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February 1, 1980

Frank J. Betts
Mount McKinley National Park
Box 9
McKinley Park, AK 99755

Dear Frank:

Enclosed is the third draft of "Foreign Visitors and Interpretation:
A Sociological Look at the Japanese Tourist" by Machlis and Field.
As other papers become completed, I will gladly send them to you.

Hope you find the paper interesting.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Field
Regional Chief Scientist
National Park Service

DRF:ns

Enc

Wish we had the money spent on this paper to provide more services for our visitors both foreign & nonforeign.

FOREIGN VISITORS AND INTERPRETATION:

A SOCIOLOGICAL LOOK AT THE JAPANESE TOURIST[1]

BY

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and

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FOREIGN VISITORS AND INTERPRETATION:

A SOCIOLOGICAL LOOK AT THE JAPANESE TOURIST

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Abstract

In this paper, we argue that an ecological perspective is especially valuable when attempting to understand foreign tourist behavior in parks. A theoretical framework is proposed that treats visitors as part of the park ecosystem, and we view interpretation as central to visitor adaptation within the park.

This ecological model is then applied to Japanese tourists --- an important visitor public to many national parks and historic sites. We examine available data concerning sociodemographic characteristics, human institutions, and key cultural elements which might be relevant to interpretive planning and the conduct of programs. Lastly, we suggest several specific ways such sociological knowledge could be of use to interpreters.

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, the United States has increasingly become a destination of international tourists. Technological achievements such as the wide-bodied jet aircraft, improved economic equality between the world's industrial populations, and a reduction of governmental travel barriers, have contributed to this increase. Americans, who in the 1950's and '60's toured the world in large numbers and often controversial style, are now finding themselves hosts to people from other lands.

This shift in travel patterns among the world's citizenry is not without its consequences for outdoor recreation places in the United States. Parks, forests, and historic sites once used predominantly by American citizens are now being visited by foreign tourists. These

travelers add a unique element to the growing diversity of user populations. For the interpreter, they signal a new "need to know", as the successful planning and conduct of interpretive programs may now require an understanding of visitor publics widely different from traditional users. We believe increased knowledge about human behavior in parks can directly aid these efforts.

This paper focuses upon Japanese tourists. Japan represents the third largest source of foreign visitors to the United States (after Canada and Mexico), and the U.S.A. is the most popular travel destination for the Japanese (USDC, 1978). Hence, Japan represents a potentially important source of foreign visitation to U.S. parks and historic sites. Further, Japan is the only non-Western industrialized society, with a cultural base much different than other tourist - exporting nations. A sociological look at the Japanese tourist may reveal insights about our native visitors.

The purpose of this paper is to 1) provide information about Japanese travelers, the Japanese tourism industry, and Japanese society, and 2) to suggest how such information can directly aid interpretive programming.

First, the relevant sociological literature is reviewed. This review is followed by a theoretical framework, ecological in perspective, that allows us to analyze human behavior in parks. Next, we examine the Japanese tourist, using this ecological framework as a guide. Finally, we suggest how our findings can be of practical use to interpretation.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Since the 1960's, sociological examination of outdoor recreation and tourism have proceeded along separate and yet parallel lines. Researchers studying outdoor recreation have focused upon demographic characteristics that influence participation (ORRRC, 1962; LaPage and Ragain, 1971), the importance of social groupings (Burch and Wenger, 1967; Field and O'Leary, 1973), and the cultural context of recreation activities (Campbell et al, 1969; Bultena and Field, 1978). Research programs dealing with interpretation have been largely descriptive of the diverse audiences involved (see McDonough et al, 1977 for a review of one such program). Theoretical frameworks for understanding behavior have either been based upon typologies of users (Hendee et al 1973) or have treated the social setting as crucial (Burch, 1965; DeVall, 1973).

Likewise, researchers examing international tourism have concentrated upon "market segmentation studies" which correlate demographic characteristics with travel (Gearing, Swart and Var, 1976), and the impact of tourism upon local populations (Greenwood, 1972; White, 1974; Turner and Ash, 1976). Interpretive activities have been studied as to their symbolic content (Buck, 1978) and as a form of cross-cultural communication (Evans, 1976). Theoretical frameworks have focused upon developing typologies of tourists (Cohen, 1974; Smith, 1977) and describing the structure of tourist experiences

(Sutton, 1967; MacCannell, 1976; Forester, 1964).

These literatures have remained quite separate, as the international tourist and local outdoor recreationist have been perceived as using different recreational resources. Yet, the increasing visitation of parks and historic sites by foreign tourists suggests a synthesis may prove valuable.

PARKS AND HUMAN ECOLOGY

Human ecology provides such a heuristic perspective. The essence of this approach is a recognition of Homo sapiens as part of the ecosystem. The human ecosystem is defined by the interaction of people, social organization and available technology in response to a set of environmental conditions (Hawley, 1950; Micklin, 1977; Bruhn, 1974; Duncan, 1964). The scale of such systems can vary considerably.

> Ecologists use the term ecosystem to refer to a community together with its habitat. An ecosystem, then, is an aggregation of associated species of plants and animals, together with the physical features of their habitat. Ecosystems can be of any size or ecologic rank. At the extreme, the whole earth and all its plant and animal inhabitants together constitute a world ecosystem.
>
> (Dice, 1955:2-3)

Human ecosystems are dynamic and adaptive, i.e. the feedback mechanisms linking human populations to resources can change over time. "Adaptation" is a crucial term here. The biological concept of adaptation has had at least two meanings: evolutionary genetic change, and mechanisms used by organisms during their life-span to cope with the environment (Ricklefs, 1973).

