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Jibie: Reinventing Hunting in 21st Century Japan

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1. Introduction

At first sight hunting seems like an archaic activity that does not belong in the 21st century, especially in countries such as Japan, which are well-known for its cutting edge technology and other innovations. Yet, hunting is currently experiencing a revival in Japan. This thesis explores this recent trend and argues that hunting in Japan is currently being transformed into a new form of tourism.

The Japan Tourism Agency recognizes several new forms of tourism, including green tourism, culture tourism, industry tourism, health tourism, sports tourism, tourism connected to fashion, food, films, anime and mountain forests (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism/ Japan Tourism Agency 2012a, 56-57) and, prominently, ecotourism (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism/ Japan Tourism Agency 2012a, 55-57). The last category is defined by the Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Plan¹ (*Kankō rikkoku suishin kihon keikaku*) as follows:

“tourists get advices and guidance from people who have knowledge of the natural resources of tourism, while considering the conservation of relevant natural resources, they get in contact with relevant natural resources. [Ecotourism is] an activity that intensifies knowledge and the comprehension [about relevant natural resources]. [Additionally,] it encourages an appropriate usage of natural tourist attractions. [Furthermore, it is,] together with reclaiming new tourist requests, an important form of sustainable tourism.” (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism/ Japan Tourism Agency 2012a, 55)

The Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Plan is part of the Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Law (*Kankō rikkoku suishin kihonhō* 2006, 1; 4, later the Basic Law) and came into effect in 2012 (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism/ Japan Tourism Agency 2012a). The plan emphasizes the educational aspect of ecotourism (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism/ Japan Tourism Agency 2012a, 55) which also appears in the definition by the Nature Conservation Society of Japan, whose definition of ecotourism is one of the most popular ones in Japan² (Arima, Kikuchi and Kuronuma 2013, 887). But education is not the only aspect of tourism. According to the Basic Law³ tourism should

¹ This quote is from the Tourism published in 2012. There is a later plan which was passed in 2017. Ecotourism also appears there (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism/ Japanese Tourism Agency 2017).

² ”The promotion of environmentally sensitive tourism and the provision of facilities and environmental education so that tourist will visit, understand and appreciate and enjoy natural and cultural areas without causing unacceptable Impacts or damage to their ecosystems or to local culture” (The Nature Conservation Society of Japan).

³ There is also the Ecotourism Promotion Law (Ministry of Environment b) which is excluded in this thesis due to word limits.

support the improvement of the living environment and the revitalization of the national and local economy (*Kankō rikkoku suishin kihonhō* 2012, 1)⁴.

The recently passed laws may suggest that tourism is a recent phenomenon in Japan; however, it actually has its roots in Premodern Japan. In the Japan before the Edo period (1603-1867) (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*), touristic activities were limited to mainly two destinations: temples or shrines and *onsen*. Pilgrimage was one purpose which allowed travelling; the other was travelling for health reasons (Funck and Cooper 2013, 13-17). It became popular among emperors to visit shrines or temples closeby with their followings (Funck and Cooper 2013, 11). But travelling was very expensive; farmers could hardly make a pilgrimage until the 14th century (Funck and Cooper 2013, 11-12).

These forms of tourism also continued during the Edo period (Funck and Cooper 2013, 12). At that time another form of travel was introduced by the central government: *sankin kōtai* which could be seen as a form of tourism (Funck and Cooper 2013, 20). The feudal lords, the *daimyō*, had to travel to Edo to serve the *bakufu* (Shogunate (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*)) lot (Funck and Cooper 2013, 20). The period, date and duration of the journey were dependent on the type of *daimyō*. The time they did not spend in Edo, they were in their own province, but their families had to stay in Edo (Funck and Cooper 2013, 20) As a result, the feudal lords had to travel back and forth a lot (Funck and Cooper 2013, 20). Depending on the wealth of the area, each *daimyō* was joined by an escort (Funck and Cooper 2013, 21). Nevertheless, the infrastructure was improved during the Edo period, because it was necessary to have a road network to control the main islands; *sankin kōtai* is one example for this control (Funck and Cooper 2013, 20-21). In total, five roads led to Edo: the Tōkaidō from Ōsaka and Kyōto, the Nakasendō from Kyōto via Lake Biwa and Nagano, the Nikkōdōchū from Nikkō, the Ōshudōchū from present-day Fukushima Prefecture and the Kōshudōchū that started at the Nakasendō via Yamanishi and present-day Kanagawa (Funck and Cooper 2013, 21). Thus, the *bakufu* could control the main islands and Edo was accessible from everywhere (Funck and Cooper 2013, 20).

From the Meiji period (1868-1912) (*Encyclopedia of Japan*) onwards, touristic activities became possible for more people: While during the Edo period Japanese needed a passport to travel, now the obligation to own a passport was annulled (Funck and Cooper 2013, 13; 31). Foreigners had to keep a passport, which enabled officials to examine their movements (Funck and Cooper 2013, 31). Influenced by Western culture and technology two important

⁴ A similar definition of ecotourism is made by the Japan Ecotourism Society that was founded in 1998 (Funck and Cooper 2013, 194-195).

changes took place in the Meiji period. The first one was the great improvement of the infrastructure. British officials recommended a railway to support modernization in Japan (Aoki 1994, 28). As a result, the first railway was opened in 1872 between Yokohama and Shinbashi (Funck and Cooper 2013, 13). By 1893 the most essential train lines were nationalized (Funck and Cooper 2013, 13). The second change was related to the closed areas where Western people had to live: there, they continued their own lifestyle and also Western leisure activities (Funck and Cooper 2013 23, 25-26). This attracted the Japanese elite and soon they began to imitate their Western counterparts (Funck and Cooper 2013 26). The introduced activities and facilities were hiking, beach related activities and resorts (Funck and Cooper 2013 23, 25-30).

The most important development until World War II was the establishment of a national park system in 1931 (Funck and Cooper 2013, 33). This was another model that the Japanese government introduced after the Western counterpart (Funck and Cooper 2013, 37). From the government's point of view, the national parks were considered as instruments for the recreation of working class people or to rehabilitate returnees after World War I (Eguchi 2010, 142).

According to Eguchi, the period after World War II can be divided in about five periods: the first period lasts from the end of World War II until 1963, the second period covers the years from 1964 to 1969, the third period lasts through the 1970s and 1980s, the fourth period lasts from the 1980s until 2006 and the most recent period started in 2006 (Eguchi 2010, 142-147).⁵ During the first period, Japan was mostly under recovery from World War II (Eguchi 2010, 143) and under American occupation (Funck and Cooper 2013, 41). Inbound and outbound tourism was strictly regulated by the US and prohibited until 1947 (Funck and Cooper 2013, 41).

Starting in 1947 until 1963, the Japanese economy grew rapidly which led to a growing tourism industry (Funck and Cooper 2013, 77). Due to this growth, mass tourism started in this time (Funck and Cooper 2013, 77). In preparation for the 1964 Olympic Games held in Tōkyō, the Basic Law on Tourism was passed in 1963, because the government wanted to profit from these games as they were considered as a possibility to enter the international stage again (Funck and Cooper 2013, 42). The Basic Law on Tourism in combination with the Olympic Games resulted in the liberalization of travel and enabled Japanese people to travel

⁵Other researchers, such as Funck, divide the post-war era into decades: period one since 1963, period two since 1973 and so forth. Also the policies of the central government can be divided into different stages (see for example Funck and Cooper 2013). Due to limitations of this thesis the policies will not be discussed in detail, according to Funck and Cooper there were more than 50 laws passed between 1927 and 1992 that dealt with tourism or related topics (Funck and Cooper 2013, 50).

abroad (Funck and Cooper 2013, 42). For the Olympic Games the first *shinkansen* line was built and opened; it connected Tōkyō, Ōsaka and Kyōto.

During the next period, infrastructure was additionally improved by installing the first highway connecting Komaki and Nishinomiya. Also, the first airplane for commercial purposes flew over Japan in 1969 (Eguchi 2010, 145). It can be said that travelling became easier, in some cases also cheaper and faster.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the first World Exposition (EXPO) in Asia was held in Ōsaka (1970) (Osaka info) and again brought a lot of foreigners to Japan (Eguchi 2010, 146). Due to the rapid economic growth, a lot of people moved into cities. People in turn began to think about their living situation in the crowded cities. A notion of nostalgia became prominent about living in the countryside. This caused many people to visit old towns and rural areas (Eguchi 2010, 146). Between the 1980s and 2006, forms of alternative tourism started to appear (Eguchi 2010 142, 147-150); Eguchi considers ecotourism as a form of alternative tourism (Eguchi 2010, 149). According to Eguchi 2010, the period since 2006 is called “the Tourism Nation period” (Eguchi 2010, 143). It is related to the Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Law that was passed in 2006. The main purpose of this law is to increase the number of visitors, inbound and outbound (Eguchi 2010, 150).

Since the end of World War II, several economic issues influenced the tourism in Japan, for example the oils shocks in 1970 and in 1979/1980 (World ocean view), the end of the bubble economy in the second half of the 1980s until 1991 (Lim 2001, 30-31), the global financial crisis in 2008 (Funck and Cooper 2013, 77-78) and also probably the triple disaster of March 2011.

Also societal factors have an impact on tourism, such as the working hours and the related leisure time or the family: Most domestic trips are short, so an area tourists are interested in has to be at the maximum four hours from the city (Funck and Cooper 2013, 67). This brief overview of the history of tourism in Japan reveals how the infrastructure was modernized and how, in particular in the post war era, tourism became an important social and economic factor within the Japanese daily life.

In this context, ecotourism is a very recent phenomenon. It became popular in Japan in the late 1990s (Funck and Cooper, 2013, 194) As elsewhere, after the oil crises and the Rio Summit in 1992 sustainability began to take root in Japan, so the popular understanding of nature began to shift (Eguchi 2010, 148). One result of this was the development of new forms of tourism (Eguchi 2010 148). Tourism is nowadays seen as a part of the economy which can support and encourage the local economy. Since more and more people move to

cities due to better job opportunities, the population in rural areas declines (Funck and Cooper 2013, 66-67).

Due to this recent development, the interest of researchers in tourism increases. Several studies about tourism have been and are still conducted throughout the world; one reason for this might be that globally the tourism industry is said to be the fourth biggest industry after the military industry, the petroleum industry and the car industry (Sreekumar, Parayil 2002, 533). Tourism can create new job opportunities to minimize migration to big cities (Mihalič 2013, 671).

