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# Performing Recovery:
# Music and Disaster Relief in Post-3.11 Japan

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

by

Nana Kaneko

June 2017

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Deborah Wong, Chairperson
Dr. Margherita Long
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The Dissertation of Nana Kaneko is approved:

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Performing Recovery:
Music and Disaster Relief in Post-3.11 Japan

by

Nana Kaneko

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Music
University of California, Riverside, June 2017
Dr. Deborah Wong, Chairperson

The earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear accident that struck Northeast Japan on March 11, 2011 (3.11) prompted an array of local, national, and global musical responses. Based on two years of ethnographic fieldwork primarily in Sendai, Japan, I examine how musical performance serves as a community building mechanism in the wake of a disaster with a focus on music's place in earthquake and tsunami recovery efforts. I treat music as a cultural tool to navigate towards post-disaster recovery, demonstrate post-disaster solidarity (albeit in sometimes problematically self-fulfilling and exploitative ways), and begin to rebuild and restructure post-disaster identifications, normalcy, and livelihood. I outline musical responses to 3.11 from a variety of different angles including songs that

have become anthems of the disaster as representations of recovery and solidarity, songs newly composed shortly after 3.11, the revival and development of localized folk performing arts and *matsuri* festivals, musical activities by outsiders for disaster victims, staged performances that showcase disaster survivors, and musical objects that help prolong memories of 3.11. I highlight the issues and challenges that have arisen with each type of musical response, while also showcasing the ways that these activities are contributing to the region's recovery. By putting these activities in conversation with each other and by demonstrating how they interconnect and address varying facets of post-disaster recovery, I aim to show how musical performance and recovery in all its forms from personal, local, cultural, social, economic, and national, are interconstitutive. I offer a broad yet detailed framework of the types of musical support activities developed in response to 3.11, examine the carefully constructed structures of each type of support, and show how they abide with cultural and national expectations of recovery. I suggest ways that the cultural particularities of post-3.11 musical activities could be reinterpreted and applied by readers to help rebuild and sustain the musical cultures of their own communities in the event of a catastrophe, and consider what "hope" means in the aftermath of tragedy.

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## A Note on Names and the Translation

Most Japanese names are given with the family name first, corresponding with the actual usage in the Japanese context. Japanese names given with first name first correspond to people who have established professional names using the English order, and/or whose cited scholarship is published in English. Key foreign words are italicized on first appearance only. For example, chapter 2 focuses on traditional festivals called *matsuri*; I italicize this term only on first appearance, and after that simply refer to it as "matsuri." Macrons are used throughout to mark long vowels in Japanese, with the exception of well-known places (such as Tohoku, Tokyo, Kobe). All translations into English are mine, unless otherwise noted.

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## Introduction

*8/7/2013*

*"YOOOI YOI!" A woman yells out through her megaphone as the crowd pulling the dashi (float) behind her responds "YOOOI YOI!" Farther down the gravel road, a man's voice emanates through his megaphone "YOIYA SAAA, YOIYA SAAAA" followed by a group of voices responding, "YOIYA SAAA, YOIYA SAAAA!"*[1] *I stood on an uneven lawn on the side of the road and watched as twelve large dashi*[2] *passed by. Each group had distinctive call and response patterns as well as taiko drum rhythms and fue (bamboo flute) melodies. I had a clear, panoramic view of the dashi scattered throughout the entire town. Nothing blocked my line of vision and I could continue to see (and hear!) them even as they drifted farther and farther away. I was standing at ground level with everyone else, but nothing of substantial height blocked my view. With no buildings to muffle the sounds, a panoply of loud chants, rumbling taiko, and high-pitched fue melodies simultaneously coming from several different dashi, echoed through the barren wasteland.*

*I was in the city of Rikuzentakata in Tohoku, Japan observing their annual Moving Tanabata Festival*[3] *on 8/7/2013, approximately two and a half years after that*

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[1] "Yoooi Yoi" and "Yoiya Saaa" are vocables with no literal meaning. They are often used in Japanese performance settings for encouragement.

[2] Approximately 3 meters high and 2 meters wide.

[3] Tanabata festivals are held throughout Japan as well as by Japanese communities abroad and each has distinctive characteristics. The Ugoku (moving) Tanabata festival in Rikuzentakata has at least a 700-year history. Each float contains a team with several *taiko* and *fue* players who can be seen through the colored streams of paper as the float passes by, and also has individuals on the second level of the float waving a long piece of bamboo adorned with colorful paper strips.

*fateful day, March 11, 2011, when the town was literally washed away. "We lost all but two floats in the tsunami," an informant told me. "To observe the first festival that came around after 3.11, several of the town's residents dragged one of the remaining floats down a hill and around the town. By the end of it, we were all in tears; that was the moment when the gravity of the situation really hit us."*

*I realized the profound importance of matsuri festivals for affected communities in post-3.11 Tohoku, and became determined to learn more about the musical activities that disaster-affected communities in Tohoku were valuing as necessities to move towards recovery.*

Figure 1 Residents of Rikuzentakata pull a *dashi* (float) during the Moving Tanabata Festival on August 7, 2013. Photo by author.

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The floats have wooden wheels, but are also pushed and pulled by ropes and/or logs by several individuals lined up in front of and behind each float.

Most of us probably remember the iconic images of the March 11, 2011 disaster that were plastered across television screens and newspapers around the world: massive, black tsunami waves viciously sweeping away everything in its path, overturned cars, buildings, and boats swimming in seas of debris, and aerial views of entire towns flattened to the ground. The 9.0 magnitude earthquake was the most powerful quake recorded in Japanese seismographic history,[4] and combined with tsunami waves reaching heights as high as 40 meters above sea level, the earthquake and tsunami alone took the lives of over 15,000 people,[5] and displaced close to 500,000 people.[6] We remember the meltdown of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear reactors and the spread of an invisible radioactive terror that made the word "Fukushima" shorthand for nuclear disaster just as the US dropping of atomic bombs in 1945 did to "Hiroshima" and "Nagasaki." What we may not remember as vividly are the faces of the enduring evacuees packed into school gymnasiums and living together without partitions and privacy, waiting patiently in line in the snow for food rations. This dissertation looks far past the media spectacles of the disaster to zoom in on the local people of post-disaster Tohoku, and the role of music in their efforts towards recovery. I trace movements and patterns of musical support activities in post-disaster Japan to demonstrate how localized and nationalized recovery are defined and how musical practices contribute to community restoration in the

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[4] The 1923 Great Kantō earthquake had a magnitude of 8.3, and the 1995 Kobe earthquake a 7.2.

[5] "More than half of those who died were over sixty-five years old, but the dead also included some five hundred schoolchildren and the parents of 240 others who were suddenly orphaned—many because their teachers whisked them to the safety of higher ground that their parents could not reach" (Samuels 2013:3).

[6] "Great East Japan Earthquake," Reconstruction Agency, http://www.reconstruction.go.jp/english/topics/GEJE/index.html.

aftermath of a major catastrophe. My study focuses on the performers, organizers, and cultural producers affiliated with these activities, many of whom are disaster survivors. By placing emphasis on the development and presentation of such activities over their reception, I investigate the ways that recovery is defined and constructed for both personal developments and presentational purposes.

The triple disaster of the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear fallout, formally called the Great Eastern Japan Disaster (*Higashi Nihon Daishinsai*), is most commonly referred to as 3.11 (*san ten ichi ichi*). 3.11 is a moniker that avoids placing emphasis on any one component of the triple disaster, allowing the speaker to remain neutral and express inclusivity without naming any particulars. Because my study primarily focuses on recovery efforts from the earthquake and tsunami, but also addresses regions in Fukushima prefecture that are impacted by the nuclear fallout, I have opted to use 3.11 throughout this dissertation, while also clarifying my usage of the term when necessary.

Tōhoku (東北), which literally means northeast, is the Japanese name for the six northernmost prefectures (Aomori, Akita, Iwate, Yamagata, Miyagi, and Fukushima) of the main island of Honshu. Although Miyagi, Iwate, and Fukushima prefectures were the hardest hit regions, and became representative of the disaster in the media, some parts of Aomori, Ibaraki, and Chiba prefectures were more heavily affected than inland areas of the aforementioned prefectures. The word *hisaichi* (被災地; disaster-affected area) is a very complicated term because while it is most commonly used to describe coastal cities that suffered tremendous damage and loss by the tsunami such as Rikuzentakata,

Ishinomaki, and Minami Sōma,[7] it is also used to describe earthquake-affected inland regions such as central Sendai city, and even Tokyo where power outages forced people to walk several hours to get home. Thus, while 3.11 and hisaichi are convenient terms, they can be both overly inclusive and exclusive depending on the context. I highlight and interrogate these discrepancies throughout this dissertation.

Since long prior to 3.11, Tohoku has been conceived of as a poor, peripheral, backward region whose major role has been to provide for the nation as a "sacrifice zone," contributing to industrial labor by providing agricultural products and factory workers, and eventually housing nuclear power plants[8] (Morris 2012, Numazaki 2012, Hopson 2013, Takahashi 2014, Ivy 2015). The overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate and the founding of the Meiji state in 1868 led to the ostensible "backwardness" of Tohoku as Japan's "internal" or "domestic" colony when it was conquered by the new government formed by the coalition of anti-Tokugawa revolutionary forces. The completion and opening of the Tohoku Main Line railway in 1909[9] marked the pathway to and from

[7] Rikuzentakata (Iwate prefecture), Ishinomaki (Miyagi prefecture), and Minami Sōma (Fukushima prefecture) suffered the largest number of casualties in each respective prefecture. Other cities that suffered immense losses include Kamaishi, Miyako, Ōfunato, Ōtsuchi, Yamada (Iwate), Higashi Matsushima, Kesennuma, Minami Sanriku, Iwanuma, Natori, Onagawa, Tagajō, Watari, Yamamoto, (Miyagi), Futaba, Iwaki, Namie, Naraha, Ōkuma, Sōma, Tomioka (Fukushima). For a complete list, see the report by the FDMA (Fire and Disaster Management Agency) updated in March 2017, which reports a total of 19,533 disaster-related deaths: http://www.fdma.go.jp/bn/higaihou/pdf/jishin/155.pdf.

[8] Japan's first commercial nuclear power plant was built in Tōkai, Ibaraki prefecture in 1966, followed by the openings in Tohoku of the Fukushima plant in 1971, the Onagawa plant in Miyagi prefecture in 1984, and the start of construction in 1993 of the Rokkasho Reprocessing Plant in Aomori prefecture. See Manabe 2015 for background information on the power structures and financial incentives that have helped nuclear power grow in Japan since the early 1950s.

[9] According to Marilyn Ivy, "'Tohoku' is actually a twentieth-century designation that was not commonly used until the railways were extended into the region. Before then, it was called

Tohoku as one for "rural Japan to feed the hungry cities." Furthermore, Tohoku's distance from Japan's urban centers, and its "tenaciously distinctive and enduring local lifeways" such as folk crafts, flamboyant festivals, and local dialects gives the region "an aura of archaic cultural authenticity for city folk who had forgotten the ways of their rural forebears" (Ivy 2015:180-182). This designation of Tohoku as representative of an imagined, culturally authentic past also impacted the prioritization of local festivals and folk performing arts as vital to reviving post-3.11 Tohoku culture to sustain the region's aura of cultural authenticity albeit in sometimes ambivalent ways as evidenced, for example, in touristic campaigns.

The placement of nuclear power plants and otherwise unpleasant facilities in Tohoku to serve Japan's metropolises further demarcated the region as a "nuclear power colony" not unlike how Okinawa has been made to bear the brunt of the American military presence (Hopson 2013). The structural and historical inequalities that mark Tohoku have made the region particularly vulnerable to disaster. J.F. Morris writes that "the [Tohoku] region only drew attention if hit by a major famine or disaster. It existed to be spoken to and about, analysed, reformed, exploited, but never to be allowed to speak in its own right" (Morris 2012:42). The image of the Tohoku region as "victim" was not defined, but rather, accentuated by 3.11. As anthropologist Anne Allison puts it, "precarity intensified" (2013:185).

And yet, when considering who has the right to represent the experiences of 3.11, the voices of Tohoku's disaster survivors are predominantly hierarchized towards the top

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(indicating either its entirety or its subregions) Ōu, Ōshū, Oku, or Michinoku, all names that denote the interior, metaphorically extended into the idea of the remote" (2015:181).

because "voices from the epicenter [are] seen as the most authentic, therefore to be unconditionally respected and trusted while voices from the margins are seen as secondary, and therefore suspect, in direct proportion to the distance from the center" (Hayashi 2015:166). Michio Hayashi argues that

> if we acknowledge the qualitative differences among centers—inside and outside Tohoku or, for that matter, inside and outside Japan—then we recognize how they deconstruct the concentric hierarchy of representational voices. Doing so is especially necessary in response to the surging nationalistic sentiment after 3/11. This nationalism tends to both flatten out the complexity of the multidimensional network of voices in order to simulate a sense of collective unity, and to suppress or foreclose voices that speak from a distance (ibid.:166-167).

