise, and institutions in addressing local issues by the so-called common folk that comprised these said communities. Grassroots movements were originally distinct in that they emerged among the poor or marginalized outside of elite involvement or control. The involvement of transnational agencies in grassroots movements, this has altered the definition of grassroots as well as how such movements are carried out in practice. As Batliwala (2002) argues, the use of the title grassroots actually masks the power, influence, and ideologies of global organizations in the creation of grassroots campaigns and their ultimate motives. Conversely, Ferguson and Gupta

(2002) contend that grassroots campaigns can offer a form of resistance to state agencies that seek to co-opt the local in terms of promoting national interests. In this case, the state is not an all-powerful actor imposing its will on society but local efforts can also shape public policy.

2.5.2 *Grassroots? Exchange*

The CIE, however, uses its political connections and transnational relationship with the United States precisely in the service of the Japanese state. In general, NPOs and their corporate stakeholders are actively involved in constructing and reproducing deliberate representations of culture in order to generate profits as well maintain amicable ties between government and corporate institutions (Rectanus, 2002). The CIE shapes how Japanese culture is defined for participants and, by exposing participants to particular narratives and images about Japan, reinforces the image of an unproblematic and natural relationship between Japan and the United States. Collectively, this is what Joseph Nye (2008) calls soft power: the ability to entice rather than coerce groups into engaging in acts that are favorable to particular political positions or goals. Yet, the issue with soft power is that it affirms the nation state as the natural social organization from which culture emerges and reproduces itself. Again, this compromises the grassroots approach given that grassroots exchange is supposed to be by and for ordinary citizens. Furthermore, issues of Japan's rural decline, aging population, and youth crime are not included in the discourse or representations of cultural exchange, and thus the summit, as these are not conducive to a positive country image, or brand (Mandujano, 2013; Zykas, 2009). However, the summit does sometimes address issues regarding earthquake damage as in the Noto peninsula summit of 2007 and after the Tōhoku earthquake in 2011 that significantly affected host families of the 2009 summit in Miyagi prefecture

The CIE cannot be held completely culpable in this respect. This is because the CIE does not actually organize the summit. Rather, they rely on local governments and businesses to create promotional materials, design the various local session activities, and organize the opening and closing ceremony. Thus, the CIE is dependent on political and corporate institutions to function and carry out their mission goals. The Grassroots Summit is sponsored by large Japanese firms such as Kikkoman, Aeon, and Toyota. These corporate sponsors have a vested interest in promoting national images of Japan that are beneficial to increasing tourism and commodity revenues (Mandujano, 2013; Zykas, 2009). Rectanus (2002) argues that NPOs have become a kind of marketplace in which cultural experiences are both generated and maintained. To remain economically viable and socially relevant, NPOs like the CIE conform to the expectations of governmental and corporate sponsors regarding how Japanese culture should be presented. In this sense, the CIE serves as a mid-level institution between Japanese corporations, the government and the public. That is, the CIE does not create popular images of Japan but relies on and promotes existing cultural representations. For example, as mentioned, the CIE utilizes local government tourist boards to create their travel packages and promotional brochures. Any attempt by the CIE in promoting alternate visions or forms of cultural consumption as laid out by their sponsors and partnered organizations become deviations and threaten the legitimacy of the CIE to conduct cultural exchange programs.

Given this, the term grassroots as used by the CIE continues to rely on the idea of the common folk or citizen but the actual organization of the summit by the CIE indicates a top-down approach directly in contrast to the bottom-up approach that grassroots implies. The issue is that the summit as a grassroots endeavor is largely nominal given that the summit as whole is not organized and funded by these communities but mediated through the CIE, local chambers of

commerce, politicians, and multinational corporations. Indeed, the very emergence of the Manjiro Society coincided with state-oriented political goals related to broader global events. Lastly, the CIE's organization of the summit precludes the possibility of direct involvement between local Japanese organizers and the American participants that attend, bringing into question where the grassroots element of the summit is located beyond such labeling.

2.6 Conclusion

Anthropologist of Japan Bridget Love (2007) argues cultural encounters can “essentialize and reinforce social difference under the auspices of mutual enrichment” (p. 555). Furthermore, cultural exchange is predicated on an essentialist view of culture that construes individuals as belonging to a single, bounded set of symbols, objects, customs and rituals (Rogers, 2006). Yet, as Ferguson and Gupta (1992) have argued, this makes the assumption that authentic culture is rooted in specific places and practiced by enclosed people, despite the fact that contemporary populations are connected in various ways. This notion is shared by James Clifford (1997) who further puts this into perspective stating that anthropologists must take into account how their informants are not located in a single cultural space but move about in various ways and become transnational in the process. Mutual understanding, as espoused in the rhetoric of cultural exchange, is less about delimiting cultural boundaries as it is in creating a self-reflexive atmosphere in which a strong sense of familiarity versus alterity is perpetuated. Japanese provide the cultural transmission and are poised as collectively owning a central heritage whereas the American participants are placed together to receive said transmission. In so doing, these groups are created by the ways that each is supposed to partake in cultural exchange and reflect on their roles in that process. Simply stated, despite the putative bottom-up approach from locals and American participants in planning and participating in the summit, the nation-state remains the

matrix from which cultural exchange can occur and is discursively possible. This is not to state that participants in the summit actually view themselves in this way but to elucidate how the CIE operates and how it is imbedded in the manufacturing of national culture. From here, I now turn to the opening ceremony to illustrate how the use of speeches by summit officials extends these very practices while also serving to structure the purpose of American participation in the summit.

3 OPENING CEREMONIES, CLOSED MEANINGS

“Narrative Accounts cannot provide causal explanations. What they supply instead is the basis for interpreting why a character acted as he or she did. Interpretation is concerned with ‘reasons’ for things happening, rather than strictly with their ‘causes’...” (J. Bruner, 1991, p. 7).

3.1 Introduction

The opening ceremony and welcome reception mark the official beginning of the summit. This chapter overviews the 2015 opening ceremony and welcome reception then moves on to examine the Manjiro story as told by the CIE and the speeches given during this event. While the composition of the speakers changes every time the summit is held in Japan given that the summit is located in a different prefecture, the general trend has been to include local mayors, governors, CIE board members, and executive committee members. In addition to these Japanese organizers, the opening ceremony also invites ‘guests of honor’ such as Matthew Perry (descendant of Commodore Perry), Robert Whitfield (descendant of Captain William Whitfield), and Kyo Nakahama (Descendant of John Manjiro and CIE board member). In 2015, the director of the American consulate in Fukuoka, Margaret MacLeod, was also invited to attend and give a speech. The purpose of this chapter is to understand how a participant subjectivity is constructed through these ceremonies and how the speeches serve as master narratives. The term master

narrative, as used here, refers to singular explanations that place a frame around cultural performances (E. Bruner, 2005). In this case, the CIE controls and disseminates one particular telling of Manjiro's life, but also uses that telling to explain and give purpose to the summit and those that attend.

3.2 Creating Summit Participants

3.2.1 The First Day, Opening Ceremony and Welcome Reception

Before the evening opening ceremony, the general trend has been to provide optional local tours in addition to a collective local tour to fill the day. The optional local tours are not included in the summit price. They must be purchased separately before participants arrive in the summit. This year, the local sessions included a diverse array of options. One of the options included a trip to the city of Kitsuki which has a preserved castle and samurai houses. Another local tour brought participants to the social welfare organization Sun Industries in Beppu city which employs the differently abled.

Lunch was scheduled in all of the local tours, but after lunch participants were collectively taken to a sightseeing tour of three famous hot springs in Beppu known as the three hells. According to one of our guides, Beppu has the second highest concentration of hot springs in the world next to Yellowstone Park. This was later reinforced during the opening ceremony in the speech by the Ōita prefectural governor. Each of the hells is the result of geothermally heated water, and the frequency of these springs is the reason why Ōita prefecture is designated as the onsen capital of Japan. However, each hot spring differs in terms of its chemical composition giving each a different color and alkalinity. Each of the three hells is in a different location around Beppu, so participants were frequently boarding and exiting buses during this local tour. After exiting the buses, summit volunteers stated the amount of time participants had to view the

hot spring. At each of the hot springs a local souvenir shop was present. While admission was required to enter the springs, we were given a post card from each respective spring by summit volunteers for our admittance. These local tours lasted until three in the afternoon when we arrived back to the Suginoi hotel.

After arriving, we were instructed to prepare for the opening ceremony and arrive by 4:30 if we wanted to participate in a tea ceremony. One of the stipulations provided by the summit volunteers and summit brochure was for participants not to dress in the hotel yukatas (light Japanese robes) during the event. Most hotels with hot springs in Japan provide yukatas for patrons, but these are for casual lounging after spending time in the hot springs. Most participants dressed in semi-formal attire for the event, and no one I saw was wearing a yukata. However, attending the event proved difficult as the map providing the layout of the hotel was difficult to understand. In first arriving in the Suginoi hotel, my roommates remarked that the map was largely useless and proceeded to explain where everything was based on landmarks as they had toured the hotel before I arrived. In attending the opening ceremony, I was a little late because Ballroom Amber was not clearly marked in English or in Japanese. Rather, the ballroom was located down a narrow corridor and up a stairwell.

The opening ceremony began at 4:30 and ran until 6:15 in the afternoon. At 5:00, Kiyotaka Himeno, chairman of the summit executive committee and president of the Momotaro Nori Company, provided the first segment of the opening address. The second segment was provided by Masaharu Kohno, chairman of the CIE and the current ambassador of Japan to Italy. This year, there were eight speeches total during the opening ceremony. Given the number and length of these speeches, I only focus on a few in this chapter below. Following the opening address was a welcome address to the region by the governor of Ōita and then the mayor of

Beppu. It was also during this time that the various local session key persons were introduced. Greetings from the guests of honor, as labeled in the opening ceremony pamphlet, lead to the closing of the opening ceremony. After Robert Whitfield and Kyo Nakahama finished their speeches, a member from each of their families exchanged the traditional globe that marks this event. This is a perennial act that occurs during the summits in Japan and the United States. In this case, the daughter of Kyo Nakahama handed the globe to the granddaughter of Robert Whitfield. Sometimes the opening ceremony occurs in the same location as the welcome reception.

During the 25th summit, the welcome reception was held in the Royal Pearl Room in the Suginoi hotel at 6:30 and lasted until 8:00. Thus, after the opening ceremony, participants were asked to leave Ballroom Amber and walk to the welcome reception. Upon entering, I noticed there were two large tables with food on them at each end of the room. There were also smaller stalls where chefs were stationed to serve food around the periphery of the room and a long table complete with alcohol and another server. As participants entered into the ballroom, they were asked by volunteers to stand at the tables labeled with their homestays. Since my homestay was in Saiki, I stood over by my table where the two key persons for the Saiki local session greeted me. I only met one of the other two participants attending the Saiki local session during this time. Despite the presence of food and alcohol, attendees of the welcome reception were not allowed to eat. Rather, the beginning of the welcome reception began with a calligraphy performance by students attending Ōita High School. As part of their performance the students played upbeat music and performed a choreographed routine while they wrote a message welcoming participants to Ōita on a ten foot tall piece of paper that was laid out on the ground.

Upon completing their routine, they lifted the large piece of paper for everyone to see

which stood for the remainder of the reception. After this, participants were encouraged to visit the students at their booth in the corner of the ballroom where they would write something for them in Japanese calligraphy as a souvenir. Then, the vice-chairman of the summit executive committee, Tomokatsu Fukushima, provided the opening speech which was directly preceded by the *kagami-biraki* ceremony whereby a large wooden sake cask is broken open with wooden mallets. Along with Fukushima, some of the American guests of honor and other delegates performed the ceremony. During this time, servers provided alcohol to those in attendance in preparation for a toast by Kichisaburō Nomura (a director of the CIE's board of directors and executive advisor to All Nippon Airways).

Following his toast, attendees of the welcome reception were encouraged to drink and dine. As part of the opening ceremony, various local food products such as Ōita beef were present. Indeed, one of the Saiki local session key persons provided me with large portions of this beef. Concluding the opening ceremony was a performance by Shonai Kagura (a troupe of Shinto dance performers) titled "Extermination of the Great Serpent." which was the first time I had seen *kagura* (lit. easing the gods). During the spectacle a man in a horned kagura mask danced while brandishing a sword. Accompanying him was another performer inside a large coiled silver snake costume. Other performers dressed in Shinto ritual garb played on instruments including flutes and drums. Interestingly, I would later meet one of the makers of Kagura masks for the region the following day and the day following that I was invited to experience kagura in a secluded rural shrine. By 8:00, however, the festivities were scheduled to close. Takeo Senju, another vice-chair of the summit executive committee provided the closing toast and address. Before leaving, I looked for my roommates to see if they wanted to do anything since it was still early. I waited to return to the hotel room with them and noticed that as

the crowds were leaving, hotel staff began to immediately clean up the ballroom. My one roommate jokingly commented on this as well. After leaving the party, my roommates and I made our way to the large onsen located on top of the Suginoi hotel to relax for the evening.

3.2.2 Participant Versus Tourist

In detailing the process of the opening ceremony, a few important points stand out. First, Victor Turner's (1995) phases of the rites of passage serve as an excellent analogy. When participants first arrive in Japan, they are placed in a liminal state. That is, they are neither tourists nor are they summit participants. Rather, becoming a summit participant is a processual and ritualized act that is exclusionary. Attending the organized activities in sequence are what make summit participants as such and mark them as distinct from other tourists. The process begins as soon as participants arrive in Japan whereby they are given name tags and their movements are carefully monitored and accounted for by summit volunteers. Moreover, participants take on new social roles as they are placed in a position of dependency. Summit volunteers are in charge of providing the name tags, emergency contact information, breakfast vouchers, and departure times. Bourdieu's (1977) description of hexis aids to reinforce this point in that participants are distinguished from their hosts by how their bodies and respective gestures are managed during the opening ceremony. In controlling when summit participants return to the hotel, asking them to dress a certain way, and then controlling when they should eat and drink, participants go through a series of bodily motions that unite them as a group while also marking them a distinct from their Japanese hosts. Participants do not have control or access to these resources nor can they negotiate how their time is spent. Still, participants do not become participants until the opening ceremony, which is the initiate stage. During this time participants are stripped of their individual statuses and take on new forms of subjectivity.

Despite the amalgamation of Japanese and Americans in attendance, there are clear protocols designed to separate them. That is, when held in Japan, Americans are separated from each other and become spectators of the performances and speeches which are designed to welcome them and assign them their new role as summit participants. The banners for the summit as well as official pamphlets and programs transform the Suginoi hotel into a ritual space where this transformation can be played out. The speeches, performances, and banquet further transform this space and imbue it with social significance and new social protocols. That is, these spectacles are held to orient individuals into a common experience by witnessing and partaking in them. As participants attend this event and experience it collectively, they create a distinct *communitas* derived from the shared responsibility of engaging in grassroots exchange (Turner, 1995). This was indicated in the speech by the chairman of the summit executive committee who stated that through the summit “grassroots friendships between the two nations will be further strengthened.” The same speaker also used the term participant for the first time in an official capacity with the utterance “participants from the United States.” The first speech, therefore, semantically contextualizes the term participant which then is used interchangeably with such phrases as ‘you’ and ‘guests’ in subsequent speeches. For example, the summit committee chairs expressed that, “the local venues have prepared programs for you to enjoy.” Here, ‘you’ is in reference to participants and not the crowd as a whole. Thus, the deictic use of pronouns during the opening ceremony is an important part of this ritual initiation as the usage of ‘you’ is an act of interpellation on the part of the official speakers of the opening ceremony. ‘You’ comes to refer to the Americans in the crowd that paid for the trip and will attend the homestays and local sessions.

Through such acts a dichotomy is created whereby Americans are separated from

Japanese and each are given their respective roles in the ceremony and for the remainder of the summit. The role of participants was further emphasized by Margaret MacLeod (Director of the American Consulate in Fukuoka and director of Fukuoka America Center) who stated, “You will make friends and you will talk about your home town and your school during your stay. Invite the Japanese friends that you make to visit you in your home towns...” In this case, MacLeod not only speculates as to what participants will do, but also intimates at what they should do in order to conduct proper grassroots exchange. The distribution of gift bags by summit volunteers containing a small weaved basket containing marbles typically sold at the Ōita prefectural art museum during the opening ceremony further marked participants as such for they received these departing gifts as an indicator that they attended the opening ceremony. This act of gift giving solidified the host-guest dichotomy in that the Japanese and Americans cannot and are not allowed to have ambiguous roles and status towards one another. Further still, the use of the term ‘guests’ by Margaret MacLeod further reinforces this dichotomy. Yet, at the center of all this activity is the John Manjiro story which serves as the locus from which discourses and the practices of grassroots exchange and participant purpose are given coherency. It is to this narrative that I now turn.

3.3 (Re)Re-narrating the Story of John Manjiro

3.3.1 Nakahama Manjiro Monogatari

In 2011, the CIE held the summit in Kōchi prefecture. This was the first time the summit had been held in Shikoku and the first time the summit had been held in the birthplace of John Manjiro. During the opening ceremony, a slide show presentation of John Manjiro’s life was presented to an audience of American participants and Japanese high school students. The slide show was presented in Japanese with English subtitles and accompanied by manga-like images.

While I was already familiar with this account given my prior participation in the summit, this was the first time that I began to fully understand and appreciate the purpose of this narrative. That is, the re-telling of John Manjiro's life was not simply a means of entertaining the crowd that had gathered but was the very reason for that assemblage. Jerome Bruner (1991) posits that narratives are not historical in the sense they are factual accounts, but that they sequence experiential events for the purposes of being retold. In this case, elements of John Manjiro's life were carefully selected from the work of Warriner (1956) and further organized by researchers working with the CIE such as Junji Kitadai (Manjiro historian and board member of the CIE) so that we, the audience of the opening ceremony, could identify with the Japanese-American friendship espoused as its central theme.