Researchers examine tourism from different perspectives. For example, several researchers discuss tourism and the connection to the residents (Stylidis et al. 2014, Kim, Uysal, and Sirgy 2013). There also are case studies regarding tourism which have been conducted in Japan, for example *Determinants of trip choice, satisfaction and loyalty in an eco-tourism destination: a modelling study on the Shiretoko Peninsula, Japan* by Romão and others (João Romão et al. 2014). They conducted a case study to evaluate the “development of tourist services on the Shiretoko Peninsula” (João Romão et al. 2014, 195). Another case study was conducted by Baba and Morimoto (Baba and Morimoto 2006). Tourism connected to nature is also often discussed; one example is “Wildlife tourism”. According to several authors, wildlife tourism is a form of tourism where tourists are observing wildlife (Tisdell and Wilson 2003, 1-3; Knight 2010, 745-746). For example, John Knight applied the term “wildlife tourism” to monkey parks in Japan in his article *The ready-to-view wild monkey - The convenience principle in Japanese wildlife tourism* (Knight 2010), while Tisdell and Wilson discuss the economy of wildlife tourism and quote Australian wildlife examples, such as tree kangaroos (Tisdell and Wilson 2003, 7).

In this thesis⁶ I will focus on hunting as a very particular form of ecotourism⁷. It will argue that hunting and *eating game* can help to reduce the depopulation of rural areas, because the depopulation of rural areas is a challenge in recent-day Japan (Knight 1994, 634-635). Therefore, it discusses hunting and game meat consumption based on the concept of ecotourism. It will discuss educational aspects as well as economic aspects. To discuss these points, literature analysis, statistical analysis and field research were carried out. Statistics for the analysis provided by the Ministry of Environment (*Kankyōshō*) and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery (*Nōrinsuisanshō*) that dealt either with hunting or with damages caused by wild animals (*chōjūgai*, later *chōjūgai*) are used. These statistics will be

⁶ This thesis does not distinguish between domestic and international tourists.

⁷ Wildlife tourism is mostly about watching wild animals (Knight 2010, 746).

discussed in the chapters one and three. Although there are 20 species of mammals and 28 species of birds included in the Japanese hunting law (*Chōjū no hogo oyobi shuryō no tekiseika ni kan suru hōritsu*) in 2016 (Dai Nihon ryōyūkai 2016, 7) and in the statistics, I will focus on deer and wild boars, because these two species cause the majority of damages. The field research area was mainly Kyōto Prefecture, located on Honshū, the biggest island of Japan.

The field research mainly consisted of interviews, 15 in total: I interviewed four male hunters⁸, four female hunters, five chefs of restaurants, one organizer of a game-eating fair (*jibie fea*, later *jibie* fair) and one representative of the Escoffier Association Japan (Association des Disciples d'Auguste Escoffier du Japon). Besides the interviews, I was able to observe a hunt, to visit a slaughterhouse owned by a hunter, to participate in the 3rd Japan Gibier Summit and to consume several dishes that contained game meat during game-eating fairs. The reasons for this were to come into contact with the restaurants' chefs and to figure out how the game meat was prepared. I visited restaurants of different cooking styles (*washoku*⁹, Italian-French, *Izakaya* and *Yakiniku*) to try out game meat dishes. The purpose of the field research, in addition to consuming game meat dishes, was to figure out why the loan word *jibie* is used more frequently than Japanese terms and what the loan word implies. Finally, I wanted to explore possible reasons for the implementation of such game-eating fairs.

To introduce views on hunting in Japan, chapter two will discuss the activity of hunting. Firstly, an historical overview is given that describes hunting from Premodern Japan until recent days with a special focus on the bans on meat eating and legal regulations and the size of the hunters' population. It may initially be assumed that those bans concern only meat consumption. However, the bans also prohibited the killing of animals; it is therefore necessary to discuss them in this chapter. Secondly, hunting as a leisure activity is evaluated. The last part of chapter two will connect hunting and the revitalization of rural areas in Japan.

The third chapter examines the shifts in eating game. Firstly, an historical overview of meat consumption in Japan will be given. It is followed by the analysis of the new word that is currently being used to refer to game for human consumption - "*jibie*". It is a loan word from French that appeared for the first time in the Japanese newspapers in 1985 (Hi), but has recently completely replaced other words such as *yaseidōbutsu no niku* (game meat), *shishi niku* (wild boar meat) and *shika niku* (deer meat), which have been used in reference to game in the past (field research). Based on the analysis of dictionaries and newspapers, I will trace

⁸ All the hunters were *hantā*, not a *matagi*. A *matagi* is a traditional hunter and they are mostly located in the Japanese Alps and Tōhoku. (field research)

⁹ *Washoku* in this thesis is defined as a dish consisting of several different small dishes (Field research).

the diffusion of the word in Japanese society and try to uncover the reasons behind its popularization. After this, I will explain the phenomenon of game-eating fairs in Kyōto Prefecture. At the end of this section I will connect *jibie* with ecotourism.

2. Hunting in Japan in the Past and Today

This chapter introduces the hunting system in recent-day Japan and the history of hunting in Japan. The focus is on meat eating bans that had an impact on hunting, legal regulations and the figure of hunters in Japan. In the second part, hunting as a leisure activity is discussed. The last part of this chapter connects hunting with the revitalization of rural areas in Japan.

2.1. Historical overview

2.1.1. *sesshō*, *kegare*, *eta* and *hinin*

The impact of bans on meat eating is explained in detail in chapter four, but these bans had an influence on hunting. If no animal could be consumed, there was no necessity to slaughter it. One argument against a long history of meat consumption in Japan made by chefs are the restrictions based on the Buddhist concept *sesshō* and the Shintoist concept *kegare* (field research). These concepts prohibit meat consumption and everything related to it, such as the killing of any living being (Vollmer 1997, 77). Therefore, hunting was forbidden, too, since in these concepts it was assumed that there was the chance that the hunter killed a dead and reborn relative (Vollmer 1997, 77-78). It is well known that Buddhism in general was introduced to Japan in the 7th century and prohibited meat consumption (Kondō 2013, 7). Kondō suggests that it is problematic to assess whether this had an impact on the life of ordinary people because Buddhism was considered to be the religion of the elite (Kondō 2013, 7). When the influence of Buddhism increased, meat bans and the species of mammals included in the *sesshō* also increased (Ishihige 2000, 1176). These restrictions increased even further when Shintoism adopted the Buddhist idea (Ishihige 2000, 1176) and turned it into the Shintoist idea of *kegare* (Ehara et al 2009, 118). *Kegare* means “impure” (Krämer 2008, 37). This concept distinguishes between domesticated animals, such as cattle and pigs, and wild animals; *Kegare* appears only in case of dealing with wild animals (Ehara et al 2009, 118). But these two concepts, *sesshō* and *kegare*, are ambivalent. Vollmer mentions an ambivalent point in Buddhism: while it mostly prohibits the killing of any living being, it recommends it at another point: if somebody is reborn as an animal it would become easier for this person to reach the level of enlightenment if it is killed and reborn together with the person who killed and consumed it (Vollmer 1997, 96-97).

In addition to these religiously motivated bans, meat consumption and hunting were prohibited by the emperor as well. For instance, according to the *nihon shoki*, the meat ban by Tenmu Tennō banned the consumption of the meat of five animals: monkey, dog, cow, horse and rooster (Krämer 2008, 36). But wild animals, such as wild boars, deer and bears were excluded from this ban, which means these animals could be hunted and consumed (Ehara et al. 2009, 117). Furthermore, this ban was limited in time, from the 4th month to the 9th month (Vollmer 1997, 79). According to Cwiertka, aristocrats in the 8th century did not eat meat on a daily basis but still consumed game meat occasionally and practiced *yakurō* (薬籠, medical eating) (Cwiertka 2006, 27). *Bushi* (Warriors) (Purogureshibu Waeichū jiten) used hunting as a body drill and to obtain a supplier of fat and protein, even though in the Kamakura period (1192-1333) (Encyclopaedia Britannica) it was prohibited (Ehara et al 2009, 53-54).

There were a few instances when hunting was allowed; people were allowed to hunt to protect farmland. The Japanese society was based on agriculture (Soda 2016, 166-167) and farmers wanted and needed to protect their fields and ground (Shimizu 2010, 93). To protect their farms, people requested weapons to fight against wild animals, such as wild boars and deer (Shimizu 2010, 93-94, 97). Consequently, people were allowed to hunt, if they had to protect their land; although killing prohibitions especially under Tokugawa Tsunayoshi became much stricter: The killing of any living animal was prohibited. One popular example is the prohibition of killing dogs (Shimizu 2010, 93-94, 97). This edict also banned the eating and selling of killed four-legged animals by farmers (Shimizu 2010, 98).

Another evidence that people hunted in the Edo period is the meat-eating for medical purposes, *yaksik*¹⁰ (Noma 2006, 78). *Yaksik* consisted most of the time of game meat (deer, wild boar, etc.). Obviously, to prepare dishes containing game meat hunting was necessary to obtain the meat. People, however, wanted to avoid becoming unclean from killing animals. Therefore, a specific social class handled dead animals and other unclean work (Krämer 2008, 36). These classes were called *eta* (“heavily polluted”) or *hinin* (“nonhuman”) (Hane 1982, 140-141) and were a convenient way to circumvent regulations and religious repercussions.

