

Science to Develop a Showcase for Tourism: Okinawa as a Locus of Cultural Production among a Folklorist, a Popular Television Drama Producer, Popular Television and Magazine Reporters, and A Tourist Promotion Agency

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This chapter will show how Okinawa becomes a showcase for Okinawan tourist agents, mainland Japanese television and magazine companies, and folklore research. More specifically, it will show: how a television company, NHK (*Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*, or Japan Broadcasting Corporation) recently made a popular television drama, *Churasan* (beautiful woman) about a story of Okinawan woman; and how a producer of the drama shares similar perspective of Okinawa with a classic folklorist's view, such as Yanagita Kunio, and incorporate Okinawa as a "good old" Japan. This chapter will also examine how Okinawan Convention and Visitor's Bureau consumed and amplified a popular television drama developed images of Okinawa, for promoting Okinawa tourism, and how they facilitate mainland television and magazine companies to report Okinawa.

Introduction

This chapter will show how Okinawa becomes a showcase for Okinawan tourist agents, mainland television and magazine companies, and folklore research. More specifically, it will show: how a television company, NHK (*Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*, or Japan Broadcasting Corporation) recently made a popular television drama, *Churasan* (beautiful woman) about a story of Okinawan woman; and how a producer of the drama shares similar perspective of Okinawa with a classic folklorist's view, such as Yanagita Kunio, and incorporate Okinawa as a "good old" Japan. This chapter will also examine how Okinawan Convention and Visitor's Bureau consumed and amplified a popular television drama developed images of Okinawa, for promoting Okinawa tourism, and how they facilitate mainland television and magazine companies to report Okinawa.

Stronza (2001) characterizes anthropological study of tourism. She classifies two modes of academic dialogue—one investigates "the origins of tourism" and the other examines "the impacts of tourism." My study would expand this first category, and show how the tourist sites are developed and commodified. However, my study does not illustrate any historical origins of tourism. My paper will not represent tourists' views of tourist destinations by showing neither modern tourism trend, such as why people travel as tourists, nor popular tourism destinations, such as why people prefer to visit specific destinations rather than others. This study focuses on the image producers of the tourist location, especially how a regional government subsidiary tourist agency works together with television companies and popular magazines to develop and expand the image of tourist sites by transforming image of existing tourist destinations.

Recently, many studies, especially, increasing number of

cultural studies type of analysis often illustrates "Okinawa boom," including Okinawa related popular culture, among Okinawa study scholars. These studies treat that there is a particular agent formulating such trend. For example, Tada Osamu (2004) argues that Okinawa boom was developed by Expo '75, and Ikeguchi Kotaro (his pen name is Sakaiya Taichi), a former manager in Ministry of International Trade and Industry, is the one of the agents to develop such boom. From an anthropological perspective, it is almost unattainable to assemble a data to confirm such a deterministic perspective, without collecting specific data, at least voices which are involved in culture production, and see the policy planner's perspective to make a plan and how he found the plan could induce such boom. The most difficult task is to collect data illuminating the relationship between popular trend and its producers. The primary question is that if there is such agent who creates a trend. Thus, rather than emphasize the relationship between the agent and the new trend, by analyzing the process to develop a tourist destination in Okinawa, I attempt to examine the dialogue among the potential popular image producers and how the communication becomes the locus where popular culture production and consumption meet.

A Mainland Television Company's Perspective of Okinawa: Yanagita Kunio, Popular Television Drama, *Churasan*, and Okinawan Custom

Churasan (beautiful woman) is a popular television drama about an Okinawan woman—born in 1972 when Japan reversed Okinawa from the US—who moved to Tokyo after graduating from high school and became a nurse there. NHK (*Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*, or Japan Broadcasting Corporation) began to broadcast this drama in 2001. The story constantly showed elements of Okinawan tradition such as

the local healthy diet and tropical climate, which are supposed to bring Okinawans long life. Churasan is one of a series of fifteen-minute NHK dramas dating back to 1961. NHK broadcasts the drama in the morning on weekdays, and so call this type of drama “the Morning Drama” (*asadora*). The actual title of the series of NHK’s *asadora* is *asano renzoku dorama shirizu*. Many of them broadcast in the rest of the world including Asia and the US. Some dramas, such as *Oshin* in 1983, became very popular in Indonesia and many other Asian countries. The drama mostly illustrates structure and interactions among members of the ideal or traditional Japanese family. Each drama completes in a year of progressive daily episodes.

Suga Yasuhiro is an executive director of Churasan production, and he mentioned how he began to discover a disappearing Japanese extended family in a countryside Japan during my interview at NHK’s headquarters in Tokyo. Suga did not choose Tokyo as a drama location because the big family has more or less disappeared in Tokyo and setting the story there could not impress the audiences as real. Suga was looking for a place where he can reproduce an image of an ideal big family, and in which the story of a big family does not create any contradictory images among the audience. Suga seeks to capture actual everyday life in Okinawa to depict the popular television drama in order to formulate a reality in a story and eliminate room for suspicion among its audiences.

