

THE REALITY OF LOCAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY – THE STORY OF A SMALL VILLAGE BETWEEN FUKUOKA AND SAGA PREFECTURES

Chu Xuân Giao*

Manuscript received: 21/10/2021; Peer-reviewed: 28/10/2021; Accepted: 08/11/2021

© 2021 Thang Long University.

Abstract

Based on ethnographic field surveys over many years in a coastal village of Fukuoka (Japan) combined with a historical anthropology approach, this article presents and explains an exception to the existing theoretical framework on tourism and tourism development in the fields of folklore and cultural anthropology in Japan. It is the case of an isolated and completely unknown small island that has been deeply involved in the local tourism service system since the early twentieth century and became a famous resort destination for a large area covering the two prefectures of Fukuoka and Saga for about half a century, and then faded very quickly after 1945, with the result that it now looks pristine as if nothing has changed since ancient times. Since current theories on tourism often focus on the present, it is easy to overlook individual realities in localities. These individual realities can only be discovered by combining the long-term field survey method with an historical anthropology approach (harmoniously combining data from observations at the present with on-site documentation).

Key words: *Folklore; Cultural anthropology; Historical anthropology; Tourism; Modernization*

1. Introduction

This is the story of a village named Ikisan on the outskirts of Itoshima city in Fukuoka Prefecture today, which has been the site of my long-term ethnographic field survey (see Chu 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007). Ikisan village is located on the border between Fukuoka and Saga prefectures. Within Ikisan village there is also Hamakubo hamlet near the sea with about 50 households. A lagoon in front

of Hamakubo hamlet contains a small island called Hakoshima. Hakoshima today looks like a pristine island with an ancient Shinto shrine at the top where the sea god is worshipped. Every year, a family living near the island and neighbors in Hamakubo still hold ceremonies to worship the sea god according to Shinto rites. At first glance, it seems that Hakoshima has existed in this way since the dawn of time and has never received any influence from the process of

* Institute of Cultural Studies, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. Email: dzjao@yahoo.com.vn

modernization and local tourism development. But actually, I discovered that in the first half of the twentieth century, Hakoshima was a famous tourist destination. Interestingly, that recent past has been almost completely forgotten, so that Hakoshima's pristine appearance today is now seen as a resource for tourism development with a new approach.

2. Tourism in Japanese Cultural Studies

I have in earlier publications already described in brief the overall relationship between the two fields of *folklore* (民俗学) and *cultural anthropology* (文化人類学) in Japan (Chu 2005, 2006). Particularly, within these two fields of research, two sub-fields have been formed that have a deep interrelationship and yet maintain their own unique perspectives, namely the folklore of tourism (観光民俗学) and the anthropology of tourism (観光人類学). In general, both are new sub-fields and they have taken shape as a result of theories imported from the West and are being used to refresh the fields as a whole.

According to an analysis made in 2004 by Morita, who studies tourism and its relationship with local Japanese culture by combining the methods of both folklore and cultural anthropology¹, tourism is often viewed in association with such issues as *exoticism*, *postcolonialism*, *power relations* or politics and in folklore it is in association with such issues as *nostalgia*, *nationalism* and *locality*. Currently, the common point of the two approaches is that tourism is seen as a demonstration of the issues of pre-modern society [14] (pp. 51).

There are two key terms in the folklore of tourism and the anthropology of tourism: *host* and *guest*. *Hosts* are people who live or work in tourist attractions or cultural heritage sites and *guests* are visitors to tourist sites or cultural heritage sites. There are many studies on the relationship between the *host* and the

guest, and also in-depth studies on the *guest* side or the *host* side. Ando's field studies (Ando 2001, 2002) provide interesting insights into the diversity of the host side in advocating the originality of cultural heritage brought to tourism development.

