



Disaster Tourism
The Role of Tourism in Post-Disaster Period
of Great East Japan Earthquake

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EUR	Euro
JPY	Japanese Yen (100JPY=0.97EUR / 25 October 2012)
MLIT	Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism
MNC	Multinational Company
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
TMO	Town Management Organization
USD	United States Dollar (1USD = 0.77EUR / 25 October 2012)

Abstract

On 11 March 2011, the Great East Japan Earthquake caused a historical damage. People totalling 20,000 went missing and some died. Under the catastrophic conditions, survivors started disaster tourism. This research paper investigates the role of disaster tourism in the post-disaster period of the Great East Japan Earthquake. The tourism has spread widely and has been adapted to suit the changes and the problems in the disaster area to date. The analysis is based on primary data gathered from interviews and participatory observation in the tourism programmes; and secondary data from several sources, namely several media platforms, publications, books, among others. The data is sorted into input/output and set in timelines composed of the shelter stage and reconstruction stage. The findings show that disaster tourism played a crucial role in smoothly connecting the shelter stage to the reconstruction stage. It gave survivors opportunities to be active agents in the reconstruction programmes. Reconstruction markets gave shop owners confidence to revamp their businesses. The storytelling guide programmes gave the survivors opportunities to bid farewell to their loved ones. In the reconstruction stage, there was an increase in depopulation which adversely affected the survivors started businesses. The tourists became the survivors' sole dependable customers. Storytellers attracted tourists and created platform for population exchange. This population exchange with the tourists is thought city's marketing strategy to get sustainable donations and support. However, the tourism programmes themselves could not have economic independence, and harmful rumours were persistent challenges for disaster tourism.

Relevance to Development Studies

In development study's discipline, community development and its management have a crucial role for improvement of living circumstance and problem resolution. Disaster tourism in the post Great East Japan Earthquake period shows us that survivors who were isolated from ordinary life have efforts for the reconstruction by community driven approaches. Conversely, in the discipline, tourism is realized as useful industry for local development; however, the vulnerabilities to disaster or conflict are concerned. The tourism in the post Great East Japan Earthquake period also indicates some counterexamples against the prevailing view that tourism is a vulnerable industry in the post-disaster period.

Keywords

Great East Japan Earthquake, Disaster, Disaster tourism, Volunteer tourism, Reconstruction, Active agent, Depopulation, Third Sector, Rumour

Chapter 1

Introduction

On 11 March 2011, massive tsunamis hit Iwate, Miyagi and Fukushima prefectures after an earthquake with a seismic intensity of magnitude nine. These resulted in 16,019 deaths, 3,805 cases of missing people and 16,900 billion JPY worth of economic damages. Under the catastrophic conditions, the survivors started disaster tourism as a way of cheering themselves, and also as a reconstruction project. The survivors started this venture 50 days after the earthquake, and the programmes have transformed to suit the changes in the reconstruction stages to date. In the first programme, they embarked on what was known as the monthly market event. Merchants sold commodities and food from the whole country to survivors and tourists. A total of about 15,000 people attended this first event. The survivors were pleased to see their neighbours in the market place and the tourists cooperated in the project by buying the goods that were sold in the market. In May, the survivors started a storytelling programme in the market place. They told their stories to the tourists as a way of bidding farewell to the departed victims. Presently, disaster tourism has diffused throughout the entire disaster prefectures, and has become the key solution to accelerated problems which municipalities in Tohoku district had faced for a long time.

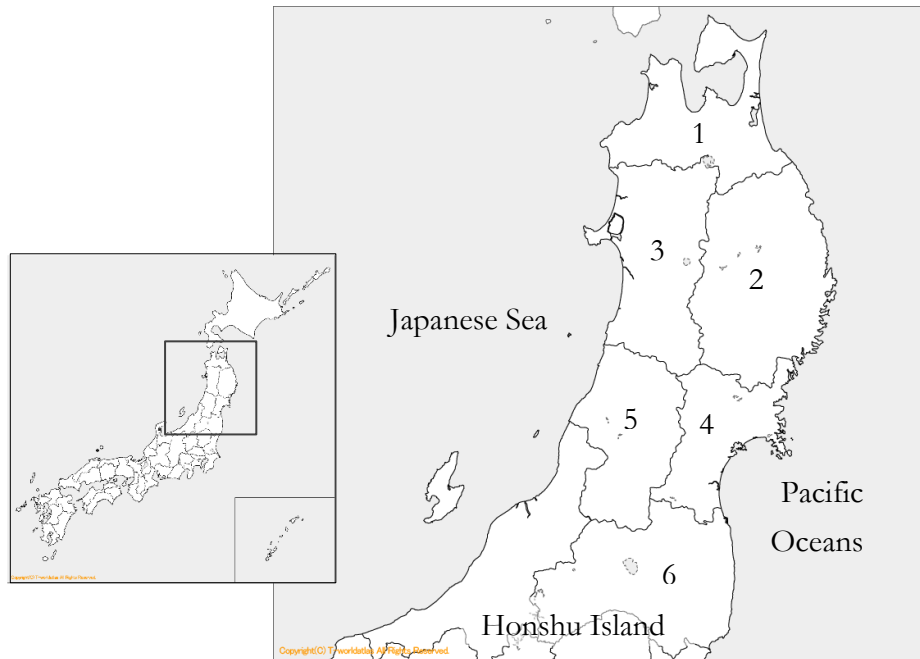
This research paper explores disaster tourism in Tohoku district of Japan. Disaster tourism is defined as ‘programmes designed to teach external people a lesson about disaster in an affected area (Kahoku Shimpō. 2012b)’. However, these programmes have played various roles even in the post-disaster periods. Disaster tourism is one of the significant programmes in the reconstruction movement solely initiated by the survivors. This programme indicates the possible contribution that the tourism sectors can make towards the industrial reconstruction of stricken regions’ economy after disasters. The tourists can support regional consumption and can be the mental mainstay of the victims. For three weeks, in the summer of 2012, I carried out a field research in the disaster areas which are in the three prefectures’ seacoast. This field research was my second visit to the disaster area. In the summer of 2011, I visited the area as volunteer staff to remove debris and mud. It was disappointing to see the view of the fields with little changes from what I saw a year ago. Although people removed debris, vegetation grew in the fields and concealed the reconstruction efforts that were started. Most of the interviewees lost their loved ones, but remained positive. The crowd of tourists was their source of enthusiasm. I felt and observed the passion of the survivors’ and the tourists’ for the reconstruction projects.

1-1 Background of Great East Japan Earthquake

The Great East Japan Earthquake attacked the east coast of Tohoku district in Japan. Tohoku means northeast and it consists of six prefectures in the north part of Honshu Island. These six prefectures are Aomori, Iwate, Akita, Miyagi, Yamagata and Fukushima. It covers a total area of 66,951 square kilometres (17.7 per cent of Japan). Its total population is 9,370,000 (7.3 per cent of Japan).

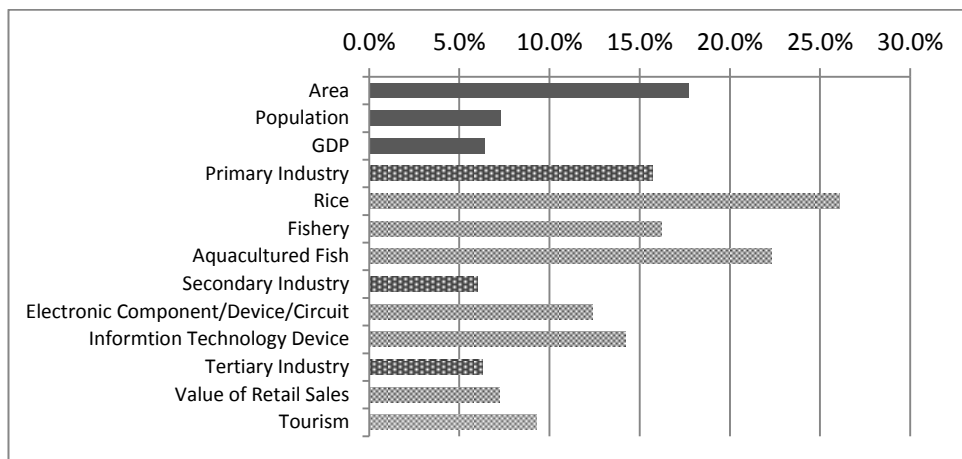
The main industries are agriculture and fishery. The coast from Iwate to Miyagi prefecture is famous as one of the three main fishing areas in the world.

Map 1.1
Map of Tohoku District



1.Aomori 2.Iwate 3.Akita 4.Miyagi 5.Yamagata 6.Fukushima

Table 1.1
Tohoku District Basic Economic Data (percentage in Japan)



(Toyokezai 2011: 37) Excerpted from the original table

Tohoku district is prone to a lot of high magnitude earthquakes and tsunamis that occur repeatedly. Among these, the Showa Sanriku Earthquake in 1933 had a significant impact on the Japan's contemporary disaster countermeasures. After this disaster, the government relocated the town to higher grounds, consolidated small villages and constructed high seawalls. These countermeasures confined the damage to a minimum spatial coverage compared to the seven metres high tsunami which Chili earthquake generated in

1960 (Kusama 2011: 70). However, this made the general populace to think that they did not have to be afraid of tsunamis anymore. As a result, the town expanded on flat ground near the seacoast again. Furthermore, the thorough tsunami warnings, which started after the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995, made people more careless, because the results of most warnings were only a few centimetre height tsunamis. (Ibid) In other words, these experiences and effective disaster prevention facilities furthered the damage in the Great East Japan Earthquake.

Table 1.2
Main earthquakes in Tohoku District from Meiji Period

Date	Seismic Intensity	Death / Disappearance	Location
1894.10.22	7.0	739	Inland
1896.06.15	8.5 (Meiji Sanriku Earthquake)	21,959	East Coast
1896.08.31	7.2	209	Inland
1900.05.20	7.0	13	Inland
1914.03.15	7.1	94	Inland
1933.03.03	8.1 (Showa Sanriku Earthquake)	3,064	East Coast
1939.05.01	6.8	28	Inland
1960.05.23	9.5 (Chili Earthquake)	142	East Coast
1964.06.16	7.5	26	West Coast
1968.05.16	7.9	52	East Coast
1983.05.26	7.7	104	West Coast
1993.07.12	7.8	230	West Coast
2008.06.14	7.2	23	Inland
2011.03.11	9.0 (Great East Japan Earthquake)	22,783	East Coast

(Matsutomi 2012: 11-12) Excerpted from the original table

The Great East Japan Earthquake caused serious damage to the Japanese industries. The indices of industrial production in April 2011 showed 15.3 points decline from 98.2 points recorded in the previous month. Japan's surplus of international trade dropped by 848.7 billion JPY. It was -77.9 per cent compared to the same month in the previous year (Toyokeizai 2011: 36). More than 50 per cent SMEs in the disaster area have not been able to restart their businesses to date. These enterprises were influential employers in the regional job market. Notably, in Tohoku district, job demand by young people is decreasing drastically, while increasing for those who are over 60 years of age (Development Bank of Japan 2012: 2). Older men can be hired for low wages, on a short term contract, and they have significant experience. Therefore re-vamping SMEs in the disaster area is a matter of urgency to ensure availability of employment which is in demand.

The economic situation of the Japanese government and municipalities is in a bad state, and the situation shows that public sectors cannot engage various reconstruction programmes positively. Notably, in the case of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake which occurred in the narrow west metropolitan area in 1995, the reconstruction has not been finished to date. Even though, the economic situations of the Japanese government and affected municipalities were better than today's situation.

Table 1.3
Difference of Macro Financial Condition between
Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (1995) and Great East Japan Earthquake (2011)

	Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake (1995)	Great East Japan Earthquake (2011)
financial condition		
nominal GDP	489 trillion JPY	479 trillion JPY
deficit of government	3.2% of nominal GDP	6.5% of nominal GDP
dependency rate to government bond	22.4%	45.8%
balance of long term debt	368 trillion JPY (75% of nominal GDP)	869 trillion JPY (181% of nominal GDP)
National bond ranking	Moody's: Aaa S&P: AAA Fitch: AAA	Moody's: Aa2 S&P: AA- Fitch: AA-
Social insurance condition		
Population and Percentage of more than 65 years old in the whole country	17,590,000 (14.1%)	29,580,000 (23.1%)
Amount of social insurance	60.5 trillion JPY	105.5 trillion JPY

(Igarashi 2012: 9) Excerpted from the original table

Table 1.4
Difference of Municipalities Financial Capability Index¹ between
Great Hanshin-Awaji earthquake (1995) and Great East Japan Earthquake (2011)

Financial Capability Index		Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake (1995)		Great East Japan Earthquake (2011)	
Municipality	Less than the national average (0.55) in the whole country	5/25	20.0%	105/186	56.5%
	Less than the national average in Iwate, Miyagi and Fukushima pref.	-	-	91/128	71.1%

(Ibid) Excerpted from the original table

One of the main industries in this district is fishery. The proportion of Iwate, Miyagi and Fukushima prefecture in the Japanese marine fishery was 11 per cent, and 16 per cent in the aquaculture. Furthermore, the prefectures had large accumulation of seafood producing factories around fishery ports, and these factories were dealt a devastating blow by the disaster. (Kobayashi 2012: 14) Hence, the situation became more serious.

