

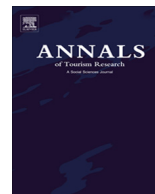


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Factors affecting bilateral Chinese and Japanese travel

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ABSTRACT

Apart from economic factors, issues that may influence, bilateral tourist flows include shared histories, geopolitical factors, diplomatic relations, nationalism and domestic political issues. China and Japan provide an example of a bilateral tourism relationship that has been influenced by a range of factors beyond the usual economic factors of GDP, price and exchange rates. A recent history of invasion, occupation and attempts at reconciliation underlie contemporary diplomatic relations between these nations producing both fascination and mistrust. A detailed understanding of the full range of factors that may affect bilateral relations is necessary to understand bilateral tourism flows. This study identifies the effects of history, nationalism, occupation, socio-cultural factors and geopolitical factors on the flow of tourists between China and Japan.

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Introduction

A growing number of studies of cross-border and bilateral travel patterns have focused on the economic aspects of tourism demand including market segmentation, exchange rates and forecasting (Chandra, Head, & Tappata, 2014; Jørgensen & Solvoll, 1996; Law, 2001; Bowden, 2003; Tosun,

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Timothy, Parpairis, & MacDonald, 2005). Other researchers have examined other issues including socio-cultural (Prideaux, 2005), spatial (McKercher, Chan, & Lam, 2008), political (Butler & Mao, 1996; Causevic & Lynch, 2013; Cheng & Wong, 2014; Maoz 2010; Rowen, 2014; Yu, 1997; Tse, 2013), age and generation membership (Chung, Chen, & Lin, 2015), security (Hall, Timothy & Duva, 2003) and diplomatic conditions (Tse, 2013). A small number of studies (e.g. Cheng & Wong 2014; Guo, Kim, Timothy, & Wang, 2006; Kim & Prideaux, 2012; Palmer, 1994; Rowen, 2014) have observed that bilateral tourism may also be influenced by historical factors, including colonialism, nationalism and diplomacy. Issues related to occupation where one country occupies part of another country have been largely ignored.

This study seeks to broaden our understanding of bilateral tourism flows beyond that provided by economic factors by considering the background role of a number of interrelated issues including shared history, occupation, diplomacy, nationalism, socio-cultural and contemporary events and how they may generate significant negative impacts on tourism flows when unexpected diplomatic disputes emerge. Collectively, these factors constitute an under-researched area of bilateral tourism. The People's Republic of China (hereafter China) and Japan provide a useful example of two nations where a range of non-economic factors including issues arising from a shared history and diplomatic disputes have at times affected bilateral tourism flows that for most of the period 1990–2014 had seen rapid growth in the number of Chinese tourists visiting Japan and a similar growth in Japanese inbound tourism to China until 2007 when numbers peaked in line with the general trend in outbound Japanese tourism.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Japan in September 1972 led to a new era of cooperation in trade and later in tourism. However, since the early 2000s occasional strains have emerged in diplomatic relations including a territorial dispute over the ownership of the Diaoyu (Chinese name)/Senkaku (Japanese name) Islands (Li, 2016; Maslow, 2016). Diplomatic tensions have led to anti-Japanese sentiments in China and anti-Chinese sentiments in Japan, resulting in negative, though generally short-lived impacts on bilateral tourism (Bloomberg News, 2013; CNN, 2012; He, 2014; Maslow, 2016). During the 2012 dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands for example, Chinese



Fig. 1. Sculpture at the Nanjing Massacre Memorial – the inscription reads: *Frigidity and horror have frozen this crying baby! Poor thing, not knowing, mum has been killed, blood, milk and tears have frozen never melting.*

travel to Japan fell almost 40% (Japan National Tourism Organisation, 2014). As Fig. 2 highlights, once diplomatic tensions subsided positive growth resumed.

Some observers suggest that from the Chinese perspective, the antecedents of recent problems stem from the after-effect of Japan's occupation of parts of China from the end of the First Sino-Japanese war in 1895 to Japan's defeat in 1945 (e.g., Beal, Nozaki, & Yang, 2001; Tanaka, 2002; Wang, 2013). Land grabs by European colonial powers in the nineteenth century and Japan in the twentieth century, allied with China's inability to control its own domestic affairs during much of the first half of the 20th Century until the Communist victory over the Nationalist Chinese forces in 1949, also provide the historic antecedents for many issues that affect the manner in which China views its place in the world today. Others have noted a 'victim complex' that is part of contemporary Chinese nationalism (Cheng & Wong 2014). For example, Cheng and Wong (2014) noted that this worldview has helped frame current events in a historical context that dwells on past humiliations.

To achieve a deeper understanding of how history, occupation, nationalism, diplomatic factors and socio-cultural events are able to influence travel patterns, tourism theory needs to be extended to include consideration of these non-economic factors. The difficulty in quantifying many of these factors, and their often subjective nature, means that the extent of their possible impact is open to interpretation. However, by recognizing that unexpected factors beyond consumer preferences, disasters and standard economic variables can affect bilateral flows, forecasters, planners and marketers have the opportunity to incorporate additional variables into their forecasts and develop a wider range of scenarios. Therefore, the aim of this study is to develop an understanding for how a range of non-economic factors including history, occupation, nationalism, diplomatic relations and socio-cultural factors may affect bilateral tourism flows. To illustrate the potential impact of these factors the study focuses on Sino Japanese relations over the last 120 years as a case study. The major contribution of this study is the identification of a range of non-economic factors such as occupation, historical links, diplomacy and cultural relations that may play a role in bilateral tourism flows.