When I was assigned to be in charge of *asadora*, I wanted to illustrate a family, especially a family communicates each other well by sitting around living table every day. Then, I started to think about the location. I looked for a region where the scene of a big family living together and eating a meal together does not create any contradiction between the scenario and reality. This is the beginning. In metropolitan area, such Tokyo and Osaka, there is almost no big family which eats meals together. Therefore, if I choose metropolitan area as the drama location, it is not real and does not capture our actual daily life. If the drama lacks such reality, nobody watches it. The audience may say “Where do you think such family exists in the metropolitan area?” Then, I started to look for the region where such family exists, and found Okinawa. Even nowadays, there are many families where grandfather and grandmother live together with their children and grandchildren and where they have a large number of siblings. This happens even in the city of Naha in Okinawa, although the landscape is similar to Tokyo where there are many apartments. In an apartment, even today, a big family lives together, and they surround a table and eat breakfast together every day, like the Churasan family.

Suga’s project is to discover Japan’s traditional everyday life in Okinawa through the production of a popular drama, Churasan. Thus Suga’s scheme contains a view similar to Yanagita Kunio when he first visited Okinawa in order to conduct folklore research. Yanagita’s research sought to discover authentic and traditional everyday life which is still available in the countryside regardless of industrialization and modernization (Nelson 2008: 68). Yanagita is interested in the inequity of the material social condition existing in rural Japan, the lack of the things what they need in their

everyday life, and how unevenness of modern capitalist development leaves the original local daily life (Nelson 2008: 68). Yanagita believes that Okinawa was bottomless resource of material that could use for an assemblage of his ideal model of the authentic Japanese folk (Nelson 2008: 68). He views that traveling to this distant margin of Japan would enable him to move backward in time and to recover the past in the present (Nelson 2008: 68). Regardless of Okinawa’s colonial subordination and social and economic deficiency, Yanagita argues that Okinawa was isolated from foreign contact, free from the accretions of Buddhism, “a preserve of the unconscious archaic customs that can no longer be seen in Japan, [that] holds the key to understanding the doubts and fears of the modern Japanese.” (Harootunian 2000: 324–325) In contrast to Iha Fuyu—an Okinawa folklorist who views that Ryukyuan and mainland Japanese shared the same descent—Yanagita argues that the archaic Japanese still exist in the customs and practices of Okinawa (Nelson 2008: 69). Similar to Yanagita, Suga shows how he incorporates Okinawa as a part of Japanese countryside where good old days of Japan still exist.

I was impressed by many existing old customs in Okinawa. I thought these lost customs could be seen across the nation in the past. At that time, if I had an intention, it was to include these customs in a drama. If I wanted to tell something about Okinawa through this drama, there is many good customs and usage of language, which is already fragmenting or lost in mainland Japan. I have a message that we have to think about this fragmenting good custom.

Similar to Yanagita’s folklore studies, Suga shows how a popular television drama series of NHK, *asadora*, attempted to recover the imperial Japanese state by constituting the logic of communal body and attempting to include Japan’s countryside into a national body without giving any critique of modern Japan, such as existing social problem of Okinawa and Japan (I will show how Suga excludes the US military base issue from this drama later). By deriving Harootunian’s argument, Nelson (2008) points out this classic folkloristic perspective which “not only fail to provide a critique of modern capitalist society but were actually recovered by the imperial Japanese state through the logic of a ‘communal body’ that could incorporate other members of the Asian community in its corporal form” (Nelson 2008: 71).

Suga argues that one of the primary reasons to make this drama popular is that the drama captures fragmenting elements in our modern life, such as extended family structure, and the many viewers hope to reconstruct such loss. Suga’s argument illuminates Ivy (1995) and others classic scholarly discourses of phantasm and memory developed in the field of Japan studies, and expanded in other area studies (see Nelson 2008; Igarashi 2000; Appadurai 1996; Prakash 1999). These scholars investigated the construction process of phantasm: how marginal cultural traits are brought into effective action; how social phenomena are dramatized to appeal to and convince actors and audiences of the legitimacy of social practices; and how distinctive signs of difference between the self, as Okinawan people, and others are created. In order to develop a specific view to represent the

field, Ivy (1995) elaborated on Anderson and Hobsbawm's (1983) accounts of the nation and its tradition derived from Foucault's argument that the institutionalized and visualized subjects constitute distortions of modernity, and the Lacanian argument that phantasmal elements develop imaginary communities and nations where subjects are symbolically visualized as real.¹ Suga articulates such construction process of phantasm, and depicts that in contrast to urban lifestyle, such as Tokyo metropolitan area, the Churasan story dramatizes marginal cultural traits into effective action and convince Churasan audiences of the legitimacy of social practices, such as Churasan highlights the interaction of the extended family that the members of a heroin often interferes a personal business each other. However, Suga did not recognize such effect of this drama until he received a letter from his audience.

I think one of the primary reasons to make this drama popular is that family structure is destroying these days. In an urban area, children go to school at 7:00 AM, and a father goes to work at 8:00 AM, and they go home at night. Because the father spends hours for commuting, children cannot wait for the father and eat dinner. In contrast to this, the Churasan story shows the interaction of the extended family that the members of a heroin frequently interferes a personal business each other. Therefore, I thought young people—like high school students in Tokyo—do not like to have a meal with parents when I made this drama. Then, I have received some letters from junior high and high school students. They said, "I would like to have a meal with my family as Churasan's family does." Because of this, I thought they do not mind to have a meal with their parents now. I think that the popularity of this drama might show the demand of our society, such as audience's hope to spend more time with their family members.