John Manjiro was a Japanese fisherman born in 1827 during the Tokugawa period (1603–1867). During this time, Japanese subjects were not allowed to travel outside of the realm of the Tokugawa Shogunate under penalty of death. The intent was to solidify Tokugawa rule so as to prevent future in-fighting between samurai lords which marked the Sengoku period (1467 – 1603). Foreign influences, including Christianity, were seen by the Tokugawa government as a threat to their rule and, by extension, state stability. Thus, individuals that had traveled abroad or had contact with foreigners became enemies of the state under Tokugawa law. In 1841, at the age of 14, Manjiro was shipwrecked on an isolated island with four other men on what is today known as Torishima located 600 miles south of Yokohama (Morse & Danahay, 2007). Manjiro and the survivors of the fishing crew were spotted by the whaling vessel *John Howland* captained by William Whitfield. Manjiro was given the first name John by the captain. Manjiro was later taken to the United States and educated under the care of Whitfield in Fairhaven, Massachusetts. While in the United States, he gained a complete secondary education and

learned English while acquiring other trades such as coopering (Morse & Danahay, 2007). Under the threat of death, Manjiro returned to Okinawa in 1851 and was placed under arrest. However, he was eventually freed and allowed to return to his home domain of Tosa (now Kōchi prefecture). The reason for this was his knowledge about the United States, which was of particular importance to the Tokugawa Shogunate as Russians and other foreign powers had begun encroaching on Japanese territory during the middle of the 19th century (Bernard, 1992; Morris-Suzuki, 1997). Because of Manjiro's knowledge and language ability, he was summoned to serve as an interpreter for the Shogun when Captain Perry arrived in 1853. As such, Manjiro is viewed historically as a progressive figure in aiding in the modernization of Japan by helping to end the archaic rule of the Tokugawa Shoguns and bring about the Meiji period (1868-1912).

3.3.2 Utilizing Narrative

As mentioned previously, the point of this narrative is not to simply recount a story for its own sake. Rather, in telling the story of John Manjiro in this way, his life is framed within particular contexts which allow for latter retellings of his life that relate to those contexts. In essence, such a telling of his life allows for the symbolic exchange of the globe between the Whitfields and descendants of John Manjiro to have meaning. Moreover, it also explains the importance of grassroots exchange and, by extension, the reason why the CIE exists. This is not to suggest that the story of John Manjiro is ahistorical. Rather, that John Manjiro's life is historicized in that it is an act of rewriting a particular life for a purpose and that purpose is only given intelligibility through the manipulation of temporal frames. Addressing this point, Ricœur argues that in order to make sense of any action, it must be taken into its spatiotemporal contexts (Dower, 2011). To elaborate, Ricœur states that history contains its own structures which make it intelligible, but that history is always an act of interpreting events that also masks itself as

explanation of those events. The act of narrating, as in the telling of the Manjiro story, provides this structure.

In the context of the summit, the story of Manjiro, as history, provides a plausible means for participants to understand how they came to the summit and why they are attending by grounding it in a linear sequence of events. As Ochs and Capps (1996) state, the use of chronology in narratives provides a reassuring coherence but that coherency is garnered by moving between past and present frequently within narratives. In the utilization of specific dates such as 1841 versus the 2015 summit, the CIE sets the historical figures of John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield within a chain of causality that can be pinpointed to both particular times and places that we, as contemporary people, can retrace. For example, in remarking on the story of John Manjiro, the mayor of Beppu stated it has been “117 years since John Manjiro passed away.” 117 years has no meaning in itself, but by attaching the words ‘passed away’ with ‘John Manjiro’ into the statement, the speaker marks this passage of time as significant. Again, as Ochs and Capps (1996) attest, such chronologies grant meaning to histories that are disconnected from the direct experience of the audience. It is in this act of retracing, an ordering of events that can only be understood in terms of narrative causality, that we come to understand ourselves as inheritors of their legacy. Margaret MacLeod reinforced this point when she stated, “You carry on a proud tradition of citizen diplomacy of which the Manjiro-Whitfield story is a beautiful example,” during the opening ceremony. Here, the usage of ‘you’ refers to participants as well as Japanese organizers. Thus, in attending the summit, John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield become our collective predecessors even if we have no direct relationship to these individuals. Rather, participants follow in their footsteps of mutual friendship and learning between the Japanese and Americans so to speak.

Furthermore, each re-telling of the Manjiro story in the summit binds summit participants with participants from previous summits in such a way that one summit is simply to allow for this narrative to be passed on to the next and the next so that each summit marks a continuation into the future which gains its collective identity from those that preceded it. Shutz (1970) posits that in the world of social relations there are those that exist simultaneously with us, those that succeed us, and the world of predecessors. It is this latter sense of shared community with those that preceded us which shapes the contemporary moment. That is, we do not know them but they have affected us nevertheless and provide a means for conversation with our contemporaries regarding a present state of affairs. Yet, as Shutz (1970) suggests, it is never entirely clear if the actions of our predecessors were understood in terms of posterity or even as we understand them as contemporary people. We do not know, for example, that Manjiro and Captain Whitfield understood their relationship in terms of mutual understanding or cultural exchange as the terms are used today and that they wanted Japan and the United States to follow suit. John Manjiro never left behind any direct memoirs of his accounts and later works on his life only appeared after his death in 1898, coinciding with the Meiji Restoration and the building of the Japanese nation-state (Van Sant, 2000; Fujitani, 1996, 2004).

Despite this, MacLeod stated, “The family ties that the Manjiro and Whitfield families built have been a model of how personal relationships can play a role in international relations...” Similarly, the Mayor of Beppu also expressed “I am moved that his descendants [Manjiro’s] have followed the wishes of Manjiro, that they have promoted grassroots exchange between the United States and Japan.” This follows Ricœur who also stressed that historians posit historical developments in such a way as if those that lived them were poised or aware of the historical developments that preceded them. In essence, the purpose of historical narratives is

not to posit possible contingencies but to erase how those in the past were poised with various exigencies and reflexive understanding of their future (Dowling, 2011). History is not concerned with what could have been but in stressing that fact that certain events did not occur, and historical narratives such as the Manjiro story reflect this trend by making the Japan-America alliance appear inevitable as when MacLeod stated, we have “returned to our shared destiny that began more than a century and a half ago.”

Given this, the opening ceremony and the individuals that give speeches reinforce the idea that Japan and the United States were destined to be friends while ignoring the actual historical contingencies and trajectories that lead to the current American and Japanese political and economic partnership. Yet, what such narratives as the Manjiro story and their respective tellers during the opening ceremony leave out is that the United States was one of many foreign powers involved in Japan after the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the modernization of the country during the Meiji Period (1868-1912). Second, the Manjiro-Whitfield relationship, as it is articulated, is very much the product of post-war Americanization whereby Japan was lauded by the United States as a model for the beneficence of American development and modernization schemes (Dower, 2000). In essence, Manjiro is poised as a figure ahead of his time that aided in ‘correcting’ Japan’s backwards thinking, allowing American ideas of progress and civilization to take hold in Japan. However, this narrative is only intelligible given Japan’s loss in WWII and subsequent occupation and development by the United States.

Moreover, bringing in the use of the terms Japan and America as associated with personal relationship between John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield is emblematic of what Ricœur calls actants. In this case, America and Japan are not things but are nevertheless a shorthand for describing the unknowable multitudes that contribute to the historical processes being described.

John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield are singled out as promoting a process of friendship between the two nations, but no direct correlation between these two actions exists. Taken still further, Ricœur overlaps with Anderson (2006) in suggesting that individuals view such terms as America or Japan as having agency in their own right while also collectively seeing themselves as part of those actants (Dowling, 2011). This is indicated throughout the various speeches as speakers move between such statements as “our nations,” “fellow countrymen” and references to citizens of Japan and the United States. Thus, the term America in the title Japan-America Grassroots Summit refers both to a country and to a particular group of people yet erases the individual acts between Japanese and Americans by ascribing such acts to larger political units while reifying them (Anderson, 2006). If this was not the case, then the CIE would have no need to use the phrase Japan-America but, rather, state the summit as an exchange between Beppu residents and individual American citizens, for example.

3.3.3 Selective Tellings

This brings me to my last point concerned with what is left out of such a narrative. The Manjiro story, as it is told by the CIE, reflects state interests and goals and the goals of the CIE more specifically. Thus, those aspects of the Manjiro story that are not conducive to the image of mutual understanding and exchange are left out. E. Bruner (2005) lends credence to this position as he argues that the telling of such stories in such platforms as the opening ceremony and by political figures grants them their authority. These narratives at once are given legitimacy by the state and its representatives while also constituting the power of the state. The ability to openly contest such narratives, therefore, not only undermines the authority of official tellers of the Manjiro story but the story itself and further delegitimizes the entire framework on which grassroots exchange is established.

While Manjiro and Whitfield are positioned as progenitors of amicable American and Japanese relations, many aspects of John Manjiro's experiences in the United States are left out. For example, Manjiro was not necessarily welcomed by residents in Fairhaven, Massachusetts upon his arrival. Rather, the Whitfields had difficulty bringing him to church given the overt racism of the time (Morse & Danahay, 2007). It also took Manjiro over a year to convince Japanese government officials that he was not Christianized and, thus, a threat to the stability of Japanese socio-political order (Van Sant, 2000). The prejudice he experienced in the US led him to find a way back to Japan. To finance his efforts, he initially took a position as a steward on the whaling ship *Franklin* and later searched for gold in California in 1850 until finding passage to Hawai'i and later on to Okinawa. (Morse & Danahay, 2007, Nagakuni & Kitadai, 2003).

Secondly, the reason for Captain Whitfield's presence in the Pacific is glossed over. The *John Howland* that Whitfield captained was both a result of expansionist policies into the Pacific Ocean on the part of the United States and the need to fuel its industrial growth. Whales were a critical resource in fueling that growth and, by extension, it was industrialization which allowed the United States to force Japan open in 1853 with the arrival of Commodore Perry and the Black Ships. Whaling also helped to finance Perry's expedition, and it was also one of the prime reasons for opening Japanese ports so American vessels could replenish fresh water and supplies to continue this practice (Morse & Danahay, 2007). Given these developments in the United States, when Manjiro was brought to Fairhaven, Massachusetts he was exposed to new ideologies regarding the industrial-scale use of animal resources. Historical records show that Manjiro's experiences had an effect on him and Japan given that he founded Japan's modern whaling industry by promoting and applying American whaling methods in Japan upon his return (Nagakuni & Kitadai, 2003).

Thus, as Japan industrialized during the late 19th century, the country began to compete with Europeans for whales. Indeed, the Japanese government encouraged the development of modern whaling fleets to compete with Russia and the nations commonly referred to as the “West” (Morse & Danahay, 2007). In addition, Manjiro was also indirectly responsible for the near extinction of short tailed albatrosses. Ironically, the very island that he was shipwrecked on was later the site of a processing plant established by Manjiro’s acquaintance Nakaemon Tamaoiki who harvested the birds for their feathers which were later used in the jackets of Japanese soldiers during the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 (Morse & Danahay, 2007). Thus, the Manjiro story can be read as an economic and environmental narrative as much as a historical and diplomatic one. Yet, such a narrative falls outside the causal explanations leading to the summit as provided by the CIE and official opening ceremony speakers. Despite this, such alternate narratives do show that the contact between John Manjiro and Captain Whifield bears no singular connection to Japan-America friendship. This would occur after the Second World War when the correspondence between the descendants of Manjiro and the Whitfields resumed and their personal relationship was appropriated in the name of grassroots exchange after the establishment of the Manjiro Society in 1990. The utilization of Commodore Perry in discussions of grassroots exchange during the opening ceremony proves equally problematic in this regard as a master narrative explaining Japan-American friendship and it is to the speech by Dr. Perry that I now turn.

3.4 Perry’s Speech and Addressing the Telos of Japan-America Relations

3.4.1 Perry’s Pre-tour Narrative

Dr. Perry’s speech served to orient the purpose of the summit as one of mutual understanding and discovery while also relying on historical events to establish the necessity and

efficacy of cultural exchange. In brief, Dr. Perry's 2015 speech began by using the word cultural exchange without defining it. He then went on to state that "cultural exchange, in which we are participating, in my opinion, is the best way for people of different cultures to improve relationships with each other." His appeals stem from his argument that conflict arises from a lack of understanding. He then moved on to explain his own hopes and goals for the summit in Ōita prefecture and his visit to Nagasaki after the summit. The second half of his speech mentioned historical figures such as Ranald McDonald (first native speaker of English to teach English in Japan) and Commodore Perry within the context of improving understanding between Japan and the United States.

The first issue I wish to address is how Dr. Perry's speech works as a pre-tour narrative that frames participant action. That is, the beginning of Perry's speech reproduces ideas of what is proper for participants in the act of cultural exchange. Pre-tour narratives are placed in the future tense and articulate the possibilities that tourists might encounter while also revealing particular value judgements (E. Bruner, 2005). Perry's pre-tour narrative concerning his participation in the summit is expressed in his statement, "On this Summit I hope to learn more about Ōita and the surrounding towns and cities on Kyushu. I hope to visit some natural hot springs and other natural resources like the scenic coastline, forests, and rivers." Perry's own pre-tour narrative, as it is expressed in this official speech, conforms to tropes of nature as established by the Ōita prefectural governor who spoke earlier during the opening ceremony. During his speech, the Ōita Governor lauded the beauty of other Japanese prefectures but went on to remark "We have many hot spring areas that we are very proud of as being Japan's best."

There are two points to address here, the first returns back to Urry's concept of the gaze whereby Perry has adopted the language of a cultural outsider looking at Ōita as a series of

experiences that are yet to be had. Perry implies that Ōita is unknown to him and, through his participation in the summit, he will come to know more about it. MacLeod offered similar language in her own speech in which she stated that despite the recent arrival of participants that they had already begun to have a more nuanced view of Japan than they had before they came. The point to address here is how Ōita is framed as something that is unknown but, nevertheless, is worthy of exploration. This is emphasized by specific references to nature. The official statements by Perry and the Ōita governor aid in establishing that Ōita's natural endowments as worthy of the tourist gaze while ignoring social realities such as *shichōson gappei* (municipal mergers) and *genkai shūraku* (declining villages). Lastly, Perry's statements and the statements of the Ōita prefectural governor serve as a form of cultural branding. They discursively construct the prefecture as something that can be, and should be, consumed. This is further suggested by a statement made by the Ōita prefectural governor when he proclaimed "I would like you to appreciate the delicacy of local food and beauty of nature during your stay in Ōita." Yet, as Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) suggest, such sites which can espouse the presence of natural beauty and particularly local endeavors or products are in a better position to sell themselves to tourist and so compete in the global market. None of the official speakers framed their conversations of Ōita in this way nor did they remark on how other parts in Japan struggle because they cannot produce such images or products for tourists or engage in ethno-preneurialism (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Love, 2013).

3.4.2 Appropriating the Past

Even more concerning, however, is Perry's references visiting important sites related to both countries' involvement in WWII. Perry stated, "By Americans visiting sites like memorials to the atomic bombings, and Japanese visiting sites like Pearl Harbor, we can continue the

reconciliation and better understanding of the tragedy of war and become better friends so we never repeat the actions of the past.” Again, Perry is describing what is worthy of gazing upon while framing how such sites should be seen. Yet, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) argues, such memorials are less about remembering the past as they are about proclaiming how history should not have happened. In this regard, the audience members of the opening ceremony are asked not to look at Hiroshima and Nagasaki as sites of mass-murder on the part of the United States that ultimately led to the American occupation and cultural transformation of Japan post-war. Words such as “reconciliation” and “better understanding” are utilized as they are conducive to the trope of cultural exchange. Furthermore, Perry’s language masks that cultural exchange is rarely truly reciprocal and even given historical power imbalances (Rogers, 2006). Rather, the outcome of the war necessitated a clear winner and loser and, by default, the United States influenced Japan much more so than Japan the United States (Watanabe, 2000; Yoshimi & Buist, 2003).

According to John Dower (2014) the United States prohibited the Japanese from producing photographs, drawings, or writings on the atomic blasts in Hiroshima and Nagasaki until 1952. The Japanese were unable to draw their own meanings from the event as they were summarily occupied and their attention was directed towards daily survival and rebuilding the country. When the Japanese finally began to construct their post-war narrative in the 1950s, the atomic bombs allowed Japan to claim itself as a victim of war despite its colonial involvement in Asia (Dower, 2014). Given this, the victory of the United States over Japan established how such memorials could be interpreted for both Americans and the Japanese (Harootunian, 2006). Perry’s ability to make such statements are the byproduct of this history and this is also why he is able to discuss Commodore Perry as he does.

In one part of his speech Perry states, “During the negotiations of the Treaty of Amity

and Peace in 1854, Commodore Perry used food and beverage as a way breaking down barriers between two different cultures”. The Treaty of Amity established official U.S-Japan relations in 1858 with the Tokugawa military government but were part of a series of what would become the ‘unequal treaties’ that the Meiji Government sought to overcome as they impinged upon Japanese sovereignty and caused significant social and cultural upheavals (Henning, 2000). Thus, this treaty did little to break down barriers as opposed to create significant culture shocks and political turmoil in Japan. Despite this history, Perry’s statement does several important things.

First, it implies an earlier form of cultural exchange between the United States and Japan although the Japanese state was not formed until 1868. Secondly, his statement also supports the relationship between nation and culture as inseparable and a natural development. The mentioning of food and drink is a reference to the opening ceremony’s use of local food to promote conversation and goodwill between Americans and Japanese during the welcome reception. This also solidifies the dichotomy which I discussed above regarding the role of participants and Japanese hosts. In this case, the welcome reception returns the ceremonial act of giving food and drink. This also situates the audience within a timeline stemming back to Commodore Perry so that participants can further see the importance and purpose of their role in the summit. In essence, it constitutes a tradition. This provides a chronology, an origin, like that of the Manjiro Story without compromising it. This is further instantiated by his statement “Our early predecessors, like McDonald, Nakahama, Whitfield, and Perry, knew the value of personal contact.” The use of the word “predecessors” lends legitimacy to the summit by suggesting it is the result of previous diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan and, therefore, serves as a valid platform from which to conduct cultural exchange. Hence, references to the past

and constructing clear chronologies is again a critical component in establishing a clear purpose for the summit and participants.