Adaptation within the human ecosystem clearly is based on the importance of coping. Bennett writes:

> The rational or purposive manipulation of the social and natural environments constitutes the human approach to Nature: the characteristics of this style of adaptation must, it seems to me, become the heart of any approach to human ecology that concerns itself with the question of what people want and how they go about getting it, and what effects this has on themselves and Nature. Adaptive behavior is viewed as multidimensional: what may be adaptive for one individual is maladaptive for another or for the group; what may be adaptive for humans may not be so for Nature.
>
> (1976:3)

A variety of examples - - - the Sioux Indian's adoption of the horse (Roe, 1955), the cargo cults of the Pacific Islands (Jarvie, 1963), and the current energy "crisis", reflect the response of human behavior to environmental change.

U.S. national parklands can be considered as human ecosystems. Created by society, these natural and cultural entities reflect a social organization and technology for the preservation and use of resources commemorated as parks. The National Park Service is a social organization with a cadre of professionals and infrastructure responsible for the planning, management and interpretation of such protected resources. In this perspective, park visitors are a key population.
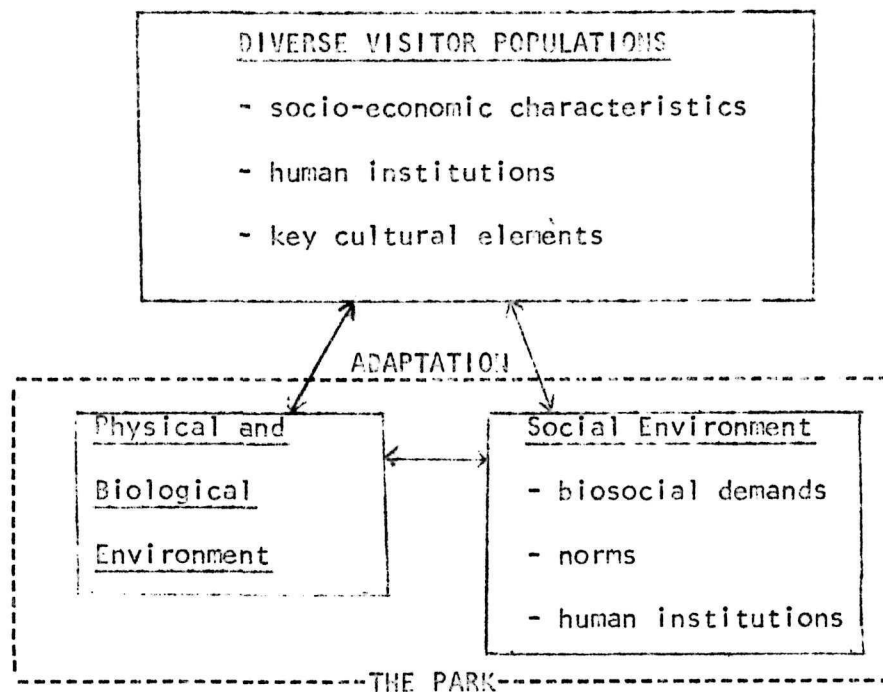
Park ecosystems also show the adaptive character of man-Nature interactions. The strong responses of certain animal species to contact with visitors has been increasingly documented (McArthur, 1970), along with the impact of use upon fragile sites (Schreiner and Moorhead, 1970). The administration of park areas has evolved to meet changes in visitor populations, i.e. the 'Mission 66 program's attempt to deal with a rising demand for facilities.

Placed in this context we might describe the park ecosystem in terms of Figure 1, shown below. This view of the park ecosystem emphasizes the social nature of parks, and the role of the visitor. It provides a useful framework for understanding park visitor behavior and helps organize our discussion of Japanese tourists.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Figure 1 presents a view of the park ecosystem. The physical and biological environment represent those resources set aside as vignettes of natural of social history, and which support the human activity within a park. For example, a river may function as a natural area for hiking, a setting for historical interpretation, and as a source of potable water for park staff and visitors.

FIGURE 1.

Biosocial demands are the result of regularities in behavior, imposed upon the species by evolutionary trends. The need for sustenance and for shelter, the drive to protect and educate the young, are all universals that influence behavior in parks.

Norms reflect both broad societal definitions of appropriate and inappropriate behavior among conspecifics, and rules of conduct within a particular recreation or tourist setting. Such settings can be deliberately planned. European churches, for example, attempt to manage behavior by restricting access, defining appropriate dress, and requiring sober and reflective conduct within their sanctuaries. With equal vigor, Club Med resorts manage behavior by providing a communal environment, adopting a pseudo-barter economy, and en-couraging "liberated" sexual standards. Park-going may also have definitions of appropriate behavior.

Human institutions are defined as patterns of social organization that allow the satisfaction of human needs and wants (Burch, 1970). The National Park Service, Congress, Sierra Club and other groups are institutions impacting park ecosystems - - as are the industrial economy that allows for blocks of non-work time, and concessionaire system that provides room and board, and the newspaper that disseminates information about park areas.

These interacting components - - social as well as environmental are what defines parks as special places, and hence are visualized in Figure 1 as the park.

Our view of the park ecosystem includes visitors. Publics vary in the content and expression of culture; i.e. they represent diverse sub-populations within the park ecosystem (Field and Wagar, 1974). When visitors enter a park, they bring certain sociodemographic characteristics such as age and family life cycle with them and these factors may influence participation. Visitors depend upon a set of human institutions to help organize their recreation experi-ences - - transportation systems, tour operators and travel agents, clubs, associations, and so forth. Finally, they rely upon key cultural elements to guide their individual action. Examples would include ethical systems, attitudes toward Nature, and norms for proper conduct.

The interrelationship of diverse visitor groups and such a complex setting as a park requires substantial adaptation. An interpretive program that describes local flora and fauna, informs visitors as to hiking and sightseeing opportunities, and explains park regulations, is part of this process. Seen in this light, interpretation is an exchange of information critical to adaptation within a park ecosystem, and the interpreter fulfills a very real ecological function.

