How Does Anime Realize Public Diplomacy? : The Potential and Future Prospects of Anime Pilgrimage

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ABSTRACT

This paper identifies the potential and future prospects of anime pilgrimage for realizing and deploying public diplomacy. Anime has attracted a great deal of attention as a significant resource for public diplomacy in Japan. The Japanese government has attempted to develop many programs that utilize anime in order to enhance national diplomacy, but the anime pilgrimage has not been adequately considered in the field of foreign policy. This paper begins by elucidating the characteristics of the anime pilgrimage. Special focus is placed on how a motion picture, including an anime work, impacts the viewers' motivation to visit the places featured. Regarding anime, the role of "otaku" is essential. Otaku pilgrims are likely to proactively interact both with themselves and the people in the destination. Secondly, this research will focus on the concept "public diplomacy" and "soft power." Although the aim of managing the international environment is common to all diplomacy, public diplomacy is different from traditional diplomacy, in particular due to its stress on "people to people," two-way exchanges based on soft power rather than "government-to-government" interlocutions with coercive "hard power" or "government-to- (overseas) people" one-way communication. Finally, the potential, limitations, and future prospects of anime pilgrimage in realizing public diplomacy are proposed. Anime pilgrimages have the potential to provide the foundation for "people-to-people" diplomacy through establishing transnational communities, whereas, now it has not posited as part of a whole system of Japanese public diplomacy programs and, moreover, the number of overseas pilgrims remains small. Thus, in order to achieve public diplomacy and soft power, many government agencies would do well to establish cross-over policy cooperation.

ANIME PILGRIMAGE

Film Tourism

There are many people who want to enter the world of projected images such as that created in a movie or TV. In reality, movies and television offer a dream that most likely will not come true. However, it is still possible for anyone to visit the locations, or the filmed sites. Such activities are called "film tourism" or "film-induced tourism." This type of tourism, in other words, reliving the universe of the story of the film has spread all over the world. Film tourism is the term applied to the visitation of sites where movies and TV programs have been filmed as well as to tours to production studios, including film-related theme parks (Beeton 2005:11). The motivation for such a trip is not to take a summer vacation or holiday break but rather re-experience of the images that the audience took in at the movie. The motives of tourism vary. Brent Ritchie indicates that attractions of tourists are not only something natural and man-made but also "hallmark events." According to him, a "hallmark events" is:

Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration developed to primarily enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a destination in the short and/or long term. These events rely for their success on uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention (Brent Ritchie, 1984, p. 268).

Specifically, he points out quite a few events, including international trade fair, sports events, destination-specific carnivals and festivals, culturally unique events. Brent Ritchie and Van Doren add "film attraction" to the list of hallmark events. Referring to their argument, they write "motion picture films are of limited duration in viewing time and in the number of days at cinematic venues," in addition, "have the advantage of longer exposure periods than traditional travel promotion efforts such as print advertisements or broadcast communications…Although the awareness, appeal and profitability of films diminishes slowly over time, destinations and experiences are enhanced in audiences' memories by special technological effects, association with famous actors, and the cinematic penchant for picture perfect settings." Moreover, "the romantic ethos common in film scripts allows more complete perceptual integration and 'closure' in the minds of viewers" (Brent Ritchie & Van Doren, 1991, p. 269; Assael, 1987). As "product placement," which is a marketing strategy for products, a film has an impact on the positive

image of a place (Beeton, 2005; Hudson & Brent Ritchie, 2009).

Beeton's definition of film tourism connotes two kinds of tourism. One is "on-location tourism," which involves visiting the filmed sites, and the other is "off-location tourism," which focuses on visiting the production studios or other facilities (Beeton, 2005, pp. 12-16). Film tourism studies are likely to focus on the former. In particular, on-location tourism is attractive for tourists because the on-location trip permits them an opportunity to straddle fiction and reality, allowing them to feel as if they are part of the motion picture and close to their beloved characters (Beeton, 2005, pp. 38-39).