2.1.2. Legal regulations

Although the profession of the hunter and the consumption of game meat existed since ancient times, laws dealing with these topics are a phenomenon of Japan that only occurred since the Meiji period. The first law dealing with hunting was passed in 1873 by the Meiji

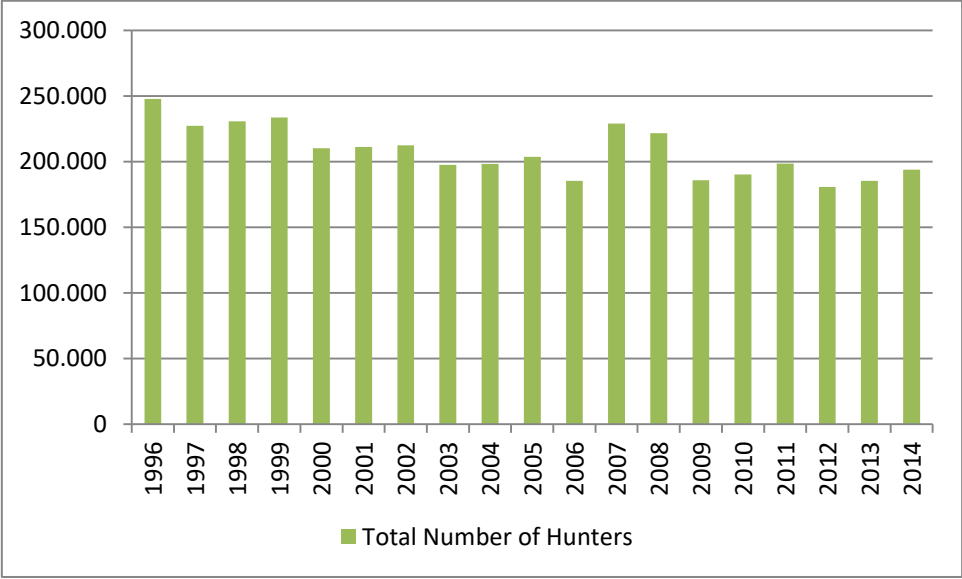
¹⁰*Yaksik* and one related dish will be explained in chapter four in detail.

government, the *Chōjū ryō kisoku* (Regulation for the hunting of wild animals) (Haraguchi and Ando 2014, 134). There were no restrictions, which meant that every wild animal species was allowed to be hunted. Because of this, the next hunting law, the *Shuryō hō* (Hunting law), was released in 1895 (Haraguchi and Ando 2014, 134). It specified, for example, the species that are available for hunting and the hunting methods. In 1963, the law was revised and conservation of nature was included (Haraguchi and Ando 2014, 134). Furthermore, the name was changed into *Chōjū hogo oyobi shuryō ni kan suru hōritsu* or *Chōjū hogo hō* (The law for hunting and protection of wild animals) (Haraguchi and Ando 2014, 134). According to this law, hunters are allowed to hunt twenty different species of mammals and twenty nine species of birds (Igota 2013, 21). Furthermore, hunting was now considered as a sport (Kaji and Koike 2015, 27-28). This law was passed by the Ministry of Environment (Kaji and Koike 2015, 27-28). In 1999, the *Tokutei chōjū hogo kanri keikaku seido* (The system of specified wildlife management plans) was introduced (Kaji and Koike 2015, 27-28). The Ministry of Environment was responsible for this system as well. The most recent law regarding hunting and management of wild animals was released in 2008 (Haraguchi and Ando 2014, 134); this law is the *Chōjū ni yoru nōrinsuisangyō nado ni kakaru higai no bōshi no tame no tokubetsu sochi ni kan suru hōritsu* (Kaji and Koike 2015, 29) or *Chōjū higai bōshi tokubetsu sochi hō* (Law for special measurements to prevent agricultural, forestial and fishery damages caused by wild animals) (Haraguchi and Ando 2014, 134). This law was passed by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (*Nōrinsuisanshō*) (Kaji and Koike 2015, 29). Based on this law, municipalities formulate plans to prevent agricultural damages, forest diebacks and fishery damages. After formulating these, municipalities fulfill the plans, which after they have been approved by the prefectural government (Kaji and Koike 2015, 29).

2.1.3. Male versus female hunters

In total, the number of hunters in Japan declined in the years from 1996 until 2012, since 2013, however, a slow increase can be observed. Although the real reasons remain unclear, one possible reason might be the age of hunters. As statistics provided by the Ministry of Environment show, the majority of hunters is over 60 years old: In 2014, there were approximately 194,000 hunters in total, among them 129,000 were 60 years or older, while there were only approximately 5000 who were 20 to 29 years old (Ministry of Environment c). These statistics provide detailed information about the exact figure and age of hunters and are divided by age: 20 to 29 years, 30 to 39 years, 40 to 49 years, 50 to 59 years and 60 years or older (Ministry of Environment c).

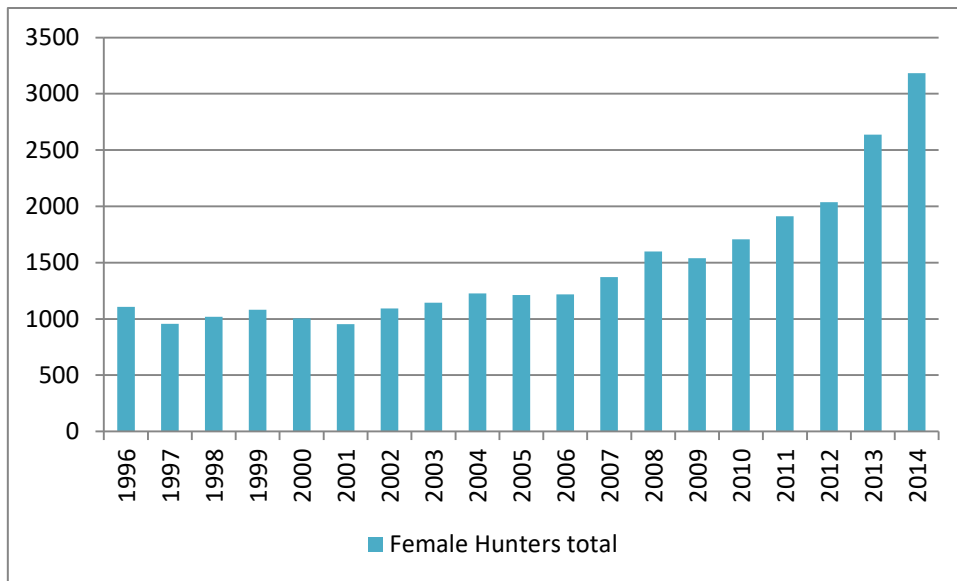
Furthermore, current expenses like the hunting insurance (Dai Nihon ryōyūkai 2016, 168-169) or the hunting tax (Ministry of Environment d) might become too expensive for people to pay therefore some people might not renew the hunting license. This is necessary every three years (Kondō 2013, 21). Graph 1 is based on data provided by the Ministry of Environment and shows the number of hunters (male and female hunters) from 1996 until 2014. The x-axis shows the fiscal year, the y-axis the number of hunters. It can be seen that the total number did not decrease steadily, there were also periods when the total number increased (for example during the period from 1998 to 2002 and from 2003 to 2005).



Graph 1: The Total Number of Hunters (based on statistics provided by the Ministry of Environment Japan)

Female hunters are considered important, because contrary to the general trend of the number of hunters, the number of female hunters increased, as depicted in Graph 2, from 1107 in 1996 to 3184 in 2014. This graph is also based on data provided by the Ministry of Environment (Ministry of Environment a). Again, the x-axis shows the year and the y-axis the number of female hunters.

Remarkable increases can be seen since 2006. Furthermore, the number significantly increased between 2011 and 2012, from 1912 female hunters in 2011 to 2037 female hunters in 2012.



Graph 2: Female Hunters Total (based on statistics provided by the Ministry of Environment Japan)

This increase may have the following three reasons: One reason could be the tsunami of March 2011, due to which food was short, as Chiharu Hatakeyama writes in her book *Watashi, kaitai hajimemashita* (Hatakeyama 2014, 8-13). Due to the food shortage after the tsunami she wanted to become independent from the food market and decided to become a hunter and farmer; she started to grow and process chicken and became a hunter afterwards (Hatakeyama 2014, 8-13; 98-129). Both, the book and the wish for food independence, might have inspired other women to become hunters, too.

The second reason might be the release of the book *Onna ryōshi- watashi ga ryōshi ni natta wake* in 2011. This book includes stories of five women from different prefectures with different backgrounds (Nagano, Ishikawa, Hyōgo and Oita) (Tanaka 2011). It seems likely that a lot of women could identify themselves with the hunting women described in the book and may therefore have decided to become hunters.

The last reason is given by the *Dai Nihon Ryōyūkai* in one of the newspaper articles analyzed for this paper (Yomiuri, 28.12.13): according to this association, the increase of female hunters is related to game meat consumption because it is healthy, low in calories and rich in iron (Yomiuri, 28.12.13). These properties of the meat might also be one reason for the increase between 2012 and 2013. As Kaji and Koike suggest, the usage of game meat as a food ingredient was included in the hunting law in 2012 (Kaji and Koike 2015, 29) and the Gibier Promotion Council was established to promote the consumption of game meat (Yomiuri, 28.12.13). Additionally, TWIN was established in Hokkaido. This network was formed to connect and support female hunters throughout Hokkaido (TWIN a). In the slogan of the network “The Women In Nature- Shoot and Eat” hunting and eating the meat are

already connected (TWIN a). Furthermore, this network directly connects hunting and eating by providing information about the preparation and consumption of game meat (TWIN b) as well as about becoming a hunter (TWIN c).

The main weak point of this statistic is that the figures do not show crucial impact of the opening of the blog of the National Hunting association, a manga which was published in cooperation with the National Hunting association (Ari 2014), or other books on hunting which were published later. The reason for this is that the statistics end in 2014, while the blog was started in 2013 and several books related to female hunters were published later than 2014. The purpose of the blog is to recruit new hunters. For this reason, there only a short recovery in the statistics, but there are no long-term statistics yet on whether this is successful or not.

Nevertheless, it can be said that to the contrary of the total figure of hunters in Japan, the figure of female hunters is increasing. Possible reasons for this development are the wish for food independence, the establishment of hunting networks for women and the release of books related to female hunters.¹¹

2.2. Hunting as a leisure activity

According to Kawata, there are three types of hunting in Japan: the most common one is “sport(s) hunting”, which is followed by “commercial hunting” and “subsistence hunting”. Kawata argues, that there are no cases documented of the latter, (Kawata 2016, 40-41). This shows that most hunters see hunting as a leisure activity; the minority is working as a hunter. Therefore, this chapter discusses to what extent hunting is seen as a leisure activity in recent-day Japan.

