The ‘Social Life’ of industrial ruins: a case study of Hashima Island

By Insoo Hong

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The ‘social life’ of industrial ruins: a case study of Hashima Island

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in African Studies with a specialisation in Heritage and Public Culture

Faculty of the Humanities University of Cape Town
2015
DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _______________________________       Date: ________________________________

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ABSTRACTION

The inscription of a strange-looking industrial site- coalmine on Hashima- on the World Heritage Site has proved to be the most publicly contested debate of heritage making work between Japan and Korea

The debate about this place brings up poignant questions with regard to not only the significance of this heritage, but also the subsequent use of this island. The failure of reconciliation between countries especially, but also of reparation, restitution since the end of the Second World War and the issues of identity and memory have been brought to the fore.

This paper seeks to challenge the dominant modes of heritage making and, in so doing, offer an analysis of influences from political, social and economic factors or an improved understanding of the dynamics of capitalistic production expansion. The origin and transformation of tradition is invoked in attempts to explain the pervasiveness and power of historical temporality and continuity. A critical approach to canonisation is employed whereby the choice of heritage resources is done in a more limited and cogent manner. It is argued that currently heritage-making functions as both value distribution and intentional perception for a people in a nation. Above all, the social life of those living in industrial ruins is positioned in the new perspective that as heritage resources they cannot be separated from capitalistic production and world history.

Following from this, it is said that the temporality and spatiality of ruins need a political, social and economic debate in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, negotiated and reconstructed constantly. Through employing these ideas, one can relate the thematic approach of heritage selection to commodification, collective memory, capitalism and nationalism in a theoretical and analytical way.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CG                        Computer Graphic
ICOMOS                   International Council on Monumental and Sites
KBS                      Korea Broadcasting System
NHK                      Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai
PBS                      Public Broadcasting System
TICCIH                   International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage
The Consortium - The Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi to Inscription on the World Heritage
UNESCO                   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHS                      World Heritage Site
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem statement

Hashima Island is one of the 505 uninhabited islands in Nagasaki Prefecture and is situated 17.5 km south-west of the Nagasaki peninsula. It forms a stark contrast with the verdant peaks of nearby islands as here there are only clusters of unpopulated high-rise buildings pressing up against a man-made sea wall, a battered shrine at the top of a steep rock cliff, and not a single tree in sight. As testament to this, a movie shot there in 1949 was entitled *The Greenless Island*. According to Burke-Gaffney (1996, p. 2), the island is nothing more than a rim of coal slag packed around bare rock with little indigenous vegetation (Burke-Gaffney1996, p.41). The island is also commonly called ‘Battleship Island’ because its appearance is similar to that of the battleship Tosa at sea.

The island was well-known for coal mining during the industrialisation of Japan when the whole island was developed into a coal mine facility by Mitsubishi Heavies Industry. Mitsubishi bought the island from the government in 1890 and began its project to extract coal from undersea mines. There once were many industrial facilities and residential buildings on this small island when between 2,700 and 2 800 people on average lived there. At the height of its prosperity in 1945, there were 5,300 residents. At 835 people per hectare, this was said to be the highest density ever recorded in the world. Workers and families lived in high-rise apartments and the only house on the island belonged to the manager (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 40). The entire workforce resided within the island’s 6.3 hectare confines, living in this first high-rise housing project in the country (Rowsdower 2011, p. 7). In 1916 a reinforced concrete apartment block was built on the island, which was the first sizable concrete building in Japan. This was followed by other high-rise buildings.
In effect, Mitsubishi owned the island and everything on it, and ran it as a benevolent dictatorship. There was job security for workers as well as free housing, electricity and water but residents had to take turns to clean and maintain public facilities (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p.41). Owing to the geographical isolation, the community was completely dependent on the outside world for food, clothing and other staples. Even fresh water had to be carried to the island until pipes along the sea floor connected it to mainland reservoirs in 1957 (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 41).

**Figure 1:** Hashima Island in the late nineteenth century, prior to the major reclamations from the sea

(Source: courtesy Nagasaki Prefectural Library)

**Figure 2:** The battleship ‘Tosa’(1922)

(Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>)

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In 1974 Mitsubishi closed the plant down because oil had taken the place of coal as an energy resource, and then the island’s only inhabitants became some legendary cats that could not be caught (Burke-Gaffney1996, p. 33). In 2008, some decades after its abandonment, the island drew renewed attention as it was nominated as an UNESCO modern industrial heritage site. Consequently, the Nagasaki Municipal Government started to restore the island’s structures long battered by years of typhoons and waves (Kawamoto, 2009). In 2009, Hashima was tentatively placed on the list of World Heritage Sites. In other words, the Japanese government recommended the listing of the 28 individual component parts with UNESCO under the title *The Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution*. These sites included old coal mines, steel works, shipyards and other industrial facilities (Koehler, 2013).

The nominated properties are then a ‘serial nomination’ representing a group of 11 sites located in eight areas. As an entity it represents the first successful transfer of
industrialization from the West to a non-Western nation from the 1850s to 1910. The site of Takashima coal mine consists of two component parts: Takashima coal mine and Hashima coal mine (Okada 2014). According to the convention on *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Sites* (2012), serial component parts should be connected with regard to cultural, social or functional aspects such as landscape, ecology, evolution or habitat (see section 137).

When considering the character of serial sites, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is assigned to evaluate proposed world heritage properties by using thematic studies. This approach is taken to avoid fragmentation and to improve coherence among component parts (see section 137). It primarily depends upon a process of classification that historians do not usually employ – theme. Although theme seems important, historians normally devote themselves to establishing a building or site by telling a rich, evocative and complex story about it; not by classifying it under a perceived theme (Davison 2008). Nevertheless it can be argued that thematic treatment can be conceptually and practically of service to heritage-making as long as it is not taken too seriously or adhered to too rigidly. For example, provided a coherent story and significance in history are included, and an unbalanced concentration or duplication and endless antique collecting are less emphasised.

The Japanese government has suggested that the theme is an exceptional example of the first historical transfer, adoption and adaptation of industrialization from the West to a non-Western nation (global value). Thus in the case of ‘serial nomination’, it is significant to select sites which have a suitable ‘storyline’ to meet criteria for nomination and which are manageable and coherent. However, in this dissertation this approach will be strongly refuted and the study will provide answers to research questions that demonstrate how
capitalistic production (‘commodity-making’) infiltrates into heritage making and the past is re-written for seemingly continuous social transformation in the present.

The map below (Figure 4) illustrates the historical contribution of places on the candidate list in terms of geopolitical formation when the area is considered for WHS selection. Hashima, near Nagasaki city, is positioned to be ascribed to meaning and significance in context this dissertation. Tradition – historical exchanges between the East and West - already existed in the region before 19th century. This foundational experience enabled Japan to perform the Meiji Revolution voluntarily.

**Figure 4: Modern industrial heritage route map, showing Nagasaki city**

![Map of Japan showing Nagasaki and surrounding areas](http://www.kyuyama.jp/e/kyushuyamaguchi/map.htm)

Hashima Island is a contested historical place, both in terms of a proposed industrial heritage site and because of the different views of the Japanese and Korean states about the island. This contestation around history and heritage is the result of Hashima being important in three periods of rapid, national and historical transformations: the Meiji-era
industrialisation/modernisation; the colonial and decolonizing era pre- and post-1945; and the late twentieth century era of economic decline (Lavery, Dixon, Fearnley & Pendleton, 2014, p. 6). The situation is more complicated if one sees there are also different ideas and views of historical occurrences between Japan, America and East Asian countries. For example, among others, the extreme focus on the American victory in the Pacific in the end of the Second World War since 1945 has eclipsed the Asian contribution to history; namely, the defeat of Imperial Japan which helped bring justice for the crimes that had been committed during the war through colonisation by the former imperial Japanese government against other Asian peoples. Nevertheless, the American view has also helped put the war more easily out of mind for Japanese interests (John 2000, p. 27).

In the submission for World Heritage Sites, the ‘Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value’ made by the Japanese government must be described. The focus on Hashima Island was given to reflect the importance of how the unique interchange of Eastern and Western culture, particularly the openness to Western technology, gave rise to the rapid industrialisation of Japan between 1850 and 1910. This laid the foundation for a global economic power and represents a significant stage in world history and development (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 2009). In this way it can be seen that the identification and preservation of objects and spaces as Japanese heritage takes place through and by virtue of the fact that they fit into the framework of the Japanese experience of modernity (Lavery et al. 2014, p. 6). However, this contrasts with the views of the Korean people in the colonial period pre-1945 who regarded Hashima Island not with pride, but with shame. At the coal mine, which was then called a ‘prison island’, Koreans were forced to work for 12 hours a day in pits 1,000 metres under water. A total of 122 Koreans died there, including those who were drowned while trying to escape. In addition, the workers suffered from malnutrition while being forced to work under dangerous and unhygienic conditions (Koehler. 2013).
An insightful documentary film called *Meiji Revolution* about Japanese ordinary workers in the Meiji period portrays what life was like in Hashima. The following is an extract from the film:

**Peter Coyote (narrator):** Conditions were even more severe in heavy industry sectors like coalmining. The worst of these is Hashima, “Battleship Island”. It lies four miles from Nagasaki harbour. Japan’s modernisation could cost “ghostly” [nickname for Hashima Island] well. During the Meiji, [period] Battleship Island was a Mitsubishi coal mine. It was surrounded by high wall[s] and meant to keep [the] sea out. The small island is choked with scores [of] dormitories formerly filled with prisoners, outcasts and poor farmers. Their quarters were called “assmall”: dark cells that were built to house entire families.

**Mikio Sumiya (Japan Institute of Labours):** It was hell. Many people tried to escape but they could not because it was an island. Records shows that people were caught trying to leave the island. They met horrible ends.

**Peter Coyote (narrator):** Around 1890 newspaper accounts alleged that miners were murdered by bosses when they were caught trying to escape … Battleship Island. Inside coal pits temperature[s] rose to 30 degrees. Men and women worked nearly naked crawling in tunnel[s] too low to allow them to stand. When a cholera epidemic broke out, Mitsubishi burned out all the victims dead or alive.

**Figure 5: Japanese prisoners and coalminers in Hashima during the Meiji period**
These two previously unknown stories show that the meaning, experiences and memories associated with the past (including the material past) may be varied and contested. Without giving deep thought to the past, something becomes heritage through cultural and political production. In other words, the past is permeated with contemporary political, social and discursive meanings (Kenny 2011, p. 93). Consequently, South Korea’s foreign ministry protested against Tokyo’s move, by saying that listing a facility that a neighbouring country associates with pain violates the principles and spirit of being a World Heritage Site (Koehler 2013). To some extent this illustrates that the thematic approach fails to contain diverse voices and other memories in the public interest that contribute to consolidating the selected and universal storyline. In this process, the intervention of political, social and
economic powers is anticipated in selecting a full significance when ascribing meanings to 
places.

Iwanmoto – Counsellor in the Japanese Cabinet Secretariat – rejected the comment by 
arguing that post-1910 remains do not contribute to the ‘outstanding universal value’ of the 
sites of Japan’s Meiji industrial revolution but that the Japanese government wished only to 
conserve the remains of post-1910 products facilities and post-1910 residential buildings 
because they hold their own inherent historical value (Iwamoto 2014). This argument is 
strongly concerned with the ascription of a certain value on material objects. That is to say, 
people need heritage objects for operative reification.

Han (2012) puts forward the view that places associated with dramatic experiences evoke 
strong reactions in any given observer. This idea can trigger a chain of intense memories 
among people when those with different experiences associate them with opposing 
experiences and meanings. Accordingly, the present generation in Japan and Korea may 
inherit the legacy that the older generation failed to go further with – that of not achieving a 
historically proper reconciliation with respect to a social memory. In terms of the dangers of 
such ‘historical amnesia’ (John 2000, p. 28) states the following:

Above all, the pre-occupation with Japan’s own misery helps to illuminate 
the ways in which victim consciousness colours the identities that all groups 
and peoples build for themselves. Therefore historical amnesia in relation to 
war crimes has naturally taken particular forms in Japan, but the patterns of 
remembering and forgetting are most meaningful when seen in the broadly 
political, social and economic context of public memory and myth-making 
generally -, issues that have deservedly come to attract great attention in 
recent years
1.2 Research questions

Generally speaking it can surely be accepted that the people in power can influence the heritage-making process in favour of their political, economic and social interests. The mode of heritage-making is like a mental map or diagram that shows how types of power link together in a systematic manner which can result in a specific form of power apparatus. Far from being neutral, the work of the power apparatus is intended to achieve particular goals: a state of organisation of social life; divorcing issues from politics; the linking of countries and communities to world economies in specific ways and the transformation of local cultures in line with modern global standards and orientations (Escobar 1997, p. 503).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) also notes that the way in which heritage is funded may not only affect the appraisal of the heritage but it may even contribute to the creation of the heritage. Valorisation is the process whereby value is officially assigned to something. This can be done by means of awards or plaques or by assigning values other than economic to something. In a sense therefore all heritages are created (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, p. 191). To be more specific, uses for potential heritages are foreseen and the interests of different actors in society, politics and economy are often seen to be promoted. These interests are sometimes the motivation for the nomination and selection of certain sites. This can also be seen by the urgency with which certain aspects or segments of culture are treated. These hidden motivations should be identified (Bendix 2009, p. 259) and having examined them, this researcher can say that it is true that the excessive attention to improvement of their ‘exchange value’, so to speak, or the extension of commoditisation, makes it difficult to make sense of the attempted ascribed meanings that the heritage practitioners made or did properly. It is highly probable, on this point, that heritage is engaged with political, social and economic interests.

The key question of this research then is:
Why was the Hashima coal mine included in the industrial heritage sites selected for the designation as World Heritage sites by the Japanese government?

The above question is broken down and dealt with through a series of sub-questions as follows:

1. What kind of values, among others, are emphasised in the production of heritage?
2. For what/whom does heritage exist?
3. What makes it possible for heritage to become a commodity?
4. How does heritage affect personal and collective memory?
5. What kinds of results in individual life are expected to take place after making heritage and memory a commodity?
6. How can heritage resources be re-assembled?
7. Why are conflicting values and changing authenticity essential in the understanding of nationalism, capitalism and heritage as a commodity?

Karl Polanyi (2001) gives insightful explanations into the realities of ongoing commodity-making in terms of what kind of future we humans face. He points out that a fully self-regulating market economy requires that human beings and the natural environment be turned into commodities. He thinks that the outcome will be destructive outcomes to both society and the environment (Polanyi 2001, p. xxv). In this regard, while this researcher considers these research questions, it is expected that factors that facilitate commodity-making will be somewhat clarified ahead. Furthermore the aim of this dissertation is to gain insight into relevant issues surrounding heritage formation and to address problems in a complex society within or across national boundaries. It is hoped that this then will lead to
an understanding of how the construction of new traditions hinders social change in many different fields. Then one can perhaps learn important clues as to how it can be addressed.

1.3 Methodology

In terms of the discipline of history, if weak stakeholders usually fail to go through compromise or mediate their interests, the ‘represented’ past or history in favour of the strong may unfavourably bind them with chains and then it might be difficult to change strongly fixed perceptions. Even if perceptions weaken temporally, there is high probability that some strong resilient features will revive among other stakeholders.

Methodologically, the ‘detective’ approach has brought about transformative changes in the discipline of anthropology. The most obvious is what Marcus and Fisheher (cited in Cheung 2003) elaborate as the internal critiques of anthropology which emerged in the 1960s. These include a shift of interest in anthropological analysis away from behaviour and social structure towards the study of symbols, meanings, and mentality. Consequently, it is now recognised that fieldwork is no longer the exclusive method of ethnographic research but that a broader view of history and politics is becoming more important (Cheung2003, p. 15). This study adopts these ideas as foundational to identify which of the various meanings in the Hashima Island site are taken and incorporated for the official heritage-making project there. In particular, this study will examine typical photographs that have been considered, disseminated and promoted to indicate what was authentic about Hashima Island. A critical review of articles, photographs, video clips and newspapers were an important method of this enquiry. Above all, when it comes to heritage-making for Hashima Island, documentary films are given credit for their contribution to the understanding of historical, political, social and economic background in Japan. In particular, documentary films with different interpretations and emphasis in terms of a series of historical events make one understand why controversies occur and what dominant meanings are ascribed to canonical heritage.
These broad views for research serve to access and identify the values, significance and meanings which ought to be adopted to meet the primary need of the present. Use is also made of the model of heritage-making as (see Figure 8 below). Furthermore interpretation is important for a specific heritage production typical of capitalist production. It is necessary to pay special attention to this point because it makes it possible to identify what authenticity is to be promoted and consumed by the tourism industry since the general perception has been subordinated to it. Today, there are many private and public websites, blogs (including photo books) that hold rare and precious photographs of the historical records which can facilitate our interest. A selection of a few of them were used in this research. However, most of them came from tourist leaflets which Nagasaki city have produced and they have been examined as the research set a target on analysing official interpretations.