¹ 'Financial capability index' is to compare municipalities' financial capability. It can be found by dividing standard financial revenue by standard financial expenditure and averaging up for three years. The bigger figure this index shows, the bigger balance of allocated tax the municipality has. (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. 2009)

The Fukushima first nuclear power plant accident also damaged the fishery and agricultural products which were shipped from the entire Tohoku district. A movement to avoid products made in Tohoku district continues to date and this is not only in international trade, but also in domestic distribution.

Disaster tourism is not a unique phenomenon in Japan. In New Orleans, locals implemented disaster tourism to show visitors the ruins of disaster after Hurricane Katrina. Conversely, Phuket's tourism sector took long to recover from tsunami in 2004, due to aftermath of the rumour, which was generated by international media.

New Orleans had criticisms against disaster tourism, because the citizens, who had no previous experience with the tourism sector, became the major objects of tourism. The tourism industry in New Orleans started in post war era. Then, in the period between the 1970s and 1980s, the political and economic elite groups are forced to build the large sports stadiums and international convention centres. They hosted many mega tourism events. Tourists started gathering in some areas where the facilities and attractions were concentrated. In other words, the tourism in New Orleans was an enclave industry (Gotham 2007: 830-833) where tourism made a profit for a limited number of people in limited places. Four months after Hurricane Katrina (23~31 August 2005), Gray Line, a multinational tour company, started the disaster tourism programme called 'Katrina Tours'. The tours company offered the tourists an opportunity to view the disaster area from buses, which was safe (Gotham 2007: 838, Pezzullo 2009: 99). This made tourists realize that the disaster area needed assistance in the form of, voluntary labours and income from the tourism. However, the venture put the general public in the spotlight.(Pezzullo 2009: 99)

Phuket in Thailand suffered from the negative influence of international media coverage. The tsunami that hit Thai in 26 December 2004 was the worst natural disaster the country had ever experienced, and it killed more than 8,000 people. The total economic damage was estimated around 508 million USD. The victims of this disaster included many international tourists. For example, in Phang Nga, a tourist area near Phuket city, foreign victims were 1.5 times more than the locals (Jayasuriya and McCawley 2010: 171). The international media promoted negative publicity which detracted international tourists from visiting this disaster area. The number of tourists visiting the disaster area began to increase after two years. It took more two years to revamp the tourism industry to reach the level it was in before the tsunami. Infrastructure damage was not so significant; but the number of tourists dropped sharply, and the situation continued throughout 2005 (Ibid: 185-186). The reason of this long term depression in the industry, even though facilities and infrastructure were reconstructed, is attributed to the impact of the negative coverage by the foreign media (Ibid: 209). The image portrayed by the international media deterred foreign tourists from going to the disaster area for a long time.

1-2 How to Grasp Disaster Tourism in This Study

This research paper investigates the role of disaster tourism in reconstruction. I identify the kind of actors participating in disaster tourism programmes, how

they cooperate and consider some of the challenges in the implementation of disaster tourism. As such, the main research question is:

What is the role of disaster tourism in the reconstruction?

And the sub questions are:

1. How do the current tourism schemes diverge in their objectives and backgrounds?
2. What conditions generated disaster tourism?
3. What are the challenges to the growth of disaster tourism and its ability to attract more tourists; diversify and generate more income?

I have used the term 'Survivor' to distinguish a resident who remains positive and can be an active agent in disaster tourism. Disaster tourism can be regarded as the first action towards area reconstruction by the residents themselves. Although the objectives of disaster tourism have changed depending on the needs of the post-disaster period, disaster tourism was almost always pioneered by the survivors.

I gathered primary data through semi structured interviews with the relevant actors in disaster tourism. Observation and participation in the tourism programmes were also a significant part of the methods used. I spent three weeks on fieldwork in the disaster area. Before I went to the field, I gathered data on disaster tourism from secondary data sources including web-sites and magazines. Selected case studies and interviewees included participants from public sector from prefectural to municipality level, in third sector (NPO, TMO, Semi-Public Joint Venture Company), and survivors who were relevant to the tourism. Furthermore, I paid attention to the sizes and location of municipalities and time when the interviewee started the tourism and varied them accordingly. Although the field-work was carried out during the peak season, almost all actors accepted to participate. The interviews took between 30 minutes to one and a half hours. In the interviews, although I customised the questions depending on the interviewee's position, I basically asked the following questions:

- When and why they started disaster tourism?
- How they started, did they get any help or any precedent?
- How they thought about its economic sustainability?
- What were challenges to the tourism, did they get any criticism?
- How has the tourism changed to date?

During and after the fieldwork, I sorted the information into input/output and set them in timeline composed of the shelter stage and reconstruction stage.

I faced some challenges in the field. Firstly, the situation in the selected study areas was not stable because the programme had just been implemented. Secondly, it was difficult to collect the figures (e.g. Sales figure, number of tourists) because some agents did not have databases to capture and store data and for some past information was lost when the disaster struck. The cities and towns to be visited were spread over a vast area and as such, I had to drive for almost 5,000 kilo metres.

Chapter 2

Need-to-Know Theories before Visiting in Disaster Area

2-1 Disaster: It is Composed of Four Stages

In every year, thousands of disasters happen due to various causes. Encyclopedia of International Development (2005: 467) defines natural disaster as ‘a disruption or rupture of the normal social order so severe that it requires external assistance’. Hallegatte and Przyluski also (2010: 2) defined as an event that causes a perturbation ‘to the functioning of the economic system, with a significant negative impact on assets, production factors, output, employment or consumption’.

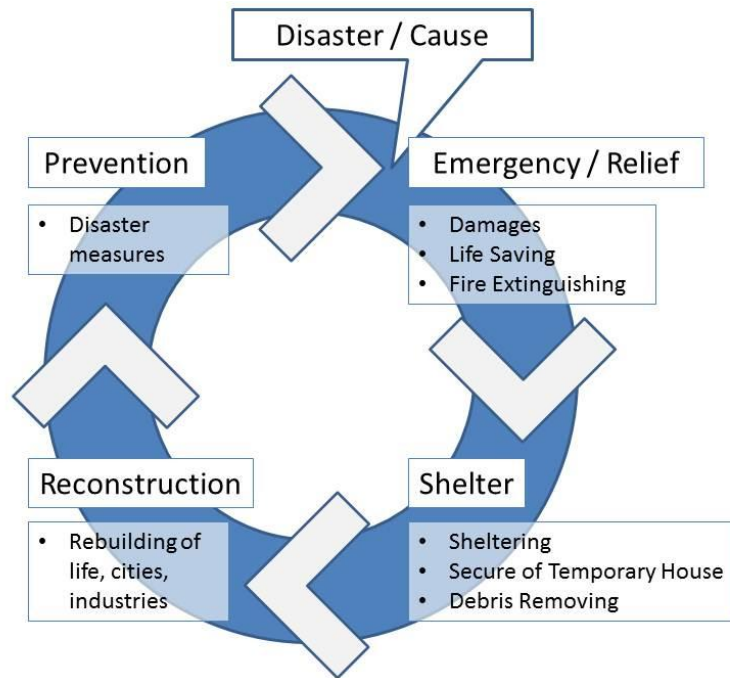
On one hand, researchers exploring disaster studies often discuss the process of massive disasters in the context of vulnerability and exposure which the absence of information in the society produces (Forsyth 2005: 467). On the other hand, from the perspective of development studies, researchers often discuss the relationship between poverty and both vulnerability and exposure (Ibid). However, in the case of the Great East Japan Earthquake, these two perspectives are not adequate. This is because, the victims were neither in the bottom of the pyramid in the Japanese society nor the vulnerable area against the disasters. The people had the privilege to know about a possible attack of a tsunami quickly through well-developed information networks, and they were also protected by the strong seawalls. Furthermore, they had substantial experience from similar disasters.

Rather, the vulnerability explored in this paper is the phenomenon which disaster unveils in the post-disaster period. As Oliver-Smith (1996: 313) argues, ‘Disasters are likely to accelerate changes that were underway before the disaster’. This means that disasters have a possibility to unveil vulnerabilities which could have existed in a society for a long time. Whether or not these vulnerabilities have a direct relationship with the process of the occurrence of the disaster is not important. The definitions of disaster indicated that disaster is a situation in which external assistance is needed. However in some cases, the external assistance, which refers to aid by local, national and international agencies, can potentially be part of the disaster itself. This concentration of people and goods has a potential to destroy the moral and economy of the society in the disaster area (Ibid: 313-314).

The circumstances around disasters can be divided into 4 stages (Nosaka 2012: 78). First stage is the emergency and relief, which comes during and just after the occurrence of the disaster. The next two stages are shelter and reconstruction, which are in the post-disaster period and the last stage is prevention, which is in the pre-disaster period. The emergency and relief stage places maximum priority on human life. As such, there is nothing to discuss in relation to tourism. The shelter stage is a process that precedes and lays the foundation for the next stage of reconstruction. In the shelter stage, the survivors are removed from their affected residences to temporary shelters. As such, there is need for adequate response to their various needs. The needs are not solely

material assistance like facilities, foods, cloth. But also sanitation, privacy, recreation and such other are required (Davis, as cited in Fan 2012: 572-573).

Figure 2.1
Stages of Disaster cycle

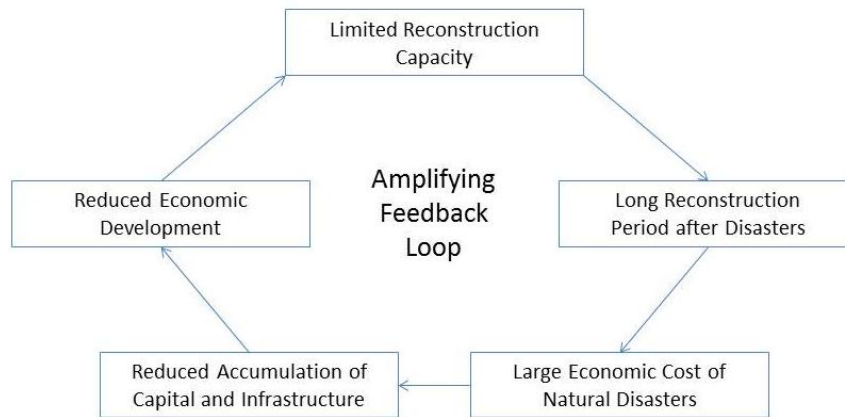


(Yoshikawa, as cited in Nosaka 2012: 78) Excerpted from the original figure

The local government is also a victim in some disaster cases, and the central government may have limitations to intervene in the activities of each small shelter. Therefore, survivors need to become active agents rather than passive victims from the survival necessity (Fan 2012: 573). The severe conditions do not allow them to remain as recipients of aid. The theory that survivors need to be active agents under severe conditions has been widely recognized by not only the humanitarian actors, who have experiences and knowledge about the post-disaster assistance activity, but also the host government (ibid: 576). On this basis, the humanitarian actors and the host government plan community-driven approaches to improving shelter and reconstruction. Actually, after the 2004 tsunami in Aceh, the Indonesian Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency published a guide line on the community-driven approach (ibid: 576).

The reconstruction stage can be subdivided into two phases, economic reconstruction and social reconstruction. Regarding economic reconstruction, Hallegatte and Przyluski (2010: 15-16) indicate the risk of the poverty trap at the macro level, and they posit that this macro level's feedback loop induces the micro level poverty (e.g. household).

Figure 2.2
Amplifying Feedback Loop that Illustrates
How Natural Disasters Could Become Responsible for macro-level poverty traps.



(Hallegatte and Przyluski 2010: 16)

Conversely, there are arguments that disaster does not cause a long term recession. According to Davis and Weinstein (as cited in Okazaki et al. 2011: 1), the bombing during the World War II did not have long influence on city growth in Japan. Rather, Skidmore and Toya (2002: 664) argue that natural disasters promote long run growth, because they provide impetus to update the capital stock and adopt new technologies, leading to improvements in total factor productivity’.

Oliver-smith (1996: 312) and Bankoff (2003: 152) argue that the social reconstruction stage needs not only to restore the social system to the situation before the disaster, but also to solve the previous social problems which were accelerated by the disaster. In light of this, I investigate how disaster tourism can become a countermeasure against the accelerated problems. In addition, I consider the challenges to social reconstruction as done in the case of economic reconstruction.

Disaster, thus, becomes the contexts of political changes and has the influence on the relationship between the state and local government through creation of political solidarity, new agenda and such other (Oliver-Smith 1996: 309).

2-2 Disaster Tourism: Tourism is Vulnerable to Disaster?

