

SELLING MIYAKO: IMAGINING KYOTO'S NEW "OLD" CAPITAL  
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## Chapter One

# Introduction

*Wednesday, January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014. It is a chilly, winter morning in northern Kyoto. Making sure to avoid knocking the shimenawa rope (straw rope thought to ward off evil spirits), my wife and I carefully shut the front door and step out into the street. On either side, gates to homes built in a mixture of traditional and contemporary residential styles line the long, narrow paved street. Aside from the concrete utility poles carrying rows of neatly packed black cables hanging overhead and the occasional cawing of crows, the street is empty. It is the Japanese New Year and we have returned home to visit family and celebrate the end of one year and the coming of another. After a short ten minute walk, we arrive at the Kitayama Subway Station on Kyoto's north-south running Karasuma Line, pay for our tickets, and make our way down to the platform to wait for our train. We are heading to Yasakajinja, located at the far eastern end of Shijō Dōri, one of Kyoto's major east-west thoroughfares that runs through the city's commercial center. Looking for an open spot along the crowded platform, suddenly a melody reminiscent of a Japanese koto sounds, signaling the approaching train. With a quick blast of its horn, the train comes to a stop allowing a brief moment for everyone to shuffle in and take their seat; just as quickly as it arrived, the train is off, filled with people as it passes stations on its slow journey south. Wanting to avoid eye contact with other passengers my eyes wander upward and begin to browse the seemingly endless variety of advertisements offering English lessons, travel abroad, and promises of a "happy wedding."*

*Among the variety of brightly colored posters one catches my eye. It is an advertisement produced by Kyoto City containing a photograph of the Kyoto Imperial Palace (gosho) and a simple slogan in white typeface that says “nihon ni kyōto ga atte yokatta, I am so happy there is a Kyoto in Japan.” Thinking it amusing that a city of Kyoto’s history and cultural standing needed to advertise, I turned to my wife and asked her what she, a Kyoto native and resident for most of her life, thought of it. Quick to concur with the sentiments expressed in the ad, she proceeded to provide me with a short lecture on Kyoto’s importance to Japan. Yet, I could not help but think about the image of Kyoto depicted in the photograph. Certainly, if one were to visit the Imperial Palace, standing precisely where the photographer had taken his shot, you would be met with the same pleasant glimpse of Kyoto’s distant past. But the Kyoto I know is so much more; a city where people live, work, attend school, and play; a city with global corporations like Kyocera, Nintendo, and Rohm, and famous academic institutions like Kyoto University and Dōshisha University. The Kyoto in the photograph never felt so distant as it did sitting on the subway. Suddenly, a prerecorded message interrupts my musings, announcing Shijō as the next stop. With these thoughts in my head, the doors slide open and we step off the train. Kyoto’s image and its use in the place branding found on the train that January morning is the focus of this thesis. In contrast with the lived Kyoto, that image relies on a constructed sense of the time and place rooted in a near-mythic history encapsulated in the term “miyako” (capital).*

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the images that place branding produces. In the following pages, I bring attention to these issues in Kyoto, Japan by focusing on the

city's image as the ancient capital *miyako*, and the city's attempt to manage that image through policy change, introduced in 2001 as the "Kyoto City Basic Plan" (*kyōtoshi kihon keikaku*) and now called the "Miyako Plan," and one ongoing political booster turned place branding campaign called the "Charm of Kyoto Series" (*kyōto no miryoku shirīzu*) which launching with the catchphrase "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan— Let us Remake Kyoto into a the city with the sweet scent of elegance— (*nihon ni kyōto ga atte yokatta, miyabi ni kaoru machi • kyōto sōsei shiyō*).

According to a press release that accompanied the release of the first poster on November 27, 2003, this campaign was created, "[i]n order for build excitement around "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" and for a wide range of people to become aware of the "Charm of Kyoto" (Kyoto City 2003:1). This thesis examines this campaign and through an analysis of posters produced for this campaign, I investigate how place branding in Kyoto relies on a pastiche of imagery of an exotic, yet familiar, "Kyoto past" that transfigures the city into *miyako*. Simultaneously the name for the ancient imperial capital of Japan as well as a term that is generally synonymous with Kyoto, *miyako* implies a sense of time (the past) and place (historical and culturally important sites). In this thesis, I distinguish my use of the term "miyako" to describe how these attributes are continuously appropriated to imbue Kyoto City's brand narrative with a sense of historical authenticity.

What this thesis asks, then, is if place branding in Kyoto relies on a constructed sense of time and place rooted in the past, what are the motives, means, and effects of that construction? "Selling miyako" means selling the idea of a timeless past that is "authentically" Japanese and only experienced in Kyoto. For this purpose, my approach

is threefold. In Chapter Two, I begin by asking the question, why did the “Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy” (*kokka senryaku toshite kyōto sōsei*) project and its promotional campaign “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” emerge in Kyoto and what was the processes by which it developed? In answering this question, I trace the development of the “Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy” project and the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” campaign as they emerged by placing them within the larger context of conflicts over the appearance of Kyoto’s landscape and the municipal government’s larger project of preserving, beautifying, and promoting the city. I follow this with an examination of Kyoto’s image as “miyako” through a critical analysis of posters for the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” campaign and examine how time and place come together in selling one of Japan’s most recognizable destinations. To accomplish this, in Chapter Three, I explore the strategies and images that Kyoto City uses in their place branding strategy and ask how this strategy distinguish Kyoto in Japan by constructing a sense of time. I follow this in Chapter Four by asking how these strategies also build upon this sense of time and enhance the city’s image as “miyako.”

### **A Sense of Place**

Conceptualizing space at the theoretical level has been the preoccupation of human geographers over the past four decades. In particular, French philosopher Henri Lefebvre’s work *The Production of Space* (1991) is useful in thinking about how the representation of space informs place branding. Lefebvre conceptualizes space as a triad of spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space), and representational spaces (lived space) (1991: 38-39). Perceived space, Lefebvre argues, is continually produced and solidified through what he calls “spatial practice”, in other

words, the physical space that social groups occupy and appropriate (1991: 38-39). The imagining of space by dominant social groups through “representations of space” embed these physical spaces with hidden ideological codes of how space is conceived in society. These spaces are perceived through what Lefebvre calls “representational space” or space that is “directly lived through its associated images and symbols” (1991:39).

Representational spaces have important implications for place branding studies because these representations play a part in forming knowledge about a place in the minds of natives and newcomers alike. For example, this could apply to the designation of places for recreation as in beaches or parks or as places of remembering or commemorating the past such as graveyards or museums. Representations of these spaces are most visible in the images that people assign to place through spatial practices. Building upon early structuralist attempts such as Lefebvre, Rob Shields approaches space through what he calls “social spatialization,”

the ongoing social construction of the spatial at the level of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions) as well as interventions in the landscape (for example, the built environment). This term allows us to name an object of study which encompasses both the cultural logic of the spatial and its expression and elaboration in language and more concrete actions, constructions and institutional arrangements. [1991:31]

Social spatialization, Shields argues, manifests itself most readily in the images that are attached to place. These place-images constitute the various discrete meanings associated with real places or regions regardless of their character in reality. Place-images that are widely disseminated and commonly held form the central set of core images which are collectively called a “place-myth,” the set of images that “play a significant part in the rationale by which daily lives are lived and by which decisions, policies, and actions are rationalized and legitimized” (Shields 1991:47). What is important to note here is that

myths are prone to shifts in meaning as places and their contexts change through time. Gradually, through social practice, places develop their own cultural landscape, which Greg Ringer defines as the manner in which the “visible structure of a place expresses the emotional attachments held by both its residents and visitors, as well as the means by which it is imagined, produced, contested, and enforced” (2002:6).

Place-images also serve as a cultural imaginary in which, as Mariana Johansson argues, become involved in the “active production of realities,” by projecting a narrative fiction draws from symbols and signs already in circulation and socially mediated through discourse (2012:3613-3614). Fiction, Paul Ricoeur argues, is the mythic telling, recounting, and redescription of reality by a storyteller who is imitating a reality of his own reinvention (Ricoeur 1994:124). This storyteller produces a narrative as a “heuristic process of redescription in which the heuristic function stems from the narrative structure and redescription has the action itself for referent,” in other words, fiction has the power to redescribe reality and through the processes of redescription influences human action (Ricoeur 1994:124-125). This process provides fiction with the “techniques of abbreviation, articulation, and condensation through which the iconic increase effect is obtained” smoothing over and mastering diversity (Ricoeur 1994:125). The imaginary, therefore, must draw from existing images if it is to use and appropriate them in its redescriptions.

An example of how existing images become appropriated in the imaginary for redescription is made in reference to what Moira Gatens calls “imaginary bodies,” or ready-made, “images and symbols through which we make sense of social bodies and which determine, in part, their value, their status and what will be deemed their

appropriate treatment” (1995:9). Therefore, Johansson is correct in saying the imaginary is “characterized by projection” precisely because these imaginings are founded upon a specific set of historical and cultural circumstances (Johansson 2012:3613). Given these limitations, what work does the imaginary accomplish through spatial practice?

According to Ricoeur, spatial practice becomes linked with the cultural imaginary through what he terms utopia, the “mode in which we radically rethink what family, consumption, government, religion, and so on are. From ‘nowhere’ springs the most formidable questioning of what is” (Ricoeur 1994:132). The imaginary, therefore, is a powerful means of remaking places, but as an act of redescription will always be bound by a specific set of historical and cultural circumstances that have powerful implications in shaping internal and external perceptions of place.

Lefebvre argues for “representations of space” as the hidden ideologies imagined by dominant socio-spatial groups; similarly, Rose argues for a sense of place that is constructed through discourse. This sense of place, according to Gillian Rose, is a direct result of the ways in which people attach meaning to their lives, allowing for a cultural interpretation for the sense of place. As Rose explains, “there is not one culture, but many...it is an awareness of cultural difference which may encourage a sense of place to develop” (1995:99). Places, however, are not always constituted from a single sense of place, and as Rose argues, for any given place there are multiple and concurrent “senses of place” created through unequal social relationships (1995:99-100). Given this understanding of a multiplicity of identities for any given place, it is of critical importance to recognize the discursive power place branding has in the construction, privileging, and transfiguring of place identities (Mayes 2008:126).

## **A Sense of Past**

Understanding the past is crucial to evaluating how cultural landscape is appropriated in advertising because the past lends place branding historicity and authenticity. But, how does this sense of the past construct social identities in the present so that they may be appropriated later through place branding? David Lowenthal argues that a shared sense of the past becomes integral to a community's identity precisely because it allows these groups to recall and identify their own past which gives their present existence, "meaning, purpose, and value"; this awareness of history therefore "enhances communal and national identity, legitimating a people in their own eyes" (1985:41-44). Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* is noteworthy for its re-thinking of culture in terms of power. By deconstructing the concepts of "past" and "tradition" they argue that a sense of continuity with the past can be appropriated for new identities and purposes through processes of formalization and repetition (1983:2). Just as Lowenthal traced shared memory as a means of engendering feelings of community and belonging, so, too, have Hobsbawm and Ranger. The key difference is that the latter merely implies (and gains the benefits of) a sense of "pastness" (Hobsbawm 1983:3).

Constructed or not, one way in which social groups connect with a past is through heritage which uses the past to recreate meanings and identities in the present. In *The Construction of Heritage*, David Brett connects social identities and heritage through Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*. He argues that modernization has continually challenged the dispositions and values of social groups that define individual and group conduct, taste, and expectations. Because *habitus* ensures regularity in new situations it becomes

the preoccupation of these communities to re-articulate any lost sense of *habitus*. One way this is accomplished is through the production of heritage (Brett 1996:8-9). The desire for connecting with heritage, therefore, grows in importance as social life becomes diffuse, ambiguous, fragmented, and threatened. This nostalgic longing for the “good old days”, Svetlana Boym argues, rejuvenates and reaffirms desires to seek and reconstruct what has been lost—to rebuild the lost home by evoking notions of a mythic past (2001:41-45). Through processes of restoration, traditions of the home are re-invented to exhibit a higher degree of symbolic formalization than was ever actually realized, thus creating an atmosphere which builds upon the communal sense of loss by offering individuals a sense of belonging (Boym 2001:41-48).

Such processes that recognize and appropriate heritage to reclaim social identities, however, are not without problems. Laurajane Smith sees heritage as a legitimizing force in what she calls the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), which developed primarily from Western and elite class experiences of heritage that privileges “innate cultural value tied to time, depth, monumentality, expert knowledge, and aesthetic” (2006:299). For Smith, heritage is a means of claiming whom the legitimate “spokespersons” of the past are and, in turn, obfuscating competing discourses of what heritage can mean and be for a particular social group. As discourse then, heritage is much less a “thing” and more of a process that incorporates experience, identity, memory and remembering, performance, place, and dissonance. According to Smith, heritage is

a cultural and social process; it is the experiences that may happen at sites or during the acting out of certain events; it is a process of remembering and memory making—of mediating cultural and social change, of negotiating and creating and recreating values, meanings, understandings and identity. Above all heritage is an active, vibrant cultural process of creating bonds through shared experiences and acts of creation. [2006:308]

Heritage, Smith continues, “has the power as a legitimizing or de-legitimizing discourse...in so far as the symbolic ability to control desired, fetishized and prized objects reinforces not only the identity, but the power of the identity of the nation, group or individual in possession” (2006:53). Similarly, Brian Graham notes that heritage encompasses a variety of official (authorized) and unofficial (dissident) forms. These subversive forms actively reject or contest any authorized forms of heritage (Graham 2002:1004). The past then, represented by and appropriated through heritage, engenders feelings of belonging and continuity. Nostalgic for the disappearing or lost, social groups seek to preserve, protect, recreate, these shared vestiges of the past. Heritage allows the re-articulation of social group identity by reifying the sense of continuity with the past. These identities, however, may not always align with the dominant social discourse of heritage and may actively work to subvert its position within social groups. The complex interweaving of all these facets make heritage an attractive resource in the branding of places.

### **Branding Places**

Heritage is a way of remembering, commemorating, and reconnecting, but heritage also repurposes the past. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett works toward developing a theoretical model of heritage that adds value to places by the “transvaluation” of the past through processes exhibition such as knowledge, performance, and museum display (1995:369). Exhibition, she argues, allows people to connect and reconnect with a place, and through these connections, meanings and identities are remade in the present. As sites of possible re-connections, heritage also adds value to tourism. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explains how the past, as the “obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead,

and the defunct,” is transformed throughout heritage by attaching values of pastness, exhibition, and difference that make places economically viable as tourist destinations (1995:369). Heritage, therefore, becomes a powerful tool in branding places, because it transfigures places by reproducing as “authentic” culture. For domestic tourists, heritage becomes an expression of identity, reaffirmed through representations of the past that lend their apparent historicity and authenticity to the present. For foreign tourists, heritage becomes a means of experiencing encounters with the exotic and unknown. Regardless of audience, “authenticity” remains one of the key components of tourist activity.

This quest for authenticity, Dean MacCannell writes, forms the central tenet in which all “touristic consciousness is motivated” (1999:101). Drawing parallels to religious pilgrims in search of the sacred, tourists roam the globe in search of authentic experiences through intimate encounters with local social groups in what he calls “back spaces.” The object of the tourist gaze, MacCannell maintains, is to “see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives” because the intimacy and closeness of these back spaces is perceived to be “morally superior to rationality and distance in social relationships, and more ‘real’ ” (1999:94). At the same time, these social groups are wary of outsiders and seek to manage expectations through what MacCannell calls “staged authenticity” in tourist settings. MacCannell contends that there are five stages to naming a site worthy of preservation beginning with naming a site worth of preservation. In the second stage, a site is elevated by opening it to the gaze of outsiders, or as MacCannell suggests, protecting or enhancing the site in some fashion (1999:44). In the third stage, enshrinement occurs when the frames themselves become named as part of the site (MacCannell 1999:45). The fourth and fifth stages occur through processes of

mechanical reproduction, such as photographs and social reproductions, when cities or groups are named after a famous site (MacConnell 1999:45). Likewise, Kyoto, as the ancient capital, has become enshrined in the images of the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan,” deemed worth of preservation, and is presented domestically and internationally as authentic and therefore worthy of gaze. The city’s oldest shrines and temples, festivals and ceremonies no longer stand on their own, but become signifiers of Kyoto’s cultural significance—Kyoto’s historical townhouses (*kyō-machiya*), Kyoto’s three largest annual festivals (*kyōto sandai matsuri*). These places and cultural displays are then captured and reproduced as signifiers of Kyoto’s authenticity and brand image.

MacCannell builds his argument on the premise that culture can be divided into front and back or inauthentic and authentic, and assumes that there will always be an authentic culture “in the back” regardless of how much display of “inauthentic” touristic culture is put “up front” (1999:94-96). By contrast, I embrace tourist sites not as “inauthentic” culture for the duped masses; rather touristic production is another form of culture imagined and produced as marketable experiences for what John Urry and Jonas Larsen have described as the tourist gaze (2011). This gaze, they argue is a socio-culturally framed way of seeing, constructed through a combination of signs, that “orders, shapes, and classifies, rather than reflects the world” (2011:2). Conversely, tourist attractions become, what Edward Bruner argues, “new culture constructed specifically for a tourist audience,” and contends that while these productions of knowledge, performance, and museum display do originate within a specific cultural context, “all performances are ‘new’ in that the context, the audience, and the times are continually changing. To put it another way, performance is constitutive” (2005:5). These

performances are located at what Bruner calls the touristic borderzone, a place where locals and tourists engage each other “in structured ways in predetermined localities for defined periods of time” (2005:17). Within these borderzones, locals and tourists co-produce a narrative, constructed within the cultural imaginary, “where they each take account of the other in an ever-shifting, contested, evolving border zone of engagement” (Bruner 2005:12).

Narrative is also an important consideration in place branding because brands function as an organizing narrative in which the desired image of the destination is formed in the minds of tourists. But what are brands? Simon Anholt says that brands represent capital because they allow producers to charge more for the products and services they offer (2003:1-2). Brands are also about perception, both how people perceive a particular product or service, and what a particular product or service says about the consumer. In telling the story of a given product or service and in telling that story, the wealth, taste, social standing, and attitudes of their consumers is taken into consideration (Anholt 2003:2-4). Similarly, place brands are about narrating a desired image and communicating that image in tourism markets. According to Steven Pike (2008), place brands are constituted from three interrelated components he calls identity, position, and image.

On the one hand, brand identity is said to have an “internal focus” on its own self-image and encompasses the visions of various stakeholders for the destination’s brand as well as its mission, values, and desired image (Pike 2008:179-185). On the other hand, the brand’s image is how the place is actually perceived externally in the market. Linking these two elements is a brand’s position. How a brand’s self-image is positioned

within tourist markets acts as the interface between the brand's identity and how that identity will influence its perceived image. Developing place brands, Pike explains, contains four stages: 1) the appointment of a "brand champion" (who will manage and promote the brand), 2) identification of the brand community (who will support the brand), 3) a destination audit (to assess a destination's brand and its perception within the market), and 4) the production of a brand charter (to continue to guide brand stakeholders throughout the brand's existence) (2008:185-191). Of course Kyoto has long been known as Japan's ancient capital, but as I will discuss below, the municipal government has taken up the reigns as the Kyoto's brand champion and continues to develop and elevate the city's perceived image. Therefore, as Karen Finucan illustrates in her brief look at various case studies of cities that have improved their public image, this approach to place branding is premised on assessing the marketability of a place's tangible and intangible "assets" to create a brand image that can be easily communicated within the tourism industry (2002:11).

Anholt disagrees and takes the position that place branding, or "competitive identity" as he prefers to call it, is not as much about branding in the traditional sense and place branders assume too much potential in their ability to develop place branding initiatives. Anholt states that place branding is about developing policy that can improve a place's image over time through "speed, efficiency, and effectiveness" (2008:2). For Anholt, therefore, a place's image, its "brand", can only be improved; it "cannot be constructed or invented" (2008:2). I disagree with Anholt's position that all place brands are only bound to gradual improvements because there are examples of places that have been wholly constructed to accommodate the desires of tourists (including theme parks

like Disney World, or destination cities such as Las Vegas or Honolulu). Anholt's definition of place branding as competitive identity is useful in thinking of how places must develop a concise message and communicate it in a clear and coordinated way. In thinking of place brands and branding in this way, Anholt lays out five key concepts central to making places competitive: 1) communication, 2) image, 3) equity, 4) purpose, and 5) innovation (2008:3). Any brand that is to be communicated externally is composed of an image, however, this image is never in direct control of the would be marketer because they may be interpreted in a variety of ways by potential visitors. Therefore, brands have equity and must be "managed, measured, protected, leveraged, and nurtured" (Anholt 2008:3). To these ends, brands must have a purpose agreed upon by all stakeholders as a "common strategic vision" (Anholt 2008:3). Brands must, however, continue to innovate so that they continue to appear fresh in the minds of others suggesting "a clear and attractive pattern of development and ability within the country or city" rather than the continuous rehashing of the past (Anholt 2008:3).

This approach to places and their narratives told through branding, however, relies on a simplified representation of place. Just as Ricoeur argued that the fictional narrative of the cultural imaginary is articulated through abbreviation, articulation, and condensation, so too does place branding employ similar tactics in the imaging of places. The key assumption shared among the majority of the place branding literature, therefore, is that places have a core identity that originated from specific historical circumstances; it is therefore the task of any successful place branding initiative to uncover this essentialized, yet "authentic" identity for packaging and selling in tourism markets. These encompassing narratives are useful, as Bruner argues, because they require

less detailed explanations by guides or markers at particular sites on the itinerary, as the interpretation flows from the master story and is more self-evident. Tour brochures, government tourism bureaus, travel agents, travel writers, media, airlines, and hotels work within the frame of the pretour master narrative in their writing, advertising, photography, decor, and depiction of the destination. [2005:22]

These “master stories” become indicators through which the tourism industry organizes itself forming pre-narratives in the minds of tourists which serve as as the basis for tourist interaction and is often constructed and sustained through a variety of media (e.g. film, TV, literature, magazines, CDs, DVDs and videos) that build “anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different sense from those customarily encountered” (Urry 2011:4).

