# Down in a Hole: Dark Tourism, Haunted Places as Affective Meshworks, and the Obliteration of Korean Laborers in Contemporary Kyoto

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This article provides an analysis of the relation between tourists' experiences, affect, and bodily perceptions, together with processes of remembering and forgetting, focusing on (dark) touristic practices in haunted places in contemporary Japan. It highlights the social features of oblivion, processes in the creation of memories and discourses of war, and their entanglement in the "meshwork" that constitutes a particular place. I draw on ethnographic data of a guided ghost tour that visits Kiyotaki Tunnel, one of the most renowned haunted places in Kyoto. I describe tourists' experiences, analyze the rumors about the haunting, and show that, among the locals, memories of the death of and discrimination against Korean laborers in the tunnel were strategically forgotten. Yet, these memories were "unearthed," appropriated and spread on the internet by visitors, attracted by the haunting. I point out that haunted places emerge as "affective meshworks" primarily as a result of bodily correspondences with affordances in the environment, rather than from narrative and belief, and that (dark) touristic practices can contribute to the construction of new discourses, thus unsettling power relationships. I argue that a focus on affect in shaping meshworks of bodies, environments, memories, and discourses through (dark) touristic practices, can provide an understanding of the experiences of visitors to places related to war and death, and that visitors contribute to the construction of new memories and discourses.

**Keywords**: dark tourism, perception, affect and discourse, social memory, materiality, affordance, haunted places, ghosts, Koreans in Kyoto, anthropology

## Introduction

A big street sign on the left side of the street that leads to the Kiyotaki 清滝 Tunnel reads: "Dead end: Please do not enter during night-time without good reason." People stop at the traffic light at the tunnel's entrance, so most of them probably see it. The sign clarifies why it was made and put there: it seems that there are people who go through the tunnel at night,

with no apparent reason. I called the Kiyotaki Neighborhood Council, whose name was on the sign, in order to get an explanation. The voice of an older woman replied that there are several cases of people entering the tunnel at nights, particularly during the summer. They go through it, turn around and return, or they go away through the mountain road that crosses the Kiyotaki pass. Especially in such a lightly inhabited mountain area, where silence at night can be overwhelming and not even monkeys dare to break it with their screams, engines resonate very loudly and disturb the residents of Kiyotaki, the very small residential area next to one of the tunnel's entrances. The woman told me that she did not know the reason why people do it. Maybe she was telling the truth, but I doubt it: even I know why people visit the tunnel at night. It is a very famous haunted place, and it attracts people who drive their bikes, cars, even bicycles, or walk through it, in order to test their courage. It attracts them and affects them. From 2009 to 2011, it also affected tourists and, with them, it affected me as well.

## Affording Discourses on Affect and Memory

In the last decades, studies on the phenomenon of so-called "dark tourism" have rapidly increased. According to Stone, the results of a simple Google Scholar search using the generic term "dark tourism" generated approximately 2,000 entries in 2001, whereas in 2011 they were as many as 63,900.[1] I performed the same search at the time of writing the present article, and I obtained approximately 282,000 entries.

"Dark tourism" is generally defined—largely from a supply perspective—as "the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites," or "the act of travel to sites of death, disaster or the seemingly macabre," and has presently become the most widely used term in scholarly articles that analyze these kinds of phenomena.[2]

The term has already been widely criticized and problematized, both as an analytical tool, and as a term indicating a set of phenomena actually distinguishable from "heritage tourism."[3] Therefore, taking definitional issues into consideration goes beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, war, war memories, battlefields, and their development into tourist destinations have been analyzed as related to tourism in general and, specifically, to the field of "dark tourism," although not necessarily as the main topic under focus.[4] These studies have highlighted, for instance, the positive or negative impact that war tourism and consumption have on (local) economies and local knowledge, their role in the construction of national or local identities, or provided historical overviews of tourism to specific battlefields.[5] Yet, despite some exceptions, accounts of how memories of war and places related to them are contested or negotiated in localities are almost entirely missing.[6] Moreover, although Ryan points out that "[r]eferences to silences, and to discourse, and the nature of that discourse, and the relationship between agreement, disagreement, presence, and absence" are central issues in the field of war and tourism, there has been very little

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1  Stone 2011, p. 320.
2  Foley and Lennon 1996, p. 198; Stone 2006, p. 146.
3  Biran, Poria, and Oren 2011; Bowman and Pezzullo 2009; De Antoni 2013; De Antoni 2017a.
4  See Butler and Suntikul 2013; Ryan 2007a; Fyall, Prideaux, and Timothy 2006.
5  See Cooper 2006; Cooper 2007; Knox 2006; Kutbay and Aykac 2016; Lee 2006; Nagy 2016; Ryan 2007a.
6  See Hannam 2006; Knox 2006.

analysis in this direction.[7] Furthermore, all these studies tend to focus very strongly on narrative and discourse, thus leaving tourists' lived experiences aside.

Therefore, in this article, I will follow a recent trend in (dark) tourism research and focus on the experiential and affective aspects of places related to death.[8] In particular, I will analyze the role of "affective correspondences" and "affective meshworks" in the processes of construction of war memory and, above all, of oblivion.[9]

On the one hand, anthropological research in particular has started focusing on the body immersed in the world, re-discussing representational views of landscapes, places and spaces while exploring the perception that emerges through "correspondences" with the environment based on practice, as well as the role that "affective spaces" have in the creation of social practice.[10] These approaches tend to see (living) beings as emerging within ontologies in which they "do not propel themselves across a ready-made world but rather issue forth through a world-in-formation, along the lines of their relationships."[11] In this sense, beings are seen not as enclosed and self-standing, but as "meshworks" of "entangled lines of life, growth and movement" emerging from correspondences among humans and nonhumans in the environment.[12]

On the other hand, although it is relatively new in the field of tourism studies, the so-called "affective turn" has influenced the humanities and social sciences in the last decade by focusing on the role of affect and bodily perceptions in the shaping of social practice. Clough has defined affectivity as "a substrate of potential bodily responses, often automatic responses, in excess of consciousness," whereas Massumi distinguishes between affects and emotions, the first being "virtual synesthetic perspectives anchored in […] the actually existing […], a nonsignifying response to a quality of intensity."[13] In Massumi's view, affects are lived "intensities" that are pre-cognition, pre-symbolic, pre-linguistic, and pre-personal and, therefore, they constitute the virtual and vital from which realities and subjects may emerge. Emotions are "captures" of affect within structures of meaning.