Study approach

Given the aim of the research, an inductive research approach was adopted on the premise that the limitations of deductive research approaches based on standard quantitative methods was unlikely to provide the insights required to understand the role of occupation, diplomatic relations and nationalism. Many previous studies (for example, Lin, Liu, & Song, 2015) did not consider factors such as past

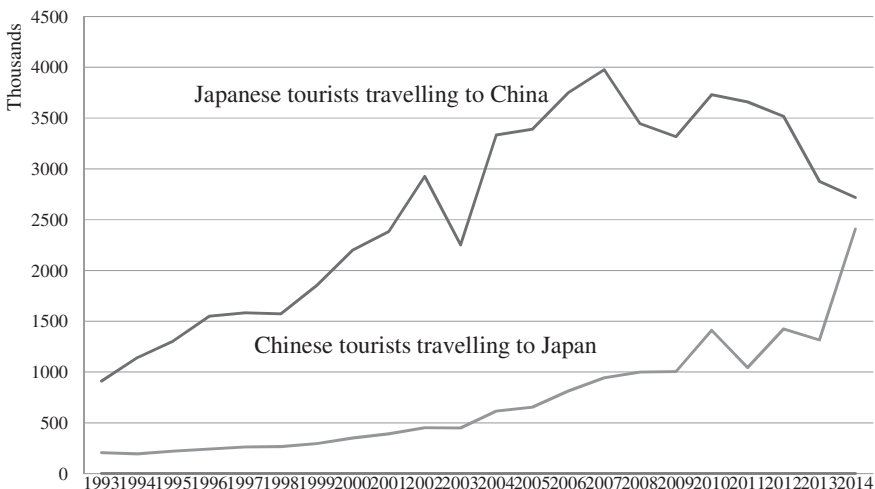


Fig. 2. The pattern of travel between China and Japan over the period 1993 and 2014.

history and diplomacy, but instead have relied primarily on econometric factors to understand tourist flows.

An analysis of academic and non-academic sources was used to identify key themes. This technique was previously adopted by [Prideaux \(2005\)](#) when developing his bilateral tourism framework. Non-academic sources, the so called grey literature, including newspapers, magazines and reports, were used because they can provide a rich source of statistics, fact reporting and commentary ([Banks, 2006](#)). This approach facilitated the hermeneutic interpretation of texts associated with relations between the two countries ([Veal, 2006](#)) as a means of gaining greater insights into the range of issues under investigation. Unlike a sequential approach, this method involves recursive reasoning and assists in understanding the overall kaleidoscope of mutual tourism exchanges, where all stages of research proceed on an evolutionary, ongoing, or progressive line. This is closely associated with grounded theory ([Glaser & Strauss, 1967](#)), which holds that theories or models should be derived from real, empirical observations rather than determined by traditional theories or methodologies ([Strauss & Corbin, 1994](#)).

The following discussion first places the relationship within a historical context by examining the role of war, post-war, occupation, reconciliation and nationalism. The discussion then turns to the role of diplomatic, socio-cultural, political and trade issues on bilateral tourism.

One limitation that should be noted is that the authors experienced difficulty in accessing source material from the Japanese and Chinese academic literature because the authors neither read Japanese or Chinese nor had access to journals that were published only in Chinese or Japanese. While this may mean that some potentially useful sources were not consulted, the volume of literature by scholars who specialize in Japanese and Chinese tourism studies in the English language on issues discussed in this paper is quite extensive. The *Journal of China Tourism* is one example of an academic publication that provides useful insights into Chinese tourism issues. Scholarly books written in English by Chinese authors including [Zhang \(2010\)](#) and [Li \(2016\)](#) were also useful. A further limitation is one imposed by the wide scope of this research and the topics that of necessity had to be investigated. Additional discussion on the factors examined, while desirable, was not possible because of journal imposed word limits. However, this does open avenues for future research.

War, post-war, occupation, reconciliation and nationalism

There is a long history of trade and warfare between China and Japan including several attempted Chinese invasions of Japan around the end of 1200s, and attempted Japanese invasion of China in the sixteenth century. In 1894 Japan attacked the Qing Empire of China (First Sino-Japanese War, 1894–1895), emerged as the victor and in the 1895 peace treaty was awarded Formosa (Taiwan), which it colonized. Japan also annexed the uninhabited Senkaku/Diaoyu islands to Okinawa Prefecture in 1895. In the following decades as Japan accelerated its modernization program, China was increasingly seen as a source of raw materials and a site for further territorial expansion ([Duus, Myers, & Peattie, 1989](#)).

The First Sino-Japanese war was followed by Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) that resulted in Russia handing over to Japan the lease it had acquired from China on territory around Port Arthur on the Liaodong Peninsula. Numerous incidents occurred between Chinese and Japanese forces over the following three decades leading to the 1931 Japanese occupation of Manchuria in northern China. More incidents followed and in 1937 the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) broke out. The allied victory over Japan in 1945 led to the surrender of Japanese forces in China.

The period of the second Sino-Japanese War was marked by a series of Japanese atrocities, the most well-known being the Nanjing Massacre of 1937 which, according to some sources, resulted in more than 300,000 Chinese fatalities ([Chang, 2012](#)) (see [Fig. 1](#)). The coercion of large numbers of Chinese (and Korean) women into service as 'comfort women' (sex slaves) for Japanese troops was another atrocity committed by the Japanese military ([Tanaka, 2002](#); [Yoshimi, 2000](#)) but which continues to be downplayed by some Japanese politicians. Similarly, the failure of Japanese textbooks to acknowledge many of these incidents has been taken by many Chinese as a sign of lack of sincerity in Japan's

efforts towards reconciliation (Li, 2016; Yang, Liu, & Mitani, 2012; Zhang, 2010). These elements of the second Sino-Japanese War and their later interpretation continue to create tension between China and Japan (Smith, 2015).

