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## MEIBUTSU IN BANFF:
## THE STRUCTURATION OF A JAPANESE TOURIST DESTINATION

by

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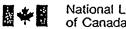CALGARY, ALBERTA

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# ABSTRACT

In order for a tourist destination to become an established stop on Japanese travel itineraries, it must first be widely known and acknowledged within Japan as an important site, incorporating the Japanese concept of *meibutsu*, literally "fame-things". An essential aspect of Japanese travel is acquiring evidence of having visited sites highly valued within the Japanese social context. Validation is achieved by bringing back gifts, photographs and souvenirs that both symbolize the *meibutsu* aspects of the sites themselves, and provide evidence of the tourist's having visited them.

Since the early 1970s Banff, Alberta has increasingly attracted a large number of Japanese tourists. This thesis is an exploration of the process through which Banff became a preferred Japanese tourist destination, achieving the status of *meibutsu*. Socio-economic aspects are analysed from the perspective of "push" factors deriving from within Japan and "pull" factors emanating from the tourist destination region. The catalyst appears to be culturally sophisticated media programs presenting elements of Banff in a manner specifically tailored for a Japanese audience.

Elements of Giddens' structuration theory are applied in a preliminary attempt to analyse the "unintended consequences of action" and use the "dialectic of control" as an explanatory model for anthropological research in tourism. The "structuration" of Japanese tourism in Banff is conceived as a dialectic between marketing experts, via manipulation of media resources, and potential tourists.

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# CHAPTER ONE

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

Not surprisingly, most anthropologically oriented tourism studies have centered on host societies rather than on the tourists themselves. After all, traditional anthropological fieldwork is associated with intensive study of local populations in relatively isolated enclaves. However, it is a premise of the present work that the study of visiting populations in tourist settings might facilitate even better comparative and cross-cultural analyses. Though tourists of various nationalities might rub shoulders at the same tourist destination, their experience and activity patterns may be qualitatively very different. Such distinctions are particularly visible when both eastern and western tourists frequent the same destinations.

The attraction of tourists to a particular destination derives from a combination of factors, both from within the tourist's native social context and from external industry forces. Media marketing programs play an integral role in the creation of the touristic images which inform travel choices. In this thesis I explore the role of marketing in the implementation of culturally sophisticated media programs that facilitated the formation of an image of Banff as a desirable destination for Japanese tourists.

## 1.2 Objectives

My overall objective in this work is to examine the development of Japanese tourism in Banff, Alberta as a social process of "structuration" (Giddens, 1984). Before a tourist locale can become an established destination for Japanese tours, it must be widely known and acknowledged within Japan as an important site,

incorporating the Japanese concept of *meibutsu*, (literally "fame-thing"). The process through which a remote Canadian resort town acquired *meibutsu* status is discussed from the perspective of both "pull" factors emerging from the tourist destination region and "push" factors deriving from within the tourist originating country. This process is treated as an asymmetrical dialectic, with those factors emanating from the tourist destination region, particularly media marketing programs, appearing to be the catalyst.

In this study social actions are assumed to be neither rigidly manipulated by structural factors nor completely autonomous. Social life is neither exclusively determined by structural forces nor totally shaped by individual choice. Rather, it is characterized by elements of both personal autonomy and compliance with social rules. Structuration theory, formulated by Anthony Giddens (1979, 1984) proposes a view of social reality which deliberately seeks to capture both sides of the coin. Personal choice and the societal forces that inform those choices create a model of structure which is both enabling and constraining. Japanese tourism in Banff is proposed as a transformative process that is articulated through the interplay of structural preconditions and human agency.

## 1.3 Definitions

The definition of a tourist for the purposes of my study comes from Philip English's *The Great Escape*. A tourist is "any person visiting, for at least 24 hours, a country other than that in which he or she usually resides, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited" (1986:3). Tourism is assumed to be an industry that provides tourist services and incorporates all relevant proponents: tourists, local residents, tourist industry employees and proprietors, government workers and agencies, and many others.

In order to distinguish between tourists travelling on organized chartered tours and those travelling informally, I reserve the terms "tour" for organized chartered tours and "travel party" for independent, informal ones made up of family members and/or friends travelling together. Individual tourists travelling unaccompanied are also included in the "travel party" category. References to Japanese tourism in this study, unless otherwise indicated, are assumed to denote the structured, mass tour variety, which is overwhelmingly the standard for Japanese tourists in Banff.

For the purposes of this study culture is defined following Geertz's concept of it as

> ...essentially a semiotic one. Believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. (1973:5).

Culture has both a material expression and an experiential dimension which endure over time and space. The tourist subjects of this study are assumed to be actors who happen to be found within a foreign cultural context. While travelling they are outside the material context of their culture but retain many of its experiential aspects.

Definitions relating to the theoretical discussion are included in Chapter Two, Section 2.5, on structuration theory.

## 1.4 Methodology

Initial field research for this study took place over four months in the summer of 1989 in Banff, Alberta. This was followed by several short field trips to Banff in the Fall of 1989 and three weeks of research in Japan in November, 1989.

Qualitative data are derived from participant observation and unstructured interviews and are supplemented by quantitative material from structured observations and archival sources.

My initial objective for the study was a comparative analysis of Japanese and German tourism in Banff, Alberta. I had intended firstly to construct from field observations models of the "touristic experience" for both nationalities and in the second interpretive phase, attempt to account for similarities and differences. After the initial fieldwork, however, I realized that such a considerable task was beyond the scope of a master's degree project. And although I decided to reduce the scope of the study to focus solely on Japanese tourism, I believe that the German field material collected in the first phase nevertheless provides a valuable comparative backdrop to the Japanese data and I have included it in the ethnographic and statistical material and elsewhere when relevant.

The first phase of the research began with identifying two tourist cohorts on the basis of nationality from among the non-North American tourist population in Banff. Although large numbers of Canadian and American tourists frequented Banff, I deliberately chose overseas tourists in order to create some distance between my own native context and the subjects of the study. German and Japanese tourists were chosen from among the overseas tourist nationalities mainly on the basis of their numeric concentration in Banff. In comparison to other foreign (non-North American) nationals, German and Japanese tourists comprised a large portion of the chartered tours in Banff. The two cohorts were also reasonably close in the total number from each nationality visiting Banff (University of Calgary, 1989).

During the first phase of field research in Banff, over 230 hours of mute and participant observation were recorded, focussing on physical behaviour (See Appendix). I began by identifying subjects based on language. Next I recorded the composition of tours and travel parties by number of persons, sex, and relative age, i.e. child, youth, young adult, middle-aged, elderly (see Sections 5.2, 5.3). Data were recorded on observed activities, costs, duration, time of day and location. Observations were also made on the incidence, variety and duration of contact between tourists and members of the host population. Certain specific behaviours, e.g. shopping, looking at museum exhibits, checking into hotel, were observed on repeated occasions, alternating day of the week and time of day (see Sections 5.4-5.8 and Appendix). Participant observation methods were used predominantly in these instances by attaching myself to the periphery of the tour group and accompanying them into stores, restaurants, hotels and museums and/or intermingling with them at scenic viewing sites. Some unobtrusive measures were also used such as counting the recorded country of residence of visitors signing the guest books in a museum.

Given the large number of possible locations and activities in Banff, only a small sample of observations for each was feasible within such a limited time period and the resources of a single researcher. Despite these limitations, I believe making these systematic observations exposed me to a representative slice of Japanese touristic activity in Banff. For example, quite early in the field research I was able to recognize patterns in the nature and structure of daily activities, such as shopping, sight-seeing, and photography, (see Sections 5.5-5.8) that persisted throughout the research period.

In the second phase of the project which focussed on Japanese tourism only, I made a short field trip to Japan in order to interview members of the Japanese

travel industry and experience first hand how tourism is marketed to Japanese consumers at an international travel and trade show (7th Japan Congress of International Travel, Tokyo, 1989).

Prior to beginning field research I conducted an extensive search of the anthropological literature as it related to tourism to familiarize myself with the issues, identify major concerns and clarify my research direction. Tourism publications in sociology, geography and management studies were also reviewed as they related to my study. Archival sources consulted included the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, Tourism Alberta and Statistics Canada.

This study is largely ethnographic and interpretive in nature. Its purpose is not empirical hypothesis testing but to provide a general understanding of the manifestation and development of Japanese tourism in Banff. Because of my inability to speak Japanese and the reluctance of Japanese tourists in Banff to speak English, I had little success with interviewing Japanese tourists. Thus my study is limited in its lack of data on the experiential dimension of Japanese tourism. Several Japanese tour operators gave very insightful interpretations but more access to actual Japanese tourist discourse would have broadened the scope of my analysis.

1.5 General

Tourism is a relatively new focus for anthropological research and its direction within the discipline remains uncertain. As the literature review (see Chap. 2) indicates, anthropologists have tended to look at tourism from the perspective of its impacts on indigenous peoples with limited reference to other actors within the system. In this thesis I depart from that pattern firstly, by focussing primarily on Japanese tourists themselves, linking Japanese tourist behaviour to

Japanese social practices (see Sections 3.4, 3.5) and, secondly, by including in my analysis the roles of non-tourist actors, particularly marketing specialists (see Chap. 7).

# CHAPTER TWO

# LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 Introduction

Tourism is fast becoming the world's biggest industry, representing "the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world (Lett, 1989:276)." Yet social scientists have, until the present, shown a marked reluctance to consider tourism a suitable topic for research. Crick (1989) suggests that the neglect of tourism by academics may be explained by the difficulty they have taking seriously an activity that is considered frivolous and superficial. Western social scientists may be so bound by the protestant work ethic that to focus on its antithesis is distasteful. For anthropologists in particular, Crick contends that tourism may be a little too similar in certain respects to anthropological research and that the resemblance may be uncomfortable, producing a degree of avoidance. As Claude Levi-Strauss, in his travel memoirs, *Tristes tropiques*, writes "Travel and travellers are two things I loathe - and yet here I am, all set to tell the story of my expeditions (1961:17)."

But with the explosive growth of tourism worldwide, social scientists are slowly shedding their ambivalence and beginning to study it in earnest. Because tourism is a multi-level, i.e. individual, local, regional, national, and international phenomenon, it is unlikely that any integrated synthesis of world tourism as a whole will be produced in the near future. Tourism research has also become multi-disciplinary with economists and geographers being the initiators in the early post-war years. Sociology and anthropology followed in the 1960s and social psychology and political science in the last decade. With each discipline pursuing its special interests within its methodological and theoretical imperatives, a certain degree of

overlap is inevitable. Anthropology, with its propensity for holism, has perhaps more potential for an integrated approach than the others.

My study falls within the relatively new sub-discipline of the anthropology of tourism. The following summary, therefore, concentrates primarily on anthropological perspectives, although some relevant sociological ones are included. I have divided the literature review into three sections. Firstly, I summarize briefly the research to date in the anthropology of tourism and follow with a review of pertinent theoretical models in social science research on tourism. Finally, I outline the basic elements of structuration theory which will be discussed, in relation to the Japanese case study, in Chapter Seven.

## 2.2 Tourism and Anthropology

Touristic studies in anthropology began in the 1960s with the first journal article on the anthropology of tourism appearing in 1963 (Nunez) in *Ethnology*. Doctoral dissertations in the anthropology of tourism in North America (as reported in DAI) date from 1973. Between 1973 and 1989 there were 30 dissertations in anthropology whose main focus was tourism. Of these, 27 focus on host communities and fall within the areas of impact studies, social change and development; two examine the interaction between tourists and host societies and one restricts itself to the tourist domain exclusively. Theoretical models range from Marxist interpretations to Barthian transactionalism and semantic analysis. The overwhelming majority focus on native/host societies rather than the tourists themselves.

One book has been published on the anthropology of tourism, an edited volume, *Hosts and guests: The anthropology of tourism* (Smith, 1977; 2nd ed., 1989).

The major social science journal for touristic studies, the *Annals of Tourism Research*, occasionally features anthropological papers and in 1983 produced a special edition on the anthropology of tourism. The 1982 and 1989 editions of *Cultural Survival Quarterly* also featured volumes on tourism. Mainstream anthropological journals tend to list few articles on tourism, although interest is slowly growing. Crick's 1989 article in the *Annual Review of Anthropology* is representative. For the most part, anthropological articles discuss tourism only as an accompaniment to research oriented to some other topic (Boissevain, 1978). There has as yet been no major monograph published in the anthropology of tourism.

Anthropological literature on tourism initially tended to focus either on tourism as a development strategy and its impacts on indigenous peoples (de Kadt, 1979; Finney and Watson, 1975; Graburn, 1976; Nash, 1977; Nunez, 1963; Urbanowicz, 1977), or on patterns of interaction between hosts and tourists (Evans, 1978). Little research centered on tourists and tourist behaviour. Typologies tended towards westernized characterizations of tourists as culturally homogeneous, differing only on the basis of motivation for travel and preferred activities at destinations (Cohen, 1979; Graburn, 1977; Smith, 1977). Emphasis on cultural differences in tourism research was restricted almost exclusively to the propensity for variations in host populations to generate tourism. Mass and charter tourists were generally characterized as homogeneous, each successive group following a prescribed itinerary in a specified time period (Smith, 1977).

Smith's first edition of *Hosts and guests* (1977) provided the impetus for further academic research on tourism within anthropology and other social science disciplines. It developed initial definitional and theoretical guidelines while

concentrating on impact studies. Its recommendations for the future direction of tourism research in anthropology called for a focus on cultural variations in the tourism experience. In Graburn's chapter, he proposed that

> the rush of urban Germans to the southern and western coasts of Europe is different from the Scandinavians' junket to the Adriatic; the French take to their countryside quite differently than do the British to theirs...(1977:28).