I aim to deconstruct the concentric hierarchy of representational voices by not only focusing my study on the voices of the people closest to the disaster's epicenter (which I often do), but to also broaden my representational frame by tracing the flows and movements of musical support activities across the nation, which allows me to interrogate the ways that post-3.11 nationalism is being defined, how recovery is shaped by cultural standards and expectations, which lives are seen as more grievable (Butler 2004, 2010), and on a similar note, which disaster survivors are representative of post-3.11 tenacity and perseverance. However, broadening my representational frame does not necessarily translate to a more inclusive study because many of the voices that constitute the larger network of responses ascribe to narratives of collective unity, omitting "the noise of unwanted voices" (Hayashi 2015:167) (e.g., the voices of antinuclear protestors). As Susan Sontag reminds us, "to frame is to exclude" (2003:46), but I necessarily had to make several exclusions while framing particular patterns in this study.

This dissertation is based on two years (August 2014-August 2016) of ethnographic fieldwork that I conducted while based in Sendai city.[10] As the largest city and hub of the Tohoku region, I found it most efficient to base myself in Sendai in order to try to maintain a balance between depth and breadth. I traveled quite often both within and beyond Tohoku, and would consider my study multi-sited despite having spent the majority of my time in Sendai as a visiting researcher at Miyagi University of Education. The chapters in this dissertation cover activities in both urban centers such as Sendai, Tokyo, Osaka, Akita city, Aomori city, and coastal towns such as Arahama, Higashi Matsushima, Kesennuma, Rikuzentakata, Minami Sōma, and Sōma. While I could have based myself in a severely-affected coastal town and conducted a focused study on the role of music in that particular region's recovery process, which would have been a very compelling project, part of my decision to broaden my field site was based on the period of time that I was in Japan. By the four to five-year mark since 3.11, while most coastal towns still have a very long road to recovery, certain patterns and networks of post-disaster musical support activities had been established not only within but also between and beyond coastal areas. My efforts went towards tracing these routes rather than to focus on just one or two musical communities as representative of the disaster's effects on musical activities. Prior to conducting fieldwork, I also considered including transnational responses to 3.11 (e.g., responses to 3.11 by the Japanese American community in CA), and while this would have provided important insights, I realized this

[10] Incidentally, Sendai and Riverside, CA have been sister cities since 1951, and after 3.11, Riverside raised more than $500,000 to help Sendai. The sister city relationship did not particularly influence my decision to live in Sendai, but I hope my research could contribute to this relationship in some form in the future.

would make the scope of my project too broad, and have thus limited my study to musical activities taking place in Japan.

**Existing Scholarship on Music and Crisis**

Various scholars who study music's role in post-traumatic situations claim that in moments of crisis and conflict, music can educate and spread awareness (Barz 2006; Barz and Cohen 2011), music collaboration can serve as an alternative to violent conflict and hatred in contested, multicultural environments (Brinner 2009; O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010), music can incite protest and call for change (Abe 2016; Manabe 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015; McDonald 2013; Novak 2017; Peddie 2011a, 2011b), music can give voice to marginalized individuals and communities (McDowell 2000; Pilzer 2012; Reyes 1999), and music can heal and provide hope (Harrison, MacKinlay, and Pettan 2010; Urbain 2008). Other scholars have shown how music and sound can serve as instruments of torture and violence (Cusick 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Daughtry 2016; Johnson and Cloonan 2009; Pieslak 2009).

Edited collections on music and crisis organize their approach and address their limitations in different ways. *Music in the Post-9/11 World* (Ritter and Daughtry 2007) presents an interdisciplinary and multi-sited approach to examine musical responses to the terrorist attacks in contexts of domestic mass media and beyond, and international

cultural practices; *Music and Conflict Transformation* (Urbain 2008) is the least successful in this set of literature due to its overly idealized approach to the power of music for peace and eliciting empathy; *Music and Conflict* (O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010) draws upon models proposed in applied ethnomusicology and focuses on ways to understand conflict and identify conflict resolution (albeit in sometimes romanticized ways, e.g., "harmony is often a metaphor for conflict resolution" [O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010:5]). While this book makes insightful statements about musical advocacy and its potential to resolve conflicts, it does not address the violence of natural disasters. My research considers post-3.11 Japan as a conflict zone to provide a basis for how post-natural disaster sites can illuminate the relationship between music and conflict in different ways, while also considering how the nuclear fallout, in particular, brings forth the political ramifications of commemoration and the need to cast blame. *Music, Politics, and Violence* (Fast and Pegley 2012) is perhaps the most convincing work because it draws on past approaches to music and violence as well as violence alone to complicate, for example, the presence of symbolic violence within musical "relief efforts," and targets lofty approaches to music's supposed "transcendent power." *Popular Music and Human Rights* (Peddie 2011a, 2011b) and *Pop: When the World Falls Apart* (Weisbard 2012) both address how popular music does critical cultural

work in the wake of crisis. Indeed, the through-line assumption that links these collections is how music can activate cultural awareness.

Ethnographies of music making in contested environments such as Adelaida Reyes' (1999) study of the Vietnamese refugee experience through music, Benjamin Brinner's (2009) account of cross-cultural collaborative music projects between Israelis and Palestinians and the challenges of communication across social, political, and cultural divides, and Joshua Pilzer's (2012) narrative about the songs sung by Korean survivors of Japanese military sexual slavery during the Pacific War, reveal the power of music to negotiate self-identification and community building. Narratives of expression, identity, and social/communal relationships emerge in the wake of a crisis and musical performance is a central way all are constructed or denied.

Compared to the vast range of literature on music and warfare, very little research has been done on music and environmental disasters. Elizabeth Macy's (2010) dissertation focuses on music in the process of tourism recovery in post-disaster economies using post-Katrina New Orleans and Bali after the 2002 and 2005 bombings as case studies. Macy explores the commodification of culture through anthropologist Michel Picard's "touristification," the blurring of boundaries between indigenous culture and touristic performances (Macy 2010:4), but considers both disasters as man-made

rather than "natural" phenomena. Margaret Kartomi has written about the 2004 tsunami in Aceh, noting how the devastation from it compounded on an already fragile Aceh suffering from a civil war. Kartomi's case study of Aceh focuses on music as a means of recovery from environmental disaster. She writes, "Achenese singers' involvement in Aceh's recovery [extended] far beyond their immediate audiences and the pockets of potential donors. They and many other artists took part in efforts made to alleviate the trauma of the tsunami survivors through music" (Kartomi 2010:205). Jennifer Fraser's (2012) article addresses how music videos released in the aftermath of the 2009 earthquake in West Sumatra allowed communities to comprehend, rationalize, come together, and survive the catastrophe, which provides a basis for how victims experience, process, frame, and "know" catastrophes through musical practices. Erica Haskell (2015) focuses on some of the similarities between post-conflict and post-disaster communities through the lens of applied ethnomusicology, arguing that international aid agencies react to their results in similar ways. Based on her own research in post-conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina, she shares findings about the ways that musicians can be impacted by catastrophes and suggests that such environments should not only be regarded as communities in need of assistance, but as places in which creativity can flourish. While these works are more in line with the kind of approach I take, the field of

ethnomusicology still needs a more extensive, sustained account of how musical performance serves as a community building mechanism in the wake of a natural disaster.

Matt Sakakeeny's (2013) compelling account of the precarious lives of brass band musicians in New Orleans considers the crisis of Hurricane Katrina as an event that revealed the historical consistency of vulnerability. While this approach is easily applicable to post-3.11 Japan by considering the Tohoku region as historically prone to natural disasters,[11] as well as underrepresented and peripheral, providing and sacrificing for the well-being of Japan's urban centers, I treat 3.11 as a catastrophic rupture, or what Philip Bohlman describes as "moments when seams between the past and present are bared" (2002:6) by considering the ways that 3.11 prompted movements towards both the restoration of past musical activities and the development of new post-3.11 activities. I see continuity not so much as indicative of consistency, but as a coping mechanism to restore rupture.

Through my study of the role of musical activities in recovery efforts in post-3.11 Japan, I aim to not only expand on the underdeveloped area of research on music and

[11] Prior disasters in the Tohoku region include the 1896 Meiji-Sanriku earthquake, which "generated two tsunamis, cause more than 22,000 deaths, and eerily prefigured 3.11" (Samuels 2013:47), the 1933 Sanriku-Oki earthquake, which occurred in approximately the same location as the Meiji-Sanriku, and the 1960 Valdivia earthquake where the epicenter was in the Chilean coast, but the resulting tsunami brought damage to coastal regions of Tohoku. For a historical overview of natural disasters along the Japanese archipelago, see chapter 3 of Samuels 2013.

environmental disasters, but to make an argument for why localized music making in post-disaster sites serve as a vital means to understand the implications to rebuild varying identifications, communities, and pride in a nation that generally encourages conformity and restraint. Environmental disasters and man-made disasters both create social disruption where “all or some essential functions of the society or subdivision are impaired” (Lindell 2013:797). In her study of music and the Holocaust, Shirli Gilbert argues that a study of the music created, circulated, and performed informally by individuals and communities imprisoned under Nazism “opens a unique window onto the internal world of those communities, offering insight into how they understood, interpreted, and responded to their experiences at the time” (2005:vii). Thus both environmental and man-made disasters create ruptures, sometimes to the extent of having to “recalibrate history” (Bohlman 2008) that offer insights into the ways that societies cope with trauma as well as restructure and rebuild community.

By juxtaposing seemingly disparate musical activities alongside one another, and by addressing the challenges, successes, and issues with each, I believe my work provides a thorough overview of the types of musical activities that 3.11 prompted by and for disaster-affected communities in Tohoku, and explains the motivational factors that inspired the pursuit and prioritization of these activities. My hope is that this study can

serve as a preparatory model (along the line of models for disaster prevention) for readers to conscientiously think about and plan ways to contribute to the revival of local culture in your communities in the event of a large-scale disaster.

I want to clarify here that my study does not consider music as a cathartic medicine to cope with traumatic events, nor is it a music therapy-based study addressing clinical uses of music interventions. While I do not doubt that music can bring solace to troubled individuals, it is crucial to recognize that this is merely a temporary fix (Gilbert 2005:17), or as Peter Redfield describes most humanitarianism, a way to "maintain 'life in crisis' and not to address the structural and political conditions that may have produced such crisis" (Feldman 2007:696). When the ethnomusicology of traumatic conflict edges up too closely with music therapy, it tends to offer idealized solutions to very large-scale, deeply rooted, structural, political, economic problems that need to be assessed more realistically in terms of limitations (this is done quite well in medical anthropology, e.g., Redfield 2013; Ticktin 2011). Medical ethnomusicology focuses on factors that contribute to health-related issues. This area has been marked by attention to the musical strategies and performative practices that different communities have developed to respond to health and healing (Barz 2006:61), but sometimes has a tendency to reify ideas about music's "healing powers." The utopian idea that "music can get you through

anything" (Raeburn 2007:816) does not provide any productive contributions to this area of scholarship, and music's potential power needs to be framed in ways that actually do it justice.

Existing ethnomusicological studies on 3.11 in English (Abe 2016; Manabe 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015; Novak 2017) all focus exclusively on music and the antinuclear movement. While this body of literature is undeniably important and offers compelling arguments about the ways that music is mobilizing political resistance in Japan, my study offers a different angle to music's role in post-3.11 Japan by focusing on its place in earthquake and tsunami recovery efforts. I am well aware of the risks in shifting my focus on 3.11 from the nuclear issue to recovery efforts from the earthquake and tsunami. As David Novak writes,

> to 'forget' the meltdown and the possible effects of radiation in this place—especially via the self-essentializing cultural nationalisms of 'festival,' 'hometown,' and 'tradition'—and instead to imagine a 'positive future' in Fukushima could be a radically naive project, at best a 'paradise built in hell,' as Rebecca Solnit (2010) describes the moral communities that emerge in times of disaster (2017:251).

I understand that my project could potentially come across as optimistically naïve and hopeful if I overly emphasize the "celebratory" aspects of post-3.11 recovery. If I render post-3.11 musical activities as overly restorative, I would unrightfully shift attention to the work that has been done rather than the work that still needs to be done. If I overly generalize and treat emotional responses as transparent and simply related to subjects

(Ahmed 2004:194), I risk essentializing Japanese emotional responses to 3.11 as self-evident. As Sara Ahmed reminds us, "emotions are performative" and "shape different kinds of actions and orientations" (ibid.:13), thus I work to examine the effects of emotional claims and reactions rather than their transparency. These are risks that have continually challenged me since first conceptualizing this project, and I have done my best to carefully address each one throughout this dissertation.

In her thorough and unprecedented study of music's role in expressing antinuclear sentiments in post-3.11 Japan, Noriko Manabe separates the Fukushima Daiichi accident from the other two disasters and references it accordingly (2015:7). She analyzes how the constraints and restraints of Japanese society that discourage both citizens and musicians from speaking out about contentious political issues operate, and "how music is used to communicate an antinuclear message within these constraints or in circumvention of them" (ibid.:5). My work can perhaps be seen as complementary to Manabe's by focusing on the complex issues faced by the people of Tohoku in response to the earthquake and tsunami. I realize that this approach risks making it appear that I am aligning myself with the government's denial of responsibility for the threats of nuclear contamination and the effects of hard right regimes, but in order to accurately assess music's role in earthquake and tsunami recovery efforts, it is necessary to situate my study within the taboo air that surrounds discourse on nuclear power, which was quite strong in my research sites.