Suga argues that the meal custom—in which all family members eat together—means something for family. Therefore, if this meal custom disappeared, the family structure might be destroyed. Suga's perspective is examined by many studies which investigate particularly cultural recovery movements, which go against rapid industrialization after the outburst of nationalist led modernization movement in the Meiji period (1968–1912) (Gluck 1998; Robertson 1998; Thompson 1998; Wigen 1998; Morris-Suzuki 1998). These scholars show how particular and marginal Japanese practices of tradition are treated as the most fundamental representation of the Japanese national and cultural tradition; how nostalgic movements aggressively seek out Japanese "pure" traditions, such as a Japanese spirit, which have not been influenced by Western elements;² how "lost" social phenomena are recovered as survivals; how these projects are associated with a wish to return to origins of the culture; and how the recovered practices and discourses in the late twentieth-century strengthen the memory of devastating experiences induced by the expansion of modernity as well as defeat in war (Ivy 1995; Harootunian 2000; Igarashi 2000).³ Suga demonstrates his attempt to recover such "good old" Japan by illustrating Churasan family in Okinawa.

I think eating a meal together means something for us. I

do not know if they still doing this in the US, such as a father prays for the family members before a meal. I think if this meal custom is disappeared, the family structure might be destroyed. I thought talking over a meal means a lot to unite a family. Therefore, I wanted very much to illustrate such meal custom. When we decided to shoot in Okinawa, we went to Okinawa and talk to people there, and then we recognized Okinawa is the region where many elderly are enjoying a long life. During the visit, we found out that female elders are respected and strong figures in Okinawa. We asked the young people walking on the street about their perspective of older generations, and they—including junior high school students—really respect their grandmother and grandfather living in their neighborhood very much. Then, we saw many elders in their seventies and eighties working in a market, and we became interested in them and interviewed them. In Tokyo and other metropolitan area, elders are hidden inside of a house. For example, a family makes an isolated space in a house, and put elders there. Thus, even though they are living together, they do not show up in front of the guests. They rarely go out. However, Okinawan female elders work every day. We asked them the reason, and they said because they wanted to work. Also, female elders have power because many males died during the war. Thus, female elders had to raise their children by themselves. They are proud of the fact that they took care of their children without depending on somebody else. The younger generation respects female elders because they know they were solely grown by their mother. Because we often hear a local term, *obaa* (a grandmother or a female elder), we asked what it means. The term *obaa* includes respect and trust of them. They say *obaa* (grandmother) and *ojii* (grandfather) even they are not ones' real grandmother and father. Regional old customs remain in Okinawa, and local children daily say "Goodmorning, *Obaa*" to neighborhood elders.

Suga produced this drama in order to make known Okinawan daily custom to mainland Japanese people because he thought that many mainland people did not know much about the Okinawan daily life until the turn of the current century, although they knew about the issues of the US military bases. Also, he thought that illustrating foods and family customs was the best way to capture Okinawanness. Therefore, Suga illustrated the image of the healthy traditional Okinawan lifestyle as it no longer exists in the metropolitan life on mainland Japan. For example, the story shows three generations of family living together and the family always eats healthy meal together and enjoys healthy, peaceful, happy, and slow life in Okinawa, and a healthy and strong grandmother consults and advises how to deal with problems whenever each family member encounters them. Suga frequently introduced a locally grown vegetable, a bitter squash (*goya*) as a symbolic food ingredient among "traditional" Okinawan family diet in a drama. He showed how Okinawan families daily consume *goya* in a family diet and made a scene that an Okinawan pub in Tokyo became a family dining table like communication place among some Okinawans residing in Tokyo, and it serves a regional cuisine, such as "*goya champuru*" (fried vegetable with *goya* and other vegetables and meats). Eventually, Suga and the staff members invented a cartoon character of *goya* called

“Goya Man,” which has a *goya*-like green face and body wearing large black rain boots, a superman-like red mantle, and yellow helmet for construction work. They introduced a miniature of “Goya Man” in a scene in which the Churasan family begins to sell them as a family business. In this way, Churasan introduced the name “*goya*” to mainland Japanese.

Because we chose Okinawa to film this drama, we illustrated distinctiveness of Okinawa in order to produce reality. Because Okinawan cultural trait, such as food and music, are the best elements to depict Okinawa, we employed them in a drama. We picked up *goya* because even though *goya* was so popular among Okinawans, not many people knew *goya* in mainland Japan. After we broadcasted Churasan, the name *goya* became really popular in mainland Japan. Before we broadcasted Churasan, nobody knew the name *goya*, but the name is took root there. I believe that the name *goya* has been established along with the progress of this drama. Before the broadcasting, mainland Japanese called bitter squash *nigauri*, which is produced in Miyazaki and Kagoshima prefecture. Department stores in Tokyo rarely sold *nigauri* at that time. However, the stores began to sell *goya*, and replaced the name *nigauri* with Okinawan name *goya*. Nowadays, some Okinawans say *goya* is the only one produced in Okinawa, and bitter squash produced in Miyazaki and Kagoshima should be still called *nigauri*. In this way, *goya* has got a citizenship in mainland market. After the drama was ended, local Okinawan people told me that she was so happy to see that we captured Okinawan daily life, especially family, a living room, and its kitchen table, because all the drama that mainland people had made about Okinawa were related to war. That comment made me very happy.