In a later commentary on her book, echoing Graburn's point, Smith proposed more emphasis be placed on the tourist as the central focus for tourism studies. She called for "an ethnoscience of the tourist himself (1978:276)." Pearce also proposed a change in emphasis since tourism research had "tended to ignore the impact of intercultural experiences on the tourists. Perhaps future writings will see an anthropological account of the tourists, noting tourists' rituals, group dynamics and the meaning of the travel experience (1982:16)."

The study of national/cultural groups at tourist destinations, however, should not be considered a form of "national character study" (Benedict, 1946). Tourists alter their behaviour while travelling to a certain extent and their actions *qua* tourists may not parallel their social practices at home. Japanese tourists are Japanese tourists, and a study of this kind may only be considered a study of Japanese tourist behaviour. Although undoubtedly reflective of native social practices, tourist behaviour is enacted within a context of anonymity that may release tourists from the obligation of acting according to their cultural norms. Often there is an intended inversion of the norm and people engage in behaviours that are restricted at home (Graburn, 1983b).

Few anthropologists have yet pursued Graburn's recommendation for a focus on tourists from the perspective of their cultural/national origins. Japanese tourism

studies (see Chap. 3) are somewhat of an exception with a few articles published on both Japanese domestic and foreign tourism during the 1980s (Graburn, 1983b; Moeran, 1983; Moore, 1985). In the last decade, a shift in the focus of tourism studies has been partially realized with a number of papers on tourism and ethnic relations (Adams, 1984; Brewer, 1984; van den Berghe, 1980; van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984); tourism as play and ritual (Graburn, 1983b; Jafari, 1985; Lett, 1983; Moore, 1980, 1985; Passariello, 1983) and symbolic and semiotic analyses (MacCannell, 1976; Moeran, 1983; Thurot and Thurot, 1983; Jules-Rosette, 1984).

The anthropological literature on tourism is gradually incorporating a wider spectrum of contemporary theoretical issues. The following discussion is restricted to those perspectives which impact particularly on my study. For readers interested in pursuing a more detailed inquiry, an extensive bibliography is available in Smith (2nd ed., 1989).

## 2.3 Social Theory in Tourism Research

Like mainstream social theory, perspectives in the anthropology of tourism proffered in both editions of Smith (1977, 2nd. ed.,1989) reinforce the trend away from conflict and functionalist models in favour of an emphasis on interpretation and subjectivity. In the second edition, Lett broadly categorizes the two main theoretical concerns in tourism, and in anthropological research in general, as "symbolic systems of meaning" and "behavioural systems of adaptation" (1989:278). The first attempts to understand the subjective meaning of social action by examining its symbolic content. The second favours observation of overt action and the interpretation of its material consequences. Where the first emphasizes autonomy in individual action, the second looks at action in the context of social and material constraints.

While Lett's classification may not embrace all possible anthropological concerns, it nevertheless summarizes adequately the themes I address in my study and I am adopting it for the purposes of this thesis. As a framework for my theoretical argument I briefly describe Blumer's symbolic interactionism and Barth's transactionalism as representative of the two streams. Examples from the tourism literature are used to illustrate both themes.

## 1) "Symbolic systems of meaning"

Symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969), the basis for Lett's first classification, is an approach to social psychology which takes off from the assumption that meaning is derived from symbols used in social situations. Via social interaction, individuals learn to act towards others and towards things on the basis of the meanings that those symbols have for them. In other words, individuals do not respond directly to their social (or physical) environment but rather through the mediation of symbols. There must be an interpretation of a situation before action is taken. Brown (1988) maintains that symbolic interactionism could be usefully applied to various areas of tourism research, in particular to "the social context of activities" and "the significance of symbolic environments" (1988:551). Tourist sites, he contends, represent symbolic settings, that may be "commonly interpreted by members of social groups, thereby influencing the form of interaction (ibid.)." Colton (1987) recommends a symbolic interactionist interpretation of the way tourist destination images affect the choice of sites and the tourist's experience of a destination.

Marketing concepts used to promote tourism likewise rely heavily on words and images specifically designed to create positive meanings for audiences that may vary cross-culturally and socio-economically. Moeran's (1983) study of the

semantics of Japanese travel brochures demonstrates clear differences in the presentation of itineraries and activities between Japanese and Western promotional material. Thurot and Thurot (1983) discuss the semantics of tourism advertising as a function, not of the actual product, but of its competing symbolic representations. Marketing programs depict a single destination in a variety of ways depending on the lifestyle and social class of potential consumers.

Advertising's assessment of the meanings attributed to touristic activities derives partly from an understanding of tourist motivations. Motivation for action is based on the meaning that the experience generates for the actor. While individual motivations are necessarily subjective and therefore not completely knowable, attempts have been made to broadly categorize tourist motivations on the basis of observed behaviour and expressed intent. In his "Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences" Cohen (1979) typologizes tourist motivation by the type of experience sought. He differentiates pleasure seekers from those interested in the "sacred" experiential aspects of tourist travel. While the former seek self-gratification, the latter search for self-discovery by pursuing "the other," in the realm outside the tourist's own social context.

In *The Tourist* (1976) MacCannell, too, defines tourists by motive. The tourist is a seeker who "systematically scavenges the earth for new experiences to be woven into a collective, touristic vision of other peoples and other places (1976:13)." Sight-seeing, the focal activity of tourists, MacCannell defines as a "ritual performed to the differentiations of society" (ibid.), the differentiations themselves creating the attraction. The important elements in sight-seeing, MacCannell contends, are not the sites themselves but the symbols or "markers" that define them in advance as attractions and in retrospect as compelling experiences. He sees the quest to

experience the "authenticity" of attractions and local culture as one of the prime motivators of tourist behaviour. Paradoxically, the tourist's pursuit of "authentic" experience is itself precluded by the superficiality and short duration of the tourist encounter.

Implicit in MacCannell's model of ritualized site visitations is the notion of a spiritual element in tourist motivation. Graburn (1977, 1983) uses the metaphor of tourism-as-pilgrimage, as a "sacred journey" in opposition to the "profane" nature of everyday life. Tourism, however, reverses the direction of site visitations. In pilgrimage, the traveller tends to visit the minor shrines first, working up to the major attractions. Tourists are reported to visit the major attractions first and the minor ones later (Moore, 1985). Moore extends the religious metaphor in tourism to include mythological aspects. Tourists pay homage to sites which are representative of "their own culture's version of ecumenical myths (1985:639)." Phenomena publicized by the mass media become woven into the mythology of popular culture and promoted as tourist attractions. The nature and degree of attraction to specific sites, he contends, vary in accordance with its culturally specific mythological or symbolic context.

Most of the above examples demonstrate the overriding concern of symbolic and semantic analyses with specific interpretations of particular actions within a present-time context. Lett's second category of anthropological concerns emphasizes observable behaviour and its material consequences to account for change and continuity in social life.

2) "Behavioural Systems of Adaptation"

This theoretical stream incorporates the processual and strategical qualities

of action in altering and adapting to social life. Social life is conducted in the context of social interactions which have a transactional basis. In *Models of social organization*, Barth maintains that analytical attention should be focussed on transactions because

> (a) where systems of evaluation (values) are maintained, transactions must be a predominant form of interaction; (b) in them the relative evaluations in a culture are revealed; and (c) they are a basic social process by means of which we can explain how a variety of social forms are generated from a much simpler set and distribution of basic values (1966:5).

Barth contends that transactions have an element of choice and that choices are made by individuals from within a value system. Choices are therefore enabled and constrained by the context in which they are made. Actors involved in a transaction seek to maximize value and make choices that enable them to do so. The aggregate of choices informing transactions creates recognizable patterns that present themselves as regularities in social life.

In *The leisure society*, Seabrook (1988) has attempted to examine the transactional nature of leisure activities by viewing leisure as a commodity created and fuelled by the capitalist system. He sees leisure travel and by extension, tourism, as commodities, the demand for which is created by monolithic market forces. For him, tourism is essentially a creation of the market, a set of transactions artificially engendered to create value in the form of profit. By virtue of being a commodity in a materialist society, tourism necessitates a high degree of conspicuous consumption in whatever form it takes.

Machlis and Burch (1983) too, see tourism as a transactional process, as a changing phenomenon relating to an historical process of "tourist cycles". Each tourist destination has a life cycle which parallels closely that of colonialized

societies. The "colonial contact cycle" begins with indigenous peoples who, though essentially subordinate to colonial rule, maintain a degree of autonomy through intimate knowledge of local resources initially unavailable to the colonizers. Eventually a form of interdependence develops between natives and colonizers wherein both groups adapt elements of each other's technology. Lack of technological production capacity by natives and decimation by imported diseases leads ultimately to their dependence on foreigners. In the tourist cycle, the initial dominance of hosts gives way to a more egalitarian stage until, through mass penetration of tourists and foreign investment, a dependency relationship develops, culminating in subordination of the hosts. Throughout the cycle, native/tourist transactions are articulated in the context of disparate, often conflicting world views.

The perspective of my study does not lie exclusively within any of the above paradigms, although it owes something to all of them. Tourist rituals, symbols and myth are valuable explanatory concepts in the anthropological study of tourism. Indeed, systems of meaning provide the underlying focus of my research and inform much of the discussion of research results. However, I do not see touristic experience exclusively in symbolic or semiotic terms and I am equally interested in action, structure and power. Individuals are not completely constrained by their cultural/social milieu but they are at least partially constrained to a degree that merits consideration. To look at tourists solely in terms of motivation for travel or subjective experience or as value-driven is one-dimensional; other systems of meaning and constraining external realities impinge on individual autonomy. Where social theory can contribute to the understanding of the touristic experience is by articulating subjective and objective dimensions, by providing an analytical framework for action within an expanded time/space context.

## 2.4 The Tourism System

What is lacking in touristic studies (and within anthropology), however, is a multi-dimensional paradigm that incorporates elements from both ends of Lett's theoretical spectrum. In an attempt to address the deficiency, Jafari (1985) proposes a multi-level model, *The tourism system*, designed specifically for the anthropology of tourism. Using an institutional framework, he incorporates all levels of actors - tourists, local providers of tourist services, and the international tourism industry - within an anthropological context of tourism as play. Using Leach's (1961) sacred/profane alternation of ritual cycles, Jafari explains the motivation for travel as a growing tension in daily life generating a need for change which the tourist experience provides. Release is attained through the emancipation from daily life and the non-ordinary nature of the tourist experience itself. The tension is resolved and the tourist reincorporates within the mundane sphere, eventually to repeat the cycle.

Jafari contends that an inner imperative propels the individual into the "tourism system" to become an actor within an international "network". Once he places the tourist within the institutional network, Jafari's analysis leaves the anthropological realm and becomes commercial. All action takes place within the context of an industry which is built on satisfying what Jafari sees as an innate need for a non-ordinary experience.

The result is a very unwieldy model that attempts to incorporate material, transactional and experiential elements of tourism into a psycho-functionalist whole wherein the individual actors change but the process and structure endure. Jafari attempts to account for all actors within the international tourism system yet restricts his analysis of the experiential domain to the tourists. The institutional

framework of international tourism, he maintains, functions to fulfill a psychological process that is symbolically framed and ritually expressed. However, its function and symbolic expression for non-tourist actors within the system is not considered. Nor does he answer the question of why, in particular, tourism is chosen from any number of alternatives for relieving tension and providing a non-ordinary experience.

Even more problematic, however, is Jafari's lack of consideration of the variable of power which enables actors within the system to create, maintain and reproduce it. Rather, he sees tourists as propelled by internal imperatives to perpetually act out ritual processes whose expression is generated by industrial forces within the tourism network. Emphasis is on the reproduction of social processes at the expense of personal autonomy and the active role of individuals in continuity and change.

A more useful model would situate all the actors within the system in a dialectical interrelationship so as to facilitate the production and reproduction of the "tourism system". The processes by which this synthesis is created may be explained in large part by the articulation of human agency, the social context of tourist and host societies, and the forces of industry and media. The development of mass tourism is a process of institutionalization that occurs through the composite action of individuals in a dialectic, a process that Giddens (1984) calls "structuration".

## 2.5 Structuration Theory

Structuration theory is a a macrosociological paradigm that attempts to bring together a number of theoretical issues cross-cutting the social sciences. It has the

potential to incorporate multi-level analyses, not just for a particular institution as Jafari has attempted, but at the level of general social theory. Although relatively new to anthropological research, it is now being used by social geographers (Rose, 1987; Thrift, 1983) and has been applied to geographical analyses of leisure and tourism (Jansen-Verbeke and Dietvorst, 1987). A search of the anthropological literature on tourism shows no evidence to date of the use of structuration theory and I propose it here as an explanatory model of considerable promise insofar as it appears to be able to incorporate a great many variables.

Structuration theory is a multi-faceted theoretical paradigm which, when applied at too low a level of analysis, may distort or misrepresent its explanatory power. In a localized study it would be difficult to apply the model of structuration *in toto*. Those elements applied herein I consider to be most germane to anthropological studies in general and to touristic studies in particular. However, outside of a general overview, I address only a few of structuration theory's salient concepts. Giddens himself suggests that the concepts of structuration theory be used as "sensitizing devices" (1984:326) to aid the researcher in interpreting results, rather than as a complete package.