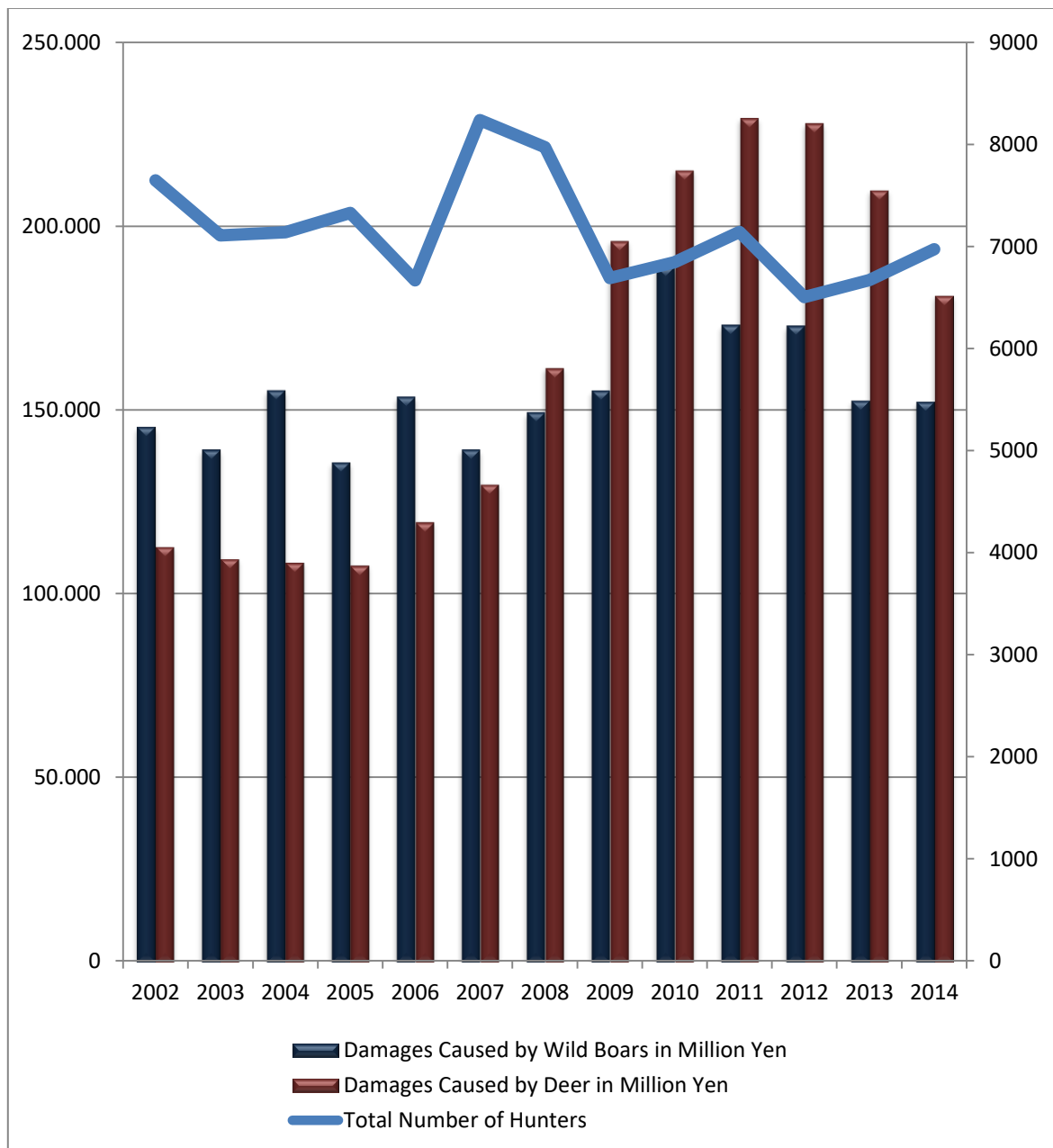
In general, hunting nowadays takes place during the hunting season from November to February, on Hokkaido from October to January with approved weapons (Igota 2013, 21). Everybody who is at least 20 years of age is allowed to get a hunting license (Igota 2013, 21). This license is purchased at one prefecture, but valid for the whole country. There are four hunting licenses and persons are allowed to get different types of licenses (field research): The first type is the gun hunting license (one “*Jūki*” (small arm) hunting license and one “*Kūkiijū*” (air gun) hunting license) for which an extra gun license is required (Kaji and Koike 2015, 29-30). The second type is the “*Wana*” (trap) hunting license and the third type of hunting license is a net hunting license (*ami*) (Dai Nihon ryōyūkai 2016, 9). After this license

¹¹ During the interviews other reasons were given, for example the connection of women and food education in Japan, but due to the limitation of this thesis, this part is excluded.

is purchased, it has to be renewed every three years (Igota 2013, 21); the holder of a license has to pay a hunting tax, which can be up to 16.000 Yen per year (Dai Nihon ryōyūkai 2016, 171). Additionally, the hunter has to register as a hunter (Igota 2013, 21) at the local hunting association; otherwise the person is not allowed to hunt (field research).

2.2.1. Hunting and *chōjūgai*

The hunting system is connected to damages caused by wild animals (*chōjūgai*). Graph 3 shows the amount of *chōjūgai*, of deer and wild boar in millions of Yen related to the number of hunters. This graph is based on statistics provided by the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery and the Ministry of Environment: the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery elaborates the *chōjūgai*, therefore the statistics cover agricultural damages only (Kawata 2016, 41). The Ministry of Environment collects data related to the figure of hunters. The connection between hunting and *chōjūgai* is analyzed because the opinion that the figure of hunters and *chōjūgai* are related is very popular in Japan.



Graph 3: Total Number of hunters, Damages Caused by Deer and Wild Boar (based on statistics provided by the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery)

Since the 1990s, the damages caused by deer increased due to a growing population of deer. Reasons for the population growth are notably the climate change because the winters are becoming warmer, thus less deer naturally die in winter (Kaji and Koike 2015, 62). Another cause is the decreasing number of hunters, because fewer hunters can hunt fewer animals (Knight 1998, 330-331). This statement is not applicable for the period covered in this graph: the bars of 2002 and 2014 differ not much. Therefore, the damages caused by deer did not increase much in general during that period. Another point is that a decreasing figure of hunters does not lead to an increasing amount of damages. This can be deduced from the observation that 2001 and 2012 the figure of hunters decreases, while the amount of *chōjūgai* caused by deer are almost the same. There is a lack of evidence regarding the relation hunting and *chōjūgai* as seen in the period from 2009 until 2011. The figure of hunters is increasing, but the amount of *chōjūgai* caused by wild boars is also increasing.

Consequently, it can be assumed that the connection between the amount of *chōjūgai* and the figure of hunters is weak and underlines that hunting as a form of managing damages should be seen critical. It seems like hunting cannot necessarily help to reduce the damages. The answers made by hunters regarding their motivation to hunt will be discussed in 2.3. The next part will discuss the number of hunters in relation to the number of dead deer and wild boars because the connection between the size of populations and the number of hunters is often made (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery 2006, 11). This analysis of size of populations and hunters is done to prove or to disprove a connection between these two factors.

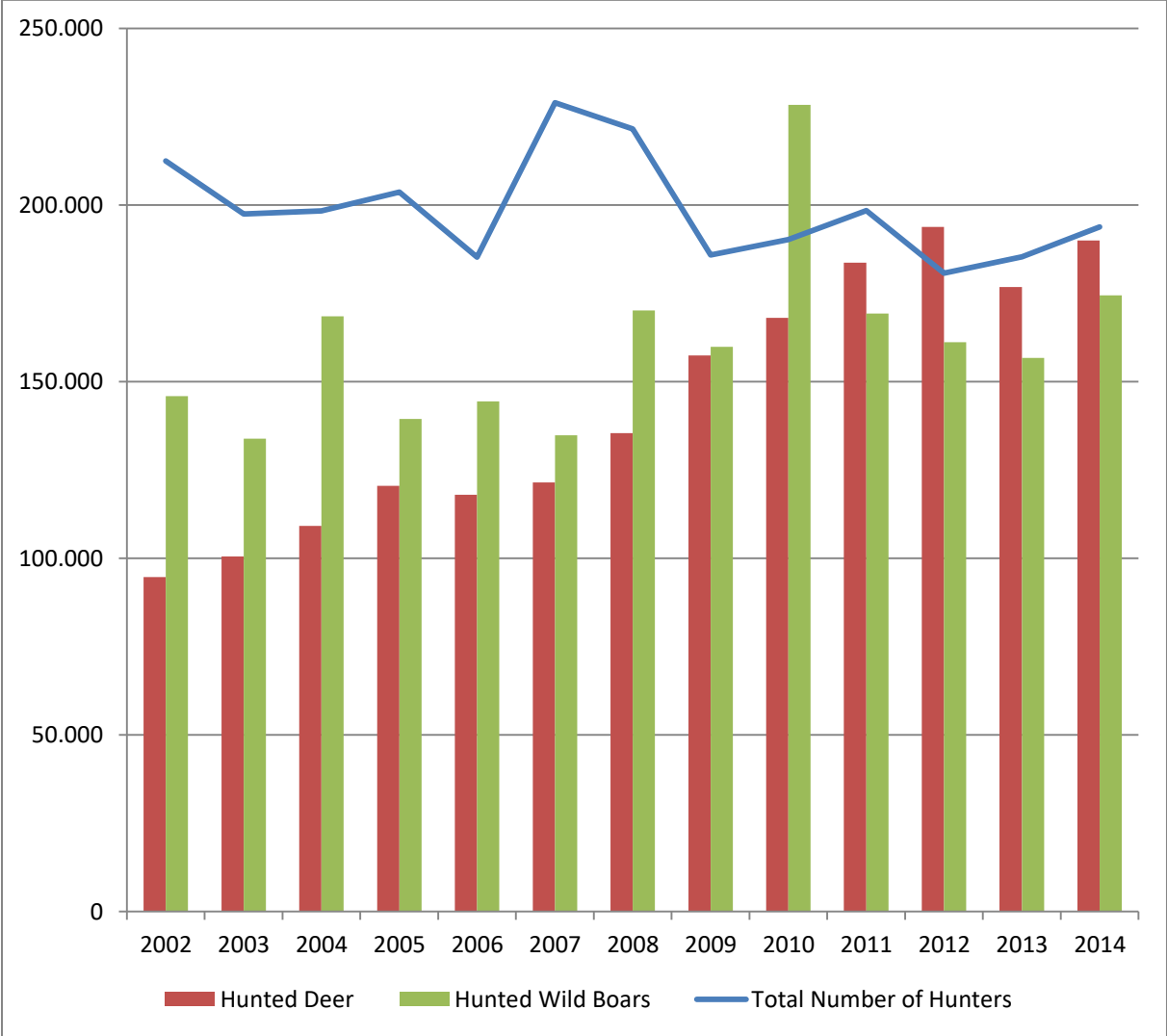
2.2.2. Hunting in relation to the size of wild animal populations

Graph four visualizes the figure of hunters and the number of hunted deer and wild boars. These two aspects were compared because another popular argument in Japan is that the figure of hunters has to increase to successfully control the populations of wild animals. The covered period is from 2002 until 2014, the blue line represents the figure of hunters; the red bar shows the number of hunted deer is and the green bar depicts the number of hunted wild boars. One argument of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery is that if the number of hunters increases again, the populations of wild animals, mainly deer and wild boar, will decrease again (Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery 1, 11).

There is also no strict correlation between the number of hunters and the size of populations. Graph four shows that it is not always correct. Sometimes, for example from 2011 to 2012, the number of hunters decreases but despite the fewer hunters more deer is hunted. Another example is the period from 2005 until 2006: the figure of hunters is decreasing, but the

number of hunted wild boars is increasing. In the period from 2006 to 2007, the number of hunters increased, but there was no significant change in the number of hunted wild boars and hunted deer.