I find it important to provide an accurate representation of my observations while living in Sendai city, and this has also informed my decision to shift my main focus away

from the nuclear component of the triple disaster. Hardly a day went by during those two years where I didn't see or hear the word *shinsai* (震災; literally earthquake disaster, but also used as shorthand for 3.11 with an emphasis on the tsunami and earthquake). I frequently overheard lines in conversations while walking around downtown and at neighboring tables in cafés and restaurants such as "remember that time shortly after the shinsai?" "it wasn't like this before the shinsai," "it was really tough during the shinsai period." On the other hand, I just about never heard the words *hōshanō* (radiation), or microsievert, or Becquerel, which have become a part of everyday language in Japan since the nuclear fallout amongst communities that are focused on it whether out of concern of nuclear contamination or as part of the antinuclear movement. I am not making the argument that the nuclear fallout is less impactful or urgent than the earthquake and tsunami. What I aim to highlight here is that my decision to shift my focus towards the earthquake and tsunami is informed by the prioritizations that I observed in my field sites.

**Witnessing and Listening as Methodology**

*"An essential problem in representing trauma is the impossibility of establishing a 'proper' distance from the experience to be represented" (Hayashi 2015:166).*

On the evening of March 10, 2011 (the afternoon of March 11 in Japan), I witnessed the disaster taking place live on television while I was waitressing at a Japanese restaurant in Encinitas, CA. The chatter at the small, but crowded restaurant suddenly fell silent as a breaking news headline came through of a 7.9 magnitude earthquake (inaccurately under-assessed at the time) hitting Japan. "This is a place where

people are used to feeling earthquakes," the reporter repeated over and over "…but they knew this was different," she continued. Amidst reports of continuing aftershocks in Tokyo, the footage shifted to a shot of cars literally swimming in a flood of water. "What we're seeing now are a large number of cars in the water. We're waiting for more information about this. We're not sure of the exact location." Shortly thereafter, we were informed that the waves were flooding in about 100km east of Sendai city in the Tohoku region of northeast Japan. The worried customers immediately asked me and the restaurant owners, who are Japanese and were working that evening, if we have family in Tohoku. "No, we don't" we all simultaneously replied. The customers gave a sigh of relief, but continued to stare fixedly in horror at the images of destruction plastered on the screen. The television remained on as the last of the customers left and we prepared for closing.

I remember driving home that evening feeling very shaken among other reasons because I had submitted an application for the JET program to teach English in Japan the previous year, and had listed Sendai as my first choice because it was recommended to me by someone who used to live there as a city that is not overwhelmingly urban like Tokyo, but still relatively vibrant as the largest city in the Tohoku region. My application was rejected hence the reason why I was waitressing at a restaurant in California, but had

I been accepted to the JET program, and had I been assigned to my number one choice, I could very well have experienced the disaster.

While I was grateful that I didn't have family in Tohoku, I still felt a strong connection to this particular disaster because it was taking place in the country of my ancestry. Although I am fourth-generation Japanese American and had never lived in Japan prior to my dissertation fieldwork (though I had visited several times), I was raised to appreciate the Japanese culture and to learn the language (Japanese was my first language). In fact, I had just recently submitted applications to various ethnomusicology graduate programs with a proposal to study *enka* (sentimental ballads) and its impact on diasporic Japanese communities because it was indispensable to my *Kibei* (second-generation Japanese American born in the US but raised in Japan) grandmother as a way to remain connected to Japan, and it was my entry-point into the Japanese American community since I took enka lessons with my grandmother from age three to six.

I had a shift at the restaurant the following morning as well, and by then, the nuclear emergency at Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant had been announced and the unfathomable extent of the earthquake and tsunami damage was starting to become clearer. Customers continued to ask us if we had family in Tohoku. I believe it was on this day at the restaurant as I was wiping down tables that I started to think about the

potentially massive and diverse amount of musical responses to this series of disasters that would surely provide the basis for a compelling and powerful dissertation project. Three years later, after completing a master's thesis about Japanese *min'yō* (folk songs) in Southern California (Kaneko 2013), I was preparing to embark on what would end up being two-years of ethnographic fieldwork in Sendai on this very topic.

I had many doubts and concerns about pursuing this project. Namely, what right I have to conduct this research as a Japanese American who merely witnessed the disaster on television, had no direct ties to the Tohoku region, and never experienced immense loss and trauma to the extent that the people I would be meeting had. I was also worried that my project might be insulting to the people of Tohoku. What if musical activities didn't matter to them? What if I was being completely presumptuous in assuming that music making helped bring dispersed communities back together—that music has power in post-3.11 Tohoku? I am relieved to report that even after a short two-week preliminary research trip to Tohoku in the summer of 2013, my worries were absolved as I was faced with an impressive and overwhelming abundance of post-3.11 musical relief activities.

My project was, for the most part, greeted with enthusiasm, and my positionality as a Japanese American researcher was often regarded as an asset in that I wouldn't

become too personally invested, and that I could provide a different perspective to the topic from researchers based and educated in Japan. In fact, I think more often than not, my subject position as an outside witness may have worked to my advantage. Interlocutors were more willing to share opinions that they may refrain from talking about with other Japanese due to cultural standards and expectations. They also took care to present their explanations very carefully and thoroughly to me because I was a foreigner. Quite often, during conversations and interviews, role reversals took place where I became the subject of inquiry as interlocutors were eager to learn more about American culture, and this served as a digression that helped to loosen any tension if and when the topic of discussion got too heavy or personal. My positionality as a practitioner of Japanese music (*shamisen*, *min'yō*, *taiko*) also helped to facilitate certain interviews as we were able to ease into heavier topics through discussions about musical repertoire, instrumentation, etc.

During interviews, I primarily allowed my interlocutors to guide the conversations and assume the lead, because of the weighty nature of the subject matters we discussed, which often required that they recount traumatic disaster experiences. As Joshua Pilzer writes about speaking with Korean survivors of the comfort women system, "the many differences and disjunctures of experience which separated us were

compulsions for me to *listen*" (2012:x, [emphasis his]). No matter how empathetic or attentive I may be, I may "not assume the voice of the victim" nor simply self-identify as "a therapist working in intimate contact with survivors" (LaCapra 2001:98). For formal interviews, I had lists of questions prepared to help facilitate conversations, but I did not feel comfortable in taking an authoritative stance and throwing pointed, personal questions at my interlocutors, and often relied on what anthropologist Wayne Fife has called "semi-structured interviewing," or "an attempt to capture something of the 'control' of structured interviews with out the need to…force people into the role of a 'respondent' rather than that of an 'initiator' of information" (2005:94). During certain interviews, I could tell that I was not the first person to hear my interlocutor's stories and responses because they flowed out so smoothly and effortlessly that I sensed they were planned, prepared, and repeated. I found these types of responses to be just as insightful as more candid responses, because they demonstrated what my interlocutors prioritized, and what they consciously excluded in recounting their disaster experiences. It showed how they chose to construct their image as disaster survivors.

What Fife calls "fortuitous interviewing," or taking advantage of "the 'lucky breaks' that occur in naturalistic conversations and turn[ing] them to our own advantage as researchers" (ibid.:102) was also helpful in broadening my network of interlocutors. I

treated everyone I met and had conversations with in any given situation as potential interviewees, always remaining open to the possibility that they or someone they knew were affiliated with activities of interest to my research. Most people I met would ask why I was in Japan, (rather, they would usually ask, “Are you here to teach English?”), which gave me the opportunity to informally present my research topic to them. This pattern led me to several of the events and interlocutors that are prominently featured in this dissertation. Trust was important in my work, and ultimately, the interviews with people I was referred to by others ended up being the most insightful and helpful because I was referred to them through someone they felt comfortable with and trusted.

Listening and witnessing are both active, and both carry moral and ethical ramifications. Diana Taylor argues that “bearing witness is a live process, a doing, an event that takes place in real time, in the presence of a listener who comes to be a participant and a co-owner of the traumatic event” (2003:167). Witnessing is the core of my methodology and it allowed me to participate in my interlocutors’ experiences, but only to an extremely minute degree. As Deborah Wong asserts, “you don’t and can't have access to someone else’s experience, only to a representation of it, and the process that brings it to you is deeply translative” (2004:22). This assertion is particularly applicable to my positionality in this research, not only in terms of my reception of my interlocutors’

experiences, but also in my translative reproduction of their experiences in my writing. I work to activate witnessing through my writing while remaining accountable to the reality that "all memory is individual, unreproducible" (Sontag 2003:86), and that the best I could do is to listen intently and only partially reproduce my interlocutors' experiences. However, witnessing can lead to advocacy and social justice work, not by trying to "own" what one witnesses, but by redirecting it back to the communities witnessed and aligning oneself with their visions of hope. I return to this point in my conclusion.

My fieldwork did not involve any applied work nor any sustained musical interactions. While I was open to these types of involved interactions, and they certainly have the power to increase rapport and trust, I had a stronger interest in carefully observing and listening before haphazardly directing my efforts toward predetermined ideas of what would "do good" for the communities I would be involved with. My hope is that I am now better prepared to take the next step towards applied community engagement.

## Dissertation Outline

In the following five chapters, I outline musical responses to 3.11 from a variety of different angles. Broadly speaking, the five chapters are loosely organized sequentially in the order of emergence following 3.11:

1. The first songs to emerge and become popularized as anthems of the disaster
2. Localized matsuri festivals and folk performing arts which were the earliest musical activities to be revived in coastal areas
3. Musical activities by outsiders for disaster victims
4. Staged performances that showcase disaster survivors
5. Disaster memories embedded into objects, and efforts to commemorate/memorialize 3.11 at disaster sites through music

Throughout, I highlight the issues and challenges that have arisen with each type of musical response, while also showcasing the ways that these activities are contributing to the region's recovery. By putting these activities in conversation with each other and by demonstrating how they interconnect and address varying facets of post-disaster recovery, I aim to show how musical performance and recovery in all its forms from personal, local, cultural, social, economic, national, etc., are interconstitutive. My interests lie not in idealizations of music as medicine, but in music as a cultural tool to navigate towards post-disaster recovery, demonstrate post-disaster solidarity (albeit in sometimes problematically self-fulfilling and exploitative ways), and begin to rebuild and restructure post-disaster identifications, normalcy, and livelihood. I was absolutely astounded by the overwhelming range of musical activities both revived and newly developed as a result of 3.11, and consequently, I had to be highly selective. Therefore, my dissertation should not be considered comprehensive, but rather, a representative overview that examines

large patterns and movements of disaster relief efforts through selected case studies from multiple sites.

Chapter 1 sonically traces the early aftermath of 3.11 through accounts of music first heard by various interlocutors who experienced the disaster firsthand, songs that came to serve as anthems of the disaster as representations of recovery and solidarity, and songs newly composed shortly after 3.11. I argue that anthems of the disaster and newly composed post-3.11 songs serve as means of optimistic attachments that simultaneously emphasize currently unachievable fantasies of the good life (Berlant 2011), and also foster the Japanese sociocultural aesthetic of *gambaru* (to persevere, to endure, to persistently do one's best, to not give up). At first, preexisting songs such as "Furusato" (Hometown) (1914), "Ue wo muite arukō" ("I Will Keep My Head Up as I Walk" aka "Sukiyaki") (1961), "Miagete goran yoru no hoshi wo" ("Look at the Stars in the Dark Night Sky") (1963), and "Anpanman March" (1988) served as anthems for hope and recovery. At the same time, music that evoked the disaster sonically (e.g., the sound of taiko drums which resembled the rumbling of the earthquake), musically (e.g., Debussy's "La Mer"), and lyrically (e.g., Japanese rock band Southern All Stars' "Tsunami" 2000) were strongly avoided out of respect for victims and an obligatory feeling of self-censorship (*jishuku*). As time passed, newly composed songs emerged, most notably, NHK Broadcasting Company's Recovery Support Song "Hana wa saku" (Flowers Will Bloom), produced in March of 2012. I conclude the chapter with discussions about: 1. The song "Ubukoe (See the Light of Day)," released in April 2011 by Sendai-based hip-hop group Gagle, and its role in the development of Ubukoe Project, an organization that

provides a range of support to disaster-affected musicians and communities; and 2. A 10-track album entitled "Arahama Callings" (completed in 2013) put together by Satō Nami, a college student who was inspired by 3.11 to pursue a career as a composer to revive, through music, the landscapes and scenery that were stripped away from her hometown in coastal Sendai on 3.11.

*Matsuri* festivals and folk performing arts have been documented as one of the earliest musical activities to reemerge in coastal areas of Tohoku following 3.11 because of their deep rooted history and regional distinctions, and are the focus of chapter 2. I suggest that localized matsuri and folk performing arts are serving as modes of identification for relocated communities in Tohoku by functioning as sutures to social groups (Hall 1996) bound by shared commonalities sometimes realized through gestures of alliance (*kizuna*). I present the ways in which these cultural properties are being supported by government organizations such as the Agency for Cultural Affairs as well as individual scholars and researchers of Tohoku's folk performing arts, and present Furusato no Matsuri (first held in 2012), a festival put together by Kaketa Hironori, a researcher and advocate of Fukushima's folk performing arts, as a representative example of these efforts. The primary objective of Furusato no Matsuri is to provide a performance space for disaster-affected folk performing troupes in Fukushima prefecture to showcase their progress, and to give these troupes a reason to regularly convene and rehearse following the disaster. While localized folk performing arts practices have helped to rebuild local identity and given dispersed communities a reason to regularly reconvene, some post-3.11 festivals such as the Tohoku Rokkonsai (Six-Soul Festival)

have developed to also showcase Tohoku's folk performing arts as a means of demonstrating tenacity to a global audience and to try to boost post-disaster tourism and economic redevelopment. I argue that while the Rokkonsai is valuable in terms of economic and touristic redevelopment, it is not as effective in fostering localized community building for severely disaster-affected communities.