3.4.3 Disavowing the Past

Yet the most problematic aspect of Dr. Perry's speech is the very use of Commodore Perry as a paragon of Japan-America cultural exchange and diplomacy. In regards to such diplomacy, the cultural values of Commodore Perry and his crew were not amicable. This is not considered in Perry's speech who refers to Commodore Perry's presence in Japan as a "negotiation". Perry is right to reference the use of food and drink as historians have commonly focused on Commodore Perry's use of banquets in addition to displays of American technology and parades (Keith, 2011; Henning, 2000). Yet, ideologically, the Commodore and his crew came with an attitude of the cultural and moral supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race in conjunction with notions of American exceptionalism. Indeed, in the accounts of Commodore Perry's mission to Japan, the Japanese are often referred to as child-like while expressing his own beliefs of the superiority of Western cultural forms over Eastern ones. In short, Perry's parades and gift exchanges were a means of justifying views of white supremacy and the preeminence of Western civilization as a whole (Keith, 2011). Through cultural exchange, the Commodore attempted to both show how inferior the Japanese were but also how civilized and advanced they could become by adopting American ways. The use of the telegraph and railroad were essential in this while also providing credence for the inevitability of Western civilization into Asia (Henning, 2000). Ironically, then, while Dr. Perry uses the historical figures and personal contact through amicable relations by visiting one another's countries and important sites of remembrance, Commodore Perry's own cultural exchange policies were defined by imperialism and racial overtones. In Perry's speech, as well as subsequent speeches, the pre-tour

narrative on the parts of these speakers is laden with political motives that re-orient history for the purposes of cultural representation as well as defining participant purpose based on the Japan-America relationship as it exists today while glossing over how that relation actually came about.

Furthermore, as Carol Gluck (1993) and Naoki Sakai (2006) argue, the postwar experience of Japan has been the primary factor in shaping contemporary Japan's historical and cultural identity. John Dower (1998) further puts this into perspective stating that Americans have been actively involved in organizing Japanese history and what its cultural heritage means in the present. According to Dower (1998) prior to WWII, American studies of Japan centered on theories of convergent cultural evolution to account for how the Japanese were able to industrialize and become colonizers in their own right equal to the Euro-American powers. Leading up to and during the war, Japan's unique cultural and racial aspects were emphasized to explain Japanese belligerence and political deviations from American democracy. Still, a third paradigm emerged during the Cold War centered on Japan's recovery. In this regard, Japan's pre-modern feudal past was used by scholars to explain the hard-work and discipline that defined the Japanese people as the country rebuilt after WWII and eventually became the second largest economy in the world. This thinking is reminiscent of Benedict's (1934) *Patterns of Culture* which applies a similar strategy in regards to explaining why people from different cultures act the way they do. In essence, each culture has a kind of personality and the Japanese culture possessed qualities that allowed them to engage in self-sacrifice and hard work. Ultimately, Dower's (1998) point is that historical accounts and cultural understanding of Japan by the United States have been guided more by political relations than by actual social science. The

opening ceremony continues this tradition in the ways that Commodore Perry and Manjiro's historical contributions to both countries are emphasized.

Given this, the U.S occupation of Japan lead to the acceptance of the West as a model for modernity on the part of the Japanese but also a means to understand and re-narrate Japan's past in light of its compulsory relationship with the United States in the Cold War era world order. The seminal works on Japan by Warriner (1956) and Benedict (1967) were part of this process. Sonia Ryang (2002) posits that Benedict's work actually gave credence and credibility to the idea of an ineffable transcendent Japanese spirit in postwar Japan. Benedict's ethnographic work was treated as objective textual evidence that could serve to reinforce the validity of a distinct Japanese way of life as ascribed to a distinct people (Robertson, 2008). Such ethnographic work allowed the utterance 'The Japanese are...' to gain cogency as Japanese culture was treated as a "singular semantic totality" (Augé, 1998, p. 58). Thereof, how the CIE narrates the encounter between John Manjiro and Captain Whitfield, and by extension Commodore Perry, would lack coherency prior to the end of WW2, thus negating the CIE's underlying teleological assumptions of U.S-Japan relations. John Mung, as he was called by American sailors on the *John Howland*, would not have been articulated as contributing to the modernization of the Japanese state nor promoting cultural relations in his own time. Rather, despite the then cosmopolitan and progressive racial outlook that existed in Fairhaven, Massachusetts during the mid-19th century, Manjiro was subjected to racial prejudice in the United States and held in suspicion among Japanese upon his return home due to his acculturation (Morse & Danahay, 2007).

Lastly, the Manjiro story and descriptions of Commodore Perry's contributions to U.S-Japan relations bear striking resemblance to the ways in which Abraham Lincoln is utilized in constructing a historical mythos in the United States. E. Bruner (2005) states that "the function

and the promise of national myths is to resolve contradiction, if not in life, then in narrative and performance” (p. 97). In essence, Lincoln serves as a reminder of what America nominally stands for and that such acts of racism and prejudice are ugly blemishes caused by individuals that do not represent this true ideal. Of course, this is precisely what makes such figures powerful myths because they can stand-in for lofty values while masking complex histories and lived realities. Furthermore, as E. Bruner (2005) points out, the narratives and representations that surround these kinds of historical figures is never unanimously agreed upon. Indeed, Lincoln is both the Great Emancipator and responsible for the war of northern aggression. Thus, such figures allow for stories to be told about particular places and times as situated within particular meanings for particular purposes that are always contingent on who is telling the story. Without the Manjiro story, the summit would simply be an amalgamation of people without an official purpose.

3.5 Conclusion

The important point to address is that this overarching narrative of Japan-America friendship as embodied by Manjiro and Captain Whitfield are intended to create what Ricœur calls a refiguration (Dowling 2011). In this sense, the narrative of Manjiro and Captain Whitfield as well as the various descriptions of the local sessions and region of the summit are intended to serve as a means of altering how participants view their host country. More precisely, they are a means of eliminating possible alternatives to explaining participant action and attitudes (Dowling, 2011). Thus, the platform under which grassroots exchange is supposed to occur is delineated and prescriptive through the use of master narratives.

Yet, the various participants have their own personal stories regarding why they came to Japan and what they believe they are doing as participants in the summit. These constitute the

pre-tour narratives of participants and are also indicative of their own narrative prefigurations in terms of their particular understanding of cultural meanings and symbols which precede their arrival in the summit as based on lived experiences (Dowling, 2011). In essence, despite claims by the CIE that state that participants are part of an ongoing tradition of cultural exchange between Japan and the United States, this does not necessarily coincide with how the participants view themselves or their motives. As I will discuss in chapter 5, the CIE appropriates the various travel narratives of participants and removes them from their original context to fit within a new narrative construct that is in-line with the master narrative of cultural exchange as espoused by the CIE. For now, however, I turn to an examination of my informant's reflections on the summit and how they performed the role of participants.

4 MY OWN PRIVATE SAIKI

“Experience may be the ultimate tourist commodity, but in itself experience is inchoate without an ordering narrative, for it is the story, the telling, that makes sense of it all, and the story is how people interpret their journey and their lives” (E. Bruner, 2005, p. 20).

4.1 Not Included in the Brochure

On the evening of July 10th my host mother took me to the *shōtengai* (shopping arcade) in Saiki named midtown. The name was lit in neon and scrawled in cursive. It was fairly early, and the *akachōchin* (red lanterns) outside the eating establishments lining the street had just been lit. We stopped by an old antique store first—my suggestion. I thought about buying a small souvenir, possibly one of the many toys from the mid-shōwa period that were on display. After a brief visit my host mother told me she had a friend waiting, so we promptly left. We took a few pictures of the bikes and a giant *manekineko* (good fortune cat) in front of a store before we made our way into a non-descript building. The establishment was clearly an *izakaya*, (Japanese

pub). We were escorted to a private elevated room enclosed by rice paper walls and a *shōbi* (sliding door). I remember the girl serving us well because her hair was dyed a light brown and she wore a black apron with screen printed skulls over it. This was certainly a very casual place. Upon entering the room a man sat parallel to me. I felt somewhat nervous as it was only my host mother and this man. I thought we were sharing the room with another party, but it turned out that the man was Mr. Kuwahara, a local legislature for Saiki in Ōita prefecture. We introduced ourselves to each other in Japanese but the conversation was largely between my host mother and Mr. Kuwahara until more of my host mother's friends arrived. Mr. Kuwahara, poured me a glass of *shōchū* (Japanese spirits) because he knew that I liked this drink. Clearly, Japanese that I had met while being hosted in Saiki were talking about me. My choice of drink surprised him because *shōchū* is largely consumed only in Japan. Soon, plates of food arrived including a plate of prosciutto which Mr. Kuwahara remarked it was Italian. Interestingly, no one was eating so I asked in polite Japanese if it was okay to eat. It was only after I asked and begun eating that everyone else did so as well. As time passed, and we increasingly inebriated, which the six of us crammed inside the small *tatami* (rice straw mat) room carried on in a mixture of Japanese and English. I kept to the informal, colloquial tone of Japanese speech to talk with my hosts which also surprised them. I was elated when Mr. Kuwahara and others remarked that I gave off a Japanese presence.

After spending about an hour and a half at the izakaya, the others around me pulled out their wallets and began to pay for the bill. I was a little embarrassed because I saw some rather large bills being passed around and some quarrelling over who was covering what. It was a good night for sure, but I would soon find out that the night was only beginning. After leaving the izakaya, we departed to another part of the *shōtengai*. This area contained tiled staircases, bright

neon lights and several metal doors which seemed to be organized in no particular order. Mr. Kuwahara seemed excited and wanted to show me something. He poked his head behind a door at the end of a narrow, poorly illuminated corridor. I noticed that the door had a picture of an *onnagata* (female impersonator in kabuki theater) on it, but did not make the association with the establishment behind the door. Mr. Kuwahara turned his head to us to tell us the establishment was full but continued to talk inside the doorway. After a few moments, a man dressed in drag came out and Mr. Kuwahara introduced me to him. He told me that the man was a famous local personality but only dressed in full *onnagata* attire on Saturdays. We took a picture together and then made our way to another door located in the hallway. I noticed another small door near the ground which could only be entered by crouching. What was this strange place? Again, Mr. Kuwahara opened the door and we were hurriedly invited in by two women behind a bar. The room was thick with smoke and as I took my seat I became an instant object of interest for the women behind the bar who began asking me questions about where I was from. Mr. Kuwahara also mentioned that the man sitting to my left was the vice-mayor of Saiki. After this, I was promptly poured a glass of *shōchū* and then handed what looked like a computer tablet. The screen contained Japanese text, but my host mother asked me to choose a song. This was a karaoke bar. This is real Japanese culture, Mr. Kuwahara remarked. This is real Japanese culture.

4.2 The Voice of Summit Participants

Edward Bruner (2005) stresses that an ethnographic approach to tourism should avoid treating tourist stories as static texts. Rather, he argues that in regards to tourism, there is the trip that happened, the trip as experienced, and the narration of those experiences. In each case, not all three of these elements are necessarily aligned. Ochs and Capps (1996) further support this point by drawing attention to the fact that personal narratives are not a means of remembering or

professing a singular, fixed point of view. Rather, personal narratives are highly selective accounts that are self-reflective in that they are a means of sharing past experiences while also structuring their purpose (Ochs, 2004). While conducting my field interviews, it was essential to allow my informants to tell their stories organically without any structuring on my part. That is, while I asked my informants basic starting questions to facilitate a conversation, I found that they moved between discussions of their own experiences as well as the experiences of other participants in no particular order. This contrasted sharply with the official, monologic and stable narratives of the opening ceremony. Rather, informants were borrowing from the voices of others in constructing their own on-tour narratives and interspersed their own reflections while discussing events. This is not surprising as Ochs (2004) points out that personal narratives are dialogic by nature and do not always contain a clear beginning or end. In terms of pre-tour narratives, my informants' responses were more structured in terms of establishing a logical and consistent chain of cause and effect. More precisely, my informants' narratives were a means of establishing plausible interpretations of how and why they arrived in Japan and acted as they did before and after their arrival (J. Bruner, 1991).

In organizing this chapter, I must admit that I am guilty of restructuring the narratives of my informants for the purposes of sharing this information with readers. That is, the information as I present it here has been re-organized and re-narrated following the structural logic of the summit. I begin with a discussion on how my informants arrived in Japan followed by their participation in the local sessions. While I did talk with many individuals during the summit, I only had time to talk with twelve participants at length. Of these, the responses from Dr. Perry, Brian, Bob, Amy, Heather and Mariko are used throughout this chapter as they are the most substantial and detailed. Despite this number, the information provided by my informants below

reflect multiple perceptions of participant involvement and claims to authenticity. I then move on to highlight parts of my own participation in the local sessions and tours to illustrate how the summit functions as a form of mass tourism but also to reveal the complex interplay between participants and the Japanese. In this case, local sessions and tours frame where cultural exchange is carried out, and what may be discussed within these settings, but these encounters can also be highly unpredictable and ultimately serve the summit's goal of fostering mutual understanding and cultural exchange.

4.3 Ascribing Meaning to Summit Participation

4.3.1 Arriving

Four of my informants learned about the summit by acting as host families during American summits in previous years. In this regard, these individuals were members of their respective Japan-America societies during the time the CIE held the summit in their state of residence. This included the 2008 summit in Kentucky, the 2010 summit in San Francisco, and the 2012 summit in North Texas. Related to this, two other participants learned about the summit because they had friends or professional contacts who had knowledge about the summit. Although they were not personally attending the summit in 2015, they still encouraged my informants to attend. Interestingly, only in Heather's case did the person who informed her about the summit actually attend in a previous year. My informants also did not recruit others to attend the summit beyond their immediate families or friends. Because of Amy's previous experiences acting as a host family for the summit and attending the summit in Japan, she informed her friends and provided them with brochures but they preferred to travel to Europe that year. Thus, my informants mostly traveled alone, but in a few cases with their spouse or only one child. In the other cases, informants were involved in Japan-America societies or similar organizations

such as the Manjiro Society in Washington, D.C. Those informants attending the summit for the first time expressed that they largely found out about the summit only months before the application deadline. They were surprised by such an opportunity and found that, despite their interest in Japan, the summit was not something they had heard about. They found out about the summit by word of mouth. Indeed, according to the secretary general of the CIE, this is the primary method the CIE uses to promote the summit in the United States. From my personal experience, the CIE was very passive in promoting the summit in Atlanta in 2015, leaving brochures at the Japan-America Society of Georgia (JASG) but not actively conducting presentations for JASG members as they had done in Beaumont, Texas according to Brian. While the means by which informants learned about the summit were generally uniform and reflected the CIE's recruitment strategies, the motivations for attending the summit, and visiting Japan more broadly, were highly diverse.

In previous years, high school groups from the United States often accompany the summit. This was not the case in 2015. Rather, a group of 15 high school students and undergraduates from Colorado College labeling themselves as the "Amache Group" received an \$80,000 grant from the Tomodachi initiative to attend the summit. Amusingly, I made contact with these individuals after incidentally hearing the term "opening ceremony" behind my seat on the flight to Japan. These individuals were sponsored by Paul Maruyama, former president of the Japan-America Society of Colorado and Asian Studies instructor at Colorado College, who wrote the grant. As a condition of their grant, the students had to present on their archaeological preservation work on the Amache Japanese Internment Camp in Granada, Colorado. While they were paired off with host families, they had to provide three presentations on Japanese internment camps. The last presentation was provided at the closing ceremony. This served as

the official reason for attending the summit, but the individuals from the Amache group that I talked with stated that they wanted to attend the summit because they interested in learning about a “new culture” and “teaching and learning from each other [Japanese and Americans].” These informants also stated to me that they saw themselves as representing not just their town, but the U.S as a whole. Because of their work with Japanese internment camps, I also asked them about the work of Ruth Benedict, particularly the *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. They had not come across this work despite the fact that Benedict’s work was based in internment camps and is a seminal piece on Japanese culture produced just after WWII.

Among my key informants, Brian’s purpose for attending the summit stood out to me as he attended for what I would consider networking purposes. Brian first came to Japan in 2002 with his now wife in order to see Japan and her hometown. In 2015, he learned about the program as a faculty member teaching fine art at Lamar University. In this case, he heard about the summit through the director of Global Studies at Lamar University, who, in-turn, heard about it through Mrs. Hoffman, a Japanese woman living in Beaumont, Texas and former president of the Beaumont Art League. Brian wanted to do some collaborative work with Beppu University which is located in Ōita prefecture. There were two reasons for this. First, Beppu is the sister city to Beaumont. Despite this, the two cities have not conducted much in terms of fostering this relationship. Second, the Global Studies director at Lamar University was also interested in creating an international experience for students according to Brian. Chirs was unable to make initial contact with Beppu University faculty in 2014, but because the summit’s opening ceremony was held in Beppu, this provided a means for him to travel to the area and meet with faculty.

Three informants also shared interesting and complex reasons for attending the summit

tied to their personal relationship to Japan and the Japanese. First, Mariko identified as half-Japanese and had previously traveled to Okinawa in 2006 for a wedding and again in 2014 to visit relatives. Mariko stated that:

I decided to attend because I wanted to experience a part of Japan I have never been to before. I wanted to get away from the large city like Tokyo and go to a place that was rich in Japanese culture, and be in a place with lots of nature and rice fields. I do have family in Japan so I could always stay with them, but as I mentioned before, they all live in the city. So I really wanted to stay with a family and experience daily life in a place far away from all that, and step out of my comfort zone a bit and really get in touch with my culture.

This reasoning appeared again when she shared why she chose her local sessions. The use of the phrase “my culture” stands out though. In keeping in contact with Mariko, she mentioned that “I feel a whole lot more connected with my Japanese side than I have ever felt” as part of her post-tour narrative. In her on-tour narrative she included herself as a member of Japanese culture but has been barred from experiencing and participating in it as fully as she would like. The use of the phrase “Japan side” is interesting to note as it was this notion of being both Japanese and American that led her to attend the summit to reinforce what it meant to be Japanese in her own terms. Mariko made a distinction between rural Japan and urban Japan, with the former being a locus of different forms of cultural activity. She did not use the word authentic, but Mariko’s use of the phrase “rich in Japanese culture” indicates her belief that rural Japan would aid her in developing her own understanding of what it means to be Japanese. Tied to this was her ability to use the Japanese language outside of her home context and to learn and

immerse herself in a new dialect that added to her appreciation of Japan's diversity and understanding of Japanese culture.