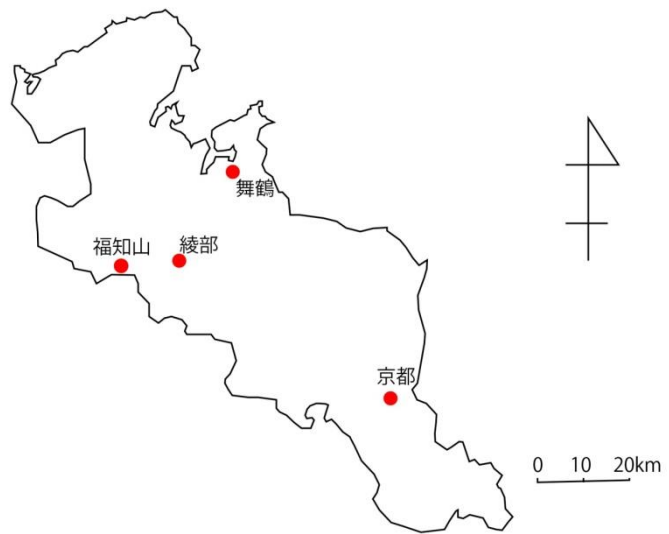
A possible reason is explained in the next part when the field research area is introduced.



Graph 4: The Total Number of Hunters and the Number of Hunted Deer and Wild Boar in Comparison (based on statistics provided by the Ministry of Environment)

2.3. Hunting and the Revitalization of Rural Areas

The field research was conducted in Kyōto Prefecture. It was chosen before the stay in Kyōto Prefecture. The reason was that in comparison in this area more wild boars and deer are hunted by a lower number of hunters: in the fiscal year 2013 in Tōkyō Prefecture, 3,214 hunters hunted 77 wild boars and 213 deer, while in Kyōto Prefecture 1420 hunters hunted 3630 wild boars and 7527 (Ministry of Environment a).



Map1: Kyōto Prefecture (based on Teikokushin 2014)

During the field research it became apparent that this argumentation is weak because the local governments limit the huntable number of a species. This limit is based on the damages caused by wild animals (Hunter B). As a result, in a prefecture with fewer damages hunters are allowed to hunt a low quantity of a species, while in a prefecture where wild animals cause a more damages, hunters are allowed to hunt a higher quantity of a species. This might be one reason why the aforementioned statements connections between hunting and damages and hunting and hunted deer and wild boars cannot be are not necessarily readable made in Graph 3 and 4. The statistics would have to cover how many animals of a species are allowed to be hunted in comparison to how many actually have been hunted. One question for the interviewees was whether they hunt as a hobby or as a job. The given answers are as follows:

It is neither a hobby nor a job for me. It is my everyday life. (Hunter H)

Hunting is for me a hobby and a job. (Hunter N)

Hunting is a hobby for me. It is not profitable enough to do it as a job. (Hunter Y)

I do it as a hobby. (Hunter U)

It is a hobby for me. (Hunter U (2))

It is a hobby for me. (Hunter R)

It is a hobby for me. (Hunter M)

Hunting is a part of my laboratory [*kenkyūshitsu*], so I think it is closer to work. (Hunter Na)

Another question asked was concerned with their motivation to become hunters. They gave various reasons, such as

I worked in an insurance company before, but I wanted to do something else. So I started farming. Once, a child said to me that deer are too cute to eat. Therefore, I want to spread the idea that the life of every animal is equal: The life of wild animals counts as much as the life of livestock animals. (Hunter H)

I am a farmer and wanted to protect my farm land and the forest. (Hunter N)

Hunter U is a friend of mine. I thought it might be interesting, therefore I started as well. (Hunter Y)

My grandfather was already a hunter, hunting is a family tradition. (Hunter U)

My husband is a hunter. I wanted to become one, too. (Hunter U (2))

I wanted to help keeping the balance of the ecosystems. And I wanted to participate in the countermeasures for the damages caused by wild animals. (Hunter R)

I started hunting because it sounded like it would be fun. (Hunter M)

I am not a hunter yet. (Hunter Na)

The participants on the whole showed that they, as hunters, consider hunting mostly as a leisure activity, which underlines Kawata's statement at the beginning of this section. Nevertheless, their reasons for becoming a hunter differ. Some interviewees wanted to protect either their own land or the nature in general (Hunter N, Hunter R), whilst others began hunting, because they thought it might be fun (Hunter M). The last statement might further underline the point of a leisure activity. Another evidence for hunting as a leisure activity is that all interviewed hunters had other jobs, such as farmer (Hunter N), student (Hunter Na), researcher (Hunter M) or a director of a food company (Hunter R).

Additionally, only a small number of interviewees indicated that hunting is related to the *chōjūgai* (Hunter N, Hunter R). It can be said that the official point of view that *chōjūgai* are a motivation to begin hunting differs from that of hunters because there are several other reasons to begin hunting as well.

3. Eating game

As I mentioned in chapter 2, eating game is intricately connected to hunting since ancient times. To clarify this connection, this chapter begins with a historical overview. After this historical background, I will discuss the term *jibie* in detail and also discuss *jibie* in Kyōto Prefecture by using the example of the *jibie* fair and the prejudices against game meat.

3.1. Historical overview

A general overview was given in chapter one: meat eating bans existed on different levels; the emperor prohibited the consumption of meat as well as Buddhism and Shintoism. Those restrictions by the government continued until even the consumption of meat of domesticated animals became taboo (Cwierka 2006, 26).

However, people continued to consume meat. Cookbooks that contain recipes for game meat were published in Premodern Japan, for example the *Ryōri Monogatari* which was published in 1643 (Cwierka 2006, 27). These books were preserved and used. For some dishes, the cookbooks contained the recipes for, game meat was used. At the same time the authors knew about *kegare*: In the *ryōrishū* is mentioned that *kegare* will persist for 150 days, if a person eats any form of meat once (Vollmer 1997, 332). Other authors warn the consumers against meat-eating, because in addition to *kegare*, the person who ate meat could be punished by gods. The reason for this punishment was the meat would have negative impacts on the people, because it does not match their anatomy (Vollmer 1997, 332).

In the history of meat consumption in Japan, the Edo period plays a special role. As mentioned earlier, meat was consumed despite official bans on meat eating: meat consumption for medical purposes was allowed (Noma 2006, 78). The terms for this medical meat consumption were *yakushiku* (Noma 2006, 78-79), *kusurigui* (Dijitaru Daijisen; Shimizu 2010, 92) or *yaksik* (薬食) (Noma 2006, 78-79). *Yaksik* was legitimated by pharmacologists and *rangakusha* (Persons of “Dutch learning” (Encyclopaedia Britannica)), according to whom game meat could heal illnesses (Vollmer 1996, 333). Because of this, even the *bakufu* consumed meat; there is evidence that during the Edo period in the province of Ōmi, people killed between 1000 and 3000 animals per year (Vollmer 1996, 333). Furthermore, there is evidence that the *bakufu* received 30 presents which contained meat between 1781 and 1870, to strengthen the Shōgun against the cold (Vollmer 1996, 333). *Yaksik* existed because officially people were not allowed to consume meat in public and *yaksik* was a convenient way to circumvent this rule (Cwierka 2006, 27-28). As one result medical eating became popular (Shimizu 2010, 99) and from 1800 to 1830 the number of beast restaurants increased (Shimizu 2010, 104). And even if a person ate *yakushiku*, officially no meat of four-legged animals was consumed, because the names of the mammals were changed; people consumed *kuroyaki* (dark baked), *momonga/ momonji* (flying squirrel) or *yamakujira* (mountain whale) (Shimizu 2010, 92). Other terms are *botan* (peony), *momiji* (maple leaves) or *sakura* (cherry) (field research). All these terms are names for animals. *Botan* and *yamakujira* are terms used for wild boars, *momonga/momonji* and *momiji* are terms for deer and *sakura* is a term for

horse (field research). Although these names indicated that no meat was consumed, people knew when the menu of a restaurant included meals which contained these ingredients that they could order meat. Terada Seiken is mocking this game meat consumption in the *Edo hanjō ki* (Vollmer 1996, 333-334).

One example of this *Yaksik* is *Botannabe*, or *Shishinabe* (wild boar stew). It is a sort of *nabe* (stew); it is made of wild boar meat (Tada). This is an example of the dishes served in *momonjiya*, a beast restaurant (Yoshii).

Botannabe can be seen as an example of changed names for animal meat consumption during the Edo period to bypass meat eating bans (Field research). According to Tada, this is a stew which was served in the beast restaurants in Edo since the middle of the Edo period (Tada). As shown in picture 1 to the



Picture 1: Botannabe (private)

right, the name originates from the arrangement of the ingredients of the stew; the raw meat is arranged like a flower, a peony (*botan*) (Field research).

After the *Meiji Ishin*¹², meat consumption changed immensely. Meat consumption was promoted by the government because if meat was consumed the physique of Japanese people would become equal to the Western counterpart (Ishihige 2000, 1182). Additionally, in 1872, the meat eating ban was annulled (Cwierka 2003, 112). This annulment resulted in the 556 established meat shops after six years (Cwierka 1998, 122). Nonetheless, most people could not afford the exclusive Western cuisine, for which they consumed stew consisting of beef (*gyūnabe*) (Cwierka 1998, 122).

Meat consumption changed again in the 20th century, also due to the opening of the McDonald's restaurant chain in Japan. Beef became popular in Japan, partly because McDonald's was introduced to Japan in 1972 (Amano 2012, 771). At that time, McDonald's offered cheap meat whereas meat was a high-prize food ingredient due to war (Amano 2012, 768). A hamburger and a cheese burger cost less than or exact 100 Yen (80 Yen¹³ and 100 Yen), a Bic Mac cost 200 Yen (Amano 2012, 771). This introduction led to an increasing consumption of meat of livestock animals, while the market for game meat in Japan is very

¹² This term *ishin* is difficult to translate into English, therefore, the Japanese term is not translated.

¹³ 100Y=0,2 USD (vergangene Rechner).

limited until today, as this chapter will show. Although beef was considered as a special food ingredient in the 19th century, it became a normal food ingredient, partly also because import regulations were liberalized in 1990 and the prices for meat dropped (Amano 2012, 404).

3.2. Definition of the term *jibie*

Something which makes eating game in the contemporary context very distinctive is the fact that a new word is currently being used in reference to ‘game for consumption’ – *jibie*. In this section I will try to define the term *jibie* on my own. Before this definition, I discuss definitions appearing in online dictionaries and websites and the appearance of the term *jibie* in newspapers. I chose these different media, because online dictionaries show the recent usage of *jibie* while newspaper articles show the usage of the term over a long period of time and the definitions on websites may be influenced by the owner of the website.

