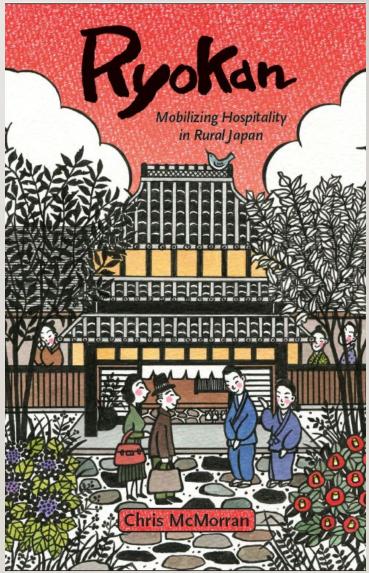
RYOKAN: MOBILIZING HOSPITALITY IN RURAL JAPAN

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Ethnographic field<u>work</u> in Kurokawa Onsen, Kumamoto Prefecture (Aug 2006-Aug 2007)





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<u>Work</u> = scrubbing baths, washing dishes, sweeping paths, vacuuming tatami mats, carrying luggage, laying out bedding... making guests feel "at home" in a ryokan

Plus, repeat sits nearly every year since

Focus: the daily, seasonal, and generational work found at a ryokan

Argument: work is a "last resort" for both ryokan owners and employees





For owners:

Spatial division of labor

Male – <i>shachō</i> "outside" work	Female – okami "inside" work
 Landscaping Building maintenance Attending meetings 	 Welcoming guests Serving meals Cleaning rooms Training and managing employees
	PLUS

- Caring for the familyBiological/social
- reproduction (raising an heir)



For owners:

Fuzzy boundary between <u>family</u> and <u>business</u>

- pass the business through generations
- provide jobs
- embody the neighborhood
- live on site
- no privacy
- "trapped" in place

Ryokan is a last resort

- to honor ancestors,
- to maintain communities, and
- to pass something to the next generation



For employees:

Flexible labor, flexible time

Flexible labor: constantly adjusting personality, body, pace of work, language to meet guest needs

- entertainer
- tour guide
- babysitter

Flexible time: constantly "on call" to meet guest needs



For a busy ryokan, *okami* is <u>not</u> the body of hospitality

Ryokan needs "home-less" women

- Divorced
- Separated
- Widowed
- Unmarried
- Women whose family members do not need their everyday care

Ryokan is a last resort

- for economic stability,
- personal fulfilment, and
- a brighter future



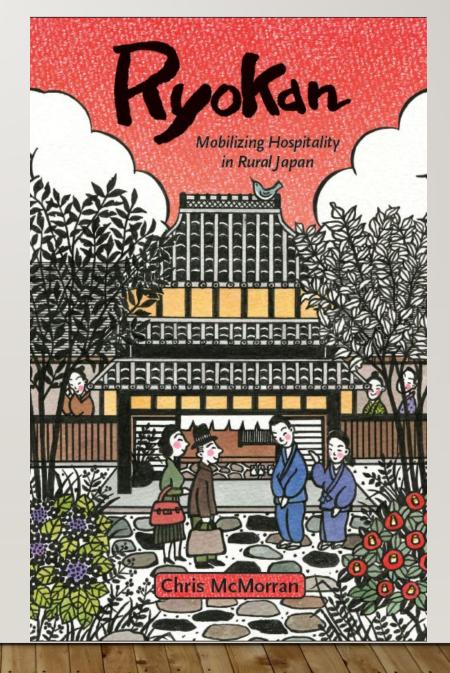
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