By the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, when tourism research began to develop in Japanese academic circles, the topic of *tabi* (meaning *travel*, *wandering*, *adventure* in Japanese) in the folklore field of research was theoretically influenced by the anthropology of tourism and this enables it to renew itself. Among others, Kanzaki's research stands out (see Kanzaki 1990, 1997, 2004). Perhaps he was the first to use the term folklore of tourism (in the early 1990s). However, despite being influenced by the theory of "host-guest relationship", Kanzaki's greatest interest was still in "Japanese *tabi*-related customs", that is, despite new investigations into the present, his aim was still towards the reconstruction of the distant past (for example, the *tabi* of the Edo period). Folklore researchers of the generation after Kanzaki, i.e. the current generation such as Ando, mentioned above, have deeply internalized the anthropology of tourism in their studies of local tourism phenomena in Japan today, they have a retrospective look at the past, in order to reflect on the problems of the present more effectively. Their research can be considered to be both cultural anthropology and folklore, in other words, it is evidence of what is called *home anthropology*, *native anthropology*.

Now, from the above theoretical issues, we come to the reality of tourism on Hakoshima island in the village mentioned above. Owing to the content capacity's limitations, and to avoid complexity in the writer's presentation and in the reader's comprehension of primary-level material (i.e. fieldwork, including in-depth interviews and documentation), here I will simply draw conclusions, omitting detailed

explanation of the origins and meaning of the material.

3. Initial discovery of the unspoiled appearance of Hakoshima Island nowadays

In an article published in 2007, I introduced Hakoshima Island as follows: a small island (very small and uninhabited); the island was once one of the famous sights in Itoshima District and in the western part of Fukuoka Prefecture; on the island, there is a small shrine to the god of the sea, and the festival of the shrine has developed into a major festival in the region [7] (pp. 65).

Hakoshima today is an isolated small island in a narrow and calm lagoon, and if it were to

catch the eye of passers-by, they would not think it had once been a popular tourist destination (see *Photo 1*). In addition, even local inhabitants do not have clear memories of the time when Hakoshima was a popular tourist destination, and it seems that people want to forget about that period. Why? This question will be answered below.

First of all, let me narrate a story that may seem to be peripheral. The story took place in December 2000, which was the first time I came from Tokyo to western Japan and arrived in the village of Ikisan, thereby having the opportunity to see Hakoshima Island from afar.



Photo 1. The small island of Hakoshima and national highway No.202 connecting Fukuoka with Saga (2021, photo provided by K.R in Itoshima city)

The main purpose of my trip in late 2000 was to accompany a Vietnamese researcher (hereinafter referred to as Mr. P.) to visit rural Japan after attending an international conference in Tokyo. My sole purpose was to take advantage of the trip to confirm that the area would be my long-term field survey site from 2001. A professor at Fukuoka University (Mr. N. for short) spent a lot of time and effort in guiding the two of us on this trip. When he took us by private car to Ikisan village, the first place we arrived and stopped at was Hakoshima Island. A simple white-painted

shrine gate (torii) was erected on the front of the island to signal that there was a shrine on it. The desolate scene seen through the car window somehow made me want to stop for closer look. Mr. N. agreed and parked the car on the side of the road, so the three of us got out of the car and headed towards the island. Luckily at that time there was a local person working at the side of the road, who turned out to be an old farmer from Hamakubo hamlet (Hakoshima island is located in this hamlet); his ancestors have resided here since ancient times, but he did not know much

about the gods worshipped on the island, though there seemed to be a sea god amongst them. Currently, the island is uninhabited and it is not used for any purpose. Occasionally, anglers from other places come to fish on beautiful days.

As a folklorist, Mr. N. immediately turned to Mr. P and me to explain that local people worship the sea god on this island, and that perhaps the god had been worshiped since ancient times. The unspoiled/pristine landscape of the island plus the fact that the shrine of the sea god faces the village, not the sea, allow it to be seen as an *ancient form of belief* preserved until today. After that, we went together over the short concrete bridge connecting the island to the mainland, then climbed up the island, and looked at Hamakubo hamlet and the surrounding space. I was impressed by the expressions “ancient belief 古代信仰” and “primitive look 原始的” in the explanation of Mr. N, which seemed to be supported by the wildness of the island and the fact that it faced into the village.

Later, when I did a long-term investigation in Ikisan village in 2002, through interviews and documentation I gradually came to understand that behind Hakoshima's *existing wild appearance* was a *very modern past*. The island had been actively involved in the local modernization process, but the process had not flowed in a straight line. It caused the island to be thrown aside by new currents. In such a peripheral position, the island returned to its pristine appearance. It is understandable that its surface appearance would deceive a passer-by. However, through the story of the farmer (and later interviews I conducted) it can be said that, to insiders, the island's *lost past* does not seem to be noticed or remembered.