The tourism industry was regarded vulnerable due to the damages caused by the disasters on cultural monuments, accommodation, infrastructure and the rumours spread by the media. This, however, was in line with the economic effects on the industry (Sano 2011: 6). Rather, tourism can support the residents in various reconstruction scenes (Ibid: 13). In addition, tourism is regarded as labour intensive industry, thus it can create job opportunity without large investment (Yamada 2012, MLIT 2009: 9). It does not rely on import consumption goods, thus it can promote local products (MLIT 2009: 9). Furthermore, for residents who suffer from economic stagnation, ‘tourist might be

an investor tomorrow and a new resident the day after' (Govers 2011: 230). With such perspective, rather, tourism is adequate industry under the severe post-disaster period. Disaster tourism is built upon these basic characters of tourism.

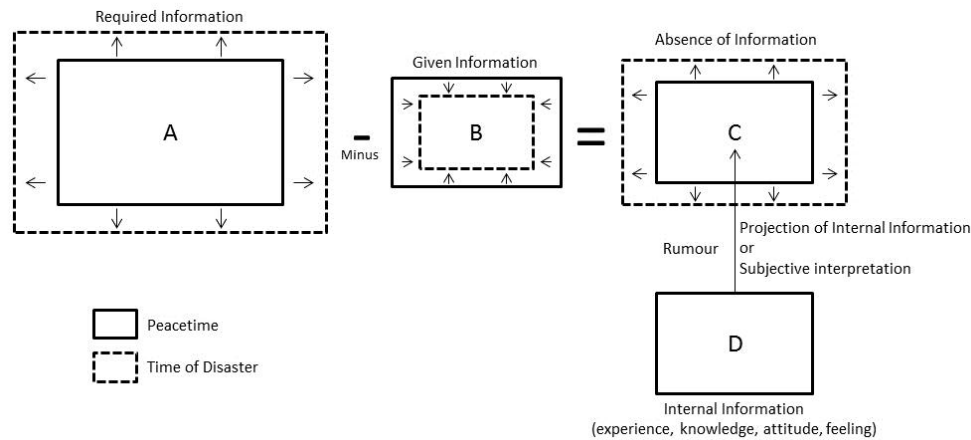
Disaster tourism is defined as tourism in which tourist can learn the present situation in the disaster area and can support the regional economy by spending money in the local market. Although this type of tourism can be criticized for showcasing tragedy, the experiences are however valuable to the tourists as 'it further illustrates that disasters unmask the nature of a society's social structure' (Miller 2008: 128). Before Tohoku, there are some previous cases of disaster tourism in the world. Mt. St. Helen's became more famous as the destination of eco-tourism after the eruption in 1980 (Gould and Lewis 2007: 179). After Exxon Valdez oil spill in 1989, eco-tourism sector in Alaskan coastal area experienced drastic decrease of tourists, and they renewed their eco-tourism to appeal the catastrophic situation (Ibid: 181). In Kobe, volunteers have guided tourists in the earthquake's ruins from 2001 (NPO Kobe Visitors Volunteer Guide. 2009). After Katrina in 2005, 'Open city disaster tour' was held to show the catastrophic situation of New Orleans (Miller 2008: 119).

Disaster tourism can change its role to suit the survivors' needs. In Tohoku, it was viewed as an expression by the survivors to grieve, mourn and bid farewell to their deceased and missing relatives (Oliver-Smith 1996: 308) in the shelter stage. Its role has changed and diversified over time, although the meaning of the gesture has remained the same. From Hiji's definition (2012: 29), we can recognize that the agent that has captured disaster tourism's role facilitates education and population exchange already. Hiji (Ibid) defines disaster tourism as one where tourists can 1) see disaster heritages from which they can witness the gross intensity of the disasters, 2) experience the local treasure which existed before the disaster, 3) appreciate the reconstruction process through observing the state of the residents and the industries, 4) listen to the stories of the survivors, 5) learn something.

2-3 Rumour: Unsubstantial Challenge

Harmful rumours are defined as the damage caused by relayed information following an accident or disaster in an area; regardless of whether there is any significant damage from these events or not (Ohashi 2012: 36). A rumour itself exists in our ordinary communications; but can be magnified when a disaster occurs. In figure 2.3, when disaster occurs, (A) the amount of required information increases, (B) the amount of given information decreases due to the disorder caused by the disaster, (C) information become short, and (D) to compensate this shortage of information, people activate / resort to their internal information systems. Therefore, rumour is defined as projection of internal information or subjective interpretation of the absent information (Kinoshita 2001 in Ohashi 2012: 37). Rumours about catastrophic events, especially, have a tendency to diffuse the misunderstood information (DiFonzo 2007: 146). On the other hand however, it is hard for product which has no substitution to be influenced / affected by harmful rumours (Ohashi 2012: 39).

Figure 2.3
Process of Rumour



(Kinoshita, as cited in Ohashi 2012: 37)

Then, how can harmful rumours be managed? DiFonzo recommends reducing uncertainty ‘by providing accurate and timely information and having open channels of communication (2007: 210)’. Conversely, Ohashi (2012: 42-43) argues that it is not possible that rumours can be reduced by providing accurate and timely information, especially in the context of catastrophic events. Generally, scientific words which specialists speak can keep down emotional words which non-specialists speak. However, when the fear and anxiety are very strong, the scientific words cannot keep down citizen’s emotion. In addition, non-specialists attempt to object to specialists’ opinions by using scientific words which do not go far below the surface. Internet is today’s main information resource, and high anonymousness is one of the uniqueness in online discussion. After the Fukushima’s accident, self-styled specialists’ online discussion brought serious antagonism rather than mutual understanding. (Ibid)

2-4 Third Sector: Work for ‘More than just Money’

The third sector businesses refer to ventures which exist for other reasons besides profit, and which are part of neither government nor market. These invest their profits for social, environmental or cultural objectives. (Alexander 2010: 213, Bridge et al. 2009: 10) The third sector can play a crucial mediation between and among the actors of disaster tourism. One of its strengths is that it originates from the local community. As such, it can play an intermediary role between and among households, the state and market enterprises (Alexander 2010:222). In relation to tourism, it can be the keeper and nurturer of a region’s identity and traditions (de Brito et al. 2011: 87). Under the severe economic circumstances posed by the disaster, the intermediary should create a platform for a social-oriented market economy. Mainly, the objectives of the third sector are to make a social contribution guided by their ‘not for profit’ vision. Due to the way they function under the severe circumstances, they promote disaster tourism’s potential to contribute to stopping some actors who may want to make profit from these programmes.

There is no one definition of third sector which can suit all organizations working in various sectors (Hull et al. 2011: 83). In the case of Japan, the third sector has been composed of NGOs, NPOs and Semi-Public Joint Venture Companies. However, 'a third sector should be viewed as a complex and varied element of society where tensions over values and ethics are explored and possibly resolved (Ibid: 86)'. In Tohoku, a large number of NPOs and some TMOs, which are types of third sector companies, have worked on the same goal of reconstruction although they cannot communicate well with each other. The third sector companies have various thoughts and interests. Their purpose is to achieve their own missions. Hence, it is not necessary that NPOs be accountable for their activities and responsibilities to cooperate with other organizations for the goal.

Governments are often advised to contract and partner with nonprofits because these are less likely to behave in an opportunistic fashion – at least not in the same ways for-profit organizations do. Many nonprofits are not held as accountable as their government or for-profit counterparts due to the fragmentation of accountability "between the community-at-large, the fiduciary board, the funding source, and management (Gardner, 1987, pp. 7–8)". (Hull et al. 2011: 145).

However, the Japanese government is 'wasting money by monitoring (and perhaps too much) types of behaviour in the non-profit sector that are perfectly consistent with the objectives of government' (Hull et al. 2011: 155). In other words, due to the fragmentation of the accountability system, the Japanese government spends a huge budget to administrate the third sector. This critique is relevant in explaining Japan's NPOs' budget situation where their financial problem is becoming chronic due to insufficient subsidies. The NPOs that worked in Tohoku have started facing budget deficits or shortfalls due to the decline in donations.

The source of funding for the third sector can be divided into four types, namely, commercial sources, private sources, earned income and special sources. Commercial sources include banks, venture capitals and stock markets which can offer equity finance. However, most of the third sector organizations do not have the ability to tap into this kind of finances. The private sources are expressed as the three F's which are founders, friends and foolish strangers (Bridge et al. 2009:148-150). These, however, often request favours in return for their investment. Earned income comes from the third sector organizations which sell their goods or services. These can get income through their operations. Special sources are donations and subsidies. Many third sector organizations have activities to gather finances from these sources.(Ibid)

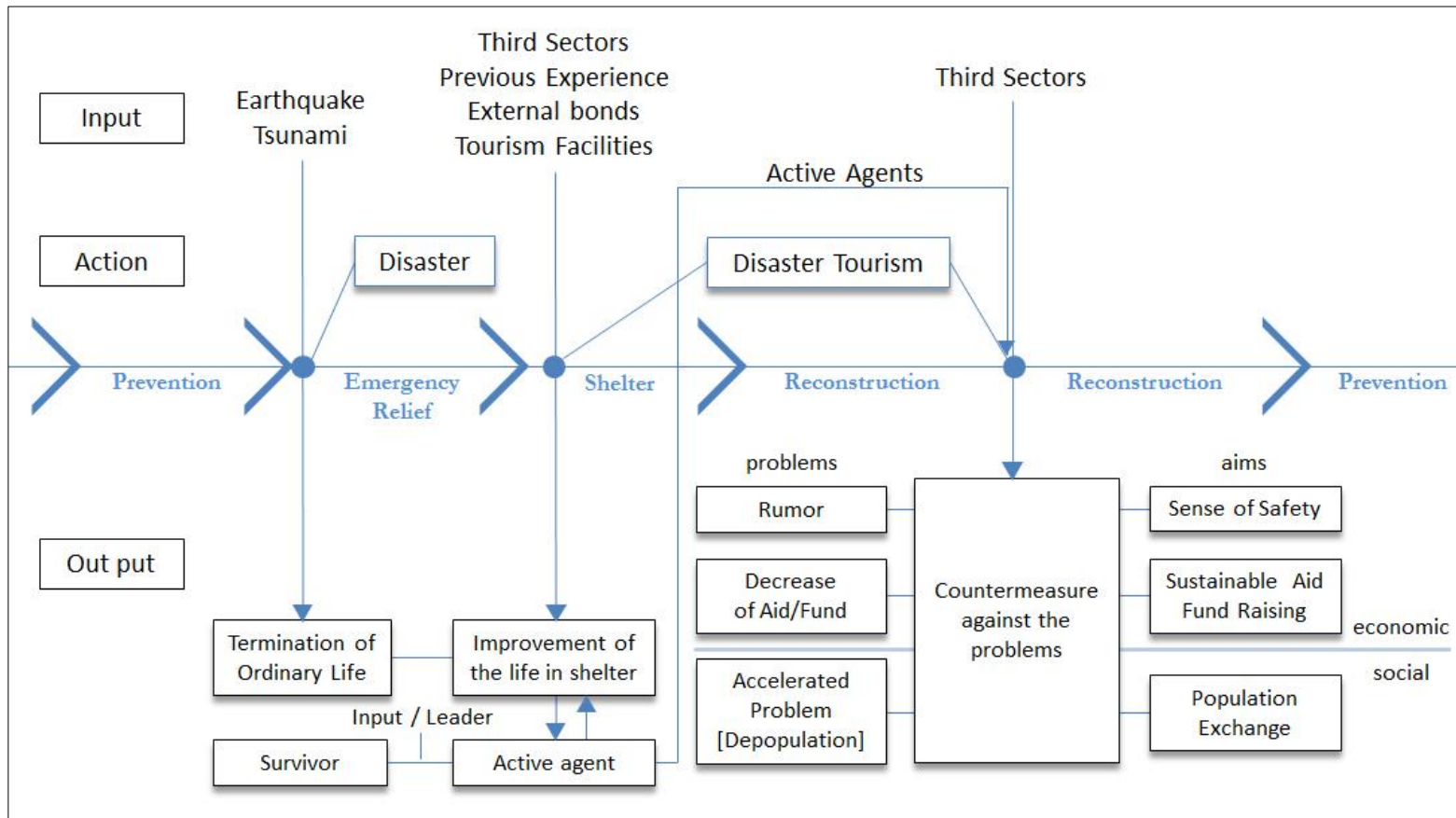
2-5 Analytical Framework

From the anthropologists' perspectives, the Great East Japan Earthquake increased the problems that residents had suffered from for a long time. The data, which was gathered during fieldwork, will be grouped into input, output and action. Furthermore, it is categorized into two stages, which are shelter and reconstruction.

