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研究課題名(和文) The integration of negative heritage in rehabilitation strategies in Fukushima Prefecture: Bosai Tourism and Social Services Improvements in depopulated regions in Futaba, Namie, Minamisoma and Soma.

研究課題名(英文) The integration of negative heritage in rehabilitation strategies in Fukushima Prefecture: Bosai Tourism and Social Services Improvements in depopulated regions in Futaba, Namie, Minamisoma and Soma.

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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究は、東日本大震災の被災地で、ツーリズムがどのように開発され、利用されているかを分析した。その結果、ツアーブランディング、震災遺構の選定、伝承施設の展示など、防災や復興においてポジティブなナラティブが強調される傾向があることを明らかにした。このような前向きな傾向は、地域住民が震災後のツーリズムをより受け入れることにつながったが暗いトピックの排除で、教訓が制限されることも判明した。最後に、ツーリズムが地域経済にとって貢献であり、被災者が復興の物語を形成するための主体性を持つことを確認した。しかし、Covid-19による移動制限は、再生手段としてツーリズムに依存する危険性を強調した。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This study clarified the risks and merits of post-disaster tourism as a recovery and revitalization method. Insights can be useful for similar cases in other countries and help to understand the importance of diversity in disaster cultural memory and disaster education.

研究成果の概要(英文)：This research analyzed post-disaster tourism and negative heritage preservation after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disaster. It could clarify a tendency to foreground positive narratives within the disaster response and recovery as featured in tour branding, the selection of disaster heritage sites, and contents of disaster memorial museums. These tendencies led to a greater acceptance of tourism by local communities. Yet, the exclusion of dark topics limits critical educational aspects. Further, this study found vital differences in the challenges faced by Fukushima Prefecture, due the political aspects of the nuclear disaster, that were only partially addressed in tourism content. Finally, this research confirmed tourism as an essential contributor to local economies, and giving agency to disaster-affected people to shape narratives of recovery. Yet, the Covid-19 pandemic highlighted the risk of over-relying on tourism as a revitalization method.

研究分野：Japanese Studies; Cultural Anthropology

キーワード：Disaster Recovery Cultural Memory Negative Heritage Tourism Fukushima GEJE Tsunami

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1. 研究開始当初の背景

After the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disaster (“3.11”), tourism programs were developed to revitalize the disaster-affected regions and contribute to disaster education. However, post-disaster tourism is a highly controversial topic. While some regard visits to disaster-affected areas as unethical and voyeuristic, others see them as a necessary means of recovery. This study investigates the merits and challenges in the development of post-disaster tourism in areas affected by “3.11”, focusing on local communities and what kind of narratives are created with the contents of tourism programs and through the preservation of negative heritage. As a compound, cascading, and natech disaster, “3.11” presents a special case, as such kinds of disaster tend to lead to corrosive communities, with evacuees dispersed across vast areas and several decades of recovery. While tourism may risk communicating a distorted image of a specific disaster, it may help to revitalize disaster-affected and depopulated regions. With cascading and natech disasters likely to increase, investigating 3.11 post-disaster tourism gives vital clues for long-term recovery.

2. 研究の目的

This study clarifies how disaster-affected municipalities in the Tohoku region, and Fukushima Prefecture specifically, integrate the negative heritage of the 3.11 disaster through tourism in revitalization measures. By analyzing tour programs as well as their contents and discussions revolving around negative heritage preservation, this study investigates the challenges and merits of post-disaster tourism for revitalization, its impact on local communities, and the image tourism contents aim to create of the 3.11 disasters and recovery.

3. 研究の方法

This study analyzes various disaster tourism programs and contents in Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima prefecture using advertisements, guidebooks, and descriptions of the tours, participant observation in tour programs, and interviews with program developers, tour guides, participants, and local communities. This study initially focused on negative heritage preservation and disaster-related tourism in depopulated regions in Fukushima Prefecture. It was then widened to include disaster-affected municipalities in other prefectures as well. After gaining consent, interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed using coding. Insights during fieldwork were recorded in field notes and through photographs, video, and audio recordings when possible. Additionally, participant observation was conducted in online tours during the Covid-19 restrictions.