Chapters 3 and 4 could be read as complementary in that they provide two (sometimes parallel and sometimes inverse) perspectives on disaster relief. I begin chapter 3 by examining the complexities of humanitarianism and volunteerism in Japan – a country that culturally emphasizes self-sufficiency and reciprocity. I focus on musical activities facilitated and provided by "outsiders" that aim to assuage and support 3.11 disaster victims, and argue that such efforts sometimes challenge cultural expectations of reciprocity. I focus on musical disaster support organizations such as the Sendai Philharmonic Orchestra's Center for Recovery through the Power of Music, Tohoku, that configure their activities in ways that give agency and choice to service recipients in order to mitigate their burden of having to reciprocate for the services they receive. Lastly, I look at the ways that 3.11 has prompted efforts to musically express solidarity as "fellow victims" with survivors of subsequent disasters such as the 2015 earthquake in Nepal and the 2016 earthquake in Kumamoto, Japan. Chapter 4 examines musical activities that feature disaster survivors as performers who have adequately "endured" and "overcome" their suffering to be able to express their gratitude for support on the public stage. I argue that this framework ignores opportunities for critical pedagogy (Freire 1993) by suggesting that disaster survivors have sufficiently recovered, which

sometimes undermines remaining needs for assistance. I focus on the moral challenges faced in the development of an El Sistema-inspired children's orchestra and chorus in Sōma, Fukushima, and address moral imperatives that I observed in presentational performances by 3.11 disaster survivors as a way to begin to think about the ways that musical support activities for disaster survivors could draw from Freireian models to provide platforms for disaster survivors to work out their own visions towards recovery.

Chapter 5 considers the place of materiality and memorialization in 3.11 commemoration efforts. Drawing from tenets of new materialism, or the agency of objects (Bates 2012, Bennett 2010, Clarke 2014), I argue that objects embedded with disaster memories aid in the enhancement and prolongation of musical activities that strive to commemorate 3.11. The objects that accompany music making in memorialization of 3.11 serve as *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself" (Nora 1989:7). I present examples of musical activities wherein objects, such as musical instruments constructed from disaster debris, are mobilized to educate and spread awareness about the 3.11 disaster both within and beyond the Tohoku region, and consider the agency of objects present at memorial musical events in disaster sites such as the Blue Carp Streamers event in Higashi Matsushima, and Hope for Project in Arahama. I aim to demonstrate the personal and societal relations that these objects foster as objects with agency.

In the conclusion, which is more of a section posing ideas for potential future uses of this dissertation, I offer not only thoughts on what this study contributes to the fields of ethnomusicology and disaster studies, but also suggest how the cultural particularities of

post-3.11 musical activities could be reinterpreted and applied by readers to help rebuild and sustain the musical cultures of their own communities in the event of a catastrophe. I also consider what "hope" means in the aftermath of tragedy.

# Chapter 1: Songs of and in Response to the 3.11 Disaster

At 2:46 pm on March 11, 2011, the most powerful earthquake in Japanese seismographic history, a 9.0 magnitude quake, occurred off the Pacific coast of Eastern Japan (Adams et al. 2011:8). Footage of the catastrophic damage, and the subsequent thirty-foot tsunami waves that destroyed everything in its path flooded media outlets around the world. What was not as visible to the outside world, however, were the extensive power outages that left countless citizens in an isolated state of darkness and silence for days.[12] The first section of this chapter sonically traces the early aftermath of the disaster through accounts of music recalled by various interlocutors who experienced the disaster firsthand.

As time passed, a specific set of songs were adopted and recurrently performed in both localized and globalized settings to represent signs of recovery and solidarity. Although my original plan before I embarked on fieldwork was to primarily focus on traditional matsuri festivals in post-3.11 Tohoku (the focus of chapter 2), I quickly realized while on the ground that restricting myself to a specific genre would greatly inhibit my ability to assess what turned out to be a very broad spectrum of songs from a wide range of musical genres that came to serve as anthems of the disaster. In this chapter, I investigate common themes among these songs and compare them to songs that were banned and deemed inappropriate during this transitional period from virtual silence to auditory normalcy.

[12] In Sendai city, the electricity was out for three to four days. Another interlocutor stated that electricity was not restored at his home in Misato, Miyagi until March 29.

Lastly, I showcase a variety of songs that were newly composed post-3.11 to provide a glimpse into the ways that disaster experiences and observations were musically interpreted and represented, and the ways that the medium of music helped to convey messages that would have been otherwise difficult to express and share. Anthems of the disaster and the newly composed post-3.11 songs that I address in this chapter all serve as, in varying ways, a means of optimistic attachment as defined by Lauren Berlant wherein optimism is "…the force that moves you out of yourself and into the world in order to bring closer the satisfying something that you cannot generate on your own but sense in the wake of a person, a way of life, an object, project, concept, or scene" (2011:1). At the same time, the hope and promise attached to such songs also cruelly highlight their unachievability in the current state of political and socioeconomic upheaval. The stripping away of assurances of stability is precisely what ignited the very desires to obtain it. It is precisely because such ideas of "the good life" were stripped away by 3.11, that survivors strive to regain it through optimistic attachments to songs that evoke good-life fantasies. I want to make it clear here that I am not making the argument that these songs provide a cathartic escape from reality. Rather, the songs serve as tools to work towards adjustment when, as Berlant puts it, "…the ordinary becomes a landfill for overwhelming and impending crises of life-building and expectation whose sheer volume so threatens what is has meant to 'have a life' that adjustment seems like an accomplishment" (ibid.:3).

The type of adjustment that is described by Berlant can be elucidated through the Japanese sociocultural aesthetic of *gambaru*. Gambaru is a multifaceted concept that is

not easily defined. It means to persevere, to endure, to persistently do one's best, to not give up. It suggests that accomplishments cannot be obtained without tenacity, struggle, sacrifice, and hard work. It can also mean "take care" or "good luck" as a form of phatic discourse to ease social relations and show support for others (Cowie 2007:250). The spirit of gambaru[13] is encouraged from childhood through adulthood and engulfs every facet of Japanese society in work and leisure situations. According to Benjamin Duke, the spirit of gambaru is "one of the major motivating spirits that has buoyed this [Japanese] society through adversity in its tenacious pursuit of postwar national regeneration" (Duke 1986:122). Similarly, the spirit of gambaru continues to be an indispensable social attribute for post-3.11 recovery. Songs of and in response to the 3.11 disaster allow individuals and communities to develop strategies for survival (i.e., ways to continue to *gambaru*) and modes of adjustment to get by during periods when the ordinary is no longer easily sustainable.

**First Exposures to Music: The Radio and Television**

*Chiba Shū snuck out alone from his home in Misato, Miyagi late at night on March 12, and drove towards Sendai city looking for a gasoline stand. He had no desire or thoughts to listen to music, but a song just happened to flow out of his car radio and the lyrics drew him in. Yamashita Tatsurō's "Kibō to iu na no hikari" (A Ray of Light Called Hope) played from the radio. The song and lyrics really struck his heart and that was the first time he broke down into tears following 3.11.*[14]

[13] According to W.O. Lee, "gambaru is also a major component in building a strong sense of competition, especially group competition. As competition means competing for success, gambaru also implies the necessity to make sacrificial efforts until success is attained" (1991:20). Furthermore, Samimy et al. present a triangular relationship between gambaru, *amae* (dependence), and *giri* (obligation) and suggest that these three elements influence one another and are closely embedded in the Japanese psyche (2004:267-268).

[14] Chiba, Shū, Interview, 20 August 2015.

When the electricity went out on March 11, connections to most media outlets were lost as well. In fact, many who experienced the earthquake in Tohoku had no idea about the tsunami and the nuclear fallout until days later.[15] Kahoku Shimpō, Sendai's daily newspaper, did not miss a day of their morning deliveries, but the only source of auditory media that was readily available at the time was from the radio. Although the vast majority of sounds that resonated from the radio were news reports, many people I spoke to recalled that the first song they heard following 3.11 was not a song of their choice, but something that just happened to flow out of the radio. For most, unlike Chiba, the first song they heard was not anything particularly memorable or impactful. Hamada Naoki, coordinator of Ubukoe Project (discussed later in this chapter) recalled,

> It was the radio at that time, so the first music I heard was music being played on the radio, and not a song that I had personally selected. There isn't any particular song that I remember, just that 'oh I haven't heard the full version of this song for quite some time.' Radio stations generally take requests and play requested songs, or they're limited to a set of monthly contracted songs, but at that time, songs were likely solely chosen by directors and radio DJs. I remember that most songs were gentle and comforting.[16]

Ethnomusicologist Oshio Satomi notes that songs featured on the radio during this early period generally emphasized messages of perseverance (*gambarō*, lit. "let's persevere") such as "Nando demo" by Dreams Come True[17] and Yuzu's "Hey wa"[18] (2013a:3).

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[15] Circumstances and accessibility to news updates varied greatly depending on where people were situated. People living in Tokyo who experienced the earthquake, for example, saw the tsunami coming in real time on television, while others without electricity in Tohoku relied on mobile radio receivers and could only hear updates read solemnly to them by newscasters during the first few days following the disaster.

[16] Hamada, Naoki, Interview, 14 June 2016.

[17] Released in 2005, "Nando demo" ("No Matter How Many Times"), was the most aired pop song on the radio for one week (3/14/2011-3/20/2011). This song was downloadable as a free ringtone from 3/28/2011-4/27/2011 to encourage individuals affected by the disaster.

Interestingly, though gentle and comforting, songs on the radio in the immediate aftermath of 3.11 differed from the mournful cello music that monopolized National Public Radio following the 9/11 terrorist attacks to as Gage Averill puts it, "capture grief and sorrow and to channel it" (Ritter and Daughtry 2007:xiii). In contrast to 9/11 where music on the radio generally fostered a period of mourning before that of encouragement, the public mood set by music on the radio in disaster-affected areas in the early aftermath of 3.11 seems to have been the reverse where messages of encouragement to survive and persevere took precedence over fostering an aural environment to mourn.

Japan has experienced more than its share of natural disasters, thus the nation is experienced in terms of having culturally appropriate ways to react to mass traumatic events. In the immediate aftermath of 3.11, the *gambaru* spirit and the notion of *kizuna* (affective ties)[19] (explained further in chapter 2) seem to have been heavily encouraged and controlled by the mass media in part through repeated plays of songs that inculcate these sentiments. While the media, however, emphasized messages of perseverance and affective ties, many Japanese people voluntarily participated in a form of self-restraint known as *jishuku*.[20] Marié Abe defines jishuku as "a form of self-restraint from activities considered unessential or selfish" (2016:244) where "…in the name of national mourning and energy-conservation efforts, many businesses and individuals observe [a] social

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[18] Phonetically, the song means peace (平和), but it is written out as Hey和. This song was released on 1/19/2011.

[19] Marié Abe notes how *kizuna* was chosen as the word of the year by popular vote, and "became the unofficial slogan for the disaster relief efforts, various charity events, national media coverage, and political campaigns, evoking a sense of human connection from familial relations to the national." (Abe 2016:247).

[20] The kanji characters for jishuku (自粛) mean 自(*ji*, self), and 粛(*shuku*, reverence).

convention of silence and frugality leaving the streets dimmer, quieter, and emptier than usual" (Abe 2016:235). From a Western perspective, jishuku[21] may primarily suggest mourning, but it is not so much a proclamation of sorrow as it is a movement that demonstrates compliance with cultural standards of individual sacrifice in solidarity with others who are suffering.

Following the 3.11 disasters, many television programs and commercials were withdrawn in the name of jishuku. While music on the radio immediately following the disaster was not especially memorable for most, a particular television commercial was almost always mentioned in conversations I had with survivors about music first heard after 3.11. After the disaster, major television networks halted regular programming to cover news about the disaster 24/7. As a result, advertisers withdrew their commercials to avoid accusations that they are trying to profit from the tragedy, leaving the private nonprofit organization AC Japan (Advertising Council Japan)[22] to fill in the gaps with their commercials.[23] The "popopopon commercial"[24] as it is commonly referred to, is a 1-minute animated short that features an assortment of cute characters singing simple

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[21] According to Abe, "Matsudaira Tokujin, legal scholar, has shown that the word was created during WWII in the context of a regulated economy modeled after the Nazi Germany policy of total war, which demanded individual responsibility for the continuation of the collective, even when that meant contributing your own life. Jishuku was a militaristic and government discourse that became a social custom through imperial ideology and social conformity" (2016:245)

[22] Noriko Manabe provides a discussion about the ways that post-3.11 AC Japan commercials included admonishments to save electricity, and notes that as of 2011, seven directors of AC Japan were executives from electric power companies (2015:47).

[23] Fukase, Atsuko, "The Commercial that Irritated Japan," *The Wall Street Journal,* March 21, 2011, http://blogs.wsj.com/japanrealtime/2011/03/21/the-commercial-that-irritated-japan/.