My next informant's narrative was not entirely unlike Mariko's in terms of connecting with his Japan side, but he provided much more nuance in regards to his complex relationship to Japan. I first met Bob in 2007 during the Noto Peninsula summit. Prior to that time, Bob had no exposure to "Japanese culture" as he terms it. Rather, he was exposed to "Japanese/American culture" through his step-father, Fumio Frank Morikawa, beginning in 1944 when he was seven years old. Bob does not use the term step-father but prefers the term father to describe his relationship to this man. In 2005, Bob held a family reunion in Star Tannery, Virginia to which he invited local friends Hiromi Smith and her husband. Hiromi Smith was director of the Manjiro Society in the United States and was one of the founding members of the Grassroots Summit. Hiromi also knew Bob's father, and knew of his interest in researching his father's side of the family. During the reunion, Bob stated Hiromi encouraged him to visit Japan but he had no knowledge regarding the whereabouts of his extended family because his father broke contact with them in the 1920s.

A year later, Hiromi invited Bob to a dinner attended by former Secretary General of the CIE, Toru Takahashi, and people interested in attending the 2007 Grassroots Summit. Hiromi instructed Bob to bring a complete genealogical record of his Japanese family as well as some old photographs. He brought the records and eight photographs and gave them to Mr. Takahashi who offered to find Bob's family in Japan. Ironically, Bob informed me that Mr. Takahashi was from Mie prefecture, the same as his father. Mr. Takahashi contacted the Kusumura Post Office in Yokkaichi city where Bob's family was living in 1916. The postmaster recognized Bob's family and gave Mr. Takahashi their names, addresses and telephone numbers. Mr. Takahashi

then contacted them prior to the summit and he visited one of their homes after they agreed to meet with Bob. Bob remarked that they had the same copy of a 1926 wedding photograph of one of his father's sisters who had visited them in 1916 when she was a young girl. This aided in establishing their relationship and Mr. Takahashi was able to set up a three day home stay with one of his cousins during the summit. Bob remarked that he was the first family member to visit from the U.S since his father immigrated to the United States. Since then, Bob has visited in 2009, 2011, 2013, and 2015, often staying in a local hotel with other American family members who accompany him. Thus, Bob's impetus for continuing to attend the summit, despite his age, is his connection with his family. He does not refer to them as the Japanese side of his family but simply as family and that they acknowledge him as such.

Lastly, Heather's reasons for coming to Japan are further indicative of the often involute pathways that participants follow to the summit. Heather lived in Misawa Air Base in Aomori Prefecture with her husband in the 1980s. Heather later became an employee for the Department of Defense Dependent Schools (DODDs) where she taught art at Edgren High School. She also taught English for the city council of Fukuchi as well as provided private English lessons in the city of Hachinohe, also located in Aomori prefecture. She expressed regrets that during the 6 years she was there she did not learn more of the language given her work schedule and that she returned to the United States each summer. According to Heather, despite being in Japan and working with the Japanese, there was little time for study or for inclusion. In discussions with Heather throughout the summit she often mentioned the décor of her home. She was particularly proud of how she came to surround herself with objects that she considered reflected the Japanese people, their arts, crafts, culture and daily routines.

In 2014, Heather met Vellae Salazar, an interpreter for the Japanese Imperial Army in the

Philippines during WWII. Vellae came to learn that her father had survived the war and was repatriated to Kumamoto prefecture, Japan where he started a new family. As a member of the Japan-America Society of Greater Austin (where the summit was held in 2012), Vellae attended the Shimane summit in 2013 in order to reunite with her half-brother and relatives in Kumamoto. After talking with Heather and realizing they both had a connection to Japan, Vellae mentioned the summit and Heather decided to attend as she had not been back to Japan in several years. Heather stated that she perceived the summit “as another gift in my life, as an experience that provided memories to cherish, friendships that garner opportunities to grow and understand, and enlightenment as to the differences and similarities that we all share.”

4.3.2 *Participating*

From the way participants narrated their homestays and local session experiences, it is clear that no two participants experience the summit in the same way. Yet, there are certain commonalities that are important to address which some informants felt detracted from the summit experience overall. These commonalities included the fact that host families are largely absent from local session activities and most the local sessions, despite presenting different activities, often share common themes defining cultural exchange. In talking with Dr. Perry he pointed out an important critique that I believe frames the entire local session experience for the majority of participants. In most cases, the host families arrive at the end of the first day of the local sessions. During subsequent days, the host families often drop off the participant at a designated location to partake in the days planned activities. Dr. Perry commented:

I feel too much time is spent dealing with crafts (making something like sandals) and techniques (calligraphy) and more time should be spent talking to each other (visitor/host

interaction). I think the amount of time in activities could be cut in half and the other half spent discussing the activity and the role it plays in the culture.

Here, Dr. Perry is referring to the often stereotypical types of activities that participants engage in during the summit. Every time that I have attended the summit, calligraphy and food preparation were common activities. During my time in Ōita this year, two activities, both falling on the first day of the local session, were dedicated to food preparation. The first activity involved myself, two other participants, and a translator studying at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University making sushi at the local chamber of commerce. Particular to our small group, all of us spoke Japanese. Our translator was a little dismayed, but we reassured her that her presence was welcome as one of the group. Throughout the entire time, the master sushi chef described the process and ingredients involved in making sushi. Only when he described the food items did we need to consult a dictionary. In our case, given our knowledge of the language, we were able to fully immerse ourselves in the experience and communicate with our host. Occurring on the same day, we shared a similar experience when we visited a shop that sold *wagashi* (Japanese sweets) and cakes. We were taken to an adjoining building which served as the kitchen for the front shop. Some of the staff were full-time workers while others were high school students taking on an apprenticeship. Waiting for us were pans of unfinished *wagashi* of different colors. Our task was to shape our *wagashi* using different wooden molds. As part of this activity, we were also asked to prepare these sweets to take to our host families. In this regard, our host family interaction was already being scripted for us by the local session organizers. Following the stereotypical pattern as mentioned by Dr. Perry, on the second day my local session group interacted with high school students by practicing calligraphy with them.

We never participated in any of these activities with our host families and, from the

information I gathered from other participants, it is clear that such activities are common in various local sessions. More importantly, Dr. Perry pointed out that these activities were essentially tasks to be accomplished. Often, there are instructions on how to complete an activity during the local sessions but very little actual conversation takes place in addition to a deeper nuanced discussion of why the particular activity was selected or what it means within the local context. In addressing this issue, Dr. Perry mentioned “For example, why is calligraphy important and what role did it play in the history of Japan? In this way there will be more direct personal contact and less of a feeling that the visitors are students and the hosts are teachers.” This clear dichotomy of host as teacher versus visitor as student that Perry presents is one that is reflected in the comments of my other informants through such word choices as learned as opposed to taught, or saw as opposed to shown. Yet, my informants often pointed out that some instances during their local sessions were informative for them while recognizing that the Japanese, too, could find scheduled events less than engaging.

In each instance, participants were discerning what was authentic or inauthentic for them through what they found personally rewarding or important. In the context of the summit, this conforms to McIntosh and Prentice’s (1999) view on existential authenticity in that tourists reaffirm their own sense of self through cultural encounters. To further this point, authenticity rested in what participants viewed as inauthentic actions on the part of their hosts. That is, informants viewed inauthenticity as a forced series of acts created for the very purpose of their display as culturally or ceremonially important (Steiner & Reisinger, 2005). Amy, as a former attendee of the summit did not view the summit and its activities as “too touristy” and claimed them to be informative but not necessarily new to her. In speaking for other summit participants, however, Amy appropriated their claims to authenticity by stating that “the performances were

extremely enriching additions to their experience with the program.” Dr. Perry’s own comments resonate with Amy’s perspectives as someone who has visited Japan before but stated that the *taiko* (Japanese drum) and dancing common in the summit were “a little touristy, but mainly because I have seen them many times.” Consistent with his perspectives on the summit, Dr. Perry also suggested shortening such events and focusing on a wider range of cultural diversity within Japan. Like Amy, Heather spoke for herself while speaking from the perspective of summit organizers in her own remarks. She stated that the opening and closing ceremonies provided entertainment and enriching interactions with the host families and what she termed “community organizers”. Despite this, the speeches formalized the event and “many were not necessary”. Yet, she also claimed that such an atmosphere was to be expected given her previous experiences in Japan stating that “having attended opening and closing ceremonies at Japanese-hosted events in the past, I expected the protocol that the Japanese culture prefers.”

Other informants also had differing perspectives on what they found authentic or inauthentic that reflected their attitudes towards the summit while also expressing their subjective position vis-à-vis Japan. John, as a former naval aviator, viewed the sightseeing tours of the opening and closing ceremony informative and interesting but some were also touristy such as the hot springs and winery during his local session in Usa city. He viewed the tour of the WWII museum built on top of an old kamikaze airfield to be “impressive and nonjudgmental.” Although this was not his first local session choice, his time in Usa City was extremely valuable and enjoyable because of the kinds of encounters he had. In addition to this experience, John remarked on the home he stayed in and the lack of English proficiency among his host family. John stated that the home he stayed in was “a very traditional Japanese home, [with] no Western/American comforts to speak of, and we enjoyed it a lot.” Here John’s remark on what

he considered traditional made the experience authentic in that it could be juxtaposed to his own views of what it means to be American or to live an American lifestyle.

Brian and Heather offered some critiques of the summit, again reflecting on why they attended the summit as well as their expectations for participants and Japanese hosts. Brian described the translator assigned to his local session as “an authentic everyday woman in Japan”, but that her lack of English proved inauthentic and even unprofessional. In this regard, the perceived need for a translator, and an inadequate one at that, made the constructed relationship between American participants and Japanese hosts visible. Brian also would have liked to have included his host family in some of the local session activities, but described his presence in the summit as work as opposed to leisure. The absence of his host family was therefore not detrimental to his purpose for attending the summit. Furthermore, while Brian commented that the overall summit experience was enjoyable, the exchange of the globe at the opening ceremony was, in his words, “inauthentic”. Brian remarked, “The Manjiro family seemed more nervous than the Whitfields. It made me wonder if they actually have any kind of contact with each other that they actually want to have on their own, or if it is the Summit that forces them together.” Again, like Amy, and Heather, Brian speaks for the perspectives of others while also relaying his own perspectives on the experience.

Heather’s critiques add a further dimension regarding authenticity and voice in recounting her post summit program in Kyoto. Heather considered the activities in Kyoto less substantial than those she experienced in her local session in Usuki. She felt that the local sessions in Kyoto were not well-organized and that some of their limited time in Kyoto was lost. Heather used the word limited to indicate that the Kyoto home stay program was very short. In 2015, the Kyoto post-tour option had participants arriving at 10:30 in the morning and meeting

their host families in the afternoon. Only the second day was spent with host families and on the third day participants departed from Kyoto at 11:30 in the morning. Given this schedule, Heather commented she enjoyed her time with her host family despite the fact that her host mother was going through a divorce. Heather also claimed that the other participants wanted to do other things that were not included in the itinerary or were wasted waiting around between activities. She stated that, "Better communication between the parties involved would have helped, and even I had no prior communication with my host family." Heather's statement speaks to the issue of grassroots-ness in that the CIE does not provide a platform in which local organizers and participants can engage in talks to collectively create a cultural exchange experience. Although summit participants receive e-mail addresses and phone numbers of their host families, not all participants contact their host families prior to attending the summit. Conversely, no one I spoke with had been contacted by their host family before attending the summit.

Another important part of Heather's narrative regarding the post summit program in Kyoto was how she discussed other participants' behavior and authenticity. In this cause, Heather shared an experience in which another participant refused to pay for a meal when meeting the host families on the first day. According to Heather, the participant refused to pay because the individual had already paid for the Kyoto post summit program. The unexpected cost of having to pay for the meal was rude and unacceptable. Heather did not agree to this perspective and found the incident embarrassing. The choice of venue, however, was problematic for Heather as she mentioned that a past Kyoto post summit program participant she spoke with had their first meal at a Pizza Hut. Returning to the need for greater collaboration, Heather suggested that participants would rather have local cuisine than Mediterranean or Italian. Here Heather borrows from her experience and those of others to construct an authentic

experience by defining what is local and, by extension, what is Japanese. Yet, what the host families wanted to present and share with their guests is not considered authentic despite the fact that Kyoto is a cosmopolitan city.

Although my informants often reflected on their experiences and offered areas that could be improved, they generally agreed with the summit's structure and found their homestays the most rewarding experiences. It was during the homestays especially that my informants felt they contributed something to cultural exchange. While each of my informants expressed what they learned or experienced on the local sessions, purchased as souvenirs, or received as gifts, informants would often express what they told their host families about their work, American popular culture, or family life. Differences in education and food practices were common themes that my informants shared with their host families. Still, the overall act of receiving and learning was fulfilled by summit participants. Furthermore, when critiques were offered, they were infrequently expressed to summit volunteers and most frequently shared amongst participants. In this regard, participants continued to fulfill the role of passive guests while the Japanese fulfilled the role of active hosts. In this case, I wish to turn from narratives to performance, that is, the practice of being a summit participant.

4.4 Summit Participation as Practice

4.4.1 Doing Being Tourists

Edensor (2001) and MacCannell (1976) claim that tourism is a kind of dramaturgical enterprise given that it occurs in bounded spatial contexts inundated with meaning and proper protocols of behavior. That is, tourist sites can occur and overlap with the quotidian spaces of locals but tourists often enter such spaces in a more restrictive manner because their time and activities in such spaces are managed. In addition, individuals such as tour guides provide

explanatory paradigms for the kinds of activities that tourists partake in as well as the meaning of the spaces they come to inhabit (Edensor, 2001; Jack & Phipps, 2005). Thus, tourist spaces are stages by which culture is routinely displayed and performed for tourists. For Edensor (2001), a tourist, too, becomes a kind of actor carrying out normative acts deemed touristic. This would appear to threaten the authenticity of the tourist experience in that both the locals and the tourists are poised to perform for each other rather than sharing and displaying their habitual selves.

Borrowing from Erving Goffman, MacCannell (1976) argues for a front stage and back stage understanding of tourism in that the back stages are those areas of intimacy shared by the locals while the front is the façade, the place of business as it were, where tourism is carried out. MacCannell (2001) also argues that tourists are not naïve to these processes and sometimes seek out these spaces. I do not dismiss MacCannell's claims as they coincide with some of my informant's experiences above and, as I will share below, there are instances in the summit in which there is a clear demarcation between staged acts for tourists and more intimate and spontaneous moments with the Japanese. Yet, the point I wish to stress here is that the host families are not the performers of culture (as indicated by their absence in the local sessions). Rather, they are also cultural consumers as it were reflecting on and critiquing what they deem of cultural relevance to their own experiences as Japanese. In the case of the summit, the local sessions and opening and closing ceremonies are staged in the sense that they are organized ahead of time by the executive committee. Yet, these spaces are filled with social actors who perceive these spaces in various ways. In addition, the homestay sections present alternative explanations and subjective experiences of the so called Japanese culture that participants are supposed to explore and learn from. Herein, I wish to share some examples from the local tour and local sessions that I participated in to illustrate these points.

4.4.2 *Performing Summit Participation*

On the 8th of July, I partook in the Kitsuki Beautiful History Course. This was an optional tour that occurred during the day of the opening ceremony. In the morning, I and nine other summit participants boarded a bus to the historical city of Kitsuki northeast of Beppu. A translator accompanied us from Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, as did an older woman who volunteered her time in the community giving historical tours. The summit volunteer committee aided in providing a translator, but a language barrier persisted because of our tour guide's age and her use of historical terminology. Our young translator had a difficult time understanding the information that was disseminated to us, and she openly admitted this to the group throughout the local tour. This seemed to embarrass our translator who identified as American but of Japanese ancestry. Two summit volunteers also followed us. One of the volunteers carried a video camera and recorded the activities of the participants. The other volunteer was responsible for keeping track of the time, making sure everyone returned to the bus, and moving us from site to site according to the itinerary.

While the brochure mentioned we could visit Kitsuki castle, this did not occur. Rather, we were taken to a kimono rental shop where the men were changed into summer yukatas and women were provided with kimonos as indicated by the brochure. Given the information in the brochure and my previous trips to Japan, I decided to bring my own yukata with me. In retrospect, I believe that the cost of the local tour included the rental fee of the yukata. Regardless, I also brought an *uchiwa* (Japanese fan) with me to keep me cool during the walk in the hot and humid weather as well as during my time in Japan in general. I also brought my own sandals knowing that Japanese sandals are too small for my own feet.

The women changed behind a curtain on the bottom floor while the men changed on the top floor. Except for my informant Gordon White who was also on the local tour, the other three men were past middle age. They also made jokes about their weight given how tightly the *obi* (cloth belt) for the yukata had to be pulled to close the yukata securely. There were complaints about the heat among the local tour members and Bob specifically remarked on how difficult it must have been for Japanese people to move around in such clothing in the past. However, the chance to wear Japanese clothing was one of the reasons participants chose this particular local tour, me included. On the local tour, we visited one *bukeyashiki* (old samurai residence) and walked along two streets, eventually coming to rest at a *miso* (fermented soy bean paste) shop that was considered a local specialty. We changed into our normal clothes at the rental shop just before eating lunch at a local restaurant that concluded the local tour.

On the local tour I noticed three important elements worth addressing in regards to cultural exchange. The first issue were acts of conformity and resistance on my part and the part of some of the other participants. Edensor (2001) points out that such performative acts like our *wafuku* (Japanese clothing) wearing excursion tend to be unreflexive. That is, tourists tend not to critique or modify such experiences but enact them passively in order to avoid potential threats to their own leisure. In the case of the Kitsuki Beautiful History Course, our task was to wear the clothing as provided and follow and listen to our tour guide. This is what mainly occurred. Participants, excluding myself, chose their own clothing but no one decided not to wear the Japanese clothing or deviate from the group. However, the authoritative narrative surrounding Kitsuki that the old woman intended to provide broke down given the translator's lack of proficiency. Gordon and I then acted as supplementary translators given our knowledge of Japanese history and language. I would put some things into historical context or knew a few

architectural terms while Gordon translated the woman's speech verbatim. Rather than acting as tourist performers, Gordon and I become active interlocutors and producers of knowledge, or what Edensor (2001) calls resistant performers. This had the effect of disrupting the seemingly staged performance that we were intended to enact.