There is some empirical support for this view of the park eco-system. A variety of studies have examined the strategies for adaptation used by specific visitor groups (see Tale 1). While biosocial demands were found to greatly influence the adaptive strategies of major social groupings (i.e. families, the elderly, children, and so

forth) other park ecosystem variables influenced the more
activity-centered clientele (tourists, surfers, climbers, back-
packers, and so forth). Hence, the use of such a framework in
examining Japanese tourists has some potential.

Table 1

Studies Examining Adapation to

Park Ecosystems by Visitors

Author	Visitor Public	Variables Influencing Adaptive Strategy
Bultena et al (1978)	Elderly	biosocial demands of life cycle; norms for park-going
Burch and Wenger (1967)	Families	biosocial demands of life cycle; sociodemographic characteristics
Buck (1973)	Tourists	key cultural elements; human institutions managing tourist settings
DeVall (1973)	Surfers Climbers	norms for defining status among participants
Field and O'Leary (1973)	Park-goers	social group as major influence
Lee (1978)	Backpackers	norms for determining crowding
Machlis (1975)	Families	biosocial demands of sustenance, shelter and protection
Washburne (1978)	Blacks	key cultural elements; norms for choosing leisure life-style
Womble et al (1979)	Backpackers	human institutions (park management); norms for determining satisfaction

METHODS

Often when employing an ecological perspective, the scientist
begins with describing the natural history of the population under
study. Just as the ecologist attempting to understand the complexity
of a saltwater marsh begins with a description of marsh conditions,

so too the social scientist interested in park ecosystems needs to gather information that inventories the characteristics of visitor publics. This natural history approach was applied to our study of Japanese tourists.

There is no paucity of general tourism statistics. Dwyer et al (1979) list 22 major U.S. organizations collecting tourism data, and this does not include many state, private sector, and site-specific efforts. Abundant aggregate information is available about the characteristics of tourists, destinations and origins, reasons for travel, methods of transportation, travel expenditures, and so forth. However, few studies provide specific information on interpretation-related activities.

While we could not locate specific studies dealing with Japanese tourism to U.S. parks and historic sites, several statistical reports can provide an overview of Japanese tourism to the United States. The first is Tourism in Japan (1978) published by the Japan National Tourist Organization (JNTO). The second is a survey conducted by the U.S. Travel Service (1978), which reports 1977 data for 2,000 surveyed Japanese travelers. A third source is a similar study conducted by Cess (1978). Several works provided qualitative information on Japanese society (Reischauer, 1977; Nakane, 1970; Vogel, 1963) and the role of leisure in Japan (Lebra, 1976; Linhart, 1975).

Our description of Japanese tourists is organized around the ecosystem variables discussed above: sociodemographic characteristics, human institutions, and key cultural elements.

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1.) General Visitation Patterns

Japan's rise as a major industrial power has resulted in a steady increase in the number of Japanese traveling abroad. In 1967, there were 267,538 overseas travelers; by 1977 the number had risen to over 3 million (see Table 2). Tourism is a major factor, as 73.0% of all 1977 travelers were involved in pleasure activities (Japanese National Travel Organization, 1978).

Table 3 shows the distribution of these visitors to several major destinations, and the short term trends from 1975-1977. The United States is the most heavily visited, though the number of travelers has remained fairly constant since 1975. Within the United States, Japanese vacation travelers are concentrated within the "Pacific Rim" (Guam, Hawaii, and the Far West), though a sizeable portion visit the East Coast (see Table 4). Table 4 shows that while 70% of all Japanese travelers surveyed visited U.S. Islands, less than 5% visited the Mountain West or New England regions. Hence, it is the Western National Parks and East Coast Historical areas that are likely to have the largest numbers of Japanese visitors.

Table 2 - Number of Japanese Traveling Abroad

Year	Number of Travelers	Percent Change Over Previous Year
1967	267,538	+26.0
1968	343,542	+28.4
1969	492,880	+43.6
1970	663,467	+34.6
1971	961,135	+44.9
1972	1,392,045	+44.8
1973	2,288,966	+64.4
1974	2,335,530	+ 2.0
1975	2,466,326	+ 5.6
1976	2,852,584	+ 5.7
1977	3,151,431	+10.5

Source: Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice, (JNTO, 1979).

Table 3 - Top Six Major Destinations of Japanese Overseas Travelers

Destinations	1975	1976	1977
U.S.A.	746,124 (-2)*	772,386 (+4)	748,743 (-3)
Taiwan	419,259 (-5)	516,449 (+23)	561,166 (+9)
Hong Kong	382,740 (-10)	437,931 (+14)	485,495 (+11)
Korea	363,879 (+21)	521,128 (+43)	581,525 (+12)
France	280,000 (+12)	320,000 (+14)	335,000 (+5)
Italy	239,200 (+13)	268,700 (+12)	334,100 (+24)

*( ) = % change over previous year - Source: JNTO, 1979

Table 4 - United States Destinations
of 1977 Japanese Travelers

USA Destination Visited	Percent of Travelers Surveyed (N = 1,096)
Mainland	51
New England	4
Eastern Gateway	19
George Washington Country	6
The South	6
Great Lakes Country	7
Mountain West	3
Frontier West	8
Far West	47
U.S. Islands	72
Guam	11
Hawaii	61

Source: USDC, 1978 NOTE: Percent does not add to 100, since many travelers visited more than one destination.

A study conducted by Japan Air Lines (1972) suggests that National Parks are important locales for Japanese tourists. When asked what activities they would be interested in undertaking on a trip to the mainland, visiting the National Parks was mentioned by 22% of all travelers (see Table 5). Several alternatives (experience the scenery, visit historical places, visit museums and so forth) are likely to involve interpretation, hence 22% is a conservative estimate of Japanese visitors interested in interpretation-related activities.