Anime Pilgrimage

An anime and a film are almost the same as a "motion picture." Of course, the term "film" can be used in a broad sense. But intrinsically there is significant difference between the drawing version and the live-action version. In this paper, an anime is motion picture based on drawings. It goes without say that the term "anime" refers to a Japanese commercial animation work (Tsugata, 2014).

Broadly, there are various kinds of anime tourism or anime-induced tourism. The most typical type is based on visiting anime museums or facilities. Another involves participating in events, such as comic markets, concerts, and voice actors' events. This kind of off-location tourism has been well known for a long time. On the other hand, an anime pilgrimage is a relatively recent phenomenon. For about two decades, this type of on-location tourism has attracted a great deal of attention from many social sectors. In terms of film tourism, anime is discussed in Japan more than live-action films, whereas, in the US, Europe and Australia, many academics and practitioners deal with live-action movies and TV dramas. Therefore, it should be said that behind this trend lays conditions that are unique to Japanese socio-economy.

Throughout the world, the production of the anime works has grown exponentially (Masuda, 2007). Many anime works have been televised in variety of countries since "Astro Boy" was first shown overseas in the 1960s. Miyazaki Hayao's movie "Spirited Away" won various prestigious awards. Additionally, Shinkai Makoto's movie "Your Name" has been screened in more than 100 countries so far. The growth of the production volume is remarkable, not only in terms of movies but also TV anime programs (Figure 1). This condition was the background that gave rise to the phenomenon of the anime pilgrimage. Why has the volume of anime production grown and anime pilgrimages increased? Actually, the reasons behind this phenomenon have not been adequately

explained by academics and practitioners. But according to several specialists, we can point to two reasons: the procurement method related to anime production cost and the development of digital technology (Masuda, 2007; Yasuda, 2012; Tsugata 2014; Yamamura 2015; Suto 2016). Conventionally, the production is financed by a TV station and a publicity company or a goods manufacturer functioning as a sponsor. However, since the 1990s, organizing a "production committee" became a mainstream way to fund-raise for an anime production. In this scheme, a picture production company or a TV station usually becomes the biggest investor in order to obtain benefit from the sales of the DVD, video and any other goods. A publicity agent company also often organizes the committee. This fund-raising style has the most significant merit for minimizing the risks of losses. The more the number of investors, the smaller risks the investors may take. In addition, in order to minimize the risks of losses, they have aimed at increasing the number of the anime productions. The quantity output required production efficiency, in addition to high-quality drawing techniques for the graphic images. The visual quality is the basic premise for the sale of DVD or video. And then, many anime production companies gradually adopted the tracing method based on real scenery through digital technology. This situation motivated many animators to make more and more high-quality products. At the same time, some TV stations developed midnight airtime for the anime that lowered the broadcasting rights fee. This witching-hour airtime prompted the production companies to make adult-oriented anime works, combined with the aim of maximizing the sales of DVD and any goods. Such a trend in the anime industry directly or indirectly prompted the development of the anime pilgrimage. Thus, this type of trip is a relatively recent phenomenon.
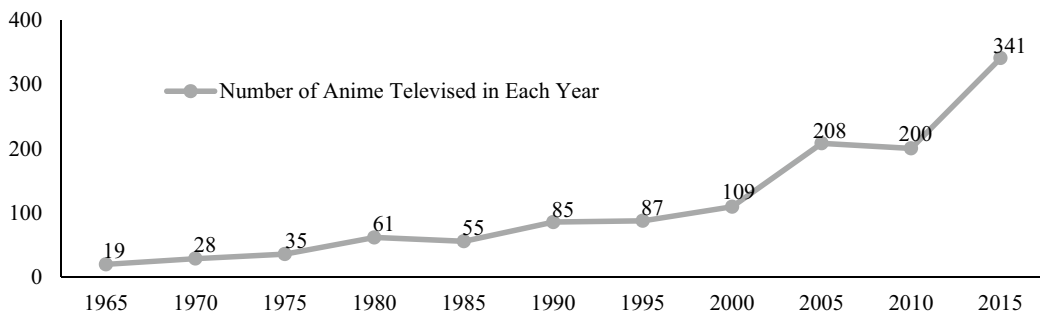

Figure 1. Number of anime televised from 1965 to 2015. Adapted from The Association of Japanese Association (2016). *Anime Sangyo Report 2016* [*Report on Anime Industry 2016*] (p. 26). Copyright by The Association of Japanese Association.