These approaches have created new understandings of the social, but because of the focus on the pre-linguistic, pre-personal, and pre-cognitive, they are in danger of leaving cultural differences aside. Moreover, more ethnography on affect is arguably needed in order to ground the whole debate—which tends to be very theoretical—in empirical data.[14]

From a methodological perspective, therefore, it is necessary to create a bridge between "classic" anthropological views on social and power relationships—whose unveiling was indicated as one of the main tasks of recent, critical anthropology—and these new approaches focusing on bodily perceptions and affect.[15] In this article, therefore, I would like to focus on the relationships between affect on the one hand, and discourse and power on the other. In particular, I am interested in shedding light on the processes by which certain actors are mobilized, and memories and discourses are created, thus becoming an

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7 Ryan 2007b, p. 2.
8 See Golańska 2015.
9 De Antoni 2017b.
10 Ingold 2000; Ingold 2013; Navaro-Yashin 2012.
11 Ingold 2011, p. 63.
12 Ingold 2011, p. 64.
13 Clough 2007, p. 2; Massumi 2002, p. 35.
14 See Martin 2013; Robbins 2013; Wetherell 2012.
15 Asad 2003.

integral part of the "meshwork" that constitutes one particular place. My interest lies also in how certain historical events and actors are (more or less) strategically forgotten and silenced, that is, the social features of the construction of forgetting and oblivion. Therefore, I will try to show that a focus on the role of affect as an active force in shaping "meshworks" of bodies, environments, memories, and discourses through (touristic) practice can be a very useful tool in providing an understanding of the experiences of visitors to places related to war and death. Conversely, I will also show that tourists' affects and experiences in one place contribute to the construction of new memories and discourses.

The creation of social memory is a complex process that involves negotiations in the present, and that is often very political, particularly with regard to war memories.[16] Indeed, in the case of Japan, "contestations over war history have prevented the emergence of a dominant narrative [...], although there are a variety of identifiable competing cultural narratives."[17] Morris-Suzuki and others write of how dealing with the (more or less metaphorical) "ghosts of violence" and the difficult past of World War II is problematic not only for Japan, but for the whole of East Asia, precisely because of international power relations.[18] Moreover, the issues related to remembering, forgetting, and "haunting" involve conflicts that began much earlier than World War II and are not settled yet. Indeed, on the one hand, "conflicts between Japan and its neighbors are just part of a complex nexus of 'history wars' that have beset the region" and that "do not simply exist side by side, but have become deeply intertwined."[19] On the other hand, this rewriting of history, memory, and forgetting is not only carried out within national discourses, but also involves different agents and relations at local levels, as well as their particularities in relation to dominant narratives.[20]

These studies are extremely useful in framing the relationships between the creation of discourses of memory and power relationships. Yet they mainly rely on discourse analysis, thus leaving aside the situated experiences and affective correspondences with the (material) environments related to those memories.[21]

My approach to the bridging of affect and discourse relies on Dumouchel's work on social emotions.[22] He adds a focus on the relational, dialogical dimension of affect, and "affective coordination," through which two (or more) actors interact, pointing out that feeling subjects emerge as a result of the coordination itself. I also rely on the idea of "affective practice" and "affective meaning making" proposed by Wetherell, who brings back discourse by seeing affect as situated within "local social orders" and "institutions of intelligibility."[23] She argues that through an "affective practice" that "is relational" and "builds (and arises

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16  Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper 2000.
17  Seaton 2007, p. 3.
18  Morris-Suzuki, Low, and Petrov 2013.
19  Morris-Suzuki 2013a, p. 9.
20  Seaton 2016, p. 15.
21  An exception to this trend is the work by Morris-Suzuki (2013b, p. 96), who mentions the importance of material aspects in "feeling the present in the body" in order to understand past experiences. Nevertheless, she does not investigate hauntings from this perspective.
22  Dumouchel 1996; Dumouchel 2008.
23  Wetherell 2012, p. 79.

from) jointly constructed relational 'realities,'" "affective meaning making" dialogically emerges within a discursive context.[24]

These approaches, though, barely take into consideration correspondence with the environment. Therefore, in order to link affective practice and meaning making, I will rely on the concept of "affordance" proposed by the psychologist James J. Gibson, namely what the environment "offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill," an idea that "implies the complementarity of the animal and the environment."[25]

I believe that this relational concept can constitute a bridge between "affective correspondences" with the environment, "affective meshworks," processes of memory and forgetting, as well as discourse and power, as I will try to show in the next sections. In order to do so, I will focus on the case of Kiyotaki Tunnel, one of the most famous haunted places —if not *the* most famous—in Kyoto. Indeed, as Heholt pointed out, "[h]aunting itself is merely or *only* affect: it has no existence without affect."[26]

### Research Methods

This study is based on ethnographic data I gathered through fieldwork in Kyoto in 2010 and 2011, during the Kyoto *kaidan ya-basu* 怪談夜バス tour, a bus tour created in 2009 by a small travel agency based in Kyoto. The number of people taking part in it was constantly increasing. The travel agency offered a single route in summer 2009, two different routes in summer 2010, four different routes and a train tour were scheduled in summer 2011, and the agency planned to offer ten different routes along with the train tour in summer 2012. Yet, accompanying the massive influence on tourism in Kyoto of the 3/11 triple disaster, about half of the tours in 2011 were canceled, due to lack of demand as well as resistance from customers and companies involved in other tours carried out by the travel agency.[27]

First, I carried out an internet survey of specialized websites, blogs, forums, chat rooms, and interviewed the webmasters of the most relevant websites, about rumors regarding haunted places. Second, I carried out participant observation during the tour. The ghost tours were repeated six times in 2010 and they took place every Saturday in 2011, in both years between July and September. They started and ended at Kyoto Station and lasted approximately three hours from 18:30 to 21:30. People could take part by paying a six thousand yen fee, which included a special bento box.

I took part in the tours five times in 2010 and seven times in 2011. The first two times, I took part as a customer. Then I was allowed to take part for free and, at the beginning, I was introduced to the customers as an Italian anthropologist affiliated to Kyoto University. Since the schedule of the tour was tight and the guide or the organizers were constantly speaking on the bus, talking to the participants was not easy. Therefore, every time I focussed on two or three people (out of thirty-two people overall), particularly those who stated that they felt some ghostly presence, trying to obtain some more detailed information about their experiences. I repeatedly met and interviewed the four members of staff, especially the head of the agency and the tour guide and, in the few cases in which the haunted places visited were located in or nearby residential areas, I conducted interviews

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24  Wetherell 2012, p. 86.
25  Gibson 1979, p. 127.
26  Heholt 2016, p. 5.
27  See De Antoni 2013.

with the residents. In this article, I rely on such data, as well as on follow-up interviews with residents around Kiyotaki Tunnel (fourteen people overall), carried out mainly in June 2014.