[24] The commercial can be seen here: "AC ジャパン CM あいさつの魔法 1分フルバージョン 2010年度全国キャンペーン,'" YouTube video, 1:00, from televised Advertising Japan Council Japan commercials, posted by "The Landblue" on March 16, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EsRm78ZSOgc.

greetings to a childish tune using a play on *shiritori*.[25] The song itself is called "Aisatsu no mahō" (The Magic of Greetings), and presents a variety of greetings linked to animal names with the message that using these magical greetings will bring you many friends.[26]

It undoubtedly seems odd to feature such a lighthearted and cheerful commercial amidst such catastrophic and devastating news footage. However, this commercial happened to be one of AC Japan's active commercials when the disaster hit, and in some cases, it served as a way to bring solace and comfort to children, some of whom were singing the song in evacuation areas. The neutral, simplistic nature of this commercial is perhaps what made it suitable under the given circumstances,[27] but it has also become notorious as the obnoxious, redundant melody that has become engrained for many as the first memorable music heard following 3.11.

**First Instances of Music Making Reported at Evacuation Areas**

In Japan, the academic school year generally begins in April and ends the following March, which means that the disaster struck right in the midst of graduation season, postponing countless graduation ceremonies throughout Japan due to continuous aftershocks and rolling blackouts. Throughout the Tohoku region and even in some parts of Tokyo, college graduation ceremonies were cancelled altogether due to rolling

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[25] *Shiritori*, which literally means taking the end, is a Japanese word game in which players are required to say a word which begins with the final *kana* of the previous word (e.g., sakura (さくら) radio (らじお) origami (おりがみ)).

[26] The reason the commercial is referred to as "popopopon" is because this phrase is used onomatopoetically to emulate an accumulation of friends as they pop-up after greetings are properly used. "Mahō no kotoba de yukai na nakama ga popopopon" (Through the use of magical words, delightful friends popopopon [pop-up]).

[27] There were complaints, however, about the high-pitched harmonizing "AC" that ends every commercial. Eventually, AC Japan released a formal apology on its website stating that they will mute the melody (Fukase 2011).

blackouts and anticipated power outages, which heavily disrupted public transportation.[28] In addition to practical reasons for graduation postponements and cancellations, jishuku played a role in graduation ceremonies that were held as scheduled. While graduates traditionally wear bright, festive kimono at graduation ceremonies, most, if not all, students restrained themselves from wearing such outfits because they felt it was culturally inappropriate to wear bright colors following such a tragic event.

The first post-3.11 report about a musical performance in Kahoku Shimpō was released on March 19, 2011 and featured a photograph of four sixth graders at Oginohama Elementary School in Ishinomaki, Miyagi singing their school song at their graduation ceremony (Oshio 2013a:12). It should not come as a surprise that the first act of music making featured in the local newspaper was a performance by schoolchildren—children symbolize innocence, purity, and hope.

In addition to early reports of schoolchildren persevering and encouraging local communities by singing school songs at graduation ceremonies, The Japan Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) actively supported disaster victims, not only through such acts as searching for missing people and removing debris, but also through brass band musical performances in the form of *imon* (comfort) concerts.[29] Performances by schoolchildren and the JSDF present vivid images of a unified, humane, strong Japan in the face of

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[28] "Sotsugyō shiki chūshi, shukushō aitsugu shutoken no daigaku (Graduation Cancellations: Successive Cutbacks at Universities in Metropolitan Areas)," *Tokyo Shimbun*, March 19, 2011, http://www.tokyo-np.co.jp/article/feature/tohokujisin/list/CK2011031902100039.html.

[29] Oshio provides an extensive interview with members of the JSDF North Eastern Army Band conducted on January 17, 2012. Since their first imon concert on March 26 in Shinchimachi, Fukushima until their disaster dispatch ended in late July, the band held a total of 51 imon concerts, the majority of which were held in Miyagi prefecture (2013a:34-40).

tragedy and crisis in ways that performances by local musicians and visiting celebrities do not quite achieve. Furthermore, these types of performances that foster a unified Japan emphasize the gambaru spirit by prioritizing perseverance over grief. Swedish journalist Monica Braw presents contrasting reactions by Swedes to the 1994 Estonia ferry disaster, and by Japanese to the 1995 Kobe earthquake. She writes,

> in Sweden, grief led not only to extensive counseling for survivors as well as for bereaved relatives but also to a drawn-out public probing into the psychological effects on the nation of such a large loss of life. In Japan, on the other hand, after the first shock, the official efforts focused on practical aspects of rebuilding, while the survivors, whatever material help they received, were left basically on their own to cope with the psychological aftereffects. The city authorities encouraged them with the traditional, and to many unbearable, booster slogan: *Gambare Kobe* (You can do it, Kobe)" (Braw 1997:172).

Media representations of 3.11 focused on stories that provide encouragement by emphasizing the gambaru spirit of the people in disaster-affected areas. Vulnerability and mourning, as well as the psychological effects of the disaster on the nation were not as publically probed in the early aftermath of 3.11 as was the case in Sweden. This does not mean, however, that the Japanese are culturally more resilient to trauma and that there are no psychological needs for people who experienced the 3.11 disaster.[30] In part because discourse about the traumatic ramifications of 3.11 was not openly presented in the public media, songs that came to serve as "anthems" of the disaster provided disaster victims with comfort and optimism to negotiate feelings of vulnerability that they could not openly express during a period of immense crisis.

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[30] Take, for example, Kukihara et al. (2014), which found that 53.5% of the 241 evacuees from Hirono, Fukushima who participated in their study exhibited clinically concerning symptoms of PTSD (33.2% indicated clinical PTSD symptoms). Sakuma et al. (2015) address the prevalence of probable PTSD among disaster relief rescue workers in coastal areas of Miyagi prefecture.

**“Anthems” of Recovery and Perseverance**

How does a certain body of songs become associated with a particular disaster as anthems for recovery, solidarity, and perseverance? When the most widely sung and requested pre-existing post-3.11 songs are juxtaposed, it becomes clear that each addresses a different temporal moment whether it’s nostalgia for the past, optimism about the future, or perseverance during the present. During a period of temporal suspension and immense uncertainty, continuity--that is, a consciousness of society’s past, present, and future (Smith 1982)--served as a way to (re)build attachements to the good life in an attempt to remedy the ruptures that caused those desires in the first place.

The most widely sung song in the early aftermaths of 3.11, to my knowledge, was “Furusato” (Hometown), a school song published by the Ministry of Education in 1914 where the lyrics describe working in the city after leaving the countryside and longingly reflecting upon one’s homeland:

*Usagi oishi ka no yama* — I chased after rabbits on that mountain
*Ko-buna tsurishi ka no kawa* — I fished for minnow in that river
*Yume wa ima mo megurite* — I still dream of those days even now
*Wasure-gataki furusato* — Oh, how I miss my old country home.

*Ika ni imasu chichi-haha* — Father and mother—are they doing well?
*Tsutsuganashi ya tomogaki* — Is everything well with my old friends?
*Ame ni, kaze ni tsukete mo* — When the rain falls, when the wind blows,
*Omoi-izuru furusato* — I stop and recall of my old country home.

*Kokorozashi wo hatashite* — Some day when I have done what I set out to do,
*Itsu no hi ni ka kaeran* — I'll return home one of these days
*Yama wa aoki furusato* — Where the mountains are green, my old country home,
*Mizu wa kiyoki furusato* — Where the waters are clear, my old country home.

“Furusato” served multiple purposes following the disaster. It comforted and united displaced individuals through a shared longing for all that was lost; it boosted nationalistic sentiments as a projection of an “imagined community” (Anderson 1991), yet it was also a starkly poignant reminder of the impossibility for many to return home.[31] Anthropologist Millie Creighton writes that “images of a symbolically mediated past agrarian existence have come to represent not just the ideal of community but also the good life, wholesomeness, and the moral values of Japan” (1997:242). In a situation where hundreds of thousands were cramped into temporary housing units with no sense for how long they would be there or where they would end up next, displaced evacuees sought ways to negotiate and come to terms with their current situation of temporal suspension. One way was to visualize a wholesome, ideal community within a symbolically mediated past to envision the kind of community that they sought for the future.

“Furusato” functioned as a way to imagine the nation as a community, which Benedict Anderson stresses is “…always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (1991:7). Expressions of comradeship were shared not only amongst displaced evacuees, but also across and beyond the nation, albeit in sometimes vexed and exploitative ways. However, “Furusato” was a vital means of post-3.11 motivation as an object of optimism as defined by Berlant, which “…promises to guarantee the endurance of something, the

[31] Noriko Manabe notes how at antinuclear protests, “Furusato” was “…a poignant reminder of a lost furusato—the hometowns in Fukushima to which 160,000 evacuees could not return; other towns contaminated by the radioactive plume, from which many residents voluntarily fled; and the communities near nuclear plants, where residents remained anxious” (2015:4).

survival of something, the flourishing of something, and above all the protection of the desire that made this object or scene powerful enough to have magnetized an attachment to it" (2011:48). Attachments to "Furusato" were deepened following 3.11 precisely because it presented and fostered a model for a life beyond the current state of suspension and uncertainty. At the same time, "Furusato" is also a poignant reminder of a hometown that may remain as nothing more than an uninhabitable fantasy of the past. An informant told me how he broke down into tears upon hearing "Furusato" as the closing piece at a classical music disaster charity concert because he was reminded of all the evacuees, particularly those in Fukushima prefecture, who would likely never be able to return to their furusato. The collective search for a familiar identity that nostalgia often fosters has become particularly poignant in a post-3.11 context, yet nostalgia continues to fill a certain void as a means of negotiating continuity amidst catastrophic rupture.

Sociologist Fred Davis characterizes nostalgia as "…a collective search for identity, [which looks] backwards rather than forward, for the familiar rather than the novel, for certainty rather than discovery" (1979:107-108). Performances of "Furusato" served as a mechanism to cultivate such visions through its lyrical emphasis on descriptions of a peaceful, albeit idealized "furusato" (read: state of comfort, security, and normalcy) that evacuees longed to return to, and referenced as a means of moving forward. "Furusato" encompasses what Davis defines as "collective nostalgia" or "…a response to cultural transitions that leave masses of people with feelings of loneliness and estrangement for others" (1979:141). Although every individual's image of their ideal furusato varied, feelings of loss and a need to turn to the past to move forward were

collectively shared. "Furusato" was and continues to be a powerful mechanism to secure these sentiments.

Two more songs that emerged as anthems of the 3.11 disaster are "Ue wo muite arukō,"[32] and "Miagete goran yoru no hoshi wo."[33] Both songs were originally sung by Sakamoto Kyū[34] in the 1960s, and both carry the message that despite hardships, happiness lies ahead (e.g., happiness lies above the clouds, happiness lies above the sky; the small light from a small star is singing of a trace of happiness). Furthermore, the lyrics of both songs encourage optimism for the future, serving as a contrast to the emphasis that "Furusato" places on nostalgia and the past. Sakamoto sings "Ue wo muite arukō," retitled somewhat arbitrarily as "Sukiyaki" (a Japanese hot pot dish) for its exotic resonances in the West,[35] in a slowed down version of rockabilly style where the "o" of "arukō," is broken into several distinct syllables: "arukō-wo-wo-wo." Michael K.

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[32] Better known as "Sukiyaki" in the English language, "Ue wo muite arukō" ("I Will Keep My Head Up as I Walk") was released in Japan in 1961 and released in the US as "Sukiyaki" in 1963. It was sung by Sakamoto Kyū and composed by Nakamura Hachidai with lyrics by Ei Rokusuke. While Sakamoto was also known as a rockabilly singer in Japan, singing for example a Japanese cover of Elvis's "G.I. Blues," "Sukiyaki" defined him as a crooner of ballads in the West. For a discussion about the ways that Sakamoto had to take on a more feminized, nonthreatening role to achieve success in the West, and how capitalism redraws boundaries of nation even as it promises to erase them, see chapter 3 of Bourdaghs 2012.

[33] This song, titled, "Look at the Stars in the Dark Night Sky," was originally performed by Sakamoto Kyū in 1963 and composed by Izumi Taku with lyrics by Ei Rokusuke in 1960.

[34] Sakamoto Kyū was a prominent figure in the post-war Japanese popular music scene who died at the untimely age of 48 in the crash of Japan Airlines Flight 123 on August 12, 1985.

[35] Bourdaghs writes that while the origin of the title "Sukiyaki" remains obscure, according to a 1981 interview with Sakamoto, a British deejay who liked the song but only knew the Japanese words *Fujiyama, geisha*, and *sukiyaki* was responsible for the song's title in the English speaking world (2012:102). Sukiyaki had entered the vocabulary of many Americans due to the large number of American soliders who had encountered the dish during their tours of duty in Japan and Okinawa. He also writes that while sukiyaki was chosen because the word emitted a strong sense of Japaneseness, it is ironically a modern product of the Meiji period that reintroduced beef eating into Japan after a thousand-year prohibition due to the influence of Buddhism, and "signified the ingestion of Western modernity, not the preservation of tradition" (ibid.:106).