Despite this particular instance, participants are not considered interlocutors during such tours. The point was to complete the tour and come away with a singular narrative of Kitsuki despite our individual experience. Jack and Phipps (2005) own experiences on the Island of Skye lend an important comparative example. In touring a whisky distillery, they noticed how heritage had become product and the very notion of time had become commodified. Second, they also noticed that tourists were openly monitored and their bodily movements and questions controlled. In our case, Kitsuki was presented as something of historical value despite the clear disrepair to some of the buildings and the more eclectic buildings that dotted the area. Still, we were directed to what we were supposed to see. In addition, Jack and Phipps (2005) maintain that while tour guides are entrusted to police the relationship between guests and host, highly restrictive narratives and performances can actually prohibit cultural exchange. When the self-reflexive monitoring breaks down, that is, when tourists stop being tourists and tour guides stop reproducing their prepared scripts, a more socialized cultural engagement can occur.

Urry (2005) suggests that such tours, as acts of consumption, are intended to direct the gaze of tourists and so create a doxic understanding of how such sights should be seen and even photographed. It is this intended collective and structured gaze which creates group solidarity while also marking participants as cultural others (Edensor, 2001). That is, the very act of wearing wafuku, and being seen doing so by Japanese locals, was intended to bring us together and identify us as summit participants. Such acts are not uncommon during the summit as

participants are invited to dress up and become honorary Japanese for a few hours. Despite such efforts, cultural exchange programs and local events celebrating diversity in Japan often serve to stereotype foreigners and essentialize difference because the focus is not on bringing communities together, but reducing ontological anxiety on the part of the Japanese (Burgess, 2007; Ishiwata, 2011; Robertson, 1997). That is, the presence of foreigners wearing wafuku does not indicate that such traditions are under threat of cultural appropriation, rather, symbols of Japanese culture can colonize foreigners and so ensure their continuity and resilience. In this regard, the wearing of wafuku was not so much as for us but as for the Japanese who could lay claim to a particular heritage. Furthermore, we were watched and recorded during our entire time to capture our expressions, our gaze, towards Kitsuki and our foreign clothing.

4.4.3 Inclusive Moments

Yet, if this experience constituted the front stage of cultural performance, then our time at the local restaurant in the same area after touring the samurai residence were poised as a back stage. That is, spaces where the so-called real lives of the locals were carried out behind the touristified castle town façade of Kitsuki. While dining, Bob and I noticed some signed posters in the restaurant and I explained that they were probably actors in a local drama troupe. This prompted Bob to share a narrative of his own work in the theater in which he remarked that he played a part in *The Mikado*. It was not until we began to exit the building that I fully came to understand the relationship between the restaurant and the posters. Walking downstairs towards the restrooms, I noticed that the building also contained a small stage and auditorium and some chairs had already been set up. Inside the auditorium were a few elderly individuals and I was asked if I would like to see a play. I then recognized that this building was designed for *taishuengeki* (popular theater). According to Ivy (1995) this particular form of theater is not so

much as amateur as it is a direct response to bourgeois forms of entertainment and cultural respectability. Taishuengeki is described as vulgar in the sense that it is for and by commoners. Thus, this theater and its troupe reflected the interests of the lower classes who are left out of dominant narratives of Japan's national culture.

Such an experience is indicative of MacCannell's (2001) second gaze in that the locals drew our attention to the fact that there was something else to see, something elderly residents knew about but we were restricted from seeing by the local tour organizers and summit volunteer staff. The summit volunteer in charge of making sure we followed the itinerary and stayed together commented that we did not have time to see the play as we needed to return to the hotel in order to prepare for the opening ceremony. Our tour guide restrained what kinds of practices we could perform as tourists by orienting us in terms of time and place. While I mentioned that such an experience would be worthwhile, I needed to stick with the group in order to attend the opening ceremony. Otherwise, I would have stayed behind and taken a bus or cab back to the hotel.

Despite the regimented mass-tourism nature of most of the summit, the host families and local sessions can provide a chance for more intimate and spontaneous moments that the Kitsuki residents were trying to provide. Secondly, tourism disrupts the daily routines of locals, but this disruption can create or retrenches particular associations between place and identity (E. Bruner, 1991). Overall, the summit's local tours, sessions, and home stays allow host families and summit organizers to share something common to their experience as residents in a specific place and, in so doing, transform what is ordinary for them into something new and enriching for themselves. The presence of outsiders can therefore create a reflexive atmosphere on the part of the locals, what Adrian Franklin and Mike Crang (2001) call a "cultural involution" (p. 10). An

experience with Mariko's host family further illustrates this point. Moreover, I bring up this encounter because it bears a striking contrast to most of the local tours and sessions experienced during the summit and supports Dr. Perry's call for greater social interaction and dialogue on the part of our Japanese hosts.

On the second day of my local session in Saiki, I and three other participants were scheduled to visit an aquarium on the coast and take a tour of the bay in a glass-bottom boat. This did not occur due to typhoon activity south of Japan according to our driver. We departed around 10:00 in the morning from the cultural center where my host family dropped me off. I was not disappointed, but I was initially curious as to where our driver was taking us. After traveling through narrow roads and what I identified as *genkai shūraku* (limit village) due to the dilapidated state of the houses and presence of elderly inhabitants, we came to an isolated cove where some trucks were parked and some individuals were surfing. Upon exiting the van, Mariko remarked on picking up the local dialect from her host family. We heard some noise coming from a forested hill that we appeared to be heading towards. We walked up a steep hill and came to a *jinja* (Shinto shrine) where several people had gathered to witness a *kagura* performance. Collectively, we were initially unaware what was going on. As a conversation unfolded with Mariko's host father, it became evident that we had been taken to a local shrine festival and that everyone in attendance was a local resident. Not long after we arrived, an old man in a dark blue cap and red polo shirt asked if I would like a drink. He also asked Gordon, but he declined. After I agreed, he handed me a plastic cup and filled it with sake. "Sake for the Gods," he said. It was only 11:00 AM, and I was repeatedly offered, and accepted, alcohol throughout the time we spent at the shrine. I had noticed the presence of children of all ages, but coolers of beer and liquor bottles were placed all around the perimeter of the shrine without

supervision. The other participants and I remarked on this and we also commented on the fact that no one seemed to mind our presence.

I came to learn that the kagura being performed that day was for blessings of safety for the local fishermen. I was also told that the event was also not open to the general public in the sense that it was organized for and by the local community. Indeed, this particular event was not included in the summit brochure or even Ōita tourism guide. That is, our attendance in the event was not arranged by the local session key persons but one of the host families who was also a prominent and wealthy fishermen in Saiki. Thus, official summit organizers were not aware of the event nor was it mentioned during the closing ceremony when the local sessions are recapitulated. In experiencing the shrine and kagura dance, we summit participants were allowed to glimpse into an intimate aspect of our hosts' lives outside the bounds of official narratives or cultural branding. Furthermore, the very fact that Mariko's host family decided to include us in an activity at all showed how the locals possess their own cultural knowledge and how our presence as guests aided in defining that identity. Moreover, our inclusion in the event made us reflect on our own position as participants vis-à-vis our hosts. The collective act of drinking aided in breaking down these barriers, as did the insistence of some of the attendees to take pictures, ask questions, and remember the event. The locals wanted us to understand that this was particular to their way of life and to take this away with us when we left Saiki. Interestingly, it was this experience that Mariko and I would share with other participants once we returned for the closing ceremony and with our friends and family once we returned to the United States. In so doing, the locals had a significant impact on how participants in the Saiki local sessions shaped their on-tour and post-tour narratives that did not conform to generalized tourist

depictions of the area. These kinds of encounters are precisely what the summit hopes to achieve although they are unscripted and not part of the official summit itineraries.

4.5 Conclusion

The personal narratives of participants are what shape the summit. Such narratives define why participants attend, what they hope to achieve, how they reflect on what they are doing, and how they comment on the actions of other participants. The promotional materials and opening ceremony speeches serve to construct a pre-tour narrative of the summit, but they are not dialogic in that they do not provide a means for constructing secondary tellings (E. Bruner, 2005). Rather, they recirculate particular tropes and use a similar lexicon while presenting information in a monologic fashion. By contrast, summit participants share information with one another, ask questions regarding the information they receive, and make value judgements based on their experiences. Their narratives may change over the course of time as they receive new information or restate their narratives depending on their audience.

In addressing the question of authenticity, there is a shared experience of staying with host families but no single way of experiencing or seeing the same locality. Existing cultural knowledge and language ability also change how participants interact with and see their surroundings. Ultimately, there is no back stage where more authentic local lives are played out but, rather, there are only claims to authenticity on the part of participants and heritage as product on the part of summit organizers. To borrow from E. Bruner (2005) no backstage exists, there are no “real Balinese or the real Maasai behind the show” (p. 5). Instead, what is provided in the act of cultural exchange during the summit must be taken within their specific historical, local, economic, and political contexts. There is no way to take this into account when promoting the summit or local session. Participants choose their local sessions according to the information

provided, hearsay from former participants, and their own particular desires. Still, this back stage versus front stage dichotomy is reinforced and also carried out in the discourse of participants who make claims to certain acts as more authentic or important. Furthermore, this binary is reinforced by the summit's structure of local tours and sessions complete with interpreters and experts who frame particular narratives and control, to a degree, where participants can and cannot go and what information they are provided with.

Lastly, participants rarely get the chance to talk with Japanese performers and summit volunteers in-depth about what they do and why they think it is significant at a personal level. That is, the local tour and local sessions briskly place Japanese and Americans into the same space but only to complete an activity in most circumstances. While language barriers are a factor in this, the presence of interpreters aids communication for those participants that cannot speak Japanese. Still, the local sessions are largely constructed as staged acts of tourism that are completed according to set schedules. By comparison, some participants are invited into more casual spaces reflective of their host families' lives, but these opportunities are not afforded to all participants nor does the schedule of the summit allow for long-term cultural immersion. More importantly, it remains unclear how encounters with host families and Japanese during the summit have an impact beyond the limits of the summit itself.

5 DE-LIMITING GRASSROOTS EXCHANGE

“In nations like modern Japan, the population is not heir to a single ‘tradition’ but to a multiplicity of ‘traditions,’ some with their central roots in Japanese history or in the history of more local communities; others whose main origins lie abroad or are too complex to be traced at all” (Morris-Suzuki, 1998, p. 38).

5.1 Last Night in Ōita

During the closing ceremony an older man with a white beard approached me. He stated that he liked my beard and I replied to him in Japanese which impressed him. His wife also offered me a glass of *shōchū* during the farewell party. After the farewell party and my goodbyes to my host family, the couple approached me and asked me if I would like a drink. I was already inebriated at the time but did not wish to refuse their offer as they were nice enough to talk with me during the evening and I also wanted to practice my Japanese. We went to a restaurant on the top floor of the Ōita Oasis Tower Hotel, my hosts were accompanied by their teenage son who I found was paired with one of the students from the Amache group. It was because of this that the couple wanted the chance to talk with an American adult. At the restaurant I ordered a Guinness, and talked mostly with the woman who also ordered a beer. I came to find that she was a pharmacist and explained my interest in Japan along with my research and participation in the summit. We talked for maybe an hour or so before my hosts decided to depart given that the following day was a Monday. After this, I thanked my hosts for their generosity and made my way to my hotel room.

Unlike the Suginoi hotel, the Oasis Tower Hotel lacked an onsen. Given this, my two roommates (the same from Beppu) decided to go out on the town one last time. We discussed eating at an izakaya, but were not familiar with the area. Brian also had concerns over local pubs and eateries ripping him off during his time in Beppu. As we wandered a few blocks from the hotel we came to a shotengai that was closed-down for the night. By this time it was around 9:00. Past the shotengai we found some izakaya and other nightlife related entertainment. At one point, a group of young men looked down at us from a long third story window. It appeared to be a party, but we quickly moved on. We soon saw small groups of young women often accompanied

by men in suits gathered down side streets. Behind a small van, we saw two men wearing tight shorts. One man was standing over the other with his arms crossed while the other kowtowed before him. We decided to head back the way we came. However, we decided on a multistoried karaoke center which was near our hotel and, oddly, next to a church to end our evening. Upon entering, the center had a Russian theme with Cyrillic lettering pasted on its walls and doors. We all contributed to paying for an hour of karaoke in a private room complete with a pitcher of beer. We barely reflected on our time during the summit and focused mainly on what we had seen in Ōita during the day and just that night. After which, we only sang and laughed.

5.2 Closing Ceremony and Farewell Banquet

The summit officially concludes with the closing ceremony. Unlike the opening ceremony, participants spend part of their day with their host families. Depending on the site of the closing ceremony, participants either leave their families to take a bus to the site of the closing ceremony or their family takes them there by car. As a participant in the Saiki local session, it took around two hours to travel by bus to the Ōita Oasis Tower Hotel where the summit had organized the closing ceremony and farewell party to take place. My host family did not accompany me nor did the host families of the other Saiki participants. Thus, the time that participants spent with their host families on the final day of the summit can become punctuated as they are separated and then reunited during the closing ceremony. Upon arriving at the Oasis Tower Hotel around 3:00pm, participants were given their card keys and room assignments. As part of the closing ceremony, participants were given free admission to the Ōita Prefectural Art Museum (OPAM) which had only recently opened earlier in 2015. In addition, participants attended the museum on their own between arriving at the hotel and first scheduled presentation of the closing ceremony at 4:20pm. The art included contemporary works from Japanese artists

as well as original works from European masters of the early 20th century such as Egon Schiele. The variety of the museum's collection and contemporary architecture impressed the participants I talked with. I would have stayed longer at the museum but I needed to attend the closing ceremony as part of my participant-observation.

The closing ceremony was held in the Kobai Room of the Oasis Tower Hotel. The Amache group gave its final presentation regarding Japanese internment camps to begin the ceremony. However, most participants were not in attendance due to the OPAM. After the Amache group gave their presentation, everyone was ushered into the hallway. According to an announcement by a summit volunteer, the room required revising. The hallway was packed with individuals, many of whom were not actual participants but attendees of the closing ceremony. According to the 2015 annual report published by the CIE, a total of 300 individuals attended the closing reception. What this number exactly means is unclear as there were only around 53 participants excluding the Amache group. The summit also counted volunteers and the performers of the closing ceremony entertainment. Moreover, the CIE totaled the entire participation in the 2015 summit at 2,100 but only by counting the same attendees of different events twice. I noticed the same practice in the 2011 and 2013 annual reports of the Japan summits. The numbers were always rounded to the nearest zero and the participants in the homestays were counted again for the opening ceremony and closing ceremonies making it appear that more people attend the summit as a whole than actually did. For example, the annual report of the 2013 summit showed that 230 Japanese and Americans attended the opening ceremony and opening reception. However, this number is counted as 460 individuals in the final tally of the summit. This is like saying that 10 people attended an event and those same people attended another event during the summit but stating that 20 people participated in total. This is

significant to point out as the summit has declined in participation among from a high of around 200 in 2007, to 100 in 2009, to 95 in 2011 and 2013, and only around 87 including 15 from the Amache group in 2015. In addition, the CIE makes a distinction between those that homestay and those that attend. In this case, only 68 participants stayed with host families during the 2015 summit which was down from 83 in 2013. Thereof, the majority of the people in attendance at the closing ceremony were not participants but a mixture of CIE board members, summit volunteers, invited Japanese guests, and host families.

Ultimately, the closing ceremony functions as a recapitulation of the summit, a means for the CIE and other summit organizers to explain how grassroots exchange was achieved and why the summit was a success. This year, the closing ceremony separated summit participants from their host families. Participants sat in the front rows organized by local sessions, while Japanese host families and various guests sat in the back of the room. Most of the speeches were similar in their content and rhetorical strategies as those of the opening ceremonies with a few important exceptions. While the chairman of the summit executive committee gave his thanks for participants attending the summit, he also stressed greater communication. This became a theme among subsequent speakers who referenced the relationship and correspondence between the Whitfields and the Manjiros as an example of how Japanese and Americans could continue to stay in touch. Moreover, the summit was also referenced as historical in that it was the 25th summit and the 70th year marking the end of WWII. The word U.S citizen was used specifically in one case when referring to the participants as diplomats and arguing that official channels were not enough to foster greater mutual understanding. The last speakers included a representative from the Mayor's office in Atlanta and board members of the Japan-America Society of Georgia (JASG) who then revealed the location of the 2016 summit in Atlanta. In

these cases they expressed their hope that Ōita residents would visit Atlanta and showed a promotional video for that city. The business relationship between the state of Georgia and Japan was also stressed, but the speeches also focused on host families as a critical factor in making grassroots exchange a success. Oddly, the final speaker and current chair of the JASG assured the Japanese that host families were waiting for them and would provide good experiences although recruitment for these families hadn't occurred yet. I knew this from working with the JASG before and after the summit on unrelated projects to this research. After this, the JASG chairman led the audience in a singalong of Ray Charles' "Georgia on My Mind". After these speeches, the local sessions were listed and reviewed which I detail in the next section.

Only after the speeches ended at 6:30pm were participants reunited with their host families during the farewell party. However, the evening's festivities were brief as they were set to conclude at 7:45. The farewell party included another banquet, taiko drumming and samurai reenactors who performed a historical artillery ceremony. The ceremony included what I assumed to be a samurai commander inspecting replicas of firearms used during Japan's sengoku period (1467-1603). The ceremony concluded by firing off the guns inside the banquet hall to shower the crowd around them with confetti. Afterwards, attendees of the farewell party were encouraged to take pictures with the actors who mingled about the crowd. The CIE also organized for the farewell party to be recorded along with local OBS media who produced their own video of the closing ceremony in Japanese as part of a promotional video for Ōita tourism. My informants did not spend time with their host families after the summit. Rather, most families departed soon afterwards which was understandable considering that some families had to drive for an hour or more to reach Ōita city. Although informants did enjoy the closing ceremony, it was an emotional affair for some. However, what I would like to address next is

how the closing ceremony's very structure of separating participants from host families and reiterating master narratives through speeches and official re-telling of the summit indicate that the closing ceremony is a means of closing-off as opposed to opening-up a platform for dialogue and exchange.

5.3 Appropriating Narratives, Re-affirming Purpose

5.3.1 Participant Post-Tour Narratives

Post-tour narratives are a continuing and active process on the part of tourists as they actively seek out souvenirs and particular points of interest in order to share their experiences when they return. These experiences change in regards to audience and over time, but the overarching importance here is that these narratives are the most disjointed and easiest to reconfigure (E. Bruner, 2005). At the end of the closing ceremony, just before the closing ceremony banquet, participants were asked to recall their experiences with their host families and local sessions. The CIE displayed some pictures taken by their photographers on a large screen from the local sessions and the secretary general of the CIE handed a microphone to one individual from each of the local sessions (including myself). Participants recounted their experiences by stating how much they enjoyed their time and how much they would miss their host families. They also congratulated the summit organizers for creating memorable experiences. Often, participants would explain to the other audience members in attendance what was occurring in the pictures.