Table 5 - Activities Japanese Travelers Would Be Interested
in Undertaking on a Trip to the Mainland

Interesting Activities	Percent of Travelers Surveyed
Experience the scenery	44
Visit several cities	41
Visit historical places	34
See the "wild west"	32
Make purchases	31
Take a restful vacation	24
Enjoy the nightlife	22
Visit museums	22
Visit national parks	22
Gamble	21
Get to know the American people	21
Visit the Rocky Mountains	20
Spend time on beaches	18
Go skiing	9
Go to sports events	9

Source: (USDC, 1972)

Awareness of specific National Parks is surprisingly high among Japanese international travelers, and their relative interest (the percentage of those aware of a place that are interested in visiting it) is also quite strong. Table 6 shows that while Niagra Falls and Disneyland rate highest in awareness (89%), Grand Canyon generates the highest relative interest (63%).

Table 6 - Awareness of and Interest in Specific
Attractions, Among Japanese Travelers, 1972

ATTRACTIONS	Heard of Percent	Interested in Visiting Percent	Relative Interest* Percent
Niagra Falls	89	53	60
Disneyland	89	39	44
Statue of Liberty	86	28	33
Rocky Mountains	84	30	36
Cape Kennedy	80	25	31
Grand Canyon	70	44	63
New England	56	14	25
Yellowstone National Park	41	17	41
Banff National Park	20	11	55
Everglades National Park	16	5	31

*Computed only among those aware of each attraction.
Source: (USDC, 1972)

2) Demographic Characteristics

The Japanese traveler to the United States tends to be a young adult male with at least some college education. Yet, as Table 7 shows, travel to the United States is not restricted to an elite, highly educated class. Since the Japanese often combine business and pleasure trips, reliable figures will include business travelers. Even so, 39% of all 1977 travelers had less than a college education, and 50% were clerical workers, students, unemployed, and retired. These numbers vary greatly according to destination: a high proportion of males visit the frontier West; educational levels are higher among mainland visitors.

Characteristics of Travellers/Trips to the USA by Selected Markets Segments - Japan

Traveler/Trip Characteristic	Total Travelers to USA	USA Mainland Destination			Purpose of Trip			Travel Agency Users	Inclusive Tour Travelers
		Far West	Frontier West	Eastern Gateway	Vacation Travelers	Business Travelers	VFR Travelers		
(Base)	(1,096)	(510)	(89)	(203)	(542)	(138)	(86)	(772)	(715)
?X									
Male	56%	61%	73%	62%	48%	86%	54%	55%	53%
Female	44	39	27	38	52	14	46	45	47
Education									
Elementary Primary	5%	4%	5%	3%	7%	1%	1%	4%	6%
High School	34	27	25	21	38	19	33	36	39
Technical Jr. College	17	17	9	19	19	13	20	16	17
College Post Graduate	45	52	61	58	37	66	46	44	39
Occupation									
Professional/Executive	20%	28%	26%	44%	11%	44%	17%	19%	16%
Clerical	27	26	23	25	27	25	26	29	28
Student	11	14	23	7	12	2	17	9	10
Sales	9	5	3	4	10	10	5	10	9
Self-employed	17	16	15	7	20	12	21	17	18
Unemployed/retired	12	8	6	7	16	4	12	12	12
Other	5	5	5	4	5	3	2	5	5

Source: US Dept. of Commerce, 1978

Table 8 is taken from the 1972 USDC study, and in again shows that various destinations within the U.S. attract sub-groups of Japanese travelers. Guam is a young person's destination, with 74% of all visitors under 31. This number drops to 41% of all mainland visitors. Gess (1972) explains that Guam is a relatively inexpensive locale for "sweet tours" or honeymoons.

While 58% of total travelers claim to speak or read English, Reischauer (1978) suggests that fluency is much lower, due to the methods of English training used in Japanese schools. Interestingly, vacation travelers claim the lowest English capability (49%), an important factor in interpretive planning for Japanese visitors.

Table 8 - Demographic Profile of Japanese
Visitors to U.S., 1972

Age Group	Guam Percent	Hawaii Percent	Mainland Percent
Under 31	74	45	41
31-45	16	21	32
Over 45	10	34	27
Income Level*			
Under ¥ 80,000 per month	45	25	17
80,000-119,999	21	28	25
120,000 or more	14	27	34
Not reported	20	20	24
Sex			
Men	60	60	69
Women	40	40	31
Travel Experience			
First trip	87	74	69
Repeat traveller	13	24	30
Not reported	-	2	1

Source: (USDC, 1972

Data on the kind of social units common to Japanese tourists is incomplete, but suggests that the organized tour group is important. Table 9 illustrates that 71% of all vacation travelers to the United States are involved in some organized tour, and that 55% purchase complete tour packages. Further, 35% of vacation travelers are in parties of four or more persons. Yet not all Japanese tourists are so organized: 29% of vacation travelers do not participate in organized tours and 13% travel alone.

Table 9 - Characteristics of Travel
by Japanese Visitors to U.S., 1972

Characteristic	Percent Vacation Travelers
Type of fare purchased	
First class	3
Regular economy/coach	22
Discount/excursion	18
Charter	3
Tour Package	55
Inclusive tour travel	
Yes	71
No	29
Size of Traveling Party	
One person	13
Two persons	39
Three persons	12
Four persons or more	35

HUMAN INSTITUTIONS

1) Travel in Japan

Japan is an island country, a modern economic power, and a rapidly changing but traditional society. The Japanese are curious about other people and have a history of travel. Off-island travel began with the dramatic voyages by priests and grandees to China and Korea; they were followed by the rich and intelligentsia until the closing of borders in 1936. During World War II, wartime visits and duty tours exposed many Japnese to other cultures. Currently, the young adults of Japan are traveling in increasing numbers.