## Ghostly Weapons

Most of the studies about ghosts and the supernatural in Japan have tended either to take a historical approach, or to pertain to the field of folklore studies, thus focusing more on features related to local traditions.[28] To my knowledge, the only exception to this trend is the work by Marilyn Ivy, whose ethnographic fieldwork shed light on the relationships between ghosts and discourses of nostalgia related to an idealized past, as the ground for constructing national discourses of "Japaneseness" in contemporary Japan.[29]

This approach resonates with other anthropological studies that pointed out the relationship between spirits and resistance to changes in economic systems, showing how these beliefs can be framed and interpreted as providing critiques of colonialism, modernity, capitalism, and globalization, which in their relationship to exploitation and hardship are locally perceived as immoralities.[30]

A relationship between ghosts and (state) power has also been pointed out by Kim, who argues that in Korea and China, "hungry ghosts appear through [a] shaman's ritual […] with grudge[s] against the present materialist/neo-liberal world of modernity" and that many of these ghosts, particularly in Korea, are spirits of people who died or were killed during the Japanese colonial period.[31] In this sense, he sees them as "weapons of the weak," claiming that rituals of hungry ghosts are "cultural practices organized by the living […] to revive the muted memories of the deprived and marginalized people, and thus to posit them in the official history of the society."[32]

In the case of Japan, the link between ghosts and the "weapons of the weak" has not been explicitly articulated. Yet, their connection to social liminals and certain places associated with them has been a recurring theme within studies in anthropology and folklore. Although mainly through discourse analysis, these studies shed light on this relationship both from a historical perspective and in contemporary society.[33]

In particular, Komatsu has argued that, from the Nara period to modern times, an "other world"—demonic or monstrous—associated with the dark outer lands of the realm was managed by emperors and shoguns through (religious) symbolic practices, in order to secure and display power and authority.[34] Yet, at the same time, even discontented factions (such as peasants, disgruntled samurai, religious groups, and opposition parties) used the same symbolic paradigm as a means of protest. When this happened, monsters were reappropriated by the rebellion, while giving birth to carnivalesque practices and parody, or directly representing authorities themselves in demonic terms.[35]

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28  For example, Figal 1999; Foster 2009; Iwasaka and Toelken 1994; Yanagita 1977.
29  Ivy 1995.
30  See Comaroff and Comaroff 2002; Lewis 1971; Ong 1987; Taussig 1980. See also Sanders 2008.
31  Kim 2011.
32  Kim 2011; Scott 1985.
33  See, for example, Komatsu 1985; Ouwehand 1964; Raveri 2006. See also the analysis of *misemono* 見世物 at Ryōgoku Bridge in Tokyo in Figal 1999, pp. 21–37.
34  Komatsu 1985.
35  Komatsu 1985. See also Figal 1999; Wilson 1992.

Also, the modern history of monsters and ghosts in Japan is deeply entangled with state power. On the one hand, the contemporary *possibilities* of feeling or being possessed by a ghost are intertwined with the Meiji period and the project of modernity. In particular, Buddhism was constructed as a "religion," as opposed to a "superstition" that needed to be eliminated.[36] Yet, although monsters (*yōkai* 妖怪) and other spirit entities related to local cults such as *tengu* 天狗 and *kitsune* 狐 were "cleansed" by debunking related phenomena through scientific rationality, or by psychologizing them, ghosts (*yūrei* 幽霊) constituted an exception.[37] Among other reasons, this was because, being spirits of the dead, directly debunking them would have meant negating the existence of the human spirit and, consequently, challenging more or less directly the cult of ancestors, on which the whole Meiji emperor system apparatus was based.[38] This exception, however, created the possibility for ghosts not to be erased and to continue to exist up to today.

Although "there are some doubts about the general applicability of Komatsu's paradigm," some cases of connections between ghosts and liminals were observed also in contemporary Japan.[39] For instance, in Mutsu 陸奥—the closest city to the famous sacred mountain Osorezan 恐山—the highest number of ghost sightings was reported in the area where Koreans lived up to World War II. In this case, rumors about ghosts originated from the locals, not from the Korean community that was no longer there. Therefore, although no longer explicitly related to Koreans, rumors reproduced an identification of the area as somehow "other" to the rest of the city.[40]

Moreover, cases of possession in Okinawa, for instance, suggest similarities with the above-mentioned Korean cases. In fact, scholars cite cases of local shamans healing from or being possessed by spirits of Ryukyuan people who were mistreated by the Japanese. Such practices may be said to reinforce Okinawan local identity.[41] Similarly, reports of sightings of Japanese soldiers who died during World War II also exist.[42]

This is not to say that there is a direct connection between hauntings and World War II. In fact, on the one hand, there are plenty of haunted places in contemporary Japan that have nothing to do with that war; on the other, not all places related to World War II are perceived as haunted. Nevertheless, underlying notions of untamed or unjust death created the possibility for linking (local) discourses on war or wartime discrimination with apparitions and perceptions of ghosts.

Moreover, since the seventies, Japan has witnessed a so-called "occult boom." A proliferation of narratives about ghosts followed the popularity of American horror films, in particular *The Exorcist* (1974).[43] In the following years, such narratives were spread by a multitude of magazines, specialized books, films, *anime*, and, more recently, the internet. They also circulated rumors about haunted places. Unlike ghost stories, these narratives inform people about where they can relate with ghosts and, consequently, they have become

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36  Josephson 2006; Josephson 2012.
37  Figal 1999; Foster 2009; Josephson 2006; Harding, Iwata, and Yoshinaga 2015; Josephson 2012.
38  De Antoni 2015.
39  Figal 1999, p. 23.
40  De Antoni 2010.
41  See Allen 2002a; Allen 2002b; Sasaki 1984; Shiotsuki 2006.
42  For example, Oda 2011.
43  De Antoni 2015; Taniguchi 2006.

entangled with social practices such as "courage testing" (*kimodameshi* 肝試し) or, as I will show below, tourism. The tour in which I carried out fieldwork is one of the most recent products in this context.

### Visiting Ghosts in Kyoto

Since the Kyoto *kaidan ya-basu* tour has already been described and analyzed in detail elsewhere, in this section I will limit myself to a very simple introduction.[44] The agency that created it was composed of three people. Yet, the main character on the bus was the guide, a male in his late fifties from Kyoto prefecture, who often collaborated with the agency. He used to work as artistic director in an advertising company and, after retirement, decided to become a ghost storyteller. Since then, he has often been invited on radio and television programs to talk about ghosts and ghost stories, and manages a free web magazine with around thirty thousand readers, and a website, through which he promotes and sells his books and CDs.[45] Indeed, his celebrity within the network of people interested in ghost stories and haunted places was the reason why he was chosen and contacted by the head of the travel agency. He entertained the people on the bus with stories about ghosts or supernatural phenomena, and provided information about the history and the ghost stories of the places that the tour would visit, thus playing a major role in constructing places as haunted.