In addition, the anime pilgrimage has another new aspect with related to the characteristics of its sightseeing form. Yamamura (2009) identifies the history of tourism in Japan in terms of three phases: 1) the postwar and rapid economic growth era (1945–1970s), 2) the bubble economy era (1980s), and 3) the economic depression and IT era (2000–). From WWII to the end of rapid economic growth, mass-tourism was a significant trend. Then traffic infrastructures such as highways, Shinkansen, and airports were increasingly developed in Japan. And many travel agencies began to plan and sell their package products for tourism. To put it briefly, a lot of academics define typical tourism style in this time as "departure-led tourism." The tourism mode in 1980s was mainly "destination-led tourism." Both governments and business communities promoted tourism as a form of regional development, in particular, focusing on resort development projects and rural tourism such as agricultural tourism. Finally, the current trend is "tourists-led tourism," in other words; each individual tourist uncovers and dispenses information about attractions at destinations via the Internet. Simply stated, the citizen sector is producing tourism and destinations by itself. Tourists do not need any travel packages and can find pleasure in the destination themselves. The anime pilgrimage precisely corresponds with this third type.

According to the website "The Sacred Place Map" (DIP Co., Ltd. (website: https://seichimap. jp/), we can glance through the places all over Japan and overseas that have become anime scenes. As of January 9, 2017, the number of the places registered is 4,877 and the number of works is 487. Table 1 provides a sample list of the "sacred places" that have received the attention of many researchers and practitioners so far (Mori, 2017b, p. 114).

Table 1
List of Sacred Places

TV anime program/ anime movie	Broadcasting Period	Filming site
NEON GENESIS EVANGELION (TV and movies)	TV: Oct.1995-Mar.1996. Movies: Sep. 2007-	Hakone, Yamanashi
Lucky Star	Apr. 2007-Sep. 2007	Washimiya, Saitama
K-ON! / K-ON!! (Season 1 and 2)	Apr.2009-Sep.2010	Toyosato, Shiga
Durarara!! (Season 1 and 2)	Jan.2010-Mar. 2016	Ikebukuro, Tokyo
Anohana	Apr. 2011-Jun. 2011	Chichibu, Saitama
GIRLS und PANZER	Oct. 2012-Mar. 2013	Oarai, Ibaraki
Love Live! (Season 1 and 2)	Jan. 2013-Jun. 2014	Akihabara, Tokyo
Free! (Season 1 and 2)	Jul.2013-Sep. 2014	Iwami, Tottori
Haikyu! (Season 1, 2 and 3)	Apr. 2014-Dec. 2016	Karumai, Iwate
Your Name	Aug. 2016-	Hida, Gihu (and Tokyo)

Why "Pilgrimage"?

The various types of anime pilgrimages could be subsumed under the expression anime tourism or anime-induced tourism; however, whatever the case, the phrase "anime pilgrimage" is now pervasive. Why is an anime pilgrimage a "pilgrimage"? At first, a pilgrimage means making a trek into a sacred place and obtaining relics or souvenirs, and returning to one's house with those representations. As many academics have noted, film-induced tourism has strong overtones of pilgrimage (Riley & Brent Ritchie, 1992; Tooke & Baker, 1996; Beeton, 2005). Different from both departure-led and destination-led tourism, "pilgrims" (not as mere "visitors") will take the initiative in creating kinds of tourism without any assistance.