Travel is a status-symbol in Japan, and for several reasons. As an industrialized country, valued possessions are increasingly manufactured, high-energy goods (Lebra, 1976). Lebra lists the "3 C's" as a consumptive goal: car, cooler (air conditioner), and color television. Tourist travel is discretionary and must compete with these other luxuries. Gess (1972) suggests that travel has become a fourth consumptive goal because:

1) Japanese ownership of high-energy goods is extremely high (excepting cars). Table 10 shows high rates of ownership for televisions, washing machines, refrigerators and sewing machines, in both rural and urban households.

2) Cars are too expensive; travel may be easier to attain. Table 10 shows only 26.8% of all households have an automobile.

3) Japanese society provides for an extended youth before marriage. The average age of men at marriage is 29 (USDC, 1972). This population has time and money for touring.

Table 10 - Diffusion Rate of Consumer
Durables in Japan
(As of February 1971)

	All Households	Agricultural Households	Non-agricultural Households
Television, b&w	82	85.0%	81.7%
Television, color	42.3	31.1	45.2
Washington machines	93.6	93.4	93.7
Refrigerators	91.2	87.7	92.2
Sewing machines	84.4	85.6	84.2
Automobiles	26.8	30.0	26.0
Motorcycles, scooters	24.7	48.7	18.4

Source: Government statistics, courtesy of Japan Economic Yearbook 1971, published by the Oriental Economist, Tokyo.

2) Leisure in Japan

Japan is beginning to evolve work/non-work patterns common to industrialized societies: short stretches of off-season, a traditional summer vacation, weekend free time, and a daily cycle managed by the industrial work clock. Table 11 shows the transition of the Japanese time-budget. An increase in Saturday free time is most notable. However, strong occupational differences are still present. Table 12 illustrates these differences for non-agricultural, white-collar workers. It seems clear that it is the professional and salaryman (manager) that have non-work cycles amenable to tourism; the businessman may travel for business and touristic reasons at the same time, and that leisure cycles in Japan are in a state of flux.

Table II

Transition in Japanese National Time Budget

ACTIVITIES	WEEKDAYS				SATURDAY			
	1965	1970	1973	1975	1965	1970	1973	1975
Time for Basic Needs (sleep, meals, personal requirements	10:00	10:28	10:27	10:30	9:59	10:26	10:33	10:33
Restricted Time (job, school, house-work, transfer)	9:56	9:35	9:20	9:16	9:33	9:01	8:24	8:13
Free Time (social visits, rests, hobbies & recreation, travel, reading, radio, and TV	5:56	5:52	6:10	6:24	6:20	6:15	6:58	7:26

	SUNDAY			
	1965	1970	1973	1975
Time for Basic Needs (sleep, meals, personal requirements)	10:27	11:13	11:21	11:23
Restricted Time (job, school, house-work, transfer)	7:16	6:24	5:44	5:38
Free Time (social visists, rests, hobbies & recreation, travel, reading, radio, and TV	8:10	8:06	8:42	9:02

Table 12 - Cycles of Leisure
for White Collar Workers

Occupation	Leisure Cycle
Businessman (self-employed)	Mixes business and leisure; Sunday a day of rest
Shopkeeper	Little or no leisure
Professional (doctors, etc.)	Determined by absence of clients; increasing leisure on weekends.
Salaryman (managers)	Industrial cycle: regular hours, with Sunday rest; increasing leisure on weekends.

Source: derived from Vogel (1968:35)

Tourism must fit into these evolving cycles, and the Japanese system of holidays is expected to provide more time for longer trips. Major holidays include New Years Day, the Golden Week (which begins on the Emperor's Birthday, April 29, and ends on Constitution Day, May 3), and Vernal Equinox Day (March 20), which is evolving as a long weekend (USDC, 1972).

Countering this increase in leisure is the Japanese attitude toward time spent away from work. Several authors (Vogel, 1968; Lebra, 1976; Linhart, 1975) suggest that the Japanese worker is prevented by custom and obligation from taking days off which he/she has accrued. In 1969, 40% of Japanese employees used less than half of their holidays due, with differences in this figure according to sex, age and occupation (Linhart, 1975). Only two strata in Japanese society have full right to enjoy their leisure-youth (not part of the production process) and the elderly (retired from active work).

Further, traditional Japanese forms of leisure seem incompatible with the aggressive activity of the modern tourist. Linhart (1975) suggests that Japanese leisure is more passive than active, and that this orientation has been slow to change. Table 13 profiles the current (1975) leisure activities of the Japanese people. The most popular pursuits include reading books and so on. While educating children was an activity of 21% of all respondents, only 1.8% mentioned a desire to do so. Travel abroad, participated in by only 2.7% of respondents over a long term period, was the most desired activity mentioned (25.7%).

Yet a description of Japanese leisure activities by Reischauer provides a different picture:

> Japan is a land of mass spectator sports
> and mass activities...Ski slopes are hazardously
> crowded in winter. The Shonan beaches near Tokyo
> will attract over a million persons on a hot summer
> weekend. An endless antlike chain of people on the
> slopes on Mount Fuji turn mountain climbing in
> summer into a mass sport. Sightseeing crowds,
> mostly organized groups of school children and
> village and town associations, inundate famous
> beauty spots in the spring and autumn sightseeing
> seasons and all but obliterate them from view or
> even existence.
>
> (1978:202)

Hence, Japanese attitudes toward vacations, tourism, activie recreation and travel abroad seem somewhat unclear.