Implications of occupation

Historical narratives of events (and how they are remembered) that occurred during periods of occupation may play a role in how tourists and local citizens perceive each other after occupying forces have been either defeated or withdrawn (Palmer, 1994). Good relationships do not always prevail, particularly if citizens of the occupying state retain occupation-era myths and stereotypes of the occupied country and the occupied country continues to have issues against its former occupier. In this sense the impact of occupation has similarities to the impacts experienced through colonialization. However, because Japan failed to defeat China the status of Japanese forces was that of an occupier rather than a colonial power, except for Taiwan.

While there has been considerable debate on the implications of colonial and post-colonial factors on tourism flows (Caton & Santos, 2009; Hall & Tucker, 2004) the tourism literature has largely ignored the impact of occupation on post-occupation relations. There is scope however for applying elements of post-colonial theory to develop an understanding of post-occupation relations given that in both sets of circumstances an occupier/colonizer attempted to impose their will on countries or territories that were not previously under their jurisdiction. One useful approach is the four-stage process of the normalization of travel suggested by Butler and Mao (1996) and later by Timothy (2001). Post-colonial theory (Caton & Santos, 2009; Hall & Tucker, 2004) based on the view that colonialism continues to influence how the West interacts with people from non-western cultures may also assist in understanding how citizens from the occupied and occupier countries view each other. One difficulty in using post-colonial studies to explain issues that have arisen in post-occupation relations is that unlike the loss of sense of national identity that often occurs during colonialization (Smith 1991), the pre-occupation sense of national identity usually reemerges after the end of occupation, particularly where the occupation has been for a short period of time.

Post-occupation era

After World War Two Japan was occupied by the USA under a United Nations mandate and had imposed on it a pacifist constitution and was encouraged to develop a strong anti-communist foreign policy. As Maki (1990:73) observed “Japanese constitutional theory is built on the proposition that pacifism, popular sovereignty, and the guarantee of human rights are foundations of the constitution”. While Japan was allowed to retain its capitalist economic structure and forced to adopt democracy, Mao introduced communist inspired social and economic policies that effectively extinguished any lingering vestige of the social and economic policies Japan had imposed on the areas of China it had occupied.

China signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in 1950, aligning itself more closely with the USSR. As a consequence, post-war Sino-Japanese relations were generally antagonistic, mirroring US-Soviet relations in the Cold War environment. However, political friction between the USSR and the USA did not prevent Sino-Japanese trade which in 1952 accounted for 0.7% and 0.1% of Japanese imports and exports respectively (Mendl, 1978). Japan was China's biggest trading partner until 1965 and trade during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) continued but to a lesser extent (Lee, 1976). During this period travel between the two countries was either for business or government.

The normalization of Sino-US relations in 1972 paved the way for the improvement of Sino-Japanese relations the same year (Drifte, 2003). A visit to China by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka led to the 1978 Treaty of Peace and Friendship, which included a series of agreements on peace, trade, navigation, fishing and air travel (He, 2009). As relations improved, Japan and China explored ways to collaborate on the development of foreign policies aimed at isolating the Soviet Union and promoting regional peace (Quested, 2005). As relations improved and entered into the maturity stage (Chung et al., 2015; Kim & Prideaux, 2012; Yu, 1997), person-to-person cooperation grew particularly after

the Chinese government added Japan to its approved destination list in 1995. Japan's inclusion in China's Approved Destination System (ADS is a diplomatic accord that China uses to grant countries approval to receive Chinese tourists) allowed Chinese to visit Japan as tourists. During this period, however, several contentious issues emerged that were to strain the relationship in the following decade.

After 2010, a number of issues emerged, including territorial disputes that affected bilateral travel (see [Table 1](#)). By 2013 the problems had grown to the extent that a survey conducted by the Japanese think-tank Genron NPO and the *China Daily* found that when territorial disputes became a prominent issue, 92.8 percent of Chinese reported unfavorable views of Japan, while 90.1 percent of Japanese reported unfavorable views of China ([Wang, 2013](#)).

Annual visitor statistics such as [Fig. 2](#) can often hide short term spikes that arise due to political tensions. As [Table 1](#) and [Fig. 2](#) indicate, annual Japanese arrivals have fluctuated between –22% and 48% over the period 1990–2014. While many of the fluctuations can be attributed to one-off events such as the Asian financial crisis (1997–1998) and the 2003 SARS outbreak, the fall in bilateral travel during the Diaoyu/Senkaku Island dispute illustrates how diplomatic difficulties can also affect travel volumes. What is not readily apparent in [Fig. 2](#) are the number of Japanese and Chinese who choose not to travel to the other nation because of the difficulties highlights previously. By 2014 the number of Japanese traveling to China comprised 18.0% of total outbound Japanese travel making Japan the second largest inbound market segment for China in 2014 ([Pfanner, 2015](#)). However in the same year only 2.1% of outbound Chinese tourists visited Japan. [Pfanner \(2015\)](#) attributed this low rate of increase to unsettled political relations, the ongoing impact of the 2011 tsunami and associated melt-down of one of Japan's nuclear power stations. In response to the low level of Chinese arrivals, Japan introduced three-year multiple visas to Chinese tourists who visited one of the three earthquake-hit prefectures. More recently the decline in the value of the Japanese yen has led to a rapid growth in

Table 1
Bilateral travel between China and Japan 1990–2014.