### **Transfiguring Japan**

In the 1970s, one such narrative, *furusato* (hometown, native place), emerged in Japan as the dominant trope of a rural place of origin. Continually invoked in both the public and private sectors, this narrative is a nostalgically infused image of thatched roof houses, rice fields, *satoyama* (a rural, forested hill), forests, and mountains and has become one of Japan’s most popular tropes and symbols for “fostering insideness at local and national levels alike” (Robertson 1991:14). Robertson explores how nostalgia for *furusato* has been increasingly appropriated as a form of cultural administration called *furusato-zukuri* (native-place making) to rebuild the intimate relationships of the rural past in a decidedly urban setting (1991:4). As part of her analysis of the implementation of *furusato-zukuri* in the remaking of Kodaira City, a suburb of Tokyo, Robertson argues that activities such as the creation of a new community festival called the “Citizens’ Festival” (*shimin matsuri*) has become integrated with interpretations of past events to construct an

“authentic” image of a future Kodaira City (1994:41-47). *Furusato-zukuri*, therefore, is an attempt to manage change in Japan through the lens of the past with festivals, religious organizations, ritual practices, and neighborhood associations.

Marilyn Ivy’s book *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* is noteworthy for its extension of the *furusato* concept through what Ivy calls “phantasm” (1995:22). Pervasive and rapid modernization have resulted in a perceived loss of cultural identity and a desire to discover this vanishing “traditional” Japan through travel. Ivy argues that modernity in Japan incorporates two desires: first, “the desire to encounter the unexpected, the peripheral unknown, even (and even especially) the frightening”, and second, “longing, to return to that stable point of origin, to discover an authentically Japanese Japan that is disappearing yet still present” (1995:105). This stable point of origin is *furusato*. Ivy examines how Japan National Railway’s Discover Japan (1970) advertisement campaigns produced a particular image of *furusato*, a native “authentic” Japan that could still be re-discovered in Japan’s rural periphery (1995:34-35). This image of a native Japan

capitalized on personal dramas of encounter unfolded along classically narrativized points of separation, quest, encounter, and return. Rather than the rush to view and photograph famous sights collectively...Discover Japan advocated a solitary, small-scale form of travel, in which landscapes become settings for miniature dramas of national-cultural and subjective discovery. [Ivy 1995:35]

By traveling to these cultural margins, Japanese reify themselves as “Japanese”; this reified “Japanese” self is then integrated with their contemporary selves. Japanese identity, therefore, does not exist as a singular sense of “the Japanese”, but rather its meanings are made whole through the “suturing” of the images of marginalized cultural elements (Ivy 1995:20).

Incorporating *furusato* with Richard Nostrand and Lawrence Estaville, Jr.'s concept of "homelands" further strengthens the ideological power of *furusato* as a trope for the nation. Homelands are described as consisting of five basic elements: a people, a place, a sense of place, control of place, and time, and are defined as "places that people identify with and have strong feelings about" (Nostrand and Estaville 2003:2-3). According to Christine Yano, both *furusato* and homelands share the same sense of an "ascribed rootedness," but in the case of Japan their meanings take on a national character; "homeland has retained both the specific meaning of one's family's rootedness to a particular place and the more generalized sense of 'national family' rootedness in a mythic Furusato Japan" (Yano 2002:18). In contemporary Japan, *furusato* not only means a specific place of "one's family's rootedness", but also a more general sense of "national family rootedness." In this way, Yano argues that *furusato*, as the meaning given to place in contemporary Japan, transforms the local into the national, regional and rural spaces that are wrapped up into a "national project of majority making" (2002:18). Japan, therefore, must constantly invoke *furusato* as the model of "authenticity"; this not only links *furusato* to a sense of pastness, tradition, and heritage, but also reproduces "sociality and morality" (Yano 2002:21). Both *furusato* and "miyako" construct notions of a traditional Japan. However, whereas *furusato* is concerned with a traditional rural Japan, "miyako" is primarily an urban narrative infused with the imagery of Kyoto's imperial and cultural past. Today, *miyako* has been appropriated into the municipal government's public relations campaign "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan". How this campaign came about and its role in promoting policy change in the city will be discussed in the following pages.

## Questions and Methodology

This thesis asks what are the motives, means, and effects of Kyoto's place brand "miyako." I began this research seeing Kyoto's brand identity in crisis even though it is highly regarded and culturally important place in within Japan. One expression of competing identities emerged out of debates over the renewed interest in renewed interest the preservation of traditional townhouses as emblematic this historical city beginning in the 1990s. During this initial survey, I noticed a shift in attitudes in the Kyoto City government towards the preservation and conservation of historical neighborhoods in central Kyoto. At the center of this shift a public relations campaign called "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" Kyoto City created to build public support for the implementation of new policies, which placed emphasis on preserving the historical ambience of the city.

To contextualize the emergence of the "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" project and the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" public relations campaign within the larger sphere of conflicts over the city's landscape, I collected primary source documents from Kyoto City's official website, the "Kyoto City Information Center" (*kyōtoshi jōhōkan*) (<http://www.city.kyoto.lg.jp>), including official white papers, proposals, policies, and press releases. In addition, I consulted secondary source material including books, journals, and newspaper articles to provide the necessary historical context for these primary source documents. In thinking of how Kyoto City's place branding strategy distinguishes Kyoto in Japan, I selected the posters of the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" campaign as the data set for this thesis. As neither direct access to the poster production department staff or facilities, nor any physical posters

themselves, posters are downloaded as image files from the Kyoto City official website. Another hurdle I encountered along the way was that webpages and hyperlinks to image files for posters produced prior to 2008 had been removed the Kyoto City Information Center municipal government's homepage, and, therefore, additional steps were required to locate image files on the Internet including the uses of specially crafted searches with the "site:" search parameter at Google (<https://www.google.com>) and looking for archived websites at Internet Archive (<https://archive.org>) prior to their removal in 2008. In instances where no English language document was available, all translations provided are those of the author.

Of the 22 total posters available<sup>1</sup> at the time of this research, 19 have been selected for analysis and are discussed in this thesis. Images chosen for analysis were selected based on the need to elicit a variety of stylistic elements and themes including the built and natural environment; traditional culture, crafts, and art; and people of different genders, age groups, and affiliations. Throughout my visual analysis of the posters of the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" public relations campaign I had four basic questions: 1) how is the campaign team selling this selling Kyoto as a destination? 2) who are they selling it to? 3) what is the image of the place they are trying to sell? 4) what is their basic sales pitch? With these general questions in mind, each poster was analyzed in conjunction with a check sheet consisting of 18 points of analysis (See Appendix B). Using this sheet, I first made a general survey of the composition of the poster itself noting the placement, size of images and text. Included in this stage is a review of stylistic elements such as the use and combination of colors, overall

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<sup>1</sup> As of June 19, 2014, 22 posters for the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" campaign have been publicized. For a complete list of the images, titles, and dates of publication, see Appendix A)

composition, and typefaces. Second, I addressed visual content of the images noting time, place, season, and appearance of the built and natural environments. The appearance of people was noted as well in terms of gender, age, dress, activity, and gaze. Third, textual elements of each image were analyzed to gather a sense of how word images, metaphors, and writing styles if any were used to create or enhance the overall image being created in each poster. Each poster was, then placed in one of two categories, “time” or “place.” The following table details these categories:

**Table 1.1 Poster Classification**

Time		Space	
Poster 1 [P1]	Ink Character Version	Poster 2 [P2]	Myōshinji Temple's Decorative Ceiling Painting “Unryū” Version
Poster 4 [P4]	Nishimura Kazuhiko at Kiyomizudera Temple Version	Poster 3 [P3]	Tabata Tomoko at Kinkakuji Temple Version
Poster 6 [P6]	Kataoka Nizaemon at the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art Version	Poster 7 [P7]	An Ordinary Day with Daimonji Mountain and the Kamogawa River Version
Poster 8 [P8]	On the Grounds of Konkaikōmyōji Temple Version	Poster 9 [P9]	The Ōtorii of Heianjingū Shrine and the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art Version
Poster 11 [P11]	The Purification Ceremony of the Hollyhock Festival, Saiōdai Heads Towards the the Divine Ritual	Poster 10 [P10]	The Togetsukyō Bridge During the Arashiyama Hanatōro Festival
Poster 12 [P12]	The Gosechi no Mai Dance at Kyoto Imperial Palace	Poster 13 [P13]	Nishijin Neighborhood, “Walkable City Kyoto”
Poster 17 [P17]	Tea Ceremony, “the Spirit of Hospitality”	Poster 14 [P14]	Reconsider Kyoto 1
Poster 18 [P18]	Saiōdai of the Hollyhock Festival	Poster 15 [P15]	Reconsider Kyoto 2
		Poster 19 [P19]	World Heritage Site Tenryūji Temple and it's Large Takefusuma e (Unryū zu)
		Poster 20 [P20]	The Yoshida House (A Registered Landscape Monument)
		Poster 21 [P21]	A Funaboko of Gion Matsuri ( <i>goon matsuri [funaboko]</i> )

From these two categorizations, I connected these signifiers with the campaign's message of the poster and campaign to better understand how "miyako" has manifested itself in Kyoto City's place branding. Taken together, these elements indicate that the posters of the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" public relations campaign are embedded with meanings, practices, usages, powers, and interests or in other words, the campaign's ideology. "Miyako," therefore, functions as a code for Kyoto in which its meanings, practices, and usages are pulled from the annals of history and appropriated for the Kyoto City government's interests.

### **Overview of the Thesis**

In Chapter Two, I begin by providing a brief history of the development of the term *miyako* as a proper noun and synonym for Kyoto. From this history, I provide my own term "miyako" as a way to describe a narrative that promotes the old capital. Following a general account of tourism in Kyoto, I question why the "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" project and its promotional campaign "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" emerged in Kyoto and examine the processes by which they developed. I trace the municipal government's balancing act between development and preservation over the course of the twentieth century, noting conflicts that erupted when development was perceived to be made at the expense of historical districts. From these conflicts, I note the origins of the "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" policy and a new political advertising campaign, "I'm so happy there is a Kyoto in Japan." I argue that these projects not only engage local unrest, but promote the city as a place in which one can experience "authentic" Japanese culture.

I follow this in Chapters Three and Four by asking how this campaign distinguishes Kyoto in Japan by exploring the strategies and images that Kyoto City uses in their place branding strategy with a two part analysis of posters from the “I am so happy there is a Kyoto is in Japan” campaign in which I apply both the methodologies introduced above and the working definition of “miyako” outlined in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, I focus on how these images construct a sense of time and argue that through these posters, Kyoto occupies a special temporality of a generic “Kyoto past.” I continue in Chapter Four with part two of my analysis in which I describe how these images act as place based symbols that allow the audience to occupy Kyoto’s famous historical and natural places and feel culturally renewed as Japanese.

I conclude in Chapter Five by connecting “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” with the municipal government’s larger plan to re-imagine the city through a set of policies called the “Miyako Plan.” I end by arguing that “Selling Miyako,” has real world implications because the municipal government is actively involved in the re-production of Kyoto as “the real Japan” by bringing the old capital to the new. I close with this newly imagined “miyako” and note that, while place branding can be an effective process in unifying a city behind a single vision, that vision is always bound by a certain set of historical and cultural circumstances and could become a limiting factor in the development of places.

## Chapter Two

# Creating Miyako

For the city's 1100th anniversary in 1894, the Kyoto authorities constructed the huge Heian Shrine as a memorial to its heritage. It is dedicated to the first and last emperors to reside in the city: Kammu and Komei. The shrine is a scaled-down copy of the original state hall of Heian-kyo: in contrast to the Western buildings going up all over town, here was a strongly Chinese piece of architecture. It exemplifies the Janus-nature of post-Restoration Kyoto, as the city looked with one face back to its Heian heritage and with the other towards modernization. Even now, the city remains a baffling mix of progressive tendencies mixed with ultra-conservatism. [Dougill 2006:200]

Kyoto's removal from the list of bombing targets in World War II allowed much of its historical architecture to survive into the postwar period. Nevertheless, Japan's task of economic recovery has substantially reconfigured much of the old capital's built environment. Recent events in Kyoto, however, indicate an increasing unease over the loss of old neighborhoods and their *kyō-machiya* (Kyoto's historical merchant townhouses). Additionally, mounting dissatisfaction with the perceived inaction of city officials in preventing large scale development projects beginning in the postwar period and intensifying in the 1990s has resulted in conflicts over the current and future fate of Kyoto's townscape. Today, fearing a crisis in the potential loss of Kyoto's status as the primary cultural foundation of Japan, the government of Kyoto City is now aggressively pursuing a new future through the "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" (*kokka senryaku toshite kyōto sōsei*), a cultural administration (*bunka gyosei*) project that operates under the pretense of reversing the effects of "urbanization" and "globalization" through preservation and outright re-creation of the atmosphere and culture of Kyoto.

John Dougill has described Kyoto as the "Janus city" after Janus, the Roman god with one face looking forward and another backward (2006:200). Dougill is not far off the mark in his assessment. With one face looking toward the future and another the past,

there exists real tension in Kyoto between the old and the new, preservation and development. In this chapter I explore this tension by first developing a definition for Kyoto's place brand narrative which I call "miyako." Taking the name from a historical synonym for the city, "miyako" imbues the city with both a sense of time and place of a "real Japan." I follow this by gaining a general sense of tourists and tourism in Kyoto by citing an annual survey conducted by the municipal government. Here I note how heritage continues to function as the reason for traveling to Kyoto. Next, I trace a brief history of local and national preservation policies implemented to preserve local heritage and "National Treasures." A lack of interest in developing a broad preservation policy for the Kyoto's townscape resulted in so called "landscape conflicts" (*keikan ronsō*) that arose around four postwar construction projects beginning in the 1960s that attempted to transform the city into a "modern" metropolis. I conclude with the emergence of the "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" project and what Kyoto City is doing to preserve its cultural heritage while enhancing the experience of those traveling to experience the charms of the ancient capital (For a complete timeline of all major developments listed throughout this chapter, see Appendix C).

### **Definitions**

Open a history book, flip through a travel guide, or glance at the seemingly endless variety of brochures and pamphlets on Kyoto, and one is likely to encounter references to at least one or more the following tropes: "Kyoto is Japan's ancient capital," "Kyoto is the spiritual home of the Japanese," "or "Kyoto represents the best way to discover the real Japan". Interestingly, this "real Japan" has been known by no less than six names since its founding in 794 by Emperor Kanmu. *Heian-kyō* (平安京), *miyako* (都), *kyō*

(京), *keishi* (京師), *saikyō* (西京), and *kyōto* (京都) all refer to previous names of the capital of Japan located in present day Kyoto, a former position it held for more than 1,000 years. Certainly over the course of Japan's history, there have been other "old capitals"—both preceding and succeeding Kyoto—including Heijō-kyō (the name for ancient Nara), center of Fujiwara political power and Buddhist religious authority, Kamakura, the samurai capital and base of political power following the ousting of the Taira from power during the 12th century, and present day Tokyo among others. Nevertheless, Kyoto continues to capture the hearts and minds of natives and newcomers alike as the place to experience the "real Japan".

To more thoroughly explore the social and cultural processes behind this connection, further examination is in order. To do so I turn to the term *miyako*, one of the synonyms for Kyoto introduced above, as a term that references this Japan found in Kyoto. Beginning with the word itself, the written form of *miyako* (都) is comprised of two ideographic radicals: 者 on the left, which is the character for person, and 邑 on the right, a simplified version of the character "邑", which is roughly equivalent to the more common *machi* (town) and means "large village." According to the *daijirin* Japanese dictionary, *miyako* can be defined in three basic ways, first and most importantly as will become apparent later, *miyako* is where the emperor resides. Second, *miyako* carries the general meaning of "capital" (*shūfu*) or, more specifically, the "capital city" (*shūto*). And third, *miyako* is a city or capital that acts as a center for bustling political and economic activity (Matsumura 2006: 2490).

The *kōjien* provides another, yet similar, definition. Again, *miyako* is defined as containing the location of the emperor, but further specifies the ownership of this palace

to be the Japanese Emperor or the palace to be any place in which the emperor had resided at one time. The *kōjien* also defines *miyako* in juxtaposition with the rural (*inaka*) as a place with a high population that serves as a center for politics, economics, and culture (Shinmura 2008: 2474). Today, however, *miyako* has become a term that is used exclusively to refer to the “old capital,” Kyoto (and on rare occasions Nara as well), while Tokyo is referred to as the capital city (*shūto*). To better understand why this might be the case and how the development of the term *miyako* has become synonymous with Kyoto, I turn to the work of Sonoda Hidehiro. While similar theorizing is beyond the scope of this thesis, Sonoda’s tracing of the development of *miyako* from the founding of Heian-kyō to present day Japan is considerably important to my own thinking of how *miyako* is being appropriated in Kyoto today.

In *The Transfiguration of Miyako and the Emergence of Urbanity in Japan*, Sonoda's primary focus is to develop a conceptual model of “miyako” as a generic term that can be used to define capital cities and to consider that model’s applicability to cities outside of Japan. Sonoda begins with Heian-kyō as the *hana no miyako* (*miyako* in full bloom) or the first city in Japan to achieve what he calls “perfect *miyako*” status. As such, he introduces a definition for *miyako* based on the two dictionary entries introduced above that contain three concentric elements: 1) a *miyako* contains the location of the mikado’s (emperor of Japan) palace; 2) a *miyako* functions as the location of the central government, and 3) a *miyako* contains a vibrant urbanity acquired through the accumulation of economic prosperity and cultural superiority (Sonoda 2003:28).

Heian-kyō’s status as the “perfect *miyako*,” however, would not last. Incursions from the Taira and Minamoto warrior clans into upper ranks of imperial authority

eventually broke out into civil war with both clans competing for dominance over the court. After a series of battles in what is now known as the Genpei War, the Taira were ousted from power and political influence was transferred to Minamoto stronghold Kamakura with the founding of the first shogunate. Heian-kyō, now referred to primarily as Kyoto, had lost its status as “perfect *miyako*”. Even when political power was transferred back to Kyoto during the Muromachi Period, because political power was not transferred to the imperial court, remaining instead with the Muromachi Shogunate and surrounding provinces, political authority was no longer central to Kyoto’s existence. Even so, Sonoda notes that despite the shifting nature of political centrality during Japan’s medieval period (1185-1600), Kyoto did not lose the title of *miyako*. It did, however, lose its status as “perfect *miyako*” because the

samurai class were connoisseurs of urban culture throughout the three great eras of Kamakura, Muromachi, and Edo. Provinciality, with its association to the countryside, was the antithesis of *miyako*, with its connotations of urbanity and superiority. Whether or not a place was the *miyako* was determined by the existence of a sophisticated culture. Heian-kyo's urbanity, based on its sophisticated court culture, was inherited by Kyoto in the medieval period, and therefore Kyoto still lent its authority to the definition of the culture of the *miyako*. [Sonoda 2003:44]

Kyoto was still *miyako* precisely because it was a place of robust cultural, scholarly, and political achievement. Ambitious provincial samurai could travel to Kyoto and receive training that, once completed, qualified them for positions within the imperial court. As Sonoda argues, “culture was a form of authority. Sophistication and scholarly achievement provided the background to this cultural authority, and exerted a strong influence on the people who arrived” (2003:37).

By the Edo Period, however, Kyoto’s position in relation to other major urban centers within Japan began to change as Edo, the center of Tokugawa political authority,

and Osaka, a burgeoning city of commerce, emerged as significant challengers to Kyoto's *miyako* status. Until the Edo Period, Kyoto's status as *miyako* was based on precedent and its relationship to the rural periphery that was perceived as "uncultured." This status was substantiated because the definition of *miyako* had changed to reflect the city's changing position within Japan. Even though it was no longer the center of political and economic activity, Kyoto was still *miyako* precisely because it was the city where the emperor resided and maintained a refined and recognized urban culture. The appearance of *santoron* (three city theories/debates) during the mid-Edo Period in which the manners, customs, fashions, pastimes, and people of Kyoto, Edo, and Osaka were compared, illustrates that *santoron* was less an exercise of friendly comparison among cities with different urban cultures and more of a means to question Kyoto's claims to cultural superiority when other cities had developed their own refined culture.

Nevertheless, as Kyoto continued to stagnate throughout the mid-to-late-Edo period, the definition of *miyako* once again shifted gradually toward defining Kyoto not as a city of refined urban culture, but as *koto* (literally "ancient *miyako*"), a status obtained because Kyoto had developed its urbanity over its 1,000-year tenure as the capital of Japan. Sonoda cites this gradual trend through the appearance of guidebooks, which gradually emphasized historical places in which the Kyoto visit became an occasion to experience "the glory of the court, and visiting the historical sites associated with art, literature, and religion" (2003:74-75).