The basic assumptions of structuration theory (Giddens, 1983, 1984) are:

Human action presupposes societal structures, whereas societal structures themselves are also the result of human action. Structuration is the dynamic process whereby structures come into being. There is a duality between structure and action, rather than an asymmetrical relationship in which social structure controls actions and the meanings of actions. Social practice has to be analyzed with reference to the continuous interrelationship between (intentional) human behaviour and the structural characteristics of the supra-individual reality (Jensen-Verbecke and Dietvorst, 1987:71).

Structuration theory focuses on the ontological concerns of human being and

doing, particularly social reproduction and social transformation. Institutions are processes of social life stretched across time and space. Subject and object are regarded as a duality in which

> Human beings have to be understood as skilled and knowledgeable social agents who monitor their own and others' performances in terms of the practical and technical circumstances in which their social existences are enmeshed (Layder, 1987:27).

Along with being knowledgeable, humans also are capable of conferring meaning, and therefore Giddens proposes that social analyses, if they are to make sense of specific situations, must involve a hermeneutic element. Yet structuration theory is not strictly interpretive since it acknowledges that society is not solely a creation of individual actors.

Structuration theory posits a *"duality* of structure wherein structure is implicated in action and action is implicated in structure (Layder, 1987:28)." The concept of power is seen as both individual and structural, never exclusively a property of one or the other. Giddens, however, is careful to point out that structuration theory does not attempt to define the extent to which personal freedom and power are possible within the constraints of structure or to what degree structure impinges on individual autonomy. Rather he sees structuration theory as "an attempt to provide the conceptual means of analyzing the often delicate and subtle interlacings of reflexively organized action and institutional constraint (1991:205)."

Structuration theory is concerned with process, more with "how" rather than with "why". The causes of social action are impossible to determine accurately because of the limited knowledge individual actors have about their own actions. The search for universal laws of social life does not interest Giddens. Attention, he

proposes, should be focussed on the uncovering of mechanisms by which human beings order their actions both individually and collectively. Some of those mechanisms are systems of power and resource allocation, and the means by which their manipulation in social contexts over time and space orders social life and constitutes structure.

Social geographers and sociologists, particularly Dutch and British (Gregson, 1987) are examining structuration theory for its usefulness as an overall framework and with regard to empirical studies. Giddens suggests three principles central to structuration theory as it might apply to empirical work. Firstly, there must be an acknowledgement of the hermeneutic character of descriptive material on social life. Integral to social research is an understanding of "mutual knowledge" which is both the source of, and the context within which, social research is conducted. Secondly, "actors knowledgeably reproduce the circumstances of their own action (1983:78)." Researchers must be sensitive to the "multifold skills" used by actors in reproducing social life. Thirdly, the reproduction of social practices across time and space should be seen as a "conjunction of intended and unintended outcomes of conduct where the structural components of society, embedded in an enduring way in institutions, are...both enabling and constraining (ibid)." Another important consideration in empirical work is the recognition that human beings are reflexively aware of their own history and use that knowledge to modify current circumstances.

Giddens himself provides no guidelines for a relevant methodology. He does, however, insist that an element of interpretation is essential - that positivist methods do not account for practical consciousness - "what actors know but cannot necessarily put into words about how to 'go on' in the multiplicity of contexts of social life (1983:76)." Social researchers are becoming more aware of the centrality

of temporal and spatial analyses in empirical work. Giddens argues that instead of considering time and space as the context within which action occurs, they should be seen as central to the analysis of social life just as the intentionality of actors must be acknowledged rather than taken for granted.

Systems of power and control of resources are also integral to the reproduction of social practices. The "dialectic of control" explains power not as a "zero-sum" matter with one person or group holding total power over another person or group that has none (Layder, 1987). Power within social systems operates in a context of "relations of autonomy and dependence between actors or collectivities." Neither are resources a "zero-sum" affair but are distributed in such a way that those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors. So although individual actors may have minimal resources in relation to others or to collectivities, they always retain at least a degree of power sufficient to exert some influence. The manipulation of those resources in the context of social relations results in an asymmetrical dialectic in which actors influence one another and wherein no actor is completely autonomous (Giddens, 1984 in Cohen 1987:285). Exercising their influence results in both intended and unintended consequences for social life.

The "dialectic of control" is implicated in various ways in the "structuration" of tourist destinations (see Chap. 7). Individual tourists retain a certain degree of power and influence within the international tourism system through consumer travel decisions and their consequences. Travel decisions involve an element of choice on the part of potential tourists and the aggregate of individual choices alters the structure of the destination in an ongoing process. However, the marketing of tourism involves the use of powerful media resources within a complex global

communication system. Marketing programs are acted out, via communication resources, in a dialectic between buyer and seller which both orders consumer responses and is defined and redefined by them. The role of marketing media in the structuration of Banff as a destination for Japanese tourists is examined in the discussion at the end of Chapter Seven.

## 2.6 Summary

Orthodox anthropological theory has been influenced by the traditional fieldwork model which dictated an intensive study of an isolated community. Today the external forces of government, media and marketplace penetrate even the remotest fieldwork locales. Clearly, any comprehensive theoretical model must facilitate a consideration of the consequences of those forces. International tourism incorporates an array of external actors and influences, necessitating a broad framework for its analysis. Structuration theory provides such a framework while allowing for both interpretive and institutional analyses.

# CHAPTER THREE

# JAPANESE TOURISM

## 3.1 Introduction

In this Chapter I present an overview of the history, demographics and social organization of Japanese mass tourism in an attempt to provide a background and context for the Banff data. Although some of the material in these sections necessarily relates to Japanese domestic tourism, the emphasis is on international travel. In Section 3.3, on the demographics of Japanese international tourism, I have included some statistical data on Japanese tourism flows worldwide to provide a basis for comparison with Japanese tourist traffic to Banff (see Chap. 4).

To date, social science research on Japanese tourism has not been extensive. The studies discussed below enhance our understanding of some specific aspects of the contemporary Japanese tourism experience but the quantity of material available is limited. Graburn (1983b) has written a thorough analysis of Japanese domestic tourism which is the source for much of the discussion on *meibutsu* (see Section 3.5) but no similarly comprehensive assessment of its international counterpart is available.

## 3.2 History of Japanese Tourism

The nature of Japanese international tourism today owes a great deal to the historical development of Japanese domestic mass tourism, which had its beginnings in the seventeenth century. Until that time, travel was the exclusive privilege of the Japanese ruling classes. Japanese domestic tourism first became widespread during the Edo period (1600-1867). The relatively stable political system of the era required provincial feudal lords to reside in Tokyo in alternate years. To facilitate their trips between the capital and their provincial seats, an efficient network of five

main roads was constructed, fanning out from the capital. Rest stations, providing accommodation and meals, were constructed at intervals estimated to equal the distance of one day's walk. The general public began taking advantage of the new road links and services to make religious pilgrimages and for health related visits to hot-springs (Tokuhisa, 1980). Prior to departure, all travellers were required to obtain a government travel document approving their itinerary. Although permits were given only for pilgrimages and health reasons there is evidence, in travel diaries from the period, that much travel was for pleasure and sight-seeing and only ostensibly for officially sanctioned reasons (Ishimori, 1989).

Tours, the dominant form of modern mass tourism are partially derivative of a religious association called the "priest-parishioner" *(shidan seido)* institution (ibid.) which originated at the famous Ise and Kumano shrines. Under this system, the parishioners of a district contracted with a priest at one of the shrine sites to organize a group tour. The priest made all arrangements for accommodation and worship at the shrine and acted as a guide, taking the parishioners to restaurants, shops and theatres. He also arranged for his representative to be sent to the district to lead the group to the shrine site. Eventually, the system spread to other temples and became a widely practiced form of group travel. The priests and their representatives can be said to have been the forerunners of modern travel agents and tour guides.

At the community level, another important aspect of the expansion of mass tours related to the formation of village associations or *ko* which had religious and economic functions (Graburn, 1983b; Ishimori, 1989). They not only promoted shrine worship but they functioned as fund-raising bodies to finance visits to specific shrines. Members made installment payments into the fund and, on a rotating basis,

were chosen to visit a shrine on behalf of the other members of the association. The *ko* associations made travel accessible to the lower classes, such as poor farmers, for whom travel might otherwise have been financially impossible.

Throughout the Edo period, Japan remained closed to foreign interests and influence, including trade and travel. Tourism evolved exclusively within the domestic sphere but aspects of its structure and development appear to be reflected in the form and character of Japanese international tourism in the twentieth century.

With the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) Japan once again opened its doors to foreign influences, earnestly seeking innovation and technology from the West. From the end of the Meiji period to the end of second World War, however, a resurgence of nationalist fervour emerged amidst a sense of the overwhelming invasion of foreign influences (Reischauer, 1981). Even though international transportation networks had been improved during the period, political, social and economic restraints curbed the development of mass international travel until the post-war period.

In the immediate post-war period, foreign travel was limited almost exclusively to business trips. The lack of foreign currency and the need to utilize available resources for post-war reconstruction prevented almost all tourist travel abroad. In 1964, however, a provision was made for foreign currency to be allocated in restricted amounts (US$500 per person in 1966 rising to US$3000 in 1976) for tourist travel and the number of trips abroad began to rise dramatically (Tokuhisa, 1980). Other social and economic reasons facilitating its continued growth from the mid-seventies onward are discussed in the Banff case study in Chapter Seven.

3.3 Demographics of Overseas Tourism

In 1966, 31.1% (50,734) of all Japanese overseas travellers were tourists.

This percentage had risen to 83.6% (2,633,699) by 1978 (Tokuhisa, 1980).

Destinations in order of preference in 1978 were the United States (particularly

Hawaii and Guam), Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Italy, Macao, Philippines, United

Kingdom, Singapore, Thailand, Canada, Spain and Australia (ibid.). By 1988 the

number of Japanese overseas tourist travellers had increased to 7,028,001 (Japan

Association of Travel Agents [JATA], 1989b) and was expected to exceed ten

million by 1990 (see Chap. 7). Preferred destinations (Fig. 1) in 1988 were United

States (esp. Guam and Hawaii), Taiwan, Korea, Hong Kong, China, Singapore,

Australia, France, Thailand, United Kingdom, Philippines, Canada and Indonesia.

In 1988 males accounted for 62% of overseas travellers and females 38%.

Tourists in their twenties represented the largest sector at 28% while children nine

and under comprised the smallest at 1.7%. Youths aged 10-19 represented 4.8%

while the over-seventies, the second smallest group, comprised only 2.1%. The

thirties and forties age groups were almost equally represented at 20.6% and 20.3%

respectively while 14.5% of travellers were in their fifties and 8% in their sixties

(JATA, 1989b).

*Figure 1.* Japanese International Tourist Travel - 1988

| Destination | Number of Travellers | % |
|---|---|---|
| Asia | 3,453,201 | 49.1 |
| North America | 2,481,796 | 35.3 |
| Europe | 639,387 | 9.0 |
| Oceania | 418,505 | 6.0 |
| Africa | 23,356 | .3 |
| South America | 21,356 | .3 |
| TOTAL | 7,028,001 | 100.0 |

(Adapted from JATA, 1989b)

For 1988, the total sales volume of the top twenty Japanese travel firms was three and a half billion dollars (US$), a 7.7% increase over 1987 (JATA, 1989b). Overseas tour sales accounted for approximately 1.3 billion US$ with 2.2 billion US$ for domestic travel. Japan Travel Bureau, the largest Japanese travel firm, reported 1.16 billion US$ in sales for 1988 (ibid.).

Japanese tours are structured on various demographic criteria. Inada (1989) summarizes the most popular tourist types by age group:

a) Young: In this age group, from 10 to 29, are three categories. One is "graduation travel" for college students, who go abroad during their summer or spring vacation prior to graduation and before they begin a career. Another is young female office workers who can generally take longer holidays and have more disposable incomes than their male counterparts. Honeymooners are the third group, most of whom are in their early to mid-twenties.

b) Middle-aged, family and office tours: The middle-aged group have little time and resources for travel so that most tourist trips are work-related in the form of "incentive" tours or "invitation" tours from their employers. Work-related foreign tours of less than five days are tax-exempt so that the bulk of these tours are to Asian destinations. Family tours with children in the summer and New Year breaks are common, though these are usually to beach resorts such as Guam and Hawaii.

c) Senior: Senior citizens in Japan are only now becoming interested in foreign travel. Their preference is for tours with flexible schedules, consisting of short stays at several destinations.

One of the recently adopted western forms of travel is passenger cruises, which were first offered by Japanese tour operators in 1988, departing from

Yokohama or Kobe and sailing to Hong Kong via Taiwan. Cruises to China, with stops at Beijing, Dairen and Shanghai were cancelled in the planning stage in the wake of the Tienanmen Square incident (Inada, 1989).

Expansion plans for Japanese international travel are directed towards senior citizens who have the time for longer vacations. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) has devised a program called "The Extended Leisure Stays Abroad Promotion Project" which encourages research and development of related programs, with the evident intention of reducing trade surpluses.

Another future trend in Japanese tourism is the expansion of "incentive" tours. Companies are beginning to use overseas tours as an added bonus in attracting new recruits, as part of sales campaigns, bonus awards and length-of-service award programs. Cultural and school-group tours are growing as well, along with social and hobby club tours. Middle-aged housewives whose children are grown and whose husbands cannot take extended vacations, are also travelling together on overseas tours (Schmitz, 1989).

In the Japanese social context, as in the West, the expectation of overseas travel is becoming more than a once-in-a-lifetime experience. It is rapidly being institutionalized as part of the standard middle-class lifestyle. Debates on the relative travel merits of various destinations now provide a common topic for discussion at routine social gatherings (ibid.)