The entries in online dictionaries are based on the search for the term “*jibie*” in the database JapanKnowledge+. The search results are nine entries, seven are relevant for this thesis. The seven relevant entries appear in the following dictionaries: Three entries of the *Imidas 2016 (Jōhō- chishiki imidas 2016)*, two articles of the *Dijitaru Daijisen, Nihon daihyakka zenshū (Nipponica)* and *Gendai yōgo no kiso chishiki 2016*. In addition to the newspaper articles and online dictionaries, definitions on websites were chosen to ascertain how specific parties deal with *jibie*. These parties are the Japan Gibier Promotion Association (*Nihon jibie shinkō kyōgikai*) that also organizes the Gibier Summit, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare Japan (*Kōseirōdōshō*) which deals with the health aspects of *jibie*, Shinshū Gibier (*Shinshū jibie*), an organization that promotes *jibie* in the region around Nagano. Finally, newspaper articles dealing with *jibie* published in the *Mainichi Shinbun*, *Asahi Shinbun* and *Yomiuri Shinbun* were analyzed, based on their online databases: *Maisaku, Asahi Kikuzō II bijuaru for libraries - Asahi Shinbun onrain kiji dētabēsu* and *Yomidasu rekishikan*

3.2.1. Definitions in online dictionaries

Before discussing the content of the newspaper articles, I discuss seven definitions of *jibie* or *jibie* related entries in different online dictionaries in the database JapanKnowledge+ as well as definitions on websites to define *jibie* for the thesis by myself at the end of the chapter.

When I consulted the database for the term “*jibie*”, not only entries of the term “*jibie*” were given, but also entries which included the term, such as *Jibie ryōri wo anzen ni taberu tame no shishin (shōhisha mondai)* (Uehara 2016) or *Jibie ryōri* (*Dijitaru Daijisen*). All articles which contain *jibie* as a term of game meat are discussed in this section.

According to the *Dijitaru Daijisen*, the first definition of the term states:

“*Jibie* ([French]: gibier): birds and wild animals like partridges, ducks, deer etc. [It is] mainly eaten during the hunting season.” (*Dijitaru Daijisen*)

Another result, an entry of the *Jōhō chishiki imidas 2016* describes the term in a similar way and also explains that it is a loan word:

“*Jibie* (loan word): (gibier [French]). Species of birds and wild animals that become hunted game. Furthermore that meat for consumption.” (*Jōhō chishiki imidas 2016*)

The entry in the *Gendai yōgo no kiso chishiki 2016* describes *jibie* more detailed:

“*Jibie*: gibier French; *Jibie* indicates meat for consumption of birds and wild animals that are caught by hunt, there are various species, like deer, wild boars, wild rabbits, pigeons etc. [...] The movement of the Japan Gibier Promotion association also exists, the initiative to use *jibie* effective to revitalize the local economy was spread over the whole country.” (*Gendaiyōgo no kiso chishiki 2016*)

The longest article on *jibie* is given by the *Nihon Daihyakka zenshū (Nipponica)*:

“*Jibie*: gibier French [...] In Europe, wild birds, starting with green pheasant, partridge and mallard, wild animals, like wild rabbits, deer, wild boars etc. are eaten in different cuisines. Also, in Japan, starting with “matagi”, the hunter who lived in the mountainous areas of Tōhoku, the food tradition of game meat exists since ancient times, meat, such as [meat of] deer, wild boars, bears, wild goats, raccoon dog, rabbits, green pheasants sandpiper etc. was eaten. In recent years, the game meat eating habit became dim, based on the protection of one’s living environment and agricultural damages the cases of caught deer and wild boars increase, that is why chances and places to eat game meat increased. [...] On occasion of declaring game meat as a food ingredient, the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Labour called for a sufficient heating processing to avoid eating the raw [meat], to prevent zoonosis. (*Nihon dai hyakka zenshū (Nipponica)*)

These definitions have three things in common; firstly, each definition explains that the French term gibier and the Japanese term *jibie* are connected (“*Jibie* ([French]: gibier): [...] (*Dijitaru Daijisen*), “*Jibie* (loan word): gibier (French)” (*Jōhō chishiki imidas 2016*), “*Jibie*: gibier (French)” (*Gendai yōgo no kiso chishiki 2016*), “*Jibie*: gibier French” (*Nihon Daihyakka zenshū (Nipponica)*)).

Secondly, every definition connects *jibie* and hunting, although the details about hunting differ (“birds and wild animals like partridges, ducks, deer etc. [It is] mainly eaten during the hunting season.” (*Dijitaru Daijisen*), “Species of birds and wild animals that become hunted game.” (*Jōhō chishiki imidas 2016*), “*Jibie* indicates meat for consumption of birds and wild

animals that are caught by hunt; there are various species, like deer, wild boars, wild rabbits, pigeons etc.” (*Gendai yōgo no kiso chishiki 2016*), “Also, in Japan, starting with “*matagi*”, the hunter who lived in the mountainous areas of Tōhoku, the food tradition of game meat exists since ancient times, meat, such as [meat of] deer, wild boars, bears, wild goats, raccoon dog, rabbits, green pheasants sandpiper etc. was eaten. In recent years, the game meat eating habit became dim, based on the protection of one’s living environment and agricultural damages the cases of caught deer and wild boars increase, that is why chances and places to eat game meat increased.” (*Nihon daihyakka zenshū (Nipponica)*).

Thirdly, each definition defines *jibie* as meat for consumption; some definitions define it directly as a food ingredient (“Mainly eaten” (*Dijitaru Daijisen*), “meat for consumption” (*Joho chishiki imidas 2016*), “*Jibie* indicates meat for consumption” (*Gendai yōgo no kiso chishiki 2016*)), while the definition in the *Nihon daihyakka zenshū (Nipponica)* is more indirect (“On the occasion of declaring game meat as a food ingredient” (*Nihon daihyakka zenshū (Nipponica)*)).

But the definitions also differ: The definition made by the *Jōhō chishiki imidas 2016* defines *jibie* directly as a loan word, while the other definitions instance the French term only. Furthermore, the Japan Gibier Promotion Association is mentioned by the *Gendaiyōgo no kiso chishiki 2016* only.

In addition to definitions of *jibie*, there is also a definition of *jibie ryōri* in the *Dijitaru Daijisen*:

A dish prepared with *jibie*. A dish prepared with [meat] of hunted wild animals. (*Dijitaru Daijisen*)

Furthermore, some entries suggest that *jibie* is a recent trend which might not last, which is already hinted at in the title of “*Jibie (fūdo torendo)*”:

Jibie (food trend): [French: gibiers] It means wild animals and the meat of wild animals in French. Animals that are raised for the use of food, are called domestic poultry, but [*jibie*] are wild animals that grew up in the natural environment. [...] In the past it was called faisandage, but recently, [meat] with a strong and bad smell is not preferred, [consumers] wish for a fresher flavor instead. It came to be that also in Japan women in particular became interested in it; this is also because *jibie* with a fresh flavor moved forward. Although imported *jibie* from Europe exists, *jibie* produced in Japan begins to circulate extremely. (Inukai 2008)

This analysis already suggests three things: The Japanese term *jibie* originates in French; it is a loan word of the French term gibier. Furthermore, the term includes the living, wild animals and their meat. Lastly, it seems to be a very recent phenomenon, since phrases like “food trend” (Inukai 2008) or “it begins to spread over Japan” (Inukai 2008) are used.

In the next part of this chapter the definitions of the term *jibie* appearing on websites will be discussed to present possible differences in detail, since the definition of the term may be dependent on the position of the author: online dictionaries might be more neutral compared to websites of organizations which try to promote and spread *jibie*.

3.2.2. *Jibie* on websites

As explained in the introduction, the definitions of the following organizations and ministries will be compared: The Japanese Gibier Promotion Association (*Nihon jibie shinkō kyōgikai*), Shinshū Gibier and the definition made by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (*Kōseirōdōshō*).

The ministry defines *jibie* on a website entitled “Let’s heat *jibie* (meat of wild animals) sufficiently and eat it”. According to this website,

“*Jibie* are wild animals that are objects of hunting, like deer, wild boars etc. and their meat. If you eat insufficiently heated or raw meat of wild deer, there is the risk of being poisoned by the Hepatitis E virus, EHEC or parasites. Let’s heat it sufficiently until the heat reaches the center of the meat and eat [it afterwards]. Furthermore, please take care of the treatment of the tools that came in contact with the meat and disinfect them etc.” (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare)

The Japan Gibier Promotion Association defines *jibie* as follows:

“*Jibie* is a word which means “meat for consumption of natural, wild animals caught by hunting” in French. It is a food tradition that was developed since ancient times as a traditional food for the aristocracy. In this old France and other countries, dishes which contained *jibie* were valuable goods to the extent that it only reached the mouths of the upper aristocracy that could hunt on their own land. Therefore, it was considered as a highly valued high-end food ingredient since ancient times in the world of French food, it has become to be loved by the aristocracy as a special dish.” (Japan Gibier Promotion Association)

Afterwards, the organization explains the situation in Japan; the damages caused by animals are increasing and therefore farmers give up their farms. This is followed by the explanation of the work of the association, which is mainly the promotion of the usage of game meat as a food ingredient instead of leaving it in the forest. Processing and eating game meat is promoted as a measure to revitalize rural areas (Japan Gibier Promotion Association).