The above is the story of Hakoshima in the memory of ordinary people, but what about written documents? Local official documents are *geographic* in genre (equivalent to the *topography* of Vietnam), compiled and published

by local authorities at all levels (prefecture, county, city, township and village). Since the Meiji Restoration (1868), there have been five local publications which mention Hakoshima: *Geography of Fukuoka Prefecture* (1872), *Geography of Itoshima District* (1927), *Geography of Nijo town* (1967), *Steps in 30 years* (1985), *Geography of Nijo town - Heisei edition* (2005).

The Geography of Fukuoka Prefecture 福岡地理全誌, which was completed in 1872, mentions Hakoshima [18] (pp.686), but only in connection with the state of the island before it engaged in modernization, i.e. before or at the time of the Meiji Restoration, including description of its dimensions, unique shape and its relation to other sites in the region. More than half a century later, the *Geography of Itoshima District*, published in 1927, contained some lines about Hakoshima and a black and white photograph. Accordingly, we know that in the 1920s, thanks to its location and beautiful scenery, Hakoshima became a scenic spot, began to participate in local tourism activities, especially for summer vacation services. There was an architectural structure on it called *Kitei* 旗亭, which means the inn with its name on a flag. Kitei could have been both a dining place and an overnight guest house for visitors to the island. However, we do not know the nature of Kitei's business or the name of its owner.

Forty years later, in 1967, *the Geography of Nijo Town* was released to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the town's establishment. A small part (one chapter) is about the tourist facilities in the town, more precisely about the spots selected by the Tourist Association of Nijo Town 二丈町観光協会 in the local tourism development program. Hakoshima ranks first in the local tourism resource category. Why is it ranked in that position? The tourist association introduced it as follows: “This island is a scenic spot located at the border between Nijo town and Maebaru town; formed by large-sized boulders and green

pinetrees, it looks like a box-shaped garden². Many guests often come for fishing” [17] (pp.617). Through the above introduction, it can be seen that in the 1960s Hakoshima was considered to be a tourist attraction because of its natural beauty. There were no inns on the island as in the 1920s. After Japan’s defeat in 1945, the inn was dismantled, and Hakoshima returned to its natural beauty.

The fact that the inn was dismantled after the war is evidenced by another official record, the caption for an old photograph of Hakoshima. The photo was taken around the 1930s and reprinted in a book published by Nijo town in 1985 on the occasion of the town’s 30th anniversary [15] (pp.14). The photograph reprinted in this book does not include a note about the year in which it was taken or its origin, but I have learnt that it was originally a photo from the 1930s and was printed on a postcard of the North Kyushu Railway Joint Stock Company (dissolved in 1937). The postcard was probably kept in some personal album in the town of Nijo until 1985, when the town’s editorial board borrowed it to reprint it. In the book printed in 1985, the caption is as follows: “On the island Hakoshima-sama in Hamakubo, there used to be a few small houses!” (浜窪にある箱島様、小屋がいくつも建っていたんですね). This is an amazing caption! In 1985 it was 40 years since 1945, when the inn on Hakoshima was demolished, and that was enough for people to have forgotten its pre-1945 past, and for young people not to know that there had once been an inn there.

Finally, let’s take a look at the note on Hakoshima in a new publication, *Geography of Nijo town – new edition* compiled in 3 years (from 2003) and published in 2005 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the town’s establishment. The brief note contains a few lines along with a small black and white photo of Hakoshima as follows: “From Fukuoka city, if you go by car

along National Highway No. 202 towards Karatsu city for about an hour, as soon as you enter the territory of Nijo town, you will immediately see Hakoshima located in Kafuri Bay. It is a small island with many big rocks and green pines. On the island, there is a small shrine dedicated to the god of ear-healing called Hakoshima-sama; every year, in April, people celebrate the god. In the years Shōwa 10-20 (1935-1945), in the middle of the big pine trees, there were a few small houses for “drinking tea” 茶屋, and visitors came a lot” [16] (pp. 477). This note gives us nothing new, and only differs from the previous mentions in the incorrect suggestion that it was not a restaurant on the island but just a tea shop.