Sonoda contends that as

Kyoto gradually lost its role as the actual *miyako*, the ancient shrines and temples appeared as a "new" feature. As a consequence of the reverence for antiquities in the ancient *miyako's* view of itself, historical sites and places of interest such as Kinkakuji, Ginkakuji, and Kiyomizudera temples, as well as Kitano and Shimogamo shrines rose to prominence, and have remained popular ever since. Emphasizing Kyoto's venerable past was probably a clever strategy to ensure its survival, since neither Edo nor Osaka could claim a history of one thousand years. [2003:74-75]

The greatest challenge to Kyoto's status as *miyako* came in 1869 when Emperor Meiji abandoned his imperial residence *goshō*, leaving the very center of Kyoto literally and figuratively empty. As a result, Kyoto's prestigious, 1000-year role as the imperial capital was forfeited to Tokyo. Despite having lost its birthright as the home of the *mikado*, however, Kyoto did not lose its status as *miyako* precisely because, as Sonoda concludes, the conceptualization of *miyako* became divorced from the historical *mikado*-centered definition that focuses on the location of the imperial palace (2003:76). The palace *goshō*, once integral to Kyoto's status as *miyako*, instead became one of the many places of historical and cultural interest that today serve as symbols and signifiers of the magnitude of Kyoto's 1,000 years of history (Sonoda 2003:76-79). These representations of the past also form the primary draw of visitors to the old capital and form the basis of Kyoto's tourism industry.

Building on Sonoda's conceptualization of *miyako*, I turn to my own usage of the term as a means to explore the "I'm so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" campaign. In the Japanese media, *miyako* is often invoked and frequently repeated in both public and private sectors; at the local and national levels; and by government officials, marketers, and travel agencies through textual and visual imagery. In this way, the imagery of *miyako* has come to function as a dominant narrative of Kyoto. Stuart Hall argues that

dominant representations function as “codes” or standard ways of producing meaning specific to particular groups upon which discourse is dependent. Hall notes that any representation’s

contextual reference and positioning in different discursive fields of meaning and association, is the point where already coded signs intersect with the deep semantic codes of a culture and take on additional, more active ideological dimensions. [Cited in Durham and Kellner 2009:168]

Such representations, therefore, become embedded with meanings, practices, usages, powers, and interests. In the same way, *miyako* functions as a code for Kyoto in which meanings, practices, and usages of *koto* are pulled from the annals of history and appropriated for various interests including place branding. As a place narrative, “miyako” carries with it a sense of time that references the ancient and imperial, the traditional and the aesthetic, the natural and the beautiful. “Miyako” is also a place represented by Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, palaces and castles, or old merchant neighborhoods lined with *kyō-machiya* townhouses. When applied to the economically constituted processes of place branding, these qualities of *miyako* form Kyoto’s brand narrative. This narrative constructs for its audience a Kyoto that is simultaneously familiar with the imagery of Japan’s imperial and cultural pasts, an exotic—that is far removed from the daily lives of most Japanese (Yano 2002).

### **Kyoto and Tourism**

“Miyako” is a term that is synonymous with Kyoto. It is also a term that references history and culture of Kyoto’s premodern past and a general sense that the “real Japan” can be still be found there. In the tourist literature, these representations range from potential encounters with charming scenes of temples and shrines and *kyō-machiya* houses to Geisha in training (*maiko*), dressed in elaborate *kimono*, walking down streets

lined with blossoming cherry trees. Representations also take the form of the variety of goods available for purchase, from Nishijin silks to Gion's Yōjiya cosmetics and local delicacies such as *yatsushashi* (a confectionary made from glutinous rice flour, sugar, and cinnamon) or other various traditional products almost always distinguished by the prefix *kyō* (juxtaposed with Western imports which are frequently given the prefix *yō*) as in *kyōyasai*, Kyoto vegetables or *kyōgashi*, Kyoto confectionaries. This polymorphous variety of “things Kyoto” suggests in part how special local products (*meibutsu*) become woven into Kyoto's brand narrative.

In 2009, Japanese Travel Bureau Foundation (*nihon kōtsu kōsha*), a division of the Japan Travel Bureau's (JTB), published a survey that found Kyoto to have the one of strongest domestic “destination brands,” more than double that of its nearest competitor, Okinawa Prefecture. Kyoto is one of Japan's most popular and important destinations for domestic and international tourism, attracting on average, more than 50 million visitors annually (Kyoto City 2013:2). As of 2014, Kyoto maintains ten registered UNESCO World Heritage sites, including Kiyomizudera Temple, Kinkakuji Temple, and Kamigamojinja Shrine, with another seven located just outside the city for a total of 17 registered sites within Kyoto Prefecture. Kyoto is home to many nationally recognized “National Treasures” (*kokuhō*) including 40 buildings and 171 artifacts classified as arts and crafts (*bijutsu kōgei hin*). In addition, Kyoto houses hundreds of objects that are considered “important cultural assets” (*jyūyō bunka zai*) bringing the total number of recognized important buildings to 202 and 1,624 arts and crafts objects. But who travels to Kyoto, and where and upon what do they gaze?

The Kyoto Tourism Survey (*kyōto kankō sōgō chōsa*),<sup>2</sup> an annual survey conducted by the Kyoto City Bureau of Industry and Tourism, offers insights into how tourism continues to serve as one of the most important industries sustaining Kyoto's economy. The survey was conducted from January through December 2012. Specific data such as age, gender, and purpose for travel were collected over the course of four periods, spring, summer, autumn, and winter. In each period, two days were spent conducting surveys. In total 4,304 in-person interviews were conducted while another 1,932 responses were collected through mail-in submissions. According to the survey, Kyoto received a total 12,209,000 visitors in 2012, and while no particular age group represented any significant number of visitors over the other, the largest groups of people accounting for 62.9% of the total who visited Kyoto in 2012 were age 60 or over and predominantly female. Repeat visits to Kyoto are also common with those having been to the old capital ten or more times accounting for 67.6% from all age groups suggesting that Kyoto remains a popular choice for people at all stages of life. Of these visitors, 76.2% or 8,814,898 people, came to Kyoto explicitly for tourism, 844,824 of which were foreign tourists, an increase of over 64% from the previous year. The vast majority (750,978) choose to stay in hotels, while a much smaller number (93,846) choose to stay in Japanese-style *ryokan* for their visit to Kyoto.

Students traveling on organized school trips (*shūgakuryokō*) are also counted among these visitors, amounting to 1,105,434 persons, an increase of 3% over the previous year. While overall numbers of students have been declining yearly in Japan throughout the Heisei period, in total only 3,456,000 students took part in organized school trips throughout Japan and in 2012, almost one third of all students traveling in

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<sup>2</sup> At the time this thesis is being written, the most current results are from the 2012 Kyoto Tourism Survey.

Japan visited Kyoto. Of these, by far the most students traveling to Kyoto are junior high-school students with nearly half of all the students traveling to Kyoto (48.1%) coming from the Kantō region. To a lesser degree (229,699 students), high-school students do travel to Kyoto on school trips, but they tend to be from the more remote regions of Japan. Meanwhile, students located in central Japan travel to Japan's periphery to places such as Okinawa or Hokkaido or even internationally to places such as Hawaii and Guam. To a lesser degree elementary school students do travel to Kyoto through school trips, but they travel from within the Kinki Region (in which Kyoto is located) or the neighboring Chūgoku and Chūbu regions.

How do people learn about travel to Kyoto? Why do they travel and what do they do when they get there? And what is their experience when they get there? The Kyoto Tourism Survey again offers insights into these questions. According to the survey, visitors hear about travel to and within Kyoto through a variety of media and connections ranging from personal acquaintances (18%) to the Internet (15.6%), magazines (13.1%), and posters and pamphlets (12.0%) of which "I am happy there is a Kyoto in Japan" is a part. For tourism specific information, guide books remain the most popular option among all age groups at 33.2%. Other popular choices for gathering information include asking friends and acquaintances (24.1%) or consulting the Kyoto City Tourism Association's Kyoto Tourist Information Center (*kyōto sōgō kankō annaijo*) located next door to JR Kyoto Station. Interestingly, major reasons given for visiting do not always entail tourism specifically and include "shopping" (13.7%), business (8%), and visiting acquaintances (7.9%) to round out the remaining significant categories. Nevertheless,

with 72.6% of all visitors who responded to the survey, between men and women, young and old, tourism is a dominating reason for travel to Kyoto.

To better understand tourist's experiences and the general satisfaction of visitors to Kyoto, the Bureau of Industry and Tourism also conducted the "Tourist Satisfaction Survey" (*kankōkyaku manzokudo chōsa*). Following the same basic format as above, in total 1,932 Japanese and 1,640 foreign visitors responded to the survey. Satisfaction was rated on a seven point scale ranging from "extremely unsatisfying" to "extremely satisfying". In general, Kyoto fared well among Japanese tourists with 50.7% giving the city a "satisfying" rating and 17.6% rated their time in the city as "extremely satisfying". The survey breaks down satisfaction into various subject areas such as "temples and shrines, famous places and historic sites," "traditional culture," "nature and the landscape", and "Kyoto's atmosphere". Unsurprisingly, all of these categories fared well, receiving generally high marks of 37.2%, 34.2%, and 14.2% in "extremely satisfying" respectively. Interestingly, participants were asked to indicate whether or not they were emotionally moved (*kandō*) during the visit: 83.3% said yes noting that temples and shrines (37.2%) and the landscape (34.2%) had the largest positive effect on their experience. The survey team made sure to include the satisfaction of foreign visitors to Kyoto as well, and findings indicated that Kyoto generally fared even better with foreign visitors, receiving 34.9% "extremely satisfying" and 50.6% "satisfying" ratings. When asked to indicate whether foreign visitors were emotionally moved 76.4% responded, "yes" citing "temples and shrines, famous places and historic sites" and "hospitality" as the biggest factors in their decision. Understandably, not all responses to Kyoto City's survey were positive. Japanese tourists generally were unhappy with the

public transportation system and large crowds during peak travel seasons. On the other hand, foreign visitors were mostly concerned with the language barriers, English signage, limited tourist information centers, and high prices. Regardless, these minor negative experiences do not hinder tourists' experience in any meaningful way, and tourists leave having had an overall positive experience.

### **Janus City**

As shown above, the use of “miyako” in the place branding of Kyoto City’s “Rebirth of Kyoto as a National Strategy” project can be largely attributed to Kyoto’s status as the ancient capital (*koto*), solidified during the Meiji Period when the capital was officially moved to Tokyo. Representations of this status obtained over the course of 1,200 years of history also function as a major draw of tourists to the city. Even so, Kyoto has not always been old. When Kyoto’s prestigious 1000-year role as the imperial capital was forfeited to Tokyo in keeping with the spirit of the Meiji reformers’ project of nation building, Kyoto officials were determined to have their city avoid becoming “another Nara” and implemented a series of progressive reforms with a particularly strong emphasis on public works and education. In 1885, third governor of Kyoto Prefecture, Kunimichi Kitagaki, initiated the construction of a canal, completed in 1890, which required tunneling twelve miles through the mountains to bring water from Biwa Lake to Japan’s first hydroelectric station, Keage Power Plant located in Kyoto. Completed in the following year, this electricity was put to work in 1895 when Kyoto City launched Japan’s first electrically powered streetcar system. In education, the Kyoto Prefectural Government ordered autonomous communities called *bangumi* to construct schools for children in 1868. Each of the 66 *bangumi* communities between the Kamigyoku and

Shimogyoku Wards complied and by the next year, 64 elementary schools were in operation. These elementary schools also acted as a focal point of early civic activity in Kyoto, serving as family registration offices as well as fire and police stations (kyōtoshi jyōhōkan 2013). Western style buildings and institutions also began appearing in the city including Dōshisha University, founded in 1875, the Imperial Kyoto Museum completed in 1885, and Kyoto Imperial University in 1897 (Dougill 2006:198).

In the Taisho, and early Shōwa Periods, efforts to ensure the continued existence of the *koto* by central government authorities were quickly implemented to establish a modern order of the knowable “past” through the naming of national artifacts and treasures (Pettman 2001). The first major initiative was Proclamation by the Imperial Cabinet for the Protection of Antiquities in 1871 that declared fine and applied arts and antiquities worthy of conservation. The Ancient Shrines and Temples Act would supersede this act in 1897, extending the original measure to include buildings and objects owned by shrines and temples. This act would be updated in 1929 to the National Treasures Protection Act and include more general terminology that defined the previously noted objects and buildings as “national treasures”. Overall, Meiji Japan was primarily concerned with preserving shrines, and to a lesser extent Buddhist temples and castles, not only as a means of boosting national prestige but also as a means of promoting the image of a single nation “Japan” (Pettman 2001:21).

By the early 20th century, however, the Kyoto municipal government was already forced to come to grips with a rapidly urbanizing central Kyoto prompted by a burgeoning industrial sector due to Japan’s involvement in World War I. A basic plan to provide a set of guidelines for the development of the city was drafted, and in 1919 the

City Planning Act (*toshi keikakuhō*) was formally introduced, ensuring that suburbs and villages in the foothills of Kyoto's northern, eastern, and western mountain ranges, particularly the Higashiyama and Kamigamo districts would remain relatively undeveloped (kyōtoshi jyōhōkan 2013). That same year, the Kyoto City Government created the Urban Building Law (*shigaichi kenchikubutsuhō*), which established regulations for the height and structure of buildings and created specific city zones such as the "use zone", flexible zoning designed to prevent the mixing of structure types; fire prevention districts; and aesthetic districts. The Urban Building Law was later superseded by the Building Standard Act (*kenchiku kijyunhō*), implemented in 1924, that further specified land use into residential zones, limited in height to 19.7 meters and commercial, industrial, and undesignated zones limited to a height of 30.3 meters. Furthermore, in 1930 a total of 34 square kilometers of land on the banks of the Kamogawa River and in the Higashiyama and Kitayama areas were designated Scenic Landscape Districts (*fūchichiku*) thus affording them extra protection for their views of Kyoto's *gozan no okuribi*, a festival held at the end of the *obon* season to guide the spirits of deceased ancestors on their journey back to the spirit world (kyōtoshi jyōhōkan 2014). It would not be until the postwar period of high growth that issues of preservation and development would return.

### **The Case of Narabigaoka Hill and Kyoto Tower**

The destruction experienced in the closing months of World War II only enhanced Kyoto's status as the "ancient capital". Whereas whole cities that had been flattened in Allied bombing runs were rebuilt in contemporary styles influenced by Western architecture and materials, Kyoto, removed from the list of bombing targets by US

Secretary of War Henry Stimson, remained much as it had before the war—a jumble of tiled roofs, narrow streets, and wood-latticed homes. Nevertheless, the wave of construction money to come brought by quick economic recovery and movement into the high growth period of the 60s and 70s provided new regulatory challenges while substantially reconfiguring much of the old capital's built environment.

The first major postwar development was the 1950 Law for Establishing International Culture and Tourism Cities (*kokusai bunka kankō toshi kensetsu hō*), a special ordinance that provided financial assistance for cities to initiate the necessary construction projects to build up infrastructure and facilities with a particular emphasis on “culture”. This emphasis on construction set off the first series of what would come to be known as “townscape conflicts” (*keikan ronsō*). In 1964, plans were made to construct a hotel on Narabigaoka Hill, known for the hermitage built there by the essayist Yoshida Kenko. Despite protests from angered citizens, the scenic districts established by the Building Standards Act had little power to stop the construction. In an effort to mediate the situation, the citizens groups along with the Kyoto City government appealed to the national government in the hope of establishing a system in which the national government would purchase land in the interest of conservation along with penalties for those who failed to comply. While the opposition was successful in stopping the construction on Narabigaoka Hill, the inability of the Scenic Landscape's District system to adequately protect the townscape of central Kyoto would escalate further in 1963 when changes were made to the Kyoto Tower building (under construction since 1961) that included the addition of a 100 meter observation tower.

Already Japan's economic "miracle" had taken hold of the country and, with the completion of the Shinkansen high-speed rail linking Tokyo and Osaka and the Olympic Games scheduled to be held in Tokyo that following year, predictions for a significant increase in tourism to Japan and Kyoto had reached a fever pitch. Originally planned and approved as a 31 meter tall structure containing a hotel and department store, as it neared completion, the project ballooned when another permit was issued for an additional 100 meter tower featuring an observation deck and broadcast equipment. The permit was approved as a technicality after it was determined this was not a tower but a "rooftop appliance" likened to an antenna (Brumann 2012:53). Allegedly designed to resemble a *sokudai* Buddhist candle, Kyoto Tower was conceived of as both a functional structure that contained an observation deck and radio and television antennas, and a symbol for the city likened to Tokyo Tower and the Eiffel Tower. Fearing an encroaching disregard for the low lying skyline of Kyoto, the primary opponents of the project joined forces as a coalition named the "Association that Loves Kyoto" (*kyōto wo ai suru kai*). This group, which consisted of artists, intellectuals, and academics (*bunkajin*), was formed out of concern that the height of the proposed structure which was to be located less than one kilometer away would overshadow the 54 meter Tōji Temple which historically had been Kyoto's tallest structure. Other opponents to the project included prominent Kyoto businesses that saw the construction of the tower as merely pandering to the interests of the tourism industry rather than more traditional businesses (Brumann 2012:53-54).



Figure 1: Kyoto Tower at dusk.  
(<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/09/KyotoTower3033-2.JPG>  
[Accessed 04/09/2014])

In contrast to the city's previous efforts to mediate the situation at Narabigaoka Hill, however, the Kyoto government argued that Kyoto could not continually rely solely on the past as a means of sustaining the city into the future, and that this one structure would not damage the city's overall townscape. The city officials instead argued that this new structure would revitalize the area immediately surrounding it as it would be one of the first structures of note that visitors would encounter when exiting JR Kyoto Station.

Regardless of the complaints levied against the construction of Kyoto Tower, by September of 1964 its hotel and shops were ready for business, and in December the observation deck was open and would subsequently attract over one million guests in the first year of operation. In the years preceding these early landscape conflicts, legal measures were taken to strengthen protections of townscapes and other areas in the foothills that contained many of the most famous temples, shrines, gardens, and other sites (*meisho*) of Kyoto's surrounding mountains. The 1966 Special Law for the Preservation of Historical Features in Ancient Capitals (*koto ni okeru rekishiteki fūdo no hozon ni kansuru tokubetsu sochi hō*), often abbreviated as the Ancient Capitals Preservation Law (*koto hozon hō*), extended the protections granted to the regions outlined in the 1930 ordinance that established Scenic Landscape Districts by creating yet another distinction "Preservation Districts of Historical Landscape" (*rekishiteki fūdo hozon kuiki*). Kyoto City extended this law even further with its own special requirements outlined in the "Special Preservation Areas of Historical Landscape" (*rekishiteki tokubetsu fūdo hozon chiku*) that these would be conserved without alteration and new construction would be prohibited.

Efforts were also made to extend protection to the central urban area as well, with the 1972 Ordinance on Urban Landscape that stipulated special "Aesthetic Areas" (*bikan chiku*) which enforced strict limits to the height and design of new construction surrounding designated areas of the Kamogawa River, Nijōjō Castle, Higashi Honganji, and Nishi Honganji Temples. The ordinance also established the Sanneizaka slope and Gion-shinbashi as "special conservation and landscaping districts" with even stricter limitations on new construction as well as a special fund for conservation and repair.

This ordinance would later become the prototype for the “Preservation Districts for Groups of Historic Buildings” (*dentōteki kenzōbutsu gun hozon chiku*), created with the assistance of 13 city governments, including Kyoto, and the central government, in which historical buildings could be made cultural properties and thus afforded extra protection. The final major development of the high-growth period concerned an amendment to the central government’s 1924 Building Standard Act that replaced explicit building height limitations in favor of a floor-area-ratio system (*yōsekiritsu*), commonly referred to as the FAR system. Under this new system, the total floor space of all stories of a building is divided by the area of the plot of land upon which it is built. This figure, commonly represented as a percent, becomes the primary factor in calculating the total permissible height for the construction of a building (Brumman 2012:53; Hohn 1997). Kyoto City officials responded in kind by extending height controls across much of the city, but as Brumann states, “these new measures were defensive rather than proactive, meant to preserve the status quo by preventing further high-rise incursions rather than actively improving it” (2012:55). Nonetheless, height limits were significantly greater than the surrounding townscape, and much of the damage that would result would occur over the next decade of Japan’s asset price bubble economy.

### **The Case of Kyoto Hotel and Kyoto Station**

By the mid to late 1980s, rampant speculation drove dramatic increases in land values asset prices in what is now known as the “bubble economy,” fueling demand for office buildings and high-rise apartment complexes. Amid the general euphoria, Kyoto City applied the national “Comprehensive Design System” (*sōgō sekkei seido*) to the townscape of Kyoto (kyōtoshi jyōhōkan 2014). Under this system, height restrictions

enforced by the FAR system would be relaxed if the construction plans included public space. Buildings constructed within the city center would be limited to 60 meters in height and a FAR limit of 900 percent (Brumann 2012:57). Amidst this new spirit of deregulation, two large construction projects were being planned that would alter the look of the city and spark significant controversy over the preservation of the Kyoto's city center.

The first construction project under this new system, a rebuilt Kyoto Hotel at the corner of Karasuma Oike and Kawaramachi Street, was publicly announced in 1990 in response to the 1,200-year celebration of the founding of Kyoto scheduled for 1994. In an area that permitted a maximum height of 45 meters and a FAR of 700%, the reborn Kyoto Hotel would become the first structure to take advantage of the new Comprehensive Design System with a total height of 60 meters and a FAR of 815% and significant public space facing Karasuma Oike (Brumann 2012:57-58). With the demolition of the original Kyoto Hotel, public opposition composed of a consortium between the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), unions, town associations, and the Kyoto Buddhist Association (*kyōto bukkyōkai*) formed and immediately began protesting the project.



Figure 2: Kyoto Hotel Okura  
(<http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a4/Kyoto-Hotel-Okura-01.jpg>  
[Accessed 04/09/2014])

Throughout the subsequent controversy, the association drew attention to their plight and concern for townscape preservation in general when several top executives and influential Kyoto denizens on the supervisory board of the hotel resigned from their posts. When Kyoto newspapers refused to run an advertisement of protest, the Kyoto Buddhist Association responded by taking out a full-page ad in the *New York Times* (August, 15 1991). The association closed member temples to guests of the hotel causing the supervisory board to retract the construction plan of the hotel for reconsideration only

to reinstate it unchanged two weeks later. As a last ditch effort to impede the construction, the Kyoto Buddhist Association attempted to place a restraining order on further construction, though ultimately any attempts at impeding progress ultimately failed and construction went through unchanged with the new hotel being completed in July of 1994 (Brumann 2012:57-58).