While the demographics of contemporary Japanese tourism make it appear much like its western counterpart, there are some qualitative differences. Most of these differences are related to factors embedded within the Japanese social context. Social science research, particularly anthropological studies, can illuminate

those distinctions that statistical and demographic data obscure.

## 3.4  The Social Organization of Japanese Tourism

The most extensive study of Japanese tourism to date is Graburn's *To pray, pay and play: The cultural structure of Japanese domestic tourism* (1983b). Using the metaphor of tourism-as-pilgrimage, he explores the "relationship between Japanese leisure and tourism and Japanese social organization and values (ibid., p.i)." It is here that he sees differences between typical Japanese tourism and the touristic patterns of Europe and North America. One of those differences is that Japanese domestic travel generally includes an element of religious observance, combined with a reverence for nature. Most trips include visits to one or more Buddhist or Shinto shrines which are usually situated in areas of preserved natural beauty. Other motivations for travel such as cultural festivals, visiting relatives, relaxation at health spas or business are usually combined with a shrine visit. Graburn notes, however, a trend among more westernized, single young people to travel for skiing, shopping, nightlife, etc., activities unassociated with religion (ibid., p.14).

Graburn sees the most significant differences as stemming from the group orientation of Japanese society, which has been well documented in the anthropological literature (Hendry, 1987; Moeran, 1983; Smith, 1983), in comparison to the prevalent individualism of the West. The fundamental group focus and the emphasis on conformity in Japanese society define the character of Japanese tourist activities from the structure of tours to the nature of picture-taking and gift-buying. Graburn stresses that groups may be based on formal organizations or voluntary group associations; that they may be peer groups or of mixed seniority. Family travel is less common as children tend to travel in their school groups, adult males in their work groups and adult females with members of their informal or

formal social circles. Non-group travel and small group travel are the exception.

Signs of belongingness are important and can be seen in the common use of badges, uniforms and flags among Japanese tours. Not all Japanese tours have the same basic composition. Graburn identifies two kinds:

> The *dantai* is the organized group typical of guided tours, for which the organization and structure may be decided by a travel agency and for which there is a leader or guide, *dancho*. Such a group preserves the hierarchical structure typical of Japanese social organization in which the group of equals, the tourists, is led by the more experienced *dancho*....More egalitarian travel groups of friends or classmates are called *nakama*...or *uchi*, "us," "our group, family, bunch." In egalitarian groups there is much consultation between all members before anyone puts himself in the hierarchical position of making a decision in the arrangements. The group may eventually put a man in charge, *kanji* (leader) who makes all the arrangements. Once underway if the person retains his leadership role, the entire group with its leaders may then be called a *dantai* (ibid. 37-38).

The strong relationship between the tourist and his group mates back home is accentuated by the practice, particularly on long trips, of gift exchanges (*senbetsu-omiyage*). The traveller is given gifts of money, good luck charms or travel related items on his departure. At the most important tourist sites of his trip, he must buy *omiyage*, gifts symbolic of the site, to take back to all who gave *senbetsu*. The cost of each souvenir gift must be approximately half the value of the *senbetsu*, taking into consideration the relative status and tastes of the original gift-giver.

## 3.5 *Meibutsu*

*Senbetsu* and *omiyage* represent only some of the material symbols that are important in Japanese tourism. MacCannell (1976) has discussed at length the importance of "markers" in the tourist experience. Markers may take the form of souvenirs, guidebooks, maps, placards, advertising material, etc. MacCannell notes that tourists may often be more interested in the markers than the sights themselves.

Graburn asserts that this analysis applies even more to the Japanese than to western tourists.

The term *kinen* is similar to the English concept of "souvenir" but is broader in meaning, commemorating and legitimating important life events. At each tourist site, a variety of *kinen* may be purchased to legitimize the tourist's visit. An advance knowledge of which *kinen* are appropriate for which site is necessary both to validate one's presence at the site and to avoid embarrassment on return, as some *kinen* are used as *omiyage* (gifts).

A more important aspect of material symbols in Japanese tourism is the concept of *meibutsu* which must be considered in the selection of *kinen* and *omiyage*. Graburn explains its centrality:

> Each tourist area is known for its *meibutsu*, literally "the things for which it is famous," its specialty or special attraction, a key part of the set of on-site markers...*meibutsu* may be natural products...cultural products...[or] such stationary items as buildings, scenery, and statues. *Omiyage*, the important legitimating and group symbolizing gifts that must be taken home to show or give to others, are *meibutsu* from the tourist site (Graburn, 1983b:47)

Japanese values place great emphasis on consensus and conformity, of doing the right thing (Hendry, 1987). *Meibutsu* provide the evidence of having visited the appropriate places and having done the culturally approved things. Photography plays a particularly significant role in legitimating a travel experience and tourist photographs must incorporate the central features of the trip, the *meibutsu*, and illustrate the tourist's presence at the sites. The key photograph is one of the traveller, alone or with his group, in front of the *meibutsu*.

Moore's (1985) study of Japanese tourists in Los Angeles illustrates their preoccupation with *meibutsu*. For example, the University of California at Los

Angeles book store, a locale not considered a tourist site by locals, is *meibutsu* for the Japanese who purchase a variety of *kinen* having the UCLA insignia. The bookshop, not the university campus itself, is the attraction. The status value of Los Angeles (as derived from the mythology of movies and TV) and the extreme importance placed on university education in Japan have been combined in the Japanese context to create an image of the UCLA bookstore as a major tourist site.

Another example of *meibutsu* is the Japanese tourists' specific interest in visiting Cavendish, Prince Edward Island, the setting for the novel, *Anne of Green Gables*. Travel tour brochures in Japan, marketing Canada, typically include a stop at Cavendish. It is far more important a site to the Japanese than, for example, visiting metropolitan centres like Toronto or Calgary. To other foreign tourists and to Canadians it is not considered a primary tourist attraction, just as the UCLA bookstore in Moore's study is unimportant to North American tourists. The reasons for the intense Japanese interest in Cavendish relate to the popularity of *Anne* in Japan where most Japanese high school girls are familiar with it (pers. comm. JTB tour operator).

In his study of Japanese tours in Singapore, Hassan (1975) observed similar sight-seeing patterns but his explanation for them, I believe, is inadequate. His study, of cross-cultural communication between Japanese tourists and their foreign hosts, involved following a "typical" Japanese tour group during its stay in Singapore to examine the nature of interactions between tour members and hosts. He concluded that the degree of interaction was slight, superficial, impersonal and of short duration, occurring almost totally within the economic sphere. The lack of interaction he attributed to a variety of factors: the language barrier; the short duration of the tour; the rigid adherence to tour timetabling; and the desire on the

part of tourists to see as much as possible.

While many of the tour members expressed a desire to have meaningful contact with their hosts, the emphasis on quantity in "sight-seeing" prevented opportunities for interaction between tourists and the people who were "sighted." Contacts with hosts were limited to hotel staff, shop assistants and others serving the needs of the tour members. The Japanese tourists, Hassan believes, compensated for the lack of interaction by taking pictures of almost everything and everybody. In line with Graburn's and Moore's conceptualization, I believe the impetus for intensive sight-seeing and picture-taking is not a compensatory behaviour for the superficiality of the tourist experience, but a primary objective, fundamental to the nature of Japanese tourism.

This distinction presents a challenge to the western bias in tourism studies, particularly in the creation of tourist typologies. A variety of tourist typologies have been constructed in the social sciences, based solely on motivations for travel or type of experience sought. Smith (1978) categorizes tourists into those motivated by interests in recreational, ethnic, cultural, environmental and historical factors. Cohen (1972) sees the type of tourist experience as a determinant i.e. drifter, explorer, pilgrim, etc. There is an inevitable Western ethnocentric bias to the above models, particularly as they assume an underlying motivational model common to all.

To accommodate Japanese tourism in Smith's five-part categorization (1978) would be problematic. A model would have to be added relating to nostalgia/status which appear to be prime motivators for Japanese tourism (Graburn, 1983). In the Japanese case what is important seems not to be the elements of the destination but

what the destination signifies back home, its *meibutsu*. Japanese are often perceived as not being seriously interested in detailed cultural aspects of a destination, but only to want to see the high profile elements, for example, only the Mona Lisa at the Louvre in Paris, while ignoring the rest of the collection. Westerners often find this appalling and superficial. Western tourists, however, gain status by appearing knowledgeable and interested in art *per se* while for Japanese tourists this is usually not a priority. Much more important is to bring back evidence that demonstrates that they have experienced the essential *meibutsu*, and have acquired the requisite gifts that give them status and which fulfil group obligations, upon distribution back home. Evidence of having visited those things that are well-known back in Japan is critical. Although westerners are concerned with tourist "markers" as well, they are careful to be "interested" in what they are seeing and so the superficial nature of the tourist experience is not acknowledged. The Japanese, however, have nothing to gain by the pretense and so appear to Westerners to be uninterested.

## 3.6 Summary

The growth and manifestation of Japanese tourism today shares certain things with western tourism. But there are distinctions that derive from the historical and cultural context of Japanese social practices. One of these is the prior, shared recognition of famous destinations and the important elements of those sites.

Since Banff has only been an attraction for Japanese tourists since the early 1970s, its *meibutsu* status necessarily must have been as recently acquired. In Chapter Seven I provide an examination of the process through which it gained that status. In Chapters Four, Five and Six, I present a summary of my field data on the setting, tourists and tourist industry in Banff.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# THE DESTINATION - BANFF

## 4.1 Introduction

This section outlines the historical development of Banff as a resort town, its infrastructures, tourist facilities, amenities and geographical features. Patterns of touristic growth in Banff are traced using historical and demographic data from archival sources. Cyclical variations in the size and composition of tourist populations are discussed, as well as the appropriateness of the site for this particular research problem.

## 4.2 Locale and History

The town of Banff is located in the Rocky Mountains of west central Alberta within the boundaries of Banff National Park. The site first became a tourist attraction in the late 19th century when hot springs were discovered in the area. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which runs through the town of Banff, provided easy access for tourists and the railway company soon constructed a luxury hotel, the Banff Springs. The area was declared a national park in 1887 and the railway and the federal government joined forces to provide facilities and services. Plans for Banff townsite were laid out shortly after the incorporation of the park. In an historical look at tourism in Canada, *The selling of Canada*, Hart (1983) reviews the factors leading to the development of Banff. Guiding services for hunting, hiking and fishing were initiated in 1893. A year later, in order to entertain hotel guests stranded by a rail line washout, the Stoney Indians at the nearby Morley reserve were invited to participate in a series of contests for prizes. It was so successful that "Banff Indian Days" was created as an annual event that continued from 1889 to 1978 (Parker, 1990). Copies of vintage posters advertising that event

are still popular souvenirs sold locally in Banff.

Growth in tourist traffic is evident from the number of registered guests at the Banff Springs Hotel. In 1902 there were 3,890 guests, rising to 22,000 per year in 1911. The majority of tourists were Americans, approximately 87% in 1915. The first World War caused a reduction in tourist traffic by about 60%. After the war, automobile transport increased dramatically and eventually roads were built facilitating links with the outside world. Improved transportation networks combined with the implementation of "bargain" and "all-inclusive" excursions, promoted in the thirties by the railway, greatly increased tourist numbers. The development of skiing facilities in the park made it a year-round vacation spot.

Growth in visitor numbers and tourist services has steadily continued particularly for international markets. Recent acceleration in tourist traffic has become an issue between local residents and business people. Some Banff residents feel that the town's ability to absorb tourist traffic has reached its limit and should be restricted. Friction was particularly noticeable after an incident in August of 1989, where the town's sewage system was unable to handle the demand and untreated sewage overflowed into the Bow River.

## 4.3 Tourist Amenities

Banff National Park covers 6,594 square kilometres of mountains, lakes, rivers and forests. Banff is a popular destination for international travellers and the town has a variety of facilities catering to a wide range of socio-economic levels. It is a year-round attraction, with skiing in winter and hiking, golf, fishing and horseback riding in the summer. The town has five museums, the Luxton Museum of the Plains Indians, the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies, the Natural

History Museum, the Banff Park Museum and the Cave and Basin Centennial Centre. The Banff Centre for the Performing Arts houses the Walter J. Philips Gallery and three theatres where concerts and live theatre performances take place throughout the year. In 1989 there were 41 hotels and motels and a variety of international restaurants and shops. To the east and north of the town are two campgrounds operated by the National Parks Service.

A tourist information centre, also operated by the National Parks Service is located on Banff Avenue, the main street. This office provides outdoor activity information and topographical maps of the park. It maintains a registry for back country hikers who, as a safety precaution, are encouraged to record their itineraries prior to departure. A video player is also set up with a continuously running short videotape showing highlights of the park and the town. The Parks Service does not compile statistical data on tourism owing to a shortage of manpower and resources. Apparently in the past few years there have been some jurisdictional disputes with Alberta Tourism, the provincial government tourist promotion agency, which at one time operated an information centre in the Park. The Parks Service now handles this responsibility and the closest Alberta Tourism office is outside the east park entrance in the town of Canmore, Alberta.

The local Chamber of Commerce also provides some visitor information from its office in the center of town and has published a map of Banff for tourists supported by advertising revenues from local businesses. The local newspaper, *The Crag and Canyon*, is printed weekly and has an extensive listing of current activities and information for local residents and visitors.