In 2010, an average of twenty people attended the tour each time. The bus had twenty-four available seats and on three occasions the bus was completely full. There were also people who took part in the tour two or three times. I met a few people from Kyoto, although most of the participants were from Osaka and Shiga prefectures, or from other cities in the Kansai or Kanto areas. Most participants were in their late thirties to early fifties, both male and female (with females slightly outnumbering males), but there were also small groups of university students, young teenagers, or children with their mothers. Most of the tourists joined the tour in small groups, from two to four people. Yet, every time there were two or three people (mostly males in their forties) who joined the tour on their own. This caused the slight gender unbalance, since women hardly joined the tour on their own.

Most of the tourists, regardless of their age or gender, told me that they decided to take part in the tour because they found it "unusual" (*mezurashii* 珍しい). Many people, generally in their forties, stated they chose the tour because they wanted to "shiver" (*zotto suru* ゾッとする), or because they wanted to see "weird things" (*hen na mono* 変なもの) or ghosts (*yūrei*). Yet, there were also people interested in Kyoto history, and people who often visited haunted places and had a personal interest in the supernatural. In other words, most of the participants joined the tour because they wanted to try to interrelate with ghosts, namely with the spirits of people who (allegedly) died in those places. In this sense, the tour could be defined as an example of so-called "dark tourism."[46]

The first stops on every route were Shinto shrines, all somehow connected to stories of murderers and demons in the past. The guide explicitly brought these into play as ways to be

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44  De Antoni 2013; De Antoni 2017a.
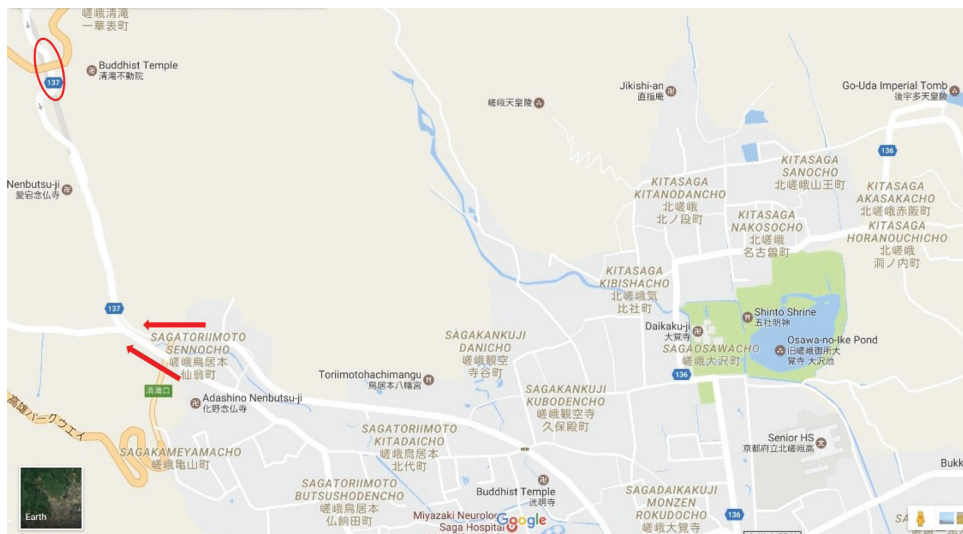45  Ōmagatoki 2016.
46  De Antoni 2013.

Figure 1. The area surrounding Kiyotaki Tunnel (encircled). Produced using Google Maps.

purified and protected during the tour. People tried to interact with ghosts, taking pictures of the places, looking for something weird, and, sometimes, someone even claimed they actually took some ghostly pictures. In some cases, ghosts interacted with people: sometimes one person, or a small group of participants, claimed that they heard lamenting voices that no one else had heard. Sometimes people would suddenly start feeling cold, or start crying, or screaming because something touched their shoulder, depending on the places. Kiyotaki Tunnel was one of the places where similar experiences happened.

### Placing Kiyotaki Tunnel

Kiyotaki Tunnel is a roughly five-hundred-meter-long tunnel, built in Ukyō-ku, Kyoto, in 1929. It was a part of the broader Atagosan Railway, a line that would bring people from Arashiyama to Kiyotaki station and, from there, to the top of Atago 愛宕 mountain with the use of a cable car. However, following a governmental designation of the line as "non-essential and non-urgent," it was dismantled in 1944. The rails were reused by the military industry, and the tunnel was reallocated for the use of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries for the production of airframes.[47]

At present, the tunnel is one of two possible routes to Kiyotaki directly from Kyoto. The other is a street that climbs up the neighboring mountain and arrives exactly at the opposite side of the tunnel; it is definitely a less practical option.

The closest suburban area is Saga-Toriimoto 嵯峨鳥居本, which encompasses residential neighborhoods, a street with some shops and restaurants, Buddhist temples, and a Shinto shrine named Toriimoto Hachimangū 鳥居本八幡宮. Although it is not far away from the touristic Arashiyama and Sagano Walk, the area sees a relatively low number of visitors and feels quite deserted.

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47  Maboroshi no tetsudō 2015.

There are two possible ways to reach the tunnel (see arrows in figure 1). One is from the shopping street. This road, however, is very narrow and does not allow cars to go easily through. Most cars and all buses (included the tour bus where I carried out fieldwork) reach the tunnel from the broader Route 137, a mountain street surrounded by woods on both sides, which alternate with small groups of houses.

Since the tunnel is very narrow there is only a single lane through it, and traffic lights are placed at both entrances, in order to prevent accidents. These traffic lights play a major role in creating experiences in the tunnel, as I will discuss below.

### "Meshworking" the Haunted Tunnel

Although Kiyotaki Tunnel is not the only haunted place in Kyoto, nor the only (haunted) tunnel, it is renowned as one of the most—if not *the* most—famous haunted places in Kyoto, and reported as such in specialized books, websites, and blogs. The tunnel's peculiarities are made clear in one of the books about haunted places in Kyoto:

> A place that competes for the first or second position among haunted places in Kyoto: the super-famous "Kiyotaki Tunnel" […]. Rather than rumors about actually "seeing" ghosts, one can often hear rumors that, by satisfying certain conditions, one can "(apparently) see" ghosts […]. People created the rumor that "when you arrive, if the traffic light that you see is red, you must not enter" […]. The reason seems to be as follows: "That traffic light is almost always red. If it is green, it is the sign that 'something' from inside the tunnel is calling you."[48]

The traffic lights placed at both entrances of the tunnel play a fundamental role in the construction of the haunting. Needless to say, during the tour we would wait until the traffic light became green. This tunnel was the last place on the route, and we would arrive there when the sun was down and the street was very dark. The bus would pull over next to the tunnel, so that visitors and the staff could walk to the entrance. We would stop and gather in a space on the left of the tunnel, and the guide would tell us the rumors about it.