Through the notices of Hakoshima in five publications, we can get some understanding, although an incomplete one, of the general situation of Hakoshima through the length of pre-modern history. In addition, they provide a specific example of the interaction between localities and the centre in tourism development. Certainly, the so-called *localities* in these five publications are not ordinary people living in the village community, but rather *local government* or *local administration*. On the one hand, they may be the representatives of the common people but, on the other hand, there exists a status difference between them and ordinary people. Therefore, for fieldwork researchers such as folklorists and/or cultural anthropologists, the notices in the above-mentioned official documents only serve as a kind of secondary reference.

4. Hakoshima in the local tourism system in the first half of the twentieth century

From a collection of sources, especially in-depth interviews and unofficial documents (articles and photographs in local newspapers; records, diaries, letters and photographic materials in the possession of individuals; and personal publications), in a previous report (see Chu 2004), I presented the recent past of

Hakoshima in connection with the two issues of religion and local tourism. Based on the results of that report, I hereby summarize Hakoshima's recent past associated with local tourism in four points.

Firstly, regarding ownership and the right to worship the god of Hakoshima (ordinary people refer to it as *Hakoshima-sama*, but actually there are three gods worshipped on the island), these rights now appertain to two different owners: ownership (land property) belongs to the autonomous organization of Ikisan village and the right to worship belongs to the family of Mr. S. (over 70 years old in 2002) who lives near the island. However, there is limited participation of the Hamakubo community in the right to worship. Before the land reform in Itoshima district (1950s), these two rights were both held by the family of Mr. S.

Secondly, regarding the origin of the highway running in front of Hakoshima, the highway plays a decisive role in breaking the isolation of the Hamakubo community, helping them to connect with the outside world. Thanks to that, Hakoshima now has the opportunity to become known to outsiders.

Before the Meiji Restoration, the highway did not exist, so communication between Hamakubo hamlet and the outside world was very limited. Their lives were restricted to the inner space of the hamlet which was separated from the outside world on two sides by high mountains and by the lagoon, which was not favorable for fishery development. From family genealogies, we know that in the past, the phenomenon of intermarriage was very common in Hamakubo, and the rate was much higher than in surrounding neighborhoods. Perhaps because intermarriage had become customary, there were still many intermarried couples in the village until the 1960s and 1970s when the conditions for socializing with the outside world were better. Before the Meiji Restoration, although there

was a main road running through Ikisan village (used for going to the capital and returning from the capital to the home of local lords), Hamakubo was stuck between the mountains and the lagoon, so it was almost cut off from that road. Thus, Hakoshima was not known to the outside world. Ancient geographical accounts or collections of ancient sketches completed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not mention Hamakubo hamlet or Hakoshima.

After the Meiji government, transportation developed in local areas, and provincial roads or national highways were built, which in the initial period were largely a continuation of the previous interprovincial highway system. At the end of the Meiji period, in 1903, the national highway was extended to the area of Nijo town today. But before that, in 1887, a few families in Hamakubo hamlet agreed to dedicate a private area of land near the coast so that Ikisan village could open a village road running along the coast, which would facilitate travel to Fukuoka city. That village road was the forerunner of the highway opened in 1903 that runs in front of Hakoshima today (known as national highway 202). The stele inscribed with the names of the families who donated their land is still located at the corner of the small road leading to the cement bridge connecting Hakoshima to the mainland. Thus, at the end of the Meiji period, roads broke the isolation of Hamakubo, and so the small island of Hakoshima thereby became known to outsiders. It was the first step in Hakoshima becoming a famous tourist destination in the region.

There were numerous reasons for turning Hakoshima from a deserted island into a tourist destination. First of all, there is the natural beauty of Hakoshima itself (green pine forest, strangely stacked boulders, beautiful coastline; see *Photo 2*). The second reason is the prosperity of coal mining in the western region of Fukuoka Prefecture. This was the decisive

reason for the inclusion of Hakoshima in the *kenban* 券番 (*geisha restaurant*) system that flourished for about half a century from the end of the Meiji period (about 1900) until the defeat of Japan in 1945, to serve the entertainment needs of miners and people related to mines. The coal mines in Itoshima district (including the western part of Fukuoka city today) were exhausted decades ago, so today it is difficult to see clearly the traces of the coal mining industry that once flourished here.