Initially, the earthquake and tsunamis may be viewed as the input which makes disaster. Termination of ordinary life becomes the output. Survivors are

also the output. In the sheltering stage, the input is third sector, external bonds and previous experience. They view disaster tourism as the action. The results from the action are defined as the outputs, and these outputs become input in reconstruction stage. The key output in the shelter stage is the birth and growth of active agents. The success of disaster tourism in the shelter stage also helps active agents to regain their self-confidence. These active agents, which become the input in reconstruction stage, attempt to tackle the increased problems through their action, disaster tourism. Thus, we can recognize the disaster tourism in reconstruction stage, which programmes have continuity from shelter stage, has different aims. The problems which active agents attempt to tackle are depopulations, decrease of aid/funding and rumours. Depopulation is the increasing change which was previously concealed. Rumours and decreased aid are the problems which happened after the disaster.

Figure 2.4
Analytical Framework



Chapter 3

Disaster Tourism in the Shelter Stage

3-1 Tourism Facilities in the Shelter Stage

In the shelter stage, tourism facilities could be of service to the survivors and the assistant workers. The road stations in or near the disaster area were used as shelter, kitchens for food distribution and base for the self-defence forces. Furthermore, these served as sources of water, electricity, and road information for the survivors and the assistant workers (Tohoku road station network. 2011, Kahoku Shimpō. 2012c). Road stations are popular facilities, run by local third sector, in the Japanese tourism industry. Currently, there are 996 road stations in the whole country. They have clean toilets, spacious parking, restaurants and other facilities for tourists' breaks, and they provide traffic information and provide the region's sightseeing points. (Road Bureau of MLIT 2012, Kinki Regional Development Bureau of MLIT 2005)

The hot-spring hotels, which were located on hills or inland of Tohoku district, offered their rooms for the second evacuation. Until then, the victims had to sleep on the floor of school gymnastics halls or classrooms. Hotel Kanyo (capacity = 1,200 guests) in Minamisanriku of Miyagi prefecture is the outstanding example to show the usefulness of tourism facilities in the shelter stage. Hotel Kanyo is located on the hill facing the seacoast in Minamisanriku where the tsunami recorded 15.9 metres high. The tsunami damaged the ground and the first floor, and 350 residents took refuge in this hotel soon after the disaster. In spite of this situation, this hotel's manager decided to open the rooms for second evacuation when the hotel could secure a certain amount of water. It started by accepting 600 survivors from May 2011. The manager revealed why she decided to open the facilities for second evacuation under such condition:

Decreasing population means disappearance of this town. I thought that it was the mission of the hotel industry to maintain the population by offering food, clothes and shelter. We made it priority to accept the families which involved students, shop and factory owners who decided to resume their business in this town. Students will shoulder the future of this town. And, the shop and factory will serve the population through creating employment opportunities.

Minamisanriku has become a popular destination for disaster tourists. Hotel Kanyo has since stopped providing shelter, but has continued to offer studying space to students under the cooperation with university student's volunteers. Many tourists have used this hotel as one of the few accommodations in the disaster area.

Many hotels in Tohoku district cancelled most reservations just after the disaster struck. This situation has continued for a relatively long time due to the rumours about the nuclear power plant accident in Fukushima. The government distributed subsidies among these hotels to manage as second evacua-

tion place. These subsidies became the prime income for the hotels. Some hotels became bankrupt when the victims moved to temporary houses and the subsidies were terminated in December 2011².

3-2 Reconstruction Market: the First Disaster Tourism in Tohoku (Minamisanriku³, Miyagi)

On 11 March 2011, the disaster put the town on the limelight as one of the most damaged areas. 50 days after the disaster, the first reconstruction market took place in this town. This was a first large event in which the victims enjoyed shopping⁴, music and comedy shows. Furthermore, they had the opportunity to meet their neighbours who were evacuated to other shelters.

However, the shop owners did not have any goods to sell in the reconstruction market. This challenge was solved by a bond created by one shopping street in the town. 'Bosai-Asaichi-Network (shopping street network for disaster prevention)' was organized in 2004 by the shop owners in the whole country to study about disaster prevention. The members visited Minamisanriku on 21 March 2011⁵, and strongly recommended that shop owners in Minamisanriku should hold the reconstruction markets as soon as possible. Committee chairman of reconstruction market, said:

In the beginning, there were opinions that we needed longer preparation periods. However, the members of 'Bosai-Asaichi-Network' encouraged us to show the enthusiasm to resuscitate business as soon as possible in this town. They provided all equipment and goods to be sold. Tents, tables, groceries, clothes.... Originally, our shopping street had about 15 shops only. It was not a crowded shopping street; but we were eager to attract tourists. We had held two annual events and 10,000 customers attended each event.... When we started the preparations for the reconstruction market, I called the other shopping street members to participate. Eventually, around 40 shops joined. There was only one shop that sold its original goods. Others sold goods they had not sold before.

This two day's event ended on a high note. A totally of 15,000 people visited the market and there were some shops that realized up to 500,000 JPY. The shop owners decided to hold this event monthly. Currently, this is one of the most popular events of disaster tourism in Tohoku district. In the first event, the main customers were the residents who wanted to buy commodities. This trend has changed overtime and the main customers have since become tourists from other cities or prefectures. The goods that sell well have also changed from commodities to souvenirs. This means the role of the event

² This period is the case of Miyagi prefecture.

³ Population (2010)=17,687 / Dead + Missing=1,206

⁴ In first reconstruction market, the local currency was issued so that the victims who lost all their property could enjoy shopping

⁵ The network put their base in Sakata in Yamagata prefecture, where there was the nearest member's shopping street from Minamisanriku. This city is 180 kilo metres far from Minamisanriku; however, by having the base which was out from the disaster area, they could offer the assistance effectively.

changes with the shift in the stages of disaster. When this first event took place, the main customers were the victims in the shelters. As Davis (as cited in Fan 2012: 572-573) indicates, requirements in shelter are diverse yet the government cannot adequately respond to all these requirements. Thus, victims, and also governments, need such markets. Currently, the disaster stage has changed to reconstruction and in these events; the tourists have become the main customers. The victims moved to temporary houses which were constructed outside the affected area.

As observed above, this event was a community initiative. The reason why they could achieve this initiative was the small municipality population which encouraged cooperation. Minamisanriku's population was 17,687 in 2010. This small population strengthened inter-personal relationships, and community leader's position. The chairman said:

I was a member of not only the shopping street committee but also of the chamber of commerce and industry, town tourism bureau, the temple's supporters club, Lions Club and such other. Other merchants also have positions in some organizations. This town is so small that we have seen the same faces in various meetings, on a daily basis.

The town's tourism bureau officer also pointed the shop owners' experience to implement their original events in the shopping street has significant impact on holding the reconstruction market.

3-3 Telling the Story to Keep the Memories (Minamisanriku, Miyagi)

The storytelling programme also started in Minamisanriku as an initiative by the volunteer guide group which was established in 2008. In that year, Minamisanriku started the community-based tourism (CBT) programme for population exchange to revitalize the town. In the beginning of the programme, 18 residents were trained as guides. Their roles were to guide tourists visiting local attractions and to support the event in the town. On 11 March 2011, many of them also became victims who lost their families, friends and relatives. A staff member of 'United Earth' suggested starting a storytelling programme like Kobe, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This was when the NPO staff saw the crowds at the reconstruction market and knew that the town had put a lot of effort into promoting the tourism. 'United Earth' is a social action collective which was organised at Kobe city where there was Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995 (Harmony-eyes. 2011, United Earth. 2010). In Kobe city, some ruins in that city have been conserved as tourism heritages. The volunteers have guided visitors in the heritages for disaster education (NPO Kobe Visitors Volunteer Guide. 2009).

Initially, the volunteer guides' group started storytelling as one programme in the reconstruction market by the end of May. The volunteer guides started to share their own disaster memories before a large audience. The leader of Volunteer Guide Group said:

I saw the changes in the members' faces. When they finished telling their stories, they appeared refreshed. It was, however, extremely tough for them to share their sad experiences. It might be a beneficial thing to talk to others about the sad memories which are bottled in the heart. I found the benefits of

talking about these memories. This storytelling programme helped to make memorial for the departed victims. If we stopped talking about them, the mark which they lived will begin to fade from people's memories. But if we keep sharing about our memories, about them, it becomes the greatest possible farewell to the victims.

In February 2012, Minamisanriku won Japan's local development award organised by the ministry of internal affairs and communication (Minamisanriku Town. 2012). After this award, the storytelling programme has been spread to various municipalities⁶.

The reason why Minamisanriku started to develop CBT is because in 2005, the Japanese Railways East chose Miyagi prefecture as the destination of their 2008 campaign⁷. The regional government decided to promote the CBT for local activation and preparations started in 2005. In the same year, Minamisanriku was formed through consolidating two towns. Until then, tourism and fishery were the key industries in these two towns. The residents hosted some events that used marine resources such as seafood fare. Tourists just passed through this town to see the events and stayed in hotels in other cities. Thus, the length of their stay was short and the events' economic result was minimal. The preparation for the campaign was a great opportunity to raise social solidarity for the newly formed town. Until the beginning of the campaign, Minamisanriku created more than 100 hands-on programmes which attracted many tourists. In the next year, the town's tourist bureau acquired tour agent license⁸ to promote CBT as their key industry. Government officer in Minamisanriku, said:

My challenge was how to give the residents direction for this Campaign... At first, we started the program to gain popularity in this town. It was called the 'Hometown tourism lecture' and was started in 2007. Through 50 lectures, held over two and half years, about 800 residents learnt about the treasure of this town... In this way, we developed the hands-on programmes for the campaign while enjoying ourselves. However, these programmes were not a valuable achievement of our efforts. It was the networks formed to ensure the love for our hometown. So, if this had significant an influence on the efforts of reconstruction, it is due to this network and the regional unity which even the massive tsunami could not destroy.

Actually, external actors have recognized and appreciated this regional unity. On one hand, the tourism marketing consultant who was the supervisor of some municipalities' tourism said that he felt excited when he went to Minamisanriku because of the warm atmosphere (Eco-tabi Wednesday 2011). On the other hand, 'United Earth' stated that the reason why they decided to

⁶ Now, the guide gets into the tour bus and shows the tourists the stricken area in city. After that, the guide shares her/his experience with the tourists. The guide fee is 31,500 JPY per group. Guide receives 5,000 JPY as the reward. People can also listen to the survivors' stories in the monthly reconstruction markets.

⁷ Destination campaign of Japan Railways is one of the biggest tourism campaigns in Japan. JR and Prefectural government host jointly various programmes.

⁸ This license allows to organize the tour and to sell it. The area of tour destination is limited the municipality where the license holder is and its neighbouring municipalities.

assist this town was so that they could feel community unity in the shelter when they visit the town just after the disaster (United Earth. 2011).

Figure 3.1
Tourists in Minamisanriku



Left = Tour buses which visit the disaster ruins in Minamisanriku / Right = Tour buses which visit the Reconstruction market in 28 July 2012.

Figure 3.2
Events in Minamisanriku



Left = Storytelling programme in the reconstruction market: After the description of the disaster background, the volunteer guides talk their experience. / Right = Reconstruction market in 28 July 2012

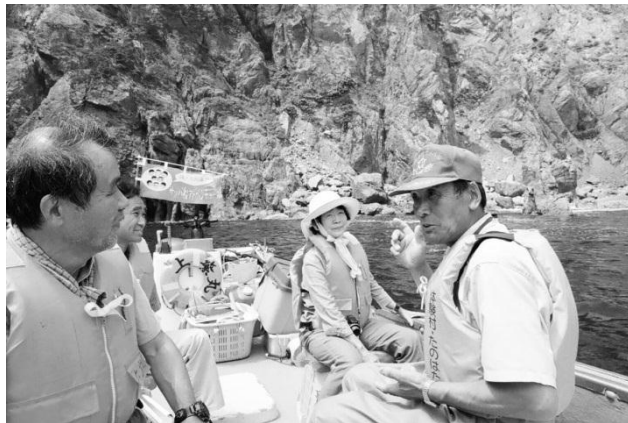
3-4 Sappa Fishing Boat Adventure: Resuming the Community-Based Tourism (Tanohata⁹, Iwate)

NPO 'Experience Village Tanohata' implemented the CBT programmes in 2004. The key industries in this village were aquaculture of seaweeds, fishery, dairy and tourism. They had a magnificent view point on top of a high cliff (Ohsumi 2011: 20). 800,000 to 1,000,000 tourists visited this site per year. However, most tourists stayed there for tens of minutes only to see the view from the deck. Thus, the economic effect from these tourists was limited, and the tourists had no chance to exchange with the villagers. The reason why they started CBT was not only the low economic effect; but the change in the trend of Japanese domestic tourism. Travellers had started flooding the destination not only for its sightseeing spots, but also requested some programmes through which they could experience the day to day life of the residents (Ibid). To respond to this request, the tourists were allowed to stay in the village overnight and this NPO started a traditional fisherman's boat tour named

⁹ Population (2011) = 3,950 / Dead + Missing=39

‘Sappa Fishing Boat Adventure’, traditional fisherman’s life experience programmes and nature trekking guide programmes. These programmes attracted residents, and 606 residents out of whole population 3,950 (15.3 per cent) participated in the programmes (Tanohata Village Policy Promotion Section 2011: 13). These programmes received awards for outstanding ecotourism programmes 3 times. These programmes had become a popular attraction in Iwate prefecture’s coastal area tourism.