Bourdaghs writes that while the song was a major hit selling more than 300,000 copies in Japan, it did not win the coveted Nippon Record Taishō because at least one member of the prize jury thought it sounded "too American" despite its use of the *yonanuki* (omitting the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale) pentatonic scale, common in Japanese enka ballads, in the main melody (2012:102). Being in a major key with passages of seemingly cheerful whistling, the song, which remained untranslated in the West, sounds deceptively uplifting to listeners who can't understand the lyrics, which melancholically express the singer's determination to not allow sadness and loneliness to overcome him as he vows to fight back tears, keep his chin up, and continue walking forward. In fact, Ei the lyricist had written the lyrics in response to the failure of the 1950s protests in Japan against the continued American military presence with the 1960 renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. The song, Ian Condry argues, presents the longing for a fresh start.[36]

On March 27, 2011, Fuji Television Network broadcasted a live benefit concert featuring twenty-seven well-known Japanese singers entitled "Ue wo muite arukō: uta de hitotsu ni narō nihon (Japan, let's become one through song)." The concert opened with a solemn performance of "Ue wo muite arukō" by enka singer Sakamoto Fuyumi dressed in a kimono and accompanied not by a bouncing bass line and snare drum, upbeat xylophone and whistling, which gives the song its American rockabilly swing, but only

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[36] NPR Staff. "Bittersweet at No. 1: How a Japanese Song Topped the Charts in 1963," *NPR*, June 28, 2013, http://www.npr.org/2013/06/28/196618792/bittersweet-at-no-1-how-a-japanese-song-topped-the-charts-in-1963.

by a solo piano.[37] Backed by images of paper lanterns with messages of encouragement for Tohoku, this intimate performance can be seen as an attempt to reclaim the song not as an international hit, but as an anthem for Japan that carries sentimental value particularly in a moment of nation-wide vulnerability. In this context, the song sheds hope for the future, while addressing the despair that overpowers the present.

In line with the theme of encouraging songs, "Amazing Grace" was also commonly sung and requested as well as the seemingly less conventional "Anpanman March,"[38] the theme song of a popular Japanese cartoon, Anpanman, which has been continuously on the air in Japan since 1988. The opening lyrics are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Sou da ureshiinda ikiru yorokobi* | Oh, yeah, we can feel the joy of our precious life |
| *Tatoe mune no kizu ga itandemo* | No matter how much our heart aches with pain |
| | |
| *Nan no tame ni umarete* | Why were we born into this world? |
| *Nani wo shite ikiru no ka* | What are we meant to do in life? |
| *Kotaerarenai nante* | Not being able to answer these questions… |
| *Sonna no wa iya da!* | That's definitely not desirable! |
| | |
| *Ima wo ikiru koto de* | By living in the now |
| *Atsui kokoro moeru* | Your heart burns with determination |
| *Dakara kimi wa ikunda* | That's how you will move forward |
| *Hohoende* | With a smile on your face |

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[37] The performance can be seen here: "上を向いて歩こう・・・坂本冬美,'" Dailymotion video, 2:24, posted by "Cyoj" on December 14, 2016, http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x55a17t_%E4%B8%8A%E3%82%92%E5%90%91%E3%81%84%E3%81%A6%E6%AD%A9%E3%81%93%E3%81%86-%E5%9D%82%E6%9C%AC%E5%86%AC%E7%BE%8E_music.

[38] "Anpanman March," written by Miki Takashi with lyrics by Yanase Takashi, was released in 1988 as the opening theme song for the animated series *Soreike! Anpanman* (Let's Go! Anpanman). The song is sung by twin sisters Terada Chiyo and Terada Kayo performing under the group name of Dreaming.

Despite having a childish melody, the lyrics have inspired children and adults alike because of, as Marié Abe puts it, "…their philosophical messages about the simple joy of being alive and the importance of personal integrity in the face of challenging circumstances" (Abe 2016:242). "Anpanman March" fills the gap between past and future by addressing the simple joys of living in the present. It serves as a link for continuity between songs about the past such as "Furusato" and songs looking towards the future such as those of Sakamoto Kyū.

The uplifting lyrics to "Anpanman March" and the other aforementioned songs that became anthems of post-3.11 recovery all foster optimism during hardship as defined by Berlant where optimism is "…a scene of negotiated sustenance that makes life bearable as it presents itself ambivalently, unevenly, incoherently" (2011:13). I hesitate to use the word "hope" here to describe the attachments to possibility that are fostered by these songs because hope often implies passivity and a sense of being stuck while waiting for something specific to happen (ibid.:13). During a period of temporal stasis and overwhelming uncertainty, active engagement with post-3.11 anthems provided a way for individuals and communities to negotiate possible modes of continuity as defined by anthropologist M. Estellie Smith where "continuity is the process whereby societies and individual members of those societies persist by deliberately or unwittingly altering and adapting in matters major and minor" (1982:128). While some songs had the power to foster optimism, encouragement, and visions of community, however, others were actively avoided because of their capability to revive traumatic memories.

**Banned out of Respect**

Contrary to post-9/11 musical censorship where Clear Channel Radio issued a "don't play" list of 156 "lyrically questionable" songs of which some seemed "…motivated less by the content of the lyrics than by the religious beliefs, antiwar stances, or political persuasions of the musicians themselves" (Ritter and Daughtry 2007:96), the rationale for why particular songs and sounds became taboo in tsunami-stricken areas post-3.11 was far more transparent and uncontroversial. The earthquake and tsunami did not create a divide in stance as a manpowered attack would in that while there may be disagreements about how, nobody opposed helping and empathizing with affected individuals in need.[39] Noriko Manabe notes how in Japan, "media personnel, producers, and individual entertainers censor themselves, making explicit censorship largely unnecessary" (2015:8). The avoidance of a particular body of songs following 3.11 was primarily a result of jishuku where artists and musicians took it upon themselves to self-censor and avoid any repertoire with even the slightest possibility of eliciting traumatic memories for listeners.

The most common and obvious reason to avoid a song was for its lyrics. Any song that mentioned earthquakes, tsunami, waves, etc. such as Japanese rock band Southern All Stars' "Tsunami" (2000), and songs about the departed such as hip-hop group Gagle's "Shikabane wo koete" (The Deceased Moving On) (2007) were actively avoided by the media and the artists themselves. Furthermore, repertoire that musically

[39] Obviously, the nuclear fallout is a highly contentious political issue that needs to be treated as a separate study in this case. See Manabe 2015 for the ways that music played a central role in expressing antinuclear sentiments and mobilizing political resistance in post-3.11 Japan.

elicits ocean waves such as Debussy's "La Mer" and music from the 2008 Ghibli film "Ponyo" (especially that of the tsunami scene) were actively avoided by symphony orchestras. Lastly, and perhaps least instinctively, taiko drums were also initially rejected especially in enclosed spaces such as temporary housing units because of their deep, rumbling sound.

A Japan Times report noted that "survivors of the massive tsunami that wiped out coastal communities and stole tens of thousands of lives recall hearing a low, grinding noise as they witnessed a huge, black wall of water sweeping over the land and swallowing everything in its way" (Adams 2011:6). That low, grinding noise was apparently very similar in timbre to the sound of a taiko drum, so when a taiko group attempted to give an encouraging performance at a temporary housing unit shortly after the disaster, they were immediately turned away and asked not to return until the residents were ready.

Jishuku strongly influenced the body of songs that were banned following 3.11. Because many artists and musicians took the responsibility to self-censor their music making, they were especially cautious about their decisions, which may have contributed to the literalness that pervaded the banned body of songs. Individual sacrifice, in this case, refraining from performing certain songs and using certain instruments, was a way for musicians to express their solidarity with others who were suffering.

**"Hana wa saku"**

In March of 2012, NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai), Japan's national public broadcasting organization, produced a song entitled "Hana wa saku" (Flowers Will

Bloom) to “build public support for the 3.11 disaster recovery efforts and generate compassion for survivors from across the country and around the world.”[40] The song’s lyricist, film director, Iwai Shunji, and the song’s composer, Kanno Yoko, best known for her anime soundtracks, are both originally from Miyagi prefecture. Furthermore, the vocalists featured in the original music video, including a wide range of celebrities from TV personalities, actors, athletes, and of course professional singers, all have personal ties to disaster-affected areas in Tohoku.[41] The lyrics are written from the perspective of those who lost their lives to encourage the people they had to leave behind:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Masshirona yukimichi ni* | When the winter snow |
| *Harukaze kaoru* | Gives way to spring |
| *Watashi wa natsukashii* | I nostalgically remember |
| *Ano machi wo omoidasu* | That town |
| | |
| *Kanaetai yume mo atta* | I had dreams to grant |
| *Kawaritai jibun mo ita* | I had a dream to be someone new |
| *Ima wa tada natsukashii* | But for now I only dream |
| *Ano hito wo omoidasu* | Of the people I loved |
| | |
| *Dareka no uta ga kikoeru* | I hear someone’s song |
| *Dareka wo hagemashiteru* | It’s encouraging someone |
| *Dareka no egao ga mieru* | I see someone’s smile |
| *Kanashimi no mukōgawa ni* | Beyond all the grief |
| | |
| *Hana wa hana wa hana wa saku* | Flowers will bloom…yes they will, they will |
| *Itsuka umareru kimi ni* | For you who are yet to be born |
| *Hana wa hana wa hana wa saku* | Flowers will bloom…yes they will, they will |
| *Watashi wa nani wo nokoshita darō* | Oh, what did I leave behind in this world |

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[40] About the song “Hana wa Saku”: http://www.nhk.or.jp/japan311/flowers/about.html.

[41] In Japan, the historically Western notion of charity all-star song projects is a fairly new phenomenon. The one notable example of such a project prior to “Hana wa saku,” is “Smile Again” written by Japanese folk-pop singer songwriter Sada Masashi in 1992 in response to a fatal volcanic eruption at Mount Fugen in Nagasaki in 1991. The UK and US have released several charity all-star song projects beginning with Band Aid (1984) and Live Aid (1985) for famine relief in Ethiopia, “We Are the World” (1985) for African famine relief, and Farm Aid (1985) to raise money for family farmers in the United States. See Berger 1987 and Garofalo 1992 for more detailed explanations of these projects.

Although NHK's transparent objective with "Hana wa saku" was to provide an uncontroversial outlet for people to express their solidarity and support, and to create a united (albeit fabricated) community through shared mourning, it also has a very strong tendency to encourage what Sherene Razack calls "stealing the pain of others" or to rely on the consumption of images and stories to "confirm our own humanitarian character" (2007:375). The celebrities featured in the music video become the victims, playing the role of spiritual medium between the deceased and their surviving loved ones for consumption by spectators around the world.[42] Some capitalize on their professional acting skills, singing their line on the verge of tears, while others come across as naively innocent and ordinary, singing poorly, but still eagerly participating. Similar to how Pegley and Fast describe the post-9/11 *America: A Tribute to Heroes* concert, it is "…through the power of celebrity, music, and gesture" that the music video attempts to "forge a unified community" (Ritter and Daughtry 2007:29). As the music video proceeds, the solo vocal lines gradually overlap into a full-fledged chorus further emphasizing the message of shared solidarity and support that NHK wished to portray through this performance.

In order to connect the community of compassionate celebrities featured in the video to the rest of the world, the "Hana wa saku" website hosts a portal where anyone is free to upload a video of themselves performing the song.[43] The website encourages submissions through the following statement: "Join the campaign and send us a video of

[42] The music video with English subtitles can be seen here: "hana-wa-saku-flowers-will-bloom-with-english-subtitle," Dailymotion video, 4:50, posted by "Weblog" on July 30, 2015, http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2zqbkh.
[43] Submissions are solicited here: http://www.nhk.or.jp/japan311/flowers/?cnt=10.

you singing the song, individually or in a group, in English or Japanese. Your videos will help support the devastated communities in the Tohoku region." There is, however, no further explanation on this page as to how a video submission supports the devastated communities. Is it simply moral support or does each submission equate to a dollar amount from NHK towards a relief organization? The website leads to an explanation on how to submit a video where the first suggested step is to purchase the song on iTunes to practice to. Part of the royalties earned by iTunes is then donated to "recovery efforts in the affected areas through the NHK Public Welfare Organization." However, one could easily bypass this step and simply submit a video, which suggests that a video submission prioritizes the contributor's ability to fulfill his or her humanitarian moral obligation over contributing to relief efforts more directly. As a result, the participants and consumers are able to confirm their own humanitarian character by participating in a fabricated community of support through cursory compassion.

The main issue with "Hana wa saku" is that it highlights the precariousness of empathy by encouraging listeners to believe that consuming or performing the song is a sufficient contribution to disaster relief by providing participants with an easy way to alleviate feelings of moral obligation. In his discussion about the role that capitalism played in fueling humanitarian activity within 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century slavery abolition movements, historian Thomas Haskell describes the notion of self-deception as "occupying the space between intention and consequence, precluding any rigid coupling of the two while maintaining a connection between them" (1985:348). "Hana wa saku" is just one example of a post-3.11 development that fosters self-deception by allowing

participants to imply intention while disowning responsibility. Consuming the song and passively sending positive vibes and hopes for recovery takes away the burden of having to engage more deeply in coming up with ways to help disaster victims more directly.

Nonetheless, many people in the affected areas are very fond of the song and find comfort in listening to or singing “Hana wa saku” because it allows them to reflect upon and release their grief and anxieties in ways that are more oblique than recounting personal experiences. Medical anthropologist Kimberly Theidon asserts that “pain and its expression *are* deeply cultural” (2013:30, [emphasis hers]). Feelings and emotions are generally not openly expressed in Japan. Instead of saying “I love you” or “I miss you” one will more likely say “I’m working hard and persevering” or “I’m doing my best to stay strong” to show that they care about and genuinely miss someone, but are staying busy to keep those sentiments under control. “Hana wa saku” allows individuals to obliquely reflect upon and express their feelings through song while envisioning lost loved ones and making adjustments to overcome grief.