On the other hand, by excluding US base issues from the drama, Churasan, provided an alternative Okinawa’s image—one of a culturally rich community behind a scene of an occupied area by the US military. Even though the Churasan story illustrates the everydayness of Okinawa, the developed peaceful healthy image conceals the fact that many Okinawans still sacrifice their land to the US and mainland Japan’s political interests, and hope to be independent from those super economic and political powers. One day they intend to escape imprisonment by those economic and political superpowers. Suga illustrates the reason why they excluded base issue from the drama.

Okinawa has the base issue even nowadays. This is complicated issue. Actually, we do not need any kind of war in the world. If there is no war, we do not need any military, and the bases will disappear. However, this is an idealistic view of the world. In reality, there are wars in the world. There are militaries and their bases. It is hard to solve this problem. Thus, I was wondering how to deal with bases in Okinawa in the Churasan drama. Some staff members think we should include this issue in the drama. We raised a question that if we include the base issue in a family drama broadcasting in the morning, how the audiences like it. Also, I discuss this with Okada, and if we include the base issue in the drama, it is better to make a drama which main theme is the base. It

might be impossible to show the issue in a series of fifteen-minute morning dramas. It is very difficult to make a story within a fifteen-minute framework, and even if we make it, the story ends incompletely every day. If we include the base issue in Churasan, we can only touch on it briefly. Both Okada and I concluded that if it is going to be such incomplete story, it is better to not bring up the issue at all. For example, if an actor only says “It is hard to live in Okinawa because of the existence of the base,” it might induce “Is that all?” type of question among audiences. Thus, we excluded the base issue completely.

Although Suga did not include the base issue, some of his audience became interested in Okinawa, including the issue of bases. In other words, complete elimination of base issue evokes some audience to learn about several issues associated with the base, which was actually Suga’s intention when he made the story.

I had a secret desire that Churasan induces the young generation having an interest of Okinawa and understand the issue of the battle and base by reading books about Okinawa and researching Okinawan history. I was so happy to see that the drama created an Okinawa boom, especially when I read a letter from an audience, and says “I would like to know Okinawa more,” or “I would like to know more about the history of Okinawa.” “I became known that there was a war in the land of Okinawa.” A high school girl told me that she began to read articles about Okinawa on a newspaper after she began to watch Churasan. Because she realized that behind the scene of cheerful character of the main actress and her related happiness, there are many incidents related to the base, she keeps paying attention what is going on in Okinawa. I was very happy to hear about that.

By investigating popular cultural and political discourses of loss following the Second World War, Igarashi (2000) illustrates this contradiction—experience of suffering and happiness—induced by a drama and shows how the nation’s contradictory desire of forgetting and remembering the war have been constructed throughout the postwar Japan (Igarashi 2000: 11–12).⁴ Similar to how Suga and other staff member of Churasan needed to deal with a contradictory elements—Churasan’s happy daily life and the local people have to be suffered by the US base issue everyday, Igarashi shows how the negotiation of desire and anxiety motivated the production of post-war popular culture, and how narratives in popular cultural products, such as literature, sports events, radio, film, and television, express image of the nation’s loss created by defeat of the war, in order to encourage the audiences to sacrifice for Japan’s future improvement (Igarashi 2000: 12–13).⁵

Conversely, for Suga, the main problem in simulating the reality or truthfulness of Okinawan life was the language difference between mainland Japan and Okinawa, which if authentically reproduced could render the drama difficult for the consumers. Okinawans used their own language called *Uchinaaguchi* up until the Meiji Restoration. After the Restroration, the Japanese government banned Okinawans to use *Uchinaaguchi* in a secondary education, and forced Okinawans to use standard Japanese (which locals

call Yamatoguchi). Especially, during World War II, Japanese government enforced Okinawans to use standard Japanese in order to ideologically control Okinawans and have them work for an emperor Hirohito, as well as to control intelligence operation by use of Uchinaaguchi. Okinawans gradually improvised Yamatoguchi and developed Creole Japanese, Uchinaayamatoguchi. Because of this language suppression, many Okinawan postwar generation only speaks Uchinaayamatoguchi (see Tanji 2006; Rabson 1999).

Improvising a local language, Uchnaayamatoguchi/Churago, Suga and other staff members of Churasan production formulated a new Creole Japanese, which is everyday standard Tokyo Japanese with an Okinawan accent, in order to relate to a larger audience. In this way, Suga and other staff members of Churasan developed an Okinawan image based upon Tokyo's perspective. Because of this language invention, Churasan could develop the image that Okinawa is a part of Japan although they still practice inherited exotic foreign traditions in their everyday life, such as traditional Okinawan healthy diet, language, and family. Suga employs Uchnaayamatoguchi/Churago, Creole Japanese, instead of Okinawan language, Uchnaaguchi, because the mainland Japanese audiences do not understand Uchinaaguchi. Among Uchnaayamatoguchi, Suga, Okada, and other producers carefully chose specific words which mainland Japanese can understand. In many cases, they employed standard Japanese with Okinawan accent.