Figure 3.3
Sappa Fishing Boat Adventure



The captain guided tourist not only beautiful nature’s view but also the trace of the disaster.

Captain saw the tsunami rolled over the sea wall two times.

The tsunami robbed all fisher’s boats and all traditional fisher’s houses which the NPO used as the venue of some workshop programmes to experience traditional fisherman’s life. When NPO manager had a meeting with the captains just after tsunami, the captains insisted on resuming this tourism programme quickly. Captain of Sappa Fishing Boat, talked:

Before starting the ‘Sappa Fishing Boat Adventure’, I was not fascinated by the view of the place where I worked. So, I was extremely surprised that the tourists were impressed by the view from my boat. Then, I started having pride in working in this beautiful environment. So, I don’t want to give up this tour and I don’t want to be discouraged by the Tsunami.

They started looking for second hand boats being assisted by the Aomori prefecture’s fisheries cooperative association after the meeting. The fishers had visited Tanohata one month before the disaster to learn the management of this tourism programme and previously, there were many groups of fishers that visited this village to learn the management of tourism. The NPO and captains shared their knowledge and experience with these fishers generously. The bridge which was built in this exchange is the reason why they could get the fishing boats quickly, despite the fact that the boats were in short supply after the disaster. Eventually, they could resume the boat tour in July 2011.

However, the NPO manager said there was not so much economic impact from the resumed tours:

This disaster tourism has only marginal impact on the whole village economy. Before the disaster, the tourist hotel ‘Raga-So’ had substantial impact on the

village economy, through employment creation and accommodation fees. The significance of this fishing boat programme cannot be explained without this hotel.

'Raga-So', which was the only tourist hotel in this town, was attacked by tsunami and has been closed to date¹⁰. Except for 'Raga-So', the accommodation in this village was provided by small family-run guest houses. Almost all family-run guest houses were destroyed and the accommodation capacity has decreased to one fifth (Ohsumi 2011: 21).

'Experience Village Tanohata' started a storytelling guide programme from July 2011. Originally, there were events where the elderly shared their experience of the Showa Sanriku Earthquake in 1933. Now, there are six guides who guide the tourists through the village, the route which they escaped, the destroyed sea-walls and traditional viewpoint (Mainichi Newspapers 2012). The NPO manager said this programme can be a beneficial way to pass the time for the guides who lived in temporary housing and were out of work.

3-5 Front Line Training: Efforts of Semi-Public Joint Venture Company (Sanriku Railway Inc. Miyako, Iwate)

Sanriku Railway Inc. is a Semi-Public Joint Venture Company in Iwate prefecture. The capital is contributed by Iwate prefecture, related municipalities and regional enterprises (Mitsuta 2011: 62). Before the disaster, their main passengers were the elderly who needed to go to hospitals, students and tourists. This Sanriku Railway was popular for the tourists, because their routes had excellent views because they passed through the national park. However, their revenue had continued to decrease due to motorization and the declining birth rate. In 1984, when Sanriku Railway was established, the number of passengers was 2.69 million. However, in 2009 the number had decreased to 0.9 million (Mitsuta 2011: 61). This number shows that depopulation is a change which existed for a long time although motorization's impact is also serious.

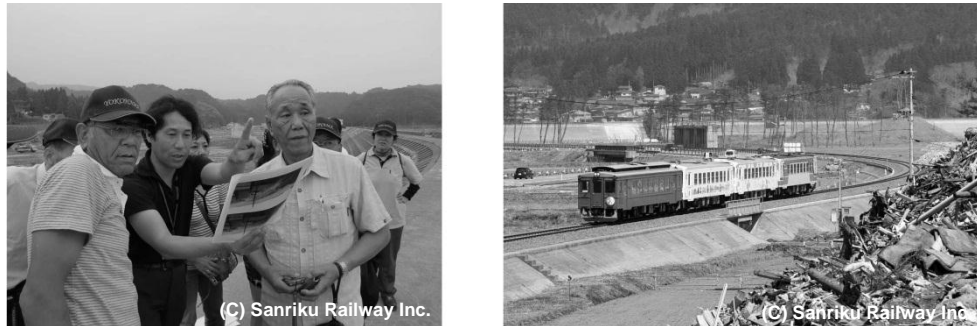
The tsunami destroyed some parts of their routes and some of the stations. Their income from the fares has decreased to one third of the last year's income, and they have estimated that the situation will be tougher from now, because there are no residents around the station. Even if they finished the reconstruction of the station completely, there will be a few passengers until the reconstruction of the areas around the stations has been done completely. Although they could receive 50 million JPY donations, it is difficult to expect a continuous flow of such.

The Sanriku Railway initiated the disaster tourism programmes to compensate the decrease in the income from fares. In 'Front Line Training', they guided group tourists in the disaster area from 2 May 2011. Until the end of March 2012, 127 groups totalling to 3,018 people, participated in this training. From April to August 2012, more than 2,800 people participated. During the same period, they sold memorial goods such as the memorial rail which was

¹⁰ 'Raga-So' will be resumed at November 2012.

made from the remnants of the destroyed rail route. Recently, they started operating the disaster education train.

Figure 3.4
Programmes of Sanriku Railway Inc. (1)



Left =Front line training: The guide staffs warn not to take photographs of residents and not to disturb the work for the reconstruction / Right = Trains which run by the debris.

Due to the fact that this is a semi-public joint venture company, they could get funding support, as a special case, from the central government and Iwate regional government to reconstruct the rail lines. Thus, the main reason why they have made efforts in disaster tourism is not for their own revamping, it is for a contribution to the regional industries and raising the moral of employees. CEO of Sanriku Railway elaborated on their reasons for their enthusiasm in tourism and said:

For a long time, the Sanriku Railway made significant efforts to develop the tourism programme. We, a semi-public joint venture company, need to contribute to the advancement of the regional industries. Tourists, who come to use our train in this area, use about 10,000 JPY for meals and shopping. If 20,000 tourists came, they will contribute 200 million JPY to the local economy. Actually, I think the residents recognize our social significance from these economic results.

As a semi-public joint venture company, Sanriku Railway partially resumed the free operation of the trains just five days after the disaster. They thought it was their duty to resume the operation as soon as possible to encourage the residents (Mitsuta 2011: 61). The Teo-Tsunago (Let's Hold Hands) project was implemented to provide psycho-social support to the children in the disaster area. The famous animations and picture book characters from all over the world were painted on the train's wagons, and the characters are holding hands. The residents can see it as a sign of reconstruction, just as the trains moving on the new railway lines carrying many tourists and children. Sanriku Railway has been a symbol of reconstruction through these programmes.

Figure 3.5
Programmes of Sanriku Railway Inc. (2)



(C) Sanriku Railway Inc.



(C) Sanriku Railway Inc.

Left = Sanriku Railway is selling the rights to use the train's name plate for the advertising. / Right = Memorial rail which is made from destroyed rail

3-6 Volunteer Tourism, Another Side of Disaster Tourism

Whereas these disaster tourism are implemented for the survivors, volunteers have also needed the tourism which can take them the disaster area. The earthquake and tsunami destroyed the infrastructure. Especially, lack of transport and accommodation made it difficult to get there for volunteers. Hence, they needed the tours which NPOs and travel agencies organised.

In the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995, the citizen volunteers were recognized as one of the engines of reconstruction. However, volunteer tourism did not exist in that time; although, some NPO and NGO offered the transportation and the accommodation. The volunteer tourism was started widely from this disaster. There are the two clear reasons to need volunteer tourism. First, the disaster area is so vast that volunteers needed to collect the information to match victims' demands and their supply. Thus, agent who can provide the information is needed. Second, whereas it was easy for the volunteers to go to disaster area in the case of the Great-Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, the area of this disaster is far from metropolitans which could be the supplier of the citizen volunteers.(Ibid)

Just after the disaster, the individual volunteers' predicaments became social problems, because they were not organised and they became a frustration to other on-going relief activities. For example, a number of individual volunteers tried to travel to the disaster areas on their own vehicles. This resulted in massive traffic jams, which held even the cargo trucks which delivered relief supplies. Although the host governments organized volunteer centres; many staff members were part of the victims and as such, they did not have the capacity to control crowded individual volunteers. According to volunteer guide in Rikuzentakata, many government officers died due to which they spearheaded the escape of citizen. The media referred to these as the 'Inconvenience volunteers', a term used to describe this chaos. As a result of the aforementioned, volunteer tourism was closed up so that there could be order and discipline. The Japanese enterprises' recognition of CSR for decades was another reason for needing volunteer tourism (Kuwayama 2012: 58). They needed help from travel agents to safely dispatch their employees as volunteers in the disaster area.

Table 3.1
Comparison of Damage between
Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake and Great East Japan Earthquake

	Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake	Great East Japan Earthquake
Date	1995.1.17 (Tues.) 05:46	2011.3.11 (Fri.) 14:46
Seismic Intensity	7.3	9.0
Main area	Hyogo prefecture	Iwate, Miyagi, Fukushima, Ibaraki prefecture
Dead	6,434 (87.8% by oppression)	15,842 (92.4% by drowning)
Disappeared	3	3,481
Injured	43,792	5,890
Complete or Partially Destroyed	249,180	353,927
Total Financial Damage (JPY)	9,600,000,000,000 (calculated by Cabinet Office)	16,900,000,000,000 (calculated by Cabinet Office)

(Development Bank of Japan 2011: 1)

3-7 Conclusion: How Survivors Became Active Agents?

A number of ‘inputs’ were needed for the survivors to start disaster tourism. The first input was the bridge which the local community had previously used to link to the other groups. Encyclopedia of International Development (2005: 467) describes that a situation which needs support from external actors is one element in the definition of disaster. Regarding disaster tourism in Tohoku, the relationship with them made difference in quality start of activities for reconstruction. Thus, this kind of supports, rather, is thought one element of input in pre-disaster periods. Especially, external actors, whom the local community had communicated, can quickly prepare what the survivors need. In the case of the reconstruction market in Minamisanriku, the ‘Bosai-Asaichi Network’ encouraged starting the reconstruction market and they provided almost all the goods to be sold and the equipment to set the venue. In the case of Tanohata, Aomori prefecture’s fisheries cooperative association played a crucial role in revamping the programmes by arranging substitute boats. Moreover, the bridge with whom the local community related closer after the disaster was also significant. For instance, ‘United Earth’ proposed to organise and supported the storytelling programme from the experience in Kobe city. These external actors were an essential input to start disaster tourism.

The second input was the survivors’ previous experience in CBT. Residents could have positive views from their experiences of CBT and its successes before the disaster. The efforts that the society had made before the disaster had a potential to be advantages in the post-disaster period. Minamisanriku and Tanohata had previously made efforts to develop CBT and they won a prize for their efforts. These experiences could strongly support the implementation of disaster tourism. Oliver-Smith (1996: 313) argues that disaster accelerates changes which existed previously. This argument can be also adequate for these previous efforts of municipalities. The previous efforts made big differences from responses of the communities after the disaster. The communities which had experiences of CBT were more aggressive to start the efforts for reconstruction.

Conversely, all interviewees admitted that there were criticisms and complaints from the residents. Regarding Tohoku's case, I denied the importance to discuss about vulnerability and exposure which comes from the absence of information in the society (Forsyth 2005: 467). However, some criticisms against disaster tourism can be a big obstacle to disaster tourism. In the case of Sanriku railway, their previous tourism programmes were based on their objectives as the third sector. In addition, just five days after tsunami, Sanriku railway resumed the operation of trains on the rail that remained as a way of cheering up the residents. This was so that, the residents could appreciate the tourism business as a strategy to revamp the local industries during the shelter stage. When Sanriku railway started 'front line training', there were no complaints about this programme. The residents had enough information to understand of the programme's real purpose. Thus, a lack of understanding and appreciation from the residents makes disaster tourism vulnerable.

The third input was the presence of the influential leader who could take initiatives and be trusted by the locals. In the case of Minamisanriku, the shop owners had a strong drive to start the reconstruction market. The Committee chairman of the reconstruction market in Minamisanriku, said:

It is vital for the town's reconstruction that merchants do business vigorously. The merchants know a lot of residents and have much information about them. Actually, I became the leader of the shelter. People were relieved, because the leader was a person they knew well. So, in this emergency case, we merchants should be cheerful to encourage other survivors.

These merchants had positions in some organizations, and they knew more than one organization's internal condition. This could make it easy for them to cooperate with some groups in the community. Hull et al (2011: 145) criticises the fragmentation of accountability of NPOs; and notably the cooperation of NPOs which are working in Tohoku is slow.