Table 13 - Leisure Activities of
the Japanese People

	Daily Leisure Time (Multiple Answer)	Long-term Leisure Period (Multiple Answer)	Leisure Activities Desired (Multiple Answer)	Interesting Leisure Activites (Single Answer)
Base	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)
Enjoy TV/Radio	87.7 (1)	19.0 (2)	0.1	5.0 (6)
Read Newspapers	76.5 (2)	8.1	0.1	1.2
Read Books	49.2 (4)	9.9 (6)	3.3 (10)	2.4
Chat with Family	49.6 (3)	7.4	1.0	4.4 (8)
Educate Children	21.2 (10)	2.6	1.8	8.8 (1)
Care for Pet Animals	7.7	1.0	1.0	0.6
Take a Nap	24.2 (7)	8.0 (10)	1.6	1.4
Enjoy Handicrafts, Horticulture or Collecting Stamps	19.3	5.3	3.9 (9)	5.5 (3)
Engage in Artistic Activities	12.3	4.2	5.2 (7)	3.4 (10)
Listen to Records or Taped Music	23.5 (8)	6.3	2.1	2.0
Play Go or Japanese Chess	9.8	2.8	1.7	1.2
Enjoy Sunday Carpentry or Baking	8.7	4.0	2.9	1.1
Study to Acquire Qualifications or Techniques	6.8	1.9	8.7 (4)	5.0 (6)
Learn to Perform Tea Ceremony/ Flower Arrangement, Cook or Sew	8.5	1.9	8.2 (5)	4.3 (9)
Go to a Movie or Watch Sports	16.8	9.6 (7)	3.9 (8)	2.3

Table 13 - Leisure Activities of
the Japanese People (cont.)

	Daily Leisure Time (Multiple Answer)	Long-term Leisure Period (Multiple Answer)	Leisure Activities Desired (Multiple Answer)	Interesting Leisure Activities (Single Answer)
Base	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)
Go to a Museum Art Gallery or Zoological or Botanical Garden	9.4	6.3	2.8	1.0
Dine Out or Go Shopping	22.1 (9)	12.5 (4)	1.4	1.4
Engage in Community Activities or Volunteer Services	5.7	0.6	1.9	2.2
Take a Walk or Light Exercise	15.7	4.3	2.9	0.7
Participate in Sports	13.0	9.5 (8)	8.8 (3)	5.2 (5)
Go to a Bar or Take a Sauna Bath	3.9	1.0	0.8	0.4
Enjoy Gambling such as Mahjong, Pachinko Pin Ball Game and Horse-racing	13.1	5.2	0.9	2.9
Take a Drive	6.9	8.6 (9)	1.8	1.4
Take a Day Trip or Day Hike	10.8	17.8 (3)	5.7 (8)	0.8
Take an Overnight or Longer Trip in Japan	10.6	43.3 (1)	24.6 (2)	8.6 (2)
Travel Abroad	0.6	2.7	25.7 (1)	5.3 (4)
Make Friends with the Opposite Sex	6.3	1.7	2.4	1.6
Mix with Friends Acquaintances or Neighbors	35.1 (5)	6.1	1.7	1.7

Table 13 - Leisure Activities of
the Japanese People (cont.)

	Daily Leisure Time (Multiple Answer)	Long-term Leisure Period (Multipe Answer)	Leisure Activities Desired (Multiple Answer)	Interesting Leisure Activities (Single Answer)
Base	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)	1,052 (100%)
Mix with Relatives	26.7 (6)	11.8 (5)	1.2	1.1
Engage in Religious or Political Activities	4.1	1.4	0.8	1.9
Do Office Work	10.7	0.7	0.7	2.2
Do a Side Job	2.4	0.1	0.3	0.5
Others	1.4	1.5	0.3	1.1
No Answer	-	3.1	16.9	11.2

Note: The numbers in parentheses ( ) denote rankings.

Source: A survey conducted by the Better Living Information Center, 1975.

3) The Tourist Indsutry in Japan

The tourist industry in Japan is highly dynamic, expanding rapidly, and developing a tie to Japan's basic economic structure (USDC, 1972). Japanese attachment and dependency upon employers is widely acknowledged; it is more basic to one's identification what company you work for than what you do (Lebra, 1976). Vogel, in his classic work, noted:

> In Japan, the basic mode of integration into the economic order is not through occupational specialty but through the firm.
>
> (1968:264)

The Japanese worker is likely to travel in groups either organized by his/her firm or in groups of similar workers. This close relation of work and play has resulted in the centralization of the Japanese tourist industry. Most big industrial firms have their own travel agencies, and six major producers account for 50% of wholesale activity (USDC, 1972). These companies are listed in Table 14; their activities may indicate general patterns in the travel market within Japan.

Table 14 - Major Travel Wholesalers
in Japan

Corporate Entity	Tour Trademark
Japan Travel Bureau Nippon Express	Look
Japan Creative Tours	Jalpak
World Tour Operators	Jetours
NOHKYO International	- -
Yusen Air and Sea Service	Diamond
Kintetsu International	Holiday

Source: (USDC, 1972)

There are four major kinds of managed tours in Japan, excluding independent travel arranged by a travel agent. Package tours are fully managed tours, where all arrangements and many activities are organized by the agent. The group size is often quite large (as high as 300 persons). The proportion of Japanese travelers using package tours varies by destination; it is high for Guam (79.9%) and Hawaii (53.8%), while lower for the U.S. mainland. For young travelers, package tours provide low bulk fares; for older tourists there is the security of a pre-planned trip.

Affinity Groups are tours organized by firms, industries, and cooperatives, where members either know each other or have an occupational relationship. Forexample, the Association of Agricultural Cooperatives (NOHKYO) has its own travel agency, and had an annual production (1972) of 10,000 tour passengers. Farmers participate in tours of special agricultural interest, and visit attractions such as the produce terminal at San Francisco, or the Farmer's Market in Seattle and Los Angeles. Affinity groups vary in size.