Year	Chinese outbound tourists ^a	Chinese tourists to Japan ^a	Growth rate (%)	Japanese outbound tourists ^b	Japanese tourists to China ^b	Growth rate (%)
1990	n/a	105,993	–	10,997,431	463,300	–
1991	n/a	130,487	23.11	10,633,777	640,900	38.33
1992	n/a	183,220	40.41	11,790,699	791,500	23.50
1993	3,740,000	206,743	12.84	11,933,559	912,000	15.22
1994	3,734,000	193,486	–6.41	13,578,934	1,141,225	25.13
1995	4,521,000	220,715	14.07	15,298,125	1,305,200	14.37
1996	5,061,000	241,525	9.43	16,694,769	1,548,843	18.67
1997	5,324,000	260,627	7.91	16,802,750	1,581,700	2.12
1998	8,426,000	267,180	2.51	15,806,218	1,572,100	–0.61
1999	9,232,000	294,937	10.39	16,357,572	1,855,200	18.01
2000	10,473,000	351,788	19.28	17,818,590	2,201,528	18.67
2001	12,134,000	391,384	11.26	16,215,657	2,384,500	8.30
2002	16,602,000	452,420	15.59	16,522,804	2,925,500	22.70
2003	20,222,000	448,782	–0.80	13,296,330	2,251,266	–23.00
2004	28,853,000	616,009	37.26	16,831,112	3,334,251	48.10
2005	31,026,000	652,820	5.98	17,403,565	3,389,976	1.70
2006	34,524,000	811,675	24.33	17,534,565	3,748,882	10.60
2007	40,954,000	942,439	16.11	17,294,935	3,977,479	6.10
2008	45,844,000	1,000,416	6.15	15,987,250	3,446,117	–13.40
2009	47,656,000	1,006,085	0.57	15,445,684	3,317,400	–3.70
2010	57,386,000	1,412,875	40.43	16,637,224	3,731,100	12.50
2011	70,250,000	1,043,245	–26.16	16,994,200	3,658,300	–2.00
2012	83,000,000	1,425,100	26.795	18,490,657	3,518,200	–3.80
2013	98,190,000	1,314,600	–8.41	17,472,748	2,877,500	–18.20
2014	117,000,000	2,409,158	83.3	16,903,388	2,717,600	–5.56

^a CNTA (2015). *Statistics of Inbound Tourist Arrivals*. China National Tourism Administration.

^b Japan Tourism Marketing Company (2015). *Tourism Statistics*. <http://www.tourism.jp/english/statistics/>.

inbound Chinese visitors (Japan Today, 2015) demonstrating the positive effect of tourism demand when it is not constrained by political tensions of the nature observed in 2012.

Reconciliation

Actions designed to promote reconciliation also have a significant role to play in building positive post-occupation relations. As it is used in the context of political relations, reconciliation describes the rebuilding of relations after a period of conflict or 'incompatibility' that existed over either territorial conflicts or other political issues (Borneman, 2002) and is often achieved through a peace treaty or similar intergovernmental agreement. For reconciliation to occur on a nation-to-nation scale, both the victim state and the perpetrator state must move beyond conflict over past injustices and rebuild relationships to enable peaceful co-existence. This requires that the future should not be defined by a continuation of the past (Borneman, 2002; Staub, 2006).

In this sense reconciliation requires forgiveness, an act that depends on the will of the victim nation as demonstrated by successive Post World War Two German governments that successfully adopted a policy of reconciliation with ethnic groups and nations that had suffered under the Nazi regime (He, 2009). However, for reconciliation to achieve positive long-term outcomes it must be more than a political device to achieve a peaceful end to conflict and, as in the case of post-war Germany, must be credible if both sides are to benefit. Although China and Japan signed a peace treaty in 1972, complete reconciliation appears to be far from achieved as this paper has highlighted.

Nationalism

Although nationalism is a powerful force in international relations, its role in shaping international tourism flows has been largely ignored (Cheng, Wong, & Prideaux, 2016). A cursory review of past history reveals that nationalism has been a driving force behind many international political disputes that have adversely affected tourism flows. However, despite a rich discourse on the role of nationalism, diplomatic relations and trade in other literatures, the tourism literature has largely ignored nationalism as a factor in travel between nations. Several recent studies (e.g., Cheng & Wong, 2014; Cheng et al., 2016; Rowen, 2014) have however made important contributions in this area by providing a more insightful view of the role of nationalism, politics and tourist flows in relation to China.

In their analysis of tourism and Chinese nationalism, Cheng and Wong (2014) noted that a positive relationship between nationalism and consumer behavior leads to increased tourism flows, but where there is a negative relationship, flows decline. Cheng's et al. (2016) study of Sino-Japanese tourism flows during the 2012 Islands dispute pointed to grass roots nationalism as well as top-down nationalism playing a major role in the fall in Chinese outbound tourism to Japan during the period of dispute. Rowen (2014) examined travel flows between Mainland China and Taiwan, and noted that tourism has become an instrument of China's foreign policy apparatus that may be used at will to obtain political, social or economic objectives. Rowen (2014: 64) further observed that in relation to China-Taiwan cross-border tourism, most tourism studies "assume a normative trajectory of reconciliation" and make general assumptions about peace. He goes on to note that tourism does not necessarily promote reconciliation. Prideaux, Prideaux, and Kim (2010) made related observations about how tourism is used as a political tool by both North and South Korea to achieve desired foreign policy objectives, a situation common in bilateral relations throughout the world (Timothy, 2007).