Probably many NHK staff members wanted to produce a drama in Okinawa. However, the distance is one of the problem. It is hard to go to Okinawa to shoot a film. Also, the language is another thing to prohibit to produce a drama related to Okinawa. If we produce a drama exclusively using Okinawan language, the entire drama needs to show subtitles. In Okinawa, the local language is called Churago (Beautiful language) in contrast to Uchinayamatoguchi (Japanese-Okinawan Creole language) and Uchinaguchi (Japanese language). This Uchinayamatoguchi is like English-Spanish Creole language in South America, it is hard to understand for mainland Japanese. Therefore, in Churasan, we used regional terms, which nuance is easy to guess for mainland Japanese and the accent is similar to Japanese language, such as big brother is *niini* (in contrast to *ani*) and sister is *neene* (in contrast to *ane*). By employing Okinawan intonation, we did not use terms which are not existed in standard language. Then, we developed the language. Right about the time when the drama was broadcasted, we were interviewed by the Okinawa press. We informed Okinawans through the newspaper that we use this Creole language rather than actual Okinawan language. We asked one of actors from Okinawa, who played a role of Okinawan restaurant owner, Irabu, to translate the sentences written by Okada [script-writer] to Uchinayamatoguchi.

As Suga's illustration of a popular television drama constitutes many contradictions in our imagination of our daily life in Okinawa and mainland Japan, many studies show that our memory always contain contradictions because the images of loss and discovery simultaneously exist in the invented cultural discourse, such as advertisements (Ivy 1995: 29; Igarashi 2000). Some scholars argue that these

contradictions represent a condition of modernity. For example, Ivy (1995) argues that contradictory elements of modern and tradition often coexist in various contexts of modernity in Japan, such as recently invented traditional practice (Ivy 1995: 6).⁶ Harootunian (2000) argues that the contradictory phenomena of modernity (traditional but modern) illuminate the moment of overcoming the "modern" system of things (Harootunian 2000: 20). Many studies explain these contradictions as a product of Japan's industrialization. These newly emerged studies display that the modern is always created by its relation to the past, as tradition. Thus, modernity is not a static state and always contains relative and fragile elements.

Commodification of an Television Developed Image of Okinawa and The Role of Okinawan Convention and Visitor's Bureau

The Okinawan Convention and Visitor's Bureau was established in 1996, and it is an affiliated agency of Okinawa prefectural government. The Bureau promotes Okinawa tourism by prefectural governmental budget. After Churasan was broadcast, the Okinawan Convention and Visitor's Bureau becomes an active consumer of the developed images of Okinawan tradition and amplified the truthfulness of the images by promoting this prototype of Okinawan tradition among Okinawans themselves. They began to use this developed image in order to develop tourism and promote traditional Okinawan health food and nutritional supplements.

A section chief, Kichise, and others at the Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau cooperated with NHK and elaborated a part of Churasan story in order to validate the truthfulness of Churasan story for inducing tourism.

Kichise: We cooperated with NHK in order to root the image of Okinawa in mainland Japan. Of course, we needed to obtain their authorization to use the Okinawan image they produced in a drama.

Question: Which means that NHK produced the scenario, and you use the part of the scenario in order to develop tourism?

Kichise: Yes, we did backup and elaborated the scene what they broadcasted. As a result, this cooperation produced reciprocal effects between NHK and us to popularize Okinawa through both TV and tourism. For example, up until Churasan was broadcasted, bitter squash was called *nigauri* in mainland Japan, and the TV audiences did not know about *goya* very well. Thus, we began to provide such information, such as the harvesting season of *goya* and the location of *goya* field, and so on.

After the success of Churasan, NHK produced second and third series of Churasan in 2003 and 2004, and the Bureau and NHK communicate with each other about what aspects of Okinawa should include in the drama. For example, occasionally the Bureau asked NHK to broadcast specific tourist spots in the drama, and NHK attempted to show them if the location meet with the story. Eventually, NHK provided a scenario of Churasan to the Bureau before they broadcast a new story and the Bureau used the information in order to

prepare to develop a new tourism associated with Churasan story before the story is shown. In this way, Kichise and other Bureau members amplified the images produced by NHK for tourism rather than making the image and creating a new destination by themselves.

We requested NHK that we need the script before NHK broadcast the drama because we were planning to provide tourist information along with the Churasan scenario. Thus, they sent us the scenario of Churasan part three before they broadcasted it. This helped us to develop a tour associated with the location where Churasan will be filmed prior to its broadcasting. Also, this will help NHK to increase their audiences. So, NHK agreed with us, and sent us the script at the same time when they sent it to each department at NHK. In this way, we are systematically able to produce a tour related to Churasan story. For example, if they film Kohama and Naha in Okinawa, we confirm NHK the image that they will produce, and we developed an advertisement of special Churasan tour with a theme of these filming locations. In this way, we developed a specific image of the filming locations in an advertisement by getting information from NHK earlier than the broadcasting of Churasan. We used the image that Churasan developed, but we did not produce the image of the location from the beginning.