Okamoto（2009, p. 29）points out that the characteristic pattern of the pilgrimage action in 2000s is as follows. First is to take a lot of photographs of the scenes featured in anime works and post the photos along with an explanation describing them on the Internet blogs or homepages. Second is that pilgrims record their memories of the pilgrimage in "*Seichi Junrei* Notebook" (the sacred place notebook) that is prepared either by themselves or by the destination. Additionally, a number of wildly devoted pilgrims offer wooden-votive tablets to the Shinto shrines. As these actions indicate, pilgrims tend to leave some mementos of their pilgrimage for the sacred places. Thirdly, pilgrims usually not only enjoy interaction among themselves but also with the local people. Fourthly, quite a few pilgrims frequently and repeatedly visit the sacred places. Finally, they usually are younger people who have become familiar with IT tools. These activity trends have gone almost unchanged in the 2010s. The third and the forth patterns also describe the pilgrims' voluntary actions at the destinations (Yamamura, 2012).

Pilgrimage attractions are connected to the film's thematic contents rather than picturesque landscape and physical environments (Riley & Van Doren, 1992). Therefore, pilgrims may seek to trek to places where ordinary visitors do not dare to go, such as off-street scenes, dairy shops, public facilities, etc. The term "pilgrimage" originally bears a religious connotation. Such enthusiastic actions by anime fans are similar to those of other religious pilgrimages. Viewers who can become pilgrims voluntarily will trek to venerated and much loved places even if those travels are accompanied by difficulties.

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PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND ANIME

Public Diplomacy

Recently, international relation studies and diplomacy research continually deal with the theme of "public diplomacy" (PD). This concept was coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, a former American diplomat and dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Therefore, many discussions on PD were mainly associated with the United States (Melissen, 2005). But nowadays PD have been argued and applied to the foreign policy processes in many countries. This paper will elucidate the definition of PD based on Cull (2009). Cull defines diplomacy as "the mechanisms short of war deployed by an international actor to manage the international environment." Additionally, he contrasts two dimensions of diplomacy: traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy. The former is an "international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with another international actor." The latter is "an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public." (Cull, 2009, p.12).

The diplomatic technique defined as the official communication aimed at foreign publics and now labeled as PD is not a new phenomenon but nearly as old as diplomacy itself (Melissen, 2005, p. 3). The international actor in traditional diplomacy is a governmental sector; therefore, PD historically means the form that one government uses in its attempt to contact the people of another state. Nowadays, many academics are focusing on the "new public diplomacy" that has been spreading worldwide since 2000s.

Regarding the concept "new public diplomacy," Cull outlines the seven key point as follows: 1)the international actors are increasingly non-traditional and NGOs are especially prominent; 2) the mechanisms used by these actors to communicate with world publics have moved into new, real-time and global technologies (especially the Internet); 3) these new technologies have blurred the formerly rigid lines between the domestic and international news spheres; 4) in place of old concepts of propaganda Public Diplomacy makes increasing use of concepts on one hand explicitly derived from marketing—especially place and nation branding—and on the other hand concepts growing from network communication theory; hence, there is 5) a new terminology of PD as the language of prestige and international image has given way to talk of 'soft power' and 'branding;' 6) perhaps most significantly, the *New* Public Diplomacy speaks of a departure

from the actor-to-people Cold War-era communication and the arrival of a new emphasis on people-to-people contact for mutual enlightenment, with the international actor playing the role of facilitator; and 7) in this model the old emphasis on top down messaging is eclipsed and the prime task of the new public diplomacy is characterized as 'relationship building.' The relationships need not be between the actor and a foreign audience but could usefully be between two audiences, foreign to each other (Cull, 2009, pp. 12-13). Table 2 shows the above points by each element in comparison with old public diplomacy.