Participants are encouraged to submit comments to the CIE after the summit in addition to photos. The CIE uses its own photos and posts them on their website and in their official publications such as the flash reports and the Grassroots Communication newsletters (in Japanese only). However, the secretary general also asked participants to not send in pictures of

buildings or objects. Rather, they wanted to display pictures of participants with people. In each instance, the CIE engages in selecting which elements to construct a master narrative of the summit experience. That is, they use particular accounts by the participants by taking only particular images and stories of the participants and placing them on their website or publications in order to display that grassroots exchange occurred and the summit was a success. Thus, such practices are not distinct from those that tourists conduct themselves. However, the important issue to address here is the ability of the CIE to select which voices will be heard and which images will be displayed in order to represent the summit. As E. Bruner (2005), argues, post-tour narratives are structured in such a way as to frame how the experience will be remembered for those that such narratives are told to. As a master narrative, the purpose of the CIE's website and official reports are to refashion how participants remembered their time in Japan while also framing the pre-tour narratives of potential future participants through the use of images, video, and text. This is carried out by such phrases as "the American guests enjoyed unique cultural exchange programs and experienced the daily life of Ōita families through homestay" and "After the fun and meaningful local sessions..."

Such statements speak for participants collectively and, while travel testimonials from participants are also posted on the CIE website, these, too, are also selected and displayed for their value in supporting the summit's master narrative of grassroots exchange replete with tropes of enjoyment, discovery, and learning. The testimonials of participants as stated during the closing ceremony and after the summit are in-line with such a discourse. While the CIE does create community Facebook pages for summit participants based on each summit, allowing participants to extend their post-tour narratives, posts to these pages stop around five months after a summit has ended and mainly constitute pictures taken during the summit. In this case,

while participants have the ability to control how their lived experiences are displayed and narrated, the CIE's website, which is continually updated and presents all previous summits back to 2007, continues to serve as the master narrative of summit participant experience.

5.3.2 *What is Grassroots Exchange?*

In talking with my informants, the issue of how they would be represented after the summit did not come up. Rather, I found that my informants did not necessarily have a clear definition of grassroots exchange, and that their purpose in attending the summit did not necessarily coincide with such definitions. Given this, questions of representation were not at issue because participants had their own reasons for attending the summit and constructing their own sense of authenticity based on what they hoped to encounter or complete during their stay. Despite this, illustrating my informant's comments regarding how they completed grassroots exchange or not suggests that informants' personal narratives do not necessarily coincide with the generalized statements of the CIE regarding summit success. In addition, participant post-tour narratives cannot be reduced to simple temporal frames as the CIE does by fixing participant responses and reactions within one single instance of lived experience. The issue, as Ricœur notes, is that intention as articulated in one instance and platform does not necessarily mean that speakers retrace and rethink those very motives in latter retellings (Dowling, 2011). The goal here is to demonstrate that what grassroots means to participants is multifarious based on previous experiences before the summit and experiences occurring after the summit and that such comments cannot be captured in one overarching recapitulation of the summit as the CIE does.

Brian and Heather reflected on their definition of grassroots exchange by commenting on the summit's structure while also indicating the possibility for future encounters beyond it.

Heather remarked that the notion of grassroots means meeting at a common or “base level” instead of “reasons of political, individual advancement or personal gain.” She believed that the summit aided as a platform in facilitating such encounters and that the summit should continue because of this. She also suggested that this kind of program allows participants to appreciate “how we are all separate and yet universal members of humanity.” Heather was therefore critical of the descendants of the Manjiros, Whitfields, and Commodore Perry. She suggested that their speeches framed the purpose of grassroots exchange around them and their historical legacies as opposed to addressing contemporary issues and aiding in understanding how Japanese and Americans share important similarities and differences. Thereof, the overall interpersonal connections that the summit allow for are of more importance. Brian, also made similar comments in defining what grassroots exchange means when he stated “grassroots exchange is interaction, giving and receiving, at the basic level of a society.” He further commented that the top-down approach towards organizing the summit contradicted this definition. Despite corporate and political involvement in organizing and funding the summit, Brian mentioned that possible future encounters with those that participants meet during the summit could occur outside such an organizational structure. For Brian, grassroots exchange cannot occur during the summit but it can lead to it afterwards “if any individuals take the initiative to continue to interact after the summit.”

Amy and Mariko provided no definition for grassroots exchange. Amy remarked that “I never really understood the definition of grassroots, even though I’ve seen this term used in various organizations.” However, like Heather and Brian, she did state that grassroots implied returning to something basic. This means encountering “regular folks” from different places. While the closing ceremony aided in reinforcing how the program fosters these kinds of

encounters, she stated that the ceremonies program did not actually influence how she viewed her purpose in Japan nor her understanding of grassroots exchange. Mariko shared similar sentiments, in that she stated “I understood the importance of the opening and closing ceremonies, but it really didn't have any influence on me or my purpose in Japan.” In addition, Mariko stated that she did not have any definition for grassroots exchange. Instead, she commented that “I came basically just for the experience and to explore my other half.” For Mariko, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the summit was an important means of connecting her with what she considered her cultural heritage. In this sense, she was not learning about Japanese culture in the summit but, rather, learning about herself. This personal narrative was not captured in the CIE’s official reports or videos, nor in a separate video made by local Ōita news.

Dr. Perry and John had similar understandings of grassroots exchange in that they both mentioned the importance of individuals while also how such interactions are important to larger political interests. John stated that, “I feel that the only effective way to improve international relationships between countries is to have the citizens meet and spend time with each other in their respective homes.” His comments are tied to his understanding of the Manjiro story that, for him, reflects how attitudes between countries can change by people from different cultures living together. The summit aids in this process by allowing Japanese and Americans to meet and homestay thus aiding in changing perceptions between the two countries. Dr. Perry shared a similar perception in stating that “I would define Grassroots Exchange as a medium to improve relations with persons of different cultures and backgrounds.” Informal conversations, food and drink constitute such a medium. The importance of this approach, Dr. Perry stated, was that it can allow individuals to learn more about each other’s culture and “improve relations with nations, like the US and Japan.” Through such grassroots efforts, Dr. Perry also remarked that he

could aid in changing Commodore Perry's reputation in the United States and Japan to a more positive one.

5.4 A Further Examination of Grassroots Exchange

5.4.1 *Grassroots Exchange as Ethnology*

In my conversations with informants and in researching the CIE and summit in general, grassroots exchange takes on an almost ethnological quality. That is, it is about situating oneself in an unfamiliar culture, learning from the people about their daily lives, comparing their customs to one's own, and then reporting on those activities during the closing ceremony. Yet, there are two issues worth addressing regarding grassroots exchange in the summit that are tied with concerns that anthropologists have sought to overcome in approaching the Other. The first issue arises from arguments made by Gupta and Ferguson (1992) in that cultures are not isolated or localizable and, therefore, they cannot simply be entered into to explore or find differences. The problem arises from the fact that ideas like Japanese culture are themselves the constructs of political and historical forces that have re-enforced the idea that cultures can be mapped onto clear geographic spaces and the people that inhabit them (Anderson, 2006; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992).

However, cultures do not coincide with clear geographic spaces and the people that constitute those cultures do not sit still within such borders (Clifford, 1992). As James Clifford (1992) attests and Gupta and Ferguson (1992) further agree, while people may continue to ground themselves in the local as a source of cultural identity, they negotiate these identities based on broader national and international contexts and experiences. Despite this, grassroots exchange positions Americans in relation to the Japanese in such a way that it casts the Japanese host families and those involved with the local sessions as practicing cultural conventions and

possessing an equal understanding of those practices tied to a specific place. In this way, grassroots exchange becomes a means of expressing national culture (i.e. Japanese culture), and, by extension, cannot account for variations or disarticulations within local contexts. Thereof, grassroots exchange, and the Japanese that partake in the summit, cannot be presented as multicultural by the CIE or promotional materials. The problem Clifford (1992) states is in the difference between how locals are cast as belonging to particular cultural spaces and how they state their own position related to that space. The homestay component of the summit provides an opportunity for participants to gain a more nuanced understanding of how their host families see Japan and the cultural narratives that surround them. From my own host family experiences, my host mother remarked that I had seen more of Japan than she had and that I was more Japanese because of my cultural and historical knowledge and experiences. Furthermore, my host family took me to a WWII memorial museum and showed me bunkers built into the foothills next to their home but stated they had never visited them despite living in the area for a long time.

However, how much participants can learn due to language barriers and the short time they spend with participants remains an issue. The limited time that participants stay with host families is understandable given that host families have to work and have lives of their own. Still, the implications for true mutual understanding are inhibited by the summit's focus on narrow, and often clichéd, presentations of heritage and culture without addressing the social challenges within the communities that participants co-occupy with their host families (Askjellerud, 2003). In this case, grassroots exchange as organized by the summit is more conducive to creating a favorable country brand than increasing American and Japanese understanding between communities (Zykas, 2009). This brings up the second issue. Grassroots

exchange in this way has the effect of decontextualizing various historical developments and presenting them as existing in the present while also suggesting that Japanese culture is something that exists outside of time, that it is fixed and unchanging (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). The lived realities of Japanese host families are denied a sense of history, a sense of time, in the ethnological enterprise of grassroots exchange (Fabian, 2014). Rather, participants come into contact with their host families with limited knowledge of their personal histories or understandings of what the Japanese host families hope to achieve by having Americans stay with them. In this case, host families and the local sessions are poised as existing within the summit's time frame. The use of participant post-tour narratives is intended to show a transformative experience has occurred as the participants are asked to give confessionals of what they did and how they enjoyed their stay, but the host families are separated during the closing ceremony and not asked to reflect on their role in an official capacity. They are denied a sense of having lived the experience along with the participants. Rather, they are affixed to the Shimane summit of 2013 or Ōita summit of 2015 for example.

Fabian (2014) calls this a denial of coevalness in the sense that the host families and local sessions are stuck in time, existing outside of the time of the participants. Calls to continuing contact with host families during the closing ceremony speeches seeks to assuage this but, like the Facebook posts, contact between host families declines overtime. Participants receive some holiday cards and e-mail messages, but after a year these become sparse or ceases for most participants. Indeed, no one that I talked with during my fieldwork or even in previous summits returns to the same areas or visits their host family again. Thus, the act of grassroots exchange is limited to spatial and temporal contexts that do not extend beyond the summit. More problematically is how this denial of coevalness extends to the program's structure and even

reasons for attendance by some participants. In this case, participants and the summit work towards grounding authentic Japanese culture within rural spaces, suggesting that such spaces are ethnographic repositories of authentic Japanese culture.

5.4.2 *Grassroots Exchange as Japanese Heritage Tourism*

When American participants witness the various sites and live performances during the summit, they are entering into a preexisting set of discourses and practices that are meant to unify the Japanese by connecting them to a putatively shared past that distinguishes them from outsiders (Robertson, 1997; Uzzell, 1998). In essence, American participants do not partake in a unique experience designed specifically for them during the summit but, rather, they are coming into established Japanese tourist practices and cultural ideologies (Ehrentraut, 1993; Graburn, 2010; Guichard-Anguis, 2009; Moon, 2002; Oedewald, 2009). From my experiences in Ōita as well as previous trips to Japan on the summit, the local sessions can sometimes take the form of Japanese domestic rural tourism in terms of site selection, site-seeing activities, promotional materials, and the consumption of souvenirs (*omiyage*), local specialties (*meibutsu*), or points of interest (*meisho*). However, Japanese domestic tourism reifies the rural as *furusato* (lit. old town, but also interpreted as native place) for the purposes of nostalgic remembrance through cultural consumption (Creighton, 1995, 1997, 1998; Knight, 1993, 1994, 1997; Moon, 2002; Oedewald, 2009).

The word *furusato* does not denote a real place, but an ontological symbol of collective Japanese origin. Indeed, nostalgia is not created in the past but is an affective longing and interpretation of the past in a present moment (Robertson, 1988, 1995, 1997, 1998). For the Japanese, *furusato* signifies abiding social relations as grounded in the rural *communitas* that thrived in a pre-modern, pre-western Japan. Essentially, *furusato* is the traditional *Gemeinschaft*

from which Japan's unique cultural identity developed as counterpoised to the urban and contemporary Gesellschaft where most Japanese find themselves today. Thus, not only are many contemporary Japanese disconnected from the past according to this discourse, they are disconnected from their true way of being. All that was modern became seen as artificial, westernized and impersonal, while the rural as past evoked sentimental feelings for communal values, nature, and an ineffable Japanese essence (Moon, 2002). While not all Japanese articulate furusato in this way, tourist agencies, businesses and popular national ideologies have constructed rural Japan as the locus by which this longing can be ameliorated, but such longing is not grounded in a specific space but, rather, the socially constructed idyllic rural countryside (*inaka*) where the furusato can be found (Creighton, 1997; Ivy, 1995; Kelly, 1990, Robertson, 1995; Satō, 2002). Local sessions in rural areas further stress the differences between the Japanese and participants because it is in such areas that a more authentic, or traditional, way of Japanese life is purported to exist. Yet, such a mentalité obfuscates how diverse local practices have often been utilized in the formation of the nation-state and subsequent national identity (Anderson, 2006; Fujitani, 1996; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Schnell, 2005; Sheiner, 1998; Vlastos, 1998). Moreover, it positions individuals living in such areas as allochronic, existing outside of time.

In essence, domestic rural tourism, also known as furusato tourism, in Japan was established for urban Japanese to purchase a sense of heritage and connection to the past, whether perceived as real or imaginary. The origins of furusato tourism can be traced back to Japan's post high-growth period of the 1970s when travel agencies and major department stores began promoting rural Japan as a spatial and temporal site before Western (i.e. American) influence and modernization (Creighton, 1998). This, in turn, originated from a genuine sense of

loss among Japanese who felt that the material benefits of economic growth and Westernization had come at the cost of Japan's environment, culture, and sense of community (Creighton, 1997; Ivy, 1995; Robertson, 1995, 1998; Yoshimi, 2003). This discourse of economic development at the cost of cultural identity is a recurring theme in questions of Japanese identity and one often defined by a sense of cultural recuperation by returning to the unadulterated, immutable rural. Yet, America's occupation of Japan after World War II along with high economic growth policies (*kōdo seichō*) to reach parity with the West, irrevocably altered the rural lifeways and traditions that furusato tourism promote, making an unadulterated Japan impossible to find (Ivy, 1995; Robertson, 1988).

During my previous trips to the summit, I have encountered Americans that have espoused similar views regarding the authenticity of Japanese culture as grounded in the countryside. In asking about his local session choice for the 2015 summit, Dr. Perry remarked that he chose his particular "homestay as it was out of the city and as far away from the main venue as possible." He also mentioned, "I feel it is important to have homestays in more rural areas to learn about culture and not be exposed to the city-life, which in many cases reflects the culture of the world, but not necessarily the culture of the country being visited." Mariko shared similar sentiments while also situating her views within Japanese popular culture. She stated that "I chose Saiki because I wanted to be in a place that was more like the countryside, with lots of traditional style Japanese housing, and rice fields. It reminded me of the scenery in Hayao Miyazaki's *Tonari no Totoro*." While such sentiments reflect what my informants consider an important and authentic cultural exchange experience, the idea that rural Japan is somehow more pure or indicative of Japanese culture proves problematic for a Japan-America cultural exchange program.

For Jennifer Robertson (1997) and Markus Oedewald (2009) rural tourism is a means of assuaging an ontological anxiety stemming from an influx of foreigners and foreign ideas into Japan as well as vanishing rural villages. Thus, cultural recuperation as found in the rural is predicated on a sense of loss (Ivy, 1995) or, more accurately, what Margaret Hillenbrand (2010) calls *de'ja disparu*: the sense of something already having disappeared. In other words, what defines the Japanese is perceived as under threat and in danger of vanishing because of increased Westernization. Thereof, rural areas become bastions of lost traditions that are rediscovered by domestic Japanese tourists (Creighton, 1997; Ivy, 1995; Moon, 2002; Robertson, 1995). Moreover, the rural provides ontological security in that it is poised as unchanging and, thereof, offers a stable framework by which a narrative of self-identity can be composed (Giddens, 1991). Rural tradition is therefore situated as the opposite of Japanese modernity whereby constructed patterns of an imaginary past, as derived from real historical encounters with the United States, have become detached from their previous contexts and reworked in the present to resolve current anxieties about cultural loss and identity (Hobsbawm & Ranger 2012; Oedewald, 2009).

The activities that American participants engage in, either as part of the tours by the summit or with host families, are not different in terms of their ritualization and importance to the Japanese themselves, but are reliant on a self-other division in which the self is inextricably bound to notions of culture and tradition that have emerged as a result of Japan's postwar recovery (Arlt, 2006; Ivy, 1995). As mentioned earlier, rural areas in Japan have historically been utilized in constructing a cultural imaginary or imagined community to provide credence for the nation state (Anderson, 2006). Rural spaces, and even vestiges of village life in urban centers, have remained powerful symbols of Japanese heritage. Summit participants enter into such spaces during some of the local sessions as they are introduced to residents who practice

traditional crafts or are afforded opportunities to partake in traditional activities. However, an emphasis on tradition and cultural heritage is derived from a shared imagined past before Western influence. How these spaces are figured in the cultural imaginary of the Japanese positions summit participants in an awkward position as Japanese cultural identity, that is, a sense of self, rests on an oppositional and distinct American other. This is best expressed in *nihonjinron* which has served to define what constitutes Japanese culture through its unique and regional qualities vis-à-vis the United States.

5.4.3 *Grassroots Exchange as Nihonjinron*

Abu-Lughod (1991) points out that the foundations of Anthropology are rooted in the demarcation between West and Non-West to construct its subject. My aim has not to reproduce such a binary but to address how such a binary is created and maintained under the auspices of grassroots exchange. When considering the relationship between the United States and Japan, cultural exchange requires the perpetual maintenance of two mutually exclusive categories to make ‘mutual understanding’ intelligible. Moreover, the United States has significantly shaped contemporary Japan. The fact that ‘Japanese’ eat with forks, wear pants, learn English in high school, and build apartment complexes in concrete (*danchi*) isn’t culture at all; rather, the focus of grassroots exchange is on those aspects of Japanese culture deemed traditional or unique. That is to say, non-Western or non-American. This is not unique to the summit, but is part of larger branding strategies in Japan and elsewhere in the world in order to entice visitors and sell products abroad (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Fan, 2010; Laemmerhirt, 2014; Zykas, 2009).