Originally the various approaches to this research were drawn up, but interviews with relevant persons fell through because the topic quickly turned into serious political debates on issues between Japan and Korea. The researcher’s nationality may have influenced this failure. However, later the researcher was fortunate to have useful feedback from a Japanese national living in Cape Town.
CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To facilitate an understanding of this paper, and thus as an introduction to the questions themselves, it will be necessary to examine the historical background that the thematic approach adopts in the process of the heritage site nomination. It is hoped that through this study one can appreciate that there have been various voices and meanings in the past.

2.1 Historical trajectory of the Nagasaki region: Kyushu and Yamauchi

History, that is, the occurrences of the past, fulfils a number of functions, one of which is shaping socio-cultural place identities in order to support particular state structures (Aplin 2002, p.15). At this point, particular moments from history become as if they were part of the present (Riegl 1996, p.77). From the outset that these moments become monuments in their own right it gives them a purpose in history - to keep them perpetually alive and present in the consciousness of future generations (Riegl 1996, p. 77). With these considerations in mind, this chapter will review historical characteristics to understand which primary facts or possibilities for heritage-making have existed in the region. Of course, the purpose of this examination is to elaborate the main features of heritage resources. Then one can understand the purposes of certain state structures.

Historically, the Nagasaki region was a very important area linking the West and Japan. This was done with the permission of local authorities under strict and far-reaching control by the central government. After the arrival of the first Portuguese traders in Japan and the introduction of guns in 1543, the daimyo (feudal lords) in various parts of the country began to welcome the Portuguese ships into their areas to promote trade and in some cases to introduce Christianity (Earn & Burke-Gaffney 1997).
However, experience with the Portuguese missionaries underlined Christianity as a fundamental threat to Japanese society. For instance, the Shimabara Rebellion, a Christian uprising near Nagasaki in 1637, increased the central government’s fears of the influence of Christianity and the Portuguese. The Tokugawa government finally expelled all Portuguese from Japan in 1639, thus enforcing a policy of national isolation and leaving Dejima Island (off Nagasaki) empty (Earn & Burke-Gaffney 1997). Thereafter, contact with foreigners was cruelly suppressed. Later, local authorities did allow a small community of Dutch nationals to settle on Dejima Island (Smith, 2012, p. 209), where they could trade with carefully selected Japanese. Accordingly, Nagasaki became a small window to the West and enabled Western knowledge to slowly infiltrate into Japan (Smith, 2012, p. 180).

In 1854 the Japanese government signed a trade pact with the United States, and this was followed soon after by trade pacts with Russia, Great Britain and France (Earn & Burke-Gaffney 1997). Eventually the port of Nagasaki with Yokohama and Hakodate were opened to foreign trade, and these rapidly grew to become thriving communities. Customs houses, warehouses, waterfront dockyards and residences in the new foreign settlements rose almost overnight (Smith 2012, p. 239).

Such social challenges and turbulences were enough to provide justification for the struggle of power in the central government. When the 200-year-old peaceful politics of the Tokugawa came to an end, samurais in the region of the Satsuma and Choshu domain took political power. At the end of 1868, in response to military weakness on the part of the shogunate, they started an imperial restoration. In this they were also supported by samurais from other domains (Varley 2000, p. 237). The shogunate and vassals were compelled to submit to the rule of the newly inaugurated young emperor whose regime later came to be

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1 In the wake of the Matsukura clan’s construction of a new castle at Shimabar, taxes was drastically raised, which provoked anger from local peasants and ronin (samurai without masters). Religious persecution of the local Catholics exacerbated the discontents, which turned into open revolt in 1637.
known as the ‘Meiji’ (Smith, 2012, p. 256). After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the new Meiji rulers made use of the national symbols of the emperor to justify their authority across the physical terrain. So although they constituted a radical new government, they took advantage of the old symbols. This meant that the emperor’s theoretical absolute powers were exercised in his name by appointed officials (Kelman 2001, p. 34). Accordingly there was continuity of the important institutional and cultural forms (Inkster 2010, p. 291) compared to previous regimes.

The foundations for some of the great fortunes of Japan were laid in the early Meiji period, when the government, after nationalising and developing industries such as shipbuilding, mining, railroads, electricity and silk and cotton mills, then sold them to merchant contractors, who operated them as independent enterprises. This is how the Mitsubishi, Mitsui and Sumitomo fortunes were founded and how the great Zaibatsu organisations were born. These corporations grew rapidly into powerful industrial combines largely because of tight family control, the general economic growth of the country and the demand for consumer goods especially when Japan prospered after the war with China (Smith, 2012, p. 267). Mitsubishi, then one of powerful industrial combines, was the most important Zaibatsu involved in wartime production in Japan. As a private company, it was contracted by the Japanese government to build one of the country’s most important warplanes, ‘the Zero’², and it had major manufacturing plants that produced munitions and military vehicles. Mitsubishi owned and maintained shipyards in Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama and Shimonoseki, which built 22% of all Japanese naval tonnage from 1941 to 1945, therefore they were the most important part of the company’s industrial empire (Palmer 2006, p. 337).

² The Zero were long-range fighter aircraft. Hayao Mizaki produced an animation entitled When the Wind Rises (2013) which this researcher viewed and noticed that the name of its manufacturer (Mitsubishi Materials) purposefully often appeared on the scene.
One ought to take note of Thomas B. Glover (1838-1911) who worked as manager in the Hashima coal mine. He was one of the major importers of Western technology and the ‘Glover garden’\(^3\) tourist attraction in Nagasaki city is named after him. He was also awarded the ‘Order of the Rising Sun’ by the emperor in 1908 in recognition of his achievements. In 1861 he founded Glover Trading Co. (Guraba-shokei) which traded in ships and weapons with the rebellious clans, Satsuma and Chosu in Kyushu and the Tosa from Shikoku. Strictly speaking, however, as these people were all rebelling against the Togukawa government of the shogunate, Glover was trading illegally - even treasonably - as Britain and the shogunate had signed a peace treaty in 1858 (Gardner 2011).

The challenges that Japan faced then at the national level can be clearly seen in the following discussions which are part of the documentary film *Meiji Revolution*.

**Peter Coyote (narrator):** Government modernised too fast and tried to do everything themselves. The state built factories, boats and warships. It suddenly ran out money. At this point the Japanese government came up with one of the best solutions of all time. It decided to subcontract these constructions to the private sector. This is how Zaibatsu came about. At Nagasaki harbour, Mitsubishi was one of the private companies to form the kind of close relationship with the government that continues to lead to prosperity. In the 1880s Mitsubishi was just a small shipping company in a primitive industry. The government wanted Japan to build its own modern ships but did not want to pay for the construction. The government solution was to subsidise companies like Mitsubishi until it could pay for the new ships.

\(^3\) It was occupied by his family and on business. It comprises Victorian style buildings and gardens. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries donated the buildings to the City of Nagasaki in 1957. It is one of the best ten attractive destinations given on the internet site of Nagasaki city.
Kuniko Inoguchi (Sophia University, Tokyo): Bureaucracies tried to co-opt the business sector. They tamed the companies and then used them in [the] national interest.

Frank Gibney (author *The pacific century*): This is [an] early version of what in the US [is] called the military-industrial complex. Their achievements were national ones but their properties were private properties. That was exactly the case in America. The achievement of Lockheed, General Dynamics and North America Rockwell are national achievements but any profits they made were private profits. That is exactly what the Japanese pioneered in 1880s.

The leaders of the Meiji Revolution were mostly samurais from the domains of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen. Therefore from the beginning, the Satsuma (from the island of Kyushu) and the Choshu men formed a separate clique because these two domains had been important during the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate. They also dominated the new government (Varley 2000, p. 244) and so these oligarchs were able to retain firm control of the Japanese executive after the opening of the first Diet in 1890. Party members in the House of Representatives soon found that they could not participate significantly in the important decisions of Japan. The oligarchs formed an extra-legal body known as the Genre of Elders, consisting at first entirely of the highest Satsuma and Choshu leaders in government. It was they who selected the prime ministers and continued to dominate the affairs of state (Varley 2000, p. 246).

Much of the country’s industry and commerce was also controlled by a small number of financial combines or Zaibatsu, whose managing families were associated through marriage and other ties with leading members of the Japanese bureaucracy and political parties (Varley 2000, p. 274). On the other hand, many of the samurais became entrepreneurs and capitalists and had little contact with townsfolk and commoners. Although there were selective adoptions into noble families, this was unlike what happened in Europe during the Industrial Revolution and eighteenth century Europe (Inkster 2010, p. 293).
At the national level the proposed statement of Outstanding Universal Value (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 2009) says that after clashes with Western naval forces during the bombardments of Shimonoseki and Kagoshima, Japan earnestly began an active importation of technology from Britain and the Netherlands by making use of the Nagasaki area. This led to the construction of the Nagasaki iron works and the Shuseikan industrial complex in Kagasaki as well as Western-style shipyards in Nagasaki and coal mines using steam engines in Hashima Island and Mike mine; and it is these sites that have been nominated as World Heritage Sites. In terms of Japan’s argument for the necessity of keeping her national security intact against outside threats, it can be said that a political and economic transformation were a natural step.

The history of Mitsubishi and Glover’s contribution to Mitsubishi’s development through his friendship with company founders (http://www.mitsubishi.com/e/history/series/Thomas) is portrayed as follows. Glover forged friendships with Mitsubishi founders Yataro Iwasaki and Yataro’s brother, Yanosuke, the organisation’s second president. The eldest Iwasaki represented the Tosa clan in Nagasaki and he was in the market for ships and armaments for his clan and Glover was the premier broker of those items in Nagasaki. In addition, Yataro turned frequently to his foreign friend for support and advice as Mitsubishi grew. Glover’s knowledge and understanding of international business was invaluable to Mitsubishi, where he was an advisor for 40 years⁴ (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Glover (seated second from the left) befriended Mitsubishi leaders, including Yanosuke Iwasaki (on Glover’s left)

⁴ The pamphlet of Nagasaki city mentions that he helped members of Satsuma clan to study in Britain. One such person was Ito Hirobumi who studied at University of London and wrote the first Japanese Constitution.
In terms of the old caste system the samurais were at the top of the social order as if by
divine right, and they later also managed the new businesses. This legacy remains to this day,
as the former upper classes do in Britain.(Gardner 2011).

It is clear from the above developments that Nagasaki included Kyushu and Yamauchi as a
kind of place identity was used to construct state structures. Overall, at the national level this
development bears testimony to a stable change and continuity over time and makes it
possible to select candidate sites in response to the criteria of successful series nomination
for the WHS. On the other hand, at the regional level in the East Asia imperial ruins or
legacy category (namely, railways, coalmines, production facilities, buildings and so
on) some local significance and meanings are lost as they are incorporated into world history
and civilization development that Japan seeks to retain.
2.2 History of Hashima coal mine and modernisation

Hashima coalmine is located on Hashima Island 2km southwest of Takashima Island. The Takashima coal mine and the Hashima coal mine actually extract coal from the same coal seam (Iwamoto2014). Takashima Island was part of the feudal domain of the Fukahori family, a branch of the Nabeshima clan of the present-day Saga Prefecture. When they saw what profits were to be made from the coal trade, the Fukahori family usurped the management rights, assigned the roles of subcontractors and labourers to the islanders, and coal became one of the pillars of the local economy (Burke-Gaffney1996, p. 34). When industrialization developed with the invention of the steam engine coal became important as fuel for steam machines. It was then that Hashima’s coal made a great contribution to Japan’s modernisation. As it was close to Nagasaki port, and the only door to the West for two centuries, the island could easily introduce Western technologies when Japan opened up. The full-scale development of coal mining began in 1870 and by 1890 the Mitsubishi conglomerate began full-scale extraction (Shimbun 2014). Mitsubishi then started to tap the coal resources under the seabed, successfully sinking a 119 metre-long vertical shaft in 1895 and still another shaft in 1898. The company also utilised the slag from the mine to carry out a series of land reclamations, thereby creating flat space for industrial facilities and dormitories (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 35).

Experience gained during the operation of the Takashima coalfield, including Takashima and Hashima, laid the foundation of modern coal mining in Japan. Subsequently this knowledge spread to Miik and elsewhere in Japan and Asia. When studying the Takashima and Hashima coal mines, it is possible to see the chronological development of industry and technology (Iwamoto 2014). However it does depend upon one’s point of view which would exclude someone else’s.
In the 1890s, the workers and inhabitants of Hashima Island were mostly convicts sentenced to terms of hard labour. It was not until after the Korean War (1950-1953) when Japan’s industries flourished that the community on Hashima thrived (Flagg 2014, p.54). For this reason, memories of post-1945 are pivotal in interpreting the burgeoning economy of the region and the privileged prosperity for the individuals in the island. The stories, pictures and ruins in public and private sectors are primary concerned with this period but the social history of pre-1945 does not constitute any of the public memories on Hashima Island.

After the world market crashed in 1923 and more dramatically again in 1930, Japan abandoned its unproductive policy of cooperation with the Western powers and started to act independently and forcefully in foreign affairs (Varley 2000, p 296). In May 1932 a group of young naval offices assassinated the prime minister, and with dramatic swiftness the era of democratic-party governments came to an end in Japan. The two major parties continued to win Diet elections until they were dissolved in 1940 in the name of national unity, but military men or those who cooperated with them became prime ministers from 1932 onwards. In Japan this era is regarded as the era of Fascism that led to the Pacific War (Varley 2000, p. 299).

From 1937 there was extensive conscription in Japan during the war between China and Japan. In order to fight the war Japan needed all its human and material resources. Of course military troops were important but it was also important that there were workers who could help produce munitions and fuel and so in 1938 Japan enacted a martial law concerning the mobilisation of human resources and material. This also meant that, until its defeat in 1945, the government had the power to force the colonised Korean people to work wherever it was necessary to address the shortage of labour (Yun 2012, p. 16). At first the Japanese government used deception to recruit labour, but by 1940 it openly compelled people into labour. There were full-scale forced labour roundups, euphemistically labelled ‘conscription’,
which to a large extent replaced voluntary labour. This labour policy was perceived as kidnapping by most Koreans who did not wish to collaborate with the Japanese authorities (Palmer 2006, p. 338). By the same token, the inflow of Korean people into Hashima Island continued to increase after 1937. The number reached a peak in 1945 (Yun, 2012, p. 16) while Hashima’s annual coal production reached a peak of 410 000 tons in 1941. But it was an achievement that exacted a heavy toll in human suffering. While Japanese youth disappeared onto the battlefields of China, Southeast Asia and the Pacific, the Japanese government forcibly recruited large numbers of Korean and Chinese nationals to fill the empty places in its factories and mines and many of these men perished as a result of the harsh conditions and starvation (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 38).

Between 1925 and 1945 a total of 800 Koreans were sent to Hashima Island and forced to work 12 hours a day in tunnels up to 1000 metres under the sea. The hard labour killed 122 of them. A survey report states that of the 92 deaths of the Koreans over 17, twenty-eight (30%) were due to disease (such as pneumonia and asthma), thirteen (14%) to injury (such as contusion and fracture), and seventeen (18.5%) either suffocated or were crushed to death after being buried by accident (Yoo, 2014).

The following testimonies from a KBS documentary film (Conversation with the Past, 2010) by former workers plainly show these were truths:

**Japanese former worker:** Ordinary people in Japan avoided approaching Hashima because it was known as “Hell Island”. During the Meiji Restoration, criminals worked there. Korean miners worked one kilometre underground where it was the most dangerous (KBS, 2010).

**Korean former worker 1:** I am sure that this place (Hashima coal mine) was the infernal region for us. A person only could leave here as a corpse or by becoming deformed (KBS, 2010).
Korean former worker 2): Mosquitoes attacked us every day in dormitory. We suffered cramps after work because of malnutrition. The cruel realities were worse than death. We would kill ourselves if we had to stay there for more than a year. We just ate food and worked there. We never got any salary there. They gave me 10 yen when I left there for Korea (KBS, 2010).

Japanese local historian 1: If a miner asked for sick leave, the manager wondered if he was slow and lazy and questioned where the pain was located. He beat the affected part until the miner accepted going back to work (KBS, 2010).

Although Koreans and Japanese worked together, with some Koreans performing basic manual labour and others skilled work, there were separate living quarters for the Koreans. Koreans lived and worked under brutal conditions, with company police punishing any violations of the rules with beatings, sometimes using a metal bar. Koreans were confined to dormitory facilities when not on their jobs and were only allowed two holidays a month - if permission was granted - and then their leader was required to follow them (Palmer 2006, p. 340). There was also a rigid hierarchy of social classes with regard to the allocation of apartments. Unmarried miners and employees of subcontracting companies occupied the old one-room apartments; married Mitsubishi workers and their families were allocated apartments with two six-mattress rooms but shared toilets, kitchens and baths; high-ranking office personnel and teachers were given two-bedroom apartments with kitchens and flush toilets. The manager of Mitsubishi Hashima Coal Mine could reside in the only private, wood-constructed residence on the island - a house located symbolically at the summit of Hashima’s original rock (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 40).