In addition, the tourism facilities provided a comfortable environment for the victims and a base for activities for the assistant workers. Furthermore, volunteer tourism by NPOs and travel agents engaged the volunteers effectively and efficiently. This point is consistent with Sano (2011: 6) argument that it is not necessary that the tourism is vulnerable industry to disasters. Conversely, the disaster tourism programmes gave the survivors an opportunity to express their grieving and mourning for the victims. From an anthropological perspective, Oliver-Smith (1996: 309) argues that there is dire need for them to express their grieving and mourning. These expressions of their pain could have therapeutic effects on their mental health.

Consequently, the birth and growth of the active agents is the main output of this shelter stage. The success of tourism programmes made survivors active agents, and these active agents made it possible to dissolve the shelter stage in order to smoothly start the reconstruction stage. Hence, these active agents become input in the reconstruction stage. Fan (2012: 573) insists on the importance of active agents in shelter stage; however, his paper does not involve the importance in the reconstruction stage. The active agents who were emerged from the shelter stage also play a crucial role in the reconstruction stage. When the disaster is severer, these active agents would be more influential in these two stages, because the local government needs more time to revamp their function to support the victims in the stages.

Chapter 4

Disaster Tourism in the Reconstruction Stage

4-1 Accelerated Change after the Disaster

As argued by Oliver-Smith (1996: 313), some accelerated changes have been effected already in Tohoku district. Due to these changes, the method of reconstruction, which put the society back in the way to its original state, is not enough. Depopulation had been the principal concern of the municipalities. The shopping streets in the city centre had been lifeless. Until the government stops this depopulation and the stagnation of industries, the town will be ruined in the near future; even if the government could reconstruct the infrastructure and restore it to its original state (Takamura 2011: 59).

Table 4.1
Population Change of Disaster Area

2011.3.1~2012.2.1					2010.3.1 / 2011.2.1	
Area	2011.3.1	2012.2.1	Changes	Rate (%)	Changes	Rate (%)
Iwate pref.	1,326,643	1,310,253	-16,390	-1.2	-10,300	-0.8
Coastal area	272,937	258,960	-13,977	-5.1	-2,775	-1.0
Inland area	1,053,706	1,051,293	-2,413	-0.2	-7,525	-0.7
Miyagi pref.	2,346,853	2,323,929	-22,924	-1.0	8,067	0.3
Coastal area	984,686	953,455	-31,231	-3.2	2,038	0.2
Inland area	1,362,167	1,370,474	8,307	0.6	6,029	0.4
Fukushima pref.	2,024,401	1,980,814	-43,587	-2.2	-12,825	-0.6
Coastal area	592,664	572,057	-20,607	-3.5	-4,144	-0.7
Inland area	1,431,737	1,408,757	-22,980	-1.6	-7,995	-0.6

(Development Bank of Japan 2012: 5) Excerpted from the original table

Depopulation in Tohoku district increased rapidly; especially in the coastal areas of the three prefectures. Conversely, Iwate and Miyagi prefectures' inland area has reduced its rate of depopulation. This was through its high rate of migration within the prefecture from seacoast to inland. A lot of shop owners in the seacoast area had considered closing their shops. This disaster posed an opportunity for decision making. However, there are merchants who were making efforts to continue their business ventures in the regional economy although it has been difficult due to increased depopulation.

4-2 Temporary Shopping Mall (Minamisanriku / Kesennuma / Ishinomaki, Miyagi)

Disaster tourism has been introduced in many municipalities. This was because the programme managed to attract large crowds. Minamisanriku won the prize, and newspapers and TV programmes reported on the programmes, a lot of residents recognized disaster tourism as one method to attract people from other districts. Since then, the residents have noticed the escalated depopulation and the need to appeal the tourists to visit the area so that regional businesses can be maintained. Temporary shopping malls are a good example of the regional businesses to which tourists can contribute. The temporary shopping malls have been built all over the disaster areas. Essentially, these shopping malls are for the residents. At least, many shop owners have wanted these. However, no one can deny that tourists are esteemed customers who have higher purchasing power than the residents who live in temporary housing and are unemployed.

In Minamisanriku, a temporary shopping mall was opened on 25 February 2012, which has 30 tenants. There were more than 60 applicants who were encouraged by the success of reconstruction markets. The committee received a 100 million JPY¹¹ as subsidy from the government's SME Support programme. The committee managed to gather more than 100 million JPY from other aid organizations. Recent research indicates that 60 per cent of the customers are tourists, and most tenants are busier than they were before the disaster. The tourists tour the disaster area with a storytelling guide, and visit the reconstruction market. At the end of the tour, they come in the shopping mall to buy souvenirs and meals.

In Kesennuma¹² of Miyagi prefecture, there is the biggest temporary shopping mall in the disaster area, which has 54 tenants. It was opened on 24 December 2011. The committee also received subsidies from the government programme. This mall has facilities that can improve some of the problems which residents have. For example, the committee constructed a rehearsal hall that students can use for rehearsing their dances or plays. Up to today, the temporary housing has been on the school playgrounds. As such, the students could not use these for recreation after school. This shopping mall also has a business training school; a piano school and 'Jyuku' which is Japanese type of a private tutoring school. Vice-president of this shopping mall committee said:

I would like to make our shopping mall a place where children can gather. A shopping mall where children gather can attract the interests of their parents, who are potential customers in the mall.

However, the committee has worked hard to attract customers. When the temporary shopping mall opened, the shop owners expected 260 households from temporary housing as their market. However, the results disappointed the shop owners after two months. The residents did not come for shopping regularly. They did not have storerooms in their temporary housing, and many of

¹¹ SME Support, JAPAN subsidizes only for the building construction. If land leveling or other equipment was needed, shop owners have to prepare another budget.

¹² Population (2010)= 73,489 / Dead + Missing=1,302

them could not get proper jobs. Consequently, tourist purchasing power became a necessity for this large shopping mall.

In this city, the volunteers started a storytelling guide tour from September 2011. This city has one of the biggest fishery ports in Tohoku district. Thus, it has become an extremely popular site for viewing the fish market which resumed partially. The vice-president said:

It is not necessary that all tourists buy something in this shopping mall. But, the sales that tourists generate cannot be ignored... The group tours come to this shopping mall often; however, they will decrease from this winter. Many volunteers have helped us; but they have started to decrease already. Our objective is to be independent from their purchasing power and their help within three years... There are some owners who have decided to quit their shops after this temporary shopping mall is closed. We need to build a permanent shopping mall while we are well. So, we are looking forward to the completion of new public housing scheme can guarantee us of a ready market. We do not want to go back to a lifeless shopping street.

The committee has held a lot of events where TV talent shows, musicians and comedians perform. These events are for the residents rather than for the tourists. They have made efforts to attract local customers.

Figure 4.1
Temporary Shopping Mall



Left = Temporary shopping mall in Otsuchi / Right = Temporary shopping mall in Kesenuma. When I visited, the job qualification seminar was taken place.

Ishinomaki is the second largest city in the Miyagi prefecture. Its population was about 160,000. Due to the motorization from the 1980s, large suburban shops with large parking areas have attracted local customers. Therefore, the situation in the city centre before the disaster was not different from other small cities and towns. The number of those who died or went missing in this city was 3,940, and this is 20 per cent of the whole country's victims. As such, the number of NPOs and volunteers is larger than in other cities and towns. Unlike other affected areas, a lot of buildings remained in the city centre. Two temporary shopping malls have been opened there. A shop owner said:

We opened on 10 December 2011. There are 21 shops, which attended from many areas of this city. Previously, this road, which the city hall faces, was the dull shopping street. Only six to seven out of 20 shops were opened. Now, we, shop owners, can communicate well, because the long shopping street was condensed into one place... Volunteers have reduced, and tourists are increasing a little. Key holders made from debris sell well. So, we need to

change the way of thinking about who our customers are. During weekends, many tour buses come here and it is very quiet during weekdays, because no one lives around here. It must be helpful for us to organize tours which are held on weekdays... This rest station (I interviewed him in the small arbour front of his shop) has become the place for communication among NPO staff and volunteers. They come here and chat about their activities.

The temporary shopping malls can be an arena of communication and information exchange for members of staff. A certain organization has held several events to deepen exchange (Social Business Network. 2012); although it is difficult for NPOs and other third sectors to communicate well among themselves. This is consistent with the notion by Hull et al.(2011: 145) that their fragmentation of accountability makes it difficult for them to open themselves to other organizations.

4-3 Transformation of Volunteer Tourism (Otsuchi, Iwate)

Volunteers can be seen as one actor in the regional economic activities today, due to the establishment of temporary shopping malls. Otsuchi in Iwate prefecture is a town that had nothing distinctive before the disaster. The key industry was fishery, but these industries were steadily declining. There were many residents who commuted to the neighbouring city for work. The population was 15,277, and they had a massive loss as 1,278 died or went missing.

In this town, affected primary school building has been used as the free housing for volunteers, and the temporary shopping mall was constructed on the playground. This housing was run by 'Tono Magokoro Net'. It is one of the largest NPOs among the organizations which work in the disaster areas of Iwate prefecture. Before the completion of this housing, volunteers had been despatched from the base in Tono city which is located one and a half hours (by car) from Otsuchi. The free lodging was established in May 2012 and its merit is not only in saving time, it also made the volunteers effective consumers in the local economy. Staff of 'Tono Magokoro Net' said:

Originally, this town had maintained the regional economy through internal demands. However, the population has decreased to 9,000 (include number of migration to inland)...Free housing made volunteers agents of population exchange. It ensured that they could use time efficiently and also spend money in this town.

Volunteers' main roles included removing debris, administration of the temporary housing and cooking. However, the demand for these services has declined. The staff continued:

So, I would like volunteers to communicate with the residents. Volunteers cannot implement costly project. However, they can give the residents hope and aspirations... Actually, the residents have started to feel uneasy about news of floods in south Japan where a certain volunteer came from.

Conversely, the temporary shopping mall committee member realized that many shops increased their sales. He said the reason for the increase in the number of customers was the large parking and many shops in one place. The large parking was also useful for the venue when hosting events. Volunteers

were also important because their tour buses parked there and while volunteers did their shopping.

The free housing was closed by the end of September 2012. Initially, the town disapproved the use of the affected school building for security reasons. However, effect of closing the free housing has reflected on the sales of the shopping mall. Now, the owners of the shopping mall have advocated for the re-opening of the free housing (Tono 2012). Notably, the number of volunteers has decreased. 'Tono Magokoro Net' dispatched 700 volunteers to Otsuchi in August 2011 and the number has decreased to 200 in August 2012.

4-4 Town Management Organization (Otsuchi, Iwate)

'Oraga Otsuchi Yumehiroba (My Hometown Otsuchi Dream Field)' is a town management organization (TMO) ¹³ which was established by the survivors for the reconstruction of regional industries. Now, they have implemented three programmes which are relevant to tourism. First, they started with the restaurant for the volunteers. Member of the TMO said:

When we saw the volunteers who were having lunch sitting in the sun, we thought this might be a chance to start business. Before the disaster, our town struggled to attract tourists. Now, they want to come here without any attractions from our side. This coastal area has rich sea resources. If they knew the exquisite taste of the sea foods in this town, they will always come here even after this 'disaster boom'.

This restaurant gets 50 to 80 guests during lunch time and 10 to 20 guests during pub time per day. When it was opened in November 2011, there were 150 guests per day, and the main guests were volunteers. Now, the guests have changed to tourists. The staff's salaries are covered by the 'Emergency employment creation subsidy'; which will be terminated by the end of 2012. The owner of the restaurant is concerned about her ability to cope after the subsidy has been terminated.

Secondly, they started the guide tour and now they have 2,500 guests per month. Their programme is unique because it gave an opportunity for tourists to communicate with the residents. The member continued:

In the beginning, no one helped us; because tourism was not popular in this town... However, they were surprised to see that many tourists were coming. They realized that tourism could be a legitimate business. For example, the tourists bought vegetables which farmers threw away when they grew too much... We have ensured regular customers. So, I have efforts to change the programme. If I show them the life of fisherman at first, I will show them the life of farmers in next tour. I think it is more valuable to make tourists fans of the residents than to make them know the present situation of the town... The aim of this tourism is to make the tourist feel at home town.

¹³ Japanese government recommend the stricken municipalities to establish TMO. However, only two TMO has been established to date, in Otsuchi and another was established in Rikuzentakata, Iwate prefecture.

In addition, they started a high school student guide programme. This challenge creates a chance for the students to learn and discover their hometown's treasures and groom the next generation that will shoulder the reconstruction of this town in the future.

Thirdly, they run a reconstruction museum. In the museum, they exhibit newspaper articles detailing the town's reconstruction, the previous town's model and the panel to explain how the tsunami occurred. Presently, most debris and ruins have been removed and as such these exhibitions help tourists understand how it was like.