B20 THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 1991

# PLEASE HELP STOP THE DESECRATION OF JAPAN'S ANCIENT CAPITAL, KYOTO!



**Kyoto, a sacred Buddhist site and center of Japanese culture, has recently become in danger of losing its unique character and appearance. The construction of high-rise buildings by large Japanese enterprises who are only interested in realizing higher profits on their land investments is rapidly spoiling Kyoto. The Kyoto Buddhist Association is very much in opposition to such plans and has decided to protect this historical city.**

Kyoto is a city which was established more than 1200 years ago by Emperor Kammu. Like the old cities of Europe which were built as monuments to the teachings of God, Kyoto is also a city which was established with these same lofty goals as a concrete expression of the ideals found in the teachings of the Buddha. However, in its long history there were numerous recorded incidents of civil strife and natural disasters but each time the citizens of Kyoto rebuilt their city.

Kyoto is surrounded on three sides by lush, verdant mountains with the beautiful Kamo river meandering from north to south through the city. At the center of the city, one finds the Old Imperial Palace, the residence of emperors past, with city streets laid out systematically at regular intervals to form squares not unlike a chessboard. Along the foothills of the mountains and within the city, there are many temples. As a Buddhist city, Kyoto retains without much change, even today, this particular characteristic. Among the numerous temples, there are many which are the head temples of various, different schools of Japanese Buddhism. These head temples would have the same significance as the Vatican. Truly, Kyoto is the religious and spiritual capital of Japan. There are some temples within the city whose names are known throughout the world, such as, Kiyomizudera, Kinkakuji (the Gold Pavilion) and Ginkakuji (the Silver Pavilion).

As a consequence of Kyoto being a city of religion, it was also the birthplace of cultural arts, such as, Tea Ceremony, Ikebana floral arranging, Kabuki theater, Noh theater, as well as, traditional silk weaving, traditional crafts and Kyoto-style cuisine which continue to be practiced even today and which have become the mainstays of what is considered Japanese culture. Most Japanese visit Kyoto a number of times during their lifetime. Including foreign visitors, more than 40 million people visit the city annually and it is known as one of the oldest cities in the world.

In 1941, with the outbreak of war in the Pacific, our major cities were thoroughly bombed and reduced to scorched earth. However, not one bomb was dropped on Kyoto because you, the American people, with your clear understanding of the significance of Japanese culture and, in particular, Kyoto's role within it, removed Kyoto from the list of military targets and spared the city. This fact is well known to the Japanese people. Due to this courageous decision by the government of the United States, many Japanese and certainly the people of Kyoto, have sincere feelings of respect and gratitude for this deed.

However, this sacred site of Buddhism, this city of earth, wood and paper is now being enveloped by concrete high-rise buildings. The city of Kyoto is on the dangerous brink of being inundated indiscriminately with the construction of high-rise buildings by major Japanese business enterprises who are looking to realize a higher return on their real estate investments. Major Japanese business enterprises have put higher priority on greater financial profit and are at the point of destroying rather than being concerned with protecting the culture of their own country. Fifty years ago, the city which you, the American people, saved is about to be destroyed by the Japanese people themselves. The fume precipitating this concrete inundation of high-rise buildings is the planned high-rise construction project of the Kyoto Hotel. Major stockholders of this hotel are large Japanese business enterprises and financial institutions. These business concerns have a special understanding among themselves where they hold blocks of each other's stock, not unlike the recently disclosed securities scandal involving Nomura Securities Company. The total value of seventy percent of the stocks listed in the first section of the Tokyo Stock Exchange are mutually held among business enterprises. As a result of mutually holding stock in league with others, as long as there is a profit, stockholders rarely voice dissent with their associates and it has become a system where sound judgement exercised by stockholders no longer prevails.

This 'special understanding' held among business enterprises and their treatment and relationship with the government are extremely unclear. The disgraceful affair brought about by Nomura Securities Company, along with the other members of the so called 'Big Four' Japanese securities firms, has come under close international scrutiny and criticism.

Due to the close relationships between political and business circles, local governments sometimes make deals. In the case of Kyoto, the municipal government is going to make the unprecedented decision to allow the construction of the high-rise Kyoto Hotel and to close a publicly owned access road and cede the property to the hotel.

Planning on the Kyoto Hotel high-rise construction project has gone beyond the stage where either the municipal authorities, which has already approved the project, or the Kyoto Hotel, on its own initiative, can halt actual construction. Only the Nichirei Foods Corporation, the major stockholder of the Kyoto Hotel and major stockholders of Nichirei, Fuji Bank, Ltd. and Nippon Life Insurance Company can put a stop to this project. This deplorable state of affairs in our country is the reason why we are unable to halt the proposal to allow the construction of high-rise buildings in Kyoto.

National Japanese newspaper dailies will not accept a request to publish an appeal such as ours. So, having few alternatives left to appeal to the Japanese people, the Kyoto Buddhist Association has boldly resolved to appeal to the public conscience of the American people and of the world at large to help protect and preserve Kyoto even if it means bringing shame to our nation. Time is running out. We would like to have the support of your public opinion now to help protect the ancient historical city of Kyoto from destruction by insensitive real estate investments.

Please save Kyoto!

As the American people saved our city, the ancient capital of Japan with its 1200 years of history and culture, fifty years ago, once again, help us to save Kyoto. Japanese financial institutions are trying to destroy the very fount of Japanese culture. If you wish to support our efforts to preserve Kyoto, please fill in and mail your message of protest.

Thank you.

**Rev. Raitte Arima**  
Chairman



**KYOTO BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION**  
is a non-sectarian organization  
of 1,000 Buddhist temples

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<p><b>NICHIREI FOODS CORPORATION</b> Nichirei Foods, Inc., New York Office Two Manhattan Plaza 97 East 67th St. New York, N.Y. 10021</p> <p>The destruction of Kyoto is a disgrace and of the city's unique religious, cultural and historical setting is of deep concern to me, as it is to everyone who understands and appreciates the significance and role the city of Kyoto has played in Japanese history. Please show the Kyoto Hotel high-rise construction project and cooperate with the citizens of Kyoto on alternative solutions that would save Kyoto, with its rich traditions, for future generations.</p> <p>Name _____ Address _____</p>	<p>The Fuji Bank, Ltd. New York Office Two World Trade Center, 120 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10038</p> <p><b>FUJI BANK, LTD.</b></p> <p>The destruction of Kyoto's skyline and of the city's unique religious, cultural and historical setting is of deep concern to me, as it is to everyone who understands and appreciates the significance and role the city of Kyoto has played in Japanese history. Please do not influence a major stockholder of Nichirei Foods Corporation to halt the Kyoto Hotel high-rise construction project and cooperate with the citizens of Kyoto to find alternative solutions which can save Kyoto for future generations.</p> <p>Name _____ Address _____</p>	<p>Nippon Life Insurance Company New York Pub. Office 100 West 67th Street, 4th Fl. New York, N.Y. 10027</p> <p><b>NIPPON LIFE INSURANCE CORPORATION</b></p> <p>The destruction of Kyoto's skyline and of the city's unique religious, cultural and historical setting is of deep concern to me, as it is to everyone who understands and appreciates the significance and role the city of Kyoto has played in Japanese history. Please do not influence a major stockholder of Nichirei Foods Corporation to halt the Kyoto Hotel high-rise construction project and cooperate with the citizens of Kyoto to find alternative solutions which can save Kyoto for future generations.</p> <p>Name _____ Address _____</p>
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Figure 3: Kyoto Buddhist Association's full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* (August, 15 1991)

The second development in townscape controversy that came about from the deregulatory environment of the 1980s was the reconstruction of the West Japan Railways' Kyoto Station. The new building would be built in an area occupying 234,000 square meters and a height limit set at Kyoto Tower's 131 meters. In addition to station facilities supporting the Shinkansen, the Karasuma Subway Line, and Kintetsu Lines, the station would contain a department store, two shopping arcades, restaurants and cafés, municipal and prefectural offices, and a parking garage. Kyoto City announced plans to host a competition in which designs for the new station would be solicited from leading domestic and international architects, however it quickly became apparent that city hall had approved the requirements for the structure without consideration for the height restrictions of the station area. Retroactively, the city moved quickly to designate the area a "Special District" (*tokutei haiku*) under which normal FAR regulations did not apply (kyōtoshi jyōhōkan 2014).

Opposition to the new station formed rapidly in the aftermath of the Kyoto Hotel controversy and consisted of many of the same groups including the JCP, leftist unions, professional associations, unaffiliated citizens groups, and the Kyoto Buddhist Association which all expressed their concern over the proposed size of the building. Despite two proposals for the new station featuring designs that mimicked Rashōmon, the historical southern entrance to Heian-kyō, Tokyo University professor Hara Hiroshi's postmodern design of geometric shapes in glass and steel was chosen. As in the case of past *keikan ronsō*, the height of the structure at 59.8 meters drew considerable criticism, but whereas Kyoto Tower had made a passing nod to the heritage of the city, the new Kyoto Station facility denied Kyoto's heritage at every angle. Regardless of any

resistance from opponent groups, construction began in December 1993 at a cost of 150 billion yen (\$1.3 billion) and was completed in 1997. The resulting massive gray structure, straddling the tracks to and from the city, splits Kyoto in two and has become disparagingly known as “the battleship”.



Figure 4: JR Kyoto Station, “the battleship”  
([http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/41/JR\\_Kyoto\\_sta01nt3200.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/41/JR_Kyoto_sta01nt3200.jpg)  
[Accessed 04/09/2014])

Dissatisfaction at the disregard for the preservation of historical townscapes came to a head in Pontochō, a district of old geisha houses, tea houses, and other historical architecture along the Kamogawa River and famous for its views of Higashiyama and Kitayama. In November of 1996, the mayor of Kyoto City, Masumoto Yorikane, publicly announced plans for a new construction project following a reception in Tokyo in which French President Jacques Chirac suggested the idea. Since 1958, Kyoto and Paris had been affiliated as sister cities and in celebration the 40th anniversary of their camaraderie as “cultural cities” and the declaration of a “French Year in Japan”, a

French-style footbridge based on the Pont des Arts was scheduled to be built in time for the festivities of 1998 (Brumann 2012:70). In fact, Kyoto has seen many different French inspired projects, including the not successful remodeling of the Okazaki area into a *kyō*-Montmartre or the widening of Karasuma Oike Street into *kyō*-Champs-Élysées. In this way the construction of a “*kyō*-Pont des Arts” modeled on the Parisian bridge of the same name was a natural extension of these projects intended to fashion Kyoto as a cultural city of the likes found in Europe, even though doing so would require demolishing a portion of this important historical district (Brumann 2012:73).

Opposition to the project consisted primarily of concerned citizens groups who submitted a joint petition requesting the withdrawal of the project following its first public exhibition in the summer of 1997. Increasing media attention, even in French newspapers, gradually built momentum on the side of the opposition in the form of two groups: one which now included members of the municipal employees’ union and the Kyoto Bar Association in addition to those opposed to prior projects. These included JCP and leftists groups involved in previous demonstrations and another supported by non-affiliated citizens, including an influential Buddhist priest involved in the protests of Kyoto Hotel and Kyoto Station as well as a prominent lawyer and citizen activists (Brumann 2002:3).

In contrast to previous *keikan ronsō* in which local and national newspapers attempted to avoid commenting on the conflicts, however, local newspapers began to publish headlines on the controversy bringing further attention to the opposition’s cause.

In September of 1997, Professor Saito Hiroshi, a member of one of the unaffiliated citizens groups had this to say in an interview with the *Mainichi Shimbun*:

Pontochō is part of our cultural heritage, representing Kyoto's cityscape based on a wood-based culture. It was built as an integral piece of the space along the river. [The new bridge] will conflict with traditional architecture such as Shimbashi [an old neighborhood on the other side of the river], and furthermore [Pontochō] has something rarely seen in other cities—traditional architecture extending continuously 600 meters down it—and one feels a sense of historical atmosphere. This will be split in two by a modern European-style bridge right in the middle of it, which will greatly decrease its cultural value. [Cited in Kerr 2001:188]

In addition to a collecting signature, awareness spread through public meetings, symposia, and seminars. In an attempt to reach a compromise, city officials made several attempts to reduce the impact of the bridge on the surrounding area as well as increase public engagement in the project by holding a competition to redesign the bridge so that it would better blend with the historical atmosphere of Pontochō while addressing safety concerns due to the projected increase in foot traffic. By 1998, however, local resistance began to weaken with the withdrawal of prominent Pontochō teahouse proprietresses (*okami*) from the oppositional groups, the result of which placed resistance solely with citizens' groups. Later opposition activities included collecting enough signatures to hold a referendum on the project, creating a human chain along the banks of the Kamogawa River, and even enlisting members from the entertainment industry for support. All these activities kept the Pontochō controversy in the news and on people's minds, and they eventually began to have a cumulative effect on the political prospects of the controversy's biggest supporters. Kyoto Prefectural Governor Aramaki Teiichi of the Labor Democratic Party (LDP), while reelected, did poorly in Kyoto. Further, the LDP in Kyoto suffered political setback when one of its members failed to be elected in the Upper House. Under increasing political pressure domestically and internationally,

Mayor Masumoto held a press conference claiming that continuing with the project would risk damaging the “spirit of partnership” (*pātonashippu*) enjoyed with Paris (Brumann 2002:91). On August 6th, the mayor’s proposal was finally withdrawn, and Pontochō remained unchanged.

### **“Kyoto’s Rebirth as National Strategy”**

Amid the *keikan ronsō* of the 1990s, various citizens’ movements began to form around a resurgence of interest in the preservation of Kyoto’s venerable townhouses, *kyō-machiya*. By the late 20th century, the accelerated shift away from traditional lifestyles and the development of new residential types such as the high-rise condominiums built during the bubble economy as well as Japan’s strict inheritance tax law (*sōzokuzei*) left dwindling numbers of *kyō-machiya* throughout the old capital. Citizen groups organized around *kyō-machiya*, promoting their renewal and demonstrating the vitality of old wooden structures in contemporary uses. Chief among these groups were the “Kyō-machiya Revitalization Society” (*kyō-machiya saisei kenkyū kai*) established in 1992, Kyoto Mitate (formerly the International Society to Save Kyoto) in 1994, and more recently the Kyoto International Committee of Art and Cultural Exchange (KICACE) (Kinoshita 2003:282-283).

As an extension of the general interest in townscape revival and as a response to the controversy surrounding the Pontochō *keikan ronsō*, in 1998 the Architectural Institute of Japan (AIJ) organized the “Special Research Committee of the Townscape of Kyoto” (*kyōto no toshi keikan tokubetsu kenkyū iinkai*) to conduct various research projects on the state of *kyō-machiya* and the townscape with the goal of realizing more expansive policies to preserve, and in some instances, revive historical townscapes. Based on their

findings, AIJ compiled and submitted a proposal titled “Proposal for the Regeneration of the Townscape of Kyoto” (*kyōto no toshi keikan no saisei ni kansuru teigento*) to Kyoto City government containing seven stipulations they argued were necessary to ensure the revival and transmission of Kyoto’s townscape: 1) develop a national plan for reviving Kyoto’s townscape, 2) clarify the unique aesthetic and design of Kyoto’s historical townscapes, 3) educate and communicate the traditional lifestyle and culture of Kyoto’s townscape, 4) develop technologies that support preserving and reviving historical townscapes, 5) promote Kyoto’s historical townscapes through civic engagement, 6) establish a research center for historical townscapes, and 7) produce further proposals to develop policies that inhibit accelerating townscape and environmental destruction (Architectural Institute of Japan 2002:1-6).

Accepting AIJ’s proposal in May 2003, the Kyoto City government organized the “Kyoto’s Rebirth Discussion Panel” (*kyōto sōsei kondankai*) and appointed Umehara Takeshi, a consultant to the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, to chair the committee. After reviewing the search conducted by AIJ, the committee developed a proposal, which included themes of reviving, re-creating, and communicating the charms of Kyoto’s townscape under the banner of “Kyoto’s Rebirth” (*kyoto sōsei*). The written form of *sōsei* in the original Japanese is a compound of two Chinese ideograms: *sō* (創), meaning create, origins or beginnings, and *sei* (生), signifying life and birth. Literally meaning to “create” or “make something”, this word resonates with the more commonly used *sōzō* (創造), a compound used to denote the creation of something generally. *Sōsei*, by contrast, alludes to something that is alive or an act of creation. *Sōsei* imbues with it a

sense of profound importance for what is being created and what is being acted upon in the creation process.

In June 2003, the discussion panel announced the completion of the “Proposal for Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy” (*senryaku toshite kyōto sōsei no teigen*) and submitted it the Kyoto City government. At this same time, Umehara Takeshi joined the newly formed “100 People Committee for Kyoto’s Rebirth” (*kyōto sōsei hyakunin iinkai*), a consortium of government officials including Kyoto City mayor Masumoto Yorikane, the same man who had been the original proponent of the Ponts des Arts project, and various top ranking members of organizations ranging from traditional arts to commerce and tourism, to continue to work toward the “realization of Kyoto’s Rebirth”. The proposal contrasted Kyoto with the rest of urban Japan, which until the end of World War II had continued to support local industries and traditional wood-based townscapes in all but the most central areas of the city. The proposal also granted Kyoto equal status among other major “cultural cities”—cities of ancient origins and considerable cultural value to their host nation and the world, including Beijing, Chang’an, Rome, Florence, Paris, and St. Petersburg—because of Kyoto’s natural features, 1,200-year history, and traditional culture and arts. Nevertheless, despite the continued existence of “the traditional” and “the cultural”, there is an uneasy tension surrounding the current state of the ancient capital’s townscape. While the people of Kyoto have done their part in protecting the city, the proposal states “Kyoto alone cannot save Kyoto” (*kyōto no chikara dake deha kyōto ha mamorenaikoto wo tsūkansuru*). Therefore, making the revival and preservation of Kyoto a national concern will bolster national pride and cast off a perceived stigma of Japan the “economic animal” (*ekonomikku animaru*) while

recovering Japan's name as a polite nation abundant in "culture" (*reigi tadashii bunka takaki kuni*).

Overall, the focus of the proposal revolves around increasing government responsibilities, legally and financially, in the preservation and revitalization of Kyoto's townscape. In this capacity, the proposal names the Urban Renaissance Agency (*toshi saisei kikō*), a government agency involved in urban renewal projects throughout Japan, to promote the purchase and application of historical architecture promoting efforts to improve the overall townscape through burying overhead utility lines and removing rooftop advertising. Other stipulations involve the establishment of a donation fund to ensure that the necessary financial support is always available for preservation activities should government policies change, and the construction of Kyoto-specific national museums that feature exhibits designed to communicate Kyoto as a site of "true Japanese culture." The proposal also sees historical Kyoto as a national opportunity for Japan to rebrand itself as a nation of polite nation, high in culture (*reigi tadashī bunka takaki kuni*) in the hopes that this new face will counteract some of the negativity accumulated by Japanese businesses' aggressive international expansion during the bubble period years (Kyoto City 2003). The proposal concludes by arguing that in this age of cultural exchange (*dai kōryū jidai*), any national tourism policy should be based around Kyoto as the definitive example of the richness (*motto mo yutaka de motto mo kakujitsu na hasshingen*) of Japanese culture (Kyoto City 2003).

In August of 2004, the discussion panel's proposal was submitted and approved by Kyoto City which organized the "Kyoto's Rebirth Project Team," a group of government officials, intellectuals, artists, journalists, and businessmen, to draft a list of policies

outlining three focus areas, landscape, culture, and tourism; how those focus areas should be addressed; and what responsibilities parties involved should take in reviving, recreating, and communicating Kyoto. By October of that same year, the project team had finished their draft, which they titled “Historical City · Kyoto's Rebirth Policy (Draft)” (*rekishi toshi · kyōto sōsei saku [an]*) which was approved by Kyoto City on December 16, 2004 as a necessary set of specific policies for the city. The document begins with a preamble:

The scenic beauty of Kyoto, that has given life to a history and culture spanning 1,200 years, is Japan's asset and a world treasure. The protection and communication of Kyoto has been the mission of the city's citizens in the past. At the same time, however, amid these times of uncertainty, the people of Japan are aware of their identity as Japanese; to live with pride in oneself in this international community of the 21st century, the protection and communication of Kyoto, the foundation of Japanese culture and the spirit of the Japanese, has important national implications. In other words, to obtain true understanding from this international community, it is essential that Kyoto, the embodiment of Japan's cultural best, be seen as a symbol of our beautiful nation and the driving force behind a national tourism policy. Also, because mutual cultural understanding between peoples of the world is a necessary prerequisite for world peace and for Japan to enjoy that peace, it is necessary for the international community to understand Japanese culture through Kyoto. Therefore, the landscape and culture of Kyoto that have cultivated Japanese aesthetics and spirit, should be revived through national assistance. Kyoto's true form should be utilized for Japan and the world. [Kyoto City 2004:1]

Throughout the draft policy, Kyoto is constructed as the historical and cultural foundation of Japan with implications linked to a conceptualization of the “spirit of the Japanese people” (*nihonjin no seishin*). Reviving, recreating, and communicating historical Kyoto is, therefore, elevated to the national level because the continued existence of historical Kyoto is necessary for Japanese to maintain a sense of themselves before an international audience.