Furthermore, companies never gave employees cash when it was wage day. They deducted most of the money from workers’ wage by listing items in the statement of salary. This manipulation could add to the internal reserves of the company (KBS, 2010: Japanese local historian 2). This allegation was verified when a major 1993 NHK television documentary
tracked the trajectory of this money and found that it had been diverted through Japanese government agencies into secret bank accounts (Palmer2006, p. 339). If considered in terms of Japan’s modern history it is obvious that Japan’s success and prosperity was in part built on aggression, exploitation, militarism, employer system fascism, and discrimination. Consequently, it can be said that the history of the Korean and Chinese labourers in the Hashima mines were part of the dark side of Japan’s prosperity (Yoo 2014).

According to McManamon (2000, p.17) one is apt to call history ‘communion’, but it actually is heritage. The distinction is vital. History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; like in this case where heritage clarifies the past so as to infuse them with present purposes (Myers 2004, p. 463).
CHAPTER 3: THE JAPANESE STATE AND THE INVENTION OF TRADITION

This chapter will explore for whom and what heritage making has been constructed. Continuity cannot be possible without strengthening or replacing dominant tradition. Meanwhile nationhood, in other words, secularized social order, changes the way it looks through traditions. Unique industrialization in Japan enabled the country to strengthen its historical nationhood.

According to Jokilehto (2006, p. 7):

Culture in itself involves both continuity and change, and traditional handing down of know-how and skills would often mean some change while at the same time building up and keeping its cultural identity. In extreme cases, such change could lead to the falsification or even extinction of cultural traditions. It may be thus not be by chance that traditions and betrayal have the same origin. The question is whether a tradition has kept the essence established through continuity in time and what the rate of change and the limits tolerable is without losing its values.

3.1 Japanese Culture: Zen Buddhism

According to Edward Said (cited in Abu-Lughod 1991, p.144), race and culture are often considered to be one and it is accepted that people from the East and the West are very different, almost as if this difference is inborn. In the twentieth century, cultural differences - not race - have become the basic subject of Oriental scholarship and basic differences in development, economic performance, government, character, and so forth are attributed to this disparity (Abu-Lughod 1991, p. 144). Such simple cultural generalizations are very powerful and continue to affect our way of thinking and people continue to believe in them even if they are no longer necessary (Sen 2004, p. 8). In addition, such discourse is placed in the vortex of heritage-making and is dominated by the state. Accordingly discussions about making culture more governable and creating self-reflexive governmental systems are present in all the analysed documentsof the UNESCO Convention text. This can be seen in
the definition of stakeholders and their positions; affirming the positions of states and
international instruments and practices for the use of power over culture. There are attempts
to improve public sector strategic and management capacities in cultural public sector
institutions through professional and international cultural exchanges and the sharing of best
practices (Pyykkonen 2012, p. 549).

World heritage lies at the centre of such a dispute. It is not only a type of ‘universalising
grammar’ that changes local perceptions and realities but also a translocal, transnational
project. This discourse entails categorisation and selection. This has the effect of mapping
the world and selecting sites for conservation in terms of immutable categories such as
civilisation, culture and tradition which are indeed the key paradigms reflected in
UNESCO’s pronouncements and conventions Askew (2010, p. 29). Experts actively produce
and negotiate these regimes of value, thus mediating the authenticity of specific objects
(Johnes 2010, p. 182). Japan is not exception to this trend. Having culture as a core value
without considering process and temporality is equal to culture being the mysterious
commodity form in its relationship to value and exchange. This critique turns into economic
wellbeing replacing political accountability, attaching cultural essence to the realisation of
successful performance as a natural partnership. Accordingly, in these terms, it is important
to represent a reified past and its identity with the present in a dimension of figuring the now
as a temporally marked presentation or a showing of itself (Harootunian 2009, p. 108).
When the presentation is properly under the way, traditions of culture are very rarely thought
of as heritage unless there is uncertainty, risk, a perception of threat, or the need to compete
for attention with other interests that are seen to be detrimental to them (Harrison 2013, p.
20). When civilisation, culture and tradition in a nation state do not correspond to the
‘universalizing grammar’ set by UNESCO, it may turn out as not having them from the
point of view of heritage experts and inspectors dispatched from the West. As a result, the
heritage concept is problematic and mixed up with the politics of empowerment not only
when it is used to mask and defuse social differences, but also when it is used to highlight invented traditions and selected values. This is the case in two respects: firstly by emphasising intergenerational and family ties of property and belief, and secondly as the heritage concept enforces continuity of the past (Kaufman 1998, p. 64).

Japan accepted a type of modernity and Westernisation from the Meiji era through to the early 1920s. But by the late 1930s, Japan considered uncontaminated culture to be more important and in urgent need of protection because cultural purity was perceived as being lost. Therefore many felt justified in using militant forms of political and cultural action to preserve Japan against the threat of external pollution (Cornyetz 2009, p. 337).

Kawabata saw his art as springing from the native literary tradition rather than from the essentially Western ideas of Neoperceptism. He speaks for example of ‘haikyo’ and ‘waka’-those arts of suggestion and evocation, reversal and juxtaposition, so typical of the East (Varley 2000, p. 299). When Kawabata accepted his Nobel Prize, Zen Buddhism in particular signified something quite different from what it had before the twentieth century and had become the favoured vessel for aesthetic-ontic constellation. With Japan’s modernity, the meaning of Zen shifted from an institutionalized religious practice by a dominant aristocratic military minority to a subjectively individual, yet culturally communal, ontology available to the masses and linked to nationalism (Cornyetz 2009, p. 333). To be specific, the tea ceremony, monochrome painting and landscape gardening came to be regarded as part of the distinctive ‘Zen culture’ of Muro-machi Japan. All the arts of the middle and late medieval age were governed by aesthetic tastes - such as simplicity, restraint and a liking for the weathered, imperfect and austere. These are not exclusively Zen in origin, but are associated with the Zen attitude (Varley 2000, p. 139).

In practice Japanese Zen establishments, both the Five Mountain and the Rinka, owe much of their success to the strict discipline of their monks and their teaching of traditional virtues,
especially loyalty to one lord. While warriors, court officials and merchants disliked and criticised Zen monks for this (Belford 2009, p. 31), Japan successfully drew its cultural essence from Zen Buddhism corresponding to the demand of modernity, the tea ceremony, monochrome painting and landscape gardening.

3.2 Nationhood: secularized social order

According to Anderson (1991, p. 81), the eighteenth century in Europe was not only the dawn of the age of nationalism but the dusk of religious modes of thought. The century of the Enlightenment, of rationalist secularism, brought with it its own modern darkness. With the ebbing of religious belief, something else was sought to provide a feeling of continuity and few things are better suited to this end than an idea of nation. So nationalism was born. To this end, it was sometimes necessary to invent a united and collective past either by semi-fiction or by forgery (Labadi, S. (2007, p. 161). The concern with sincerity is a product of the breakdown of feudalism, with its taken-for-granted, cosmically defined social order. This breakdown brought about social mobility and urbanisation and meant that people were no longer quite sure where they belonged, what the future held for them, or who their neighbours were (Johnes 2010, p. 187). This chaotic disarray occurred in conjunction with a new assemblage of symbols, meanings and mentality. It was then that something secular emerged as a primary value replacing spiritual, cosmic and religious values - social mobility and urbanisation which ran counter to religion.

According to Anderson (1991, p. 9), regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in practice, the nation should be always seen as a deep ‘horizontal’ comradeship regardless of all classes. It may be said with safety that in Japan there were attempts to take charge of all aspects of economic, political and cultural life and to unite ‘the masses’ in an attitude of reverence for one quasi-divine figure (in this case, the emperor) (Tansman, 2009,
In the words of Varley (2000, p. 297) ‘Japan became a sacred land, ruled by a godlike emperor’. Its citizens were the members of a great family headed by him and they were expected to serve the state with loyalty and not to ask questions.

Japan is well-known for its religious diversity. It is easy to see all kinds of shrines everywhere. The shrines are local and their objects of worship range from natural phenomena and deified heroes, to local spirits. How to unify this diversity and thus produce a national sentiment was a problem for ‘State Shinto’. The solution was to give all the shrines a patriotic meaning through a focus on the emperor (Hardacre, 2006, p.124). The term State Shinto describes the state’s financial support of and selective ideological appropriation of Shinto in the modern period, from the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912) until it was dissolved by the Allied Occupation with the ‘Shinto Directive’ of 1945. However, the issue of the state’s endorsement of and the prime minister’s engagement in religious practices at Shinto shrines has remained a subject of great political controversy until only recently (Hardacre 2006, p. 117).

After end of the Cold War, Japan was forced to experience a wider and more complicated view of itself in the world. Despite the relevant neglect of its war-memory and repression of its neighbours, Japan was assigned to address its own political and economic agenda in Asia (Gluck 2006, p. 580). However, to follow Fukuzwa Yukichi’s famous formulation, unfortunately Japanese behaviour seems always to result in the pattern of ‘Escape from Asia. Enter Europe’. On the other hand, Japanese identity cannot be mentioned without a focus on the Emperor (Nezar 2001, p. 2). Nationhood needs to be associated with a separate and independent entity based on a united and collective past and something almost equivalent to a religious and cosmic social order. Therefore, there was on-going recognition of the

5 Allied Occupation stopped any involvement from government with respect to Shinto.
superiority of Japan because it was a land uncontaminated by foreign powers and where there was unquestionable loyalty to the emperor.

3.3 The invention of tradition

I am strongly sure that when material objects or distinctive behaviours should be selected for heritage making, continuity is important criteria corresponding to power relations. In this point heritage making may function as reflecting dramatic change. However this case rarely happens to us.

An excerpt from a summary of the submission for Nomination to the World Heritage List (2015) from the Office of the Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi reads as follows:

Many nations depend on heritage preservation, the invention of tradition, and the rewriting of history as forms of self-definition. Indeed the events of the last decade have created a dramatically altered global order that requires a new understanding of the role of tradition and heritage in making of social space and the shaping of cityform. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Japan achieved rapid industrialization. This successful industrialization was achieved in just a little over 50 years without colonization and on Japan’s own terms. The nominated property is testimony to this unique phase in world history.

According to General Principles and Strategic Framework for Conservation and Management, Glover House and Office is not listed as a candidate for nomination, is listed and addressed as part of whole management plan together with Nagasaki Shipyard and Takashima coal mine, being considered as city landscape (Excerpt from the Summary of Nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage List, 2015).
In fact it has been long time since political leaders launched this kind of pre-emptive action over history. After the unification of Japan (1603) following a chaotic civil war, the Tokugawa was determined to prevent the kind of social upheaval that had made possible the careers of men like Dosan and Hideyoshi. Therefore, he instituted a rigid status system among warriors. This system prescribed rules for all manner of things, including style of residence, type of clothing, from of transportation, size of retinue, value of gifts given and received, and even in the case of daimyos, seating positions at the shogun’s court in Edo Castle. This was intended to lock all samurai into place on a social hierarchy so that no one could leave his place (Varley 2000, p. 169). However, this tradition was destined to lose its resilience when the Tokugawa regime was in overall crisis, in particular during full-scale contact with the West – which began with the United States. This was to facilitate the end of its regime.

At the very beginning of the Meiji period, the cry of ‘Expel the barbarians!’ was a short-lived one. Meiji leaders may have continued to harbour personal animosities toward the West, particularly for forcing Japan to accede to unequal treaties but they were, by and large, pragmatic men who respected the material superiority of the West and wished to follow their example by undertaking modernisation (Varley 2000, p. 169). They had by then realised that Japan could not attain the mission without modernising itself, but the leaders had to shelve other plans for the time being. The Reformers, also samurai, took the West as their model and there was much talk of enlightenment (Dower et al., p. 11). This new government was intent on improving the economy of the country and building up its military strength. Foreign experts in transportation, defence, agriculture and industry were employed and their progressive methods carefully studied and adopted. Social reform was considered important and compulsory education was introduced by the end of the Meiji period; attendance in schools stood at 99% (Smith, 2012, p. 259). Hundreds of trade

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6 They all grew to one of the highest daimyos (military generals) from the lowest classes.
associations were also established under government auspices after 1883. The intention was to control product quality but they soon emerged as regional technological extension centres (Inkster 2010, p.302). However, the Meiji government in its critical education policy, decided to introduce a social ideology derived mainly from the Shino-Confucian concepts (‘traditional’) that had evolved as a new orthodoxy of thought in the late Tokugawa period. This closed its earlier flirtation with the ideals of Western liberalism and democracy. Morality was once again to be based on hierarchical virtues like loyalty and filial piety. The ultimate object of devotion for all Japanese citizens was to be the throne (Varley 2000, p. 246). In the Meiji constitution of 1889, the centrality of the emperor to the nation and state is still made clear. The emperor is not only the ruler, but the symbol of continuity stretching back beyond the modern nation-state to the time of the world’s creation (Kelman 2001, p. 34).

The new leaders of Japan were attracted - in the face of the reckless, unsettling modernisation - to traditional (in fact largely newly invented) national values. These included the ideas of Yamato dasshahii (Japanese soul or spirit) and datsua (literally escape from Asia; the Meiji era policy of Westernisation that drew on a sense of ethnic superiority not shared by other Asians - in the same way British Imperialists believed none shared theirs). This was a dangerous incendiary cocktail which could be manipulated and which was to be ignited by twentieth century militarists (Gardner 2011).

The fact that the Meiji state emerged as an imperialist power was conjured up by a catchphrase from the mid-1880s. People were called upon to discard backward traditions under the rubric ‘throwing off Asia’ and forcing Japan’s Asian neighbours to do the same if they proved incapable of modernising on their own (Dower et al, 2012, p. 11). The writing of new stories (traditions) may be invested with evocative and future-oriented messages. The types of relations among industry, government and people were codified as
‘traditional’ and were accepted as ‘cultural’. In effect, according to Hobshaw (2000, p. 3) such traditions are often invented during a time of great change when old traditions are no longer applicable or when they have become inflexible. People feel safer if they think they are following ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawn 2000, p. 3).

Accordingly, some see culture as a set of material objects and distinctive behaviours. When this interpretation of culture is inserted into developmental thinking, it promotes the orientation of culturally distinctive products and services on the market (Racliffe 2006, p. 234). There are many actors involved in such culture, many of them differently positioned in power relations, political economies, and social reproduction (Racliffe 2006, p. 16). Tradition can be seen as something which is invented to serve the interests of certain people (Bendix 2009, p. 254). Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition. This automatically implies continuity with the past. Of course, people seeking to enforce these traditions select only suitable incidents or aspects of the past (Hobsbawn 2000, p. 1).

According to Hutton (cited in Barthel-Boundier & Min Hui 2007, p. 4) there is an interaction between repetition and recollection that is key to any consideration of the relationship between history and memory. He defines repetition as continuing to allow images of the past to shape our present understanding in unreflective ways. These memories are like habits of mind that are readily associated with collective memories. Recollections, by contrast, involve the conscious, selective reconstruction of the past (Barthel-Boundier & Min Hui. 2007, p. 4). At this point, the study of colonial ruination affords much insight and shows how new traditions are saturated with continuity and momentum for the benefit of the present. Therefore identifying the ruins of empire serves less to emphasise the artefacts of empire as dead matter or remnants of a defunct regime
than to attend to their re-appropriations and strategic and active positioning within the politics of the present (Stoler 2008, p. 196).

The Japanese government participated in the international fairs of Vienna in 1873 and of Philadelphia in 1876 and then felt the need for a trade show of its own. The emphasis was on industry, as the promoters of the fairs hoped to show that Japan’s craftsmen and industrial designers could produce Western-style goods as well as traditional Japanese items (Smith 2012, p. 273). By 1910 Japan was being mentioned as the ‘England of the East’ and this was celebrated in a magnificent exhibition in London: the Japan/British Exhibition, which attracted eight million visitors in three months and gave Japan the opportunity to show off its national treasures and also the exhibits from its colonies. This followed a long tradition of exhibitions in Britain where its colonies had their own pavilions (Smith 2012, p. 217). The exhibition on Korea included a display of porcelain, metalwork, armour, and bows and arrows, as well as agricultural products and implements that Japan introduced into Korea. The exhibition also coincided with the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty in 1910, which confirmed Japanese rule in Korea.

Figure 7: The entrance gate of the Korean Section (1910, British-Japan Exhibition).

(Source: Library, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)
As an example of rationalisations made by empires during that period, the official report 
(The Official Report: Japan British Exhibition, 1910) on the Exhibition emphasised the 
good work Japan had done for Korea as follows:

She has awakened Korea out of her long sleep, and improved her country 
and the condition of her people. She has built roads, established industries, 
and introduced improved agricultural methods (The Official Report: Japan 
British Exhibition 1910, p. 288).

When one looks at the political and cultural context of the Japan-British exhibition, it is 
clear that the agricultural models were intended as more than curiosities. Instead, they 
were symbolic of a technologically modern, expanding empire, in a way that British 
visitors would recognise as typical of the British Empire.

The Japanese Government provided the following arguments to prove that they meet the 
criteria set out in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage 
Convention (WHC, 08/01. January 2008).

Japan did some trial and error experimentation which led to the importation 
of western technology. The following factors were significant in attaining the 
skills needed for the rapid and successful modernisation: cooperation 
between clan leaders and elite, Japan-based foreign entrepreneurs in the 
application of this technology to local circumstances; knowledge transfer 
from foreign commissioning engineers in key imports; and the overseas, and 
local, training of Japanese specialists (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 
2009).