Table 2
Old PD and New PD

Dominant Characteristics	Old PD	New PD
1) Identity of international actor	State	State and non-state
2) Tech. environment	Short wave radio Print newspapers Land-line telephones	Satellite, Internet, real-time news Mobile telephones
3) Media environment	Clear line between domestic and international news sphere	Blurring of domestic and international news sphere.
4) Source of approach	Outgrowth of political advocacy & propaganda theory	Outgrowth of corporate branding & network theory
5) Terminology	"International image" "Prestige"	"Soft power" "Nation Brand"
6) Structure of role	Top down, actor to foreign peoples	Horizontal, facilitated by actor
7) Nature of role	Targeted messaging	Relationship-building
8) Overall aim	**The management of the international environment**	**The management of the international environment**

Note: Adapted from *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from The Past* (p.14), by N. J. Cull, 2009, Los Angeles, CA: Figueroa Press. Copyright 2009 by Figueroa Press.

This research concentrates on the new public diplomacy that Cull described. To put it briefly, the old version of public diplomacy inevitably connotes the traditional diplomacy. According to Snow, "Traditional diplomacy is government-to-government relations (G2G)," and "traditional public diplomacy has been about governments talking to global publics (G2P) and includes those efforts to inform, influence, and engage those publics in support of national objectives and foreign policies. More recently, public diplomacy involves the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly and indirectly those public attitudes and opinions that bear directly on another governments' foreign policy decisions (P2P)." (Snow, 2009, p. 6).

Leonard, Stead and Smewing argue that PD is based on the premise that the image and reputation of a country are public goods that can create either an enabling or a disabling environment for individual transactions, and propose a hierarchy of impacts that PD can achieve as follows: 1) increasing people's familiarity with one's country (making them think about it, updating their images, turning around unfavourable opinions); 2) increasing people's appreciations of one's country (creating positive perceptions, getting others to see issues of global importance from the same perspective); 3) engaging people with one's country (strengthening ties—from education reform to scientific co-operation; encouraging people to see us as an attractive destination for tourism; study, distance learning; getting them to buy our products; getting to understand and subscribe to our values); 4) influencing people (getting companies to invest, publics to back our positions or politicians to turn to us as a favoured partner) (Leonard, Stead & Smewing, 2002, pp. 9-10). To achieve aims such as these, it is essential that we consider non-governmental diplomatic actors in addition to a governmental sector that has dominated the leading role in diplomacy so far (Melissen, 2005).

Soft Power

As Cull mentions above, the concept of "soft power" is deeply involved in PD. It should be noted that PD is not the same term as soft power, but PD can be a mechanism to deploy soft power, or one of soft power's key instruments (Melissen, 2005; Cull, 2009). The term "soft power" was coined in late 1980s by Joseph Nye. Generally, diplomacy requires "power." According to Nye, power is defined as "the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants." Then, "there are several ways to affect the behavior of others. You can coerce them with threats; you can induce them with payments; or you can attract and co-opt them to want what you want" (Nye, 2004, p. 2). Conventional diplomacy is basically based on hard power derived from tangible coerce or payoffs. In short, it may be deployed in the backgrounds of military and economic potential. In contrast, "[the] indirect way to get what you want has sometimes been called the second face of power" (Nye, 2004, p.5). This is precisely "soft power." "The second face" means one's ability to shape the preferences of others. "Soft power—getting others to want the outcomes that you want—co-opts people rather than coerces them" (Nye, 2004, p.5). In order to co-opt other groups and parties, the element of "attraction" is essential. Soft power is "the ability to attract, and attraction often leads to acquiescence" (Nye, 2004, p.6). Thus, "[if] I am persuaded to go along with your purposes without any explicit threat or exchange taking place—

in short, if my behavior is determined by an observable but intangible attraction—soft power is at work" (Nye, 2004, p. 7). Cull criticizes Nye's assertion that soft power is a mechanism for "getting what one wants" (2009, p. 15). But it is interesting that assuming the independence of the will of the partners, one can co-opt them through one's own ability to attraction.