Special Study Tours are a kind of affinity group, but with an even more occupationally-oriented framework. These tours are intense programs of travel, geared to learning new methods, viewing industrial sites, and conducting trade interviews. These groups usually have between 10 and 40 people. There is some resistance to these trips in the United States. Gess (1972) reports that Japanese travel agents report a growing reluctance among U.S. manufacturers to receive such tour groups for plan- visits.

Incentive Travel Tours are benefits provided by employers to workers, either through outright grant, low-cost loan, or company-managed saving program. Workers have a wide variety of choices, and travel agencies may include these tourists in their package tours. Group size varies, but is usually over 45, in order to take advantage of bulk air fares.

KEY CULTURAL ELEMENTS

Japanese tourists bring a variety of social norms with them on trips to the United States. These norms, derived in part from key elements of Japanese culture, can serve as guides to Japanese tourist behavior. However, such norms are surely not ironclad. Reischauer notes:

> Though a homogenous people culturally, the roughly 115 million Japanese display great variation of attitudes and ways of life by age group and according to their diverse roles in society. A teenager and an octogenerian, a day laborer and a corporation executive, a bank clerk and an artist show about as much diversity in attitudes as their counterparts would in any Western country. Almost anything that might be said about Japanese in general would not be true of many and might be flatly contradicted by some. (1978:124)

Four elements are discussed: belongingness, empathy, dependency, and occupying the proper place. Much of the material is from Lebra's Japanese Patterns of Behavior (1976).

1) Belongingness

Japan is a social society. What would strictly be a private matter in an individualistic culture tends to be a group enterprise in Japan. We have mentioned that the Japanese white-collar worker's recreation is organized by his/her employer (Linhart, 1975). The Japanese individual feels more comfortable in a group than alone, and it is not surprising that Japanese tourists prefer group tours to individualized travel (USDC, 1972).

This sense of belongingness begins well before an expected trip or vacation. Travel begins with a "separation party," where friends and relatives wish the tourist well and offer gifts. An obligation to return the gifts is accepted, and Japanese tourists often spend considerable vacation time making these purchases. Table 15 shows that 21% of tour traveler's expenditures are for purchases; the number is lower (13%) for individual travelers.

Table 15 - Distribution of Expenditures
by Japanese Travelers, 1972

As Percentages Of All Expenditures	Tour Travellers		Individual Travellers	
	Pacific Area	Intercon- tinental	Pacific Area	Intercon- tinental
Tour price/primary transportation	53%	61%	39%	52%
Local transportation	2	4	5	6
Lodging*	1	2	14	12
Food/Drink	2	5	10	10
Purchases	32	21	21	13
Miscellany/Sightseeing	9	7	11	7

Source: (USDC, 1972)   *outside the framework of the tour.

2) Empathy

Empathy rates high among Japanese virtures. In a group-oriented culture such as Japan, decision-making often requires consensus, and confrontation tends to be avoided. Non-verbal communication is highly valued and widely practiced, and in such a homogenous country, applicable to many social situations. Reischauer describes the general process:

> Varying positions are not sharply outlined and their differences analyzed and clarified. Instead, each partici-
> pant in a discussion feels his way cautionsly, only unfold-
> ing his own views as he sees how others react to them.
> Much is suggested by indirection or vague implication.
> Thus, any sharp conflict of views is avoided before it
> comes into the open. The Japanese even have a word, haragei
> "the art of the belly," for this meeting of minds, or at
> least the viscera, without clear verbal interaction.
> (1978:148)

Conservations are punctuated with agreements and gestures of approval; to the Japanese, an American host may seem not to be listening because of his/her silence while a Japanese guest is speaking.

3) Dependency

Much has been written about the dependency of Japanese children upon their mothers, and the impacts of this relationship upon Japanese society (Vogel, 1968; Lebra, 1976). Other dependent relations exist: the employer-employee relation is likewise based on dependency and service. This conflicts with American ideas of autonomy and individual equality. Many Japanese tourists to the United States are often put-off by the self-service operations of American tourist sites; others find freedom with their lack of involvement in dependency relations.

4) Occupying the Proper Place

By occupying the proper place, it is meant that the Japanese are sensitive to rank order. Japanese language, social customs and values are all organized to illustrate the rank order of interacting individuals. When Japanese tourists visit countries with egalitarian ideologies, the host/guest relation may be influenced by this limitation. Lebra writes:

> The cultural dearth of ways to express horizontal or
> status-neutral relationships forces the actor to make a
> binary choice between respectful, formal behavior and
> disrespectful, informal behavior. (1976:53)

Japanese tourists may express "disdain" toward "backward" peoples, including Asian neighbors. Lebra (1976) makes note of the rude behavior exhibited by Japanese tourists in Southeast Asia. For tourists in the National Parks, slight gradations in occupation may signal rank order, and it is a common custom of Japanese tourists to address a host by their occupation (Mr. Park Ranger, Ms. Travel Agent, etc.).

APPLYING THE INFORMATION TO INTERPRETATION

How can such information as has been presented directly aid interpretive efforts? We should suggest that better understanding of Japanese tourists would be useful in 1) visitor management, 2) information services, 3) the planning of interpretive programs, and 4) the conduct of interpretive programs.

1) Visitor Management

Visitor management can be crucial to effective interpretation The high percentage of Japanese tourists who travel in tour groups (see Table 9) represents an obvious opportunity: the cooperation of tour organizers can lead to dispersal of visitors to less crowded areas, can be a help in promoting safety, and could allow park interpretive staff to plan ahead. The centralization of the tourist industry in Japan suggests that contact with the six major wholesalers (see Table 14) might allow the forecasting of future trends in Japanese visitation.