Nation formation in Japan meant catching up with the West while remaining independent of 
the colonial powers. The Meiji oligarchs were able to define modernity in a way that helped 
to make their position synonymous with the strength of the nation while being seen as the 
facilitators of progress (Kelman 2001, p. 35). What is interesting about the national narratives 
is that they are often one-sided, often chronological and have a sense of a fixed, static, 
historical truth, about them. It is as if the perceived development from the past to today is
natural, and that the present-day is an inevitable culmination of this process. In fact this is an illusion (Wollentz 2014, p. 10). Following the higher agenda, ordinary people were physically and psychologically forced to be mobilised and assigned to their tasks. These tasks were in the interests of transformation. They might think that they could die at the battlefield for national interest and the national collapse would be identical to an individual one. The main purpose of celebrating traditions is to make certain groups such as nations, ethnic groups, or classes feel superior to other such social units. Therefore traditions and heritage are given an ancient, even timeless aura, even though they are actually often fairly recent and conscious creations (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 4).

In the nomination dossier for the promotion of the modern industrial heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi for world heritage status (2015) the Japanese government claimed that the natural transformation from the past to the present came into being as follows:

In the course of the industrialization a distinct form of industrial culture was developed and survives to this day. The moulding of the industrialization of a nation by a cultural tradition, and the survival of that tradition after modernization adds to the human experience of a major in world history. Companies founded this period still retain the industrial cultural traditions that echo those of Japan itself, an exceptional testimony to the strength of a cultural tradition in the face of unprecedented social, technological and economic change (The Office of the Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi to inscription on the World Heritage, 2015).

Enough has been said to demonstrate that culture and tradition were never born without important engagement with political, economic, and social aspects and that they are always in the interest of present needs during times of great transformation. It is not an overstatement to say that modernity does not destroy ‘tradition’ but reproduces it with developmental thinking. It is suffice to say that heritage needs tradition.
CHAPTER 4: MAKING HERITAGE A COMMODITY

A few of heritage objects and memories are destined to be selected and be assembled with others. Social, relational patterns are ascribed to heritage objects and memories corresponding to a thematic approach. Every value is treated as a commodity but never equally.

Authentic ruins, at least those that existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, seem to have no place in late capitalism’s culture of commodity and memory. Commodities in general do not age well. They become obsolete and are thrown out or recycled (Huyssen 2010, p. 19).

4.1 The challenged heritage-making model

According to Shepherd (2008, p. 122) heritage is usually associated with deep archives of memory and practices. In this concept, heritage involves essential or core identities and modes of being that should be preserved and commemorated (Shepherd 2008, p. 122). An example is ethnographic maps that display the spatial distribution of peoples, tribes and cultures. Space itself becomes a kind of neutral grid on which ‘cultural difference, historical memory and social organisation are written or carved’ (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, p. 7). Indeed it is important to create a class of things that can be viewed as the greatest expressions, or highpoints of culture. This task leads, in turn, to narratives about the set of values that are seen to be the most worthy of preservation. In this sense, the heritage list is rather like a list of the best literary or art works. The list is also compiled by experts who are sanctioned by the state (Harrison 2009, p. 15) because new nation-states fought for legitimacy during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the struggle, people began to speak of national heritage as that body of folk memory and political ideas on which the new regimes founded their identity (Davison 2008, p. 31).
According to this historical interpretation, heritage is one of the few areas of national life in which it is possible to speak of the common good without provoking suspicion of party interests. The notions of ancestry and posterity can be discussed without unexpected embarrassment or arousing suspicion (Samel 2008, p. 276). There must be a process of selection and display, and meaning must be ascribed to the objects concerned. As Dicks (cited in Watson & Waterton, 2010) puts it, heritage is part of a growing new culture of display in which a variety of different sites are transformed into tourist attractions (Watson & Waterton, 2010). According to George (2010, p. 299):

Current uses retain this original reference to loss. Nostalgia should not be equated with bereavement or the loss of a loved person, however; it is better defined as the sense of having lost an entire socio-historical context and the identification that accompany it, and the related desire to re-experience that social past.

In Japan it has been claimed that cultural properties should be used for development and it is not possible to protect cultural properties in the long term without an economically and socially viable community. At the same time the rhetoric about various benefits from culture has assumed increasing significance. Kakluchi (2014, p. 8) has asserted that it is desirable to find ways to further link social and economic values with cultural values. That is to say, heritage preservation is not a special aspect of society solely for the sake of culture but rather an integral part of community development (Kakluchi 2014, p. 10). This is one of the ways in which a nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory. Just as individuals and families construct their identities in part by telling stories about incidents which took place in their pasts, so nations construct identities by selecting high points and memorable achievements, incorporating them into an unfolding national story (Harrison (2008, p. 179). Therefore the purpose of preserving some relics from the
past is not merely to preserve but to use the memories in the present: its use determines (and in that sense creates) resource rather than being a subsequent action for something already preserved (Ashworth 2011, p. 10). During the process all kinds of extra meanings are likely to be conferred on objects and they become symbols of complex intercultural and interpersonal political circumstances (Meyers 2004, p. 204). Actually what is important to recognise here is that there is not really any formal change in the nature of the object itself (although with time, there might be some change relating to the way in which it becomes managed as a piece of official heritage). From this point, this study will argue that whether something is recognised as official or unofficial, heritage is simply a matter of definition. There is not really any real difference in the intrinsic quality of the object, place or practice (Harrison 2013, p. 18).

For such reasons, heritage itself is a dynamic process which involves competition over whose version will be accepted. This selection has moral and legal implications (Harrison 2013, p. 8). Naturally this is accompanied by the potential for conflicts because some memories will be excluded from being named during the process (Bendix 2009, p. 253).

A close reading of texts reveals that heritage resources must be assembled for integral community development. In this overall perspective, their uses are determined in accordance with ‘social’ demand and collective social memory is subsequently mediated to correspond to new tradition. To understand that framework in regard to a series of events, one needs to consider the relationship between resources and destinations (see Figure 8).

**Figure 8:** A model of heritage production
The model in Figure 8 above is an industrial resemblance in that there is an assumption of an industrial or assembly resource-product-consumption system, strongly influenced by marketing science in its description of the nature of a set of relationships. The important point for producers is that not only are different materials combined to create a product and that (but also equally) quite different products for quite different markets can be created from the same raw materials by varying the interpretation process (Turnbridge & Ashworth 1996). Heavy emphasis is given in this volume to the indirect consequences of such ways of social life. Heritage is seen as an important element in the marketing of places, not only to attract tourists but also to help in the recreation of the identities of cities and regions which see new, post-industrial futures and compete for foreign investment and the location of business enterprises or even government or supra-government agencies (for instance, European Union institutions). In this context, heritage sites particularly world heritage sites play multiple roles: they are extremely effective symbols of cultural vibrancy that help to create a certain image of a place or region, while also functioning as economic development resources for tourism and the attraction of business investment (Labadi & Long 2010, p. 8).
As a result, culture is valuable because it can be turned into a commodity which benefits socio-economic development (Pyykkonen 2012, p. 555).

In this sense, modern interpretation practice that uses a thematic approach needs to be on target with the choice of certain themes for sites and how these are nuanced. Scholars should be involved to draw out the specifics of sites but the conversion of scholarly details into more engaging approaches does not solve the problem of who the user of interpretation is likely to be (Mackeller & West 2010, p. 176). Unfortunately this debate has attracted little attention as an object of critical thinking because much of the discussion around recent culture and development treats culture as an important commodity, in other words, as a resource (Racliffe 2006, p. 233). Although values are subjective and exposed to changes in time and the particular cultural, intellectual, historical and psychological frames of reference held by specific groups (Labadi 2007, p. 148) heritage experts tend to employ an anthropological understanding of culture as embracing both values and objects (or places). This point of the view has taken on renewed importance in the past few years. It has been suggested that heritage is valued in a myriad of different ways, by a myriad different people and institutions with different world-views and epistemologies.

Values-centred theory unavoidably leads practitioners to inquire and consult widely when performing research on place and formulating plans for them. Nevertheless participation – acknowledged widely as important for contemporary preservation practice – is part and parcel of the values-centred model for preservation (Mason 2006, p. 31). It is not unreasonable to postulate that the rest of the experts are reduced to passive spectatorship of the final aesthetic product. In addition, total restoration seems to reproduce an architectural notion of design as a process restricted to professionals (Otero-Pailo, Gaiger & West 2010, p. 75). Accordingly, as Mason (2006, p. 31) affirms,
[t]he phenomenological experiences of those humans from the past who walked, exploited and gave meaning to that space that is, who did all those things that made that space a place for them are gone. The architectural remains then have lost their previous functions and meanings, their human aspects, but new ones await them thanks to the work of professional academics. Now there is this historical moment for this context from this.

Despite this critique, the dominant focus of heritage experts seems to admit that the production of heritage decision-making is a process entirely based on cultural values. ‘The internationally recognized Burra Charter’ recommends that heritage be evaluated according to the criteria of aesthetic, historic, scientific and social significance (Wain 2011, p. 5). The charter provides considerable insight into policies and practices. Before working out this aspect of epistemology, the discipline’s very distinguished Pearson and Sullivan (1995, p. 168) accept that there is no such thing as an objective assessment of significance and a true interpretation of the past. We only tend to behave and believe so. Only

[g]ood interpretive practice prescribes that all significance elements of the place are available and perceptible to visitors. This does not mean that it is necessary to stress all elements equally but it does mean that a balance must be struck between the use of historic themes on a regional basis and the particular significance of the place (Pearson & Sullivan 1995, p. 296).

Figure 9: Diagram outline of the value-centred conservation process advocated by Australia’s ICOMOS.
According to an interview and field survey on Hashima conducted by Goth, Mori, Sakamoto and Kojima (2003, p. 61), the following values constitute its significance.

1. The oldest reinforced concrete building was built in 1916. That is more than 90 years ago. And it has been not touched for more than 30 years since 1974. To comprehend this natural deterioration of reinforced concrete, it will be a big clue to consider what the present buildings will be in 90 years later from now in different aspects such as sea wind effect (Scientific value).
2. Hashima has been preserved as an entity, including employer’s residence, commercial facilities and entertainment. The island is a unique mining heritage (Historic value).

The Consortium for the Promotion of the Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi (The Consortium)\(^7\) based its claim for outstanding Universal Value on the criteria described in sections (ii) and (iv)\(^8\).

When the focus is on the physical authenticity of heritage objects (as in the case of Hashima Island), new meanings and values can be ascribed to them (Cesari 2010, p. 307). Meanwhile, the data on location and archaeology are situated within stand-alone meaning that can be separated from other aspects of significance for a place (Byrne 2008, p. 159). Generally speaking, places are converted from being a memory into being an historical record and artefact. This may not be the case for the inhabitants of those communities close to those sites for whom the heritage may mean something different altogether (Uzzell 1998, p. 3). An actual object or item becomes detached from the total network of social relations in which a person’s specific form of access to a specific item in the surrounding world is generally embedded (v. Binsbergen 2005, p. 37). Indeed heritage functions as a product to be bought and sold in a market place; it has become a commodity.

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\(^7\) It is composed of relevant local government (8 prefecture and 11 cities) and observers (4 cities). It is available to current processes and documents of conferences, related data and papers are available on its internet site.

\(^8\) ‘(ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design…

(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of buildings, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates a significant stage(s) in human history (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2012:20)’.

The heritages can be reviewed mainly for their scientific value at <http://www.kyuyama.jp/e/action/a02.html>.
Actually it is more accurate to say that it is the experience of the heritage site that is the commodity which is marketed (Aplin 2002, p. 56). Notably, heritage objects can become symbols or icons for a community and possibly one section of the community at the expense of others. Furthermore, they may help people form mental maps of a series of areas to get their bearings and feel at home (Aplin 2002, p. 122).

For all the reasons mentioned previously, this researcher is convinced that the specific and general mode of its production tends to make heritage all around the world relatively similar, with the focus being economic. It is important to remember that the list of values is not meant to be an all-inclusive or exhaustive list but instead represents the typical kinds of values that experts have commonly encountered in association with historic places (Wells 2010, p. 3). This mode is shaped by a capitalist and nationalist worldview associated with both colonial and bourgeois hegemonies; heritage becomes a matter of civilisation and distinction. This mode also leads to a modernist conceptualisation of the past as a dead thing separated from us by the break of modernity; as a commodity with owners and therefore non-owners. It also belongs to a specialised scientific discipline and becomes a domain monopolised by the state (Cesari 2010, p. 309). This is affirmed by Julia (2010, p. 196) who states:

> In effect this shift from an eschatological predetermination to an open space of possibility inaugurated a new approach to the temporalization of events and the practice of writing history. History is no longer the collecting of knowledge but becomes the charting of progress, the destruction of development, advancement and evolution of time.

As the case of Hashima coal mine, Zen Buddhism and Nationhood as tradition can be confirmed and associated with the successful achievement of modernisation and industrialization in the East-Asian region without colonisation being mentioned. Because the main emphasis is on scientific and historic value, one is not conscious of the destructive power which comes from these things. That is to say that the use of partial aesthetics of
historical actualities should be taken warning. For example, a usual task of conservation is to turn warehouse walls into townscape: derricks and cranes into obelisks; and alleys into picturesque lanes. It is said that backward objects are changed into visually appealing objects and subjects of study are changed into objects of desire. In this way, the ‘dark satanic mills’ alter when they are exhibited as historical monuments or reassembled in picturesque settings (Samel, 2008, p. 285). This approach makes the decisions of the custodians easier; they can side-step difficult distinctions between high and low, or popular and elite forms (Davison 2008, p. 32). Heritage, therefore, needs tourism, just as it needs political support. It is this that creates many of the contradictions that have led to the critiques of the heritage industry relating to issues of authenticity, historical accuracy and access (Harrison 2009, p. 20).

The truth is that values can be neither protected nor preserved. In the context of heritage, values are a vaguely shared set of intangible concepts that simply emerge from and exist in the communal public consciousness. Any attempts to institutionalise or freeze them permanently are in fact impossible in the long term. Even if it were possible, it would be tantamount to social engineering or even ideological propaganda of a single opinion at a moment in time (Araoz 2011, p. 58). Barbara Appelbaum (cited in Wain 2011, p.7) points out those conservationists have a responsibility to stakeholders other than the owner. This idea is based on the notion that the objects we treat have value to people other than the legal owner. They have a duty to speak on behalf of people who have no voice in the decision-making process and who may value very different aspects of the heritage in question.

With the prospect of a new project, the MitsubishiCompany, through its development wing has been able to acquire public funding to help with expenses such as waste removal and building infrastructure. Moreover the project promises a large tourist trade, with great economic potential for the company and the city (Cameron 2000, p. 71) Watts (2006, p. 49) recalls Karl Polanyi stating that the markets cannot create social order; but indeed they can
colonise and ultimately destroy it. Certainly the market has destroyed the social character of
three foundational but fictitious commodities (land, labour and money). Abrams (cited in
Cameron 2000, p.70) reminds us what some harsh minds have to say about the naiveté of
social scientists involved in heritage work. He refers to them as ‘cultural repair workers’
who through a general recasting of the public sphere in the name of heritage, hope to salve
the wounds inflicted on the region “by capital flight, wire-brushing the rusted belt for
tourism promotion and reuniting the frayed and unraveling strands of our contemporary
experience.”

4.2 Dominant context: contribution to the thematic approach

Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt (1998, p. 390) has offered a refreshing new insight into seeing how
perceptions of context are constructed and changed over time by the heritage-making
process:

Objects are set in context by means of other objects, there is usually a
classification or schematic arrangement of some kind. This is based on
typologies of forms or proposed historical relationships. A theoretical frame
of reference is established for the viewer, explanations are offered, historical
background is provided, comparisons are made and questions are posed.
This sometimes even extends to the circumstances of excavation, collection
and conservation of the objects on display.

Appaduri (1986, p. 28) states that consumption is social, relational, and active rather than
private or passive. This is evidenced by the argument that historical cooperation between
rulers and traders might play a key role in the social regulation of consumer demand long
before. As material culture and structure of feeling as well as a specific form of production,
culture also cannot be divorced from economics, but this is often contested (Racliffe 2006, p.
228). To a large extent, culture recently switched from being a production-orientated to a
consumption-oriented economy and gained importance in another way. In the other words, consumer goods are elevated and extended as a way of assessing modernity as well as identity (Racliffe 2006, p. 231).

In this respect, the history of Hashima Island reads like a list of the changes in Japan’s energy policies from the Meiji period to modern times. For centuries the people living on Takashima, a large island near Hashima, are said to have collected coal from exposed beds and used it as a household fuel. One of Japan’s most important industries at the time, salt-making, had relied traditionally on resin-rich pinewood as a fuel to boil seawater but this was becoming depleted. Coal was seen as the ideal alternative to pinewood (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 34). From the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, Japan achieved rapid industrialisation that was founded on the key industrial sectors of iron and steel, shipbuilding, and coal mining. Takashima coalmine developed from 1868 onwards and was the first Japanese coalmine to be worked with Western technology and until the late 1880s it produced the most coal in Japan. The steam-powered mine machines were bought into Japan from overseas by Mitsubishi in 1881 (Okada 2014).