Nye argues that soft power rests primarily on three resources: culture, a country's political values, and its foreign policies. In particular, he deals with films as one of cultural resources. Regarding Japan, while quoting McGray (2002), who affected the term formation of "Cool Japan," Nye refers to video games and anime as the cultural resources（Nye, 2004, p. 86）. Also in Japan, there are many arguments that assume anime functions as a meaningful diplomatic resource (Sakurai, 2009; Nakamura, 2010). As an example from another country, the Australian government puts a value on the impact of films as a resource of its diplomacy (Ausfilm, 2017). Sakurai indicates the momentous impact of anime on global society. Anime at present can facilitate the motivation of overseas youngsters to study Japanese and to visit Japan. In the world outside Japan, people have a perception that animation is usually a thing for children. Therefore, much younger audience in many countries tend to empathize the contents of recent anime basically made for adults (Sakurai, 2009; Shinkai, 2013).

Nowadays, Nye has come to develop the advanced concept "smart power." It stresses the appropriate balancing between soft power and hard power. But the new notion obviously aims to maximally utilize the characteristics of soft power.

In contrast, Leheny is extremely skeptical regarding these positive arguments. He mentions that:

"soft power" is a term that few political scientists take seriously, and that none has managed to measure or evaluate in any serious sense.[…] Despite the extraordinary reach of American popular culture around the world—from cinema to hip-hop to denim jeans—as well as the number of international students at American universities, President George W. Bush found it difficult to persuade most publics of the need for the Iraq War. Most countries' participation in the war instead seemed motivated by "hard power"[…] soft power seemed to be nearly the equivalent of an infant's favorite stuffed toy: emotional support for insecure observers in both countries, reminding them that they still had some global legitimacy that their erstwhile rivals supposedly lacked. And in both countries, there has been an assumption that their popular cultures somehow represent cohesive national values in a transparent and understandable way to foreign audiences.

Virtually every element of that assumption—particularly that national values are indeed cohesive and that foreign audiences will understand and appreciate a cultural product the way that officials in the country of origin expect them to—is demonstrably false (Leheny, 2015).

In short, Leheny points out that it is difficult to suppose a linear and simple equation, *the ability of persuasion is a function of attraction*, as Nye proposes.

"Pop Culture Public Diplomacy" and Foreign Policy in Japan

In Japan, PD has been an important theme of foreign policy. The JET program figures prominently in Japanese PD programs and activities. Recently, the Japanese government has focused on pop culture, for example, anime, manga, video games, movies, music and many other resources that are popular and can promote one's own culture overseas (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). The Council on the Promotion of Cultural Diplomacy, which was launched in 2004 by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi proposed pop culture as having "allure" and an entrance to facilitate overseas people's understanding of Japan. In addition, the "Cool Japan Strategy" established in 2007 revealed several plans to place a premium soft power, fascinating overseas people with many of Japan's unique attractions.

The main actors in Japanese PD are Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Japan Foundation (Ogawa, 2009). They have launched quite a few programs and activities, including the following: 1) Japan International MANGA Award; 2) participating in the executive committee of the World Cosplay Summit; 3) participating in many anime or pop-culture events held in various countries around the world (for example, exhibition booths, live concerts, etc.); 4) Anime Ambassador project (for example, screening anime movies overseas. The present ambassador is *Doraemon*); and 5) development of overseas markets; in particular, the Japan Foundation donates anime works mainly to many developing countries. In particular, the Japan Foundation has proactively implemented various anime related programs, such as: 1) dispatching specialists overseas as cultural cooperation; 2) holding seminars, workshops and exhibitions regarding anime; 3) providing aid for exchange program of animation cartoonists such as ANIME-ASEAN (http://newdeer.net/anime-asean/); and 4) supporting Japanese learning (special website: Anime-Manga no Nihongo [Japanese in Anime & Manga] (http://anime-manga.jp), Figure 2).