Freud describes mourning as a state of grief that will be overcome after a lapse of time (1917:153). In some sense, “Hana wa saku” is a song that fosters and encourages mourning as a means of moving forward. It shifted the public mood from messages of perseverance that initially dominated post-3.11 songs and provides a platform where performers and listeners are given a space to stop and take a moment to mourn. Judith Butler writes that “one mourns when one accepts that by the loss one undergoes one will be changed, possibly for ever. Perhaps mourning has to do with agreeing to undergo a transformation (perhaps one should say *submitting* to a transformation) the full result of

which one cannot know in advance" (2004:21, [emphasis hers]). Through the use of celebrities, "Hana wa saku" validates vulnerability as an acceptable facet of mourning and suggests that it is necessary to acknowledge and come to terms with feelings of loss in the recovery process.

"Hana wa saku" is undoubtedly powerful—it is arguably the most internationally well known song associated with the 3.11 disaster, and it has become the go-to standard at 3.11 related events and at performances by and for those in disaster-affected areas. This is, however, not necessarily due to the quality of the song, but to the global power and visibility of NHK. The song could have been anything with a similar message—it's precisely the song's support by NHK that empowered it. Hamada Naoki, founder of Ubukoe Project (discussed below), equated the song to "We Are the World" in terms of shape and structure and stated that "Hana wa saku" is ordinary and pretty standard. He continued by stating,

> Whether someone likes the song or not is a matter of taste, but I don't really think it's a bad song. I just feel it's overplayed, and when you make something like that, NHK is very powerful, so everyone starts picking up the song, and then the song starts to be exploited and morphs to serve other purposes. I'm not very fond of that, but that's society, so there's not much that can be done about that. I have many opportunities to interact with artists from my hometown (in a disaster-affected area), so I feel that it would have been nice if NHK chose more local artists to feature, but that's just the way things are.[44]

Indeed, local artists from disaster-affected areas hardly receive any visibility on major media outlets such as NHK. As such, from here I will turn to a couple of examples of songs written by musicians who experienced the disaster firsthand, and the ways that

[44] Hamada, Naoki, Interview, 14 June 2016.

their music conveys powerful messages of encouragement and presents personal, yet relatable models for moving forward from the effects of the disaster.

**"Ubukoe (See the Light of Day)"**

Carrying a stigma as a genre of rebel music, hip-hop[45] may come across as an unlikely candidate for post-3.11 comfort music. Aisha Staggers has written that following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, hip-hop "crumbled and fragmented into a spectral plume of its former (pre-9/11) self" (2011:108) in part because "…9/11 was a day experienced by all of America; though its events occurred in specific geographic areas, the attacks were on an unspecified demographic. Therefore, hip-hop artists could not claim sole ownership of the pain associated with that day" (ibid.:112). She argues that following 9/11, it became regarded as insensitive to dwell on personal struggles. A similar argument could be made for post-3.11 Japan where communal solidarity and perseverance were publically encouraged over overcoming personal obstacles. A song entitled "Ubukoe" released in April 2011 by the Sendai-based hip-hop group Gagle, however, managed to captivate both the young and old, hip-hop aficionados and novices alike, and served as a catalyst for Ubukoe Project, an organization that provides a range of support to disaster-affected musicians and communities.

Founded in 1996, Gagle is a hip-hop trio consisting of MC Hunger, DJ Mitsu the Beats, and DJ Mu-R. Having released three major albums prior to 2011, Gagle already had a solid fan base and was well known within the Japanese hip-hop community at the

[45] For ethnographies about Japan's vibrant–though not necessarily mainstream–hip-hop scene and the ways that Japanese DJs define a nationally Japanese style see Condry 2006 and Manabe 2013b.

time of the disaster. On 3.11, members of Gagle were in Sendai and experienced the earthquake and subsequent blackout firsthand. Using what little battery power was left on their laptop, they put together a musical track, MC Hunger rapped over it, recounting his own disaster experiences and providing words of support and encouragement, and the result was a track entitled "Ubukoe (See the Light of Day)[46]":

| | |
|---|---|
| *Yo, tagai to kaite yomi kata wa katami* | Yo, support each other to carry on |
| *Wakatta arigatami* | Constantly thankful for what we have |
| *Ore tachi ni hitsuyō nano wa awaremi janai* | We don't need compassion |
| *Hikari, akari, chikara* | What we need is light, hope, strength |
| | |
| *Fumidasō tagai tataeatte* | Let's move forward while supporting each other |
| *Kurushii toki ni wa sasaeatte* | When you're suffering there's always a shoulder to lean on |
| *Itami shitte wakachiatte* | Understand and share each others' suffering |
| *Chikara ni kaete tsunaidekunda* | Turn it into strength and join together |
| *Tohoku Stand Up! Quake Survivors* | Tohoku Stand Up! Quake Survivors |
| *Tohoku ganba! Everybody get up!* | Tohoku keep your head up! Everybody get up! |
| | |
| *Mabuta tojitemo kienu kōkei dekirunara modoritai* | Even if I close my eyes the scene doesn't disappear--wish I could go back in time |
| *Todokanu omoi semete hitotsu kanaunonara mō ichido hold me tight* | Wishes that remain unanswered, if I could be granted one, I would want you to hold me tight one more time |
| | |
| *Sōzō koeta chikara makase ga kowashi ubatta subete kyū ni metsuki wo kaete* | Nature knocked on our door beyond expectation, with all its strength it suddenly changed shape |
| *Tsugi tsugi nomikomu machi ya hatake nokoshita no wa shokku dake?* | Relentlessly consuming entire towns and fields, is shock all that it left behind? |

[46] Although the song has an English title, it is not a direct translation of Ubukoe. Ubukoe (産声) refers to the first cry of a newborn baby.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ore tachi wa nairikubu dakara chigauka* | We were farther inland, so maybe it was different |
| *Mikkago terebi wo tsukete odoroita* | Three days later we turned on the TV and the footage was shocking |
| *Sono kurai higai wa basho de chigau ga kimochi wa onaji saisei negau* | The damage varied that much depending on the location, but our feelings were the same, we wished for revitalization |
| | |
| *Mezasu ribirudo issho ni ikō* | Let's work towards rebuilding together |
| *Minna no sapōto ni furete fight* | Let's fight empowered by everyone's support |
| *Yoru ga tsurakutemo asahi wa kairo* | Even though the nights are tough, mornings are filled with warmth |
| *Mune ni dakishimeru chiisana smile wo* | Keep subtle smiles close to your heart |
| | |
| *Kazoku wo mamoru hahaoya no ai* | Mother's unconditional love |
| *Nai michi kiri hiraku otoko no pride* | Men take pride in paving new paths |
| *Yukidoke majika oretachi no kachi wa tokezu nokoshite* | The snow may be melting, but our tenacity never thaws |
| *Yosō fukushiteku* | We're moving towards recovery as expected |
| | |
| *Doro ga tamatte subete nagashite* | After washing off the mud |
| *Yōyaku mieru nakushita mono* | We can finally see things that were lost |
| *Hiroi atsumete tsunagu kiseki okosu tame ni dareka ga takushita mono* | Connecting through collecting, somebody entrusted these things to us to create a miracle |
| | |
| *Itsumo to chigau kagayaki sa akari ga kieta zujō hikaru hoshi* | In darkness the stars overhead are brighter than usual |
| *Nanika ga kaketa mune no uchi no yō hanbun ijō egurareta tsuki* | Like the chip in my heart, the waning moon is half hollowed out |
| *Nanmo mienai yami ga oiuchikake* | The blinding darkness compiling |
| *Tsukisasu yōna samusa* | The stabbing cold increasing |
| *Dōka tonari tsukarehate neteru kodomotachi wa sotto shite oite hoshii* | Please let the exhausted children next to us sleep peacefully |
| | |
| *Yoshin ga kuru tayori wa rajio jōhō mōfu kurumari dantoru hijōshoku* | Aftershocks keep coming, relying on radio updates, bundled up in blankets to stay warm, emergency rations |
| | |
| *Tabetsutsu kangaeru korekara nani wo shiyō mitsukaranai nara* | Lost in thought during meals, what do we do if we can't find them |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Mazu wa dōdemoii ikinobiyō dekirukoto kara sukoshi zutsu te kasō* | First gather the strength to carry on, lending a hand whenever we can |
| *Kogase hāto soshitara mieteku shizento ima kimi ga nasu beki koto* | Fuel your heart with passion and naturally you'll see what you need to do |
| | |
| *Rōsoku ni tomosu akari sugatte kore ijō no higeki otozurenaitte* | Cling to the gleam of light from the candle, hope that the situation won't worsen |
| *Fuan ni kasa sashi ame yokerya izure miete kuru hazu sa tsugi no itte* | Open an umbrella to repel the rain of uncertainty, and your next task will become clear |
| | |
| *Shizen wa ōkii, shizen wa ōkii dakedo oretachi shisen haruka saki* | Nature is massive, nature is powerful, but we're gazing towards the distant future |
| *Hito wa keshite, hito wa keshite muryoku ja nai ze takumashii* | Humans are far from, humans are by no means powerless—in fact they are robust |
| | |
| *Korekara sarani tafu na jōkyō wa tsuzuku* | Tough situations will continue to arise |
| *Zenkoku sekaijū inori to kifu* | Prayers and donations from within Japan and worldwide |
| *Wakai chikara wa karada wo* | Young forces lend physical power |
| *Tōku kara wa busshi wo* | Those far away send supplies |
| *Hisaichi wa shinbō migoto fukkō dokoro ka* | Disaster areas remain patient and strong, recovery is not easily attained |
| | |
| *Shinsei umare kawaru shunkan tomo ni mitodokeyō ze* | Let's all work together towards that moment of revitalization |
| | |
| *Miyagi stand up, Fukushima stand up* | Miyagi Stand Up, Fukushima Stand Up |
| *Iwate stand up, Aomori stand up* | Iwate Stand Up, Aomori Stand Up |
| *Chiba stand up, Ibaraki stand up* | Chiba Stand Up, Ibaraki Stand Up (stricken prefectures) |
| *Nippon ganba, Pray for one* | Japan Stand Up, Pray for One |

When the lyrics of "Ubukoe" are compared alongside that of "Hana wa saku," it becomes even clearer that the focus of this song is not about soliciting compassion, but rather about encouragement and standing strong together in the face of upheaval.

Furthermore, the visuals in the music video[47] are raw and unsterilized in contrast to that of "Hana wa saku." It shows images of construction and rebuilding amid disaster debris, of cardboard signs indicating that local businesses are working hard to remain open despite limitations in resources, and MC Hunger wearing a mask and gloves helping with clean up efforts on the ground signifying progress and action towards the future rather than celebrities standing idly in front of a grey backdrop. The emphasis on debris in this music video, however, is not to spectacularize the disaster as media photos do through aerial views of widespread destruction, but to demonstrate what the disaster sites look like from on the ground through close up and ground level images.

The backing instrumentals in this track are extremely consistent throughout with drums, instrumentals, and vocals on virtually unaltered loops throughout. Gagle's songs in general often rely on a consistent backing track as part of their aesthetic, but this track is especially unchanging perhaps for expedience having been put together on a laptop running out of battery power. At around 3:46, we hear, somewhat suddenly, a sample of a record scratching followed by some choppy transitions in the layering at the end, particularly when the keyboard is integrated.[48] This type of choppy transitioning is not common to the group as far as I know, and may have been done in response to the dying battery. Furthermore, the emphasis on a sample of a record needle at the beginning, and the scratching towards the end, as well as a couple of images of records amongst the

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[47] The music video can be seen here: "GAGLE - うぶこえ(See the light of day)," YouTube video, 4:57, posted by "stbpremium" on April 30, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x3xSwXN7WbE.

[48] Thank you to Liz Przybylski for pointing this out and for providing suggestions on ways to analyze the samples in this track.

debris bring forth the materiality of DJ culture. An incorporation of traces of the material is perhaps a way to negotiate and cope with such sudden loss, which is a defining part of "Arahama Callings" discussed below (see chapter 5 for a discussion about materiality and the ways it contributes to the prolongation of disaster memories).

"Ubukoe," fueled by the motivational power of hip-hop, is a song that encapsulates the spirit of gambaru. It presents perseverance and self-reliance as valuable attributes to "stand up" and effectively work together with others towards recovery. Nobuhide Sawamura posits that "perseverance leads the Japanese to value self-reliance," and that they have "a high regard for 'self-' and for the capacity of the individual to work efficiently in a team" (2004:31). "Ubukoe" inspired such a wide audience because it presents words of encouragement, not in idealized, metaphorical ways, but through realistic on the ground experiences and observations.

"Ubukoe" was released as a music video on YouTube on April 30, 2011. This music video not only served as one of the first voices from hip-hop artists based in a disaster-affected area to reach the hip-hop community, but it also fueled a variety of positive responses and conversations between commenters about disaster related topics as well as words of encouragement and support. Furthermore, at subsequent live performances of this song at public, family-oriented events and festivals throughout Tohoku, audiences filled with children and the elderly (with virtually no connection to hip-hop culture) knew the lyrics and sang along to it chorus style. Perhaps part of what made "Ubukoe" accessible and relatable to such a wide audience was the way in which it empowers everyone regardless of their affiliation to the disaster by suggesting that

anyone has the power to contribute towards recovery and change. Rather than to expose and dramatize the vulnerability of those affected by the disaster in the ways that "Hana wa saku" has a tendency to do, "Ubukoe" does exactly the opposite by encouraging listeners to turn suffering into strength to work towards revitalization. Anthropologist Liisa Malkki addresses the ways in which "the vision of helplessness is vitally linked to the constitution of speechlessness…helpless victims need protection, need someone to speak for them" (1996:388). In part because hip-hop is not part of the mainstream, "Ubukoe" lends itself to giving a voice to the people by asserting that they are by no means helpless, enabling the song to present empowering messages that may be more difficult to convey through other musical genres.