During the post-war 1960s Japan’s economy soared and petroleum replaced coal as the keystone of the national economy. Mitsubishi therefore reduced the work force at Hashima step-by-step but retained the workers and re-assigned them to the other branches of its rich and vast network. The company held a final event in the island gymnasium and officially announced the closing of the mine on January 15, 1975 (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 41). Thereafter there were ruins but ruins are not just made by anyone, anytime, or anywhere. Large-scale ruin-making even takes resources and planning. It may be necessary to forcibly remove populations and to assign other habitable space to them (Stoler 2008, p. 200) and this holds particularly true for the new social life of industrial ruins, which remain considerably understudied in comparison to historical, architectural and archaeological research. Precisely speaking in the words of Barndt (2010, p. 270):
The ruins in this article, designed to appear frozen in a state of degeneration, merge with a natural environment of regeneration. As signifiers of a specific historical time and economic regime, these residual traces of Fordist industrial past are embedded in natural cycles of birth and death, growth and decay. Romantic concepts of regeneration meet contemporary discourses of economic and national transformation, asking us to decipher the cultural logic of this eclectic mix.

Hashima is a ghostly place, made all the more so when one views the old photographs taken when it was inhabited (O’Hagain 2014 p, 4). Why does this kind of fascination occur? According to Belford (2009, p.30), industrial landscapes appear to become more highly valued when they are not only old and firmly post-industrial but also when described as ‘tired old men’ reminiscing about the good and old days: sagging and wilting objects of affection. Finally we can put some of them to rest and create heritage landscapes around them because the objects removed from their original social context and without their original meaning become socially and culturally placeless. It can be assigned to a new and different meaning by local photographers in such a way that the meanings become socially and culturally placeless. It can be assigned to a different meaning in the future and be assessed according to new standards; for example, economic or global standards (v. Binsbergen 2005, p. 46). As Dean MacCannell (cited in Giovine 2009, p.65) famously pointed out, a site, like a tourist attraction, comprises ‘person-place-marker’ where a marker can be a representation of something, that is to say, a ‘copy’. This representation can exist completely apart from the site itself. It is like a copy, and copies can circulate quickly and efficiently across the world (Giovine 2009, p. 65). Moreover this process is not part of individual strategies in competitive situations but can be institutionalised in various ways that remove or protect objects from the relevant social contexts (Appadurai 1986, p. 25). Without a commodity construct the object is incorporated in the life-world as classified and incorporated in a network of local social relations. Unhappily it is given a meaning which is specific in time and place, and part of many, or most, other local meanings (v. Binsbergen
2005, p. 47). This is confirmed by John (2007) who states: 'It is clear by now that conserving a ruin is a cultural activity. It is a cultural activity because it has to do with cultural objects and with our sense of the time past'.

While the Japanese government decided to adopt such themes as part of the successful achievement of social transformation from an agricultural society to industrial, it needs typologies of forms in material ruins and historical relationships with the importation of Western technologies in the background. Therefore, scientific significance and historical similarity between Europe and Japan make a new context possible for a new Japan.

4.3 Alternative context: untold meanings in interpretations

For the ‘historical materialist’, the sudden, shock of being in the present provides a vital anchor point in the fluid and indeterminate historical interpretation. The image or object is plucked out of history’s stream and is examined as a dialectical image. Dialectical images are themselves allegorical, a modern form of emblems, in which the past and the present exist simultaneously, their juxtaposition providing a critical tension (Stead 2003, p. 56). Ellen (2009, p. 130) writing on Benjamin starts with:

> [P]hotographic and mass-reproduced forms hover between diverse social and cultural projects. They may be easily co-opted by rightist and fascist enterprises that offer simulated, dangerous compensations for the loss of the authentic aura under the conditions of alienated modernity.

An insightful documentary film (*Meiji Revolution*, one of Pacific Century Collections) by PBS portrays the relevance of the Meiji period to social transformation. It soon becomes apparent whose attitudes and language occupy a dominant position in the politics of interpretation from the following extracts in the documentary:
Peter Coyote (narrator): The speed of Meiji transformation was breathtaking. In Europe the industrial revolution took 150 years. Japan went from rice paddies to factories in less than forty. Fifteen years after Perry gave the shogun a toy train, the Japanese had built real a real railway from Tokyo to Yokohama. Progress was so fast but cost was high. In textile mills, girls as young as 11 years old worked 12 to 19 hours a day and in stifling sweatshops.

Carl Gluck (Columbia University): This was what happened when a society did this, moving from agriculture to industry. It was a costly and miserable transition.

Frank Gibney (author “the pacific century”): The question was whether Japan was to lead Asian Renaissance against Western Colonialism or join the colonialist club, Japan made its choice while the Korea Hermit kingdom kept to itself.

Carl Gluck: A modern time is tough. It is not same things to work in factories and work in paddy field. It is not the same things to live in a city and in a little village. It eliminated the older agriculture village.

Frank Gibney: It was the Meiji heroes that revolutionised Japan. In this sense the Japanese remade their own character. It was really the first time in history that a non-Western nation, an Asian nation, had modernised itself by its own efforts. This was a tremendous achievement. It was a transformation. It was a catalyst that set forces in motion. There were economic forces, political forces and cultural forces that are still working among us today.

Peter Coyote (narrator): However, nationalism inspired by the Meiji would lead to a war in Pacific.

Hashima has naturally attracted the curiosity of tourists and the attention of photographers, sociologists, filmmakers and others. The abandoned city even provided inspiration for the James Bond Film, Skyfall (2012) and another 'H-Project’ (2013). Various Japanese tour
companies offer tours of the island, although getting there is difficult because of rough and unpredictable seas. When tourists are on the island, the terrain is so dangerous that observers are only permitted to view the ruins from behind fences (Flagg 2014, p. 46).

A viewer of heritage sites in Hashima is thus not encouraged to enter into any kind of social relationship with the objects, places or buildings represented although the images are very real and natural. A paradox is set up between the natural reproductions of items of heritage themselves and their de-contextualised, unnatural setting: the lack of people or virtually anything other than the sites of heritage themselves. They have become somehow artificial, sanitized and unreal (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 91).

By juxtaposing these images with the historical images demonstrating the former residents’ economic stability and optimism, the contemporary photographers establish a poignant reference to the failure of a thriving society. In their photographs of the abandoned island, Marchand and Meffre use images of objects (items that represent former human presence) to establish a feeling of melancholia (Flagg 2014, p. 54). As Flagg (2014, p. 54) puts it:

Nostalgia may be universal but it is accentuated in rapidly changing, highly mobile social situations. On the other hand the tourist and cultural industries have successfully tapped into wellsprings of nostalgia, as having social movements from the left and the right that reject the present.

When one views the photos, individual psychological responses are levelled down; the emotional responses to them are stereotypical. This is because the photographer has already decided for the viewer how to respond to the shocking photos, and as such, it becomes a question of mass culture (Kudryashov 2011). There is an imbalance in written histories where the vast majority of people’s stories have not been recorded. This is regularly reflected in photographs of strange personal items displayed out of any context of activity or behaviour other than the haste or neglect in which they were discarded (Rowsdower 2011, p. 95).
3). Such objects are often and on purpose put and found in abandoned buildings on the island. Heritage as ‘cultural capital’ becomes symbolic capital when master narratives, images and monuments are used in the construction of, for instance, national or urban identity (ancestry, community/fellowship) and the branding of products, places and people. Bourdieu’s (cited in Guttormsen & Fageraas 2011, p.449) concept of capital is used for analysing power mechanisms as well as relationships between various socially constituted heritage facts and spheres of activity at heritage sites (Guttormsen & Fageraas 2011, p. 449). Thus space has been reclaimed in a way that does not conform to the experience of space that was characteristic of the era of high modernity. It is this that forces one to re-think fundamentally the politics of community, solidarity, identity and cultural difference (Gupta, & Ferguson 1992, p. 10). Like other types of demand, heritage may be inherently dynamic and respond directly and constantly to the evolving needs of society at any given time (Araoz2011, p. 58). In other words, heritage objects which one consumes and accepts naturally are deeply embedded in social relations depending on the use of the past. Whenever there is need of old social relationship change, heritage is at the centre of the debate in the present.

All that remains of the extinct mining society at Hashima are many towering apartment structures, and belongings left behind by vacating workers and residents. In their writing, Machand and Meffre profess an interest in the relationship between the architecture and the culture of labour that once existed on the tiny, densely-populated island, but their photographs reveal much more personal detail of the residents by way of the private artefacts of their daily life that remain there. As a result these images are striking in their simplicity but also poetic. One can see them as symbols of the people who lived there, but they do not really tell us much about them (Kudryashov 2011). For Barndt (2010, p. 279) it is:
[t]he spectacle of recreation in historical industrial settings [that] sidelines the workings of Fordism itself. The relationship between realities and present myths that this site envisions is loose and imaginative; to the degree that historical consciousness plays into the visitor’s outdoor activities and it is characterized by postmodern play and fun. The site tends to pacify history rather than mining it for criticism and reflection.

What follows is one of the less pleasant aspects of life on Hashima Island. Tsuneishi (2014) explains that as there was no flush toilet system in their towering apartment, plopping toilets were installed at each floor connected via sewage pipes. Without water with which to flush, the system could not deal adequately with the excrement collected within the pipes. Consequently the lower it (excrement) reached, the worse the smell and noises were.

**Figure 10: Miners**
After the passage of time, many workers there are remembered as strong and well-built labourers who laid foundation to advance Japan in the hi-technology manufacturing sector. People in the present easily accept such an interpretation corresponding to their contemporary requirements.

Between 1943 and 1945 the death rate especially of Korean workers on Hashima increased greatly, and this indicates that with the war approaching an end, the increase of the production of coal was ruthlessly in demand, and in the process the mainly Korean workers were subjected to dangerous work and then discarded. Some of survivors testified that the work was so hard that they even considered maiming themselves to get themselves off the island (Yoo 2014). The atomic bomb over Nagasaki hit the windows on Hashima’s
apartment blocks. Subsequently Japan surrendered to the Allied forces in August 1945. A total of about 1300 labourers had died on the island, some in underground accidents, others of illness related to exhaustion and malnutrition. Others passed away by jumping over the sea wall and trying in vain to swim to the mainland for a quicker, less gruesome death (Burke-Gaffney, 1996, p. 39).

Japan’s interest in Hashima as an historic marker of industrial prowess is certainly legitimate, but it also illustrates how complex historic conservation agendas are. It is natural that Hashima’s captivating ruins should attract the attention of citizens and tourists alike, but the official story does not fully reflect and include the suffering of its most vulnerable former inhabitants in the records (Rowsdower, 2011, p. 9).
CHAPTER 5: MODERNIZING THE RUINS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT

In fact heritage resources including memories and values have been resembled to defined new concept of Japan and Nagasaki. Meanwhile emphasis on exchange proves that truthfulness or uniqueness relates to network of relationship between objects, people and places. However everyone does not have equal access to realise or instil its value there.

The idea of decay, erosion and a return to nature, so central to the eighteenth-century imaginary of ruins is eliminated when Roman ruins are sanitized and used as mise-en-scene for open-air opera performances; when ruins of medieval castles or dilapidated estates from later centuries are transformed into conference sites, hotels or vacation rentals; when industrial ruins are made over into cultural centres; or when a museum like the Tate museum installs itself in a former power plant on the south bank of the Thames (Huyssen 2010. P. 18).

5.1 Contemporary ruins rebirth: value circulation and authenticity

In Speer’s ‘theory of ruin value’ (cited in Stead 2003, p.1), the aesthetic fragmentation he imagines in the future ruins of his buildings is belied by their continuing ‘ideological totality’. Conversely in the context of Benjamin’s philosophy of history the ruin provides an emblem, not only of the melancholic worldview presented in Baroque tragic drama but of allegory as a critical tool for historical materialism (Stead 2003, p. 1). Both allegories and ruins can be defined as symptoms of epistemological uncertainty and the collapse of time. For Benjamin, allegorical readings emerge with secularisation; it changed the old religious certainties like salvation (Barndt 2010, p. 271).

In Japan the role of amusement parks for families came to an end because the Japanese have fewer children and the rides in the parks became old. It was also because children got used to more
stimulating playthings and were no longer excited by the rides at amusement parks (Arita 2010). In the euphoric days of the economic miracle it was even suggested that the twentieth century would be a ‘Japanese century’. However, that turned out to be a distant dream, as Japan enters the new century with more problems than prospects (Varley 2000, p. 351). Some ruins have recently taken on a posthumous role as they turn into popular sightseeing spots. Hashima Island, better known as Gunkanjima in the Nagasaki Prefecture, has become the most famous of these (Arita 2010). However, an obsession with ruins cannot be mere sentiment or nostalgia (Dillon 2012).

Hashima was abandoned in 1974, within days after mining ceased and, since then, access has been highly restricted. The fact that its abandoned high rise buildings are still littered with personal items left over from the mass departure has attracted attention from both covert and permitted photographers and filmmakers (Rowsdower 2011, p. 7). According to Speer, images in the same way as speech and writing undertake a significant role in legitimising and promoting this particular way of seeing. As part of the process, visual imagery directly contributes to a mystification of heritage, and a particular version of heritage is successfully peddled as the heritage (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 89). It is interesting how buildings from classical antiquity that have decayed over time have retained a capacity to impress and generate feelings of awe over the centuries. They act as bridges of tradition as they retain sufficient shape and qualities and although they have fallen into ruin they seem able to speak (Macdonald 2006, p. 113) In England, the classical appreciation for, and inspiration from the glory inherent in the image of romantic ruins has been replaced by a celebration of the decline inherent in industrial ruins (Rowsdower 2011, p. 4). The interpretation of its industrial past with its associated deplorable living and working conditions has typically been the subject of an interpretation which has sought to make one feel good about humankind’s progress over the years (Uzzell 1998, p. 11). This is a curious and increasingly capitalist identity; focused on industrial production and global exportation. Industrial landscapes, therefore, formed an important part of the iconography of the new English identity. By the end of the eighteenth century, these English industrial landscapes were already famous throughout Europe and North
America and were emulated around the world (Belford 2009, p. 30). Here, the foundational sacrifice together with some degree of loyalty to the spirit of the age is considered as authentic culture.

Benjamin (cited in Harrison et al. 2008, p.4) tried to account for the special qualities of authenticity which are attributed to a work of art by using the term ‘aura’. For him aura describes the series associations that surround an object or work of art, and which is perceived as spiralling outward from it. He stressed that if one believes in aura, one invests an object with the ability to look at us in return (Harrison et al. 2008, p. 4). According to Jones (2010, p. 183), authenticity is linked to some other modern practices such as categorisation; the production of order and purification. Yet the experience and negotiation of authenticity also relates to networks of relationships between objects, people and places (Johnes, 2010, p. 183). Therefore, the experience of authenticity does not come from the date, origin, setting, and design or material fabric of the object (Labadi 2007, p. 194).

Appaduri (1986, p. 44) also stresses that whenever there were discontinuities in the knowledge necessary to the movement of commodities, issues of authenticity and expertise enter the picture. For example, there is an increasingly ironic dialogue between the need for ever-shifting criteria of authenticity and the economic motives. Important here is that authenticity is always defined in the present. It is not the ‘pastness’ or ‘givenness’ that defines something as traditional rather tradition is an arbitrary symbolic designation; an assigned meaning rather than an objective quality. If authenticity means anything here, it is authentically remade (Cox & Bruman 2009, p.7). Therefore, to decode the process of authenticity properly, one must divest objects of many relationships that intrude into our thoughts and correspond to a number of different viewpoints. This means one ought to distance oneself from any group that establishes a relationship with the object and considers it from a certain viewpoint. However one can succeed in doing so only by adopting the attitude of another group, perhaps like that of physicists if one claims to focus one’s attention on
certain abstract properties of matter, or like that of artists if one concentrates on line and shading of figures and landscapes (Halbwachs, 1980, p.7).

Ruins are often enchanted, desolate spaces, large-scale monumental structures abandoned and overgrown. They provide a glimpse of what has vanished from the past and has long decayed (Stoler 2008, p. 194). According to Dillon (2012), the ideas ruins evoke in us are grand. Everything comes to nothing. Everything perishes. Everything passes. Only the world remains. Only time endures. This sense of having lived on too late, of having survived the demolition of past dreams of the future, is what gives the ruin its specific frisson, and it still animates art and writing. But it is historically bound up with more pressing worries about the fate of one’s own civilization (Dillon 2012). On the other hand, the relief and design of structures appear more clearly when content (which is the living energy of meaning) is neutralised, somewhat like the architecture of an uninhabited or deserted city, reduced to its skeletons by some catastrophe of nature or art, a city no longer inhabited, not simply left behind but haunted by meaning and culture. This state of being haunted, which keeps the city from returning to nature, is perhaps in itself a kind of language (Kudryashov 2011). Accordingly the Hashima we know now is certainly not the Hashima that it once was. It is two different places that share a piece of rock in common (University of Sheffield Undergraduate Research Project, 2013).