NHK publishes weekly television magazine, *Sutera*, and the Bureau published Okinawa article on its special issue of *Nihon no furusato-kikō* (Visit a countryside Japan) in order to extend the existing image of Okinawa for developing new tourist sites. Kichise and others at the Bureau reintroduced locations where Churasan was filmed, and showed that backward and slow life still remain in a countryside landscape of Okinawa. Also, the article introduced Shuri castle in the magazine because Churasan repeatedly showed the castle as it is the site where Ryukyu dynasty enjoyed its flourish time. The article depicted Okinawan food and how *goya* (bitter squash) has been produced and processed and where they are grown, including the landscape of the field. The bureau eventually reprinted this Okinawa related magazine article, and used it as a tourist guide for their Okinawa tourism promotion campaign in 2001. They delivered this guide for free at an Okinawa product fair across the nation.

After we made a tourist guide where remote islands are illustrated, and these islands became popular, then customers' perspective and curiosity of Okinawa has been increased, and finally mainland tourist agencies developed a packaged tour to visit specific location of Okinawa. We have observed this chain reaction. Because of this chain of effect, Yaeyama islands tour was developed. Before Churasan was broadcasted, not many people knew Obama and Yaeyama islands. Because of Churasan and the travel guide we made, tourist agencies began to produce a package tour to visit these islands. Travel agencies developed numerous tours to visit southern part of Yaeyama islands. After Churasan, Yaeyama tour increased significantly. Off course, more than this guide, all other elements influence with each other to develop Okinawa tourism.

Ivy (1995) demonstrates how Japanese culture industries,

such as those of tourism, transportation, advertising and mass media, developed powerful national-cultural images for Japanese cultural consumers (Ivy 1995: 31). Ivy illustrates that the tourist industry's advertising campaign, such as the Japan National Railway's tourism campaign in the 1980s, commercialized the image of a new or revived image of uniqueness of the Japanese countryside and created the fantasy of "loss" in modern Japan (Ivy 1995: 29). This study showed that various images associated with the Japanese countryside encouraged people to return to their hometowns in the countryside, the space of their origin. Extending Ivy's perspective, I argue that Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau becomes one of the consumers of the image of Okinawa developed by NHK, and moreover, they extended the developed image of Okinawa for tourist promotion, and facilitated mainland television and magazine companies to report on Okinawa.

Kichise told me that increasing number of television and magazine companies began to come to Okinawa in order to report the location and exotic cultural materials showed in Churasan. Then, Kichise and others at the Bureau facilitated with mainland media which began to report exotic locations and cultural materials shown in Churasan. Kichise helped them to visit such locations and directed them to visit other location in order to have them report wider spectacles of Okinawa for developing potential tourist destinations. For example, the Bureau helped the media to go to Obama island which is a remote island of Okinawa and provided information of the island. Churasan used the island where the main character's ancestor was buried and the family of main characters believes that the spirit still exists there and bring good fortune to the family members. Kichise illustrated how Convention and Visitor's Bureau's name gradually became known among mainland television broadcasting companies and other media reporting on Okinawa after the bureau began to work together with NHK.

Although NHK has a branch office in Okinawa, many other major broadcasting corporations, such as Nippon Television Network (NTV) and TV Tokyo Corporation (TX), do not have an office in Okinawa. Thus, they come and visit us in order to obtain Okinawa related information. They collect subject matter for their television program by communicating with us. Once they found a subject, they often confirm us the possibility to gather specific information related to the subject. They often say, "We do not know how to do it, but we would like to produce at least this kind of image." We often answered their question like, "If so, you should include these materials, and then you could produce a program covering a diverse area of Okinawa." In this way, we coordinated with many parts of their program. Our business relationship to television companies has been built up drastically since Churasan was broadcasted and we began to work with NHK. By working with mainland television and other media companies, our Convention and Visitor's Bureau's name became widely known among mainland media industries.

Kichise told me that before Churasan was broadcasted, mainland media got in contact with the bureau in order to obtain exiting tourism related information, for instance how to report a longevity memorial park in Ogimi village.

However, mainland media began to cover Okinawan food after Churasan was broadcasted, and coverage of Okinawan food has increased after the year 2002, following the September 11 attacks in 2001, when the number of Okinawa tourists significantly dropped. After the anxiety of terrorism was fragmented, and when Okinawan tourism recovered, the bureau had received increasing number of inquiries from various mainland media which look for something new to report about Okinawa rather than introducing existing popular tourist sites, and the media began to seek distinctive Okinawan tradition which no mainland media has ever reported and exotic sites where no tourist ever visited—for example exotic Okinawan cuisine, remote islands, and other locations where tourists can be relaxed by isolating them from their daily life. Kichise argues that the broadcasting of Churasan has made a strong impact upon the transformation of media coverage. Kichise views that Okinawa tourism has been changed because of increased number of repeating Okinawa visitors, and thus media needed to develop a show in order to meet their demand and curiosity, such as a specific cuisine which tourists are only able to have in Okinawa. Simultaneously, in the first half of the 2000s, media coverage often picked up mad-cow disease related incidents, and consumers became meticulous about quality of food materials.