The other organization which also promotes the consumption of game meat is Shinshū Gibier. Shinshū Gibier defines *jibie* as follows:

“In French, *jibie* means the meat of hunted animals like deer and wild boars and birds; it is very popular in Europe as a high-end food ingredient. Dishes containing *jibie* are offered throughout the hunting season from fall to winter in popular restaurants everywhere; it has the purpose to attract a lot of tourists visiting [the restaurants]. At the dinner of the Nobel Prize ceremony which is held in Stockholm/Sweden, using deer meat as a main dish is a famous story. [...] In the mountainous area of Nagano which is rich in rich nature, *jibie* is one part of the food culture and succeeded the tradition. Recently, in proportion to the high food value of deer meat, “Shinshū *jibie*” is considered as one of the delicious, shinshū brands.” (Shinshū Gibier)

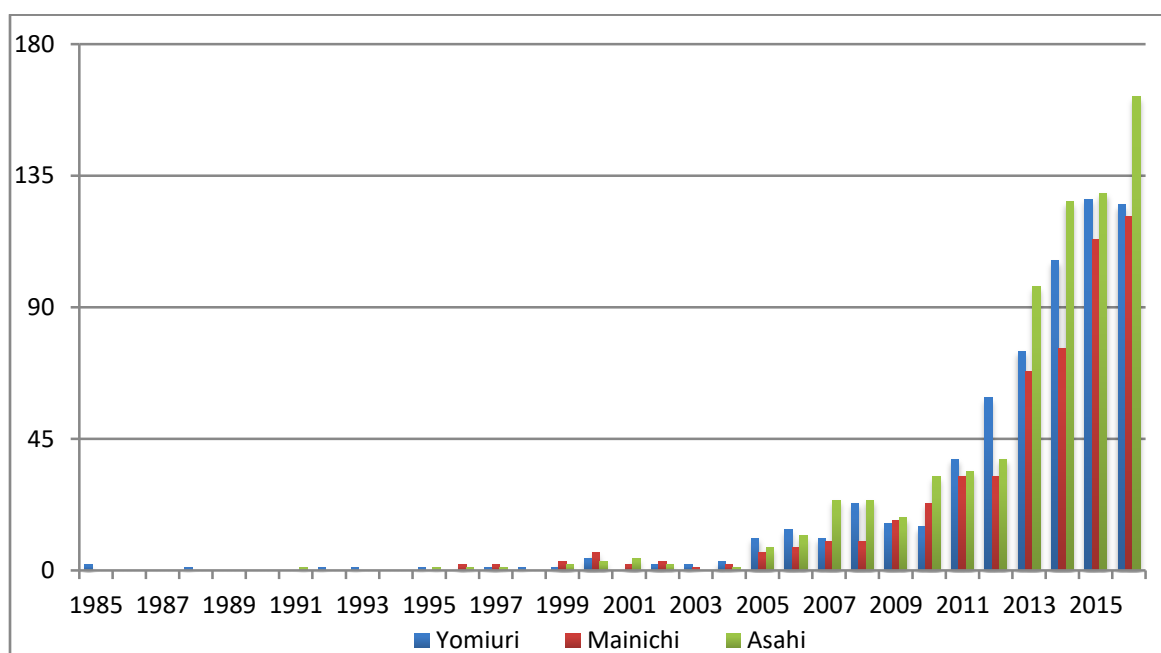
Compared to the entries in online dictionaries it can be said that the definitions on websites are influenced by the owner of the websites. While the entries in online dictionaries were neutral, the definitions on websites emphasized how delicious and special *jibie* is (Japan Gibier Promotion Association, Shinshū Gibier). This is reasonable, because these websites are owned by two promoters of *jibie* that encourage the consumption of *jibie*. According to the website of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare Japan *jibie* is also delicious, but the consumer should handle the meat with care to avoid sicknesses. Therefore, this site about *jibie* is also influenced by the owner: it is a website of the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Labour Japan and it explains possible health risks connected with the consumption of game meat.

These two parts are based on online sources, but how is the term *jibie* used in every-day life? The next part will discuss the appearance of *jibie* in newspaper articles of the three newspapers *Mainichi Shinbun*, *Asahi Shinbun* and *Yomiuri Shinbun* to find a possible answer to this question.

3.2.3. *Jibie* in newspaper articles

The first paragraph of this section will give an overview of the appearance in the newspapers in general to show the development of the term. The analysis includes regional editions as well as national papers of the newspapers. In addition to the general overview, a possible explanation for peaks will be given. After that, this chapter discusses the appearance of terms related to events who offer dishes containing game meat (*jibie fea*, *jibie fesuta* and *jibie ryōri no shishokukai*) in the newspaper articles. At the end of this chapter I will define the term *jibie* by myself, based on the aforementioned definitions of online dictionaries, websites and newspaper articles.

The total number of articles about *jibie* divided by newspaper is as follows: 537 articles in the *Mainichi Shinbun*, 719 articles in the *Asahi Shinbun* and 638 articles in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* until 2016 (incl.).



Graph 5: *Jibie* in newspaper articles of the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, *Mainichi Shinbun* and *Asahi Shinbun* (based on the online datases)

Graph 2 is based on the online databases of the three newspapers *Mainichi Shinbun*, *Asahi Shinbun* and *Yomiuri Shinbun*. It shows the appearance of the term *jibie* in articles in the period from 1985 until 2016. Each bar shows the appearance in each newspaper per year. The term almost did not appear up to the year 2000. One reason might be that until then *chōjūgai* might not have been considered as a serious problem.

The second considerable increase of newspaper articles dealing with *jibie* is between 2012 and 2013. That might be because of game meat as a food ingredient was officially declare in 2012 by the Act on Special Measures for Prevention of Damage Related to Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Caused by Wildlife (*Chōjū ni yoru nōrinsuishangyō nado ni kakaru higai no bōshi no tame no tokubetsu sochi ni kan suru hōritsu*) (Japanese Law Translation). Also, the Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Plan was passed in 2012. These two laws likely will have had an impact on the appearance of *jibie* in the newspapers: Since 2012 the number of events, where people can try *jibie*, increased. And several of these events related to *jibie* (in Japanese *jibie fea*, *jibie ryōri no shishokukai* (*jibie* food sampling events) or *jibie fesuta* (meaning similar to *jibie ryōri no shishokukai*)) are promoted in the newspapers; the number of articles dealing with one of these three terms increased after 2012. Until 2012, there were three articles dealing with *jibie* fairs in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, two articles in the *Asahi Shinbun*

and three articles in the *Mainichi Shinbun*. There were 21 articles in total (one in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, two in the *Asahi Shinbun* and 18 in the *Mainichi Shinbun*) about *shishokukai*. Based on the results in the databases, no article dealt with the term *jibie fesuta* in this period.

During the period 2012-2016 the numbers of articles increased: 23 articles about *jibie* fairs in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 16 articles in the *Asahi Shinbun* and 19 articles in the *Mainichi Shinbun*; the number of articles dealing with *shishokukai* also increased to 40 articles in total (six in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, four in the *Asahi Shinbun* and 30 in the *Mainichi Shinbun*). In this period, there were nine articles in total about *jibie fesuta* (two in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, five in the *Asahi Shinbun* and two in the *Mainichi Shinbun*).

This section discussed the appearance of *jibie* in online dictionaries, websites and the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, *Mainichi Shinbun* and *Asahi Shinbun*. To sum up the discussion of the definition it can be said that *jibie* is considered as a term for “wild animals and their meat”. This meat could hold some possible health risks; the consumer should therefore avoid eating raw game meat or incompletely heated game meat. Several articles, websites and online dictionaries mention that the Japanese term *jibie* originates in French. In these media it seems to be well known. During my field research I found out that it was not common knowledge that the term originates in French (Chef A).

3.3. Prejudices Against Game Meat

Contrary to the consumption of livestock-meat is the situation in regard to game meat. Although dishes like Botannabe still exist, the usage of game meat as a food ingredient is very low; according to the *Yomiuri Shinbun* the amount of hunted game meat used for food is around 5% (*Yomiuri Shinbun* 04.08.2016). The remaining 95% of hunted game meat are either left in the forest or burned. To explore the reasons for the low usage of game meat as a food ingredient so far, field research was conducted. Six hunters, five chefs, and one organizer of a *jibie* fair were interviewed. The interview questions covered three categories: the consumption of game meat in Japan, hunting and the term *jibie*. A question of the last category was adjusted to the interviewee: Concerning the amount of consumed game meat the chefs were asked for the amount in their restaurants and in general while the hunters were asked about the amount of consumed game meat in general only. Additionally, they were asked about the reasons why the usage of game meat as a food ingredient is low. They gave the following answers:

- 1) Japanese people do not like the smell of food in general (*Kuse ga kirai.*), and because game meat has a strong smell, they do not like it. Therefore, game meat consumption in my restaurant is very low, but

if people love game meat, they consume it. Nevertheless, it is difficult to convince more people to try it. (Chef A, Fukuchiyama)

2) In my restaurant, a lot of people eat game meat and like it. But this restaurant is located in an area where Botannabe was and is often consumed. (Chef B, Ayabe)

3) Game meat is often consumed here, we are in a region where boar was and is often consumed. (Chef C, Ayabe)

4) A lot of boar is consumed here because the city is surrounded by mountains. But I prefer deer meat because it is easier to prepare. (Chef D, Maizuru)

5) Customers do not often order game meat, but it is delicious. I do not know why it is not ordered so often. (Chef E, Maizuru)

Hunters were asked the same questions and they gave the following answers:

1) This is difficult to explain with one word. However, I think it is due to the declining culture of consuming game meat, how easy it is to purchase it (which includes the balance between demand and supply), as well as legal issues which may be related to hygiene. (Hunter H)

2) [...] It is luxury food. Therefore, it is not eaten every day. Fat is increasing in winter; therefore the meat is not distributed in summer. Additionally, its price is high and it is not prepared often in other restaurants than high end ones. [...] Also, food preparation is difficult, and if you heat it without knowing the cuisine, a metallic flavor and smell can appear very easily. Besides this, the meat has a smelly, hard image. Also, a lot of chefs of restaurants etc. did not use game meat before; they also do not know the game meat cuisine. Furthermore, fish and poultry in Japan are not processed at home. Recently, there are a lot of people who do not prepare food at home [by themselves] but buy [prepared food]. Because of these things, I think the familiarization [with game meat] will not continue. (Hunter N)

3) It is difficult to keep. Because it is rich in iron, it develops an iron smell comparatively fast: For example I unfroze it in the morning and already at lunch time the smell was that strong, that I did not prepare any food with it anymore. (Hunter U and Y)

4) [It is not much used as a food ingredient, because] Even if you order the meat for a high prize, the quality is unclear and it is inconvenient. The distribution is not regulated. (Hunter H.)

5) Due to the differences between the hunting cultures present in Europe and Japan, I think that a food culture which included a high consumption of deer and wild boars did not develop. In addition to this, the law requires that distributors of meat to obtain special permission from the industry. The presence of these legal regulations has meant that facilities which got the permission to deal with meat for consumption are not widespread and so the distribution is prohibited. I think that this is because a history of the distribution of this meat does not exist, and so this has meant that it could not be established as a business as well. (Organizer of the *jibie* fair autumn 2016 in Kyōto Tanba)

These answers underlined but at the same time disproved the statement at the beginning of this chapter that the market for game meat does not exist in Japan. There is a market, but for

game meat as a luxury product (“It is luxury food.” (Hunter N.)). It is not considered a normal food ingredient for its distribution is very difficult. One of the reasons for that is that the people do not know how to handle the meat. It is rich in iron and therefore very healthy, but it rapidly develops a metallic smell, which many Japanese may dislike. To reduce these prejudices, game meat is prepared with spices with a strong flavor, such as garlic, ginger or spring onions, so the meat smell and flavor are masked. Another effort is to teach chefs and interested people in preparing and handling game meat. One interviewee taught chefs how to prepare game meat during my hunt observation and gives advices once he delivers meat to restaurants (Hunter N).