As stated earlier, Marchand and Meffre have documented the abandoned island city of Hashima by taking photographs. Five thousand people once lived in the labyrinthine streets of the tiny island, many working in the coal mine whose excavated slag formed the foundations of the densely packed town that grew upwards. In 1974 the mine closed and within six months, the last resident returned to the mainland, leaving behind deserted shops including a barber, a bank, a bathhouse, schools, a shrine and several shops and restaurants (O’Hagan 2014). Meanwhile the planting of gardens in 1963 was a sign of the former resident’s first hard-won taste of leisure (see Figure 11 and Figure 12 below). Using soil from the mainland they made gardens on the rooftops and enjoyed the unknown pleasure of home-grown vegetables and flowers. It was around this same
time that electronic rice cookers, refrigerators and television sets became standard appliances in the island’s apartments (Flagg 2014, p. 45).

**Figure 11: Children carrying soil up to a rooftop, and rooftop vegetable garden**

![Image of children carrying soil and rooftop garden](image1.png)

(Source: Hashima guide map of Nagasaki city)

**Figure 12: Hashima households boasted the highest adoption rate of electronic devices in the prefecture**

![Image of Hashima households with electronic devices](image2.png)

(Source: Hashima Guide Map of Nagasaki city, mid-1950s to mid-1960s)

Symbols have been considered important and classified with truth, beauty and moral good since the time of Aristotle. Classical symbolism seeks to transcend time and history, thereby displacing the anguish of life with images of stabilised harmony and eternal perfection (Stead 2003, p. 4). Heritage here is a political concept in that the state appropriates things and feelings that are perhaps traditionally regarded as personal. In addition, psychological or spiritual factors as well as private or material ownership can be involved. Heritage can also be used to reinforce the standing and
power of a group, by helping to more closely align the group’s self-image with the national image (Aplin 2002, p. 6). For Adolf (1995, p. 233) it was by,

[a]tributing Japan’s remarkable economic growth largely to uniquely Japanese cultural traits [that] encourage[d] workers to accept other forms of discipline associated with traditions and this acceptance in itself can shape the work force into something more closely resembling the ideal worker advocated by management.

Salaries of miners compared to manual workers were higher than those on the mainland and there was free housing, water and electricity. Furthermore the miners and their families had what few others in the country were able to afford - the very latest in electronic devices, TVs, refrigerators and washing machines (Gotoh et al. 2003, p. 58). One can see glimpses of the lives of the people in what they left behind; an old TV set, a rusting child’s bicycle and these haunt the now empty place for tourist’s to see. Although one can become increasingly fascinated by what is left behind; ruins, objects, crumbling facades and empty shells, the beautifully decayed surface of things, it is the people that left who are the real context for these photographs. Without that human context, the objects are just bleakly and romantically beautiful, visually seductive things with a newly constructed context (O’ Hagan 2004).

The belief is that ‘in looking old’, objects are endowed with a cultural value and guarantee of provenance. Thus the scars of time are the signs of life, proof of authentic heritage, and the ability to project cultural value into the present (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 88). Unfortunately the traditional care of heritage by the communities is also recognised, but scientific-based conservation principles and such as those of conservation professionals are seen as being more important (Poulios 2014, p. 20). Although intangible values such as the user or social values are also taken into account, they are seen as part of the preservation of tangible remains.
Hashima Island is a resurrected ruin and a part of the UNESCO cultural heritage project which is designed to harvest the economic value and capitalise on the attraction of partially restored people and things. Figuratively speaking, such restorations disperse and redistribute people. They become vital to national development and produce new inequalities (Stoler 2008, p. 198). Culture (heritage) and development refers to the fact that culture is not something ancient but reworked and reproduced, around and through development, just as development (as political economy and as planned intervention) is embedded in imaginaries of the people (particularly what is considered to be desirable in social relations) (Racliffe 2006, p. 17). According to Rowsdower’s critique (2011, p.5), one cannot avoid the claim that industrialism is a kind of folly and the monuments of production and distribution are ultimately self-destructing amid the final excesses of capitalism. In their detail, artefacts of the brutal recent past challenge one’s notions of historic significance by defying the definitions and lists of cultural heritage sites. Not only can they pose the question about the aesthetics and usefulness of the derelict buildings, but they can also call into question our conceptions of the future by evoking uncertainty and inevitability from modernity with no regard to prestige.

In the Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, ‘authenticity’ is emphasised by stating that a particular site is preserved in good condition and the various attributes such as form and design and ample documentation have survived since the beginning of the operation, making it possible to conduct a comparative analysis of their original form and nature and any subsequent alternations (Agency of Cultural Affairs of Japan 2009).

Each component part also has mechanisms in place to control deterioration and keep sites free from the adverse effects of development. They have been variously affected by continued use, re-use or lengthy periods of abandonment, and their physical integrity varies between well preserved and fragmentary, the
latter being sufficiently intact to be able to represent the former whole (The Consortium: Summary of Nomination to the World Heritage List).

According to Iwamoto (2014) Nagasaki city regulates the activities at the Hashima coal mine which might contribute to the property’s value and this policy is very important in relation to World Heritage values. The following undertaking has been made: Nagasaki city will not engage in any restoration or full-scale disassembly or repair whatsoever. Also research on the causes and rate of decay in the aggressive marine environment is ongoing and the research will inform the conservation measures being developed within the context of the conservation management plan. Recently on August 19, 2014 Nagasaki University Graduate School of Engineering infrastructure Longer Life Centre announced that it has completed a ‘warship island three-dimensional Computer Graphic (CG)’, which is a project commissioned by Nagasaki City. As a three-dimensional CG is based on the actual measurement, concrete deterioration and erosion by seawater can also be calculated, this technology makes it possible to accurately record the deterioration process of large-scale historic structures (see<http://www. Nagasaki-u.ac.jp/ja/about/info/news/news1586.html>).

This emphasis and description reminds one of Speer’s theory of ruin value, namely, that the value of a ruin should be designed to avoid the affirmation of a specific time, place or individual in favour of a generation and nostalgic temporality. These are precisely the traces of the present that Benjamin refers to in his characterization of the destructive character that destroys while it rejuvenates in clearing away the traces of our own age (Stead 2003, p. 57). During its 84-year career under Mitsubishi, the island produced about 16.5 million tons of coal. The miners tunnelled deep into the sea bed, the builders carefully used every precious square metre of island property and the islanders tried hard to lead a comfortable and dignified life. But few, if any, realised that the mine would be closed (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 44). Owing to passage of time, Japan can begin new phase regarding heritage making. In other world these ruins made by the people on the island can only be assigned to reminder to
old residents who enjoyed a lost quality of life. New aura and authenticity emerge before people.

Although, when the children seen in Figure 11 grew up, they might have at least enjoyed the benefit of the Japanese economic miracle. However children in contemporary Japan, who cannot remember the real lives in the photos, are positioned to face new harsh challenges. There is little chance to enter an economically secure social location for many young Japanese today. They have fallen into a fundamental realignment and re-organisation of what is called a ‘human capital development system’. This means individuals have to develop their skills and abilities irrelevant to the schools and workplace. This institutional transformation has produced new economic and employment problems of youth, as well as psychological problems. Instead, it can be said that they should develop their sense of identity and their ability to trust society. These problems can be said to even expand into vital inner problems for Japanese society (Brinton 2011, p. xvii). Since transience and awareness of the impermanence of all things has remained a major theme in Japanese literature and culture, it is hardly surprising that some sections of the populace feel a fascination with buildings, railroads and roads left abandoned to sink into oblivion. These lost worlds in their midst are only rarely officially called cultural assets in the way old temples or shrines are. However, so many websites and books are now focusing on ruins and abandoned roads and railways that a new term has been coined ‘haikyo boom’, meaning ruins boom (Brinton2011). The city of Nagasaki lifted the ban to land on Hashima Island in April 2009. Since then, up to May, about 70 000 people have visited the island according to Tsutoma Yonehara, the city official promoting tourism. He further explained that rising revenues from ruins are not restricted to Warship Island. Some abandoned buildings have become rental studios for photo sessions in recent years and there are benefits to ruins, which some people are using to make money (Arita 2010).
One can see here that political, social and economic factors have moved centre stage. That is why heritage is promoted. However, in terms of who has the dominant position in this case, will be addressed in the next section.

5.2 Modernity expanding through industrial ruins

Modernity has prescribed a new aesthetic structure for ruins (heritage resources). In the context of rapid urbanism and industrialization, encounters with ruins and other landscapes offer the possibility of ‘another modernity’. Earlier romanticist ideals ensured that notions of the sublime and myth superseded the empirically based rationality that stemmed from the Renaissance (Winter 2012, p. 6). Therefore,

Landscapes can be culturally produced artefacts; as second nature they invite us to appreciate them aesthetically. As Dorrian and Rose suggest, the operation of landscape can be seen in terms of a screen between a material potentiality and a subject making meaning, feeling and fantasy from it (Barndt 2010, p. 271).

According to David Lowenthal (cited in Gamboni 2001, p.6) material relics are seen as symbols of power and icons of identity and can be tied to capitalism. While recognising the benefits of material preservation like that of buildings, he emphasises its costs, contradictions, and problems. For instance, the segregation of the past and the stress caused by the fact that a material relic can be claimed by many different groups for their interests. For him, even if they are meant metaphorically the terms ‘cultural property’ and ‘cultural heritage’ imply ‘ownership’, suggesting that collective memory is supported primarily by physical possessions (Gamboni, 2001, p. 6). At this point, the persons concerned who own the objects can manipulate them in their favour. Things do not simply fall into ruin or vanish but become a way of reminding people of the past (Stoler 2008, p. 205). The profession of (industrial) archaeology has relevance to a way through which a nation can reflect on the politics of remembering but it is also important that archaeologists should examine the
politics of erasure and forgetting (Harrison 2008, p. 179). Therefore, one should not be looking at industrial landscapes only through filters given by the dominant schools of landscape or industrial archaeology; this aspect of heritage is clearly founded on the idea that things make it possible to be classified as heritage only if there is some risk of losing them. When there is potential or real threat to heritage such as destruction, loss or decay, heritage becomes linked historically and politically with the conservation movement (Harrison et al. 2008, p. 12). Rather, we should be inquiring into the motivations of those who created those industrial landscapes and used them to express their identity (Belford 2009, p. 21).

The preservation and renovation of buildings has become a subject of debate in Japan in recent times. This is why the Japanese no longer destroy their architectural patrimony. They now debate the possibilities of the re-use of buildings even for different purposes. This kind of narrative unfolded only after the events that burst the 1980s bubble economy were at their height (Scaroni 2012, p.133). The authorities concerned have begun to identify modern buildings and abandoned industrial areas as cultural heritage, and named some of these complexes in the preservation lists (Scaroni 2012, p.135. It is should be noted that heritage is not only to be protected but also to be used to create new culture (Kakluchi 2014, p. 8).

When buildings were primarily engaged as use value, one could only see exchange value and never recognise its use value. That is to say, the labour employed in the conversion was individual and alienated, an unnatural labour, given over to creating commodities for exchange rather than use (Cosgrove 1998, p. 232). This is reflected in the living quarters of Hashima where each apartment consisted simply of a single six-tatami-mat (9.9 sq. metres) room with a window, door and small vestibule more like a monk’s cell. Bathing, cooking and toilet facilities were communal (Burke-Gaffney 1996, p. 38). In 1960 about 5 300 people lived on the island with about 30 reinforced concrete buildings. There was also a
school and hospital built from the Taisho era (1912-1926) to the Showa era (1926-1989) (Shimbun 2014).

One can recognise the heart-breaking signs of traces – or use value left at the scene when capitalistic production on Hashima Island suddenly stopped. But this authenticity is often replaced by a new exchange value when there is a demand for new capitalistic production, and when heritage professionals and industrial archaeologists need to intervene in the construction of this new exchange value. In particular, heritage objects play an important role in authenticating the past (or a past) by making use of their visual presence, framed as exhibits in museums or preserved as buildings, monuments or landscapes with all the paraphernalia on display (which is now standard practice for visitor management assumed at heritage sites) (Watson & Waterton 2010, p.89). Furthermore the authorised heritage discourse removes heritage objects, places and practices from their historical context and encourages people to view them as symbols of the national character, of a particular period of history or of a particular building type. In doing so, they are stripped of their particular meanings and given a series of newly created associations (Smith 2006, p. 29). For people, the cultural significance of some monuments becomes even clearer if one tries to imagine, say, a Tomb of the Unknown Marxist or a Cenotaph for Fallen Liberals. The fact is that neither Marxism nor Liberalism is much concerned with death and immortality. In this sense, it would seem that nationalism has something in common with religion (Anderson 1991, p. 10). To a greater extent, constructed ideas of tradition and nationhood also often help create a timeless and permanent sense of national identity - evidence which seems to lie in the age of the objects displayed (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 86).

According to Benjamin (cited in Stead 2003, p. 56), the past is constructed by the present and must therefore be read in and through that present. Different interpretations of history thus result from on-going modes of perception brought about by the effects of new
technology the production of images (Stead 2003, p. 56). New configurations of distant social orders will be designed to continually produce nostalgia for what has been lost; this is done in the interests of actualising the dissolution of time itself rather than seeking to find modes of relating past, present, and future in politically distinct ways (Harootunian, 2009, p.108).

Japanese political and business elites exercise tremendous power over archaeology. They influence the kinds of research archaeologists do; the way they structure and organise their work; and the use of archaeological results in the public realm particularly the use of archaeology to define Japanese national identity (Fawcett 2000, p. 244). The trend in post-industrial societies, including Japan, is that the concept of heritage is often treated in a pseudo-religious way (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 3).

For Japan, in earlier times there was the notion of Kokutai (the national body) in which the Japanese people were seen as a family linked to the emperor in a paternalistic bond. After the Second World War, a reformatting of the ideological system was used to create a sense of cohesion and homogeneity among the Japanese people and deny internal social conflict. Now the Japanese people are seen as having descended from the original Japanese, who created the roots of the Japanese nation. Since one of the tasks of a government is seen as the responsibility to instil appropriate attitudes in its citizens, the state has, through its power to preserve and represent culture, assumed the responsibility for educating citizenry and one of the tasks of such culture in Japan is to incorporate people (Ashworth 2011, p. 11). The mere fact that modern Japan is so far removed from its past creates conditions for a self-conscious making of heritage, more so if the people feel threatened by an assumption of constant progress. However, the challenge now becomes that the real aspects of the cultural environment are separated according to the aesthetic and political criteria for evaluating heritage (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 3). Heritage becomes identifiable here as the purposeful
designation of a part of the past which one selects in the present for contemporary purposes. In other words, something trapped in the past is now seen as a sustainable resource requiring responsible management (Cox & Bruman 2009, p. 3). As a result, the ruins appear spatial and the built space temporal. An imaginary of ruins becomes central to any theory of modernity that wants to be more than the triumphalism of progress and democratisation or longing for a past power of greatness. Although, as against the optimism of Enlightenment thought, the modern imaginary of ruins remains conscious of the dark side of modernity as the inevitable devastation of time become visible in the ruins (Huyssen 2006, p. 13). Nevertheless the modern imaginary fails to understand new social relations of production because they could not accept society as ‘organic’. No resolution is open to be pursued in the social order; it has to be found in a natural, moral order which harmonised the individual soul with unspoiled external nature (Cosgrove, 1998, p. 231).

Recently there have been many changes in Japan. Heavy manual labour has disappeared and there are now fewer jobs. Industrial archaeology is largely concerned with what has disappeared like the forerunners of the Industrial Revolution - windmills and canals in particular (Samel 2008, p. 284). However, by opening derelict buildings to the public it is likely to make more people interested in those sites, but only if the sites’ social and historical significance is made clear (e.g. by contextualising sites by their position within broader networks of industrialism) (Rowsdower 2011, p. 9). This is where the historical failure of reconciliation and resolution between Japan and Korea is betrayed: by the stories of the histories of enforced labourers. The heritage conflict is deeply embedded within nationalism, capitalism and commodity-making. As a consequence it always becomes a product of what the social, economic and political issues of the day bring to mind.

At the time of their construction the multi-story concrete apartment buildings in Hashima were seen as a great step forward for many urban dwellers in Japan. Although these more modern apartment homes were actually modest, the Japanese viewed them as a step in the
right direction in following the example of the United States (Varley 2000, p. 331). Therefore, the representations of such ruins in picture books, films and exhibits are signs of the nostalgia for the monuments of an industrial architecture of a past age that was tied to a public culture of industrial labour. It has also been suggested that the intense concern with such ruins is a subset of the current privileging an emphasis on memory and trauma (Huyssen 2006, p. 8). Modernity in Japan was developed in terms of historical temporality through which capitalism used lived experience and the mediated forms through which a specific history remains by the continuous historicity of existence, in other words, capitalist experiences remain a part of the continuity of history. Through these mediated forms, one can see the rhetoric of representation; there is the ambiguity which capitalism produced and continually marked in Japan’s modernity to the present (Harootunian 2009, p.107). John (2000, p.29) has explained this phenomenon further:

When the Japanese searched through their national history for precedents relevant to their new circumstances for the roots of a native democracy, examples of principled resistance to militarism or indigenous formulations of repentance and atonement, the examples they came up with were naturally specific to their past. What they were doing, however, was what all people do in moments of traumatic change; they were finding inventing, if need be something familiar to grab.