We were only able to enter the tunnel twice because it was considered dangerous owing to traffic conditions. Yet, even when we could walk in it, the staff and guide would not go with us, choosing not to have anything to do with such an eerie place. They were not the only ones who refused to have a direct experience in the tunnel. Of the two times we entered, two tourists and one tourist respectively refused to participate. When I asked for explanations (they were paying six thousand yen, after all), they declared that they felt something weird (*okashii* おかしい), or that the atmosphere was too heavy (*kūki ga omosugiru* 空気が重過ぎる). Two of them told me that they were feeling some ghostly presence (*rei o kanjiru* 霊を感じる). Indeed, the second time we entered, two people claimed they heard a woman's voice.

These experiences were very much in line with rumors about the tunnel, which can be found on the internet and in magazines. Below, I have translated the first webpage that appeared in a Google search for "Kiyotaki Tunnel."[49] The webmaster carried out a simple

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48   Irie 2007, pp. 87–88.
49   *koto × koto KYOTO* 2017.

survey himself, and reported on the webpage the stories that he heard both from residents in the area around the tunnel, and from television programs:

1. If the traffic light is green when you arrive, you must not enter the tunnel, because you are being invited in by a ghost.
2. If you enter, something scary will happen. In case the traffic light is green, wait until it becomes red, then enter once the traffic light turns green again.
3. If you look at a mirror turned downwards on the Kiyotaki pass, you will see yourself dying, or, in the event that your image is not reflected, you will die soon.
4. The Kiyotaki pass is infested with the spirits of people that were killed on an ancient execution site.
5. In Kiyotaki one can hear a woman screaming/sutras being chanted.
6. The tunnel is longer when entered from the Kiyotaki side than it is from the Kyoto side.
7. When driving in the tunnel, a woman dressed in white robes falls on your bonnet.
8. [A] woman committed suicide in the tunnel thirty years ago after having being violently mistreated in the surrounding area. Her suicidal ghost [still haunts the tunnel].
9. The ghosts of the people who died in accidents when the tunnel was built appear.
10. The place around the tunnel/pass is famous for suicides, because there are many strong trees [from which to hang oneself].

This list includes all the rumors that I heard or read myself during fieldwork, including those that the guide, during the tour, reported to visitors.

An analysis of this list can shed some light on some aspects of the tunnel's construction as a "meshwork." In the first instance, as Irie (above) pointed out, much of the "haunting" of the tunnel revolves around what one is supposed to do or avoid when approaching. In this process, the traffic light becomes a fundamental actor. Points 1 and 2 in the list are directly related to this, while points 7 and 8 can be seen as consequences of points 1 and 2, namely the "something scary" that happens if one enters the tunnel when the traffic light is red. Point 9 might relate to this, although the agency of the people who died in the tunnel is not made explicit. Point 10 links suicides to the whole area and, consequently, could be seen as related to the suicidal woman mentioned in point 10. The screams/sutra chanting mentioned in point 5 are also related to this.

Needless to say, the historical truthfulness or untruthfulness of each rumor is totally irrelevant. For instance, I could not find any historical evidence of any execution site in the area, and all of the residents I interviewed denied that there have ever been any suicides in the area. I even asked the local police, but they were unaware of such incidents.

When I asked the tour guide about the genesis of these rumors, he replied that it is not known: "However, stories of women wearing a white kimono, who fall from above, are usual in places considered haunted […]. Since it is impossible to determine who started this rumour first, there are many possibilities that this is a case of appropriation of a different one."[50]

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50  Email communication on 15 June 2014.

As undefined as these rumors may be, it is clear that they produce a "translation" of Kiyotaki Tunnel and the surrounding area as haunted.[51] They mobilize certain determined humans (the woman, people who died in the tunnel, people who commited suicide or were executed) and nonhumans (the traffic light, the mirror, certain sounds, execution sites), and link them to the tunnel and the area. Thus, the tunnel is configured as related to the area in a "meshwork" of lines created by several different human and nonhuman actors; from it, the reality of the haunting emerges.

The role that rumors have in constituting haunted places by mobilizing certain actors and linking them to a specific place is not peculiar to Kiyotaki Tunnel.[52] The peculiarity of this case resides—in my view—in two points, which I will analyze in the next sections. The first is the experience in the tunnel, which is relevant to an analysis of affect in relation to materiality, and that shows the centrality of movement and affordances in the creation of the "meshwork." The second has to do with point 9 in the list above, and will focus on discourse, power, and forgetting.

**Moving Ghosts**

One of the peculiarities of the rumors regarding the tunnel is their nearly normative focus on stopping at the traffic light when it is red. Rationalist interpretations for this rumor related to the appearance of ghosts can be found in specialized books that focus on the physical properties of the tunnel:

> Kiyotaki Tunnel […] is extremely narrow, if compared to its five hundred meter length. Consequently, it has become a one-way alternating traffic road. Furthermore, since the time in which the traffic light is green is short, the probability of finding it green is low. The concern about a collision in the tunnel has probably become the psychological ground for the horror.[53]

Although the tunnel is probably no narrower than other (haunted) tunnels in Kyoto, it is longer and, above all, it is the only one that motorized vehicles can use, thus the only one in which serious accidents could happen. Possibly as a consequence of this risk, the time in which the traffic light is green (roughly thirty-eight seconds), was set as much shorter than the one in which it is red (roughly four minutes and five seconds). Arriving when the traffic light is already green and directly entering the tunnel would increase the possibility of a crash. This interpretation, on the one hand, proves that even people who are interested in ghosts and haunted places are perfectly able to apply rational scientific reasoning to these phenomena. Yet, on the other, it also shows that this kind of reasoning is not sufficient to explain fully "haunted experiences" in the tunnel. The people who were affected by the tunnel during the tour felt something before entering, that is, before they could realize the theoretical risk of being involved in a car crash.

A strong explanation for the experiences with ghosts in the tunnel is provided by rumor number six in the list above ("The tunnel is longer when entered from the Kiyotaki side

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51  Callon 1984; De Antoni 2011.
52  See De Antoni 2011.
53  Irie 2007, p. 88.

than it is from the Kyoto side"), because, in a certain sense, it is true. I calculated that the average time to go from the Kyoto entrance to the Kiyotaki one (roughly forty five seconds by car) was slightly shorter than the time to go through the tunnel in the opposite direction (roughly sixty seconds).