Divided between these internal and external challenges, the Historical City • Kyoto's Rebirth Policy is split into two main sections. Part one outlines the various domestic issues that have affected Kyoto, necessitating the “Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy” project, and part two clarifies what shape the project will take. The project team begins by citing major national political measures designed to change the overall direction of the country towards tourism by including the Agency for Cultural Affairs’ “International Cultural Exchange Discussion Panel” white paper, published in March, 2003; the Cabinet of Japan’s “Tourism-oriented Country” discussion panel, held in April of 2003; and the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism’s (MITI) “Beautiful Nation Making Policy Outline” promulgated in July, 2003. In line with these visions for a future “tourist Japan”, the project team maps out areas requiring urgent attention (*kinkyū jitai*) in order to ensure the transmission of Japan’s history and culture to future generations as well as their communication to the people of the world (*kyōto no tame nomi dewanaku nihon no tame hitewa sekkaibito no tame*). The draft policy suggests that Kyoto would also serve as an adequate model to address similar problems throughout Japan precisely because of the existence of historical townscape preservation regulations, such as City Planning Act and the Special Law for the Preservation of Historical Features in Ancient Capital, and a strong local support for such measures following the *keikon ronsō* of the 1990s. By utilizing the resources of Kyoto,

the preservation, revival, and creation of beautiful scenery, providing opportunities for all Japanese to learn their nation’s history and culture, and improvements to tourism policies must be met in order to solve national problems. Kyoto’s Rebirth should be positioned as a national project to address these issues. [Kyoto City 2004: 2]

The project team argues that aligning Kyoto's with the national issues brought up by the political measures to elevate tourism's importance in Japan will ensure the adequate funding and regulatory environment to support the preservation of Kyoto's heritage into the future. In doing so, the draft policy names four ways in which historical Kyoto may address these local and national issues. First, the team contends that through globalizing forces, Japan has so thoroughly integrated "non-native ideologies" into contemporary lifestyles, that Japanese are unaware (*muishiki*) of the looming threat to their national cultural identity (Kyoto City 2004:4). Citing a white paper produced from the "Tourism-oriented Country" a discussion panel calling for domestic initiatives in Japanese culture and history, the project team argues Japanese must reawaken their identity as Japanese by "knowing oneself" (*jibun jishin no sai ninshiki*) through Kyoto's history and culture. Second, according to the same white paper, the draft policy states that Japan has not committed enough financial resources toward protecting and maintaining Kyoto's "scenic beauty" and therefore, preservation policy should be extended to the conservation and promotion of natural landscapes. Third, and in similar fashion to the second point, the draft policy contends that Japan has not done enough to ensure the continuation and promotion of historical culture, represented by Kyoto, and must actively encourage and support initiatives to reclaim the Japanese spirit (*nihonjin no seishin wo torimodosu*). Fourth, the draft policy contends that "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" should place a particularly strong emphasis on tourism under the banner of "beautiful Japan" as a means of improving relations and generating mutual cultural understanding in the international community (Kyoto City 2004: 4-5).

The second half of the policy draft outlines the structure that future policy should take by breaking down targets for policy implementation into six sections with three key focus areas. The first concerns itself with the revival, preservation, and beautification of Kyoto's "landscape" (*keikan*), including both the historical built environment and natural environments such as the surrounding forests, foothills, and mountains. The second focus area places emphasis on the transmission and inheritance of traditional culture (*dentō bunka*). The policy argues that preservation policies designed to ensure the continued practice, application, and transmission of Kyoto's traditional culture will help the Japanese "know themselves". Knowing oneself through Kyoto is integral to the third focus area, which centers around the promotion of tourism to Kyoto. The policy quotes the national government's "Beautiful Nation Making Policy Outline" which states "in order to appeal to the charms of Japan, once Japan's identity has been established, it is necessary to pattern and systematize those charms into easily understood images" (Kyoto City 2004).

Kyoto, the policy states, contains the historical and traditional "best" of Japan and is most beneficial to constructing a positive image of Japan. The policy also cites the vitality of Kyoto's "new culture making" (*atarashii bunka no sōzō*) and tourism industry, which attracts over 50 million people annually domestically and internationally. Based on these developments, several smaller departments within the municipal government bureaucracy would begin to implement city ordinances that loosely follow this three-focus approach of landscape, culture, and tourism. Noteworthy contributions include the City Ordinance for Kyoto's Rebirth as a City of Culture and Art (*kyōto bunka geijutsu toshi sōsei jōrei*), the City Ordinance for the Revitalization of Kyoto's Traditional

Industries (*kyōtoshi dentō sangyō kasseika suishin jōrei*), and the New Kyoto Tourism Promotion Plan (*shin kyōto kankō shinkō suishin keikaku*).

The landscape, culture, and tourism would become further solidified as the future direction for the “Kyoto’s Rebirth” project when, on November 9, 2005, the “100 People Committee for Kyoto’s Rebirth” issued the “Declaration of Kyoto’s Rebirth as the Brilliant Historical City” announcing that any further actions should aim for developing these areas. Five months later on March 27, 2006, the 100 People Committee for Kyoto’s Rebirth organized the “Council for Making Kyoto’s Landscape Timeless and Beautiful” (*toki wo koe hikarikagayaku kyōto no keikanzukuri shingikai*), a consortium of government, academics, intellectuals, artists, and local businessmen, to conduct an interim report on the state of Kyoto’s landscape, culture, and tourism initiatives just as the “Kyoto’s Rebirth Discussion Panel” had in 2003. In November 2006, Kyoto City finalized their draft policy as the “Historical City • Kyoto’s Rebirth Policy II” to provide a clear and concise list of policy requests aligned with improving Kyoto’s landscape (both built and natural), communicating and transferring traditional culture to future generations, and developing and promoting domestic and international tourism to the old capital. What is important to note here is that the Kyoto City government has now become actively engaged in mapping out a future for Kyoto. This future relies heavily on the preservation of Kyoto’s historical and cultural heritage and its production and distribution through tourism.

Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy project emphasizes local heritage as primarily national heritage in a bid to draw financial and political support for urban renewal projects and position Kyoto as the “true” source of an “authentic” Japan.

Branding, it turns out, plays a central role in building domestic support for the National Strategy for the Creation of Kyoto with the introduction of a new advertisement campaign consisting of images that highlight “beautiful Kyoto.” Here, the imagery of the past with its stylistic elements of ritual, dress, art, and craft are amalgamated in a “real” Japan. One has to merely visit the city to be transported back to a time with no Kyoto Stations, Kyoto Hotels, or Kyoto Towers. An exploration of this campaign is the subject of Chapters Three and Four, which situate the time and place of “miyako” in Kyoto’s place brand narrative.

## Chapter Three

# The Time of Miyako

Kyoto—a fact well publicized—is very special. It holds the imperial past and the cultural best—temples, gardens, cuisine, kimono, crafts. What is not generally recalled is that Kyoto is what it is because, almost alone among Japanese cities, it was not bombed, remaining undestroyed during World War II. Thus the old capital looks as all Japan might have, had it not been destroyed. [Cited in Durston 1986:7]

In the introductory chapter, I conceptualized place brands as having much the same in common with corporate brands that have images in the hearts and minds of people. The task for any place branding initiative, therefore, is to communicate these images in such a way that engages the “outside world in clear, coordinated, and communicative way” to influence public opinion (Anholt 2008:3). Creating an effective brand narrative requires emphasizing unique characteristics of a place that often results in an over-simplified image of place. I designate “miyako” as the narrative and image of Kyoto’s “imperial past and cultural best” captured in branding. This is the Kyoto that is instantly recognizable through frequently repeated representations of “authentic” Japanese culture. It is also an an exotic place where ancient rituals are still performed among the dark halls of wooden buildings, creating a seamless blend of pre-modern urbanity enveloped among the “purple mountains and clear rivers” (*sanshi suimei*) of the surrounding foothills. This narrative is further institutionalized through organized school trips (*shūgakuryoko*) designed to provide students with lessons on national history and cultural heritage and as a top destination for tourism where millions of visitors arrive annually to experience the historical, cultural, and seasonal charms of the old capital.

As Tunbridge and Ashworth argue, heritage and tourism intersect at the point in which the past is commodified and packaged as a “product intended for the satisfaction of

contemporary consumption demands” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996:7). In the following two chapters, I unpack this process in which Kyoto has been bound and branded as “miyako” by examining the posters of Kyoto City’s public relations campaign “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan”. I argue that these posters incorporate and imbue Kyoto City’s brand narrative with a sense of time and place in which specific aspects of Kyoto are selectively emphasized while obscuring others to present a chosen reality that applies a “framework of an ordered fiction to the diversity of human action” (Ricoeur 1994:125). In this chapter, I begin with an overview of the campaign as it emerged from the offices of the General Planning Bureau to a collaborative effort between Kyoto City officials and the Kyoto Convention Bureau (*kōeki zaidanhōjin kyōto bunka kōryū konbeshonbyūrō*). While initially conceived of as political posters to garner local support for the promotion of the implementation of “Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy” city making (*machizukuri*) policies, a move toward a more promotional style of advertising and expansion in distribution east, beyond the boundaries of the city, along the Tōkaidō coastline (The area between the Kansai and Kantō regions of central Japan), reaching Tokyo in the summer of 2006. I follow this with an analysis of the time of “miyako” constructed in this campaign and argue this campaign compresses history and time into a single “Kyoto Past”.

### **“I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan”**

In June 2003 Kyoto City established the “Creation of Kyoto Discussion Panel” and submitted its own recommendation called the “Proposal for Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy.” At this same time, the “100 People Committee for Kyoto’s Rebirth” formed to prompt further public discussion on the future of Kyoto’s tangible and intangible

heritage. To promote these seminars and symposiums, the committee worked with the General Planning Bureau to produce a new public relations poster campaign to build political support for the implementation of *machizukuri* policies outlined in the “Proposal for Kyoto’s Rebirth” and to communicate the “charm” of Kyoto to a wider range of people.

On November 27, 2003, in collaboration with the 100 People Committee for Kyoto’s Rebirth, Kyoto City launched a new poster campaign called the “Charm of Kyoto Series” (*kyōto no miryoku shirīzu*) with the catchphrase “*nihon ni kyōto ga atte yokatta, miyabi ni kaoru machi • kyōto sōsei shiyō.*” Literally translatable into “I am glad Kyoto is in Japan”, the ambiguity of who the subject is in the original Japanese lends it discursive power as an advertisement slogan. In analyzing the Discover Japan campaign, Ivy argues that this “desire to rediscover implies a loss, a forgetting of the object of knowledge, and thus the need for the repetition of discovery” (1995:43). Similarly, a moment of rediscovery is also captured in the advertisements of the Charm of Kyoto Series’ catch phrase. The use of *yokatta* (was good), past tense form of the adjective *yoi* (good), is a common expression of relief or good feelings used in daily conversation in Japan and therefore implies a narrative in which we become incorporated into the advertisement as subjects. Furthermore, since *yokatta* embodies a moment of realization and remembrance, the slogan encourages rediscovery (*saihakken*) of Kyoto through preservation, revival, use, and above all, tourism. The power of this slogan is further amplified by the fact that, according to the Kyoto Tourism Survey, many if not all, Japanese visit the city for tourism and are frequent repeat visitors. Therefore, I suggest a different translation, “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan—Let us Remake

Kyoto into a the city with the sweet scent of elegance—” In this way, the Charm of Kyoto Series, as a political booster for policy change in the city, takes on a new meaning as a “cultural logic” by which all Japanese are at once wrapped into Kyoto City’s project of revitalization and branding. This campaign embodies a moment of reflection, a reminder of a Japan centered around Kyoto as the origins of an “authentic” history and culture, without which “who would we Japanese be?”

Stylistically, the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” is similar to Central Japan Railway Company’s (JR Central) ongoing “Yes, Let’s Go to Kyoto” travel campaign produced by Dentsū, Japan’s largest advertising firm beginning in 1993. Both campaigns rely on the Japanese concept of “famous place” or “place with a name” (*meisho*) by using postcard-like representations of Kyoto’s most well known attractions: ancient rituals, festivals, dance, and theater; historical townscapes such as old neighborhoods, religious sites, and empty palaces; and natural environments comprised of forested mountains and clear rivers. Both campaigns use posters that include one large, full-color photograph. In addition to a catch phrase, short narratives that construct a relationship between the target audience, people in the advertisement, and the object to be desired occasionally accompany these images. Finally, both campaigns devote the lower portion of the poster to information regarding related organizations in charge of collecting donations or holding open forums and symposia, web addresses, key search terms, and publication information. Where the “Charm of Kyoto Series” differs from “Yes, Let’s Go to Kyoto,” however, is that what is being promoted here is not leisurely travel to Kyoto via JR Central; rather, this campaign is promoting policy change in the city with the

understanding that the scenes depicted in its posters are culturally important to locals and visitors alike.

In the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” campaign Kyoto is depicted through picturesque image of historical townscapes and religious centers made from natural materials and surrounded by Kyoto’s natural environs. Modern conveniences, utility poles, and electric power and telephone lines are either absent, hidden, or de-emphasized. In their place, grand palaces, ancient temples, and tile-roofed buildings lining streets paved with cut stone transport the audience back through time to ancient *miyako*. This urban-natural integration is prominently featured in the campaign. As such, structures of concrete, steel, and glass have been replaced with small, Zen-like gardens and large natural landscapes that suggest nature is still valued as it was in the past, and that it is able to be experienced in Japan not far removed from what is recognizable and safe. In contrast to the daily news of earthquakes, typhoon, and landslides, nature in Kyoto is beautiful, calm, and controlled. In many of the early posters, written narratives of celebrities are also included to serve as a powerful tool that establishes an implied relationship between the destination and celebrity with potential visitors, thus further enhancing the attractiveness of travel to Kyoto.

Initial distribution was limited to Kyoto City bus and subway lines, in post offices, and in a small number of financial institutions throughout town. By July of 2004, however, distribution had expanded to include local hotels and universities as well as major Japan Railway stations in the city. The first push for wider exposure came later that year when the team issued approximately 7,200 posters for placement in city wide “Kyoto City Information Boards” (*kyōto shi kōhō ban*), public bulletin boards typically

reserved for promoting civic engagement in festivals, seminars, political campaigns, and neighborhood associations. Typical of the polymorphous approach to marketing and product development, mass distribution of these posters evolved over time. Images from “I’m Glad There’s a Kyoto in Japan” were reproduced as downloadable digital “wallpapers” so that Kyoto enthusiasts could personalize their computers while showing their support for the project at home or at work. Also, special edition “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” themed designs were also issued as part of the “Kansai Thru Pass” prepaid card. The card combines bulk access to public transportation and special promotions with discounts for tourist activities throughout the Kansai district thus acting as a souvenir while simultaneously spreading the campaign’s message and encouraging further travel to and within the city. A minor expansion of distribution in April 2005 to private railways accompanied the fifth poster, but the most crucial development occurred when the campaign moved out of Kyoto.

In June 2006 the team expanded distribution to subways in the Tokyo metropolitan area, transitioning “I’m so happy there is a Kyoto in Japan”, an ostensibly local campaign, to an inter-regional audience designed to not only promote a specific image of Kyoto—“miyako”—to outsiders, but attract these outsiders as tourists to the city. A year later, the campaign was extended to the Yamanote loop line, one of Tokyo’s busiest and most important rail lines connecting Ginza, Shibuya, Shinjuku, Ikebukuro, to major Central Japan Railway Company (JR-Central) stations down the Tokaidō megalopolis, including the city of Nagoya. Regardless of the scope of distribution or subject matter, from its humble local beginnings to a mass market audience of commuters, students, and

tourists, strategically the message is the same, “this is the Kyoto we Japanese need and should strive to create and promote.”

### **Presenting the Past**

As Shields has shown, the dominant discourses and symbols manifest themselves most readily in the images that are attached to place (1991: 60-61). Place images are widely disseminated and commonly held, and “play a significant part in the rationale by which daily lives are lived and by which decisions, policies, and actions are rationalized and legitimized” (Shields 1991:47). To unpack the process of Kyoto’s branding, I turn to the imaging of Kyoto in the posters of the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” public relations campaign. Laurajane Smith has said of time and heritage that “[t]hings that are ‘old’ are seen as intrinsically valuable, mysterious and wondrous—they are the proper objects of heritage preservation and conservation” (2006:285). Smith continues, “[a]ny item that is very ‘old’ acquires a patina of reverence...the older an object, place or human remain is understood to be, the more it is perceived to be both scientifically valuable and of universal relevance” (2006:285). In Kyoto, “things that are old” dominate the cultural landscape. Words, phrases, and images that evoke narratives of courtly nobles and samurai warlords, temples and shrines, or narrow streets paved with stones and lined with wooden houses. In the present, this narrative of time is defined through an atmosphere of a past that elicits qualities of remoteness and feelings of return, belonging, and a renewed sense of oneself as culturally Japanese.

In the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” campaign, the use of signifiers and language of “the past” was established from the outset with the release of the first poster, “Ink Character Version” (*bokuji bājon*) [See Appendix A, P1], which ran from December

1, 2003 to February 9, 2004, created as an appeal to the people of Japan for their understanding of Kyoto's status as a "world treasure" and their cooperation in the preservation, revival, and continued practice of traditional culture so that citizens, and to a greater extent visitors, would know what makes Kyoto the "hometown of the Japanese spirit" (*nihonjin no kokoro no furusato*). P1 is pure slogan, but Kyoto City still relies on the language of *furusato*. This place of origins, however, is not the rural countryside, but the imperial, religious, and urban authority of the ancient capital of Japan. Evidence of this can be seen in the forefront of the image which reproduces the catchphrase printed in a deep black calligraphic typeface reminiscent of a Buddhist priest declaring the kanji of the year (*kotoshi no kanji*) at Kiyomizudera Temple. In the background, a simple Japanese paper (*washi*) design complete with gold flake and an imitation torn lower edge reveals the catchphrase *miyabi ni kaoru machi • kyōto sōsei shiyō*, "Let's Recreate Kyoto, the city smelling sweetly of elegance." The term *miyabi* (雅) has specific meaning here in general because it signifies the original function of Heian-kyō as the home of the emperor and his imperial court, but it also carries the sense of subdued beauty that persists in the appreciation of elegant and refined courtly values. Signifiers of Japanese culture, *sumi* ink, calligraphy, and *washi* paper, all serve to heighten or legitimize Kyoto City's claim to a past of cultural superiority by connecting these visual signs with the term *miyabi*. The effect of printing the catchphrase, rendered in a Japanese style with Japanese materials, is reflective of the ultimate goal of the campaign. In other words, preserving, reviving, and the continued use of historical Kyoto is just as much about Japanese culture as it is about Kyoto culture.

From the very beginning, Kyoto City's campaign team appropriated the symbols of *miyako* by conceptualizing it as a repository of cultural artifacts that can be visited, observed, and studied. Poster six, "Kataoka Nizaemon at the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art" [See Appendix A, P6], published from October 1, 2005 until March 31, 2006, takes this museum metaphor to its logical end by introducing an interior scene from the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art, which opened in 1928. In a building made of stone, a middle-aged man sits high on the building's inner staircase in a relaxed position while emitting a confident smile and looking down toward the subject. He is dressed informally, wearing glasses and carrying a red book or notebook as if researching additional information or taking notes on each exhibit. This man is Kataoka Nizaemon, a "Special Tourism Ambassador" (*tokubetsu kankō taishi*), for Kyoto City and the 15th generation in a long running line of famous Kabuki actors who carry the same name. As if Kataoka Nizaemon is speaking the words himself, the narrative reads "If you're too busy, you'll lose the words to convey the spirit. Sometimes it's necessary to take a 'journey of time' to meet the real thing. This town has reminded me of that. (*sonnani isogashiku shiteiru to kokoro wo tsutaeru kotoba wo nakushite shimau. tokidoki wa 'jikan no tabi' ni dete, honmono ni deau koto mo hitsuyōda. kono machi wa sō iu koto wo omoidasetekureru.*)" The function of the museum, as an institutionalized way of presenting a curated past through exhibitions of cultural artifacts in which one can encounter the "real thing" (*honmono*) and can be extrapolated to signify Kyoto as a whole, is apparent. In much the same way as a museum, Kyoto houses cultural artifacts that have been "curated" into must-see exhibits, packaged and codified as *meisho*. Losing the words to convey the spirit can be equated with losing a sense of self or ability

to express oneself as culturally Japanese. As such, to reclaim a sense of oneself dictates travel to “the past”—to Kyoto.