## 4.4  Demographics of Banff's Tourist Population

Statistical data on tourist traffic were unavailable for 1989 but a comprehensive survey of park usage via roadside surveys and mail-back questionnaires was undertaken in 1987/88. It records the number of visitors and their demographic breakdown for the one year period from June 1987 to June, 1988. Visitor numbers included only those who spent time, money or engaged in sightseeing within the Park. The numbers did not include those travellers merely passing through the park to British Columbia. Visitors to Banff National Park numbered 3.2 million (Ruston/Tomany & Associates Ltd., 1989[1]:2): 1.2 million in the five months of Winter, 1.2 million in the three Summer months and .8 million in the two months of Spring and two months of Fall; 93% of visitors arrived by private vehicles with 3% coming by scheduled bus or train and 5% by chartered tour motorcoach (ibid., p.3).

Half of the visitors were between the ages of 25 and 44. About 20% were over 55 years of age. Japanese tourists tended to be younger than the average visitor and showed "a marked predisposition to participate in a charter motorcoach tour through the parks system (ibid., p.53)." According to the survey, the "typical visitor" was generally employed as a white-collar worker or as a professional, manager or executive. These three employment categories were reported more often by Japanese tourists than by other nationalities, but when asked to indicate their income levels, Japanese visitors were "extremely reticent about sharing income information (ibid., p.53)."

The average length of stay for overnight visitors to Banff was 1.6 nights in the park. Seventy-six percent of overnight visitors stayed in hotel/motel/resort/lodge accommodations; 1% in commercial cottage/cabins; 1% in bed and breakfast

facilities; 3% in youth hostels; 16% in campsite/trailer parks; 1% in back country camping and 2% stayed with friends or in their own vacation home (ibid., p.54).

On average every man, woman and child spent about $100.00 during his/her stay in the park during the period June, 1987 to June, 1988. Banff received about $287 million in total revenue. 80% of visitors were Canadian, 14% American and 6% from overseas. Of the total revenue 59% was generated from Canadian visitors, 27% from American and 14% from overseas visitors. A disproportionate amount, therefore, is spent by overseas and American visitors, almost double what is spent by Canadians (ibid., p.10). Accommodation generated 30% of revenue; restaurant meals around 30%; retail purchases, 14%; recreation 10% and all other expenditures, such as vehicle maintenance at service stations, groceries, etc., 16%. Japanese tourists in particular spent a disproportionate amount of money on retail items as opposed to recreational or entertainment spending (ibid., p.15). Japanese spending on retail merchandise averaged $65.00 per person per night whereas Americans spent an average of $10.00 and Canadians only $7.00 (ibid., p.77).

The largest number of foreign visitors to Canada are American. Origins of other major international visitors according to Tourism Canada (Jefferson and Lickorish, 1988) are Japan, West Germany, France and Britain. Visitors from Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Korea comprise a smaller but growing segment of the market.

The permanent population of Banff is approximately 6,500 residents with a large transient population, mostly summer employees of tourist service businesses. A smaller number of temporary workers remain throughout the winter ski season. Housing is a problem for most new residents as the Parks Service has restricted new

residential construction since the first zoning regulations for the townsite were established in July, 1956. Building restrictions and zoning regulations may soon change, though, since the community of Banff opted, via a referendum in 1989, for self-government. The new town council took over from the Parks Service in January, 1990. For the short term, however, affordable housing remains scarce and, combined with the low wage structure in the service industry, businesses have often had to supply accommodation or provide subsidies for full-time employees in order to attract adequate staff.

Banff is a particularly appropriate location for research as it is somewhat remote, the town itself providing an island of urban ambience in the midst of a large wilderness area. Though geographically isolated, it is nevertheless connected by good transportation links with major Canadian cities. The Trans-Canada Highway intersects Banff National Park a kilometre north of the town. A passenger rail service runs through the town but is scheduled to be discontinued or privatized as a result of federal government reductions in rail service nationwide. Major bus services link Banff with Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver. Calgary is just over 100 kilometres from Banff and has a major international airport. Tours running to and from both eastern and western destinations are offered frequently and buses run directly from Calgary International Airport to Banff and back on a daily basis. Thus, in spite of Banff being rather isolated, access is very good and provides the means to attract large numbers of international and domestic visitors.

Statistical information on overseas visitors shows a substantial increase in numbers over the period 1977 to 1988. The total number of overseas visitors to Canada in 1977 was 1.22 million. That number increased to 2.01 million in 1986 and 2.93 million in 1989 (Tourism Canada, 1991). The largest single group are from the

United Kingdom at 19.8% in 1986 followed by Japan with 9.8% (up from 6.4% in 1977) and Germany with 9.9% in 1986 (down slightly from 10.1% in 1977.) Of 196,980 Japanese visitors to Canada in 1986, 17% or 33,487 visited Alberta. Of the 198,990 German visitors to Canada in 1986, 14% or 27,859 visited Alberta (University of Calgary, 1989).

Within the global market Canada has a relatively small share of German and Japanese tourism. In 1988, 8.4 million Japanese travelled outside Japan, of whom just over 7 million were tourists. Canada was visited by 112,270 Japanese travellers (Japan Association of Travel Agents, 1989). This figure reflects only those travellers who fly direct from Japan to Canada. However, an undetermined number enter Canada through the U.S. via motorcoach tours. Itemized by purpose of trip, 96,190 of the 112,270 were classified as tourists with the balance being business, training and emigrants. Contrast this with the number of Japanese visiting the small state of Hawaii in 1988 - 1,216,770. This is equivalent to over half of the *total* number of overseas visitors to Canada in 1986. Canada's market share of German travellers was 8% in 1988. In 1987, German visits to Canada totalled close to 240,000 (University of Calgary, 1989).

West Germans work on average 1,642 hours annually with 29 days paid vacation actually used. By contrast the Japanese used nine days of paid vacation annually (Inada, 1989). It is not surprising, then, that the average length of stay in Canada for West German travellers is thirteen days (University of Calgary, 1989) whereas for Japanese tourists it is 7.7 (Fletcher, 1989). Other demographic factors reveal variations between the two nationalities. For West German tourists visiting Canada, the largest sectors are the 18-24 age span and the over 45s. In Japan a growing segment of the travel market consists of young, unmarried females in the

under 30 year age bracket. Females represented 44.4% of Japanese overseas travellers in 1987 in contrast to 25.6% in 1977. In the 15-24s almost 70% of the 1.2 million travellers in that age group are now female (Polunin, 1989). Polunin points out that for 1987, however, the Japanese travel phenomenon is not particularly large compared to other western nations in relation to total population: 6.8 million Japanese trips for 121 million population or 5.6%. For the German population of 61 million, 22 million (36%) trips were made, while 56 million British made 27 million (48%) trips. The Japanese market is still in its infancy with enormous growth potential.

Tourist demographics, both for Banff and worldwide, indicate variances between Japanese and western tourist populations, particularly in age, sex and tour/travel party composition. In the next section I include some examples of the differences observed between Japanese and West German tourists during my field research in Banff.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## THE TOURISTS

### 5.1 Introduction

This and the following chapters provide an overview of my field research data. Although the focus of my study is Japanese tourism, I have included some comparative data on German tourism to provide a western basis for comparison. While the German material is limited, it does help to throw the Japanese data into relief.

In this chapter which focusses on tourists I have categorized my findings on the basis of general tourist concerns and activity patterns (see Appendix) such as meals, accommodation, sight-seeing, etc. Most of the data for these sections were collected through non-verbal and unobtrusive observations, and participant observation, with some interviews. Since the number and variety of possible tourist activities and sites in Banff are quite extensive I have limited my discussion to those that impact most directly on Japanese tourism including shopping, sight-seeing, eating in restaurants, photography, and museum visits. I have not included activities such as backcountry hiking, horseback riding, fishing, and camping as Japanese tourist participation in these events was minimal. Both independent travel parties and tours are included but since very few Japanese travelled independently to Banff, data are heavily weighted in favour of chartered tours.

### 5.2 Chartered Tours

Chartered tours do not usually include more than 40 participants, with between 25 and 35 on average. For summer weekdays my data show approximately one third more Japanese tours than German tours. This could be somewhat misleading since the Japanese tours were more visible and tended to stay in central

accommodations and visit only the main tourist sites.

Japanese tours are often segregated by various structural variables organized at the point of origin. Honeymoon tours are quite common, particularly in May and June and are usually composed of 10-20 young newlywed couples. A Japanese guide who accompanies Japanese tours to Europe and North America stated that in her experience honeymoon tours were quite different from others. Members were more subdued and amenable to the tour guide's directions. My observations of Japanese couples on honeymoon tours certainly revealed no public displays of affection such as holding hands, kissing, etc. However, there was much child-like horseplay such as chasing each other, mussing of hair, giggling, grabbing each others' cameras or backpacks.

Japanese also often travel in work-related groups with or without spouses. Most of these are almost entirely middle-aged males or couples. Organized school tours composed of teenagers, some exclusively male or female, and male sports teams were also common. Japanese tour members usually wore buttons so as to identify them as members of their particular tour. Some buttons were inscribed in only Japanese characters but others included an English word or two such as "fun" or "honeymoon."

Japanese tours tended to be quite structured with relatively little free time, and that mostly in the late evening. There was a fairly rigid adherence to scheduled patterns and close accompaniment and direction by tour guides. In fact, Japanese tour guides usually positioned themselves conspicuously up front and in charge.

Unlike the Japanese, the German tours I observed were all of the general charter tourist variety - not structured on the basis of anything other than price

and/or place of origin. German tours were usually composed of late-middle aged to elderly couples, with a few singles and a few people in their late thirties or early forties. I saw no evidence of German honeymoon tours. Like the Japanese tours there were no small children included. German tour guides were more likely to stand back and let their tour group go ahead on their own at an activity whereas Japanese tour guides almost invariably led the way.

## 5.3 Independent Travel Parties

The ratio of Japanese tourists travelling on their own (i.e. not part of a tour) in independent travel parties or individually was quite small. Although data on German tours versus German travel parties were not available, my data show a ratio of about eight Germans to one Japanese independent traveller. Germans were often travelling with relatives from Canada in their own vehicles and usually included two to three adult couples, sometimes accompanied by teen-age children. Very few travel parties of either Japanese or German origin included small children. Tourists of both nationalities travelling alone were almost exclusively male, although the number of Japanese single travellers observed was extremely small. Moreover there was a large number of mostly young Japanese employees in stores, restaurants and hotels in Banff, making it difficult to accurately determine, particularly in the main shopping street, whether or not they were tourists or local residents.

## 5.4 Meals and Accommodation

Japanese tours and travel parties tended to stay in a few major hotels in the core of Banff, particularly the Banff Springs Hotel and the Banff Park Lodge, while German tours and travel parties often stayed further out, in motel or cabin style lodgings and campgrounds. I was advised by management personnel at the Banff

Springs Hotel that Japanese tourists did not like rooms with double or queen size beds but rather preferred and often requested twin-bedded rooms. They also liked rooms that were internally linked by adjoining doors that allowed for ease of visiting back and forth.

Japanese tourists most often took meals at their hotel or at one of the Japanese restaurants in Banff. Some Japanese tours lunched at a restaurant that specialized in buffalo and venison steaks. German tourists, by contrast, frequented the pub-like restaurants and more medium-priced international restaurants. Both Japanese and German tours usually took a side trip to Lake Louise, an hour's drive north of Banff, that included lunch at one of the Chateau Lake Louise restaurants.

## 5.5 Sight-seeing and Outdoor Activities

Japanese tours almost invariably followed a standard itinerary that included two nights' stay in Banff with one full day of sight-seeing by tour bus. Sights visited usually included a stop at the scenic look-out just east of the town that provides a view over the Bow River valley, a visit to Sulphur Mountain with a gondola ride up its east slope, and an afternoon trip to Lake Louise and Lake Minnewanka. Many tours stopped at the Banff Springs Hotel for picture taking, even though they may have been staying at another hotel. German tours followed a similar itinerary but usually included a visit to one or more of the town's museums.

There were some chartered tours into the backcountry, usually on horseback, as well as organized bicycle touring. Japanese tourists were only beginning to be interested in these types of tours, and those that did participate were usually in their late teens or early twenties. Germans were much more likely to participate in outdoor activities such as hiking and back-packing either in organized tours or

independently. Although the Parks Service Information centre does not monitor requests for information by nationality, an informant from that office estimated for me that during July and August, they get about 400 requests from West Germans for backcountry trail information and only about ten such requests from Japanese tourists. Germans, he said, almost invariably asked about the "Sawbuck Trail" which runs from Banff to Lake Louise over a mountain and takes five to seven days to complete.

The public relations officer at the Banff Springs Hotel advised that their clientele included some Japanese tourists who were not part of chartered tours but were travelling on their own through a special holiday package. The arrangements usually included participation in outdoor sporting activities, particularly golf, sometimes with tennis, fishing and hiking. My fieldwork unfortunately did not extend over a winter season, but I was advised by the same informant that skiing was often part of the package during the season. However, the number of Japanese skiers in Banff was small in relation to the overall number of Japanese visitors and in relation to German and other European clients.

## 5.6 Museum Visits

Japanese tours seldom visited the museums in Banff whereas museum stops were included in the itineraries of most German tours. Observations over 15 days at the Luxton Museum of the Plains Indians showed that between one and three groups of 30 to 40 German tourists visited per day compared to no Japanese tours. The program coordinator at the museum advised, however, that there were occasionally Japanese tours visiting. These were always arranged in advance by the Japanese tour operator or guide. The museum provided guided tours in English by prior arrangement but Japanese tour guides insisted on giving their own

commentary, often visiting the museum in advance to prepare for bringing their tour members. German tour guides sometimes provided an accompanying commentary, usually translating the explanatory material for exhibits into German. Other German guides simply waited at the entrance to the museum for their tour members who had been advised to regroup at a specific time.