4. 研究成果

A variety of results were achieved by comparing post-disaster tourism programs, their destinations and other contents, such as preserved sites of negative heritage, exhibitions in museums, and kataribe (disaster storytellers) tours in Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima – the three prefectures that were most severely affected by the 3.11 disasters. Shared goals through the implementation of disaster-related tourism, or “Bosai Tourism”, include revitalizing the disaster-affected regions by creating a so-called “non-resident population” (交流人口), making use of the tsunami hazard zones where residential reconstruction is prohibited, and sharing lessons learned from the 2011 disasters to contribute to disaster risk reduction.

This research found that almost all disaster tourism programs in the affected prefectures of Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima share branding concepts of “positive images”. Terms like “disaster tourism”, “dark tourism”, or “negative heritage” were avoided in tour names and content descriptions. Instead, educational aspects and visitors’ contribution to local economies and recovery were emphasized in names such as “Recovery Tourism” (Iwate Prefecture), “BOSAI+Tourism” (Miyagi Prefecture), or “Hope Tourism” (Fukushima Prefecture). In interviews, tour companies, organizers, guides, and local residents stressed that they did not wish their municipalities’ image to be too strongly connected to negative aspects of disaster, or invite visitors purely interested in “dark” parts of history. Visitors, on the other hand, should not feel guilty or voyeuristic by joining “post-disaster tourism” but rather see their visits as a contribution to recovery. Further, cultural perceptions of tourism (観光) as leisure and a joyful activity poses challenges in advertising visits to sites of negative heritage. Therefore, there is a tendency to use the term *tsūrizumu* (ツーリズム, a loanword that is stronger associated with educational tourism, rather than *kankō* (観光), a term that is written with the characters for “to see” and “light” and might therefore be more substantial associated with positive, leisure activities. On the one hand such careful branding led to a relatively high acceptance of tourism by residents, with many interviewees stressing the need to educate visitors about correct behavior

in case of earthquakes and tsunamis or the current state of recovery. On the other hand, depending on the name, raising continuous interest in visiting disaster-stricken areas may be difficult, as public attention on recovery efforts tends to dwindle with time, and the impact of the disaster may become harder to understand with progressing recovery (Gerster, Boret, Shibayama 2021).

A critical component of tourism after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear disaster is the preservation of “negative heritage” (負の遺産). Meskell (2012, 558) describes negative heritage as “a conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary.” After the 3.11 disasters, buildings and, in some cases, other objects that show traces of disaster have been reopened as disaster heritage sites (震災遺構) that can be considered as an example of sites of negative heritage. Disaster heritage includes the tilted frame of the Disaster Mitigation Headquarters in Minamisanriku Town or the “Miracle Pine” in Rikuzentakata City, one of the few trees that were left standing after the tsunami. However, most of these official disaster heritage sites are former school buildings, as shown in Figure 1 (Gerster and Fulco 2023 forthcoming).

Figure 1 (Gerster and Fulco 2023) Public 3.11 Memorial Museums and school buildings as heritage sites

What these heritage sites have in common is their focus on positive examples of evacuation since – with only a few exceptions—nobody died in the buildings. Although there were discussions about additionally preserving sites where people failed to evacuate, most such buildings were eventually torn down. A rare counter-example is the Okawa Elementary School, where 72 pupils and ten teachers died in the tsunami. The decision to preserve the school followed long pleas by surviving children and a group of bereaved parents. Reasons for the overall tendency to tear down negative examples include the connection to shame in “failing to evacuate” correctly, but also varying opinions among locals who do not wish to be confronted with places where they lost loved ones and locals who want to disperse such memories in order not to repeat a similar tragedy (Gerster and Fulco 2023 forthcoming).