Because of the labor needs of the coal mines, people from other parts of Japan flocked to Itoshima district, and as a consequence, a *kenban* system was formed around the coal mining area. Within the district, there were two *kenban*³, one on Meinohama Street (the center of Heinohama Street in the Western District of Fukuoka City today) and the other on Maebaru Street (the center of Maebaru City today), both privately established with the permission of the local government, under the protection of police security and obliged to pay taxes on sales. Hakoshima, owing to its location very close to the *kenban* in Maebaru, was mobilized into this system. By joining, or being absorbed into, the local *kenban* system, Hakoshima quickly became famous, being considered “the famous place of the northern part of Fukuoka Prefecture 北筑名所箱島” and not only of Itoshima District⁴.

Another important reason is the promotion of Hakoshima by the *Itoshima shinbun* 糸島新聞. This is a local privately-founded newspaper, operating from 1917 (No.1 issued on 20th July) up to the present day, widely read throughout the region (the newspaper was suspended for a while at the end of the second World War owing to the state’s press policy). Before 1945, *the Itoshima shinbun* had a period of strong growth to the extent that it had branches in Osaka and the United States (where many Itoshima people migrated to). Immediately after its inception, the newspaper published many photographs

of Hakoshima (sometimes on the front page) and articles praising the beautiful scenery and introducing tourism services on the island (cruises in the summer and the services of geisha in an inn).

In particular, within the framework of the series “Northern Fukuoka Prefecture in legend” (伝説の北筑) which ran for many years (with both investigative and literary articles), the newspaper published a two-part article on Hakoshima (No. 144 issued on 18th September 1921, and No.146 issued on 26th September 1921). The entry was written by Takano Shafū 鷹野斜風, who was once famous in the area for his literary talent. He grew up in Itoshima, went to university in Tokyo, returned to his hometown, and worked as a reporter for the *Itoshima shinbun*. Later, in response to the requests of many readers in the prefecture, in 1933, the articles in the entry were gathered and printed into a book titled *Itoshima in legend* [19]. It can be said that through modern media, i.e. the local press, Hakoshima became widely known as a tourist destination not only in Itoshima but also in the northern part of Kyushu.

Fourthly, we have already mentioned Mr. S’s family which owned Hakoshima in terms both of land property rights and rights in the worship of the island gods. However, the person who exploited the tourism potential of Hakoshima was not his family or someone in Ikisan village but an outsider. It was he who discovered the potential of the island and rented it for business. The island rental is paid to Mr. S’s family.

Since the business owner came from another place, and left when the business was at an end, local people in Hamakubo hamlet and Ikisan village do not have precise memories concerning Hakoshima during that period. Local people were not in the position of being the *host*, but rather belonged to the *guest* side in the use of tourism services offered on the island.



Photo 2. Hakoshima before 1945 (old photo in the author's collection)

The tourism services on Hakoshima covered 3 main categories: yachting and swimming in the summer, fishing (year-round), food and geisha (year-round). In the first category, Hakoshima was an ideal location, so most schools (from elementary to high school) in Itoshima prefecture organized swimming for groups of students during the summer. Many elderly people over 80 years old in the area still clearly remember their activities in Hakoshima every summer with their friends when they were students.

However, the main attraction on Hakoshima was the food and geisha and it is in this connection that Hakoshima quickly became famous for a while. As mentioned above, because it is near the *kenban* in Maebaru town, Hakoshima was mobilized into this entertainment service system and as a result there were dining rooms and recreation rooms on and next to the island to serve the guests with food and geisha.

As for the geisha, they were permanently based at the inn, but when more were needed extra geisha could be summoned from the *kenban* in Maebaru (just a few minutes walk away from Hakoshima). They served wine to guests and played music, and became sexual partners if required. In those days, when new geisha appeared at the Maebaru *kenban* or Hakoshima inn (all from other districts or provinces), the

Itoshima shinbun often had articles about them with their photographs.