One of the key institutions in Japan that has been integral in promoting Japan’s national culture while also defining it is the International Research Center for Japanese Studies or Nichibunken (Zykas, 2009). Before attending the 2015 summit, I asked the secretary general of

the CIE and a staff member of the International Policy Division of the Ōita Prefectural Government if they were involved with them in any way. While they both stated that they did not know of the Nichibunken, Zykas (2009) suggests that it has nonetheless influenced the branding and promotion of Japanese culture, particularly through *nihonjinron* (essentialist discourses on Japanese culture), which has been used by the Japanese government since the 1970s to help construct a national identity as well as promote Japan overseas. More importantly, *nihonjinron* has been instrumental in constructing the myth that Japan is a homogenous country with a singular culture (Manabe & Befu, 1992; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1990). This perceived cultural homogeneity lends credence to Japan's unique national character and cultural heritage.

In brief, *nihonjinron* is consumed widely in Japan and has remained a popular genre since it emerged in the 1970s (Burgess, 2010). While lacking a unified discourse in terms of its methodologies, arguments, and subject matter, it shares the common goal of positing fundamental cultural traits as the foundation for a unique Japanese identity (Befu, 2001; Burgess, 2010). This is not unique to Japan, but what is distinctive are the historical encounters with the West that Japanese cultural identity is predicated upon and the salience that such notions have for many Japanese (Burgess, 2010). This salience stems from a sense of cultural loss as the rural has been historically construed and popularly imagined as the locus of Japanese traditions and, thus, cultural identity (Creighton, 1997, 1998; Figal, 1999; Harootunion, 1998; Kelly, 1990; Robertson, 1988, 1994, 1995, 1997). However, the decline of rural areas in Japan after WWII due to increased industrialization and a decline in agricultural activity contributed to a sense of losing Japan's cultural core (Robertson, 1988, 1995; Creighton 1997, 1998; Ivy, 1995). *Nihonjinron* panders to such sentiments by perpetuating a strong belief that Japan is essentially unknowable to outsiders while also circulating a plethora of other general stereotypes such as

group-orientation and self-sacrifice as traditional and universal Japanese traits (Befu, 2001; Manabe & Befu, 1992; Morris-Suzuki, 1997). While generally associated with literary works, *nihonjinron* also appears in the form of popular television programs such as *Cool Japan* wherein regional products and practices are exhibited for their exotic and unique quality (Zykas, 2009). Moreover, these kinds of shows place foreigners in a discussion panel where they are often asked about their experiences in Japan and what they discovered during the television program. Notions of Japanese-ness are made through the eyes of foreigners who elaborate on what is unique or strange about Japan. Thus, the media in Japan has played a significant role in disseminating essentialist attitudes about Japanese-ness vis-à-vis a foreign gaze (Iwabuchi, 1994). The closing ceremony's use of foreigners to discuss what they learned in Japan or found interesting is a similar approach. Most importantly, however, *nihonjinron* disseminates through business and political leaders who use private institutions and the media to promote these essentialist notions to foreign and domestic audiences alike, including for the purpose of international exchange (Watanabe, 2000; Yoshino, 1992).

Similar to the *Nichibunken* and the Japan Foundation, the CIE uses symbols of national identity for the purposes of cultural diplomacy despite a direct connection to these institutions or *nihonjinron* rhetoric. However, like these, the CIE has considerable government and business support in terms of financing and leadership who seek to create a favorable country image. Thereof, the CIE and summit organizers follow similar patterns of conveying cultural identity as in *nihonjinron* by focusing on unique and localizable cultural traits for the purposes of cultural branding. That is, the local sessions are designed to allow participants to experience various areas within a prefecture and each are promoted as offering something unique while contributing to Japan's cultural whole. However, despite regional variations within Japan, the word Japan in

Japan-American cultural exchange is treated as a static primordial identity that subsumes local, ethnic, and linguistic differences within the Japanese nation. While I don't contest that individuals in Japan can have strong notions of what it means to be Japanese, what is exchanged in cultural exchange can be exclusionary and essentialist. Foreign wives of rural male farmers, *zainichi* (Japanese of Korean ancestry) and *burakumin* (a social minority group based on the feudal cast system) are not considered members of the generic term Japanese culture and, thus, are left out of the narrative and experience of Japan-America cultural exchange. Japanese culture is not homogenous or temporally static; there are many voices which are excluded from the larger socio-cultural mosaic that comprises Japan today (Lie, 2009). Thereof, when the summit uses the phrase Japan-America Grassroots Summit, it is taken for granted that the U.S is heterogeneous whereas Japan is meant to imply a homogenous ethno-nationality with a unified culture (Nagayoshi, 2011). This is important to address in this research because the summit places a strong emphasis on building relations between Japanese and Americans. However, just who comprises the Japanese and what constitutes as Japanese is left unquestioned.

5.5 Addressing Limits to the Grassroots Summit

5.5.1 Three Key Challenges

I postulate that there are three key areas that the CIE has failed to address in regards to its mission goals and recruitment strategies. These causes center on Japan's shifting importance in international relations, the growth of Japan's tourism industry, and how concepts of multiculturalism are situated in Japan. The first two have a direct impact on the overall decline among Americans attending the summits based on my fieldwork, but together they address the limits of the summit in promoting its goals beyond the delimited boundaries of the summit itself.

5.5.2 Challenges from International Relations and Soft Power

In regards to the first issue, countries such as Korea and China have become increasingly important in diplomacy and economic initiatives in Asia. Given this, Japan no longer holds the central position in the region it once did for the United States. This also means that more Americans are also studying Korean and Chinese as opposed to Japanese. Indeed, research suggests that Japanese language learners in the United States have declined in universities since the late 1990s (Zykas, 2012). The CIE's reasons for forming and creating the summit came out of a post-cold war relationship between Japan and the United States. However, Japan simply does not hold the same amount of attention or importance for Americans it once did during the late 1980s and 1990s when the summit was initially formed (Zykas, 2012). Without addressing this and the ongoing changes between other countries in Asia and the United States, the summit's rhetoric of promoting Japan-America relations will continue to become increasingly anachronistic. Japan has also increased its cultural diplomacy efforts towards its Asian neighbors especially in light of increased Asian immigration to Japan. Non-profits such as the Kumamoto International Foundation (KIF) are not focused on the United States specifically but on transnational concerns such as economic development, migration, and resettlement.

Connected with this is the notion of soft-power. Cultural diplomacy is a form of soft power in that it intends to expose individuals of different cultures to favorable country images, personalities, and activities to foster amicability between nations (Mandujano, 2013; Nye, 2008). Two of the three criteria set forth by Nye (2008) in conducting soft power are evident in the CIE. The first is the use of themes in order to frame country relationships. The use of the Manjiro story and friendship to Captain Whitfield extends both to official diplomacy and interpersonal relations between Americans and Japanese. The other criterion is the ability to use cultural

exchanges to create lasting bonds between individuals of different nations, particularly through individuals that are given special status within such programs (Nye, 2008). The summit allows the descendants of Manjiro and Captain Whitfield to publicly express their ongoing relationship. Meanwhile, the creation of summit participants also allows for ongoing and continued exchanges between Japanese and Americans while adding a special significance to this interaction.

However, soft power is not without its limits and problems. Soft power initiatives must avoid shameful histories, social injustices, or politically questionable practices which otherwise would detract from creating a favorable country image (Mandujano, 2013). Popular culture and cultural exchange programs therefore serve as convenient platforms for nations to engage in soft power because it allows for the dissemination of only those images which are the most enticing and attractive to export. Yet, as Ying Fan (2010) notes, soft power is ultimately contextual and is symbolic of cultural hegemony. For Iwabuchi (2002), the relationship between Japan and the United States makes Japanese popular culture and tourism all the more problematic because these were designed with an American gaze in mind. Yet, rather than becoming subordinate to this gaze, the Japanese have used it to disavow contentious views of Japan. In essence, the United States views Japan and particular aspects of its culture in a positive light and selecting those particular aspects allows Japan to construct a positive country image. Again, the post-war relationship between the United States and Japan allows for soft power through cultural exchange programs to take place without addressing the issues of Japanese colonization in Asia for example. However, as Iwabuchi (2002) points out, soft power initiatives by Japan in Asia have been met by suspicion or criticism particularly due to Japan's lingering legacy in the region and notions of Japanese cultural superiority given its diffusion and ubiquity where it is construed as soft-nationalism as opposed to soft-power. Fan (2010) further stresses the limits of soft power

by stating that individuals that are the target of soft-power initiatives tend to be largely separated from the means to influence policy and government decisions. Therefore, while soft power through cultural exchange programs can generate positive feelings towards Japan or a desire to return to the country, this does not correlate to actual policy changes which go through multiple political channels and require political elites. The summit is distinct in that it is partly organized and funded by the political and business elite, but it is unclear if summit participants have any influence over their decision making or approaches to cultural diplomacy.

5.5.3 Challenges from Tourism

The success that tourism programs will have relies heavily on the political relationship between two countries but also other factors related to country image. Declining political importance and perceived threats to visitor safety provide significant barriers that programs like the summit actually seek to overcome to improve relations between countries (Pop & Andrei, 2013). In the latter case, the Fukushima Dai'ichi nuclear incident has become a liability for the summit. In 2011, a high school group dropped out of attending the summit due to fears over nuclear contamination. I suspect that similar fears over safety have contributed to the decline of American summit participants since 2011. However, to investigate this claim would require cooperation with Japan-America society members that knew about the summit but decided not to attend since it would be difficult, if not impossible, to track down individual potential summit attendees.

Japan's own tourist industry is a possible source of detracting from the summit as Japan has increased accommodations for foreigners over the past decade. Interestingly, Japan did not even rank within the top 14 foreign country destinations for travelers during the mid-2000s. This was mainly due to poor tourism infrastructure, promotion, and general lack of language

familiarity on the part of tourists (Berger, 2010). However, the Japan Tourism Agency (JTS), a branch of the Japan Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT), has considerably been involved in cultural branding strategies and increasing heritage tourism throughout Japan. Policy initiatives such as the Tourism Zone Development Act beginning in 2008 serve to entice domestic and foreign tourists by organizing disparate tourist sites into larger co-operatives. The result has been the creation of two to three night stays in what the JTS calls tourism zones where tourists can experience cultural events, nature tours, and historical buildings. The JTS also provides subsidies for these zones to aid in providing translators in multiple languages, lodging, and transportation. In 2015, Japan experienced its largest influx of foreign tourist at 15,051,800 as of Oct. 9, according to reports from MLIT (Japan Tourism Agency, 2015).

The summit, as a form of cultural diplomacy with a mass-tourism component, frames the relationship between Japanese and American participants. However, as this research has shown, Americans do not come to Japan for the specific purpose of improving relations between the two countries nor even in fostering long-term relations with the Japanese they do meet. New tourism opportunities in Japan allow for Americans to experience Japan in various ways that are more conducive to their personal histories and interests. For example, the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) promotes and organizes anime tourism in Japan to capitalize on the popularity of Japanese popular culture in the United States. These tours show potential tourists where they can shop for anime, manga, and where they can view cosplayers (individuals that dress as anime and manga characters). One informant that originally planned to attend the summit but later decided not to attend, told me that she found a cheaper way to travel through Japan and selected her destinations through online blogs. According to my informant, the

internet has provided a convenient resource in allowing foreigners to easily purchase Japanese rail passes, find cheap flights, and select hostels. Foreign visitors that travel to Japan run blogs posting where they stayed and what they saw in Japan, allowing future visitors to plan their own trips. Currently, the CIE uses third parties to aid in organizing transportation and lodging due to laws in Japan that prevent such organizations from directly making travel arrangements according to the secretary general of the CIE. While the summit does allow visitors to purchase extended homestays in other regions in Japan or stay in a hotel in Tokyo after the summit at a discounted price, summit participants often complained about the rushed feel of the summit and wished they had more time to enjoy the areas that they spent their time in. More pre-arrival interaction between participants and host families would allow both to create tourist experiences that prove rewarding for the local communities and the needs of participants. This would also create greater mutual understanding as both hosts and guests would come to learn about each other over an extended period of time as opposed to a few days.

5.5.4 Challenges from Multiculturalism and Internationalization

Although the summit seeks to create greater understanding between Japanese and Americans, it is unclear how the summit actually aids in doing so beyond the delineated boundaries of the summit itself. That is, the summit does not appear to have a direct impact on Japanese society in regards to the treatment of foreigners in Japan. While calls towards greater multiculturalism have been espoused by politicians, non-profits, and the media in Japan since the 1990s, the practice of multiculturalism in Japan appears more like cultural pluralism given that foreigners are not expected to assimilate but, rather, retain their distinct culture (Burgess, 2010; Nagayoshi, 2011; Sasaki, 2004). In brief, while there is growing acknowledgement in Japan for the need to appreciate and interact with foreigners within Japan, concepts like multiculturalism

and internationalization are utilized in such a way as to segregate cultural Others and to reaffirm Japanese uniqueness (Burgess, 2007; Ishiwata, 2011; Iwabuchi, 1994; McCormack, 1996; Morris-Suzuki, 1997; Nagayoshi, 2011; Robertson, 1997). In Japan, multiculturalism (*tabunkashugi*) is practiced as a recognition of difference that does not counter the self-other binary in which the self resolutely means having Japanese heritage (Ishiwata, 2011). Scholarly literature from both Japanese and foreign researchers seems to point to the conclusion that, rather than aiding in inclusion and acceptance of foreign culture in Japan, multiculturalism has served as an instrument to further ascertain what is exclusive and significant to the Japanese people (Burgess, 2007; Ishiwata, 2011; Iwabuchi, 1994; McCormack, 1996; Morris-Suzuki, 1997; Nagayoshi, 2011; Robertson, 1997). It is this distinction which allows the Japanese to easily recognize who is different and so maintain an exclusive in-group based on a shared sense of culture grounded in ethno-national origins (Burgess, 2010; Morris-Suzuki, 1997; Nagayoshi, 2011).

Ever since Japan emerged as a nation-state in 1868, the Japanese have struggled to create a permanent sense of national culture. The end of WWII prompted significant shifts in re-interpreting Japan's history to understand what it meant to be Japanese in an increasingly Americanized society and in order to show where Japanese history had gone wrong so as to recuperate vestiges of its past and national character to show that these did not contribute to Japan's wartime bellicosity (Delanty, 2003; Gluck, 1993; Watanabe, 2000; Yoshimi, & Buist, 2003). Symbols such as Kabuki theater, Noh drama, and even contemporary artists served to emolliate Japan's image in respect to its wartime reputation in the minds of Americans while also providing the basis for a post-war national culture (Havens, 2014). By the 1970s, the concept of *kokusaika* (internationalization) emerged as part of the ongoing struggle for Japanese

national identity after WWII and Japan's growing presence in the global economy in the 1970s and 80s (Dower 1993; Iwabuchi, 1994; McCormack, 1996; Oliver, 2009; Robertson 1997). The first usage of the word *kokusaika* began in the 1920s, but it did not gain widespread usage in the Japanese language until the 1960s when it was used to articulate significant events that had global ramifications such as the Cuban missile crisis. By the end of the decade, the term began to be used to describe how Japan interacted with, and was affected by, the rest of the world nearly exclusively (Oliver, 2009). Throughout the 1970s Japan had become significantly influential in the global economy and *kokusaika* gained currency as a catchword to capture Japan's emergence of Japan's presence in the global economy (Iwabuchi, 1994). In addition, throughout the post-war period, the Japanese middle class significantly afforded many Japanese an affluent lifestyle including traveling abroad. Yet, with an increase in foreign travel, access to imported goods, exporting of Japanese products, and greater personal wealth increased insularity and exceptionalism rather than fostering cosmopolitan attitudes (Dower, 1993). This retrenchment was coupled with foreign criticism of Japan's economic policies of protecting its own markets while shirking its global political responsibilities as a member of the capitalist liberal-democratic West (Dower, 1993, Ertl, 2008; Gluck, 1993). Economic growth also corresponded with an increase in foreign workers, leading to further concerns over Japan's relationship with the rest of the world (McCormack, 1996).

To project an image of global co-operation and acceptance of foreigners, *kokusaika* became an important slogan, but the overall ideological outlook of *kokusaika* continued to place Japan at the center. That is, it did not create greater equivalence between different people or nations but reaffirmed what was unique about Japan's economy, culture, and society (Iwabuchi, 1994; McCormack 1996). *Kokusaika* therefore fueled the *nihonjinron* discourse of the 1970s and

1980s (Iwabuchi, 1994). The irony, Iwabuchi (1994) notes, is that *kokusaika* paradoxically created sentiments for a collective Japanese national identity while also rousing Japanese to become members of the global community. The more recent slogan *tabunkakyōsei shakai* (multicultural society or, literally, multiple cultures living together) replaced *kokusaika* following the Kobe earthquake in 1995 in which foreign residents and the poor were disproportionately vulnerable due to their marginalization in mainstream Japanese society (Graburn, 2010). As the term suggests, *tabunkakyōsei shakai* maintains a pluralist outlook seeing Japanese culture as something particular to Japanese while foreigners are not included within that term.

Nelson Graburn (2010) argues that internationalization and multiculturalism in Japan have been more about traveling and doing business abroad (as in the American Grassroots Summits) than about accepting and integrating foreigners, indigenous peoples and minorities within Japan. The CIE's current structure and focus on regional uniqueness and national culture perpetuate the lingering discourse and practices of multiculturalism in Japan. This actually prohibits greater mutual understanding by retaining a sense of distinct cultural boundaries between participants and hosts. Rather, grassroots exchange as conducted through the summit ignores individual agency and interpretations of cultural belonging among the Japanese and Americans. No two "Japanese" or "Americans" understand or experience their respective cultures in the same way, especially when gender, class, and age divisions are taken into consideration. An open recognition that that summit (when held in Japan) is as much a rewarding and transformative experience on the part of Japanese learning something about Japan as opposed to learning about their collective heritage would help to improve the summit and further its goals.