On the flip side, different from foreign policy, it is important to promote and improve the anime industry in order to produce the high-quality and attractive anime works. Whereas MOFA

is not directly involved in such a field of the industrial policy, the Agency of Cultural Affairs (ACA) and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), in other words, governmental offices in charge of cultural policies and economic policies, have jurisdiction over the industrial promotion. First, ACA implements the policies regarding supporting the production of anime works from the viewpoint of promoting the arts or creative activities; for example, "Project to nurture young animators and other talent," the "Japan Arts Fund" and the "Grant for Culture and Arts Promotion." Secondly, METI and ACA deal with the programs that enable the overseas development of the anime, separately from MOFA. METI implements the "Japan International Content Festival" and ACA carries out the "Japan Media Arts Festival" and "Support for participating in overseas film festivals." The movie "Your Name (*Kimi no Na wa*)" received the "Grant for Culture and Arts Promotion." Additionally, in recent year, METI has launched the regulation against the old practices of anime industry in order to solve issues with respect to the worsening working environment of the anime industry. This regulative policy positively impacts industrial promotion (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2016; Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2017, Agency of Cultural Affairs, 2017).

Whereas diplomacy that relies on pop culture, including anime, has been in the thick of various discussions, academics, practitioners, and governmental officers have thus far rarely considered the relation between the anime pilgrimage and diplomacy.

Figure 2. Japanese in Anime & Manga. Adapted from "Japanese in Anime & Manga" by the Japan Foundation, 2018 (http://anime-manga.jp/). Copyright 2010 by the Japan Foundation Japanese-Language Institute, Kansai.

THE POTENTIAL AND THE LIMITATION OF ANIME PILGREMAGE

The Potential as a Source for Transnational Communities

Notwithstanding Leheny's critical argument, does soft power actually have some real potential? While negatively approaching soft power, he adds that "I do not mean, of course, that popular culture is politically unimportant. Its consequences are, however, more diffuse than the gross diplomatic benefits that the 'soft power' thesis tends to project" (Leheny, 2015). However, assuming diplomacy inevitably entails power, public diplomacy has no significance if it cannot certainly influence the behavior of overseas people. It is important that various programs or activities of public diplomacy activate a sense of attraction, and, as a result, actualize soft power. According to Nye, the condition in which one is supported or given legitimacy by others indicates that one's power over others is obviously at work. The weakness in Nye's argument is his inadequate consideration of the path that activates soft power. We can expect several paths: while some attractions may directly achieve the power, others may not or, possibly, operate in an indirect manner. There will be variations of the paths, depending on the countries, regions, groups and people. Elucidating these pathways remains a significant research theme.

Nevertheless, the power of a film is very notable. As film tourism research has repeatedly identified, a film has significant effect on human behavior (Beeton, 2005; Hudson & Brent Ritchie, 2009). It goes without saying that, as soon as people view anime works, they will not necessarily become supporters of the overall policies of Japan. Based on Leonard, Stead and Smewing's schema, it is very meaningful that an anime cannot but achieve only the third phase (Leonard, Stead & Smewing, 2002, p. 9-10). This is because it can function as a robust breakthrough toward actualizing assistance by people from overseas to Japanese society.

These schemas become more obvious when the anime features particular places as locations. The locations not only get to the viewers' heart, but also motivate their behavior to visit there. Then, we can realize and develop "P2P diplomacy" through international exchange between overseas visitors and local people. The economic aspects are particularly stressed in discussions on the relation between culture and diplomacy (Mar, 2014）, but for international relations, the positive effects of global communication and exchange are as essential as the economic benefits. In particular, an anime pilgrimage implicates a significant element of public diplomacy (Carbone, 2017). It is possible to form a kind of cross-border community with the common glue of "anime" as an intermediary. Contents such as anime is not just consumer goods but a resource that creates

an emotional connection among people (Yamamura, 2012).