When talking about the geisha in Hakoshima, some elderly people in the area referred to it as a “flesh-pot” or used the word “prostitution”. One person raised a little finger to indicate sexual activity. Another said that during the Second World War, it was customary to see off young soldiers who were members of the youth unions (most of them went to what are now Taiwan, Indonesia or Myanmar) with a geisha party at Hakoshima. Some even mentioned the so-called coal king of western Japan, Ito Den’emon 伊藤伝右衛門, a womanizer who used to visit or stay in Hakoshima.

However, there were also some articles in the *Itoshima shinbun* criticizing the restaurants in the district that allowed guests to stay overnight, noting that geisha would have sex (淫売) with guests. For example, in 1920 there was an article entitled “*The red-light district in Maebaru*” 前原花柳 published on page 3, No. 89 (issued on 1st November 1920).

It is possible to compare Hakoshima with the business situation of restaurants and inns with geisha in the surrounding areas at that time through the case of Suye village (in southern part of Kumamoto Prefecture – the neighboring Prefecture of Fukuoka) is located just a few dozen

kilometers from Ikisan Village (in the sense of the locals). The American scholar Embree in the 1930s investigated the village of Suye and recorded interesting details related to geisha:

...in the village there were eight men who sold their own daughters to work as geisha. One of them sold his daughter to a brothel in Kumamoto because he owed money to the guild, but still owed a bit, so he sold his second daughter as well. Another, whose wife had died, was from a poor family and was addicted to alcohol, so he had to sell his daughter to a geisha in the town of Taragi. Those who sold their daughters were always poor. They were not original villagers or influential families. And although they sold their own children, they were not scorned by the neighbors. The girls, when sold, usually signed contracts for three years at first, but never returned to the village. Usually, they wandered in the streets and restaurants, at best they were just running a small pub somewhere far away from home. Some people did geisha restaurant business when getting older. They did not get married, sometimes being redeemed to become concubines. When they got married, the restaurant owner played the role of their parents" [9] (pp.165-166).

Geisha who came to work in Hakoshima were also from other places. It is possible that one or more of them may have been the daughter of somebody in Suye village who had a debt, if they had come there before Embree worked as a field surveyor in Suye for many years, for Embree arrived in Suye village in 1935, and introductions of geisha in Hakoshima appeared in the *Itoshima shinbun* in the 1920s.

In summary, for nearly half of the early twentieth century (until 1945), Hakoshima was involved and active in the local tourism service system. A small uninhabited island in a remote lagoon belonging to a remote village became, thanks to tourism, a scenic spot in the region.

But everything changed after Japan's defeat. The defeat made Japanese society in general

and the local area like Itoshima in particular chaotic for a while, creating an opportunity for profound transformation in all aspects of social life. Tourism in Hakoshima went bankrupt, accommodation facilities on the island were demolished, business owners withdrew, and the island returned to its former solitude.

In the 1950s, when Japan began to recover economically, a policy of tourism development was launched by the central government and permeated the locality. The creation of the Genkai National Designated Park in 1956, followed by the tourism development plan of Nijo Town, gave Hakoshima an opportunity to be revived as a popular tourist destination. However, in the end, despite being put in the first row of the local tourism development plan, the renaissance of Hakoshima did not take place. Today, Hakoshima is just a fishing site, and only a few people come to fish there on clear days. However, in the context of rural society today, the wild beauty of Hakoshima has been noticed by a few people with nostalgia. This will be covered in the final section below.

5. Conclusion: from theory to reality

From my study of tourism activities on Hakoshima, I have found that the reality here seems to be an exception to the general theoretical framework in tourism research of Japanese folklore and cultural anthropology. I have two reasons for drawing this conclusion.

Firstly, the host-guest relationship here was exceptional, because although Hakoshima belongs to the locality, tourist agents and human resources for tourist services did not belong to the locality but came from other places. Local people did not take the role of *host*, but became *guests*. This relationship was lost when tourist services in Hakoshima disappeared, but it remains imprinted in the attitudes of locals towards the memory of Hakoshima and in the memory itself. When interviewing the people of Hamakubo hamlet or Ikisan village today, I found that people often at first appeared indifferent to a past story that was of no interest, and their

memories were also very fuzzy. This exception to the usual host-guest relationship and its historical impact on the human psyche today needs to be further considered.