5.6 Conclusion

As Ranger (1993) and E. Bruner (2005) attest, views on history, tradition or culture are not passively inherited or accepted but are actively maintained through a variety of methods and institutions. In regards to tourism, museums, tour guide scripts, and cultural experts aid in this process (E. Bruner, 2005; Jack & Phipps, 2005; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Rectanus, 2002). The CIE and its mission goals nominally strive towards greater cultural understanding between Japanese and Americans but, as an institution, its board members and organizational structure are imbedded in reproducing discourses and practices surrounding Japanese national culture and how to promote said culture. The opening and closing ceremonies are indicative of such processual routines because only selected symbols and tellings of national-culture, history, and tradition are espoused by the speakers (E. Bruner 2005; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). Claims to John Manjiro's legacy and the use of speakers affiliated with the Japanese and American governments appeal to authority and grant official speakers their legitimacy to talk about John Manjiro, Japan-America relations, and Japanese culture as they do.

This constitutes what Briggs and Baumann (1992) call an intertextual gap. In this sense, the original records of John Manjiro's accounts in the United States have been appropriated by contemporary Japanese and Americans in order to re-narrate his experiences within the genre of international diplomacy. The successive retellings of Manjiro's life as indexical to original texts produced during his lifetime, inevitably leads to a gap between the original oral accounts produced by Manjiro when he arrived in Japan and the speeches produced by official speakers during the opening and closing ceremonies. This also applies to the accounts provided by participants whose narratives are selectively screened and collected by the CIE for the purposes of recapitulating how grassroots exchange occurred during a summit while also promoting

further grassroots summits in the future. This constitutes a recontextualization of the on-tour narratives of participants (Bernstein, 2004). The needs of the CIE and its links to cultural diplomacy necessitate a particular structuring of such narratives. In this case, the on-tour narratives of participants are de-located and re-framed within the discourse of cultural branding and cultural diplomacy.

In constructing a master narrative for the summit, the point is not to establish if the Manjiro story is historically valid but rather if it creates a plausible means of explaining why the CIE exists and why participants attend the summit. As J. Bruner (1991) argues, the verifiability of narratives is not as important as if they present a convincing account of what they claim to represent. Mutual understanding and cultural exchange provide a solution to that problem and are found within the Manjiro-Whitfield relationship. This is what J. Bruner (1991) calls an act of narrative accrual in that the Manjiro-story is an active process of piecing together parts of the past and the present and ordering them diachronically so as to perpetuate a sense of continuity. Yet, master narratives do not go uncontested in that they are equally understood or taken up as factual by all interlocutors (E. Bruner, 2005; Ochs & Capps, 1996). Moreover, such official tellings may not even be relevant or known to the audience members such narratives are directed towards. Ironically, many Japanese that I spoke with during the 2015 summit were unaware of John Manjiro before deciding to serve as volunteers or host families. Indeed, they often asked me questions about Manjiro and if he was well-known in the United States. They also stated they had not learned about John Manjiro in school. In addition, the Manjiro-story did not necessarily coincide with the personal pre-tour or on-tour narratives of participants.

Furthermore, many of my informants did not see the John Manjiro story as coinciding with their own purpose in coming to Japan and the summit. One of my informants, Heather,

stated to me, “Did I relate the experiences in any way to the Manjiro-Whitfield story? No.” Another informant and returning summit participant mentioned that, “The Manjiro-Whitfield story was not very important to us.” The Japanese host families also had differing means of expressing their own reasons for participating in the summit. These purposes were couched in personal motives as opposed to references to national or diplomatic reasons. From my informants, many stated that their families were curious about Americans and on two counts host families wanted to expose their children to foreigners. The possible reasoning is because of the growing presence of foreigners and new conceptualizations of multiculturalism in Japan that are more directly influential and applicable to the lives of everyday Japanese (Ishiwata, 2011). Yet, as this chapter has shown, multiculturalism remains a problematic endeavor in Japan. This requires further examination and is beyond the scope of this research, but considering host family motives on the part of Japanese would provide the framework for a more accurate representation of how and why different individuals involve themselves in the summit.

The point to address, however, is that the personal narratives of Japanese and Americans are not necessarily aligned with the master narratives presented during the opening and closing ceremonies. This is evidenced by my informants’ definitions (or lack thereof) of grassroots exchange and the importance of the Manjiro-Whitfield relationship in understanding their own purpose in Japan. While the story of John Manjiro is presented as a sensible metaphor for Japan-America friendship, it would appear such a narrative has more to do with reproducing the discourse of Japan’s political relationship to the United States than having relevancy for the actual Japanese host families and participants of the summit. As E. Bruner (2005) attests, master narratives derive their power from the state, but in reciting such official versions they aid in reproducing state power. The summit executive committee and CIE may have control over the

selection process in regards to official speakers, the venue in which the opening and closing ceremonies speeches will be spoken, and creating itineraries so as to gather participants in attendance, but they do not control how individual attendees understand their relation to grassroots exchange, the Manjiro-story or their overall reasons for attending the summit.

6 つづく : SUMMARIES AND NEW DIRECTIONS

In beginning this thesis I posed two research questions. The first asked what constitutes cultural exchange in the summit and what are the underlying influences shaping that exchange. The second question addressed how those influences shaping the summit similarly influence participant experience, particularly while in Japan. I also stated that I would address these questions by focusing on narratives. The summit promotional materials, official speeches, participant reflections, and comments from the Japanese show that these narratives do not always align in terms of how the summit is experienced or understood in terms of its importance. While the master narrative of John Manjiro frames the summit's purpose and is central to the discourse of cultural exchange during the official ceremonies, the use of this particular narrative is influenced by several factors. The first is the result of historical contingencies resulting from U.S-Japan relations as well as other political and business interests in Japan. This is expressed in the rhetoric of the opening and closing ceremonies, promotional materials and summit guide, and, to an extent, the local sessions. So, while espoused for the purposes of cultural diplomacy, the use of the Manjiro story is further defined by cultural diplomacy efforts, Japan's NPO law, the tourism industry, and national branding strategies.

From this research, it is clear that the CIE is part of a wider network of individuals, institutions and principles that seek to promote Japan in particular ways which can be traced back to national relations and interests. Thus, while seeking to promote open dialogue between

Japanese and Americans, the summit is highly mediated for premeditated purposes. These purposes fall into two broad categories: national-culture and diplomacy. In the former, the local tours, official ceremonies, and speeches reinforce what constitutes Japan's national culture. Japanese are poised as having a distinct heritage as opposed to their American guests and positions the Japanese in such a way that they are to educate Americans on Japanese ways of life. In regards to the latter, the Manjiro story and summit reaffirms Japan's relationship with the United States while glossing over the shifting views that Japan has held towards its own history and the United States.

My second research question revealed itself in surprising ways. I initially assumed that the summit and the Manjiro story heavily influenced participants in regards to how they learned about the summit and why they decided to attend. However, as this research suggests, the question of influence is more complicated. Most participants that I talked to had very specific and diverse reasons for attending the summit that did not necessarily center on cultural exchange. Although some informants viewed grassroots exchange as learning about cultures, this did not necessarily correlate with their purpose for the summit nor correlate with their life histories regarding living or working in Japan. Moreover, while informants viewed their time in Japan on the summit favorably, they also shared their criticism regarding some parts of the summit. In highlighting the practices of participants on one of the local tours, I showed how participants could move beyond the boundaries of mass tourism to interact directly with hosts as well as provide unplanned and alternative explanations or behaviors. However, the homestays provided the most rewarding and important part of the summit for my informants given its unstructured and often unpredictable nature. In short, summit participants were influenced by the summit's practice of moving participants between multiple activities and points of interest in a limited

amount of time. This restricted their activities, organized their use of time, and influenced who they could talk with as part of fostering mutual understanding. However, it did not appear that the promotional materials or official speeches had a significant impact on influencing how participants acted once they reached Japan, bringing into question who the speeches are for and for what purpose other than reaffirming the state-centered goals of the summit and establishment of the CIE.

The closing ceremony brings this to the foreground in which it is clear that the voice of participants are utilized to further promote the summit and its endeavors without being able to take into consideration the contexts in which those narratives first emerged. Participants never expressed concerns over this and the majority of participants never return to the summit regardless. That is, most participants do not become familiar with the summit's organization and practices over long periods of time nor are invested in the CIE and its mission goals. Some participants like Bob, Dr. Perry, Amy, myself, and a few others comment on past summits and continue to participate in the program for its homestay component and the comradery of the summit's official ceremonies. However, the overall trend over the past five summits in Japan has been one of participant decline. Anthropological perspectives as afforded in this research can aid in recruitment strategies as well as improving summit retention. Moreover, as chapter 4 expressed, there are multiple barriers to the CIE's goals as evidenced by the summit's ethnological tendencies as well as endemic understandings of national culture and heritage. The CIE also faces competition from Japan's own tourism industry in addition to a decline in the overall strategic and cultural significance of Japan for Americans. Again, research such as this allows for understanding how these developments are related to each other while also providing avenues for improvement based on participant actions and comments.

Lastly, my goal has been to establish a means of researching cultural diplomacy in practice. As ethnography, my focus has been holistic as opposed to placing an emphasis on policy or institutions alone. That is, I examined the Manjiro story, organizational structure of the CIE, the history of the CIE and summit, and the participants that comprise the summit as they interrelate to each other. In doing so, I sought to provide a means of not only studying Non-profits and their programs but also to illustrate that the decision making on the part of NPOs like the CIE is heavily related to broader national projects and ideologies that develop over long periods of time but have clear ramifications in the present. The grassroots structure of the summit may be accurate in defining the homestay families and participants, but the actual summit's structure, narratives, and leadership are all highly reflective of state sponsored goals and top-down organizing. What is required next, then, is to take this into consideration in promoting future summits as well as understanding similar programs. The future of such programs must acknowledge the importance of transnational flows in shaping cultural identities as opposed to affixing master narratives and monolithic national cultures to cultural exchange initiatives. Rather, such programs should actively seek out diversity within communities where cultural exchange is stated to occur with a focus on the needs and issues of both parties involved. Thus, for the summit, the focus should be oriented towards designing programs collaboratively at the host family and participant level as opposed to the level of the summit's executive committee if it wishes to use the term grassroots or remain viable into the 21st century.

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APPENDIX A

挨拶 ・ MESSAGE

150年前、土佐の少年、中浜万次郎(後のジョン万次郎)が太平洋で遭難、漂流中をアメリカ捕鯨船ホイットフィールド船長に助けられ、アメリカに渡り、そして学んだことは「デモクラシーの精神」と「ボランティアの精神」でした。これらはアメリカの建國精神であると共に人類普遍の原理でもあります。国際社会の中で協力し合わなければ日本の存在は無いと開国を説いたのが、この精神を教えられた万次郎でした。

今日、経済大国となった日本の国際社会への「協力」「責任」「責任」はますます重要となっております。国際社会の交流には同国、企業と企業など、組織レベルの交流と人間レベルの個人レベルでの交流があります。国同士の交流をよくするためには、先ず個人レベルでの理解が大切であり、これがより幅広く、そしてより深まる事で組織レベルの交流に生じる軋轢も和らげる事が出来ます。財団法人ジョン万次郎ホイットフィールド記念国際草の根交流センターが目的とする草の根交流とは組織に限らず個人が、組織を離れ、或は組織を越えて、個人として互いに助け合う事を目指すのであります。

国際情勢のとおり、国際情勢は激動しております。世界の平和と安定、そして発展を願う上で日本同国の協力は欠かせません。そのためには、個人レベルでの「草の根交流」を推進し「心」を軸とした日本共同体を形成する事が必要です。又、これは日本同国間に限るものであってはなりません。先ず、日本同国の草の根の人々が手を取り合うことから、より多く、世界各国の草の根の人達にこの「デモクラシーとボランティアの精神」を伝えて行く事が我々の目標であり、責任でもあります。

今後、皆様のお賢明なる御助言、御助力により当財団がこの目標を少しでも早く達成出来まじ事を願っております。



One hundred and fifty years ago, while adrift in the Pacific Ocean, a Japanese boy named Manjiro was rescued by an American sea captain named William Whitfield. From Captain Whitfield, Manjiro learned about the spirit of democracy and the practice of volunteerism. These are principles on which the United States of America was founded and universal principles of mankind. Having learned these principles, upon his return to his homeland (Japan) Manjiro advocated that Japan open its doors to the world, saying that, in an international society, Japan could not exist without cooperation with other nations.

The importance of cooperation, service, and responsibility in an international society is now understood.

There are two types of exchange in an international society; exchange on an organizational level; and exchange on an individual level. In order for nations to better understand one another, there must first be understanding at the individual level. Exchange and understanding between individuals can also mitigate the frictions that arise between institutions or organizations.

The goal of the John Mung -Whitfield Commemorative Center for International Exchange is to encourage people who belong to organized bodies to work together as individuals and achieve a grass roots level exchange. I believe that this concept fits the needs of today's world.

The world is now undergoing drastic change. Cooperation between Japan and the United States is essential to the peace and stability of the world as well as its future development. The promotion of grass roots exchange between individuals and the creation of a unified partnership between Japan and the United States with understanding as its axis is necessary. In addition, future grass roots exchange should not be limited to Japan and the United States. We must all join hands with people participating in grass roots level activities around the world and pass on the spirit of democracy and volunteerism. I believe this should be the goal of mankind in the 21st century.

I ask for your wise counsel and assistance in helping this Center contribute toward reaching this goal.

会長 小沢 一郎

Ichiro Oeawa, Chairman

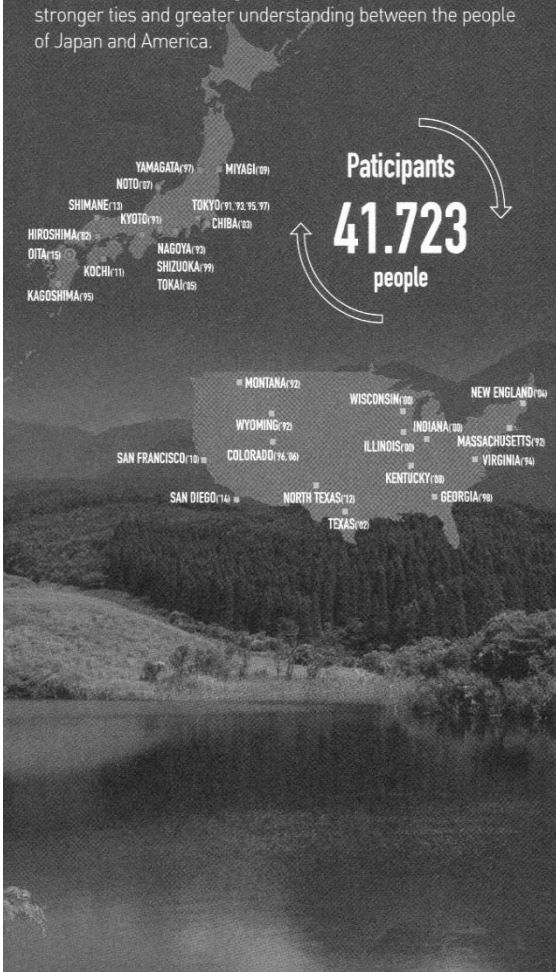
APPENDIX B

What is Grassroots Exchange?

"Grassroots exchange" is what happens when ordinary citizens of different countries meet and make friendships with each other. Through participating in cultural activities and staying in each other's homes, they discover much about the other person's culture and way of life. It is our hope that "grassroots exchange" will lead to increased mutual understanding, respect and friendship between different countries.

The "Japan-America Grassroots Summit" is an annual gathering that provides an opportunity for such an exchange and is held alternately in Japan and the U.S. The program includes homestays, sight-seeing, and various cultural activities. During the Summit, citizens from both countries have the opportunity to get to know each other, have fun, and deepen their friendships.

People of all ages and backgrounds participate in the summit, but they all have one thing in common: a desire to create stronger ties and greater understanding between the people of Japan and America.



The Program of the 25th Grassroots Summit

Opening Ceremony and Welcome Reception

The Grassroots Summit starts with an Opening Ceremony and Welcome Reception. Participants from America, Japanese volunteers and others connected with the Summit gather to enjoy the welcome provided by the Summit Executive Committee. In 2015, the Opening Ceremony and the Welcome Reception will be held in Beppu Suginoi Hotel which is well known with its great onsen (hot spring) facilities all over Japan.



Opening Ceremony in 2013

Local Sessions (Homestay Program)

The 11 local Sessions will be offered by 11 cities all over Oita prefecture. The participants will experience person-to-person exchange with their host and learn about the unique culture of the local area through this 4 days 3 nights program.



Local Sessions in 2013

Closing Ceremony and Farewell Reception

The Closing Ceremony and Farewell Reception are the final event of the Summit. They are attended not only by the American visitors and Japanese volunteers, but also the host families and others who have connections with the summit. This is the start of the true grassroots exchange.



Closing Ceremony in 2009

Post Summit Optional Programs

For those who wish to experience more in Japan, several optional programs will be offered after the summit. Participants will be able to visit other regions of Japan, with both hotel and homestay options.



Post Summit Optional Program in 2013

Hikotaro-ike

APPENDIX C

DATE	TIME	ACTIVITIES	RMKS
7/9(Thu.)	9:00	Depart Beppu Suginoi	
	11:05 ~13:00	Arrive at Saiki~ Experience of sushi cooking Sushi Lunch	Waraku
	13:00 ~15:30	Move to Honjou Arrive at Honjou, Limestone Cave tour, River play	Honjo
	15:30 ~16:30	Move to Chambers of Commerce office Yukata wearing	Chambers of Commerce
	16:30 ~18:00	Move to Culture Hall Castle town walking, Maccha tea experience, Kagura Mask craft house tour	Yamagiwa street
	18:00	Meeting with host family	Yoken temple
	7/10 (Fri.)	9:30	Meet at Culture Hall
9:30 ~15:30		Move to Marine Culture Center Board a ship and watch coral reef Lunch Sea bathing Marine Culture Center tour	
15:30 ~17:30		Move to local high school School Visit (Watch calligraphy, etc.)	
17:30		Meet with host family	
7/11 (Sat.)		Spend whole day with host family	
7/12 (Sun.)	Morning	Exchange with host family	
	12:50	Meet at Culture Hall	
	13:00 ~15:00	Move to Oasis Tower Hotel OPAM tour	
	15:40	Amache Presentation	
	16:30	Closing Ceremony	