Similarly few Japanese independent travellers visited the Luxton museum compared to Germans. The overall ratio for tourists in travel parties was almost five Germans to one Japanese. German independent travellers spent an average of about 30 to 45 minutes in the museum looking at exhibits and browsing in the museum shop whereas Japanese tourists spent only ten to fifteen minutes. Japanese travel parties very often - about 60% of the time - arrived at the museum by taxi. Occasionally a travel party would arrive in a chauffered limousine accompanied by a bilingual guide who translated exhibit placards for them. Germans did not, during my observation period, arrive by taxi or limousine. They were either on foot or in cars or vans.

The small Park Museum which features wildlife exhibits is located on Banff Avenue, closer to the centre of town. Unlike the other museums in Banff, it does not charge admission and people wander freely in and out. From counting the numbers of visitors by nationality signing the guest book at the exit, it appeared that a larger number of Japanese independent travellers visited here than the other museums. Some days showed more Japanese than German tourists and other days the reverse. However, from my observations of the number of guests signing the book compared to the total number visiting the museum, it appeared that only about 60% signed their names, making it difficult to generalize from that data source.

## 5.7 Shopping

Few Germans shopped in stores selling high-priced luxury goods, whereas Japanese tourists were the prime customers for these shops as well as for these items in less exclusive shops. The Japanese, however, also purchased certain lower-priced goods, usually as part of the Japanese practice of *omiyage* or gift-giving (see Chap. 3). A Japanese tourist might purchase a dozen of the same small item such as souvenir key chains, maple sugar candies, souvenir T-shirts or pot-holders with a maple-leaf emblem to give to less close acquaintances back home while buying higher priced goods such as smoked salmon, name brand leather handbags, Cowichan sweaters, furs, jewellery, etc. for intimates and themselves. German tourists were under no similar constraints to purchase gifts for all members of their immediate social circle. They did purchase a few small items, often T-shirts and stone jewellery and some books, particularly showing the outdoor scenery of the area. However, in the stores in which the Japanese were buying, the German tourists were generally just looking.

Unlike German tours, Japanese tour members often shopped *en masse* on Banff Avenue in the company of their tour guide. In the afternoons and occasionally in the evenings, Japanese tours, sometimes four and five tours of thirty to forty members were being heralded by their guide up and down Banff Avenue. Most of the shopping done by Japanese tours was concentrated in a few stores that catered explicitly to them by providing Japanese signs, Japanese speaking staff and a variety of high-priced name brand goods. Some of these shops were Japanese owned as well. Japanese tourists seemed to be quite serious about their shopping and wasted little time about it. It was not uncommon to see middle-aged or elderly Japanese women, occasionally dressed in the traditional *kimono*, loaded down with

heavy shopping bags, running back and forth across Banff Avenue, dodging the traffic.

## 5.8 Photography

Although both Japanese and German tourists were avid photographers, the nature of their picture-taking activities varied. Both were observed taking pictures of the main sites and attractions but the Japanese were much more insistent on having themselves and group members in the pictures. Few pictures of scenery alone were taken by Japanese tourists but pictures of each other with scenic backgrounds were popular. Pictures of the main street, Banff Avenue, with Rundle or Cascade Mountain in the background, were extremely popular with Japanese tourists. They could often be seen darting out into the traffic island in the middle of the street to take pictures of each other. Another especially important photographic subject for Japanese tourists was the view of the Bow River Valley and Rocky Mountains from the terrace of the Banff Springs Hotel. Japanese tours often visited the hotel just to take pictures of themselves and each other standing at the terrace railing with the scene in the background. (It should be noted that this scene is featured in most Japanese tourist brochures, advertising Canada.) I did not observe any German tours stopping at the Banff Springs Hotel for picture-taking.

Almost all members of Japanese tours and travel parties had their own cameras. Among German tourists, where a couple was travelling together, very often only one of the two, usually the male, had a camera. In contrast, among the Japanese, both husband and wife almost invariably took their pictures with their own equipment. However males were more likely to have more expensive equipment such as movie cameras.

The Japanese were more often seen taking pictures of their tour guides and bus drivers. They also favoured pictures taken of themselves alongside of the bus, getting on the bus and with the bus driver in front of the bus. Other favoured pictures were of the wildlife that roam freely within the town. Photos of deer and elk were the most popular, although on more than one occasion I saw Japanese tourists taking pictures of magpies. They quite often took photos of each other interacting with foreigners, even in the most utilitarian situations such as purchasing an item in a store. An informant at the Parks Information office was surprised by a request to be videotaped by a Japanese tourist while handing a map to his (the Japanese tourist's) travelling companion. Japanese were often observed raising the first two fingers of their right hand in the "victory" or "peace" symbol when having their picture taken. This gesture was common in photographic poses even with elderly Japanese. No German tourists were observed using the symbol in posing for pictures.

## 5.9 Tourist Interviews

Interview data for tourists were biased in favour of young Germans as they spoke the best English. Many non-English speaking German tourists were accompanied by Canadian relatives who were able to interpret for them but who generally were all too eager to answer the questions themselves. However, those Germans who did speak English were generally eager to talk and tended to supply consistent responses. For example, when asked why they thought so many Germans visited Banff they invariably gave one of two responses. They either made comments such as "it's the German wanderlust" or "it is in our blood to want to travel" or they emphasized experiencing the wilderness, scenery or outdoors.

By contrast the Japanese were very reluctant to be interviewed and usually

would say only where they were from (usually Tokyo or Nagoya) and where they were staying while in Banff. A Japanese tour operator advised me that they feel uncomfortable talking to an unintroduced stranger in a foreign country. They may also have felt some embarrassment about their ability to speak English. Further, they do not know how to react to someone whose status is unknown to them. The Japanese language is structured so that one speaks in a certain way to subordinates and in a different way to superiors, so ambiguity of status is known to cause confusion about the type of language to be used in addressing others (Smith, 1983).

## 5.10 Discussion

Field data on Japanese tourist activities in Banff showed patterns of shopping, sight-seeing and picture-taking consistent with those described by Graburn (1983), Hassan (1975), and Moore (1985) (see Chap. 3). Japanese tour schedules were highly structured and showed rigid adherence to time schedules. Shopping, sight-seeing, and photography were the main preoccupations of tour members and these activities appeared to be characterized by a sense of urgency and were approached with enthusiasm. Japanese tours and tour members repeatedly photographed specific aspects of Banff in a different way and with a different emphasis, than did German tourists or other western tourists. Another important distinction was the quality, quantity and character of shopping activities.

In this summary of field data on tourists I have attempted to present an overview of Japanese tourist activity patterns in Banff, with some German data for contrast. Tourists, however, constitute only one element in tourism and its manifestations are dependent on a variety of other actors and inputs. In the next chapter I will briefly introduce some of the non-tourist actors whose roles contribute to the constitution of the tourist experience in Banff.

# CHAPTER SIX

# THE INDUSTRY

## 6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter concentrated upon the spatial and temporal domains of the tourist. However, in tourism, aside from actual tourist participation, there are numerous constituent enterprises that provide tourism opportunities and services, and agencies that regulate and monitor the tourism industry. The development of Japanese tourism in Banff, and tourism in general, is interwoven with local, national and international interests.

To obtain an overview of the perception of Japanese tourists by non-tourist actors within the industry, interviews were conducted with a small sample of individuals from the categories of tour guides, managers/proprietors, service industry employees, local residents and government workers (see Appendix). Interviews with management personnel at the Banff Springs Hotel, who played the focal role in bringing the Japanese to Banff, are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

## 6.2 Service Industry Employees

These interviews included questions related to the particular service provided and the nationality of customers. Restaurant employees were asked to identify their clientele by nationality and approximate percentage of business derived from tours and independent travellers. Responses varied on the basis of size of the restaurant, which defined its ability to accommodate whole tours, and location. Restaurants situated within hotels were patronized primarily by hotel guests. Japanese tours and independent

travellers normally ate breakfast and dinner at their hotel, and lunch at a prearranged stop on their daily bus tour. The fast-food restaurant most frequented by Japanese tourists was MacDonald's. Members of Japanese tours often stopped there during their scheduled shopping time in the afternoons.

While shopping, some Japanese tourists patronized the grocery stores and the provincially operated liquor store. A grocery store clerk advised that the most frequently purchased item by Japanese visitors was fresh fruit. Although they did not buy meats, she added that Japanese tourists lingered over the meat counter exclaiming in animated voices "as if beef was a tourist attraction." A liquor store clerk advised that they stocked several varieties of *sake* for their Japanese clientele who usually purchased either sake or scotch whiskey.

Tour bus drivers were asked about their itineraries and the nationality of their tour members. Depending on the arrangements made by tour operators, some bus drivers drove local tours in the Banff/Jasper area only and others accompanied tours from their point of origin, usually the airport in Calgary or Vancouver, to their point of departure.

Museum employees were asked about nationalities of visitors, length of time spent viewing exhibits and the nature of questions and comments given on the displays by foreign visitors. Responses were consistent with the observational data in that few Japanese independent travellers frequented the museums and Japanese tours visited less often than German tours.

Similarly Japanese visitors spent less time viewing exhibits than other nationalities.

### 6.3 Tour Guides

Most Japanese chartered tours came to Banff via Vancouver, although some originated in Calgary. Tours were usually arranged in Japan through Japan Travel Bureau, which has a Vancouver branch, or one of the large international tour companies in Japan. Japanese tour guides were markedly reluctant to answer questions while accompanying tours in Banff. A few guides spoke English fluently but most seemed to have a moderate to rudimentary facility with the language. They would generally say only where the tour originated, usually Vancouver or California, and the next stop on its itinerary, i.e. the Columbia icefields and Jasper or Lake Louise. I was advised by a bus driver that Japanese tour guides were given a percentage of sales in some of the Japanese owned stores in Banff, based on the amount of business their particular tour generated. If this is the case, they were probably defensive and unwilling to discuss their activities as this practice ("kickbacks") is frowned on in North American business culture. The bus driver, who had been driving tours in Banff for eight years, said he had never heard of a German tour guide who had such an arrangement. However, I did interview a German tour guide who had a standard arrangement that allowed him to pay the lower "senior's" admittance charge to a museum for all of his tour members when about a third of them were not old enough to qualify as seniors.

The Japanese tour guides whom I interviewed in Japan were more open about their work. Of the six relatively fluent English speaking guides I

interviewed, four worked for the Japan Travel Bureau and accompanied tours to various international destinations, most often to Europe, Australia and North America. These guides were university educated, usually in foreign languages, and had begun working for the Japan Travel Bureau at locations within Japan prior to being sent to accompany tours overseas. They were all young, unmarried and enthusiastic about their jobs, feeling they were very fortunate to be paid to travel overseas.

## 6.4 Government Employees

As mentioned in Chapter Three, Parks Canada operates a tourist information centre on Banff Avenue and its employees answer questions and give out printed information on both the town and the park. They deal with a large number of foreign tourists, particularly American and West German and smaller numbers of Japanese. The director of the centre advised that West German tourists often asked for German language service and seemed to expect it whereas the Japanese did not request service in Japanese. German tourists usually came into the centre in small groups of 2 to 4. The Japanese often visited in a tour group and watched the English speaking video *en masse*. Sometimes a Japanese tour guide would come into the centre to buy a map of the Banff area for each member of the tour while they waited outside on the street or on their tour bus.

Other government employees working for Parks Canada included grounds workers, wildlife management officers, parks administration personnel and campground workers. Policing of the town was the responsibility of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who maintained a small detachment in the park. Occasionally, for the benefit of tourists,

particularly on busy long weekends, an RCMP officer outfitted in red fancy-dress uniform, patrolled through the town on horseback, creating a flurry of interest and requests from tourists of all nationalities, to pose for photographs.

## 6.5 Proprietors/Managers

Owners and managers of local businesses were asked the nationalities of their clientele and the nature of any obvious activity patterns or preferences they might exhibit. Since tourist business is their mainstay, they were overwhelmingly in favour of more tourist traffic and, particularly, of Japanese business since they perceived that the Japanese spent more money in Banff than tourists of other nationalities. Some shopowners were rather puzzled about their inability to attract Japanese business and attributed it to the number of Japanese-owned businesses already in Banff. In an attempt to attract more Japanese customers, signs were often printed in Japanese and some shops had Japanese-speaking employees.

Hotel managers were somewhat reluctant to discuss their clientele because of the negative publicity concerning Japanese penetration into Banff's economy, which had appeared recently in the Calgary Herald (May 3, 1989 p.A13; June 19, 1989 p. A10; Sept 28, 1989 p. A1-A2; Sept 29, 1989 p. A3). I did manage to interview Ernie Kitzel, the manager of the Banff Park Lodge, which had only just been purchased by the Japanese. It had built up a very large Japanese clientele over the years and now did most of its business with Japanese tours. Hotel rooms were almost fully booked as far as eighteen months in advance. When asked if any of these were sold to German tours, Mr. Kitzel explained that they had a few German clients but

in general the Germans did not make bookings far enough ahead of time. The Japanese were much more organized and managed to make arrangements up to two years in advance.

Tours comprised 95% of the hotel's clientele, most of which were booked by companies that did business with the hotel on a repeat basis. For example, Japan Airlines had tours booked almost continuously, as did other tour operators. Most Japanese tours staying at the Banff Park Lodge had flown to Canada via Vancouver, where they spent a few days and then travelled by bus to Banff, staying two or three nights at the hotel. Occasionally tours flew into Calgary but went directly to Banff by bus. Mr. Kitzel emphasized that Japanese tours rarely stopped in Calgary and that for the Japanese "Calgary is just the airport eighty-five miles from Banff." After leaving Banff the tours sometimes go on to Niagara Falls or to Los Angeles but the whole trip lasts usually no more than seven to nine days.