Secondly, the current theoretical framework for tourism as presented above, if seen from the perspective of historical anthropology that we are advocating, can be said to be relatively thin both in terms of time length and lack of emphasis on the variety of particular histories in different societies. The reason for saying that is because the theoretical framework, even though it considers a tourist attraction a place of emergence or performance of issues in the modern society, has the ambition to provide a common historical pattern, or a common process of modernization, for all societies. In fact, however, the modernization process is too diverse among countries and between regions within each country. It is clear, then, that we need to continue to think about so-called modernity recognising that it is diverse and individual in culture, and that includes tourism.

Regarding the second point, I would like to briefly explore how Hakoshima, with a pristine appearance that suggests it never experienced the modern era, is being noticed again with a mood of nostalgia. Recently, some Japanese expatriates in the US (3rd and 2nd generations, born and grown up in the US) have returned to visit their hometown, Ikisan village. Hakoshima is one of the places that can be developed for tourism in the homeland they visit. The present unspoiled appearance of the island has attracted the eyes and thoughts of some expatriates. From texts such as the geography book dated 1872 mentioned above [18] (p.686), they have learnt that their fathers in their native Japan once envisioned Hakoshima island as a large clitoris, and that, to correspond with it, at Shikaka beach a few kilometers away there were stacked blocks of stone to form a shape like a giant phallus called *Tsutsumi-ishi* 包石. Hakoshima is located at the gateway (beginning point) of Nijo town, and *Tsutsumi-ishi* is located at the back door (end point) of the town which is also the dividing point

between Fukuoka and Saga. Thus, the town can be said to have a *clitoral gateway* and a *phallic backdoor*. In letters to relatives living in the town of Nijo, one of them suggested that it is such a miracle of fertility that brings Nijo town eternal prosperity. Therefore, in his opinion, these two points (gateway and back door) need to be given more attention by the town in preserving natural heritage and developing local tourism.

The harking back to Hakoshima's supposed original significance as a fertility site on the part of people living far away from home needs to be understood in the context of the local modernization process. This, however, needs further consideration and will form the subject of another article.

Notes

- ¹ Morita is a member of both the Folklore Society of Japan and the Japan Cultural Anthropology Society (renamed from the *Japanese Society of Ethnology* in 2004); more precisely, it can be said that he is basically a folklore researcher and has absorbed/applied theories of cultural anthropology to Japanese studies. Perhaps this is the common position of young researchers in Japanese folklore today.
- ² The word box garden (literally *hakoniwa* 箱庭) is used here as a play on words, because the name Hakoshima if translated directly is box island/box-shaped island (*hako* in *hakoniwa* and *hakoshima* both mean box).
- ³ Please note that *kenban* is a word no longer used in everyday life. Many of the middle-aged people (about 40 or so) that I interviewed in the field did not know what it meant.
- ⁴ The phrase "Hakoshima – famous place of North Fukuoka 北筑名所箱島" can be found on page 3 No. 125 of the local newspaper *Itoshima shinbun* issued on 13th June in the 10th year of Taisho (1921) 『糸島新聞』125号3面・大正10年6月13日.

References

- [1] Ando Naoko 安藤直子, (2001), 「観光人類学におけるホスト側の『オーセンティシティ』の多様性について—岩手県盛岡市の『チャグチャグ馬コ』と『さんさ踊り』を事例として—」