In other instances, the past is reduced to mere loose signifiers on an atemporal canvas. This temporal incongruity is used in poster four, “Nishimura Kazuhiko at Kiyomizudera Temple” [See Appendix A, P4], which ran from November 1, 2004 till April 30, 2005, featuring Nishimura Kazuhiko, a Kyoto-born actor and television personality who has starred in television dramas for the Kyoto Broadcasting System Company and uses Kyoto and the Kiyomizudera Temple as the backdrop. On the left side of the image is a primary symbol of Kiyomizudera Temple, one of the two Deva king statues (*niō zō*) that stand guard inside the Deva Gate before inner temple, main hall, and Kiyomizu Stage. The particular Deva king (*mitchaku kongōrikishi*) statue depicted in P4 stands on the left side of the gate as one would see it when entering the temple and is known for its shut mouth. As if mirroring the position of the two actual Deva king statues, Nishimura Kazuhiko and the Deva king stand on opposite ends of the poster, their bodies standing abreast while their heads contort toward each other, locking eyes as if silently agreeing to stand guard over the folding screen depiction of Kiyomizudera Temple. In the bottom right corner of the poster, there is a short narrative that reads as if Nishimura Kazuhiko is speaking to us, “ ‘Japan’ is in this town, and so is the ‘world’ . This vibrant *miyako* has interacted with different cultures for over 1,200 years. A capital wrapped in tranquility through harmony. By visiting various places I feel as though I can hear prayers for ‘Peace’ . (*kono machi ni wa ‘nihon’ ga aru. soshite ‘sekai’ ga aru senni yakunen, ibunka to fureatte kita hōjō no miyako chōwa sareta shizukesa ni*

*tsutsuma reta miyako. otozureru samazamana basho de 'heian' e no inori ga kikoeru yōna ki ga suru.)”*

In a twist of the typical formula where a high resolution photograph is chosen to fit a particular theme, Kyoto City’s campaign team chose an image of a folding screen (*byōbu*) from the Kano School, one of Japan’s most famous schools of Japanese painting, founded in Kyoto by Kanō Masanobu. The folding screen is an early-Edo depiction of Kiyomizudera Temple. Reminiscent of a *rakuchū rakugaizu*, or a scene from “in and around the capital”, the folding screen has typical Kano School style features such as gilded clouds floating gently among the mountains, temple buildings, and crowds of pilgrims who have come to offer prayers at the temple. Interestingly, the rationale for the campaign team’s selection was to emphasize the fact that, aside from a few later additions, the depiction of Kiyomizudera Temple in the screen matches identically with that which exists today. The implicit message here is that a visit to Kiyomizudera Temple today is akin to traveling back in time to the floating world of the early-Edo period (1603-1868). The assumption is that despite interactions with “the world”, Kyoto has somehow retained its sense of self while other parts of Japan, through interactions with the world, have lost what it means to be truly, culturally Japanese.

In this campaign, representations of the past, indicated through Kyoto’s tangible and intangible heritage, are conceived of as an authentic point of return - an imagined relationship between the audience and the past. According to Judith Williamson, through the appropriation of time and its relevant signifiers, the relationship between the self and the past is combined and constituted as a new “personal time”, an imaginary relationship with history that “gives us a time other than our own” (1978:164-165). In Kyoto’s

branding then, history is replaced with myth; Kiyomizudera Temple exists in the same capacity today as it has since its founding in 773. Consequently, the campaign team often juxtaposes its own sense of time with the frenetic pace of present day life. Poster eight, “On the Grounds of Konkaikōmyōji Temple” [See Appendix A, P8], circulated from September 18, 2007 until February 27, 2008, presents this past by re-creating a scene from the interior grounds of the Konkaikōmyōji Temple, a Buddhist temple founded in 1175 and one of the eight head temples of the Jōdo sect, a form of Pure Land Buddhism. Immediately in the foreground of this poster sits an expansive stone staircase, its rows of stone steps climbing toward the temple bell with its gabled and hipped, tiled roof. Beyond this, the staircase finally stretches off in the direction of the main hall, and its ancillary halls dotted with Japanese pines. Four children, two boys and two girls dressed in contemporary fashion, are engaged in play as they skip along the wide steps in races to the top of the staircase. To the right, a woman in a lightly colored pink kimono with a broad, yellow obi glances nostalgically over at the children while shuffling down the stairs. Toward the bottom of the poster, the narrative reads, “ ‘It never changes, never.’ In a world that changes at a dizzying pace, there is a place where time is frozen. This town has spent 1,000 years studying the importance of things that don’t change for people’s spirit. It has places that anyone can return to. This is the capital of ‘peace and tranquility’. (*kawaranai nā, zenzen’ memagurushiku kawaru yononaka de, jikan ga tomatte iru basho ga arimasu. hito no kokoro ni totte, kawaranaimono no taisetsusa wo, kono machi wa chitose kakete manande kimashita. darenimo, kaerubasho ga aru. koko wa ‘heian’ no miyakodesu.*)” The unchanging nature of Kyoto, represented in the image of the temple, reflects the city’s commitment to preserving not only Kyoto’s past, but

Japan's past. Here all generations of Japanese, represented by the playing children and woman dressed in kimono, come and know "the important things", or in other words, their cultural past.

Konkaikōmyōji Temple has become a signifier of "peace and tranquility" precisely because it has existed for over 1,000 years. At once the temple is unchanged and unchanging. It looks much as it has since its founding in honor of the ancient Pure Land Buddhist tradition. Still, the passage of time is not beyond the scope of humanity. The woman and the children not only signify the flow of time through the progression of age, but also the change in values that time brings signified by the changes in fashion from Kimono to t-shirt and shorts. Nevertheless, the frozen nature of time acts as a great unifier for Japanese travelers to Kyoto where people are able to escape the "dizzying" pace of time to a stable time, embodied by Konkaikōmyōji Temple, where they can nostalgically look back through time and experience "peace and tranquility" (*heian*) of the spirit in knowing that no matter how much time changes, they will always be Japanese here.

Time is also constructed through representations of festivals, ceremonies, and rituals. Careful photography, however, hides much of what awaits tourists visiting Kyoto for the first time. Gone are the countless hordes of eager amateur shutterbugs and tour groups; much of the sprawl that would normally detract from such photography has been cleverly hidden away behind ancient wood structures and manicured gardens. Consider poster 11, "The Purification Ceremony of the Hollyhock Festival, Saiōdai Heads Towards the Divine Ritual" [See Appendix A, P11], running from February 28, 2008 until September 26, 2008, which captures the climax of one of Kyoto's three most important annual

festivals, the Hollyhock Festival (*aoi matsuri*). In the middle of the image walks Saiōdai, the main character around which the festival revolves. During the Heian period, Saiōdai was chosen from the Imperial family, usually a sister or a daughter of the Emperor, to represent him for the festival proceeding. In much the same way, the modern Saiōdai is elegantly dressed in kimono from the Heian period. Her hair, long and black, tied down her back has been adorned with a sprig of hollyhock, white cords, and a golden crown. In her hands, she holds an elaborately decorated fan, just visible, out before her as she walks. This is an image of the purification ceremony that takes place at Shimogamojinjya Shrine. The poster captures the moment when Saiōdai, having recently arrived at the shrine via her flowered palanquin, is making her way to the interior of the shrine to proceed with the purification ceremony (*misogi*), the most important part of the festival in which she dips her hands into a pool of water while offering prayers to the deities. Directly in front of Saiōdai walks a small girl, an attendant provided to assist her in her journey from the palace, as two men sit in priestly garb observing her progress. Much of the clever work this advertisement accomplishes in reconstructing the “real” Hollyhock Festival is in omitting the droves of tourists that would invariably obstruct a real-life view of Saiōdai’s procession.

Similarly, poster 12 [See Appendix A, P12], titled “The Gosechi no Mai Dance at Kyoto Imperial Palace,” published from September 27, 2008 until February 4, 2009, depicts a scene at the Kyoto Imperial Palace *goshō*, in which female court dancers perform the *gosechi no mai*. The Gosechi no Mai is a Heian period dance set to court music that were performed at either seasonal banquets in celebration of the ceremonial offering by the emperor of newly harvested rice to the deities or as the first ceremonial

offering of rice by a newly anointed emperor. For this particular display, four women in the dress, makeup, and gilded hairpieces of Heian period courtly dancers clasp in their hands ceremonial fans decorated in a cloud and pine motif. This performance is taking place outdoors, on a wooden stage lacquered in deep black and decorated with violet tassels hanging off the sides and a gold trimmed red fence. The dancers stand in unison, bodies in sync, their faces gazing off into the distance with their arms open wide as if to beckon ancient deities into their presence. In the background stands a large Japanese pine in pale green resembling the color of the kimono. The dancers' arms are open, extending their offerings of rice to the gods, mimicking the twisted branches of the trees in the background. The audience is given a glimpse of the structure of the palace grounds, hinting at the construction of wood and earth of the surrounding covered halls. In both instances, the overall effect is a masking of time. The sense of time one gets here is that of the premodern past, but this image transcends into the realm of myth precisely because it is unknown when this moment takes place; this could be an image of festivals happening in 2008 or 1008. The only indication that this is indeed a present day advertisement is through the catch phrase, "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan". And all the same, what matters is not so much when this dance is taking place, but that it is taking place under the guise of "authenticity" and it is happening in Kyoto.

The next two posters give the audience intimate encounters with the past typically not available to tourists under normal circumstances. In both instances, these posters depict intimate encounters with local culture. The closeness and gendered nature of these back spaces, reflect back on the audience as a past "true" self reconstituted in advertising. The first of these posters, poster 17 [See Appendix A, P17] ran from February 4, 2011 until

March 1, 2012 and is entitled Tea Ceremony, “the Spirit of Hospitality.” P17 features a scene from a traditional Japanese tea ceremony. Sitting before the audience in the formal *seiza* position is an adult male dressed in full kimono with hakama (skirt-like pants commonly worn by men). The kimono is a deep black kimono and is complemented with a black *obi* with tan accents. The inside of his kimono is decorated in a pattern typical of men’s kimono and is just visible from the exposed area of his inner sleeve. Stylistically, the dark colored kimono and hakama blend together and frame a teacup in the center of the image. In contrast to the clean lines of the man’s kimono, the teacup is simple and rustic. The imperfect rusticity of the cup is symbolic of the origins of tea ceremony in Zen Buddhism. Instead of showing the full figure of the man in *seiza*, we are only given the a view of his mid-section, and as a result, the audience’s eyes are drawn to the teacup itself, with its simple, yet intricate, pitted (*yuzu hada*) texture.

Masculinity takes other forms as well. In Japan traditional crafts are usually passed patrilineally through the familial lines (*ie*) to first-born male successors. Moreover, the complicated steps required to conduct a successful tea ceremony require attention to detail and lifelong dedication to master, typified constructions of masculinity. The figure is the host of the tea ceremony. He has just finished preparing the tea and is displaying the teacup to the audience, his guests. We know that he is the host due to the presence of the cloth used to wipe the bowls clean as he performs the ceremony. We also know the tea is about to be served in our direction because his right hand is placed along the side of the cup in preparation for the delicate turning maneuver that grants the guest a view of the front (*omote*) of the teacup. The theme of P17 is “*omotenashi*”, the spirit of hospitality. In this way, the man represents not only mastery of tradition and refined

sense of culture but Kyoto's "spirit of hospitality" welcoming his guests to experience traditional culture represented by the ceremony and tea.

Just as P17 presents Kyoto as the masculine mastery of culture, Poster 18, contrasts that construction by presenting elements of the city that are delicate and feminine. Poster 18 [See Appendix A, P18], circulated beginning in March 2, 2012 until October 11, 2012 and simply titled "The Hollyhock Festival, Saiōdai," draws the audience in with an up close image of Saiōdai, introduced in P11. Whereas P11 was concerned with the ritual in one of Kyoto's oldest and most important festivals, the stylistic choices of P18 not only represent an intimate encounter with the "real Japan," but also serve to highlight aspects of Saiōdai that may be overlooked. Under normal circumstances, the audience is only able to see her from afar as her processional moves from Kyoto's Imperial Palace towards the Kamo shrines in the North. In P18, the audience is directed to gaze at a close up picture of Saiōdai's twelve-layered kimono (*jūnihitoe*) revealing the red, white, gold, and green silks that form each individual layer. There is variation, too, in each layer beyond color, including the different textures created by delicate brocades of green and gold. Over her kimono, she wears a thin white overcoat embroidered with seasonal designs. The thinness of this coat allows some of the under layers of kimono to shine through, giving it a soft, pink color. In her hands she holds a golden, formal folding fan made of *hinoki* cypress that has been wrapped in cords that match the colors of her kimono. The manner in which she holds this fan, too, speaks to a specific style and manner that is important to the ceremony. At the end of the fan, small decorations and facsimiles of flowers have been attached not unlike the mobile phone straps so common among Japanese youth. Dangling over her shoulders are thick black locks of hair that

have been decorated with white braided cords. Overall, these features lend to Saiōdai a graceful authority as she stands holding her fan.

Thematically then, P18 is primarily about constructing an idea of femininity and beauty represented in the Heian period courtly dress. Saiōdai's body functions as a canvas to display the detailed brocade patterns and multi-layered silks of varying bright colors. Her hands have been specifically positioned to highlight the decorated fan she is carrying. At once her hands are holding it as she walks, but also holding it in such a way as to show off the details of the cords and not hide the image of the fan itself concealed within its folds. In this way Saiōdai in P18 contrasts with the image of the tea ceremony host from P17. In both instances, Kyoto is on display for the gaze of the audience: the man extends his teacup in welcome and Saidōdai displays her wrapped cypress fan as she walks towards her purification ritual. The gendered nature of these images constructs the the audience's relationship with Kyoto culture in different ways, whereas the tea master represents the dignity and ritual of culture, Saiōdai stands for grace and beauty of that culture.

As a whole, the images of the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" public campaign capture a moment frozen in time that permits the audience to experience these moments not only as witnesses to a scene but as active participants. This sense of time engendered through these images transvalues Kyoto, masking reality behind a veil of the past and presenting the city as the "real Japan." The use of images of celebrities, personal narratives, and in particular young women creates not only instruct the audience where and upon what to gaze at but also that Kyoto is worth gazing at. Through their gaze, the audience takes travels to Kyoto with them, partaking in miniature tours in and around the

capital. Moreover, in many of the more recent images introduced in the discussion above, present day Kyoto disappears altogether leaving the audience only with images from Kyoto's past. The key assumption here is that only in Kyoto is the past still valued and practiced, therefore any desire to see Japan's back spaces, to have intimate encounters with "real Japan" must happen in Kyoto. In the following chapter, these back spaces take on a different form through place based representations of Kyoto's brand narrative "miyako".

## Chapter Four

# The Place of Miyako

[I]t was Christmas Eve, and snow was falling on tiled roofs and narrow streets lined wood-latticed shops and houses. It was a dreamlike evening, quiet, a scene from an ink painting. Kyoto worked its magic. That magic had entranced pilgrims for centuries, and was celebrated in scrolls and screens, prints and pottery, songs and poetry. The haiku poet Bashō sighed, “Even when in Kyoto, I long for Kyoto.” With its refined architecture shaped by the tea ceremony and the court nobility, and its many crafts of weaving, paper-making, lacquer, and others, Kyoto was regarded by people around the world as a cultural city on par with Florence or Rome. [Kerr 2001:165-166]

How places are represented in advertising is also an important consideration in studies of place branding because these images form the destination’s identity in the minds of potential visitors. These images are formed through a place’s historical myth that over time provide an important role in structuring a place’s identity. Velvet Nelson argues that through these myths, visitors are able to, “actively participate in the past by occupying historical places. Through this experience, they learn about and continue to value these places and their significance” (2005:138). The “magic of Kyoto” referenced in the quotation above plays into the myth of Kyoto. Even in the distant past of Matsuo Bashō’s (1644-1694), the allure of Kyoto lies in a nostalgic longing to be immersed in the history and culture of ancient Japan (Boym 2001, iii). Building upon the sense of time discussed in Chapter Three, “miyako” appropriates a sense of place. The place of “miyako” is found in representations of the built and natural environment as constructed timeless and pure, unadulterated by Japan’s importation of Western political structures and technology during the Meiji Period or the postwar high growth period. The place of “miyako” also renegotiates the relationship between Kyoto and Japan by conceptualizing travel to these places as an occasion to come into contact (*fureau*) with culturally

important places that act as stages in which locals and visitors can interact through constructed tourist productions.

In this way, both time and place work together to extend and enhance the city's image as "miyako." Time lends place authenticity, as the "full magnitude of Kyoto's 1,000 years of history" and becomes knowable through contact with these historical sites. Here structures of concrete, steel, and glass are replaced with those of natural materials—imagery of wooden pillars, earthen walls, tiled and thatched rooflines, gabled entranceways, woven straw mats, and delicate gardens of Japanese pine trees, ponds, and rock formations. These places standing proud in the center of town, hidden along back streets, or deep in the foothills of the surrounding mountains suggest that these urban and natural sites still exist as more than just the visual fabric of the city. They are part of its sensate background of heritage.

### **Built Places**

From the very beginning, the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" campaign organizers conceptualized Kyoto as a repository of cultural artifacts and beautiful things that could be visited, observed, and studied. After the release of P1 the strategy quickly moved to include specific locales and the personal narratives of people, including celebrities, visiting the city. In an interesting twist on the usual celebrity tie-in, however, these men and women were either born in Kyoto or have become involved or indirectly related to Kyoto through other promotion campaigns, usually Kyoto City's "special tourism ambassador" program as in poster three [See Appendix A, P3] featuring Kyoto-born actress Tabata Tomoko at Kinkakuji Temple. She is dressed informally in a pink dress with matching accessories to complement her look. She is standing smiling inside

Kinkakuji Temple's normally inaccessible upper level *kukkyōchō*, its walls and ceiling clad in brilliant gold leaf. The walls, too, feature a unique “pottery lantern” (*katō*) shape giving the room its appearance; open to the elements, natural light pours inside reflecting the image of the gilded interior and the exterior clear blue sky off the black lacquered (*kokushitu*) floor.

Placed to the left of Tabata Tomoko reads both the catch phrase, “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” and a short narrative stamped with Tabata Tomoko's signature. “I like the constantly changing townscape of Kyoto, but I love temples in which one can feel history. Amidst a place in which the air has not changed since the distant past, I am where nature and the spirit are calmed. I am proud that I was born and raised in this land” (*tsugitsugini atarashī kansei wo tori irete kawatteiku kyōto no machinami mo sukidakedo, rekishi wo kanjiru otera mo daisuki. zutto mukashikara kawaranai basho ya kūki ni, shizen to kokoro iyasa reru watashi ga iru. kono tochi ni umaresodatta koto, hokori ni omoimasu.*). The use of the phrase, “I am proud that I was born and raised in this land,” (*kono tochi ni umaresodatta koto hokori ni omoimasu*) in the narrative can be directly inferred to signify Kinkakuji Temple specifically, but can be expanded to include other cultural properties within the city or even Kyoto itself. Moreover, the combination of the Kinkakuji Temple and Tanabata Tomoko's narrative contrasts the changing nature of the city and unchanging nature of the temple. Kyoto is simultaneously a modern (i.e. changing) and ancient (unchanging, represented by the temple and its characteristically Japanese elements such as wood, gold leaf, and lacquer) city.

Kyoto's historical sites also provide opportunities to build familiar bonds. Poster nine, “The Ōtorii of Heianjingu Shrine and the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art” [See

Appendix A, P9], which ran from February 28, 2008 to October 11, 2008, uses a photograph of parent and child shot as two silhouettes, slightly out of focus, at Heianjingu Shrine. They stand on top of the Kyoto National Museum of Modern Art with their gaze directed towards the huge, red *torii* gate (a structure that signifies the entrance to a Shintō shrine and sacred presence of the enshrined deity) of Heianjingu Shrine. The *torii* placed in juxtaposition with Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art provides an interesting point of contrast. While their constructions would seemingly be at different ends of the temporal spectrum, in reality their appearance was less than forty years apart. As the audience's gaze looks along with the parent and child in the direction of the shrine and mountains beyond, we catch a glimpse of the child's head resting on the shoulder of the parent while she gently rests her arm around the shoulder of the child—further suggesting a moment of bonding between them. Just beyond the gate stands the huge Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art, and just beyond that stands Nyoigadake Mountain, more commonly referred to as Daimonjiyama Mountain.

In the top right in a clear, simple bold, black typeface stands the campaign catchphrase, “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan.” To the left of that reads the narrative, “There was a place that seemed as though a new story was about to begin. There was a place that had been colored with stories since ancient times. This capital has been dreaming of peace for a thousand years” (*soko wa atarashī monogatari ga umare-sōna bashodeshita. sono atari wa furuku kara monogatari ni irodora rete kita bashodeshita. koko wa sennen heian wo yumemite kita miyakodesu*). While directly referencing Kyoto's 1,200-year history, this short narrative may also reference the child's life just about to begin. Naturally, the origin for this child's life begins in Kyoto, and so

the child could be a stand in for all Japanese people who trace their origins to Kyoto. Again, the founding name for the city, Heian-kyō, is tied to the postwar narrative of peace with an additional layer of bringing peace to the hearts and minds of Japanese who would return home. Kyoto is articulated as a desirable location to occupy historical spaces, this time as a means of engaging in parent-child interaction bonding. Thus Kyoto may carry with it the universal appeal that transcends generational gaps and can provide a safe and private place to leisurely enjoy the sights of the city.

In later editions of “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan”, the campaign team relies less on the explicit narratives of celebrities and chose to use images of young women similarly to that of Dentsū’s Discover Japan campaign. In Ivy’s analysis of that campaign, she argues women were chosen because they represented an acceptable figure of consumption and leisure in postindustrial Japan because they can “transgress and traverse societal boundaries that working men cannot” (1995:38). The first poster to use this new strategy, poster 2 Myōshinji Temple’s Decorative Ceiling Painting “Unryū” Version [See Appendix A, P2] ran from February 10, 2004 to July 31, 2004 and features a young woman at Myōshinji Temple underneath a painting of a cloud dragon (Unryū) on the ceiling. Taken from one of the interior room, the camera has been angled in such a way to capture not only the image of the clinging painting but of the young woman. While she is not named, the woman is casually dressed, looking directly towards the audience, and smiling as she poses for a commemorative photograph. Directly behind her, the dragon, depicted swirling in the wind on ceiling, painted in a black ink with thick calligraphic strokes, appears to have taken pause from his heavenly flight to have his picture taken with the woman; his smile seemingly mimics that of his guest on her visit to

the temple. Directly to the left of the catchphrase in the center of the image is a small story that reads, “For over 1,200 years it has been fixated on the landscape of the spirit and beautiful time. A wind that crosses the ages linking us to eternity passes through this town. Here in this capital that has continued to walk peacefully, ‘I did not know’ of the meetings blowing in the wind” (*kokoro no fūkei, utsukushī jikan ni kodawatta, sennihiyakuyonen. jidai wo koete, eien wo tsunagu kaze ga kono machi wo kake nukeru. heian wo motome tsudzukeru kono miyako de, kaze ni fukarete deau no wa 'shiranakatta watashi' dattari suru.*). This narrative directly contrasts the dragon, as a symbol of Kyoto’s 1,200 years of history and its preference for “the heart” and “beauty,” with that of young woman who “did not know” that these things could still be encountered in the present.