Prefectural and Municipal 3.11 Disaster Museums
Iwate Prefecture
Iwate Tsunami Memorial Museum
Former Rikuzentakata Kesen Junior Highschool
Unosumai Tsunami Memorial Hall
3.11 Great East Japan Earthquake Tono City Logistics Support Museum
Ofunato Tsunami Museum
Miyagi Prefecture
Miyagi 3.11 Disaster Memorial Museum
Ruins of Koyo High School Kesennuma City Memorial Museum
3.11 Disaster Recovery Memorial Museum
Sendai 3.11 Memorial Community Center
The Ruins of Arahama Elementary School
Millenium Hope Hill Aino Kama Park
The Ruins of Nakahama Elementary School
Kadonowaki Elementary School
(Okawa Elementary School)
(Minamisanriku Tokura Middle School*)
Fukushima Prefecture
Great East Japan Earthquake and Nuclear Disaster Memorial Museum
Communan Fukushima
Traditional Requiem Memorial Hall
Earthquake remains Ukedo Elementary School
Tomioaka Archive Museum
Iwaki 3.11 Memorial and Revitalization Museum

A similar tendency to focus on forward-looking messages was found in the exhibitions of public disaster memorial facilities, as shown in Figures 2 and 3 (Gerster and Maly 2022). No other country has established as many museums dedicated to one specific disaster as Japan. The sheer number of public disaster museums in Japan as shown in Figure 2 makes Japan a forerunner in establishing disaster cultural memory. At the same time, this large number also brings the challenge of distinguishing these facilities so that they remain interesting for visitors and sustainably contribute to local communities. Therefore, the post-3.11 museums have clearly defined roles: Prefectural disaster museums aim at giving an extensive overview of what had happened in their respective prefecture, whereas municipal museums focus on their city and disaster heritage sites, such as the school buildings featured in yellow in figure 1, focus specifically on what happened in their building while connecting to a broader recovery narrative on their community.

Figure 2 pre-and post-3.11 disaster memorial museums in Japan (Gerster and Maly 2022)

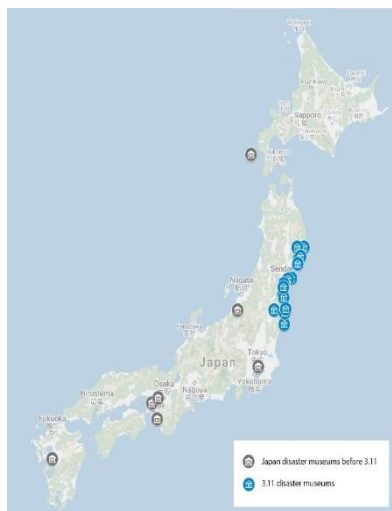
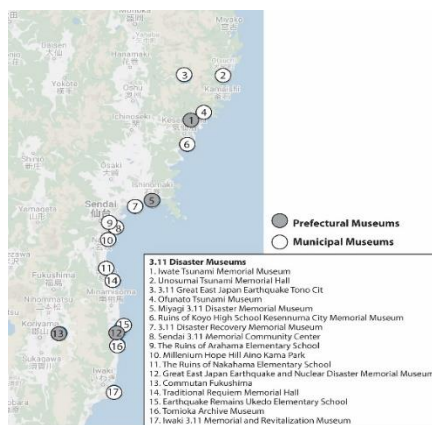


Figure 3 Public 3.11 Disaster Memorial Museums (Gerster and Maly 2022)



The museums’ exhibitions usually start with a general overview of the disasters and an introduction to the history of disasters in the specific area. They would then move on to life before the disaster, the direct impact of the earthquake and tsunami, life in evacuation, and finally, recovery efforts. Although most museums

include negative outcomes in the disaster response, such as people returning to their homes and being swept away by the tsunami, people who refused to evacuate, or people who died on duty, represented by destroyed fire trucks exhibited in almost every museum; the main narrative is clear: the Tohoku region is on a steady path of recovery and will overcome the 3.11 disasters (Gerster and Maly 2022).