In the Hashima tourism programme run by the city of Nagasaki, no mention at all is made of the life Korean and Chinese workers during wartime. The guidebook and other materials describe the history of Hashima from only 1945 onwards but any other interpretation about Hashima before that period is entirely missing (Yoo, 2014).

Figure 13: People on Hashima Island watching waves from a typhoon
This shows that with the passage of time, the truth of the past can be seen as a threat to the present, if there is a desire to impose the values of the present on the past (Harrison 2013, p. 26). On this point one can understand how heritage-making and the emphasis on modernity can be encountered. Julia (2010, p. 194) has reasoned that:

Modernity promotes the growth of disciplinary power and surveillance, the fragmentation of the subject and the capacity for destruction on a scale never before possible and the creation of new ways of subjugating people and controlling society. As Geoff Eley points out, historians have only recently engaged in being interested in articulating modernity’s dark side, the nexus of knowledge and power, culture and catastrophe that comprises the dialectic of modernity.

Accordingly it can be argued that people with weak relevance who cannot recognise realities and say their voices in Hashima are positioned to experience romanticised aura whenever they see residents in photos, who does not seem to possess individual personality or feeling, watching common occurrence and direction.
5.3 Re-mapping the concepts of Japan and Nagasaki by new heritage making: political, economic and social

According to UNESCO, managing cultural world heritage sites for serial properties should regularly review and reinforce where feasible the coordinating mechanisms to increase the cohesion and effectiveness of its management as a world heritage property, and respond to changes that affect its component parts. (UNESCO/ICCROM/ICOMOS/IUCN. 2013, p. 62).

To analyse Japanese heritage sites, it is necessary to recognise both the juxtaposition and interconnection of two levels of analysis: national and local. On the national level there is pressure towards the centralisation of power and the homogenisation of identity, but the local component can either play a supporting role in the expression of national character or emphasise particular local identities in opposition to a homogenised nationhood (Saburo & Minzoku-Mura 2009, cited in Cox & Bruman, p. 60). Therefore, Japan has always believed that it is important for each country to preserve its individual culture in the course of development (Cox & Bruman 2009, p.1). This argument is intimately bound up with the case of Hashima Island and its analysis.

There is a telling passage on the internet site of the consortium:

The Industrialization of Japan comprises not only her history but also global significance. Inscriptions at the World Heritage have large economic effect (sic). More important is that World Heritage should reflect the identity of local community. On the other hand Kyushu and Yamaguchi are the sites that characterise Japanese modernization (http://www.kyuyama.jp/e/action/a02.html).

Of particular note here is that Japan’s industrialization is seen to be achieved by a unique process of Western technology transfer that was not controlled by Western colonial and economic powers, but by Japan herself. In other words, Japanese firms rapidly adopted, adapted and improved this technology. This was possible because of their traditional socio-
economic base and shows what opportunities existed for non-Western countries, but also what the challenges were (Oita 2013, p. 11).

Also according to this narrative, Japan can escape the narrow boundary of its Asian neighbours and join the membership of Europe’s glorious history. Or as Julia (2010, p. 202) puts it:

As a part of a grand narrative that unfolds geographically, Japan is simply accorded a place inside of world history or treated as an imperial space extendable by ship and thus to be subsumed into the progress of civilization.

In the process of heritage-making, the heritage objects may both represent and distort the social relations that produced them. Interpretation and visitor management play an important role in this and it can be said that the objects often take on a second social life. To explore this other life, one can start from the proposition that these inherent and aesthetic values can be deconstructed to reveal deeper cultural meanings about the groups and societies for whom these objects, places and buildings are important (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 86). In effect, the nation is grouped into imagined communities, and during this process emphasis is put on the material legacy of glorious pasts (Winter 2012, p. 2). Nationalism is used as a way to transmit a national identity across time and space with characteristics that are in fact specific to the period in which they manifest themselves. It operates like a photograph or museum piece; capturing people, places and ideas at a fixed moment and displaying them as evidence of an enduring culture and identity. The ability of leaders to control the past and to re-write history and invent tradition greatly increases the role of nationhood as a basis for identity (Kelman 2001, p. 32). Since old buildings are part of the nation’s cultural fabric and are seen as symbols of an enduring national past and national identity they are classified, preserved, conserved and interpreted as aesthetic objects and there is usually one way of interpreting their significance (Watson & Waterton 2010, p. 88). The war-related sites in this case study, perhaps more than other places, play
the role of evoking potent memories loaded with both horror and honour although there is often controversial debate over what should be remembered and protected, and what should be forgotten. However, networks of selected places begin to reconnect social memory on an urban scale when related places with complex histories are organised in a thematic way to better reach urban audiences (Han 2012, p. 496). As a result, there is primary refocus on the connective tissue that continues to bind human potential to degraded environments and degraded personhoods to the material refuse of imperial projects (Stoler, 2008, p. 193). The truth is that if we do not properly forget our histories – and do not make reconciliation – we must then refocus on what binds people to degraded environments. For Battleship Island the possibility of becoming a museum in itself, like most of the other haikyo, are left to abandonment and the pure worshipping of scholars and ruin tourists. For instance, it has been said that since nature is reclaiming these incredible and silent structures (see Figure 14 below), it demonstrates once again that the natural cycle of life, death and rebirth, which is at the heart of Buddhist religion, can be seen to play an important role in Japan, the land of impermanence (Kudryashov 2011). This authenticity has been a prominent subject of discussion for tourists. The value and significance of a heritage site is expected to be confirmed by heritage experts and will be convincingly expounded at the 39th Session of the Committee of UNESCO in 2015.

George (2010, p. 316) addresses this aspect when writing on colonial melancholy and Fordist nostalgia as follows:

By preserving many of the ruins in a half-decayed state or by letting them dissolve back into the earth, we acknowledge the pastness of the colonial state. Fordism has generated collective nostalgia because it was the launching pad for countless working class people into middle-class life. Nonetheless many people currently in the socioeconomic middle experience the neoliberal and hypercompetitive present as a regression compared to the Fordist era of solidarity within the working class and across classes. Yet most of them also recognize that the labour movement will never be as culturally and politically central as it was in during the Fordist era.
The interesting aspect of Benjamin’s concept (cited in Stead 2003, p.84) in this context is that he does not consider the aesthetic aspect of ‘age’ important. He sees old objects as bearers of traces of the past and feels that if one becomes too romantic, one obscures historical truth. Newly discovered abandoned places are constantly photographed and the results are shared via websites, Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. Initially it is not hard to see why many of the images on these sites exert such a hold on the collective imagination for people as the adjectives most often used to describe them – nostalgic, romantic, and haunting – suggest, there is something paradoxically beautiful, not to say seductive, about decaying buildings, particularly ones that were once baroquely magnificent (O’Hagan 2014). If one sometimes look at one’s own life through the same lens as one looks at paintings; the painting becomes standard. The same thing happens with exhibits in museums or in open air displays outside. The museum effect works both ways: not only do ordinary things take on a second social life and become special when placed in museum settings, but also the museum

Heritage is being integrated and linked closely with community development and its protection is being carried out not only by government but also by various local stakeholders. Owing to structural changes in the economy and production, industries are also paying increased attention to the importance of using culture for the creation of economic value, or to be specific, exchange value. Beyond question, more emphasis is being placed on promoting cultural tourism and local traditional industries with a view to facilitating economic development and local sustainability. This clearly indicates that cultural properties are closely integrated with local daily life and need to be protected for development and sustainability (Kakluchi 2014, p. 8). Culture as an institution appears to offer templates or examples for the regulation of social groups when it meets with modernity (Racliffe, S.A. 2006). Spaces have always been hierarchically\(^9\) interconnected, rather than disconnected. Therefore cultural and social change is not a matter of cultural contact but one of rethinking differences through connection. One can, therefore, see that the identity of a place (community or locality) is the result of interaction and of involvement in system of hierarchically organised spaces (Gupta & Ferguson 1992, p.8).

Some anthropologists tend to become the nostalgic champions of authenticity as the opposite of commodity-making: they see each object has meaning in its own domestic setting. However, they rarely recognise that taking it out of ‘this cocoon’ can only lead to the destruction of value of local meaning and of local communities (v. Binsbergen 2005, p.48).

To a large extent most social formations tend to detach people from space by emphasising

\(^9\) The term ‘significance’ is used in heritage conservation to mean the degree to which a place possesses a certain valued attribute, and is often used synonymously with the term ‘value’. The degree and type of value of a place will be different for various groups and individuals. All places are not equally significant or important and consequently are not equally worthy of conservation and management (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995:17).
‘characteristics’ other than ‘residence’ (Halbwachs 1980). In Benjamin’s words (cited in Verdesio 2010, o.34), ‘ruin becomes an equivalent of death in the realm of the inorganic’. Therefore, a predominance of the inorganic typical of ruins urgently needs the architecture; the product of human action. Finally, human beings remain only through the persistence of the material objects built by themselves (Verdesio 2010, p. 346). In effect, this means that commodity-making works itself into ruination and heritage-making lends its credit to commodity-making. Heritage has gradually come to be considered an important component of a high-quality lifestyle as well as a precious resource through cultural tourism and the creation of high value-added products (Kakluchi 2014, p. 1).

One can lose sight of the fact that to conserve the fabric of society, the significance and value of it is paradoxically equivalent to cutting off their continuity. Nishi and Hozumi (1996) claim to re-map ‘Nagasaki-ness’ by filtering the city’s heritage resources. They assert that the city’s attractiveness and cultural differences came into being with themes such as foreign trade and that from the start, the city has been known for its exotic flavour, borrowed from its European and Chinese influences.

The tourism information website for Nagasaki city suggests that Shisei Kirmura’s idea; the four three best places among the top seven sites are those that contribute to the theme of ‘overseas exchange’, ‘samurai life’ and ‘Bugyosho’ (a local agency of the central government in the Edo period). This theme also has been adopted for permanent exhibition by the Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture. Shisei Kimura identified in her research that the branding and the commodity-making of Hashima Island have been dramatically promoted by the municipal merger in 2005 when Nagasaki city absorbed Takashima town.\(^{10}\)

\(^{10}\) She argues this conclusion, titled ‘Branding of an Industrial Heritage and Practice of Local people: The case study of Hashima’ in the World Congress of Sociology, 19 July 2014, Yokohama, Japan.
At the 2014 International Conference of Industrial Heritage held in Tokyo, Iwanmoto made it clear that the remains of the post-1910 production facilities and post-1910 residential buildings do not contribute to ‘Outstanding Universal Value’. However, they will be protected under the Law for Protection of Cultural Properties and Conservation to conserve the value of the continued history of coal mining on the island after 1940 (Iwanmoto, 2014). Cultural engineering is obviously at work here again. Symbols of the post-1910 past have been selected to ascribe value to relics from the Meiji Revolution. The oldest reinforced concrete building built was in 1916 but the value for the World Heritage Site is based on the history before 1910.

The symbolism is hard to ignore. The tight-knit Hashima community was a miniature version of Japanese society and straddled a land mass that apart from the lack of water and greenery, mimicked the entire archipelago. According to Burke-Gaffney (1996, p. 43), the island’s present forlorn state is a lesson to contemporary Japan about what happens to a country that exhausts its own resources and depends solely on foreign trade. To this Cox & Bruman (2009) have added that a powerful criticism directed at heritage is when it is regarded as a political vehicle for national culture and as a form of commodity for a de-politicised nostalgia masquerading as tradition:

Spatializing culture as core value, without considering process and temporality, risk[s] making culture look like the mysterious commodity form and its relationship to value add exchange. We know that this critique vanished in the post-war desire to substitute economic wellbeing for political responsibility, which insisted on cementing cultural essence to the realization of successful performance as a natural coupling (Cox & Bruman, 2009).
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The recent re-arrangement of global political economy led manufacturing sectors in Japan to get ready for post-industrial society. Meanwhile Hashima coal mine exposed its hidden histories to the public. It is an ironic reality that seemingly economic activities for the benefit and well-being of society have systematically unsettled that society’s memory and perceptions. And they might even keep old perceptions over time by following tradition.

While Japan can be considered to have succeeded in its modernisation and industrialization policies without colonial control, the nation’s heritage-makers have so far neglected to recognise the total achievements of the Meiji Revolution by refusing to make a judgement of their worth and what those era’s politicians and bureaucrats did in this period to demolish the old stagnant culture. Instead, while selected sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution have been mapped, surveyed and recorded to register in the World Heritage Sites of UNESCO, only the thematic approach has been used with a focus on the successful industrial transformation from the West to East pre-1910. In so doing, this selection sets aside other issues around the historical/technological value through the use of ‘expert language’. But as Righini (2009, p. 93) correctly asserts: ‘This sculptural preoccupation with the machine aesthetic became too self-conscious and was unable to deal with real issues of context’.

In the process, Hashima coal mine, as one of industrial sites, is positioned hierarchically as one link to facilitate identity-making at the national level. At a local level, it receives a new authenticity as a tourist destination. In other words, it helps the Japanese to realise what it means to be Japanese by becoming an economic asset. These two functions have certainly prolonged the life of the island beyond the point where its production ceased.
While it remains as a very important fact to re-assemble the context of commodity-making during the production period of the island, this depends on the powers of the stakeholder. In the meantime, one need not take the allocation of themes seriously under the name of social wellbeing, local-branding and society as a whole. In fact, if one considers the de-contextualisation and value-making that has taken place it is advisable to keep one’s perception intact until the issues of memory are seriously addressed.

When the power of the present stakeholders, as discussed in this case study, is weak and of little legitimacy, commodity–making can be easy to do. Ironically, as has been pointed out, while the period pre-1910 might have been considered as the only criteria for the selection of heritage sites symbolic of Japanese industrialization, it is actually the history of Hashima Island post-1945 that really interests the tourists.


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Hashima (Gunkanjima)

The History of Hashima
Coal was discovered on Hashima around 1810. Although the Saga clan carried out some small-scale coal mining, it was not until Mitsubishi bought the mine from Nabeshima Magoroku in 1890 that full-scale seabed coal mining operations began.

As the amount of coal being excavated increased, the population of Hashima grew, and in 1910, a new reinforced concrete high-rise apartment building was constructed to house the many people living on this small island. At its peak, the population of the island was around 5,300, giving it a population density one times greater than that of Tokyo at the same time.

The Energy Resolution caused a shift away from coal towards oil power. As demand for coal fell, the mine's production gradually shrank along with the island's population. In January 1974, the mine was closed, and in April of the same year the island became uninhabited.

Work in the Coalmine
Between 1891 and 1974, around 15.7 million tons of coal was excavated by the "men of the pit." Mining the seabed coal reserves of Hashima took the miners to points over 1,000m below sea level. After making the grueling journey down the steep slopes of the shafts, they worked in terrible conditions, braving temperatures of 30ºC and humidity of 95%, not to mention the ever-present danger of gas explosions. In the mine, an often-exchanged greeting was "Gunkanjima" (literally, "warship"). By this, the miners meant "take care not to have an accident."

Life on the Island
Originally, Hashima was just a small, barren shelf of aqueous rock. However, as mining methods continued to develop, the island was expanded. Embankments were constructed six times through land reclamations, until the island reached its present size and shape. Originally, Hashima was only a third of its current size.

Island Expansion

![Hashima Seeded Coal Mine Cross-section]

![Children carrying soil up to a rooftop]
![Rooftop vegetable garden]
![Carrying coal waste out of the mine.]

![Pushing a fully loaded 'coal tub' to the main mining cart tracks.]

Hashima Safety Protocols
1. Do not leave the designated observation area.
2. Do not do any of the following things in the observation facilities: (a) dangerous activities such as climbing fences (b) actions which dirty the facilities (c) drinking alcohol (including on the boat) (d) smoking (e) causing annoyance to other people.
3. Follow the instructions of the safety guide and other staff.
4. Wear appropriate clothing and footwear that allows for safe use of the observation facilities.
5. Do not drop litter.
6. People who cannot walk unaided, such as young children or people with disabilities, must be accompanied by a guardian or caretaker.
7. Depending on the weather and sea conditions, it may not be possible to use the observation facilities. In the event that the facilities are unusable, facility usage fees will be refunded.
8. For reasons of safety, intoxicated individuals are restricted from using the observation facilities.
9. Elementary school students and young children must have a letter of consent from their parent or guardian.

Entry Fees

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<td>¥200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Groups (junior high school students)</td>
<td>¥150</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elementary School Students</td>
<td>¥240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contact Details
Nagasaki City Call Center (Ajjaisai Call) (TEL 095-825-5175)
Nagasaki Tourist Information Center (TEL 095-823-3631)
Buildings, but now most of them have collapsed. In the General Office building, there was a large communal bath called “Amakawa” - were widely constructed. To this day these retaining walls survive all over the island, contributing to Hashima's unique scenery.

As the island was expanded in the Meiji Period (1868-1912), sea walls were constructed. This brick building was the nerve center of the mine. In the General Office, the No. 31 Building, and the first floor had a post office and bartop shop. The swimming pool was moved here in 1958 from in front of the school, after it was damaged in a typhoon. The 25 meter long pool and attached children’s pool were once many other pools. Today only a small pool on the opposite shore. This led to the lifting of water rations on the island. Drinking water was used for baths; fresh water was used only for drinking.