Another suggestion would be to develop a "travel wholesaler's planning guide" to the popular parks and historic areas. Such a guide could aid in development of the travel itineraries, bookings, and brochures used in Japan, and could further coordinate the flow of tour groups and interpretive programming.

The data on travel expenditures (Table 15) suggests that "trophy-taking," buying postcards, souvenir shopping, and so forth are major components of the Japanese tourist's "park experience." Hence, the concessionaires and historical associations may need to be included in planning for Japanese visitors.

2) Information Services

The fact that the Japanese tourist is unlikely to be fluent in English, or to have had much experience in U.S. National Parks, makes the provision of basic information extremely important. All visitors require information concerning shelter, food, medical attention, regulations, and so forth. To serve the Japanese tourist, several alternatives exist: the necessary information can be translated into Japanese, presented in English with ideograms (is an example) or a translator can be made available. Parks with growing Japanese visitation should have access to a translator, in case of emergency.

For more detailed information (such as the natural history of an area), arrangements can be made with nearby universities and language institutes to translate key publications. These translations can be handed out along with English versions of park guides and materials. An often overlooked approach is to purchase a small quantity of relevant Japanese reading materials from overseas publishers. In any event, many Japanese are fluent in English, and often tour group leaders can aid interpreters in communication.

The high awareness and relative interest in National Parks
shown by Japanese tourists reflects the use of parks as attractions
in tourism advertising. Travel posters extolling the pleasures of
an American vacation often include pictures of Grand Canyon,
New York Gateway, Niagra Falls, and so forth. It is unclear, however,
what information is actually communicated to potential visitors.
Efforts to provide Japanese toursit organizations (such as JNTO)
with up-to-date, accurate and relevant information could result
in increased visitation, greater cooperation by tour groups, and
higher satisfaction of tourist's expectations.

3) Planning Interpretive Programs

Our profile of Japanese tourists presents several problems
to the interpretive interested in "connecting" with foreign visitors.
First, Table 13 (pg. 18) suggests a passive orientation to Japanese
leisure, and interpreation-related activities (such as visiting an
art museum or zoo) rate somewhat low. However, Reischauer's description
of Japanese outdoor recreation, and the high participation in day
trips and hikes (17.8% over a long term period), indicates an active,
outdoor-oriented leisure. Wise interpretive planning might include
both active and passive exhabits, opportunities for both quiet
contemplation as well as participation in group activities.

A second problem is the combination of high education (see Table 7,
pg. 12) and a strong language barrier. Merely simpifying intro-
ductory matierial is often not appropriate. Translations of intro-
ductory material may be inadequate for Japanese tourists interested
in natural or social history. A clear solution would be to when-
ever possible, supply tour groups with material before an inter-
pretive program, and to use the tour leader (often fluent in
English) as an interpreter (pun intended).

We have described several kinds of Japanese tour groups and
suggested that participants often have an employer, occupation
or interest in common. Knowing ahead of time the kind of tour group
to visit a site can be of great benefit to the interpreter, and he/she
may use this information in choosing a subject, selecting a media,
and organizing a program. The difficulty lies in developing a
link with the wholesale travel agents, and in the fact that 29%
of Japanese tourists to the U.S. in 1977 did not prepurchase tour
activites (see Table 9).

4) Conducting Interpretive Programs

The conduct of interpretive programs for Japanese tourists
may require special forethought. Japanese tour groups of fifty or
more people are common, and such large audiences may be unworkable
for programs in small spaces, or that demand quiet, or habe limited
staff.

Yet, other kinds of programs (campfires, movies, self-guided
trailwalks) are amenable to bigger groups, and should be satisfactory.
Analysis by Reischauer (1978) and Lebra (1976) suggest that Japanese
are generally group-oriented, and have much experience in group

activities. It may be more difficult to engage tour group parti-
cipants in individual involvement, such as handling an antique
reproduction, expressing an opinion on park facilities, or deviating
from the group itinerary.

Besides a group-orientation, several key elements of Japanese
culture are of importance to the interpreter. Japanese manners
consider quick and individual decision-making impolite, and the
interpreter who is dependent upon immediate "audience feedback"
may be disappointed. A traditional respect for rank may be
misunderstood as an insincere deference to uninformed personnel.
The obligations of the traveler to return to Japan with gifts is
obviously translated into large amounts of time spent shopping,
rather than attending interpretive programs.

Most importantly, almost all available data point to the high
motivation of Japanese in learning about other environments and
cultures. Table 5 (pg. 10) shows that 44% of Japanese travellers
are interested in "experiencing the scenery"; Table 6 (pg. 11)
illustrated the high relative interest in visiting National Parks;
Table 13 (pg. 19) showed the general Japanese interest in travel
abroad. Hence, Japanese visitors to National Parks may be quite eager
to benefit from interpretation.

CONCLUSION

We have argued than an ecological perspective is especially
valuable when attempting to understand human behavior in parks.
A theoretical framework was proposed, which allowed us to view
visitors as part of the park ecosystem, and which treated interpretation
as central to adaptation within the park.

This ecological model was then applied to the Japanese tourist,
an important visitor public to many national parks and historic
sites. We examined available data concerning sociodemographic
characteristics, human institutions, and key cultural elements which
might be relevant to interpretive planning and the conduct of
programs. Lastly, we suggested several specific ways such sociological
knowledge could be of use to interpreters.

Elsewhere we have written:

> Simple as it may sound, the matching of an
> interpretive approach and material with the appropriate
> audience is perhaps the most difficult challenge
> facing those responsible for the array of public
> contact programs now offered by the National Park
> Service and equivalent preserves.
> (Machlis & Field, 1974)

As the United States becomes host to foreign tourists, this inter-
pretive challenge becomes more difficult and exhilerating. Our parks
become centers for cross-cultural communication and world under-
standing. This paper is offered in such a spirit.

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