- 『民族学研究』第66巻3号. (“The Variety of “Authenticity” Which Performers Pursue in Their Festivals in Anthropology of Tourism, A case study of Two Japanese festivals: the Chaguchagu-Umakko and the Sansa-Odori in Morioka City, Iwate Prefecture”, *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* 66 (3), 344-365, 2001).
- [2] Ando Naoko, (2002), 「地方都市における観光化に伴う『祭礼群』の再構成 —盛岡市の六つの祭礼の意味付けをめぐる葛藤とその解消—」『日本民俗学』第231号. (“The Impact of Tourism on the Restructuring of a “Festival Cluster” in a Regional City--Conflict and Resolution in the Redefinition of Six Festivals in Morioka City”, *Bulletin of the Folklore Society of Japan* 231, 1-31, 2002)
- [3] Chu Xuan Giao, (2004), 「第四章の第4節 浜窪区の箱島様信仰」『民間信仰と近代—九州の一地方の事例から—』東京外国語大学大学院比較社会論ゼミ2004年10月25日発表原稿. (“Belief of Hakoshima-sama in Hamakubo hamlet”, Section 4 - Chapter 4 in *Folk Religion and Modernity - Case study of a region in Kyushu* (Doctoral dissertation), Presentation manuscript in Seminar *Theory of Comparative Social*, Graduate School of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, October 25, 2004)
- [4] Chu Xuan Giao, (2005), “Historical Anthropology – a methodological need from field survey in Japan, the current flow and dynamics of this approach”, *Folklore Magazine* No. 6 (102).
- [5] Chu Xuan Giao, (2006a), “Historical Anthropology and the Field of Japan”, *Proceedings of the SOAS/TUFS Post-Graduate Symposium: London, 20-21 February 2006* (edited by Justin Watkins and Masami Arai).
- [6] Chu Xuan Giao, (2006b), “Historical Anthropology - a methodological need from field survey in Japan, the current flow and dynamics of this approach” (continued and the end), *Folklore Magazine* No.1 (103).
- [7] Chu Xuan Giao, (2007), “Issues about fishing villages and study of fishing villages in Japan from folklore perspective”, *Folklore Magazine* No. 4 (112).
- [8] Itoshimagun-kyoikukai 糸島郡教育会, 1986 (1927), 『糸島郡誌』複製版 臨川書店. (*Geography of Itoshima District*).
- [9] John F. Embree, (1939), *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village*, The University of Chicago Press (植村元覚訳 1978『日本の村—須恵村』日本経済評論社).
- [10] Kanzaki Noritake 神崎宣武, (1990), 『観光民俗学への旅』河出書房新社, (*Journey to Folklore of Tourism*).
- [11] Kanzaki Noritake, (1997), 『おみやげ: 贈答と旅の日本文化』青弓社. (*Omiyage: Japanese culture of gifts and travel*).
- [12] Kanzaki Noritake, (2004), 『江戸の旅文化』岩波書店, (*Travel Culture of Edo*).
- [13] Otsukaminzokukai 大塚民俗会編集, (1994), 『日本民俗事典』(縮刷版) 弘文堂. (*Japanese folklore encyclopedia*).
- [14] Morita Shinya 森田真也, (2004), 「フォークロリズムとツーリズム—民俗学における観光研究—」研究代表者・岩本通弥『文化政策・伝統文化産業とフォークロリズム—「民俗文化」活用と地域おこしの諸問題—』(課題番号13410095 研究成果報告書), (“Folklore and Tourism: Tourism Studies in Japanese Folklore”, In *Cultural Policy - Traditional Cultural Industry and Folkloreism: Problems of Utilization of “Folk Culture” and Regional Development*).
- [15] Nijomachi-kikaku-chosheika 二丈町企画調整課, (1985), 『30年の歩み』. (*Steps in 30 years*).
- [16] Nijomachishi-henshaniinkai 二丈町誌編纂委員会, (2005), 『二丈町誌・平成版』. (*Geography of Nijo town - Heisei Edition*).
- [17] Nijomachishi-henshuiinkai 二丈町誌編集委員会, (1967), 『二丈町誌 合併十年町制施行記念』. (*Geography of Nijo town - Commemoration of merger 10 years town system enforcement*).
- [18] Nishinohon-bunka-kyokai 西日本文化協会, (1995), 『福岡県史 近代資料編 福岡地理全誌6』, (*Fukuoka Prefecture History - Modern Documents - The Geography of Fukuoka Prefecture 6*).
- [19] Takano Shafu 鷹野斜風, (1933), 『伝説の糸島』糸島新聞社, (*Itoshima in legend*).
- [20] Yamashita Shinji 山下晋司編, (1996), 『観光人類学』新曜社, (*Anthropology of tourism*).
- [21] Yamashita Shinji, 2001 (1997), 「観光」山下晋司・船曳健夫『文化人類学キーワード』有斐閣双書, (*Keywords in Cultural Anthropology*).
- [22] Yamashita Shinji, (2002), 「観光人類学」綾部恒雄編『文化人類学最新術語100』弘文堂, (“*Anthropology of tourism*”, In *Cultural Anthropology - 100 latest terms*).