The reason for this is that the tunnel affects bodies that go through it. In fact, a very peculiar feature of this tunnel is that it bends in a point which is very close to the Kiyotaki exit and thus, when going through it from Kyoto, seeing the exit is impossible until nearly the end (figure 2). Consequently, people moving in the tunnel cannot understand whether someone is coming from the other side until they nearly reach the exit. Moreover, there is no way of knowing whether the traffic light has become green on the other side.

I went through the tunnel myself in both directions several times by bicycle, twice by bus and once by car. Although riding a bicycle would not have created any particularly dangerous situations—there was enough space for both bicycle and car—I always felt very uneasy, and pushed myself to ride faster, exactly because of the sense of having no control of the situation. Similarly, I noticed that the bus drivers tended to speed up while going through the tunnel.

From the perspective of the body-moving-in-the-tunnel, this creates another peculiar phenomenon, namely the sense of speeding up while running against a wall. Consequently, at least to a certain extent, this creates what experimental psychologists call "approach aversion effect": "Individuals feel less positively (or more negatively) about a stimulus if they perceive it to be approaching […]," thus showing that "the effect of movement is distinct from the effect of distance."[54] This does not happen in the opposite direction, because the street bends right after the entrance and, therefore, the exit becomes visible straight away, thus allowing a clearer vision of what is happening on the other side.

Moreover, inside the tunnel, the air is actually colder than outside, particularly during the summer, whereas it tends to be slightly warmer during the winter. The air is very damp and a light wind blows through it, thus—at times—actually providing the feeling of being lightly touched by something invisible. Furthermore, going through the tunnel is a very noisy experience: the sounds of engines echo and are amplified by the walls.

People who experienced the tunnel indicated these and other actors as more or less affective. For instance:

> When I actually tried to go, while I was waiting in my car at the traffic light, the atmosphere of Kiyotaki Tunnel was quite eerie. Since I went during the night, there were no cars coming from the other side and I felt that the time was quite long. The unusual single-lane tunnel with its peculiar and uncanny (*usukimi warui* 薄気味悪い) orange light shining, felt odd. Also, when I entered the tunnel, after the traffic light turned green, there were dirty water stains on the cracked walls and, since walls were on both sides, I had a weird sense of oppression. Then I walked through the tunnel and, although nothing happened, in that tunnel with wafting lukewarm air, the atmosphere feels like "There is something."[55]

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54  Hsee et al. 2014, p. 699.
55  Haunted Places 2017. Interestingly, in the last sentence (*nanika ga iru* 何かがいる), the author uses the verb indicating the presence of living beings (*iru* いる) associated with the subject "something" (*nanika* 何か).

Figure 2. Inside Kiyotaki Tunnel, from the Kyoto side. Photograph by author. Click on the picture to experience going through Kiyotaki Tunnel in your browser.

Such accounts clearly point at the centrality of bodily feelings in experiences in the tunnel. The experience of the body-moving-in-the-tunnel is fundamental to the creation of affects, which emerge in the correspondence between the body and the affordances of the environment. Affects that emerge by moving in the tunnel are experienced as a single and coherent perception that happens at once. There is no perceived difference between the feelings of oppression caused by the walls, the sense of uneasiness given by the bending street, and the "eeriness" related to the lights. They merge all together, in one single bodily feeling. A "decomposition" and classification of this feeling into separate sensory perceptions (for example, seeing the light, hearing sounds), or worded as emotions (for example, sense of oppression, eeriness, or even fear), by relying on scientific rationalist categories, is definitely possible from an analytical perspective. Yet, this does not happen from the viewpoint of experience, and can be done only *a posteriori*. Affect is not multiple when it is experienced.

Visitors' experiences in the tunnel need to be contextualized within the whole tour, where actors strategically chosen by the organizers—such as eerie sounds and closed curtains in the bus, and the purifying salt that was distributed to visitors at the beginning— are deployed in order to strengthen experiences and expectations of eeriness.[56] In spite of these strategies, some places included in the tour "betrayed" expectations, leaving visitors disappointed at the absence of a ghostly presence.[57] At the same time, as I pointed out above, the tunnel affected also the bodies of people unrelated to the tour, such as drivers or residents of the neighboring areas. Of course, among the residents, there were also people who did not feel anything eerie or "heavy"—not to mention "ghosts"—but they were a minority.

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56  See De Antoni 2011; De Antoni 2013.
57  De Antoni 2011.

It is evident that "affective correspondences" were an active, generative force in the mobilization and engagement of actors that moved together with the body, thus becoming part of the "affective meshwork." Through actual experience in the tunnel, people (including myself) started entangling other nonhumans (the light, the walls, the cracks and stains, the wafting air) into the meshwork as well, which reinforced the feeling of oppression and, in some cases, the sense that "there is something."

However, these bodily affects became possible exactly because of the material features of the tunnel, which intertwined with social practice (entering it and, therefore, moving through it). While approaching or entering it, the tunnel "forced" attention and imposed constraints on the infinite possibilities of affect that one could theoretically experience. The affordances of ghosts, then, emerged exactly from these entanglements of the bodily, the material, and the social.[58]

Consequently, the correspondence between bodies and the tunnel gave way to "affective meaning making" practices that, in a sociocultural context in which feeling a ghost is a possibility because of historical and political reasons, translated and were captured in the expression "there is something."[59] This paved the way, as I will show below, to the (re-)creation of rumors and the construction of new discourses, of new memories, and, consequently, of new power relations.

### Facing the Forgotten Fallen

The second peculiarity in the case of Kiyotaki Tunnel is the idea of the spirit falling down from the roof, which is unique in Kyoto. Yet, there exists a very famous similar case, that of Jōmon 常紋 Tunnel in Hokkaido, which proved to be historically grounded. This tunnel, built on the Sekihoku 石北 main line and opened in 1914, was also the center of rumors about ghosts falling from above. Rumors attributed this to the presence of a so-called "human pillar" (*hitobashira* 人柱). This term indicates the practice of carrying out human sacrifices by burying a person alive under or near large-scale buildings such as dams, bridges, or castles, as an offering to the gods, so that the building would not be destroyed by either natural disasters or enemy attacks. There is historical evidence that this practice was carried out at least as late as the sixteenth century and that, generally speaking, sacrificial victims would be chosen from among the lower and more discriminated strata of the population. Yet, in more recent years, the term *hitobashira* started to refer to forced laborers working under inhumane conditions who were buried alive; most of them, after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, were Koreans.[60]

In the case of the Jōmon Tunnel, the presence of the "human pillar" was considered as inherent to rumors about ghosts, not as historical "fact." Yet, the tunnel was damaged by an earthquake in 1968 and renovation work followed in 1970. When workers arrived at the tunnel, among the wall debris, they found human bones, including a damaged skull. This not only provided the rumor with historical evidence, but it also shed light on the treatment that Koreans laborers underwent.[61] Indeed, in Hokkaido, Koreans were indentured laborers