In 1893, the Mitsubishi Corporation established a standard elementary school on the main island. In 1921, the school came under the management of the town, and the building was moved to approximately the school’s current location. The building that survives today was constructed in 1938, with the first four floors serving as an elementary school. Floors 5 and 6 serving as a junior high and secondary school, floors 7 and 8 as the gymnasium and lunch hall. The school boasts the highest adoption rate of electronic devices in the prefecture (Mid 1950s to Mid 1960s). The swimming pool was moved here in 1958 from in front of the school, after it was damaged in a typhoon. The 25 meter long pool and attached children’s pool were once many other pools. Today only a small pool on the opposite shore. This led to the lifting of water rations on the island. Drinking water was used for baths; fresh water was used only for drinking.

This shrine was a spiritual center for the miners who risked their lives working in the pit. On April 3 every year, great celebrations took place all over the island to mark the shrine’s Yamagami Festival. Before the main altar there was once a worshipper’s hall, but it has collapsed. Today only a small shrine remains.

Hashima Hospital and Quarantine Ward

Completed in 1954, this hospital was built to protect the health of the mine workers, who risked their lives in the pit, and their families living on the island. For the people on Hashima, the existence of this hospital was undoubtedly reassuring.

Coal Storage Conveyor Belt

Selected coal was transferred to the storage facility via this conveyor belt, where it was kept before being loaded onto coal-carrying ships. The branches of the conveyor belt survive today.
Visitors in wheelchairs can also enjoy taking a stroll through the Garden. The Garden has also set aside special parking for the disabled. Toilet facilities with wheelchair access. Don't hesitate to take advantage of these facilities.

Modernized Japan's shipping industry, cold drink pioneer

Born in Britain, Walker established Walker & Co. in Nagasaki in 1856. He left an important legacy in the Japanese shipping industry and later established the first beverage manufacturer in Japan. He was active as one of the most influential men in the business world of the Nagasaki foreign settlement.

Walker loved Japan so much, he went so far as to name two of his bew-ages "Banana Cider" and "Banana Lemonade". In his later years, he moved to Canada, transferring control of his business and his home to his son Robert Walker, Jr. Two generations of Walkers lived in Nagasaki for over 70 years.

First introduce trawling into Japan, produced the monumental epic the Glover Atlas and contributed to the modernization of Nagasaki as a fishing metropolis.

Engaged in foreign trade throughout his life, he reigned over Nagasaki's economic world in Meiji era.

Born in Britain, Ringer came to Japan in around 1864, working at Glover & Co., and then establishing Holme, Ringer & Co. in 1868 together with another Englishman, Holme. He established the Nagasaki Club for the local community to meet with residents of the foreign settlement and was active in a wide range of activities including construction of Nagasaki waterworks, international trade, agency, tea manufacturing, mill and electric power generation.

Robert Neil Walker 1851 - 1941

The man who built up the Mitsubishi organization as the second president of Mitsubishi.

The younger brother of Mitsubishi's founder Yataro Iwasaki, Yanosuke Iwasaki is the man building up the Mitsubishi organization as second president of Mitsubishi. His older brother Yataro and Glover were deeply connected in Nagasaki. After Yataro's death, Yanosuke continued the friendship over the course of his own life, inviting Glover in to Mitsubishi's headquarters.

There still exists a photograph of Yanosuke Iwasaki and Glover taken in 1851.

William Alt 1840 - 1905

Through his business, William Alt introduced the world to Japanese tea.

Born in Britain, Alt came to Nagasaki when the ports were opened. He soon moved to Nagasaki, where he established the Alt Trading Company. In partnership with the Nagasaki businessman Kei Kuribara, he bought up and exported tea leaf and coffee around the world. With his huge profits, he made the tea manufacturing industry. All that he built the Alt Residence constructed in 1885. Although it is a very Western-looking building, it was in fact designed by the English architect of the Goto Cathedral in London, Mr. Alt's wife Elizabeth wrote: "Nagasaki is a truly beautiful place, I knew no place more beautiful."

Glover Garden

Opening Hours: 8:00 to 18:00 (Last entry 17:00) National holiday, New Year’s Day, and the third Mon. of Apr., Aug., and Dec. Closed: Mon. (except public holidays)

Regular Price: 1,500 yen (Regular price), 800 yen (Children under 12)

Glover Garden is available for parties, weddings and a wide variety of other events. A wedding or party at these historic facilities in the pine forest location is sure to make a lasting impression.
The Former Nagasaki International Club Restaurant

Enjoy Traditional Nagasaki Cuisine

Western flavors, come enjoy the taste of Nagasaki cuisine in a Dejima International Club Restaurant.

**Entrees**
- E Picado
- G e Beef
- E Nagasaki
- E whale
- E Kakuni
- E Portuguese
- E Kakuni
- E H am burger
- E Nagasaki

**Drinks**
- E Ramune
- E Coffee
- E Kakuni

**Dessert**
- E P ortuguese
- E Kakuni
- E H am burger
- E Nagasaki

Boasting a unique combination of Japanese, Chinese, and Western flavors, come enjoy the taste of Nagasaki cuisine in a place where history has been made since 1603!

- [Nagasaki Special Turkish Rice (Pictured below on the right)] ¥700
- [Lemonade Soda Pop (inc. Salad)] • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • ¥700

Curry w/ Homegrown Seasonal Vegetables

- [Steamed Pork Bun (Hot/Cold)] • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • ¥350

Enjoy Traditional Nagasaki

- [Cutlet Only] • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • ¥600
- [Soup w/ Homegrown Seasonal Vegetables] • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • ¥400

- [Tomato Sauce Turkish Rice] ¥800
- [Lemon Shake] ¥500

**Order:**
2. E Monument to Kaempfer and Thunberg
- *Built in 1878, this building remains as the oldest former Protestant sanctuary in all of Japan.*
3. E Former Dejima Protestan Seminary
- *Built in 1878, this building remains as the oldest former Protestant sanctuary in all of Japan.*
4. E Former Stone Warehouse
- *Built in 1865, this building is a restoration of the stone warehouse built here in 1865.*
5. E New Stone Warehouse (Dejima Theater)
6. E Main Gate
7. E Former Stone Warehouse (Archives Center)
- *This building was the home of the Dutch head clerk who was responsible for taking notes in ledgers and other official records.*
8. E Former Dejima Protestant Seminary
- *This building was the home of the Dutch head clerk who was responsible for taking notes in ledgers and other official records.*
9. E Monument to Kaempfer and Thunberg
10. E Eider Clerk's Quarters
11. E Southside Stone Embankments
- *Stone embankments surrounded Dejima on all sides. Although part of the stone wall was lost, it has been restored using methods from the time it was originally built. On the inland side of the church, a line in the stone shows how the walls extended in 1697.*

**Smartphones in Dejima!**
Easy to connect to and use, your smartphone can provide you with even more information about Dejima. Available in English:
http://www.city.nagasaki.nagasaki.jp/dejima?
Construction of Dejima

Twenty-five of Nagasaki's merchants, called the Merchants of Dejima, created Dejima's construction. The island was also referred to by two other names. Because the island was built from land reclaimed from the ocean, it was called Tatsukushi (The Constructed Island). It was also called Dejima (The Powed Island) because of its shape. Nevertheless, the concept, architecture, source of labor, construction, and technology remain mysterious. The construction of Dejima are still surrounded in mystery today.

Restoration and Maintenance of Dejima

Although it played a large role in the commercial life of Japan, the surrounding land surrounding Dejima continued through the Meiji Era. In 1994, Dejima lost its original shape of a fan facing the ocean with the completion of Phase II of Harbor Improvement Construction. Dejima is a valuable historical heritage site for not only the history of the world, but also for those who want to see how the world was operating in the past.

When the island was founded on the 18th of September in 1636, the Dutch East India Company Trading Post at Dejima closed. The Dutch East India Company physician T. W. de la Court arrived in Nagasaki.

Mysteries of Dejima

Learning about the mystery surrounding Dejima can make it even more fun.

Why is Dejima fan-shaped?

How did Dejima end up in the shape of a fan?

The following is a theory of the shape of Dejima.

- The Shogun at the time, Tokugawa hantei, was able to add up to 25 of the most powerful merchants from all over the world, which is still a mystery.
- It is said that the shape is effective in reducing the impact of high waves.
- The shape of the fan was adopted because the Dutch often left the site in the Netherlands to protect the island.
- The fan shape was considered the most suitable for the island.

How much did it cost to build Dejima?

Dejima was maintained from revenues from 25 of the most powerful merchants. Present-day currency rate, Dejima cost around 400 million yen to build.

What kind of people lived on Dejima?

Two Dutch ships usually sailed to Nagasaki. When ships were anchored here, many officials stayed on Dejima, but after the ships departed, only around 15 people remained on the island. Among them were the Chief Factor, a physician, a clockmaker, and a few others responsible for keeping accounts, and a few merchants were the Chief Factor, a physician, a clockmaker, and a few others responsible for keeping accounts. It is estimated that 20,000 people were staying on Dejima, and many Japanese people from various occupations worked there. It was, however, the Dutch who made the boat ends, and the Chinese who were in charge of the work, who did the construction for Dejima that played the largest role here. It is said that there were also more than 100 when Japanese people working on the island including men and women, their children and cooking.

Entertainment on Dejima

Learn about the many different forms of entertainment that spread throughout Japan from Dejima!

Badminton

In the Kamei Shimoda, a Japanese text featuring the customs of the Dutch living in Dejima and other historical stories, there is a picture depicting a game very similar to badminton being played outdoors with a racket and shuttlecock. The picture in this book shows that badminton was being played on Dejima in the past, before its popularity in Europe.

Billiards

Dutch ships usually arrived in Nagasaki in August or early September and stayed for about two months, usually departing by September 20th. As a result, the residents of Dejima had little to do from June to October and occupied themselves with various activities, one of which was billiards. It is said that a billiards table had already been placed on the island by 1764, and a billiards parlor is depicted in Nakahara Kikutaro's illustration "Takamizaki Ramen Yukan".

Chocolate

Dejima was built at the tip of the cape of Nagasaki in order to prohibit the spread of Christianity by isolating foreign ships from local Japanese residents. Although the Portuguese ships were allowed to land in Dejima in 1639, Dejima played a large role in the modernization of Japan in 1838.

Coffee

Dutch ships brought coffee to Japan in the early 19th century. Japanese people at first shunned the drink as bitter, but by the time of the arrival of the Dutch in 1838, it is said that the Dutch and Japanese population had begun to embrace coffee.

Life in Dejima

Love, Work, and Scandals

Learn about the drama of life on Dejima for Dutch officials!

The Fake Dutch Captain

On July 16, 1800, when Willem Wierinckh, the new Chief Factor, arrived at Dejima, the foreign ship the Eliza of New York was already in Nagasaki Harbor. Dutch, who had arrived with Wierinckh, was surprised to find that the ship's captain was Stewart, the 'missing' captain of the Eliza of New York commissioned two years ago by the Governor General of the Dutch East India Company. Stewart was sent to Nagasaki for investigation, but he escaped custody. He managed to obtain yet another ship and returned to Dejima to try to sell its cargo in 1803.
Enjoy the trip back through time to the Dejima of the past! 

Dejima, still in its original location, features both Edo Period II around since the Meiji Period.

**Dejima Reborn**

Excavation and Research

Dejima is currently being restored to its early 19th century appearance. The majority of the discovered remains from the 19th century are from the period spanning the 18th century to the mid-19th century. The evidence derived from the site in 1979 on the west side of Dejima is being used to determine the period of items recovered in continuing excavations.

Restoration and Repair Methods

Stone walls unearthed through excavations undergo many different types of necessary research for restoration. After cleaning the surfaces of the stones, research is done into the memory work, usually marks left from processing, the size and more. Then, the original form, varying, and print are identified, and the original location of the stones and its damaged portion are reconstructed. Afterwards, they are assembled into states that have the required strength for restoration and stress that are damaged foundation stones do not have the required strength to use, and only the locations with problems are accepted. Then, after reconstructing the makeup of the foundation stone and metal methods and learning how the walls were constructed, restoration using the same materials as from the past is performed.

Previous Research and Future Plans

The Dutch East India Company Trading Post on Dejima was designed as a national historic site in 1952. Efforts were made to formerly arrange the government in 1958, and development work was undertaken. Full-scale excavation work has been ongoing since 1990. So far, the majority of buildings from the late 18th to late 19th century and the stone embankments from when Dejima was first constructed until the end of the Edo period have been uncovered. Further restoration along with restoration work are planned to continue.

**Books about Dejima**

Want to learn more? Many books are available for purchase with detailed insight on Dejima.

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**Provisional Dejima Area**

**[Short to Mid-Term Restoration Plans]**

**Restoration to be completed in three phases!**

**Phase 1: Central Zone**

- Restoration of ten buildings including the Dejima's most prominent building, the Chief Factor's Quarters as well as the Water Gate.
- Exhibits include furniture and furnishings.

**Phase 2: Central Zone**

- Restoration of nine buildings including warehouses and residences that housed Japanese officials.

**Phase 3: East & South Zones**

- Restoration of five buildings including the Infirmary and Chief Factor's Cottage. Restoration of the streets, street lights, and furniture will provide visitors with a sense of everyday life on Dejima.

**[Long-term Plan]**

Surround Dejima on all sides by water and fully restore its early 19th century fan shape!
A chance to encounter a golden age of history of Nagasaki

The Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture is one of the few museums in Japan with the theme of "Overseas Exchange". The museum holds approx. 86,000 precious collections including historical documents and arts & crafts that tell the story of Nagasaki developed as the sole window opened to foreign countries during the period of national isolation.

In addition, part of Nagasaki Magistrate's Office called Bugyosho (a local agency of the central government in the Edo period) was faithfully reconstructed based on historical materials, allowing visitors to understand the life of samurai warriors in those days. Historical materials are displayed in an enjoyable and new manner. Come and spend meaningful time encountering the history and culture of Nagasaki.

### Access

#### By Public Transportation
- 5 minutes walk from Sakura Machi Tram Station
- 7 minutes walk from Kokaido Mae Tram Station
- 3 minutes walk from Sakura Machi Koen-mae Bus Stop
- 15 minutes walk from the Ran-Ran Bus Shiyakusyo-Mae Bus Stop

#### By Car
30 minutes by car from the Nagasaki Highway Tarami Interchange via Nagasaki By-pass(Nishiyama Tunnel) toward Suwa Shrine

### Admission Fee (Permanent Exhibition)

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<tr>
<td>Adults</td>
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<tr>
<td>High School Students</td>
<td>¥250</td>
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[Supplementary fee for Special Exhibitions]

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</table>

- Opening Hours / 8:30~19:00
- Closed Third Tuesday of the month (or next day when Tuesday in holiday)
- Parking for 62 cars and 5 buses
History and Culture Exhibition Zone

Nagasaki's Overseas Exchange

**Exchange with the Netherlands**
Nagasaki was the only window open to the West in the Edo period (17c-19c). Exchange with the Netherlands introduced Japan western language, medicine, astronomy and physics, and therefore Dutch Studies known as Rangaku in Japanese had its birth in Nagasaki. The exhibition shows how it started and developed.

**Age of Discoveries**
This corner deals with the time when foreign trade flourished after westerners first visited Japan in mid. 16c. It focuses on "Nanban" (Portuguese and Spanish) Culture and introduction of Christianity.

**Trade in Nagasaki**
Here you can see the unusual artifacts brought to Japan by foreign traders and find out what they would have been worth today in a hands-on display.

**Nagasaki-Trade city**
Nagasaki flourished due to the profitable trade with China and the Netherlands. The city of Nagasaki grew with the population of 60,000 in the latter of 17c. This corner introduces rich merchants lives and cultures.

**Exchange with China**
Exchanges between China and Japan have a long history. Chinese merchants and monks introduced Japan various Chinese cultures such as arts, music, foods, architecture, etc.

**Exchange with Korea**
This corner introduces Hoshu Amenomori and other messengers who were active in promoting exchange with the Korean Peninsular via the island of Tsushima.

**Age of Discoveries**

**Trade in Nagasaki**

**Nagasaki-Trade city**

**Exchange with China**

**Exchange with Korea**

**Modernization of Japan and Nagasaki**
This corner shows the role Nagasaki played in postrestoration Japan on the stage of diplomacy, as well as being at the forefront of modern medicine, printing ship building and industrial technology.

**Arts of Nagasaki**
Many artworks produced in Nagasaki influenced by western and Chinese style art are on display.

**Crafts of Nagasaki**
Porcelain, lacquer ware, blue shell craft, glassware tortoise shell craft and a variety of other Nagasaki crafts are on display.

Museum Restaurant Ginrei
Established in 1930 it is one of Nagasaki's oldest western style restaurants. Surrounded by antique furniture, you can enjoy everything from traditional Nagasaki cuisine to a full dinner menu.

Floorplan

Museum Shop
The Museum Shop is located to the next to the entrance hall on the first floor. Here you can buy our unique museum goods, books, traditional artifacts and products with the theme of overseas exchange history.

Parking Area