3.4. *Jibie* fairs in Kyōto Prefecture

The *jibie* fair in Kyōto Tanba was a limited period of time in which restaurants offer special meals containing game meat which does not appear on their normal menu. The organizer of this fair is *Kyōto tanba jibie kaidō*. This organization is connected to the prefectural government of Kyōto Prefecture and its administration is located in Maizuru (Kyōto Prefecture Website f). The organization contacted the restaurants in Kyōto Tanba and asked the restaurants whether they would offer dishes containing game meat, finally the restaurants could confirm or reject the request (Chef E). I could interview one employee of *Kyōto tanba jibie kaidō* and chefs who participated in two *jibie* fairs in fall 2016 and winter 2017. All interviews were conducted in Japanese and the restaurants were chosen based on their cooking style and on the accessibility by public transport. I chose as many different styles as possible: *washoku*, *izakaya*, western and *yakiniku*. The interview questions were about the three categories of hunting, game meat in Japan and the term *jibie*.

The interview with the organizer of the *jibie* fair underlines the statement that *jibie* is a very recent phenomenon: When asked about the history of the *jibie* fair in Kyōto Tanba, the interviewee answered that the *jibie* fair started in 2015. When the interview was conducted, the fair had only taken place four times yet. Furthermore, this interviewee used the term *jibie* boom, which also underlines the novelty of *jibie* and a rapid increase of interest in *jibie*.

Additionally, this interviewee referred to a point already mentioned in the newspaper articles: the interviewee said when asked for the reasons for which the fair is carried out, she considered *jibie* as a counter measure against the increasing *chōjūgai*. The meat of the hunted animals should be used as a food ingredient.

If the customer consumes a dish containing game meat during the *jibie* fairs, the consumer is asked to participate in a survey which is also a prize competition: for example the first prize

of the first *jibie* fair was a smartphone pocket made of regional leather (Kyōto Prefecture Web Site c) and the prizes of the latest *jibie* fair were sausages and dumplings (10 winners), a notebook with a regional leather cover (10 winners) and a pair of deer antlers (one winner) (Kyōto Prefecture Web Site d). Based on the number of prizes one may assume that the number of consumers increased as well as the popularity of the fair. This statement can be supported by two numbers: The number of participating shops and restaurants increased: 28 shops and restaurants participated in the first fair (Kyōto Prefecture Website 2015 c) and 32 shops and restaurants one year later. In the latest fair 29 shops and restaurants participated (Kyōto Prefecture Website 2015 d). This number differs because restaurants are not obliged to participate in the fair (field research).

The second number is the amount of consumed dishes during the fair. The statistics of the latest *jibie* fair are not available yet; the data used is that of the first two fairs (February 2015 and February 2016) only. 28 shops and restaurants participated in the fair in 2015. In 22 of these shops and restaurants the number of customers increased during the fair. Additionally, approximately 900 dishes were consumed. 391 persons out of 450 came from Kyōto Prefecture, also according to most customers the *jibie* dishes were delicious and they would like to eat *jibie* dishes again: Out of the 450 participants 269 customers marked “very delicious” and 128 participants marked “delicious” (Kyōto Prefecture Website a). One year later, in 2016, 1632 dishes were consumed and the organization received 534 completed surveys (Kyōto Prefecture Website b). Compared to 2015, the shop and restaurant number increased by four and 84 more surveys were completed. In both cases, the majority of consumers came from Kyōto Prefecture and also ticked “very delicious” or “delicious”: 397 persons in total in 2015 (Kyōto Prefecture Website a), 476 persons in total in 2016 (Kyōto Prefecture Website b).

However, these statistics have to be handled with care, as I found out during my field research, because the survey is done in every participating shop or restaurant and the customer is allowed to fill in the survey whenever he or she consumes game meat dishes. Although it is written in the statistics that X people (*Xnin*) marked for example “very delicious”, it is not clarified whether persons who consumed several dishes in different shops and restaurants count as one person or not. This could have been figured out during the creation of the statistics, because every participant has to write down a postal address.

In addition to the interview with the organizer of the *jibie* fairs, I could interview five chefs who participated in the fair. The questions belonged to two categories, game meat in Japan and the term *jibie*. The frequency of participation in the fair differs: Some participated for the

third time in fall 2016 (Chef B), while it was the first time for other chefs (Chef A, C). The answers to the question regarding the quantity of consumed meals differed as well: Chef B said that *jibie* is consumed rarely whereas chef A, D and E answered that *jibie* is often consumed due to the mountainous area. This area is an ideal environment for wild animals and is highly populated by wild boars and deer (Chef D). This is the reason for which *chōjūgai* are increasing in the area (Chef D). It is also related to the answers given by all chefs to the question of the purpose of the fair (Chef A, B, C, D and E): The damages are increasing and therefore the populations of deer, wild boars, etc. have to be reduced. To achieve this, hunters shoot the animals, providing meat that should be used.

The chefs create the recipes on their own and in the general cooking style of the restaurant: In the Western restaurant deer spare ribs, pasta pot au feu etc. were prepared, small filet slices for Yakiniku with a suitable sauce etc. And one chef just adjusted the sort of meat in the dishes he prepared: instead of a stew with beef, he prepared a stew with deer meat, but nothing else, such as spices, changed (Chef A).

When asked about the definition of the term “*jibie*” and why it is used more frequently than other terms, the answers were also very similar: *jibie* sounds cooler and more interesting than Japanese terms like *shika niku* or *shishi niku*. Nevertheless, the meaning of the term *jibie* is not as commonly known as it might seem for example in the number of newspaper articles dealing with *jibie*. When one of the chefs was asked, whether he knew about the term *jibie*, he answered that he had never heard of *jibie* before. He had participated in the fair, because it had sounded interesting (Chef A).

This chapter discussed the history of meat-eating in Japan as well as discussions of the term *jibie*. *Jibie* includes the living wild animals as well as the meat of game. The connection to French still exists, since newspaper articles, websites and online dictionaries often mention the French origin of the term. Nevertheless, this origin is not commonly known as the field research suggests.

Also, this chapter showed that the status of game meat in Japan differs from that of livestock animals. Although meat is consumed, game meat has a very negative image, as the field research showed. This is the reason for which game meat is not consumed often. One popular example of game meat consumption is *Botannabe* which is most of the time served throughout the hunting season.

4. Conclusion

This thesis discussed hunting and the consumption of game meat as a very particular form of ecotourism¹⁴. It argued that hunting and eating game can help to reduce the depopulation of rural areas. These forms of ecotourism can help, even though the impacts of *sesshō* and *kegare* still exist (Field research): People of the neighborhood often talk about these concepts with interviewees (Hunter U, Hunter Y).

Furthermore, this thesis showed that the correlation between the number of hunters and *chōjūgai* as well as the correlation between the number of hunters and the size of populations are not strict as depicted in graph three and four. While discussing the number of hunters in Japan, it became apparent that opened blogs and published books on hunting show a short-term effect already. It is too early to draw long-term conclusions yet.

Since the term *jibie* appeared in newspapers in 1985 for the first time, it is a recent term. Therefore definitions published in printed and online media were discussed. Based on this discussion, one may conclude that *jibie* lost the connection to the French cuisine and the term is used, because it sounds fancier and more delicious than the original Japanese terms like “*botan*”, “*momiji*”, “*shishi niku*”, “*shika niku*”, or “*yaseidōbutsu niku*” (Field research). During this field research one interviewee said that he hopes hunting and processing game meat will offer income possibilities in the future for young people. Then, the young people will not have to move to cities like for example Kyōto, but can stay in rural areas like Fukuchiyama (Hunter B). Here, *jibie* was considered as a counter measure for rural depopulation.

According to the field research results, hunting may support the local economy and contribute to the revitalization of the local economy in the future, although hunting is seen more as a leisure activity than as a possibility for income at the moment, as one interviewee stated. According to him, hunters can earn money twice per hunted animal: They receive money from the local government once they shoot an animal and report it to the government. If the hunter has an appropriate license, he or she could sell the meat and earn money for a second time for example via the internet. The interviewee is the owner of a small slaughterhouse and he is supported by his mother, his younger sister and a friend. Together they hunt the meat and process it to sell it online afterwards, mostly to hotels (Hunter N). If this knowledge spreads, young people might consider hunting as an income possibility, not only as a leisure activity anymore. To interest young people in hunting, particular forums, such as the *Forum*

¹⁴ Wildlife tourism is mostly about watching wild animals (Knight 2010, 746).

for the complete comprehension of the fascination of hunting (*shuryō no miryoku maruwakari fōramu*) (Ministry of Environment d), or hunting activities (*shuryō taiken*) are offered (Yasei fukki keikaku). Thus, both aspects of ecotourism, education and supporting the local economy, are fulfilled.

Not only hunting, but also *jibie* fairs can be discussed based on ecotourism. These fairs might have educational values as well as economic values: Primarily, the visitors might not receive education about nature and *chōjūgai*; they would have to talk either to the waiter or the chef him- or herself. But people might learn that the prejudices against game meat are not necessarily correct and that game meat can be prepared in multiple ways, as it is offered in various restaurants of different styles. As a result, they perhaps start to include game meat in their daily life or become hunters themselves. The most important economic value is the support of the local economy: Throughout the *jibie* fairs, regional vegetables and regional game meat were used in local restaurants. By consuming a dish containing game meat, therefore, three local parties are supported: the farmer who cultivates the vegetable, the hunter who processes the game meat, and the chef who runs a small restaurant. Due to this, a *jibie* fair can help to interest more people in game meat and everything related to it at the same time. This might also lead to less migration to cities in the future because it strengthens local economy.

For future research one may include the consumer as well, since this thesis focused on the producer's point of view. The consumer's side is part of the FEAST project (Lifeworlds of Sustainable Food Consumption and Production: Agrifood Systems in Transition) at Kyōto University in Japan (The Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RIHN)). This further research would help to see possible long-term effects regarding the size of deer and wild boars populations, the number of hunters and whether less people migrate to cities. It would be also interesting to analyze the newspaper articles again and also evaluate possible reasons why the number of articles differ. My hypothesis is that the number of articles increases further.

Also a research approach regarding tourism would be, since this thesis did not distinguish between domestic tourists and foreign tourists. This would be interesting in particular, because the promotion posters of the *jibie* fairs were in Japanese only and therefore not understandable for people who cannot speak the language.

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