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58  Gibson 1979.
59  De Antoni 2015; Wetherell 2012.
60  Muguruma 2003.
61  Koike 1973.

employed under the so-called *takobeya* タコ部屋 system, which also involved Japanese from the lower and poorer strata of society, and was characterized by low pay, temporary jobs, and exploitative working conditions. In this system, burying alive those unfit to work, or the injured, was reportedly not uncommon.[62]

Because of the striking similarities with the rumors about Kiyotaki Tunnel, I started investigating whether there might here too have been historical connections with Korean laborers. The first reply that I received was from the abbot of Otagi Nenbutsuji 愛宕念仏寺, the temple adjacent to the tunnel. A male in his forties from Osaka, the abbot acknowledged not only the haunting, but also the possibility of a connection between Korean laborers and the tunnel, since "those were the times." He also revealed that he got to hear about this from an old lady in the neighborhood, who had passed away some years before, but that "no one talks about this anymore."

Subsequently, I had a long interview with the custodian of the Saga Toriimoto Center for Townscape Preservation (Saga Toriimoto Machinami Hozonkan 嵯峨鳥居本町並み保存館), a woman in her seventies, who had lived in the area since she was born:

> I: "Do you know since when the tunnel started to be considered haunted?"
> C: "I guess since the trains disappeared."
> I: "I see… And do you know the reasons why it is considered haunted?"
> C: "Digging the tunnel was difficult, you know."
> I: "What do you mean?"
> C: "It bends, right? It seems that there were many troubles in building it… many accidents."
> I: "I see. Do you think that the people who died there may have been so-called forced laborers?"
> C: "No, I think they were not. It was prewar, right?"

The woman acknowledged the presence of ghosts as related to dead laborers, but she denied the possibility that they were "forced." Indeed, the first law on forced labor was implemented in 1939, a long time after the tunnel's completion. This does not mean, however, that the history of the Kiyotaki Tunnel is unrelated to Korean labor. Moreover, as I will show in the next section, it was also a by-product of the history of tourism in Kyoto.

### Constructing Koreans in Kyoto[63]

Historical research on Kyoto has shed light on the presence of Koreans in the city, as well as on their living conditions. There is evidence of the presence of at least one Korean student in Kyoto around the beginning of the twentieth century and it is well-known that, since 1907, Koreans were employed in the construction of mountain railways.[64] During

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62  Achira 2016; Morris-Suzuki 2013b.

63  I am highly indebted to Tsukasaki Masayuki's 塚崎昌之 work in this section, which was first presented during a meeting at the Kyoto Research and Resource Centre on the Buraku Issue (Kyoto Buraku Mondai Kenkyū Shiryō Sentā 京都部落問題研究資料センター), and then published as an article in 2017. To my knowledge, this is the only publication providing such specific information about the working conditions of Korean laborers in Kyoto in the 1920s. Tsukasaki 2017.

64  Takano 2009, p. 187.

the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), both Japanese and Koreans were employed as construction workers, but the Japanese were mainly engineers and in managerial positions, whereas the workers directly involved in physical labor were Koreans. The hiring system was the so-called "construction camp" (*hanba* 飯場) system, based on prime contractors who hired subcontractors (mainly Japanese) who, in turn, employed Korean "construction camp heads" (*hanba gashira* 飯場頭), under whom other indentured Korean laborers worked. Being the poorest segment of the Kyoto population, Koreans accepted any jobs and any working conditions, though this was not strictly speaking "forced labor."[65]

Furthermore, the enthronement of the Showa emperor, scheduled to be held in Kyoto in November 1928, constituted an opportunity for construction, in order to prepare the city's infrastructure for the anticipated arrival of vast numbers of tourists from all over the country. Construction work started in 1926 and relied on a labor force comprising nearly all the 5,500 Koreans employed in public works at that time. Besides the development of the railway network, in these years the Kyoto City bus company also began operations, and Kyoto Station Hotel and a new annex for Kyoto Hotel were built. This made up approximately 1.1% of the whole national budget at the time.[66]

Several railways were built during this period in a massive effort to meet the deadline for the enthronement. The New Keihan (Shinkeihan) Railway (present-day Hankyū Railway, Kyoto main line and Arashiyama line), the Kyoto–Nara line (present-day Kintetsu), the Kurama Railway (present-day Eizan Railway, Kurama line), and a ropeway that leads to Hieizan—slightly different from the present-day one, re-laid after World War II—are some examples of the new infrastructure and possibilities for tourism that were created in those years. Among these were the Atagosan Railway and Kiyotaki Tunnel, which were meant to take tourists to Atago Shrine but were too late for the enthronement.[67]

Besides the huge number of people employed, the extremely harsh working conditions and the long working hours imposed on laborers, there was limited time for completion of the construction. This had another consequence: the recruitment of inexperienced and unskilled laborers.[68] This led to an increasing number of lethal accidents all over the construction quarters. Particularly from May to November 1928, the number of deaths rose exponentially: twenty Koreans died during those seven months, equivalent to the number of laborers who died in the whole of 1927. Yet, despite the harsh situation and the fact that traveling for Koreans had been severely limited since January 1927 in order to avoid incidents during the enthronement ceremony, the number of Koreans looking for jobs in Kyoto increased. In fact, from the end of 1927 to the end of 1928, the number of Koreans in Kyoto increased by 50 percent, from 11,100 to 16,700.[69]

Due to the difficult working environment, Korean laborers started organizing strikes and protests. A number of labor-related incidents occurred, such as struggles to get decent conditions in work camps, protests against the use of violence used to speed up work, or cases of unpaid salaries. These incidents, along with media reports that gave them complete coverage, while not always covering the cases involving deaths and the reasons

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65  Mizuno and Nakao 2007.
66  Tsukasaki 2017, p. 120.
67  Tsukasaki 2017. On the New Keihan Railway, see also Takano 2012.
68  Tsukasaki 2017. On the working conditions of Koreans in Kyoto, see also Takano 2009, pp. 103–32.
69  Tsukasaki 2017, p. 124.

for the protests, helped create an image of Koreans as "scary" and, in turn, fed existing discrimination. Indeed, "rather than the terrible crimes of the Japanese majority, the terrible crimes committed by the Korean minority" remained imprinted in local memory.[70]

One of the few historical references to a direct link between the Atagosan Railway and Korean laborers—an article in the Kyoto edition of the *Ōsaka Asahi* (1928)—reports on brawls resulting from the struggle for influence over the Korean working quarters at Atagosan Railway. In addition, the death of a Korean laborer due to a landslide was reported by the *Hinode shinbun* 日出新聞 on 9 September 1928.[71] Indeed, it seems that the ghosts in Kiyotaki Tunnel may be Koreans, though the local residents—and possibly even the ghosts that appear there—seem to have forgotten about this.