The distinctive roles of the museums, as stated above, contributed to an underrepresentation of narratives on the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster (Gerster and Maly 2022). Outside of Fukushima Prefecture, no museum includes a detailed description of the nuclear disaster, and even within Fukushima Prefecture, only three museums' main focus is on the nuclear power plant accident. In addition, just as the museums that focus on the impacts of the damage caused by the earthquake and tsunami, museums on the nuclear disaster tend to foreground positive aspects within the catastrophe, for example, by focusing on "decontamination" instead of contamination or "harmful rumors" instead of contaminated foodstuff in the wake of the nuclear accident. Reasons for this are manifold: Unlike the damage caused by the earthquake and tsunami, radiation and related risks are invisible, and the damage that can be seen is mainly connected to not being able to care for their property as a result of evacuation. Therefore, such sights can evoke feelings of guilt (Gerster 2019). Further, natech disasters, such as 3.11, tend to divide communities and may lead to pollution-related stigma. In the case of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant accident as well, risk perceptions and actual contamination differ among affected community members. Whereas the overall goal is to reopen towns from former exclusion zones, few residents decide to move back and, especially in the direct aftermath of the disaster, some evacuees did not wish to be disclosed as former residents of Fukushima Prefecture. Hence, museums narrating the nuclear disaster face the difficult task of conveying the impact of "3.11", while not harming those who have been affected by the disasters. Further, unlike areas mainly affected by the tsunami, evacuation orders remain in place within Fukushima Prefecture, and evacuees continue to live dispersed across the whole country. The low number of residents living in the reopened towns, the difficulty of conveying threats related to invisible radiation, and the stigma attached to pollution also led to relatively low numbers of disaster storytellers (kataribe) in Fukushima Prefecture as compared to Iwate and Miyagi.

Despite the above-mentioned challenges, however, positive aspects of tourism could be confirmed as well. Disaster memorial museums became the main destinations of visitors and are included in almost every tour. Primarily the three prefectural museums draw several thousand visitors each year, with the Great East Japan Earthquake and Nuclear Disaster Memorial Museum in Futaba reaching over 80.000 visitors in FY2022 (FIPO 2023). Although there is still a lack of infrastructure to accommodate this large number of visitors and make use of the potential for revitalization, these tours contribute to local economies and help create jobs for residents of the recovering towns. Finally, especially disaster survivors engaging in kataribe (disaster storyteller activities) emphasized that such tours give them a chance to share their views on the disaster and recovery, talk about their experiences and play a vital role in disaster education. In this way, visitors as an audience play an essential role as listeners and in passing on the educational aspects they learned from the disaster survivors.

Overall, this research could clarify a tendency to foreground positive narratives within the disaster response and recovery as featured in tour branding, the selection of damaged buildings preserved and reopened (and those not) as disaster heritage sites, and contents of disaster memorial museums. Kataribe (mostly disaster survivors) disaster storytellers offer more diverse narratives as they rely primarily on individual perspectives. Such tendencies led to a greater acceptance of post-disaster tourism by local communities. Still, it was also found that this focus limits the transmission of critical educational aspects, such as reasons for people not evacuating and how to avoid them. Further, this study found vital differences in the challenges faced by Fukushima Prefecture as compared to the other prefectures. The reasons include the political aspects of the nuclear disaster, such as energy policies or corporate responsibility, that were only partially addressed in tourism content. Finally, this research confirmed tourism as an essential contributor to giving agency to disaster-affected people to shape narratives of recovery. Yet, travel restrictions during the Covid-19 pandemic highlighted the risk of over-relying on tourism as a revitalization method as the number of visitors from other prefectures dwindled.

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2. 論文標題 Out of the Dark: The challenges of Branding Post-Disaster Tourism Ten Years after the Great East Japan Earthquake	5. 発行年 2021年
3. 雑誌名 EATSJ - Euro-Asia Tourism Studies Journal	6. 最初と最後の頁 1-25
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2. 論文標題 Kataritsugi: Storytelling as a method in disaster risk education	5. 発行年 2021年
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〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考
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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計1件

国際研究集会 Workshop: Kataribe and memory after the Great East Japan Earthquake	開催年 2021年～2021年
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8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

共同研究相手国	相手方研究機関
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