Summary

As the preceding discussion indicated, post-occupation tourism flows may be affected by a range of factors not generally encountered in normal tourist travel between countries that do not share a past marked by occupation. This discussion has also highlighted that nationalism and politics, particularly post-occupation diplomatic relations, may also influence bilateral tourism. It is also apparent that current tourism models (Butler & Mao, 1996; Guo et al., 2006; Kim & Crompton, 1990) do not consider the impact of the re-emergence of political tensions in post-occupation geopolitics particularly where there has been a long period of post-conflict tension free engagement.

Diplomatic, socio-cultural, and economic issues

The preceding discussion has highlighted factors concerned with war, occupation, reconciliation and nationalism on Sino-Japanese tourism. Other factors that may affect bilateral relations include diplomatic issues, socio-cultural, trade and economic issues. These factors are illustrated in Fig. 3.

Diplomatic factors

China and Japan have differing goals for outbound tourism development. From the Japanese perspective the removal of restrictions of outbound Japanese tourism from the Tokyo Olympics in 1966 onwards was a reflection of the Japanese governments' desire to engage in the international community (Soshiroda, 2005). The signing of the Plaza Accord in 1985 which led to an appreciation of the Japanese yen, also greatly stimulated Japanese outbound tourism while assisting to reduce Japan's large current balance of payments surpluses and facilitating greater Japanese engagement with the world.

China on the other hand has used outbound tourism as a tool to achieve specific foreign policy outcomes (Tse, 2013, 2015; Tse & Hobson, 2008; Mak, 2013). As Tse and Hobson (2008:152) note, 'Deng Xiaoping's "Socialism with Chinese characteristics" and Jiang Zemin's "Socialist Market Economy" mean that outbound tourism is not left to operate freely without intervention with the Chinese state using controls over inbound and outbound tourism to achieve specific foreign policy objectives. These included building foreign exchange earnings by encouraging inbound tourism while discouraging outbound Chinese tourism'. More recently, Tse (2013) analyzed how China has used the granting of ADS (Approved Destination Status) status to achieve specific foreign policy outcomes. In his examination Tse (2013:151) found that China delayed granting ADS status to Canada "in reprisal for its Prime Min-

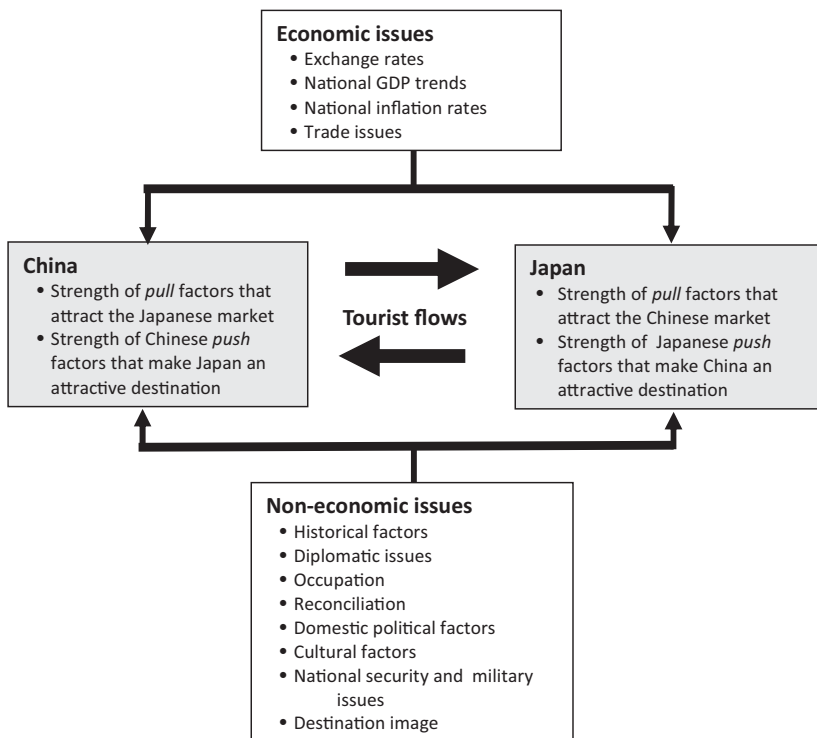


Fig. 3. Factors that may affect bilateral relations between China and Japan.

ister Stephan Harper's criticism of China's human rights record, and his meeting in 2007 with the Dalai Lama, whom Beijing sees as a traitor and a separatist". As Tse (2013) notes, China is one of the few countries that has an articulated outbound tourism policy that is actively used to achieve specific foreign policy outcomes. From a Japanese perspective Du (2008) noted the role of Chinese government policy in encouraging or discouraging Japanese travel to China through mechanisms such as visa conditions.

Bilateral flows can be expected to be at their strongest when peaceful diplomatic conditions prevail. Despite bilateral treaties to normalize relations, the political relationship between China and Japan has deteriorated a number of times. Of particular annoyance to China has been the apparent denial of the scale of the 1937 Nanjing Massacre. The Chinese government has vehemently protested Japan's glossing over its wartime atrocities. An official visit by Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone to the Yasukuni Shrine (the burial place of Japanese war criminals executed for their crimes after World War II) in 1985 also soured relations. Further visits by incumbent Japanese Prime Minister Abe since 2012 exacerbated the situation (Li, 2016). According to several commentators (He, 2014; Maslow, 2016) the Chinese government regarded these Japanese actions as a 'slap in the face' and a revival of Japanese militarism. These events also raised doubts about the seriousness of Japan towards post-war reconciliation policies. Japan's close defense ties with the USA have also been a cause for hostility from time to time (Holmes, 2014).