### Visiting the Forgetful Ghost

When I interviewed the residents in the neighborhood about the tunnel, everyone acknowledged it as haunted, but the only people who linked appearances of ghosts to dead laborers were the abbot and the custodian mentioned above. I could find only one more person, a male in his seventies, who mentioned the link when the tunnel was used as a factory. His narrative is reported on the website that lists rumors.[72] As the abbot told me, "no one talks about this anymore."

Younger residents also acknowledged that the tunnel had been haunted for a very long time, but they seemed not to know any possible reason for this, and even denied that there had been suicides:

1: I have no idea about when the tunnel started to be considered haunted although I have always heard it. It is not something like twenty or thirty years, it is more. However, I do not know the reason, there was nothing in particular. (Adashino Nenbutsuji, worker at the ticket office, female, late thirties)

2: I guess it started being considered haunted since it was not used for trains anymore… People started going through it on foot or by car, there were many accidents… But, no, nothing like one accident in particular… (Toriimoto, shopkeeper, female, late forties)

3: It has always been haunted. I used to hear the rumors even when I was in primary school, and I would go together with my classmates, just because it was creepy… However, I do not know why it is haunted. There is the rumor about the woman falling, right? I have no idea why: nothing in particular has ever happened. (Toriimoto, shopkeeper, male, late forties)

These interviews point to a direct relationship between residents' age and the associations they made between the tunnel and memories about the death of laborers. Consequently, it can be inferred that, although the deaths of the laborers may have provided a clear reason for the haunting, they have gradually been obliterated and forgotten in the locality. Moreover,

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70  Tsukasaki 2017, p. 122.

71  Quoted in Tsukasaki 2017, p. 137. Mizuno Naoki 水野直樹 from Kyoto University, one of the most renowned specialists in the history of Koreans in Kyoto, reports that carrying out historical research about the area of Kiyotaki Tunnel is extremely difficult due to a lack of sources (personal communication).

72  *koto × koto KYOTO* 2017.

even in cases in which people linked the tunnel to the death of workers, the fact that they were Koreans, and the issues related to discrimination, were not taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the tunnel continued to be considered haunted by younger generations, thus confirming my previous argument that "affective correspondences" with the tunnel and its affordances play a fundamental role in experiences with ghosts. In fact, the tunnel acquired a reputation as haunted when people began going through it, another confirmation that affective correspondences have been central in the haunting as an "affective meshwork" and visiting as an "affective practice." This centrality also proves that practices related to ghosts go well beyond cognition and belief: not knowing the reason why ghosts appear did not prevent the shopkeeper from experiencing ghastly presences.

Moreover, although the origin of the haunting itself was generally linked back to a period previous to World War II, the history of war was also inscribed in it. Since the tunnel was reallocated for the use of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries during the war, its connection with Korean laborers—this time no longer indentured, but legally "forced"—was kept. At the same time, this reallocation prevented locals from entering it and, consequently, being affected by it and its ghosts.

Yet, from when the tunnel was first acknowledged as haunted—in spite of the historical persistence of perceptions of ghosts—various actors have appropriated and manipulated rumors, memories, and historical narratives about past discrimination and suffering connected to the tunnel's past. Such narratives have been substituted with different and newer ones, if not obliterated as in the case of those of the local neighborhood. Thus, the "weapons of the weak" were silenced: discourses of discrimination and suffering have ended up annihilated and assimilated into the hegemonic discourse.[73]

Nonetheless, the tunnel started attracting translocal flows of "outsiders," affecting the bodies and perceptions of those who traversed it, involving them in new social practices, such as tourism or "courage testing." The affordances of ghosts that emerged from moving in the tunnel pushed people to investigate reasons for the haunting. These new practices carried out by "outsiders" have created the potential for "unearthing" or recreating the spirits of laborers, while returning them from the hole of forgetfulness in which they were buried by the locals, and reviving them to official history through the Internet. It is as if this hole—the tunnel—resisted the forgetting of its own makers, sending them back and voicing them through the bodies that move in it. Possibly, the tunnel will sooner or later release their Korean identity.

**The End of the Tunnel**

In this article, I have provided an analysis of the haunting of Kiyotaki Tunnel through an approach that links bodily perceptions, affective practices and correspondences, with processes of the creation of social memory and forgetfulness, hence with discourse and power relations. From a theoretical perspective, I have shown that the concept of affordance is a useful bridge between non-representational affect theory and an analysis focusing on processes of discourse production. Conversely, this focus on the generation of discourses as part of "affective meshworks" that emerge through practice and correspondence between the body and the (material) environment sheds light also on the relationship of power and

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73  Scott 1985.

memory, in particular, the asymmetric negotiations between different social groups that determine who is able to appropriate the memory of specific deaths and places.

This article has also highlighted one of the possible ways in which war history can be contested in contemporary Japan, as well as the complex intertwinements of "history wars."[74] Indeed, although there is no deterministic relationship between haunted places and war, and Kiyotaki Tunnel might be seen as part of a very small set of exceptions, this specific case has shown that its haunting can be understood only in relation to the broader war project. This long project involved the entanglement of ideologies of modernization and development—of Kyoto as a city, but also as Japan as a nation and empire—with the state, the emperor, and his enthronement. Such ideologies entangled with processes of tourism development, the construction of infrastructure, the subsequent mobility of the labor force and tourists, the capitalization of labor, and the escalation in military production that accompanied war.

Practices of discrimination and their relationship to the media also played a fundamental role in these entanglements. Nevertheless, from a discursive perspective, the ghosts in Kiyotaki Tunnel do not merely tell a story of Korean victims as opposed to Japanese perpetrators; they help narrate the haunting atrocities that ideologies and the capitalization of labor can create and support, reminding the people who sense the ghosts of the violence on which all modern nation-states and liberal democracies were built and rest.[75]

Even more importantly, this article has shown that a focus on tourism as an "affective practice" and on the creation of meshworks with affordances in specific environments, memories, and discourses can be useful for an understanding of the experiences of visitors to places related to war and death, beyond political and discursive aspects. This approach focusing on affective correspondence with the environment and on "affective meaning making" can help explain how tourists' experiences and practices can, in turn, actively shape discourses and places. Consequently, this approach can contribute to the study of war tourism and memory, that is, of how "history" and "heritage" are constructed through and influence practice; and, more broadly, it advances critical understanding of the controversial field of "dark tourism."

## Acknowledgements

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74  Morris-Suzuki 2013a; Seaton 2007.
75  Asad 2007.

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