The owner of a cycling tour business advised that most of his foreign business was with West German groups but he had had a few Japanese tours and was hoping to attract much more Japanese business. He did say, however, that he preferred to have mixed groups rather than one single nationality in a tour, and that exclusively German tours were difficult to manage on the road whereas a mixture of German and other nationalities worked better. He felt that Japanese cycling tours were not generally difficult to oversee but communication was a problem since they were either reluctant or unable to speak English.

6.6 <u>Local Residents</u>

With the exception of senior citizens, most permanent and temporary residents of Banff are linked to the tourism industry through direct employment or the employment of a family member. Though most residents are dependant upon the income derived from the tourist industry, they had some complaints about the effects of the growing influx of tourists on their community. Negative comments were not directed toward any particular group except perhaps the young, transient workers who, it was perceived, created disturbances late at night with boisterous parties and noisy vehicles. The main problem that local residents had with the tourist population was the way it impeded their daily routines and chores. Long line-ups at the post office, banks, grocery stores, etc. made errands very time consuming. There were many complaints about the lack of parking space and long waits for tables at restaurants and pubs which were full to overflowing with tourists during the summer. The most common complaint expressed was dissatisfaction with the high cost of living, in particular, the unavailability of affordable housing.

A retired Parks Canada employee who had lived in Banff for more than twenty years expressed concern about the rapid growth of tourism and was negative about tourists in general. However, he remarked that the "Japanese are the only ones who look like they're enjoying themselves. The rest just look miserable." Both transient and longterm residents interviewed seemed, overall, very positive about Japanese tourism although some expressed the fear that too much Japanese ownership would detract from the viability of locally owned businesses.

## 6.7 Discussion

Conclusions from the industry interviews were similar to those from the observational material. Distinctive patterns were acknowledged based on the national origin of tour and travel party members. Whether this would be true for nationalities other than Japanese and German remains to be shown. For example, how different are Germans from other affluent European tourists? The large number of British tourists in Banff were observed only indirectly, but they also gave the impression of differences that marked them off from other nationalities.

What is unclear is to what degree the apparent variations might have been "cultural preferences" or responses to the assumptions of tour organizers and local business people about the "cultural preferences" of their clients and their subsequent attempts to fulfill the perceived expectations. A combination of both factors is probably the case, although the two, particularly in the Japanese case, are so interwoven that they cannot be easily documented. In the discussion in Chapter Seven, however, I attempt to demonstrate how they come to be articulated to incorporate the concept of *meibutsu*, an essential element of Japanese tourist destinations.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## MEIBUTSU IN BANFF

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I consider the development of Banff as a tourist destination for the Japanese with specific reference to media marketing programs. The attraction of Japanese tourists to Banff is conceived as a dialectic between marketing strategists and potential tourists. While culturally sophisticated marketing programs "raised the profile" of Banff by both subtle and overt means via communications media, other factors from within Japan and the global economic sphere provided a fertile ground for the overall development of Japanese foreign tourism.

The Japanese have been visiting Banff only since the early 1970s, although Banff has been a major tourist attraction since the turn of the century. North American and European tourists have been regular visitors since its inception as a National Park. In this chapter I discuss the convergence of factors, during the 1970's, both from within Japan and at the destination, that initiated Japanese travel to Banff at that particular time.

As I showed in Chapters Five and Six, field data from my research in Banff show certain variances between Japanese and western, especially German, tourists in temporal and spatial activity patterns, particularly sight-seeing, shopping, eating, photography, and accommodation arrangements. It also appears that the Japanese tourists' perception of Banff and their motivation for coming to Banff are different in some ways from that of their western counterparts, attributable in part to the centrality of the concept of *meibutsu* in Japanese tourism (see Chap. 3). For these reasons effective marketing programs would necessarily have to be designed

somewhat differently for a Japanese market than for those oriented to western consumers.

In order to gather data on the marketing process for Banff, I conducted interviews with executives of the large hotel and airline companies serving Banff. The descriptive material in this chapter, particularly section 7.4 on the marketing of Banff, comes from those interviews.

## 7.2 Travel Decisions

A variety of factors may motivate individuals to travel but unless they have information available about travel services and opportunities they cannot formulate an impression of a desirable destination. Travel destination images are often the decisive factor in the choice between available alternatives (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). While the quality and range of services and attractions may be similar in a variety of tourist sites, the images of the destinations may differ substantially. Marketing programs play a pivotal role in the creation of travel destination images and consequently, in directing travel decisions toward a particular destination. When there is a perceived cultural difference between the promoters of a destination and its potential customers, the application of culturally sophisticated marketing strategies may provide the catalyst needed to successfully attract a foreign clientele.

Factors affecting travel decisions may be broadly categorized as "push" and "pull". "Push" factors are those that emanate from the tourist's home region, and include those factors which compel tourists to make the initial decision to travel. These usually precede "pull" factors which are those elements at the destination which constitute the attraction. Examples of "push" factors include

escape from a perceived mundane environment, exploration and evaluation of self, relaxation, prestige, regression, enhancement of kinship relationships and facilitation of social interaction (Dann, 1981:191).

"Pull" factors might include sun, sand, skiing, historical monuments, art galleries, mountain scenery, shopping opportunities, etc. The way in which "pull" factors are portrayed in the marketing media, however, varies in accordance with what marketing experts determine holds the most attraction for a given audience (Thurot and Thurot, 1983). In other words, aspects of the tourist's home context determine to a certain degree - from within the destination's available range of attractions - what the "pull" factors will be. "Push" and "pull" factors are manifest expressions of what motivates people to travel (Jafari, 1985). Marketing strategies for tourist destinations are developed in accordance with those perceived or actual motivational forces. In this study, though marketing programs provided the catalyst, other economic, political and social factors converged to initiate Japanese mass tourism in Banff.

## 7.3 "Push" Factors

As noted above in Chapter Three, Japanese international travel began to expand greatly in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the relaxation of strictures on exporting yen. But this alone does not account for the dramatic increase. There must already have been some receptiveness to foreign travel and new destinations as well as the economic means to permit the expansion of travel. The Japanese have a long history of tourism within their own country (see Chap. 3) and Japan has had extensive facilities to accommodate large tours long before mass travel became popular in the west (Graburn, 1983b).

Most importantly though, the economic prosperity Japan has experienced in

the post-war era and especially the Japanese propensity to accumulate personal savings, which averaged in 1989 about 23% of earnings, have created high levels of disposable income. Home ownership being recognized in Japan as the sole privilege of the very rich, income which might have gone towards the purchase of a home no longer need be saved for that purpose. Unless property is inherited, home ownership remains far out of reach for most of the middle class. Thus, much of the money that in other industrial countries is saved for home purchases, is now spent on consumer goods and foreign travel (Yamaji, 1989). More recently the revaluation of the yen and the Japanese government's program to encourage travel abroad (in order to reduce trade surpluses) have contributed to the overall burgeoning Japanese travel market.

Japanese international travel has been expanding on a consistent basis, particularly in the last five years. In 1987 the Japanese government announced through the Ministry of Transport that overseas trips by Japanese would double from five to ten million in the five year period from 1986 to 1991. By encouraging travel abroad it was hoped that trade imbalances, particularly with the United States, could be reduced. The "Ten Million Program" ("Program for Doubling Japanese Going Abroad") is being realized ahead of schedule with between 9.5 or 9.6 million expected total for 1989 and 10 million as the goal in 1990, one year ahead (Japan Association of Travel Agents, 1989b).

The Japanese government, in order to promote overseas travel, decreed that as of April 1, 1989 there would be no taxes imposed on company travel that is 50% or more paid for by the employer, where the length of travel is four days or shorter and where more than half of the total employees join the tour (Inada, 1989). This has resulted in an increased number of trips to nearby destinations such as Hong

Kong, Taiwan and Korea. Travel and tour operators in Japan are lobbying the government to extend these tax breaks to trips of longer duration.

The Japanese have recently been setting aside more time for leisure than had been the case earlier in the post-war era. The government is seeking to reduce the average number of total annual working hours from 2,168 to 2,000. In order to accomplish this, beginning in February 1989, financial institutions have been closed Saturdays. Beginning in April, 1989, government offices started to take two Saturdays off a month. In most major corporations the five-day work week is becoming the norm but in smaller companies only 15.7% of employees take two days off per week (Inada, 1989). The government is also running advertising campaigns to promote longer vacations.

These "push" factors - the means and the motivation to travel - do not entirely explain the presence of large numbers of Japanese tourists in Banff. While they encourage the expansion of Japanese international travel, the specific destinations chosen result more from "pull" factors. Although the Japanese do frequent other scenic spots worldwide, Banff need not have been chosen as one of their preferred destinations. Another element of the Japanese attraction to Banff in a broader sense might be the distance from Japan to Canada, which makes Banff a more exotic and high status destination. Moeran (1983) sees this as form of "destinational elitism" wherein distance travelled from home is seen as proportionate to the financial resources of the tourist. European and North American destinations thus confer more status than closer sites such as Hong Kong and Taiwan. Banff, therefore, had the physical and geographical potential to become a preferred destination for Japanese tourists but business marketing programs, via communications media, were the catalysts for its social recognition as

an especially appropriate site for Japanese travel. Two individuals, Ivor Petrak and John Pastuzynski, I believe, played determinative roles in creating and developing the Japanese tourism market in Banff and their contributions are documented in the following section.

## 7.4 Marketing "Pull"

When the Japanese first started to visit Banff in the mid-1970s in small numbers, they were mainly a few very affluent and well-travelled Japanese business people. Ivor Petrak, an executive with CP Hotels, explained in an interview, that while travelling in Germany in the early seventies, he noticed a large number of Japanese chartered tours visiting tourist sites in Germany. He perceived that they constituted an untapped source of potential tourist business and he targeted the Japanese as a new market for tourism to Banff. Mr. Petrak summarized his marketing philosophy by stating that he "is not selling `rooms' but selling `dreams" and that he does not "find" markets, he "creates" them. In this instance he set out to "create" Banff as a "dream" destination for Japanese tourists, via a strategic marketing program.

Marketing programs normally follow a three-stage process: first, the creation of the product or service, second, the targeting of a potential buyer group and third, communication of the marketing message to the target group (Reilly, 1980). In this chapter, it is the second and third steps, the targeting of potential consumers and the communication of the marketing message, which are of central concern. The marketing objective for Banff was to communicate to Japanese consumers the message that Banff was a desirable destination.

A central concept in marketing, called "segmenting the market", involves

developing a specific advertising program to address different segments of the target market. Rather than mounting a generic campaign, advertising strategies vary depending on the nature of the target audience. In this case there was the realization that to attract Japanese tourists would require a substantially different program than that used for western tourists.

In an interview with John Pastuzynski, a marketing executive with CP Hotels, who had been employed in the early 1970s by Canadian Airlines, he outlined the marketing strategy he had used working with Mr. Petrak from CP Hotels, to increase substantially Japanese tourist traffic to Banff. Mr. Pastuzynski, who had studied Japanese language and culture at Cambridge, moved to Japan and opened a Tokyo marketing subsidiary of Canadian Airlines. He then devised various means of creating an awareness and image of Banff through the Japanese media. In 1971 he arranged for Banff to be used as a backdrop for some episodes of a popular Japanese soap opera. The plot involved a romance between a young Japanese girl and an aircraft pilot. Following a breakdown in the relationship, the girl ran away. The pilot found her in Banff and scenes of the couple together, with Banff and especially the Banff Springs Hotel as a backdrop, appeared on the TV screens of millions of Japanese viewers.

Through their joint membership in a golf club, Mr. Pastuzynski befriended a popular late night talk show host for a Tokyo TV station, who invited the marketing director to appear on his show several times. The Canadian would sometimes be "put on the spot" by awkward questions and would make mistakes in his Japanese but the audience seemed to enjoy him even more for this, and he was frequently invited back. The show host agreed to film some short clips of Banff featuring fishing and hunting in the Rockies. The host would stay at the Banff Springs Hotel

and be entertained by Mr. Petrak with whom he became friendly. Many of the film clips shown on the late-night show depicted the Japanese talk show host with his friend, the hotel executive, and Mr. Petrak's dog. Quite unexpectedly, the dog became a hit with Japanese viewers and many letters were received requesting more footage of Banff. Japanese tourists subsequently staying at the Banff Springs Hotel often requested to meet Mr. Petrak's dog and be photographed with him and the dog.

Following these strategies, according to Mr. Pastuzynski, the numbers of Japanese visiting Banff began increasing. However, the marketing team became aware of the fact that Japanese men seldom took holidays of more than a few days' duration and therefore were reluctant to travel long distances. They decided to focus on other segments of the Japanese market that might have more available leisure time. The new marketing program resulted in the targeting of young unmarried females between 20 and 30 years of age. Most of the members of this age group held jobs, giving them sufficient disposable incomes but, not being constrained by mid-career responsibilities, they were free to take longer trips abroad. To reach this group, a seven-week TV series of half-hour episodes was created called "Miss Ski Japan." Televised to a viewing audience of 20 million people, the program was, in effect, a contest for which first prize was a week of all-expenses paid skiing in the Rockies. Five thousand entries were received. Three winners were chosen and all events of the winning trip were filmed and televised including a mediaeval banquet held in their honor at the Banff Springs Hotel and scenes on the ski slopes (which were purposely cleared of other skiers so as to present a contrast with Japan's crowded ski resorts). This show also proved a great success and many letters were received asking it to be run again.