More recently the reassessment by China of its regional and global roles, particularly after Xi Jinping assumed the Chinese presidency in 2013, have led to tensions with the other Asian neighbors as well as Japan. In China, the 70th anniversary of the defeat of Japan in World War II was marked by numerous nationalistic TV programs and newspaper articles that cast the Japanese occupation in a very poor light while promoting Chinese nationalism (BBC News, 2015).

Of potentially greater importance has been a series of disputes between China and Japan over the disputed Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands in the South China Sea commencing with the 1996 construction of a lighthouse by Japan on one of the islands as a signal of Japan's sovereignty over the disputed island (Cui, 2012). Anti-Japanese activities broke out in Hong Kong, Macau, and other cities in China (Ong, 2013). The territorial dispute again affected bilateral tourism exchanges in 2012, when new tensions arose over the island, the result of the purchase by the Japanese Government of three of the islands from their private Japanese owner and later a non-lethal clash between Japanese and Chinese coast guard ships. The ensuing tension was described by one commentator (<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-21290349>, (accessed 6 January 2016) as "the most serious for Sino-Japanese relations in the post-war period in terms of the risk of militarized conflict". In response, many Chinese cancelled their trips to Japan and anti-Japanese riots broke out in a number of Chinese cities (Ashcroft, 2012).

Anti-Japan sentiments were identified in the 10th public opinion poll (*The Genron NPO & China Daily*, 2014) where 64.0 percent of Chinese respondents identified the occupation of Diaoyu/Senkaku as the most important factor which create negative images of Japan, followed by lack of remorse about the Japanese invasion of China (59.6 percent). In contrast, 52.2 percent of Japanese respondents indicated China's criticism of historical issues as the most significant factor in generating a negative image of China.

Socio-cultural issues

Apart from diplomatic issues, socio-cultural issues may also influence tourism flows. Bilateral collaboration in cultural affairs usually includes human and technological exchanges in fields such as pop music, athletics, entertainment games, mass media, TV dramas, movies, arts and sciences. Cultural intercourse between China and Japan has evolved in several ways. One manifestation is the growing interest in Japan and Japanese life among the Chinese known as "Japanophilia" or "Harizu", (Hernandez, 2015). Similarly, interest in China and its culture among Japanese is known as "China fever" (Coates, 2013). Other indicators of friendly relations included: 247 sister cities agreement; the operation of 33,400 Japanese companies and affiliates in China by 2011 (Rafferty, 2012). Japanese students (about 81,000) were the third largest group of foreign students studying in Chinese Universities in 2014 (Clavel, 2014). Collectively, these statistics indicate the existence of the so-called "China

fever”, which has incited a wave of interest among Japanese in learning Chinese and finding new business opportunities related to China.

Chinese students comprised 60% of all foreign students in Japan in 2014 (Clavel, 2014) while approximately 690,000 Chinese citizens resided in Japan in 2010, comprising 32.2% of all foreigners in the country (Castro-Vázquez, 2013). The most intriguing of all cultural interchanges is the popularity of Japanese pop culture, including cartoons, pop music, and movies. Japanese pop culture first spread to Taiwan, then to Hong Kong and finally to mainland China. Chinese members of Generation Y have a high level of interest in foreign culture particularly when exposed to it via the Internet (Hassan, Ramayah, Mohammad, & Maghsoudi, 2015).

Japanese pop culture has tempered Japan’s negative image in the region, including that associated with historical issues and territorial disputes. However, the growing popularity of Japanese culture in the late 1990s led the Chinese government to impose quotas on the importation and broadcasting of Japanese cartoons and dramas. One consequence was a government inspired anti-Japanese pop culture movement began to emerge in favor of promoting national drama (Nakano, 2002).

Economic and trade factors

To be successful, cultural and tourism cooperation needs to be based on mutual trust and demonstrate benefits for all actors involved. A policy of separating politics and economics in trade issues was adopted by both nations (Iriye, 1990) and even during the Cold War both countries continued to conduct trade. After the normalization of relations, trade and investment grew rapidly with trade growing from US\$1 billion in 1972 to US\$340 billion in 2014 (Drysdale, 2015). In terms of their trade relationship China is Japan’s largest trading partner, while Japan is China’s second-largest trading partner. In addition, Japan is the largest investor in China, with US\$100 billion in investment in 2014 (Drysdale, 2015).

At the Japan–People’s Republic of China Summit Meeting on May 31, 2012, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda emphasized the importance of Sino-Japanese economic cooperation. Both countries aimed to further develop financial linkages, economic exchanges in the services sector, tourism promotion and intellectual property rights protection (MOFAJ, 2012).

However trade imbalances and protectionism are also a potential cause for friction. Japan’s decision in 2000 to impose a penalty on excess agricultural products imported from China generated strong opposition from China causing a short lived trade war between the two nations. In response the Japanese government levied high taxes on cheap Chinese export products to protect domestic enterprises. These protectionist policies appeared to cause some damage to Sino-Japanese trade relations (Fletcher, 2011).

In 2014 China’ became the world’s second largest economy (USD10.35 trillion), far surpassing that of Japan (USD 4.60 Trillion) (World Bank, 2016). This has created concern in Japan (Maslow, 2016) leading to the so-called China threat theory which a number of commentators (Broomfield, 2003) have identified as a potential threat to Sino-Japanese relations based on fears that China will use its status as both a military and economic superpower to pursue foreign policy objectives that the Japanese see as threatening to their diplomatic interests.