The reason why this argument would be meaningful is the characteristics of the otaku's behavior. At first, we should point out the nature of the otaku is to be a fanatic (Imaoka, 2010; Mukaimi, Taketani, Kawahara & Kawaguchi, 2016). Although otaku culture is growing globally and is increasingly broad and varied, the overseas otaku share many characteristics of their Japanese counterparts (Tsutsui, 2008). An otaku is defined as a "fanatic connoisseur" (Imaoka, 2010, p. 74). Of course, viewers who want to be pilgrims are likely to be more fanatic in their love of anime than ordinary fans. The enthusiastic viewers mostly give tremendous dignity to the destination place featured on the anime.

Public diplomacy and anime pilgrimages can connect with each other (Carbone, 2017). Nonetheless, the phenomenon of pilgrimages does not directly fuel nation power, but as an attraction it enhances relations and communication among people. There is no doubt that both particular anime works and the places displayed in them might serve as non-substitutable attractions for anime pilgrims. The anime pilgrimage studies have elucidated the fact that otaku pilgrims have a positive attitude toward interacting with local people. Although these studies focus on the tourism behavior of Japanese, overseas otaku may also take the action same as Japanese otaku. While such fanatic people make a huge effort to respect and contribute to the sacred destination, people at the destination need to accept their values and behaviors. Just as Dogan has identified the typology of host-guest relation in tourism, the hosts should also have positive attitudes toward the tourist, not in terms of "resistance" or "retreatism" but "revitalization " or "adoption" (see Dogan, 1989, pp. 220-225). It is significant to create transnational communities between tourists and the people at the destination.

In order for the anime pilgrimage to achieve P2P diplomacy, national government or local governments must progress to the fourth stage of "influencing people," as described by Leonard, Stead & Smewing. This phase is intrinsically a diplomatic activity able to deploy power: in other words, it is a final and essential step in managing the international environment. In our modern world, a good diplomat is never attained by any single actor; rather, there is the need to rely on a cooperative network among many social actors, including governmental sector. A good P2P dimension creates the essential foundation of good diplomacy. However, the behavioral orientations of P2P are likely to occur more and more in the different context of each state; furthermore, there is also the possibility that one P2P may conflict with other P2P or the direction of the whole county (Cull, 2009). As it faces such turbulent circumstances, the government sector

has a significant role to play in comprehensively managing these international environments from various fields of public policies and realizing soft power. Thus, in the end, it is clear that PD does not merely mean international exchange.

Limitations and Future Prospects

Regardless of the potential mentioned above, we still have many limitations. The most significant limitation is that the national government has not yet positioned the anime pilgrimage as part of a whole system of pubic diplomacy policy. In order to enhance transnational communities among people, we must not only make it easy to view anime overseas as a necessary condition, but also, as a sufficient condition, which will strongly stimulate overseas people's motivation to visit Japan. There are not many people who have going to anime or movie locations among their main reasons for visiting Japan. According to a survey conducted by the Japanese Tourism Agency, the proportion of visitors who have the aim of travelling to film locations is at most 5% of the total. Moreover, the rate of respondents who want to do film tourism on their next visit to Japan stays at only 10%（Mori, 2017a）. Many visitors are likely to visit this country to experience Japanese food, shopping, natural landscapes, hot spring bathing, etc.

In order to improve these situations, many government agencies should make an effort to establish cross-over cooperation. For example, MOFA or the Japan Foundation should attempt to dispatch information about location places, collaborating with the Japan Tourism Agency or Japan National Tourism Organization to promote international anime film festivals or any other international events. Of course, the policies that support the production of anime works such as funds or grants financed by the ACA have to be maintained. Additionally, in terms of the present fund-raising approach, if cloud-funding were to be expanded, thereby allowing otaku or many people to become stakeholders in the anime production, it could contribute to the people's sense of affinity to an anime, a film maker, and the location place that a film commission is scouting (Yamazaki, 2016). In this way, public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy in that it is something that is established by various policies and actions that transcend each domain.

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