TMOs are needed as intermediaries to start disaster tourism. In affected municipalities, the residents' frustration in daily life became complaints, and they were already concentrated in the town or city halls. If disaster tourism was initiated by the public sector, residents would have complained because being a tour guide to tourists viewing the disaster ruins is very sensitive. As such, one of the objectives for establishing TMOs was that, instead of the municipality, TMOs could implement some of the reconstruction programmes which the public sector was hesitant to implement for fear of complaints from the residents. This augments by Alexander and de Brito et al (2011: 87) that these TMOs originate from the local community, thus they can act as intermediaries with small complaints (Alexander 2010: 222). Moreover, they can also be custodians and nurturers of the traditional life style (de Brito et al. 2011: 87).

4-5 Disaster Education Tour (Rikuzentakata, Iwate)

Rikuzentakata in Iwate prefecture is located between two big fishery ports, Ofunato and Kesennuma and it functioned as the dormitory suburb. It was famous for the view of the 70,000 pinewood forest and sand beach, and 1 million tourists visited per year. Its population was about 23,000; but they experienced a massive loss as 1,800 died or went missing. As Otsuchi, a TMO was established after the disaster and its name is 'Natsukashii Mirai Sozo (Ancient future creation)'. The core members of the TMO are owners of SMEs in this city and social business consultants. Their mission is to create employment of 500 positions and to resolve prevailing social issues by exploiting and utilising local resource (Natsukashii Mirai Sozo. 2012).

They implemented the volunteer tour for primary school students. In this tour, children observed the disaster area with volunteer tour guide¹⁴, and they interviewed the residents as a way of planning for activities that could be done for the residents. Secondly, they worked in the volunteer programme which they initiated. (Northern Iwate Travel Service Inc. 2012) The motion to shift to educational purposes was not a unique case as many agents of disaster tourism have started to find a way to make their programmes sustainable.

Additionally, this TMO has a plan to establish a live-in incubation centre in Rikuzentakata. The member said:

¹⁴ In Rikuzentakata, the volunteer guide started storytelling tour from the summer 2011.

I doubt we can be able to continuously attract the tourists c without the pinewood forest and historical townscape which the disaster destroyed... We need to develop, especially, live-in programmes for population exchange. Now we have a plan to build the facility for human resource development. We will offer programmes through which the participants can achieve some job skills.

At the national and prefectural level, the Geo Park initiative has already been implemented. Geo Park is the reserve which is established for ecological education by conserving the trace of natural activity. (Kahoku Shimpō. 2012a)

4-6 Conclusion: Disaster Tourism Supported Regional Reconstruction

The active agents, who were the outputs of the shelter stage, connected the two stages, and became the main input in the reconstruction stage. Their action was to diffuse and diversify disaster tourism.

The output was their efforts to solve the accelerated social changes. In Tohoku, depopulation and aging increased rapidly after the disaster. Oliver-Smith (1996: 312) and Bankoff (2003: 152)'s argument adequately explains these changes when we contend that disaster tourism could encourage population exchange. As a result of disaster tourism, many tourists and volunteers started having close interactions with residents who had not had any chance to exchange and / or interact with strangers. Actually, some interviewees noted that they began to like their town after the disaster; which is one positive effect of population exchange. Rather, the local treasure is found easily by stranger. Thus, one can conclude that disaster tourism can prevent migration by not only employment creation but also through reshaping the residents' mentality towards their city.

In cases of severe depopulation, the active agents revamped their businesses for the reconstruction of the regional economy. Thus, the survivors needed external consumers who could compensate the decreasing internal consumers. After the disaster, many tourists started to visit these towns and cities and became the indispensable consumers for the regional economies. Volunteer tourism also changed their role in the economic demands. In the shelter stage, the residents needed manpower as basic labours. However, in the reconstruction stage, they needed more consumers to fuel growth of the regional economy. In addition, the volunteers started to work towards population exchange.

Even though there were many successful cases, disaster tourism was a sensitive matter. Thus, the third sector was continuously needed as the input. Basically, tourism had been one of main industries in Tohoku district¹⁵. However, it was difficult for the public sector to propose disaster tourism and at the same time, it was difficult for the market-oriented private sector to promote

¹⁵ Tourism's direct and indirect consumption were accounted for by 17 per cent of all manufactured goods shipped from Tohoku district (Development Bank of Japan 2011).

the tourism without the residents consent. Due to the demands from both sides, the third sector was needed as the agent to drive disaster tourism. This stems from Alexander (2010:222)'s assertion that the third sector's strength is that their roots are in the local community, thus they can act as the intermediary between these stakeholders. In other words, they could buffer criticisms from the residents who had negative views about the tourism.

In the case of 'Katrina Tour' in New Orleans, the agents received severe criticism. The victims and the media were highly critical about the implementation of disaster tourism (Gotham 2007: 838, Pezzullo 2009: 99). The difference between Tohoku and New Orleans is the kind of agents who took the initiative in the tourism. In the case of Tohoku, the agents were the survivors and the third sector while in the case of New Orleans; the agents were the leading private companies¹⁶.

Nevertheless depopulation escalated but many temporary shopping malls had achieved higher sells figures than during peace time. These phenomena are consistent with Oliver-Smith's argument (1996: 313-314) that the concentration of people and goods has a potential to destroy the regional economy. The boom of disaster tourism and the demand from tourists' consumption are not long-lasting. Many agents have noticed the upcoming crisis due to the decrease in the number of tourist and efforts to attract residents and movements to education trips are the strategies to prepare for next trends of disaster tourism.

¹⁶ In Tohoku, Some leading tour agencies have already run reconstruction tours. These tours are organized to participate in disaster tourism programmes which are hold by survivors.

Chapter 5

Challenges of Disaster Tourism

5-1 Fiscal Sustainability

In this chapter, I explore challenges which the agents of disaster tourism have tackled up to today. Thus, I mainly describe about the situation in the reconstruction stage, and the findings can be recognized as other outputs in reconstruction stage.

The agents cannot make profit for themselves. These tourism programmes are more skewed towards the social dimension. They exist to provide an arena for regional economic activity. Thus, actors who promote economic activities in the area are needed. These actors include accommodation, shops, restaurants and transport owners. Disaster tourism cannot be sustainable without the reconstruction of these industries, even if the tourism can diversify.

Almost all tourists stayed inland due to lack of hotel and guest houses. The guesthouses which remained in the disaster area have been occupied by construction workers. Actually, these guesthouses have gained income through this special demand from construction workers. Other relevant industries, however, (tourism facilities and souvenir shops), have not gained from them, because these workers do not buy the souvenirs and do not enjoy sightseeing in their visits (Yoshikawa 2012). Another problem which makes it difficult to secure accommodation for tourist is aging. In Tohoku coastal area, many guesthouses were run as side businesses for fisherman's families. Now, fishermen hesitate to reconstruct the facilities for these side businesses because they require large investment. Moreover there is no guarantee that there will be successors who can take over these side businesses.

The storytelling volunteer guides belong to the regional tourist bureaus. These tourist bureaus were financed from the membership fees under normal circumstances. The members are various relevant actors in the regional tourism industries. However, currently, these bureaus have been fully supported by subsidies from the municipalities. The bureaus have also been used to offer working space for residents who lost their jobs. The 'emergency employment creation subsidy' is the source of their salaries. In Minamisanriku, even though 70 per cent of the members of the tourist bureau have not been able to resume their business, the tourist bureau has hired 11 employees through this subsidy. Miyagi prefecture established 'Disaster Tourism Assistance Centre' which could offer the matching service to coordinate disaster tourism tours. They employed 13 staff members through this subsidy. Fukushima prefecture has employed editorial staff to publish tourism information also through this subsidy. In these examples' background, the Central government has recommended that more job positions be created in tourism sector (Kahoku Shimpō. 2012d). This policy is based on the assumption that tourism is a labour intensive industry which can create job opportunities instantly without huge investments (Yamada 2012, MLIT 2009: 9), and it includes many kinds of occupations (MLIT 2009: 10).

Ironically, ‘emergency employment creation subsidy’ has become a constraint for recruitment for SMEs which have resumed their businesses. Owner of reconstruction restaurant in Otsuchi, said:

The owner who rebuilt his factory recruited 20 part-time workers; however, there was no one who applied this position. Many women who had worked in these positions could get the new jobs which the ‘emergency employment creation subsidy’ created. And, the wage system of this subsidy ensures better income than these part-time jobs.

It is clear that on one hand, this subsidy creates employment on a temporary basis. On the other hand, it becomes an obstacle for the resumption of SMEs’ business. The tourism sector is the best area that can create new job positions. The agents who work for the creation of social oriented market economy cannot exist without this subsidy or the relevant industries. However, SMEs which are the main actors in the regional economy have been negatively affected by this subsidy. This subsidy has significant contradicting characteristics.

‘SME group subsidy’ is one of the subsidies to support the reconstruction of SMEs in the disaster area. However, it is difficult for the tourism oriented SMEs to be accepted. Iwate prefectural government officer told the reason:

‘SME group subsidy’ has placed priority on distributing funds to the SMEs which have relevance with the nationwide supply chains... Hence, it is difficult to receive funding for a group of SMEs from the tourism industry. Furthermore, another obstacle is that tourism involves a wide variety of industries. Each ministry has the budget for the reconstruction subsidies; however, the groups of tourism SMEs cannot apply to the specific ministry, because of they involve a wide variety of industries. This disaster made me realize how a wide variety of industries are involved in tourism.

5-2 Dilemma of Municipality

Ishinomaki city started the storytelling programme from August 2011, and one year after the disaster, the number of tourist started to increase significantly. From January 2012 to until December 2012, there have been 800 applications from tour groups (22,000 tourists). Tourist bureau’s officer, told me about the importance to pay attention to the bereaved:

Regarding Okawa primary school¹⁷, there was a request from the bereaved not to be included on the list of the tour course. We have implemented, paying particular attention to their feelings... We do not take guests to Hiyori-yama Park¹⁸. We expect them to get victim’s eye level without looking down stricken fields.

For the bereaved, the building where their family member or relative died is the place where they do not want to go. Actually, there were some interviewees who lost their loved ones. They said they did not want to see the place, and they expected it to be destroyed.

¹⁷ 70 students died at Okawa Primary school.

¹⁸ There is a park on hill top in the city centre where is able to see the situation.

Figure 5.1
Controversial Disaster Ruins (1)



Left: Stranded ship in Kesenuma, which local government and inhabitants are discussing whether they dismantle it or not (Kahoku Shimpō. 2011b). Right: Miracle pine in Rikuzentakata, which is sole surviving pine. This pine has become the symbol of reconstruction. Due to the damage of seawater, Maintenance cost will be 150 million JPY (Kahoku Shimpō. 2012e).

However, there are movements to conserve these ruins to record the misery of the disaster. Notably, these ruins are not only scenes that amplify sad memories for the bereaved, but they are also an obstacle to city planning. Residents are now limited to building houses near the sea coast for safety reasons. If they decide to conserve the ruins, the land levelling and elevation will take longer to achieve, which in turn implies delay of city planning. From these reasons, it is controversial to conserve the ruins. They can be a heritage, but at the same time bringing sad memories for the bereaved and difficulties in city reconstruction.

Figure 5.2
Controversial Disaster Ruins (2)



Left: July, 2011, Right: August 2012 Onagawa town consider remaining collapsed building {{469 Kahoku Shimpō 2011}}. However, Maximum 17 metres elevation is needed in their reconstruction plan (Yomiuri Shimbun 2012). To remain this ruin will hinder from smooth implementation of the plan.

5-3 Decrease of Assistance

Currently, the number of volunteers is significantly decreasing. The number of decrease might be larger than the increase in the number of tourists. Owner of reconstruction restaurant in Otsuchi, said:

Now, we have 50 to 80 customers during lunch time, and 10 to 20 in pub time. When we opened in November 2011, there were 150 customers on weekdays and 200 on weekends. I think this was influenced by our special prices we offered in the beginning. But, there is a difference in the number of tour bus. Last November and December, volunteers were the main customers. Now, we have received mainly tourist.

This trend is a common view among the interviewees who are working in the shops and restaurant.

In addition, the amount of donations has also started decreasing and this trend has already started, just a few months after the disaster. Some municipalities, where survivors started the disaster tourism programme, have received enormous amounts of donations. Miyagi Prefectural Government Officer said:

Regarding the amount of donations, Sendai (population: 1.06 million) and Minamisanriku (population: 15,000) have almost the same amount. Through broadcasting by various media agencies, Minamisanriku received such amounts of donations. And, there are high needs of study tours, also due to a lot of media exposure.

According to the data of 20 May 2011, on one hand, Sendai received 510 million JPY. On the other hands, Minamisanriku received 440 million JPY (Kahoku Shimpō. 2011a). In addition, Minamisanriku has surpassed Sendai in terms of the number of donors. However, there is no evidence that their disaster tourism has any influence on the amount of donations. According to a government officer in Minamisanriku, this has increased to 730 million until February 2012. As such, when they started the tourism programme in the end of April, the bulk of the donations were received.