Bilateral tourism perspective

From the perspective of tourism theory it is apparent that travel between China and Japan is governed at two levels; the political level where governments make decisions that can affect the ability or desire of their citizens to visit a particular country and, the personal level where the individual tourist decides on which country to visit. At the political level a number of models (Guo et al., 2006; Kim & Crompton, 1990) explore the role that government decisions may have on the size of bilateral travel flows. In particular the two track model of the development of bilateral tourism (Butler & Mao, 1996; Guo et al., 2006; Kim & Crompton, 1990) and the push–pull model (Dann, 1977) are able to provide insights of this nature particularly where government exercises control over where its citizens may go, for how long and for what purpose. At the consumer level there are numerous examples of models that examine element of consumer decision making including destination image (Gainsbury, Aro, Ball,

Tobar, & Russell, 2015). However current models do not comment on situations where there has been a change from a positive to a negative relationship.

Discussion

As the preceding discussion highlights, diplomatic as well as historical issues may adversely affect tourism flows. Finding amicable solutions to disputes of this nature is essential if tourism cooperation is to be maintained (Moufakkir & Kelly, 2010). Failure to achieve long-term reconciliation particularly over Japan's wartime treatment of China may lead to ongoing mistrust rather than trust.

From a tourism perspective, strategies that enhance trust at both the government-to-government and people-to-people levels of the type previously discussed by Butler and Mao (1996) offer the best opportunity for achieving strong and lasting bilateral travel. Although the tourism sector often lacks the ability to directly influence national and foreign policy matters there are a number of ways that it makes a positive contribution to support bilateral tourism flows. The following discussion considers the impact on tourism flows from both the government-to-government and at the person-to-person level.

Government-to-government relations play a key role in providing the 'space' for tourism to operate. From a tourism perspective it is important for the industry to develop a capacity to lobby key government officers and politicians in relation to the needs of the tourism industry. At the international level this occurs through organizations such as Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA), the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) and the UNWTO. Similar organizations at the national level can also assist by lobbying stakeholders on issues that affect bilateral flows. High level government-to-government diplomatic dialogue on political and security affairs is also required to build mutual trust. One example is the 1978 Treaty of Peace and Friendship between China and Japan which laid the grounds for increased business and tourism links.

The government sector can also remove impediments to bilateral travel through simplifying immigration procedures and visa processing, a theme previously identified (Trethewey & Mak, 2006). The ADS scheme is one example of how this may occur. However impediments remain. As of 2015, Chinese independent visitors wishing to travel to Japan were required to provide bank statements or financial guarantees, and only citizens in cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Chongqing, Shengyang and Dalian were able to receive individual tourist visas. China in contrast has adopted a visa-free policy for Japanese visitors for up to 15 days. Reducing travel restrictions imposed by Japan would increase the attractiveness of Japan as a destination for Chinese independent tourists.

An analysis of Chinese visitors to Japan during the period 2010–2014 shows a sharp drop during the period of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands dispute with mainland Chinese tourists arrivals in Japan decreasing by an average of 28% to August 2013 (Japan Tourism Marketing Company, 2015). Similarly, the number of Japanese tourists visiting China also declined by more than 30% month-on-month (CNTA, 2015). This effect continued into early 2013. Once relations were normalized the number of Chinese visiting Japan resumed its previous upward trajectory although the reverse occurred in Japanese arrivals in China. While diplomatic issues dominated the demand for travel for a few months at the height of the tension, the falling value of the Japanese Yen and the 2014 tensions between Chinese tourists and the Hong Kong community (Kennedy & Ruan, 2015) were also contributing factors in increased arrivals after 2012. As outlined earlier in this paper, it is often difficult to discern which factors operate at any one time and in some cases there may be a number of factors operating in parallel.

Underpinning the preceding issues is the need for lasting reconciliation (Borneman, 2002; Staub, 2006). Achieving meaningful and long-term reconciliation will require Japan to atone for past aggression such as the Nanjing Massacre (Cui, 2012). This will require Japan to reconsider how it interprets past Sino-Japanese history at a formal diplomatic level as well as domestically. For its part, China will need to accept any sincere Japanese expression of atonement and resist the temptation to raise these issues during future disputes. Resolving outstanding issues of this nature offers the chance to lay the foundations for stable, future-oriented bilateral relations.

As the global flow of tourism increases the need to understand cross-cultural differences such as values, attitudes, and behaviors is growing (Nyaupane, Teye, & Paris, 2008). At the people-to-people

level there are a range of strategies that should be considered. One is culture which includes both traditional and contemporary. Traditional culture includes knowledge, beliefs, art traditions, morals, customs, habits, and capabilities, which can be influenced by macro-level factors such as economics, politics, religiosity, language, education, technology, and industrial development (Hofstede, 1991; Hofstede, 2001; Sekaran, 1983; Steenkamp, 2001). Where they exist, bridging cultural gaps need not be difficult as the following examples demonstrate. Many Japanese are interested in Chinese food, historic sites and relics, kung fu temples, Confucianism, and Buddhism-related historic sites (Su, Lin, & Lui, 2012). Chinese are in Japanese pop culture and purchasing Japanese luxury goods and services. Japanese interest in China provides a useful platform for building cultural exchange programs that promote understanding of the other country's history, culture, philosophy, economic and political structure, education system, and industrial development (Austin & Harris, 2001). Contemporary expressions of culture such as joint production of television programs and movies can also have a positive influence on developing understanding of other cultures and promoting cross-national flows of tourists (Beeton, 2005). Student exchanges also offer opportunities for people-to-people exchanges to assist in overcoming language barriers and promoting understanding of the other nation's traditions and cultures (Che, Du, Lu, & Tao, 2015).