In a later poster, poster 13 [See Appendix A, P13], titled “Nishijin Neighborhood, “Walkable City Kyoto” running from February 5, 2009 until October 1, 2009, walking through historical townscapes is portrayed as a fashionable way to connect with the past. P13 introduces the audience to a scene of a young woman walking through one of Kyoto’s narrow backstreets in Nishijin, the old silk weaving and kimono manufacturing district. Taken from inside the foyer of a *kyō-machiya* townhouse provides an interesting view of the latticed *koshi* windows. The poster captures a young, attractive, and informally dressed woman with a bag slung over her shoulder. She does not look toward the lens of the camera as she strides confidently, as if taking in the scenery. The lack of other tourists and residents alike places special emphasis on a Kyoto that has sought to preserve its built heritage while maintaining a peaceful townscape and suggests that quiet, individual travel is still possible in Japan. Across the street, another *kyō-machiya*

bathed in the late afternoon sun casts the function of the *koshi* windows in another light by illustrating how the interior of the townhouse is hidden from view. In the center of the image, as if affixed to the silhouette of the doorframe revealed by the sliding open of the door, one reads the catchphrase, “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan”.

Much like the interior spaces of Kyoto’s *kyō-machiya* townhouses open for the gaze of tourists, the next two posters, 20 and 21, direct the gaze of tourists towards built heritage as examples of Kyoto’s history and culture. Standing on their own as objects worthy of the tourist gaze, no people or personal narratives are present to guide the audience in their relationship to the place. Instead these places stand on their functioning as place-based representations of the Kyoto’s history and culture. For example, poster 20 [See Appendix A, P20] published from March 19, 2013 until October 31, 2013, entitled “The Shishinden at Kyoto Imperial Palace,” features Kyoto’s Imperial Palace *goshō*. Immediately in its foreground stands the bright red Jomeimon Gate opening to a large courtyard of white gravel with the main ceremonial hall, *shishinden*, standing at the far end. The current palace was rebuilt in 1855 and was used to host the coronation ceremonies for both Emperor Meiji and Emperor Showa. When the capital was officially relocated to Tokyo in 1869, the palace complex fell under early conservation laws to preserve its look and ambiance. The *shishinden* is connected to other palace buildings further in the background via a series of covered halls. It is constructed from natural materials including a gabled and hipped cypress roof, white earthen walls with paper screened *shoji* doors, and *sudare* reed screens to shade the interior from Kyoto’s harsh, summer climate. On either side of the main hall stand two named trees: on the right the *ukon no tachibana*, a *tachibana* citrus tree, and on the left, the *sakon no sakura*, a cherry

tree. In contrast to the Emperor of Japan's Imperial Palace *kōkyō* in central Tokyo, the old imperial palace in Kyoto is surrounded by nothing but expansive blue sky. As if hovering overhead while passing through the Jomeimon Gate, the catchphrase reads, "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" as though the thought has just appeared in our heads at the moment we come to the open courtyard and experience the full scale of the *shishinden*.

Another example, poster 21 [See Appendix A, P21], titled "The Yoshida House (A Registered Landscape Monument)" and published between November 1, 2013 and March 19, 2014, focuses on a more intimate setting than poster 13, but nevertheless the effect is much the same. This poster takes us to an interior space of one of Kyoto's *kyō-machiya* townhouses. P21 features a particular named example called the *yoshidatei* townhouse, an Edo Period townhouse representative of the fabric traders of merchant class located in Muromachi, one of Kyoto's old wholesale kimono districts. The *yoshidatei* townhouse consists of a storefront, living quarters, a storehouse, and two attached gardens connected via a long narrow passageway. Approaching from the foyer, the sliding wooden doors in the front of the house reserved for guests have been opened to their fullest extent, beckoning visitors to step up into a simply decorated, six-mat (approximately ten square meters) sized Japanese-style room. The room itself is neat and tidy featuring mostly wooden construction including walls made of wood and clay, a wooden ceiling, and wooden *fusuma* on either side. It has been simply furnished with what appears to be a western-style writing desk accessorized with Japanese sculptures. The room features only a single glass light fixture that dangles from the ceiling. At the far end of the room, four sliding *shoji* doors are left partially open, revealing an internal Japanese garden

landscape to allow the summer breeze in as a reprieve from sultry Kyoto summers. These inner gardens of small size and traditional design are enclosed within the compound of the house and are a common feature among *kyō-machiya*. Though mostly hidden from view, the garden reflects much of the simplicity in the design of the room. Despite being primarily a rock garden, to the far right stands an *ishidōrō* stone lantern decorated with the lush green of bamboo at its side. As illustrated in P21, the spatial dimension does not limit itself to purely urban cultural landscapes, for as with the Japanese garden, nature here has been captured, transformed, and integrated into urban spaces.

### **Natural Places**

The sense of place constructed in “miyako” also encompasses natural sites. Heian-kyō, the ancient capital upon which Kyoto is built, was conceptualized as a copy of ancient Tang Dynasty capital Chang’an based on the principals of a native variant of Chinese geomancy called *shijinsō*. For Emperor Kanmu and his court, *shijinsō* represented an idealized topography, imagined as a home for the Taoist gods with a river in the east, a broad avenue in the west, a basin in the south, and a hill to the north. Today, the municipal government conceives nature in Kyoto through an idealized topography, *sanshisuimei*, which literally means “purple mountains and clear waters,” but more generally refers to “beautiful scenery.” As one might expect, the imagery of *sanshisuimei* is identified through symbols of nature including Kyoto’s surrounding mountains and rivers with explicit representations of a rural countryside, as in *furusato* and *furusato-zukuri* projects, and integrates these symbols into the townscape of Kyoto in

a way that harkens back to a past when the significance of nature influenced daily decisions in the lives of ordinary people.

The sense that Kyoto's natural places embody the *sanshisuimei* concept is the subject of poster seven [See Appendix A, P7], titled "An Ordinary Day with Daimonji Mountain and the Kamogawa River" and running from July 1, 2006 till September 17, 2006. P7 introduces a daytime scene from the Kamogawa River. In the immediate foreground of the poster, people, primarily women and children, are seen walking, riding bicycles, and apparently enjoying the open spaces along the banks of the Kamogawa River. The river itself is bursting with life. Along its banks, grasses sprout while tiny islands of silt dot its length. On the far bank, more greenery and trees hide distracting views of the residential neighborhood that lay just beyond this popular outdoor retreat. In the background stands Nyoigadake, Daimonji Mountain.

In Kyoto, views of this mountain from the riverbank of the Kamogawa River have been cherished and the protection of this particular view by limiting the height of surrounding buildings has been the subject of much legislation. On the face of Daimonji Mountain, sits the character and namesake, "*dai*" (大) meaning large or big, which is clearly visible in the cleared out space between the trees. This character is an integral part of the climax of Kyoto's *obon* festival celebrations in which it and four other giant bonfire of various characters and shapes, collectively called the *gozan no okuribi* (mountain bonfire), are lit to guide the souls of deceased family members back to the spirit world after they visit the living during the *obon* festival.

At the bottom of the page, reads the narrative "How would you like an idle vacation? Do you hate spending time with no aim? If you walk a little you'll want to

breathe deeply the refreshing air around town. Immerse yourself in Kyoto. It will give your heart ‘peace,’ so much so that you’ll want to share this with the people of the world. (*‘pokkan’ toshita kyūjitsu wa ikagadesu ka mokuteki no nai jikan wa wo kiraidesu ka. sukoshi arukeba, shinkokyū shitaku naru oishī kūki ga machi no achikochi ni. kyōto yoku. kokoro ga ‘heian’ ni naru kōka ga arimasu. sekaijū no hitobito ni, chotto wakete agetai kuraidesu.*)” Here nature and the townscape of Kyoto are being directly compared and equated with the natural scenery of the Kamogawa River. The use of *yoku* (immerse, bath) in the original Japanese equates experiencing Kyoto as a pleasant, revitalizing experience that will heal (*iyashi*) your heart akin. This term not only contrasts with a cultural logic of daily soaking or travel to hot springs, but suggests steeping Kyoto provides a deep sense of cleansing and healing in terms of pleasurable and relaxing experience. It should be mentioned that despite the apparent “naturalness” of the Kamogawa River as implied by P7, the river is not totally natural. Careful eyes will notice where Emperor Shirakawa lamented his inability to control the river’s rapids and had artificial waterfalls installed. Additionally, concrete bricks have been applied to its banks to prevent erosion and minimize damage from the inevitable flooding brought by the rainy season while foliage has been cut back to provide space for people to escape and enjoy nature safely.

The importance of *sanshisuimei* nature and its incorporation into built environment is also visible in other images. Poster 10 [See Appendix A, P10], titled “The Togetsukyō Bridge During the Arashiyama Hanatōro Festival,” features the Togetsukyō Bridge located in Arashiyama, a designated Historic Site (*shiseki*) and Place of Scenic Beauty (*tokubetsu meishō*) and outlying district in the western half of Kyoto named after the

Arashiyama Mountain. Originally conceived by Emperor Kameyama, Togetsukyō Bridge, which literally means the “moon crossing” spans the confluence of the Hozu and Ōi Rivers, which together form the Katsuragawa River seen here. P10 captures an annual event held in December called the “Flowered Light Path” in which the span of the Togetsukyō Bridge and surrounding areas are illuminated with flower shaped lanterns, theatrically placed spotlights along the structural pylons of the bridge, installed to create the effect of a floating bridge in a vessel of orange light. In the background, more lights of green, blue, and purple along the forested side of the Arashiyama Mountain illuminate and highlight its trees and rounded shape.

Contrary to what one might see on a typical afternoon in Arashiyama, there are no tour busses or family vehicles and service trucks stuck in traffic. The usual crowds of tourists stopped on the bridge to snap a commemorative photograph of the river and mountains are also conspicuously absent. To meet the demands of modern infrastructure and support the large quantities of automotive and foot traffic exiting Randen’s (Kyoto City’s street car system) Arashiyama Station, the Togetsukyō Bridge’s original wooden construction has required that it be rebuilt in 1934 out of modern materials complete with an asphalt roadbed and crosswalks, although the concrete and steel structural materials have been carefully hidden and decorated with nonstructural wooden elements that replicate the original design of the bridge. Still, the Togetsukyō Bridge harkens back to its Edo Period roots and maintains roughly the same shape and, at the very least, the appearance of its original wooden construction. This integration of the urban, represented by the bridge, with nature, symbolized in the *sanshisuimei* imagery of

Arashiyama Mountain and the Katsuragawa River, forms the core ethos of a city borne from geomancy.

This relationship between the urban and natural that forms Kyoto's cultural landscape is also reversed through the appropriation and transformation of nature into carefully manicured landscapes in Japanese gardens. These dioramas compress landscapes into tightly closed and managed spaces that exhibit a mastery over nature. The subject of poster 19 [See Appendix A, P19], titled "World Heritage Site Tenryūji Temple and its Large Takefusuma E and running from October 12, 2012 till March 18, 2013, brings us to Tenryūji Temple, also located in Arashiyama and famous for housing one of Kyoto's most prized gardens. Instead of the typical vistas of temples discussed above, however, the audience is presented with an interior setting focused on two *fusuma* (sliding panels that divide rooms into smaller spaces or act as doors). These *fusuma* have been elaborately painted with the image of a dragon in the Chinese style with thick calligraphic lines in deep black ink. Despite its frightening appearance, these dragons are known in mythology for being playful tricksters, and the dragon here in P19 is no different. Behind his mischievous grin, we see eyes that appear to stare back at the audience. Upon closer inspection, the dragon's eyes seem to be drifting to the lower right of the image to the catch phrase, "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan".

In an interesting twist on the typical landscape set pieces we have seen thus far, however, the garden is not shown to the audience directly, but rather it is reflected in an acrylic covering that has been placed over *fusuma* thus creating the effect of a dual image that contains both interior (dragon) and exterior (garden). Outside the garden, a registered "Special Place of Scenic Beauty" (*tokubetsumeishō*), designed by Musō

Soseki, features a large, gentle pool called the Sōgen Pond, its delicate banks decorated with rock formations and Japanese maples just beginning to turn a bright red, signaling the coming autumn-leaf viewing season. The audience's gaze, initially directed towards the dragon, becomes drawn toward the reflected image of the garden while the dragon simultaneously beckons visitors to venture further and explore the temple in order to "open the doors" to the garden both inside and out.

### **Reconsidering Kyoto**

The final two posters of the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" campaign combine elements of Kyoto's built and natural environments discussed above in a special two part series of posters that Kyoto City's campaign team called *kyōto mitsumenaosu* (Reconsider Kyoto). Mitsumenaosu is a compound of both the words "to gaze" (*mitsumeru*) and "to repair, mend, or fix" (*naosu*). Thematically, these posters are as much about the integration of built and natural spaces as they are about reexamining the current state of Kyoto's landscape and to rethink the city's direction in preserving both the built and natural places. The first poster, poster 14 [See Appendix A, P14], entitled "*kyōto mitsumenaosu 1*" (Reconsider Kyoto 1) and published from October 2, 2009 to February 15, 2010, presents the audience with a garden scene contained within the wooden structure of one of Kenninji Temple's interior halls. Founded by the priest Yōsai in 1202, Tennenji Temple is a Zen temple that structurally resembles many of the tile roofed Buddhist Temples found throughout Kyoto with exposed wooden support pillars, tatami mats, sliding doors with paper windows to partition the room. The focal point of this poster, however, is not Kenninji Temple itself, but rather the temple treasure (*jihō*),

and Kenninji Temple's most important cultural artifact, one of Sotatsu's Edo Period folding screen of the wind god (*fujin*) and thunder god (*raijin*).

In an amusing twist, this folding screen is merely a copy as the original Sotatsu was moved to the Kyoto National Museum following its designation as a National Treasure. Nevertheless, a young woman sits formally in *seiza* style surveying both the folding screen and an expansive internal Japanese garden landscape named the Sound of Waves that features a mossy bed with three large stones placed centrally with smaller rocks scattered along the periphery underneath two Japanese maple trees. One gets the impression that the moss, flowing like waves, is crashing against an imagined cliff face represented by the stones.

The second poster from the "Reconsider Kyoto" series, poster 15 [See Appendix A, P15] titled "*kyōto mitsumenaosu*" (Reconsider Kyoto 2") and running from February 16, 2010 to July 15, 2010, uses an image of a scene from the viewing platform at Shōrenin Temple, located on Higashiyama Mountain, Kyoto's famous eastern peak. In the lower right corner of the image stands a solitary, young woman in informal dress gazing off toward the city. Heianjingu Shrine is visible, its large, bright red *torii* gate peaking just above the tree line. There three of Kyoto's *gozan no okuribi* characters float above the Kitayama Mountains in a pale teal haze that gradually blends into the blue sky. A cursory glance at the poster itself reveals an abundance of nature—the Kamogawa and Takanogawa Rivers, pockets of wooded spaces, and small hills dot Kyoto's landscape only hinting at the ancient temples and shrines that lay beneath their canopies. While the gaze of the young woman is directed toward Kyoto, the inclusion of the catch phrase

intersecting her line of sight can be read as if she has climbed to this vantage point, taken in the sights, and said to herself, “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan.”

Interestingly, the careful construction of Kyoto’s image in P15 betrays much of the realities of the city. The angle chosen for this image creates the overall appearance of a premodern past as, facing a northwesterly direction, it peers over the low-lying foothills revealing the northern half of the city, which consists primarily of residential districts. Had this image been taken from the opposite direction, facing a westerly or southerly direction, the young woman’s eyes would not fall on shrines, ancient symbols, mountains, and rivers but rather upon the seemingly endless urban sprawl of office buildings and large apartment complexes extending towards Osaka and the Seto Inland Sea. In P14, nature is captured in carefully manicured garden within the grounds of Kenninji Temple. In P15 this relationship is reversed. Here Kyoto becomes a part of a nature embodied by the *sanshisuimei* concept of “purple mountains and clear waters”. Kyoto’s low-lying skyline flows between the foothills of the surrounding mountains parting ways only to accommodate the flow of the Kamogawa and Takanogawa Rivers. This skyline recalls a timeless era when Kyoto existed as it always had—as the capital of Japan.

The “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” public campaign capture image of Kyoto’s famous places. The use of celebrity in these posters reaffirm and reconstruct what the potential visitor may already know—Kyoto is a repository for Japan’s ancient heritage. However, by directing the audience’s gaze toward not only where and what to look at, but how to look at it, these posters also advertise potential encounters with local culture in what Bruner (2005) has called “border zones,” stages of cultural display

authorized for the gaze of tourists. This campaign hints at future opportunities for travel in which such personal encounters allow you to learn about a “real Japan” by occupying historical places—traveling to Kyoto becomes akin to learning something about your history, yourself; you as Japan. Therefore, the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” campaign relies on recreating an artificial and imaged relationship in which potential visitors can come to know Japan through Kyoto without ever having left one’s home.

## Chapter Five

# Selling Miyako

Place branding is the conscious act of creating a specific image and narrative of place for marketing purposes in the tourism industry. Increasingly, place branding is being considered an effective solution to attract tourists, which provides places with a significant source of capital and outside interest. As places compete amongst each other for this ever-decreasing share of tourists in search of “authentic” experiences, bolstering local culture to distinguish one place from another has grown in importance (Kotler and Gertner 2002). Place branding then, as a form of advertising, requires engaging its target audience in such a way as to influence public opinion by emphasizing a place’s unique characteristics. Place branding is about creating and managing a place’s image and communicating that image to others. In thinking about place and branding, I posed the following question: if place branding in Kyoto relies on a constructed sense of time and place rooted in the past, what are the motives, means, and effects of that construction?

In Kyoto, the motives for one place branding campaign emerged from the protests of concerned citizens in 1996 over the construction of a European-styled bridge in one of Kyoto’s historical districts, Pontochō. Whereas earlier attempts at protesting construction projects were mostly ignored by Kyoto City officials, negative media attention, a dedicated group of motivated citizen protesters, and ultimately a poorly timed election, swung the momentum in favor of having the proposal for the bridge withdrawn. Following research into the condition of Kyoto’s historical townscapes, the municipal government moved to incorporate the voices of citizens more directly into the city’s plan for re-envisioning Kyoto in the 21st century. To promote a new set of political measures,

government officials entrusted the General Planning Bureau and a group of citizens called the 100 People Committee for Kyoto's Rebirth with creating a public relations poster campaign called "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan."

How then, does this campaign function as place branding in Kyoto? This political campaign was conceived of as a means to build excitement around the "Kyoto's Rebirth as a National Strategy" project and reach a wide range of people around Japan to spread awareness of the "charm of Kyoto." While initially the campaign was only distributed throughout Kyoto as a means of building political support for the implementation of new legislation, when distribution expanded beyond the prefectural boundaries to Tokyo, the campaign was no longer just a political booster. Instead "knowing the charm of Kyoto" was about communicating a specific message. This message, embodied by the campaign's slogan, points to a moment of reflection centered around the notion that Kyoto is the origins of an authentic history and culture that forms the foundation for Japanese identity. To deliver this message, the "I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan" campaign was produced as a series of posters in which images from around the city come together to construct a sense of the "real Japan," found only in Kyoto. Throughout this thesis I have called this constructed narrative "miyako," which I defined in Chapter Two as containing both a sense of the time and place rooted in the past. This thesis has also explored how "miyako" has become embedded in the posters of this campaign through representations of the ancient, close, and intimate; wooden and stone; natural and the beautiful; and most of all, Kyoto's imperial historical and cultural legacies.

According to this version of Kyoto, these images capture a moment, frozen in time, which permits one to become an active participant in the past. Through careful

photography and clever editing, the lived Kyoto fades into the background leaving the audience with the impression that Kyoto is only the historical and cultural. The posters of the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” public relation’s campaign also construct a sense of place through representations of Kyoto’s famous sites. These images instruct the gaze of the audience toward not only where to look, but also how these places should be looked at. Furthermore, the use of celebrity images and narratives, particularly those of young women illustrate that Kyoto is worth gazing at. The use of these images in this poster campaign reaffirm and reconstruct what the potential visitor may already know—Kyoto is a repository for Japan’s ancient heritage.

Place branding is about narrating places, but the process of branding is much more than simple advertising. Through the concept of the imaginary, place branding has real world implications as places are produced and reproduced around the desired image. Already I have shown how the “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” campaign applies the imagery of the ancient capital to brand the city as the “real Japan.” This campaign, however, is only one part of a much larger narrative. Two years prior to the launch of the original “I am so happy Kyoto is in Japan—Remake Kyoto, the City with the Sweet Scent of Elegance—“ campaign launched, Kyoto City published a document called the Kyoto City Basic Plan (*kyōtoshi kihon keikaku*) which outlined a set of policies designed to reverse the recessionary trend of the lost decade and provide new direction for the city into the 21st century. The development of this plan—of which Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy has become a part—provides an opportunity to illustrate how imagining places is just as much a process by which places are created as it is about branding them with a particular image.