Okinawa Tourism and Okinawa Products

Every year, Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau work with Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. in order to hold Okinawa regional product fairs at over hundred times a year at department stores in major cities where there are direct flights from Okinawa. Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. plays a role for marketing Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau at department stores in mainland Japan. Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. suggested Kichise and other members at Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau that the fair helped increase the number of Okinawa tourists, and thus the bureau began to set up a booth at the fair to advertise Okinawan tour. Sometimes, Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau ask Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. to organize product fair in a specific location, and also Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. bring the bureau a list of product fair locations. Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau often choose department stores that are interested in having a stage to provide Okinawan dance and music as well as letting them to set up information booth for Okinawa tourism. Through negotiation between a department store and the bureau, the bureau decides what information they provide at the regional product fair. Kichise illustrates the demand of department stores.

The demand of department stores is regionally diverse, and each department store has different kind of customers. For instance Isetan in Shinjuku has many young customers, and thus, they are interested in something new, such as cosmetics and marine resort weddings. On the other hand, Keio Department store in Shinjuku has older customers, and thus they requested us to provide information of Okinawan cultural tradition, such as *eisa* (Ryukyū folk dance) and World Heritage sites in Okinawa. Recently, we made a poster showing World Heritage site in Okinawa for Keio Department Store. Through pamphlet, flyer, and other visual devices, we

manage images of Okinawa tourism associated with customer trends in a mainland region as well as in a particular department store. We attempt to match our tourist promotion strategies with the store image. In this way, a short-term image of Okinawa, which corresponds with the store color, comes in and out in each department store seasonally. For example, in order to develop a health related tour, we organize a seminar and talk show by employing sports players from Okinawa at the same store at a department store where Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. sells Okinawan health and nutritional products. We also provide information of sports, such as golf. Because Okinawa has various tourist attractions, if we can develop images that meet with the demand of the store, they are willing to support our project.

The sale of Okinawan products increased when Churasan was broadcasted. At the same time, Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. increased its branches across the nation, and they frequently held Okinawan product fairs. Churasan related goods increased their sale. Kichise told me that Churasan changed the image of Okinawa, and the bureau and Okinawa Products Associated Co., Ltd. shifted the approach of the fair in order to meet the consumers' demands. For example, before Churasan, Okinawa product fair was dominated by specific customers who have been already familiar with Okinawan food and tradition. However, Churasan broadens consumers of Okinawa product fair, and audiences of Churasan who have never eaten Okinawan food come to the fair, for example to buy *goya* (bitter squash) because it was introduced in a drama during the week-long fair. As a result, the Okinawan fair became popular, and increased the number of people that came to the fair. Kichise illustrates the transformation of the fair because of Churasan.

Before Churasan was broadcasted, ocean and other marine resorts were the only elements for Okinawan tourists. However, after Churasan was broadcasted, because it frequently introduced Okinawan food and vegetables, Okinawan food became very popular in mainland Japan. Therefore, we began to include Okinawan food as one of the tourist promotion materials. By seeing them, mainland popular magazine publishers began to report on healthy elders who eat Okinawan food. We provided information to the magazines. By illustrating elders' lives, we were able to introduce diverse aspects of Okinawan food. Since we included Okinawan food in the tourist promotion materials, increasing number of major mainland food magazines, such as *orenjipēji* (The Orange Page Inc), which publishes articles for homemakers came to Okinawa in order to report Okinawan food. The Orange Page reported food materials in Okinawa, such as the things selling in the Public Market in the city of Naha. There is no mainland magazine that reported non-touristic elements of Okinawa before this magazine reported the market. We assisted the Orange Page coverage, and we organized and attended their interviews. This is an article published 27 August 2003. (She showed me the magazine article.)

Conclusion

Kichise and other member of the Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau articulates and expands Churasan related Okinawa information as important tourist locations for mainland television and other magazine companies in order to promote Okinawa tourism, and they use a story of Churasan as a sign of significance of tourist sites and naturalize a story of drama as our actual daily life. Baudrillard (1998) argues that media naturalizes the live and unique character of the world into a reality by the articulation of signs. In order to constitute and naturalize the reality of the Churasan story, the Bureau and mainland television and magazine companies reciprocally reformulate the original character of the Churasan world by referring to each other and the Bureau, or its provided information about Okinawa, often becomes a quasi-referents of the reality. Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau not only consumed an image of Okinawa produced by NHK, but also they facilitate mainland media companies in order to amplify the reality, or truthfulness of the story. Deriving from Baudrillard's argument, I would like to argue that this process creates an illusion of greater truth if the message on television and other media refers to the source message as a single local agency, like Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau, dominantly becomes the source of Okinawa tourist information (see Baudrillard 1998: 122–123). Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau visualizes the idea of Okinawa by making it readable and by endlessly taking it apart with their gaze or strategic technique, including a science to relate between a drama narrative and tourist destination.

Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau, mainland television and magazine companies, and other communication medium almost always dramatize information in a spectacular mode, transforming the information into scientific and objective signs, for instance the Bureau scientifically and historically elaborate what *goya* (bitter squash) is, and they demonstrate where the field is and how the locals eat them, and detaches/connects the audience from/to the raw information by publishing these information through popular magazines and their websites. In Baudrillard's perspective, the developed fantasy of being there without being there is perceived as truer than direct experience in media reports (Baudrillard 1998: 34).