Marketing research was then undertaken to determine the top selling young women's magazines and writers from several were invited to Banff, one by one, so as not to create direct competition between them. Each would be invited to do an article on a particular theme such as "Spring in the Rockies" or "Skiing in the Rockies".

Overall, the marketing program was a success and the number of Japanese staying at the Banff Springs Hotel increased from 165 in the early 1970s to its current level of 70,000 to 80,000 a year.

## 7.5 Discussion

The "creation" of Banff as an established Japanese tourist destination appears to have been, in large measure, the result of a marketing strategy that successfully focused on contextual elements of Banff which eventually became very appealing to Japanese consumers. But more importantly, these elements and Banff itself came to be portrayed in the media in Japan over a period of years to the point where Banff became institutionalized, acquiring *meibutsu* status in the North American travel circuit. This, I believe, is one of the preconditions for the creation of a destination that attracts large numbers of Japanese tourists. For the Japanese in particular, familiarity with the destination and what it symbolizes must be widely shared and acknowledged at the point of origin before it will become a "tourist tradition", that is, before it becomes accepted and sought after by Japanese tourists as a preferred international destination and before it can incorporate the symbolic value of *meibutsu*. The process through which that was accomplished for Banff is an example of Giddens' "structuration" (1984).

## 7.6 The Structuration of Tourism

In this case study, a very effective and culturally relative media advertising campaign succeeded. Given the structural preconditions for action - the "push/pull" factors - mediated by social entrepreneurs in the form of marketing experts, a dialectical process resulted in the "structuration" of Banff as a Japanese tourist destination. The process is conceived as an asymmetrical dialectic between western marketing experts and Japanese tourists through the Japanese media.

In this section, I apply aspects of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory (1984) in an attempt to illustrate the "dialectic of control" and the "unintended consequences of action" as explanatory models for the development of Japanese tourism in Banff.

Although anthropologists have not previously applied structuration theory to touristic studies, geographers have begun to find it useful. The social geography of leisure has been traditionally concerned with spatial organization (Parker, 1986) but there is an emergent recognition within the discipline of the limitations of a uni-dimensional perspective and the need to broaden the approach to include temporal concerns. Parker advises that although leisure research is gaining serious momentum within social geography, the majority of studies are exploratory rather than theoretical. He calls for an integrated theoretical framework, proposing structuration theory as a viable option that can incorporate both temporal and spatial analyses.

For inquiries into the social and cultural aspects of tourism, structuration theory may also be instructive. Through the creation of a Japanese tourism market in Banff, a structure is formed with the organized social practices relative to it, that

endure across both time and space. In the context of my study the structuration process resulted largely from a dialectic between tourists and the providers of tourist services. Articulated by the manipulation of resources and the knowledgeability of both groups, particularly "cultural knowledge", a tourist destination was constituted in a cross-cultural context.

For this process to be initiated there must have been already in place the "structural preconditions for action" (Alberoni, 1984:42). That is, the stage must have been set through a series of enabling factors within the larger institutional sphere, in this case national and international economic and geographic contexts. Banff was a tourist site before it became a tourist destination for the Japanese. The physical infrastructure was already in place to facilitate the development of Japanese tourism. Other factors or preconditions, however, provided the context. In this case those preconditions were the "push" and "pull" factors that created an enabling environment for the process to begin. But facilitative circumstances merely set the context for action. Social entrepreneurs provided the catalyst. Marketing specialists using media as a resource initiated the structuration process for Japanese tourism in Banff.

Once a site has been established as a tourist destination, its ongoing structuration derives partly through the masses of unsophisticated tourists choosing to visit sites that they know are frequented by other tourists so that certain locales become even more prominent. The "sticking together" of mass tourism, for Japanese and other nationalities, is a processual element of structuration just as is its ongoing marketing promotion.

In this case, through a dialogue in various media, particularly television,

marketing strategists exerted a considerable degree of influence. The consumers, potential tourists in this case, were not without autonomy but influenced events in the decision of whether or not to purchase the advertised product. This is what Giddens refers to as the dialectic of control. However the dialectic is asymmetrical with those in control of the resources, in this case the media, assuming the dominant role. Communications media are powerful, pervasive and intrusive. That power can be manipulated to expand the influence of institutions such as business corporations by increasing their sales and thereby their resource base. This is accomplished via marketing programs that are culturally sophisticated and involve subtle methods of insinuating products into the world view of the consumer.

Although Japanese consumers had the power to refuse to buy the product, they did not. However, through the dialectical process they asserted a degree of influence in the creation of an image of Banff as a Japanese tourist destination which would, in turn, influence the structure of activities and the physical infrastructures at the destination. The nature and type of businesses and products sold in Banff have changed dramatically to service Japanese customers. Both Japanese and non-Japanese proprietors provide services and goods that are geared to the special interests and preferences of Japanese consumers. Japanese tourists thereby have exercised a certain amount of influence in the structuration of the destination. This is true for other nationalities as well. German language guides and travel information and services are provided who cater specifically for West German travellers.

These structures may also be seen as "unintended consequences" of action. Intentional consequences are both conceived and realized in a uni-linear mode. In marketing, the intention is to sell a product to make a profit and for the consumer it

is to pay for the product in return for perceived value. Other consequences are peripheral and irrelevant. This is an example in Bateson's terms of the "lineal logic of conscious purpose (1984:228)" that ignores the interconnectedness of social (and physical) systems. Giddens proposes that social analysis must consider the unintended consequences of human action which contribute to the production and reproduction of social life.

In Jafari's (1985) model of the "tourism system" he attempts to consider all of the factors, both internal and external, involved in the production and reproduction of tourism. However, he sees the system as a functional, organic whole. There is no separation or acknowledgement of the myriad consequences of action since all actions contribute to the functioning of the system. Human agency is ignored. Tourists, in deciding to travel, he believes are responding to a postulated internal disequilibrium that propels them from the mundane sphere into a nonordinary, anti-structural experience. The tourist system seen from a structurationist perspective, however, can illuminate the processes both of reproduction and change. By looking at human agency and structure historically, it can be seen *how* the tourist system originated and *how* it is reproduced over time and space. How Banff was constructed as a tourist destination for Japanese tourists and continues to be reproduced in various contexts for other groups is a result of both intended and unintended consequences of social action.

## 7.7 Summary

In this case through the power of media, structure has been influenced by action and action by structure. As resources, communications media permeate contemporary life and an examination of their role in the duality of structure and action can provide a useful model for anthropological research. Ethnographic

studies of marketing methods and outcomes can also facilitate cross-cultural studies in communication. Concepts of structuration theory and its applicability to the anthropological enterprise should be examined in earnest as the discipline is in a theoretical transition. Structuration theory offers something useful from both the objectivist and subjectivist ends of the spectrum and has substantial potential for interdisciplinary studies. The holistic nature of anthropology and its current focus on meaning and human agency can be encompassed while other concerns such as institutions, economics and political issues might also be included. Structuration theory's emphasis on time and space makes it particularly relevant to tourism studies as well as to anthropological research in general.

Structuration theory's roots are in a sociological tradition but it nevertheless sees all social research as having a "necessarily cultural, ethnographic or 'anthropological' aspect to it (Giddens, 1984:284)." It appears then that structuration theory has an affiliation with orthodox anthropological method, one which should facilitate its integration into mainstream anthropological research.

# CHAPTER EIGHT

# CONCLUSION

## 8.1 Summary

Anthropologists are well aware of the reflection of self in meetings with others. Tourism, by nature, involves meetings between strangers, making the tourism experience one that fosters the "comprehension of self by the detour of the comprehension of other (Rabinow, 1977:5)." It may lead to either stronger we/they boundaries or to less differentiation. At the level of popular and material culture there will likely be a great deal of synthesis but at the level of values, beliefs and tradition, resistance and possibly even conflict are more probable outcomes. Globalization and the global village in McLuhan's (1964) terms are occurring but at a material, technological level. International media are constructing a global outlook but the interaction of mass culture with native world views results in a synthesis rather than homogeneity. Since, however, the elements of media and material culture are also the most pervasive, there is a conception of globalization that is probably greater than the reality. The material trappings and trends of mass culture are easily altered, particularly those that are incorporated within a play framework, while such considerations as belief systems, norms and values, that have been internalized via long socialization, endure.

## 8.2 Recommendations

In the "play" world of tourism, "real life" intrudes in the interactions of strangers that characterize the transactions between tourists and hosts. It is this area where entrepreneurs who provide tourist services play a critical role. By articulating two entrenched world views, potential conflicts that might derive from that intersection may be avoided.

In a cross-cultural context, social entrepreneurs are seen as playing an enabling role, that of culture brokers mediating between hosts and guests. In her study of tourism mediation in Mexico, Nancy Evans describes the culture broker's role:

> Whether selling goods and services directly to the tourist, or mediating between tourists and hosts as translator or guide, the culture broker frequently controls the amount and quality of communication between the two groups. He is also in a position to evaluate and utilize ethnic identity as part of the encounter in representing the host culture to the tourist (1978:45).

As brokers, media are powerful resources for bringing diverse cultures into contact. However, they play a catalytic role, one which presupposes actual cross-cultural interaction. Face-to-face contact during the tourism experience may present situations in which the parties may be incompatible and unable to respond appropriately. The providers of tourist services at the local level serve as direct mediators in interpretive roles. Their contribution to cross-cultural relations at tourist destinations has been dealt with only minimally by anthropologists. My research suggests that their role is critical to an understanding of the tourism process and in addition to looking seriously at the tourists themselves, more research attention should be focussed on tourism "brokers."

Anthropology is essentially a comparative endeavour (Holy, 1987) and as such may be well served by research in tourism locales. In native settings a common basis for cross-cultural comparison is difficult to establish. A tourist destination provides an optimal setting for comparative/cross-cultural studies, particularly since there are few research opportunities wherein formal and informal groups of members from a variety of different native contexts can be found together. While it is likely that tourist behaviours do not entirely reflect traditional social practices,

tourists still act as they perceive tourists should behave in accordance with their understanding of the tourist experience. Two groups' understandings of a single activity such as "being a tourist," (as evidenced in their behaviour and accounts) may provide a valid basis for comparison. Tourism settings can facilitate anthropological analyses since they provide a common context in which members of diverse societies regularly intermingle.

## 8.3 Conclusion

If tourism indeed represents the largest mass movement across cultural boundaries that the world has yet seen (Lett, 1989) then it behooves anthropologists to participate in social science research on tourism. Anthropology's ethnographic and holistic perspective can help us to build a broad enough picture in order to draw some conclusions about the nature of the tourist experience.

Tourists, especially from a western perspective, may assume an homogeneous facade, but my research suggests that there is a great deal of variation within the tourist experience, variation that seems to relate to forces emanating from the tourists' native context, that reaffirm their world view. Those elements of tourism that are taken seriously are those that impact on the deeply entrenched cultural values that are seen as part of "real life." In the case of Japanese tourists, as we have seen, those values seem to emanate primarily from Japanese society's group orientation, and concomitant social obligations, and its stress on consensus, conformity and status.

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  1989    "Towards Dynamic Strategies to Deal with the Vastly Changing Market."
          Presentation to the 7th Japan Congress of International Travel: Tokyo.

# APPENDIX

## PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION/INTERVIEW DATA

The following tables provide a brief quantitative summary of field observations and interviews. Table 1 sets out the number of interviews by category. Included with the proprietor/managers are hotel and marketing executives and small business owners and managers. Local residents include only permanent and long-term residents, excluding seasonal and temporary residents. Length of residence in Banff varies from 2 years to 35 years. Government employees are all Parks Canada staff, both administrative and grounds workers.

Table 2 specifies observations of tourist activities by total number of hours of observation. Shopping observations were limited almost exclusively to shops on Banff Avenue and the shopping arcade in the Banff Springs Hotel. Eating/drinking activities included observations in independent and hotel restaurants, pubs and hotel cocktail lounges, particularly the Japanese restaurants on Banff Avenue and the hotel restaurants and bars in the Banff Park Lodge and the Banff Springs Hotel. Outdoor activities were limited mainly to walking in the small park on Banff Avenue, swimming in hot springs and golf. Sight-seeing refers to the gondola ride up Sulphur Mountain and the scenic lookout sites behind the Banff Springs Hotel, west of the townsite and at Lake Minnewanka. Table 3 lists the activities specified in Table 2 by number of Japanese tour groups observed per activity during the observation period.

*Table 1*   Number of Interviews by Category

| Category | Number |
|---|---|
| Tourists | 23 |
| Tour Guides/Operators | 14 |
| Proprietors/Managers | 11 |
| Service Industry Employees | 10 |
| Local Residents | 10 |
| Government Employees | 7 |
| TOTAL | 75 |

*Table 2*   Hours of Observation by Activity

| Activity | Hours |
|---|---|
| Shopping | 76 |
| Museum Visits | 62 |
| Eating/Drinking Activities | 40 |
| Sight-Seeing | 28 |
| Outdoor Activities | 23 |
| Checking In/Out of Hotels | 8 |
| TOTAL | 237 |

*Table 3*   Number of Japanese Tour Groups
Observed by Activity (25-40 members/tour)

| Activity | Number |
|---|---|
| Shopping | 29 |
| Eating/Drinking Activities | 18 |
| Sight-Seeing | 13 |
| Checking In/Out of Hotels | 6 |
| Outdoor Activities | 3 |
| Museum Visits | 0 |
| TOTAL | 69 |