In 2010, Kyoto City officials announced an update to these basic policy measures called “Flying into the Future! Miyako Plan: The Master Plan of Kyoto City 2011-2020 (*habatake mirai e! miyako puran kyōto kihon keikaku*).” In his opening statement of the plan released on December 20, 2010, the mayor of Kyoto City, Kadokawa Daisaku, contextualizes the development process for the Miyako Plan policies by noting four areas posing significant challenges to both Japan broadly and Kyoto specifically. First, the population of Japan, as a whole, is declining. In Kyoto, the population will decrease from the 1.465 million people recorded in 2010, to an estimated 1.41 to 1.42 million people in 2020. This number will continue to shrink and in 2035, the population of Kyoto is projected to be approximately 1.27-1.3 million people. These figures are accredited to a decreasing national birthrate, a growing population of elderly, and an increase in single households. The Miyako Plan contends that to lessen the effects of these trends, improving the attractiveness of living and raising families in Kyoto should become a priority and includes efforts in education and a “healthy environment” (Kyoto City 2010:6).

Second, the mayor states that Kyoto City should take a leading role addressing global climate change by implementing progressive policies through working with citizens and local business to reducing overall greenhouse gas emissions in the city (Kyoto City 2010:6). Third, globalization is placing ever-increasing strains on the city to maintain its competitiveness in culture, art, tourism, and education (Kyoto City 2010:6). Policy should be implemented, therefore, as a means of promoting Kyoto’s unique features to increase their vitality in the international community. Fourth, and perhaps most challenging for the city, is Japan’s weak economic position since the bursting of the

asset price bubble two decades ago that has resulted in a deflationary period with limited opportunity for economic growth (Kyoto City 2010:6). Combined with a turn away from traditional lifestyles and industries and the inability of the municipal government to attract new businesses to the city have only compounded Kyoto's financial troubles. Further still, decreasing central government financial assistance provided to prefectures and increasing burdens on welfare programs as the population ages, is painting a grim picture for the future financial situation of the city. To best address these issues, city officials solicited comments and suggestions from Kyoto citizens during the drafting stages of the Miyako Plan by conducting surveys (that ultimately received over 12,000 responses) on the future direction of the city.

At its core, the Miyako Plan is a framework for an ideal future that Kyoto City officials hope to achieve by 2020. The overall vision that Mayor Kadokawa and his team are seeking, lies in addressing the issues mentioned above so that, in the words of the mayor, “[o]ur residents in 50 years or even 100 years will say, ‘I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan’ and ‘I am really happy that I live in Kyoto’ ” (Kyoto City 2010:2). Many of these visions embody characteristics of the definition of “miyako” laid out in Chapter Two. Included among these are improving Kyoto's relationship with nature, ensuring the continued transmission of its cultural heritage to future generations, making the most of traditional industries as models for future productivity, and fostering the continued development of closely knit local communities. To achieve these visions, Kyoto City officials have structured Miyako Plan policies along four broad categories: 1) enrichment, 2) vitalization, 3) wellbeing, and 4) city development. The first set of policies outlined under “enrichment” are primarily concerned with addressing social issues that range from

human rights to gender equality, raising and educating children with “life skills,” encouraging civic engagement, improving the safety and security of the city, and developing arts and cultural programs that will contribute to Kyoto’s status as an “internationally recognized cultural arts city” (Kyoto City 2010:22). Second, “vitalization” is focused on emphasizing Kyoto’s unique features, ensuring their transmission to future generations, and marketing these features to potential visitors through place branding. The plan notes how reviving traditional industries and the agriculture and forestry sector will serve as an attractive employment opportunity in addition to bolstering the historical and natural character of the city. The plan also outlines how policies will be implemented to better market Kyoto’s many universities. Improving and promoting Kyoto’s quality as a destination city for any of these activities, the plan states, is about developing the character of the city and by doing so elevating the city’s international recognition, (Kyoto City 2010:25-27).

The third area of policy focus outlined in the Miyako Plan, “wellbeing”, outlines policies that improve the quality of life in the city by ensuring access to public health, welfare, and education services and facilities. These policies also place a certain degree of the initiative in the hands of the citizens to encourage civic engagement with these issue and to develop strong familial and local support networks for the parenting and education of children, the active and productive lifestyles of adults, and the care of the elderly (Kyoto City 2010:29-35). The final policy focus area, “city development,” is concerned with remaking the city around pedestrians, while improving land use, and the appearance of the city’s scenery, buildings, and housing (Kyoto City 2010: 36-43). Noteworthy in this section is the inclusion of policies originating from the “Kyoto’s

Rebirth as a National Strategy” project such as the conservation of natural environments and the preservation and development of Kyoto into a city with a “refined urban landscape” (Kyoto City 2010:36). The plan specifically names the preservation of traditional *kyō-machiya* townhouses and the historic atmosphere as areas of particular interest. This emphasis on atmosphere forms a major focus area for policy change and entails, for example, developing aesthetically appealing roads and alleyways by removing utility poles and burying wires (Kyoto City 2010:36).

Kyoto City’s Miyako Plan resonates with Ricouer’s idea of Utopia outlined in Chapter One. Ricouer says, “[P]ragmatic ‘play’ overlaps with the narrative ‘play’ ... the function of the project, turned towards the future, and the function of the narrative, turned towards the past, exchange schemata and frameworks, the project of borrowing the story’s structure capacity and the story receiving the project’s capacity for looking ahead” (1994:126). What Ricouer is saying here is that a place’s narrative is framed in terms of the past, but this narrative also informs plans, policies, and projects, like the Miyako Plan, in their imagining and attempts at obtaining a utopian future. In Kyoto, the municipal government is rethinking what the structure of government, community, and family relationships should be. The Miyako Plan is about the organization of the urban and natural environment of the city, and the relationship between the past and present and how this relationship can re-create a “utopian” future Kyoto.

It must be mentioned, however, that the political processes that are imagining Kyoto through this narrative are faced with the challenge of “domesticating and exoticizing” their historical and cultural landscapes so that it can be “experienced as heritage without compromising their sense of themselves and the integrity of their

communities” (Stern and Hall 2010:225). Place branding is one strategy for reviving local communities, but there are limits to the place branding process. As Stern and Hall rightfully point out, these limits have the unintended consequences of freezing places into a specific time and place (2010:210). Johansson, therefore, is correct in concluding that place branding campaigns like “I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” or city wide policy change such as the Miyako Plan are a, “dialectical exercise between opening up new possibilities and observing historical limits” and are always bound to “past events that have shaped the place” (Johansson 2012:3622).

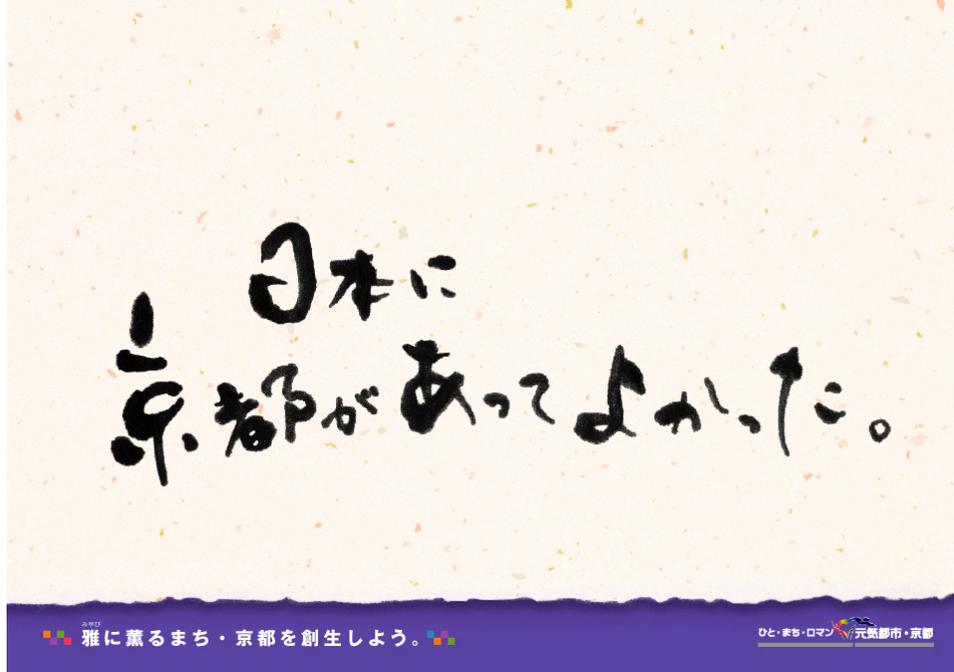
In sum, this thesis has introduced concepts of the past, place, and place branding to draw attention to ways in which places become encoded with specific meanings. Place branding requires that places be distilled to an essential core so that the desired values are communicated through branding. In this way, place branding appropriates existing symbols and signs into a narrative to be applied to social practices that produce a desired future. In the same way, the key assumption of Kyoto City’s branding campaign relies on branding as promoting an essential “true” place identity. This identity, “miyako,” imbues Kyoto City’s brand narrative with both a sense of time and place rooted in the past and its symbolic structures. The time of “miyako” represents a past upon which the urban and natural cultural landscapes of its places unfold. Here, jumbles of apartment complexes, neon signboards, and concrete utility poles are replaced with wooden structures where traditions, long forgotten in other parts of Japan, still have function and purpose. All of Kyoto’s history has been compressed into the atmosphere of a past that elicits a sense of a renewed Japanese self. This advertising campaign is also part of a much larger project for reimagining the city. As life has become more precarious at

home since the bursting of Japan's economic bubble in the early 1990s, Kyoto City officials are working to reverse the fragmentation of social life and provide a new model for growth into the 21st century through a series of core policy changes called the Miyako Plan so that even 100 years from now the citizens of Kyoto will say, "I'm happy I live in Kyoto, I'm happy that Kyoto is in Japan."

Appendix A

“I am so happy that Kyoto is in Japan” Campaign  
Posters

Poster 1 [P1]



Ink Character Version (*bokuji bājon*) [Period of Publication: December 1, 2003—  
February 9, 2004]

Poster 2 [P2]



Myōshinji Temple’s Decorative Ceiling Painting “Unryū” (*myōshinji tenjōga [unryū]*  
*bājon*) [Period of Publication: February 10, 2004—July 31, 2004]

No higher resolution image available.

Poster 3 [P3]



Tabata Tomoko at Kinkakuji Temple (*tabata tomoko, kinkakuji bājon*) [Period of Publication: August 1, 2004—October 31, 2004]

Poster 4 [P4]



Nishimura Kazuhiko at Kiyomizudera Temple (*nishimura kazuhiko, kiyomizudera bājon*) [Period of Publication: November 1, 2004—April 30, 2005]

Poster 5 [P5]



Kikukawa Rei and an Iris Pattern Kimono (*kikukawa rei, kimono, ayame no monyō bājon*) [Period of Publication: May 1, 2005—July 31, 2005]

Poster 6 [P6]



Kataoka Nizaemon at the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art (*kataoka nizaemon, kyōto bijyūtsukan bājon*) [Period of Publication: October 1, 2005—March 31, 2006]

**Poster 7 [P7]**



An Ordinary Day with Daimonji Mountain and the Kamogawa River (*daimonjiyama to kamogawa de no nichijō bājon*) (Period of Publication: July 1, 2006—September 17, 2006]

No higher resolution image available.

**Poster 8 [P8]**



On the Grounds of Konkaikomyōji Temple (*konkaikomyōji no keidai bājon*) [Period of Publication: September 18, 2007—February 27, 2008]

No higher resolution image available.

Poster 9 [P9]



The Ōtorii of Heianjingu Shrine and the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art (*heianjingu ōtorii, kyōtoshi bijyūtsukan bājon*) [Period of Publication: February 28, 2008—October 11, 2008]

Poster 10 [P10]



The Togetsukyō Bridge During the Arashiyama Hanatōro Festival (*togetsukyō [arashiyama hanatōro]*) [Period of Publication: October 12, 2007—February 27, 2008]

Poster 11 [P11]



The Purification Ceremony of the Hollyhock Festival, Saiōdai Heads Towards the Divine Ritual (*aoimatsuri~misogi [misogi] shinji ni mukau saiōdai*) [Period of Publication: February 28, 2008—September 26, 2008]

Poster 12 [P12]



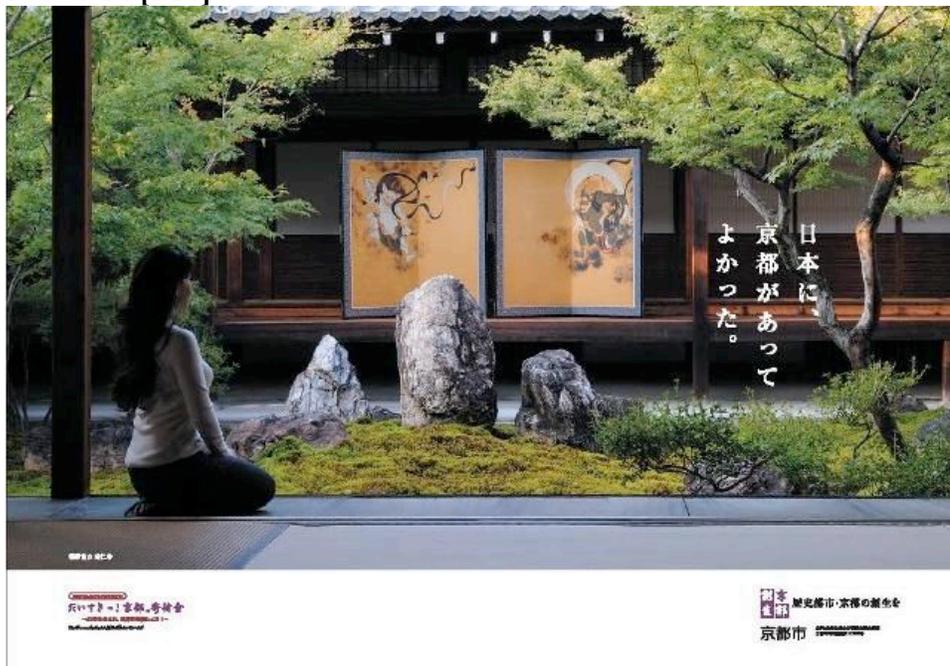
The Gosechi no Mai Dance at Kyoto Imperial Palace (*gosechi no mai [kyotō gosho]*) [Period of Publication: September 27, 2008—February 4, 2009]

Poster 13 [P13]



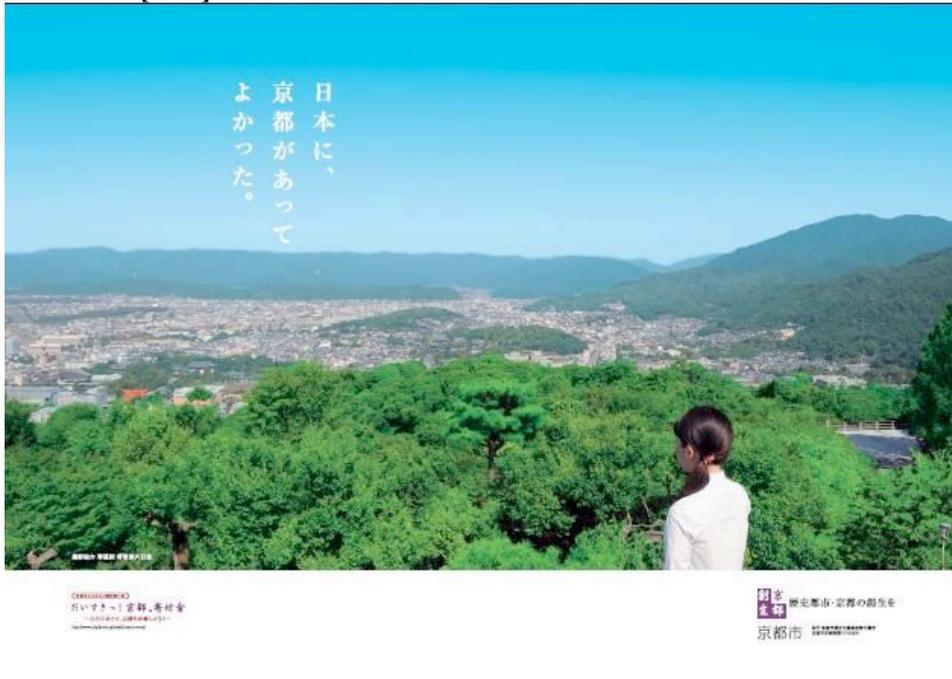
Nishijin Neighborhood, “Walkable City Kyoto” (*nishijin kaiwa~arukumachi • kyōto~*)  
[Publication Period: February 5, 2009—October 1, 2009]

Poster 14 [P14]



Reconsider Kyoto 1 (*kyōto wo mitsumenaosu 1*) [Publication Period: October 2, 2009—February 15, 2010]

Poster 15 [P15]



Reconsider Kyoto 2 (*kyōto wo mitsumenaosu 2*) [Publication Period: February 16, 2010—July 15, 2010]

Poster 16 [P16]



Kyoto Takiginō at Heianjingū (*kyōto takiginō [heianjingū]*) [Publication Period: July 16, 2010—February 3, 2011]

Poster 17 [P17]



Tea Ceremony, “the Spirit of Hospitality” (*sadō—omotenashi no kokoro—*) [Period of Publication: February 4, 2011—March 1, 2012]

Poster 18 [P18]



Saiōdai of the Hollyhock Festival (*aoi matsuri saiōdai*) [Publication Period: March 2, 2012—October 11, 2012]

Poster 19 [P19]



World Heritage Site Tenryūji Temple and its Large Takefusuma E (Unryū Zu) (*sekai bunkaisan* • *tenryūji ōhōjō fusumae [unryū-zu]*) [Publication Period: October 12, 2012—March 18, 2013]

Poster 20 [P20]



The Shishinden at Kyoto Imperial Palace (*kyōto gosho* • *shishinden*) [Publication Period: March 19, 2013—October 31, 2013]

Poster 21 [P21]



**創生 京都** 日本の財産である京都を守り、育て、未来へ…  
 私たちは、「国民的財産としての京都再生」を提案します。  
 実行期 京都府 京都市 各関係機関等

吉田邸 (登録景観建造物)  
 撮影: 11月 2日

The Yoshida House (A Registered Landscape Monument) (*yoshidatei [keikan jūyō kenzōbutsu]*) [Publication Period: November 1, 2013—March 19, 2014]

Poster 22 [P22]



～今年、祇園祭山鉦巡行が本来の姿に戻ります～  
 7月24日、49年ぶり後祭が復活  
 150年ぶり大船鉦が町衆の手により復興

**創生 京都** 日本の財産である京都を守り、育て、未来へ…  
 私たちは、「国民的財産としての京都再生」を提案します。  
 実行期 京都府 京都市 各関係機関等

A Funaboko of Gion Matsuri (*goon matsuri [funaboko]*) [Publication Period: March 20, 2014—Current as of July 1, 2014]

**Appendix B**  
**Visual Analysis Form**

**Visual Analysis Form**

<b>Composition</b>	Place on the Page	
	Size of Image	
<b>Style</b>	Color	
	Composition	
	Typeface	
<b>People</b>	Gender	
	Age	
	Bodies	
	Dress	
	Gaze	
	Activity	
<b>Physical Images</b>	Built Environment	
	Natural Environment	
	Time	
	Season	
<b>Text</b>	World Images	
	Metaphors	
	Writing Style	

## Appendix C

# Timeline of Events

### Timeline of Events

Date	Event
1869	Capital of Japan moved to Tokyo
1919	City Planning Act ( <i>toshi keikakuhō</i> )
1924	Building Standard Act ( <i>kenchiku kijyunhō</i> )
1930	Ordinance on Scenic Landscape Districts
1950	Law for Establishing International Culture and Tourism Cities ( <i>kokusai bunka kankō toshi kensetsu hō</i> )
1964	Narabigaoka Hill Landscape Conflict
1964	Kyoto Tower landscape conflict
1966	Special Law for the Preservation of Historical Features in Ancient Capitals ( <i>koto ni okeru rekishiteki fūdo no hozon ni kansuru tokubetsu sochi hō</i> )
1972	Ordinance on Urban Landscape
1990 - 1994	Kyoto Hotel Landscape Conflict
1992	Kyōmachiya Revitalization Society ( <i>kyōmachiya saisei kenkyū kai</i> ) Established
1996 - 1997	Kyoto Station Landscape Conflict
1994	Kyoto Mitate Established
1997 - 1998	Pontochō Landscape Conflict
1998	Architectural Institute of Japan (AIJ, <i>ippan shadanhō ninon kenchiku gakkai</i> ) organizes the “Special Research Committee of the Townscape of Kyoto” ( <i>kyōto no toshi keikan tokubetsu kenkyū iinkai</i> )
2001	Kyoto City Basic Plan ( <i>kyōtoshi kihon keikaku</i> ) Announced
May 2003	Kyoto City organizes the “Kyoto’s Rebirth Discussion Panel” ( <i>kyōto sōsei kondankai</i> )
June 2003	Kyoto’s Rebirth Discussion Panel completes the “Proposal for Kyoto’s Rebirth as a National Strategy” ( <i>senryaku toshite kyōto sōsei no teigen</i> )
June 2003	100 People Committee for Kyoto’s Rebirth” ( <i>kyōto sōsei hyakunin iinkai</i> ) Established
November	Charm of Kyoto Series ( <i>kyōto no miryoku shirīzu</i> ) Announced

2003

December 2003 First poster of the Charm of Kyoto Series released

August 2004 Kyoto's Rebirth Project Team (*kyōto sōsei purojekuto chīmu*) Established

December 2004 Historical City • Kyoto's Rebirth Policy (Draft) (*rekishi toshi • kyōto sōsei saku [an]*) Completed

March 2006 100 People Committee for Kyoto's Rebirth organizes "Council for Making Kyoto's Landscape Timeless and Beautiful" (*toki wo koe hikarikagayaku kyōto no keikanzukuri shingikai*)

November 2006 Historical City • Kyoto's Rebirth Policy II Completed and Approved by Kyoto City Government

December 2010 Kyoto City Basic Plan (*kyōtoshi kihon keikaku*) renamed "Miyako Plan"

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