I do not completely agree Baudrillard's view of media, which overly gives power to technology, and argues that mass media messages create our misrecognition of the world because the message is technologically colored as a commodity. For example, Baudrillard argues that the closer the media claims to represent a true documentary, by means such as live coverage, the more distorted the reality of the world represented in the message because the technologically created signs, such as the color and technical elements, manipulate the message as while claiming to represent the "real" (Baudrillard 1998: 122–123).⁷ My research shows that rather than technology itself, actual agents who are in charge of developing image of Okinawa as well as the way they articulate information plays much significant role to formulate tourist information. For example, in order to validate a truthfulness of Churasan story, Kichise and other member of Okinawa Convention and Visitor's Bureau conducted a

research and attempted to make sense of the information provided in a Churasan story, such as *goya* in order to develop a commodity for tourism.

Notes

1. Ivy (1995) argues that Japanese people call the survival of consistent communality from the past as thought of tradition (*dentō*). Ivy elaborates this thought of tradition by deriving from Michel de Certeau's (1984) concept of "voice." The thought of tradition embodies a presumption that all social phenomena can be traced to the past and reproduced in the present as the present mode of "voice." *Dentō* is significantly marked and dramatized by spectacular events. For example, the modern nation-state movement is enforced to totalize diverse traditions and marginalized the voices (Ivy 1995: 16).
2. Throughout the last century, Japanese scholars have attempted to make sense of a condition of modern whenever they make claims about the problems induced by industrialization. For example, there was a heated debate about articulating the condition of modernity among Japanese intellectuals during the interwar period (see Harootunian 2000). In 1942, a symposium on "Overcoming the Modern" discussed the question of historical change and Japan's position in a Westernizing world order. This symposium sought the challenge the belief that Japanese tradition had been absorbed into a boundless and universal phenomenon called modernity. Participants agreed to rediscover the Japanese spirit, and proposed to reformulate the ancient Japanese cultural elements, such as the arts, religion and folk life (Harootunian 2000: 91). These modernists believed that culture has the agency of true Japanese values, which are unchanging and are presented in the arts, religion, and folk life. Nishitani and many other thinkers believe that such Japanese culture has to be reproduced in order to overcome modernity (Harootunian 2000: 45). Harootunian views this reactionary view of modernity as a popular idea during the interwar period, in which those such as the symposium participants believed that tradition could be restored by fighting against the imperialism material civilization personified by Euro-Americans (Harootunian 2000: 90).
3. Igarashi (2000) investigates the process of how postwar Japan persisted in its view of the healthy national body (*kokutai*), which was ideologically produced during the wartime in order to control the nation and its citizen (Igarashi 2000: 5). In other words, Igarashi shows that immediately after the war, the view of this healthy national body still survived and maintains its historical continuity. Thus, the national body which embodied wartime memory became a locus for national rehabilitation in order to overcome the historical crisis experienced by Japan's defeat (Igarashi 2000: 5).
4. Igarashi shows contradiction occurs in popular everyday discourse. Although Japanese people seek to create a new national identity, political discourse perpetually reformulates the memories of loss and destruction (Igarashi 2000: 12).

5. By illustrating the dual process of forgetting and remembering of the war memory in postwar Japan, Igarashi critically investigates the process of forgetting, such as how forgetting is stimulated and naturalized in the postwar years (Igarashi 2000: 11).
6. Ivy's definition of modern is not only a condition brought by urbanization, capitalist structure of life, mechanical and electrical forms of reproduction developed in the 1920s, but also "the struggle of the nation-state and expansion of capitalist colonialism bringing Japan into a global geopolitical matrix since the mid-nineteenth-century." Ivy views that individualism, progressive view of temporality, and the emerging tradition brought by the modernization formulate complex and often contradicted discourse of modern. She argues that modernity occurs not only in Japan but also in other countries simultaneously (Ivy 1995: 5). In Ivy's perspective, modernity is endless project. Once modernity proceeds, it will never be completed.
7. Baudrillard argues that advertising is similar to news reporting because both represent and alternate "reality" which seems natural to us, displaying a single visual and written substance. Both advertisers and journalists show the object as a drama and a fiction, and often reinterpret an event purposely in order to attract their audiences (Baudrillard 1998: 126). Baudrillard argues that advertising make things true by saying they are so by arguing, "tautology of discourse seeks, as in the magic formula, to induce tautological repetition by the event;" Baudrillard shows that repetition in advertisement discourse and effective speech artificially synthesizes "truth" (Baudrillard 1998: 127-128).

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プロフィール

住井氏（博士、カリフォルニア大学バークレー校）は、カリフォルニア大学日本研究センターの客員研究員。彼の調査研究の中心は、東京の文化産業にかかわる政治家やマスメディアなどを含む日本の政治経済体制が、科学技術を通じていかに象徴的な暴力を形づくったかを探ることにある。特に、その象徴的な暴力がいかに歪んだ沖縄のイメージを作り出したか、そして、沖縄の地方行政、学者や産業が、沖縄の伝統的な健康製品と観光を日本国内に流通させるために、この創られた自己イメージをいかに受け入れ消費したのかを考察している。