The municipalities where the survivors could start disaster tourism quickly were the areas with serious damages. Thus, one can conclude that the demands of tourism were very high just after the disaster. Conversely, it is also possible to say that the survivors could recognize the need to attract the people's interest. Many municipalities which had serious damages could receive big amounts of donations. Thus, the survivors subsequently witnessed the precipitous decrease in donations and assistance.

The local government will be also required to promote the efforts to attract people's / donors' interest in future because of state's fiscal challenges. Japanese government fiscal difficulties have been serious, and the disaster area is broad. Hence, the municipalities cannot expect to receive substantial amounts of fiscal allocations. Additionally, the stricken municipalities are small and their fiscal challenges are also serious. They have already depended on the fiscal allocation rather than their own tax revenue. (Igarashi 2012: 9) This expected municipalities' policy change is consistent with argument of Oliver-Smith (1996: 309) that disaster becomes the contexts of political change and influences the relationship between state and local government.

Meanwhile, the third sector has faced fiscal problems and a member of 'Tono Magokoro Net' views this as a crisis; and he stated that

There is an increase in NPOs that misunderstand who their clients are. They have done their activities to get subsidies and donation.

This change means that NPOs have already started meeting their sponsors / donors and not residents in the disaster areas resulting in a decrease in the donations which come into the disaster areas. Bridge et al (2009:148-150)'s explanation adequately augments this point where they explain that the third sector's promotion to achieve the 'special sources' like donations and subsidies is one of the usual practices for NPOs. Thus, the incompatibility of requests between their sponsors / donors and their targets is viewed as common trouble.

5-4 Harmful Rumour

Up to today, the Fukushima prefecture has suffered from harmful rumours from the Fukushima first nuclear power plant accident. The prefecture and municipalities have planned many events and promotions. Originally, Fukushima prefecture was the most popular travel destination in Tohoku district. However, one year after the disaster, tourists decreased to 58 per cent (Fukushima Prefecture Tourism Exchange Division. 2012).

Aizuwakamatsu¹⁹ is the city which is located in inland Fukushima prefecture. And, it was popular as a destination for school trips. School trips are a distinguished type of tourist group in Japanese tourism, because this group organizes a big party, and they do not need to change the destination every year, thus they become regular visitors easily if the destination is adequate for their educational objectives. Aizuwakamatsu has many historical sightseeing spots and hot spring hotels which can accommodate the big party. Furthermore, the residents have made efforts to develop hands-on learning activities from 1970s, and the residents are keen to preserve historical buildings. Thus, the school staffs had chosen Aizuwakamatsu as the destination. However, as far as safety is concerned, School authorities were extremely cautious. From April to December 2011, the number of school trips from other prefectures decreased to 12 per cent (Fukushima Prefecture Tourism Exchange Division. 2012). Though Aizuwakamatsu is located farther than Sendai from the nuclear power plant, it is suffering from the Harmful rumours because it is located in Fukushima.

Iwaki city²⁰ is located on the seaside, 40 kilo metres south from the nuclear power plant. Tourism was one of its main industries. By using rich seafood and fresh vegetables, they attracted many tourists. However, the fisheries cooperatives association of Iwaki deliberately stopped catching fish to date. Officer of Iwaki tourist bureau told me that the producers are no longer sure if they can sell their products. These products include not only the food, but also traditional craftwork which uses natural materials and facilities especially for visitors. In addition, some residents do not eat local products due to the rumours, which shows the magnitude of the impact of these rumours. Iwaki city's situation can be explained by Ohashi (2012: 39)'s argument that a product which has readily available substitutions is strongly affected by the harmful rumours. Their rich seafood and fresh vegetable have substitutions in other locations.

5-5 Conclusion: Disaster Tourism and City Marketing

Disaster tourism has certain outputs from the reconstruction stage, and one of these outputs is a possibility for sustainable financial assistance. The fading away of disaster memories leads to the reduction of donations. Disaster tourism can draw people's minds to the disaster area but does not itself guarantee adequate and sustainable income creation. Rather, it is a social tool that provides platform for regional economic activities that may have a positive impact

¹⁹ Population (2010)= 124,645 / Dead + Missing=1

²⁰ Population (2010)= 342,249 / Dead + Missing=347

on income flows. Thus, tourism cannot maintain itself without subsidies or the reconstruction of other relevant industries which can contribute to the economic growth of the area. Miyagi prefectural government officer said:

It will take about 10 years to reconstruct the seawall and land elevation. The memories of the disaster will fade away from people's minds before these ventures are completed and the support will also be terminated. The mission of tourism is sending people to the disaster areas continuously to inform them of the disaster area's correct situation and to prevent terminating the assistance until the residents have attained their normal lives.

Thus, in this stage, the role of disaster tourism is to become a part of city's marketing strategy for attracting people. This point of view is consistent with Govers (2011: 230)'s argument that tourists have a potential to be investors and new residents in the future. However, there is no clear evidence to show the causal relationship between the effectiveness of disaster tourism (cause) and the amount of donation and assistance (effects) up to date. This strategy for sustainable reconstruction will take longer time to show concrete results.

The biggest challenge for disaster tourism to fulfil this role is the harmful rumours about the nuclear power plant accident. As such, the third output of disaster tourism should be the countermeasures against the rumours. However, at the same time, the rumour is an obstacle to tourism itself.

In the case of Phuket, it took two years for the number of tourists to increase and more two years for tourism to resume its previous level. The negative coverage by the foreign media caused this long term recession (Jayasuriya and McCawley 2010: 209). Regarding inbound tourism in Tohoku, recovery will take longer than Phuket's case. Kinoshita (as cited in Ohashi 2012: 37)'s argument cements this notion when he argues that rumour is produced as projection of internal information to supplement the gap between required information and given information. In these two cases, people can expect that massive tsunamis will not occur frequently and then learn how to escape from the lessons of disaster. However, it is difficult for people to know the precise factors about radioactive pollutions and the way to protect themselves from them. These gaps in internal information become the difference from the persistent rumours.

Iwate prefectural government officer said that the transmission of correct information could often have negative effects:

The foreign travel agents request us not to talk about the disaster and reconstruction. According to them, international tourists have forgotten the disaster already. No need to remind them there was the disaster in Japan. Therefore, I was asked not to appeal to the present situation which has been reconstructed. Rather, we need to act as nothing happened.

This opinion conflicts with DiFonzo's (DiFonzo 2007: 210)'s recommendation to provide accurate and timely information. Conversely, some tourist bureau officer mourned that they could not attract people from other districts to realize Tohoku's safe situation, even though they explained this repeatedly. This is consistent with Ohashi (2012: 42)'s argument that the scientific jargon cannot keep down people's emotional words.

Then, how can disaster tourism be the countermeasure? Ohashi (2012: 43) proposes tourism campaigns which will make Sendai city the hub of tourism. He argues that there is no substitution for Sendai city, because it is the capital

of Tohoku district and many people gather in it for various reasons. So, by holding campaigns to connect Sendai and other destinations, it is possible to provide tourist to the destinations from Sendai.(Ibid) Reality which tourists experience and encounter with residents in the destination become tourist's emotional words.

Chapter 6

Conclusion The roles of Disaster Tourism

In this paper, I attempted to clarify the roles of the disaster tourism in sheltering stage and reconstruction stage. In the beginning of emergency / relief stage, the earthquake and tsunami (inputs) triggered the disaster (action). As the output from the disaster, there was termination of ordinary life and many residents became the victims. The problems included shortage of commodities and facilities to support survivors during the shelter stage.

The survivors started the disaster tourism 50 days after the tsunami. In the shelter stage, on one hand, reconstruction markets gave survivors places to buy commodities from and also helped shop owners gain confidence to revamp their businesses. On the other hand, tourism facilities could be utilised as comfortable shelter or base to support victims. Therefore, the role of tourism is to encourage victims from some aspects, and these encouragements gave them chances to be active agents. The significant output was the birth of active agents with a smooth transition from the shelter stage to the reconstruction stage. Survivor could have a positive attitude towards the reconstruction stage because of the success of disaster tourism. To achieve this output, certain inputs were needed. The bridge with external actors and third sector encouraged survivors to start the tourism, previous experience of CBT and the influential leader collected survivors in the community.

In the reconstruction stage, disaster tourism diffused among many municipalities in the disaster area. In the process of diffusion, the tourism changed its role to suit the new changes. After the critical period, reconstruction stage needed resumption of businesses and positions for employment. Conversely, certain vulnerabilities were revealed which made these agendas difficult. These included accelerated depopulation and aging. Survivors resumed their own businesses; and, at same time, they started suffering from the depopulation and aging which resulted in reduction of customers. Survivors expected to thrive on the tourists' purchasing power. Hence, the new role of tourism was attracting tourists. The tourist could support regional economic reconstruction. Storytellers attracted tourists and created a platform for population exchange. This population exchange has encouraged the residents.

Disaster tourism can also be the way to reduce persist harmful rumour. Tourism's vulnerability to rumour cannot be ignored; however, reality which can be only known by visiting fields expunges people's subjective interpretation, which is one identity of harmful rumour (Kinoshita, as cited in Ohashi 2012). Therefore, the output in the reconstruction stage is the settlement of these challenges. Up to date, efforts to achieve the output have been continued.

The inputs of disaster tourism in this stage were the active agents that survivors changed through the success of disaster tourism in the shelter stage. The active agents connected these two stages smoothly. Third sectors were also needed which were established as spaces for employment creation and intermediaries to create a platform for a social-oriented market economy.

Oliver-Smith (1996: 309) insists that disaster became a context of change for relationship between the state and local government. However, I witnessed

that disaster also changed the relationship between local government and residents. In the case of Great East Japan Earthquake, survivors worked for their own reconstruction independently, and disaster tourism could help the activities. In these days, disaster tourism has been expected as a policy to attract people's sustainable donations and assists, which can supplement the lack of government's budgets for reconstruction.

Previous experiences of CBT had not been implemented with the intent to strength disaster countermeasures. However, the efforts to nurture the community ties succeeded as disaster countermeasures to change survivors to active agent, and let them take the initiative of regional reconstruction. Disaster tourism will change its role to suit new challenges and demands of future. Education tour, Geo Park initiative...next changes have already started.

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Appendix

Appendix A: List of Interviewees

	Prefecture	City / Town / Village	Title of Interviewee	Date
1	Iwate	Morioka City	Prefectural Government Officer	14 August 2012
2			Prefectural Tourist Bureau Officer	14 August 2012
3		Tanohata Village	Manager of NPO 'Experience Village Tanohata'	25 July 2012
4			Captain of Sappa Fishery Boat	26 July 2012
5		Miyako City	CEO of Sanriku Railway Inc.	13 August 2012
6		Otsuchi Town	Staff of 'Oraga-Otsuchi Yumehiroba' (1)	10 August 2012
7			Staff of 'Oraga-Otsuchi Yumehiroba' (2)	09 August 2012
8			Reconstruction Restaurant Owner	10 August 2012
9			Two High School Student Guides	09 August 2012
10			Staff of Chamber of Commerce and Industry	13 August 2012
11			Staff of NPO 'Tono Magokoro Net'	13 August 2012
12			CEO of Taiwanese NPO 'Newhome-land Foundation'	13 August 2012
13		Rikuzentakata City	City Government Officer	24 July 2012
14			Disaster Tourism Guide (1)	08 August 2012
15			Disaster Tourism Guide (2)	24 July 2012
16			Director of Local Development Company 'Natsukashii Mirai Sozo'	27 July 2012
17			Volunteer Staff in Morning Market (1)	28 July 2012
18			Volunteer Staff in Morning Market (2)	28 July 2012
19			Manager of Guest House	28 July 2012
20			Manager of Semi-Public Joint Venture Company (by telephone)	27 July 2012
21	Miyagi	Sendai City	Prefectural Government Officer	30 July 2012
22		Kesennuma City	City Government Officer (1)	31 July 2012
23			City Government Officer (2)	31 July 2012
24			Vice-President of committee of Temporary Shopping Mall	31 July 2012
25		Minamisanriku Town	Town Government Officer (by email)	08 August 2012

26			Town Tourist Bureau Officer	07 August 2012
27			Leader of Volunteer Guide Group	07 August 2012
28			Committee Chairman of Reconstruction Market	07 August 2012
29			Manager of Hotel Kanyo	15 August 2012
30			Sub Manager of Hotel Kanyo	15 August 2012
31		Ishinomaki City	City Government Officer	15 August 2012
32			Tourist Bureau Officer	15 August 2012
33			Shop Owner in Temporary Shopping Mall	15 August 2012
34	Fukushima	Fukushima City	Prefectural Government Officer	16 August 2012
35			Prefectural Tourist Bureau Officer	16 August 2012
36		Aizuwakamatsu City	City Tourist Bureau Officer	17 August 2012
37			Staff of Chamber of Commerce and Industry	17 August 2012
38		Iwaki City	City Tourist Bureau Officer	17 August 2012
39			Staff of Disaster Tour Information Centre	17 August 2012

Appendix B: Map of Disaster tourism programmes