One issue that has emerged in the recent past at the people-to-people level relates to the attitude of international tourists to local laws and respect for community behavioral standards. In recent years a number of examples of poor behavior by Japanese tourists has been reported in the Chinese media (People's Daily, 2003). From the Japanese perspective, Chinese tourists are said to be among the most difficult tourists—shouting, ignoring local driving laws, littering, spitting and urinating in public, and leaving graffiti behind (Zhang, 2013). Commentaries in China and the Chinese government have urged Chinese tourists to improve their behavior abroad (The State Council of The People's Republic of China, 2013). Issues of this nature have damaged Chinese views of Japanese tourists and vice versa, souring interpersonal relations and resulting in negative stereotypes. Tour guides, travel agencies and educational institutions all have a role in informing tourists about ethics and proper behavior.

The preceding discussion has highlighted a number of suggestions that if supported by the tourism industry could go some way to helping improve Sino-Japanese bilateral relations. While most will improve tourism at a person-to-person level the broader question of how to achieve better bilateral relations is one that has to be resolved at a government-to-government level. Again, the tourism industry has a part to play but it must be based on the understanding that tourism of itself is rarely likely to exert a significant influence on international politics (Henderson, 2003).

From a theoretical perspective, Fig. 3 illustrates the range of economic and non-economic factors that may influence bilateral tourism flows. The significance of both economic and non-economic factors can be expected to vary depending on the state of diplomatic relation at any particular time.

Conclusion

This paper has provided insights into the causes of difficult relations based on history, occupation, reconciliation, diplomacy, economic, trade and social-cultural factors. While the findings relate specifically to China and Japan, similar problems, and solutions, can be found between other countries that have experienced unwelcome occupation of part of their territory. Understanding the nature of disputes and how they may be solved is critical to finding workable solutions at both the government and person-to-person levels (Butler & Mao, 1996). As a number of authors have observed (Borneman, 2002; Staub, 2006) for reconciliation to occur, the perpetrator and victim states must move beyond conflict by resolving past injustices and building economic and diplomatic relations that are defined by peaceful co-existence.

International relations are in a constant state of flux. In general however, the post-World War Two era has been a period of relative peace with bilateral and multilateral relations between former enemies improving. The growth of the European Union, where many former enemies now peacefully co-exist, is one of many examples of where the easing of tensions has provided an enormous stimulus to bilateral as well as multilateral tourism flows. On the whole, relations have improved in areas of culture and heritage, education, innovation systems, and trade and economics, with some improvements

being noted in the area of security and geopolitics (Duara, 2008; Hall et al., 2003; O'Dowd, Anderson, & Wilson, 2003; Weidenfeld, 2013).

Unfortunately, there remain a significant number of countries that do not enjoy good relations with other countries. Factors that continue to contribute to poor international relations including racial tension, prevailing political ideologies, territorial disputes, religion, poverty and wealth and post-colonial factors (Butler & Mao, 1996; Kim & Prideaux, 2006; Prideaux, 2005; Timothy, 2001) and post-occupation factors. Japan and China are not the only examples of countries where relations continue to be affected by the past. The breakup of the former USSR in 1991 has resulted in a number of disputes between Russia and other states that previously were incorporated in the USSR, the most serious being between Russia and the Ukraine. The resulting conflict between Ukraine and its Russian supported breakaway eastern provinces has effectively halted tourism flows between the two nations. Resumption of tourism will depend on a cessation of the current conflict, negotiations over Ukrainian territory occupied by Russia and an extended period of reconciliation.

As has been highlighted, Sino-Japanese relations have experienced dramatic changes. After the peace agreement of 1972, Japan and China became much closer in economic, cultural, and tourism terms, as evidenced by the large number of Chinese living in Japan and Japanese living in China, as well as growing levels of travel between the two countries.

This paper has provided a critical descriptive assessment of the bilateral relations between China and Japan that affect much of the tourism mobility between the two countries and suggests new ways of looking at bilateral relationships. While the political and security relations between the two countries change constantly and often unpredictably, the economic relationship is closely interdependent and comparatively more predictable (Guo, Kim & Timothy, 2007; Iriye, 1990). The cultural and tourism relationships are the most encouraging, and can provide a catalyst for building understanding and trust on a people-to-people level. However, since tourism is sensitive to political and diplomatic environments, active tourism exchanges between the two countries essentially hinge on peaceful diplomatic conditions.

The starting point of this paper was to explore how a range of non-economic factors may affect future bilateral tourism flows between China and Japan. The discussion highlighted a number of issues including shared history and how it was interpreted, occupation, reconciliation, politics and diplomatic relations. Collectively, issues of this nature are able to exert an intangible effect on the factors that propel people to travel and need to be considered along with other data when exploring issues related to bilateral travel. While the discussion focused on the contemporary situation between China and Japan many of the issues discussed have relevance to other bilateral pairings of countries that share joint histories or in some cases a colonial past. Examples that relate to China and other countries that it maintains bilateral relations with include China and Taiwan (Guo et al., 2006; Yu, 1997) and Vietnam (Chan, 2006). While there remain sticking points in Sino-Japanese relations, in part rooted in the history of war and occupation, there is strong evidence that once issues of this nature are able to be resolved, tourism cooperation has the potential to flourish.

This research has identified post-occupation relations, shared history and nationalism in a Sino-Japanese context as significant factors that may affect bilateral flows. Other factors such as culture were identified but not explored in detail. Future research in this important area could include more detailed investigation of other factors such as the role of occupation and current military issues. Russia and its relations with Ukraine is just one example of many that could be investigated.

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