**Ubukoe Project**

Hamada Naoki (b. 1981) is a native of Sendai who was working as store manager for his parents' convenient store (opened just three days prior to 3.11) at the time of the disaster. He developed a close relationship with Gagle since the early 2000s through his involvement in Sendai's club music scene as an event coordinator and artist consultant. Hamada is a proactive and generous individual, who since prior to 3.11, has been invested in promoting local musicians in Sendai and networking them with more established artists in Japan's hip-hop community. Hamada believed that the strong reaction to "Ubukoe" was unique and special and that it would be a shame if something more was not done with the song. Inspired by "Ubukoe," Hamada, in consultation with MC Hunger, established Ubukoe Project, an organization that provides and raises awareness about disaster relief through the lens of music. Since April 2013, Hamada has

also been working at the Center for Remembering 3.11 at Sendai Mediatheque,[49] which works to collect and archive media related to 3.11 such as stories, documentaries, and photos from the local community.

According to Hamada, while the discussion with MC Hunger about building up a project started shortly after the music video was released, it took them a while to assess what kind of support would be most helpful to those affected by the disaster. For a period of roughly six months (September 2011 to March 2012), Ubukoe Project hosted a monthly internet broadcast on U Stream called "Ubukoe Stream"[50] where DJs involved with relief efforts in disaster-affected areas talked about their experiences and performed a 90-120 minute set at Sendai Mediatheque. The purpose of these broadcasts, Hamada stated, was to address concerns from people outside the affected areas by broadcasting updates "from the disaster sites" so to speak. How did music help to mediate discussions about the disaster that could have otherwise become overbearing and imposing to listeners? Hamada stated that

> talking about disaster experiences and subject matter related to the disaster is heavy and normally difficult to talk about, and can become an imposition. By changing the subject matter to music, we could create something a little different. The "Requiem," the final song in a broadcast, was a song that the DJs chose to represent his/her feelings and thoughts about the disaster, so song selection was very important, and the broadcasts had to leave some kind of impact.[51]

[49] Opened in 2001, Sendai Mediatheque is a seven-story public library in the heart of downtown Sendai with public gallery and exhibition spaces, a multimedia library, meeting spaces, a cinema, cafe, and shop. It hosts an array of public programs throughout the year. The building, designed by Itō Toyo, is primarily made of glass featuring slabs and vertical tubes, and was significantly damaged by the 3.11 earthquake.

[50] "Ubukoe Talks" were also held at Sendai Mediatheque, e.g., hip-hop artist Shing02 presented his thoughts on nuclear power.

[51] Hamada, Naoki, Interview, 14 June 2016.

It was not until October of 2011, however, that the project really started to take shape through Ubukoe Live. Ubukoe Live was a disaster relief concert held at Sendai Darwin (a *livehouse*[52] in downtown Sendai that seats about 350 people) on October 16, 2011, that featured Gagle and Rhymester, a prestigious hip-hop group based in Tokyo. As one of the first club events following 3.11, Hamada recounted the challenges of putting together such an event:

> It had only been about six months since 3.11. We were planning to have Gagle as the main performer, but several artists from outside the area also expressed interest in participating. I was involved with Gagle, but until this time, we were not able to hold a large club event since the disaster. People were too preoccupied with regaining their livelihood and a sense of normalcy, so it wasn't until this time that we were finally in a position to be able to hold this kind of event. In coastal areas, the debris was still not cleaned up, but we wanted to do something to show our support, so when thinking about what we could do, we thought inviting an artist like Rhymester would give people power…Rhymester has their own radio station and they are a pretty big artist in hip-hop. When speaking with them, Rhymester said that they would perform without pay, and said they wanted to do something to connect to disaster-affected communities. Normally, it would cost too much to invite them, so we were able to exclusively have them come this time. There was a limit to the number of people that could fit in the venue, but twenty to thirty people from disaster-affected areas were invited to attend.[53] It was difficult to plan this kind of event while we were still struggling to recover ourselves, and I hadn't had a reason to think about disasters and major catastrophes until 3.11 happened, so I didn't have knowledge about disaster prevention and relief, and I wasn't sure how conscientious we should be, plus everyone was affected to varying degrees. We weren't really aware about the varying degrees of impact that the disaster had on individuals, so all we could work off of was trying to do the best we could do with the resources we had. So Ubukoe Live was the result of all this…We wanted to create a normal space (*nichijō na bashō*) for people who were still without water and electricity. It's not that we made an oral agreement to treat this like a normal

[52] "In Japan, a small music club is called a 'livehouse' (*raibuhausu*), a Japanese neologism that describes a site in which *raibu* ("live," meaning live musical performances) take place" (Novak 2013:33).

[53] Attendees who were not invited paid a $30-$40 admission fee. All proceeds were donated to disaster relief organizations, and an assortment of goods from disaster-affected areas were also on sale at the event.

> event that would have taken place before 3.11, but I think everyone involved had that sensibility.[54]

What was especially memorable about Ubukoe Live, Hamada recounted, was that audience members were both enthusiastic and moved since it was the first post-3.11 live event for many attendees, yet many people were in tears while pumping their fists, which Hamada described as "a bit of a mysterious sight." One attendee had told him that it was not possible to break down and cry while living in a tiny temporary housing unit with hardly any privacy, and that Ubukoe Live provided a venue to release many pent up feelings.

Having developed through musical activities in relation to the disaster, Ubukoe Project continues to serve as a network for the community in a variety of different ways. The Ubukoe Project facebook page primarily serves as a news source that shares stories about music and disaster relief efforts and promotes posts by musicians in affected areas and their calls for support (e.g., an artist in Ishinomaki is trying to collect funds to rebuild a club house that was destroyed in the disaster). Hamada and other advocates of Ubukoe Project also provide advice to local, often small-scale organizations trying to put together music festivals and events (e.g., Hope for Project [discussed in detail in chapter 5] and Shichigahama Seven Beach Festival). Furthermore, Ubukoe Project owns audiovisual equipment, purchased through donations, such as generators, mixers, and projectors that are rented out to artists in disaster-affected areas free of charge. "I felt kind of uneasy about spending money on events," Hamada stated,

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[54] Hamada, Naoki, Interview, 14 June 2016.

> since once the event finished we were back to square one, needing to raise money for the next event without really having anything left to show for the previous event. People who donated might have been satisfied with us just saying we successfully held the event, but Ubukoe as a project, well looking at disaster sites, it was clear that recovery was not going to happen quickly, debris is left remaining for years, and even now, five years later, the conditions in some areas are still not back to normal, so I felt Ubukoe needs to be involved in long-term engagements. Many people who donated as well as people around me were involved with music in some way, and these people also felt that through Ubukoe, it's important to have long-term engagements with disaster-affected communities. So it was through this that we came up with the idea to rent out equipment for music events in disaster-affected areas.[55]

Rather than to invest most of the funds into events, an equipment rental program provides a more sustainable means of support. Equipment rentals complement monetary donations for local reconstruction in that they are a way to support struggling musicians by providing them with the tools to revive and resume their music making. At one point, Ubukoe Project also ordered custom t-shirts from Azoth, a print factory in Sendai affected by the disaster, and raised roughly $30,000, which they put into Miyagi Ikuei Bokin (an organization that provides educational support to children who lost parents in the disaster). Ubukoe Project has not received any formal grants and has been operating solely on funds raised from Ubukoe album and t-shirt sales, and donation boxes placed at affiliated events. Hamada noted, however, that he almost feels guilty for having a club in Tokyo dutifully continue to display the Ubukoe donation box at their venue years after the event because he is certain that they feel they cannot put it away without Hamada and other Ubukoe Project affiliates' consent and approval. Hamada said that he feels sort of obligated and is considering telling the club in Tokyo that the people in Tohoku are alright now just to give them the option to put the box away. He stated that engagement in

[55] Hamada, Naoki, Interview, 14 June 2016.

social issues has been particularly difficult because it has to be approached very tactically. Hamada said the same about antinuclear events in that he is still very unsure about the ways that Ubukoe Project might consider getting involved in the antinuclear movement, and instead focuses on ways to support music events and artists in Fukushima. "I don't think Ubukoe Project will ever scream about antinuclear sentiments," he said, "because 'Ubukoe' as a song already exists, plus we're already involved in so many things, so it would be difficult to expand our project even further." My sense is that by "'Ubukoe' already exists," Hamada means that the song was made to support and encourage disaster survivors and that reconfiguring it as a protest song to address the passion and anger of the antinuclear movement would not only counter the reasons why the song became impactful in the first place, but that it would also be a daunting task. This reluctance to "take on" the nuclear issue is one that I observed repeatedly with individuals and organizations I spoke to likely in part because the stakes are very high. To engage with the nuclear requires the need to take on a political stance, which is very different from the comparatively uncontrovertial use of music to help and support people in need. Born from a single song, Ubukoe Project is an organization that takes conventional means of musical support such as charity concerts and album sales a step further. Members of Ubukoe Project rely on their network of experience, connections, and knowledge base to continue to develop ways to support local musicians and disseminate information serving as a hub within and beyond post-3.11 hip-hop communities.

**"Arahama Callings"**

Satō Nami (b. 1990) was raised in Arahama, a small coastal town, just under 40 hectares, and about 10 kilometers from central Sendai with a population of 2,200 residents at the time of the disaster.[56] Situated less than a half mile from the coast, the entire town save for Arahama Elementary School (a four-story building which was also heavily damaged) was swept away by the tsunami. On 3.11, Satō was in Yamagata, a neighboring prefecture in the mountains where the earthquake was fairly strong (M5), yet no catastrophic damage occurred. As a second year undergraduate student at Tohoku University of Art and Design, Satō was studying film and was occasionally asked to compose music for her colleagues' films, yet it was not until after the disaster that she felt a profound urge to turn to music composition, not only as an outlet for self-expression, but also as a way to contribute to disaster relief efforts. In an interview with me she stated,

> I started composing 'Arahama Callings' about one week after 3.11. As far as why I made the album, after 3.11, my parents survived[57] and I was able to get in contact with them, but they told me not to come home to Arahama. For one there was the radiation issue, and nobody knew what was going on, so at the time people thought there was a possibility that Miyagi was dangerous. Yamagata's surrounded by mountains and the winds were not moving from Fukushima to Yamagata at that time of year, so in case Miyagi was in danger, they didn't want me to come home. Plus, if I went home, our house was washed away and the food rations at evacuation centers were limited. If I went back, it would be one more person to feed, so they told me not to return…After thinking about ways that I might be able to directly help disaster victims, I thought money is the easiest way, so I thought if I could compose music that could turn into money to help disaster-affected towns,

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[56] "Briefing by Mayor of Sendai City." G7 Japan May 20, 2016: http://www.g7sendai2016.mof.go.jp/images/pdf/Briefing-at-Arahama-E-School.pdf.

[57] Satō, however, did lose her grandfather, classmates, relatives, and pet dog who were all in Arahama on 3.11.

> that would be good, and I started to compose…I wasn't able to go back to Arahama until about ten days after 3.11.[58]

Satō initially turned to music composition because her music (generated into monetary donations) was the only thing she felt capable of contributing as a form of aid. What started out as a means of helping disaster victims culminated in Satō's graduation project—a 10-track album entitled "Arahama Callings."[59] The album consists of tracks composed by Satō from one week following the disaster to January of 2013. When conceptualizing the album, Satō had two goals in mind: 1. To sonically present feelings of unease and tension felt from phone lines that were not connecting during and after the disaster through embedded found sounds of phones ringing and disconnecting, and to address these anxieties by metaphorically connecting listeners to things that were lost on 3.11; 2. To revive, through music, the landscapes and scenery that were stripped away from Arahama on 3.11. The use of "callings" in the album title not only refers to the sounds of unanswered phone calls depicting the longing to reconnect with lost loved ones, but also addresses the yearning to regain all that was lost in the disaster—a calling for all that was a part of Arahama before the town was ruptured in a single instance.

Satō first composed track 2, "Cherry blossom petals swirl," about one week after 3.11 when the electricity was restored, and recorded the piece in one shot. Composed during a brutally cold winter season amidst snow-covered mountains, this three-minute

[58] Satō, Nami, Interview, 14 June 2016.
[59] The album can be previewed and purchased here: http://satonami.bandcamp.com.

solo piano piece expresses Satō's longing for springtime and cherry blossoms,[60] which, in her words, "seemed to come and go every year so matter of factly," yet after 3.11, she realized that such a seemingly natural occurrence was not so natural after all. As Satō continued to compose and expand her repertory following 3.11, she came across a website called DIY Hearts,[61] put together by singer songwriter Nanao Tavito from Tokyo where anyone can upload and sell music on the site with all proceeds going to various disaster relief organizations. DIY Hearts served as a powerfully motivating factor for Satō to continue to pursue composition and to put her music out for public consumption.

"Arahama Callings" is a compilation of tracks that Satō made for DIY Hearts and tracks she worked on during her senior year of college. Tracks in the album depict scenes and landscapes in Arahama that were no longer physically present, but still vivid in Satō's memories including a cycling road (tracks 3 and 4), a pond where swans used to swim (track 5), and the sea (track 6).[62] Satō described track 7, "heaven's bottom" as a requiem piece, while "cocoon" (track 8) and "meguru" (track 9) refer to a Japanese phrase, *inochi ga meguru*, which is about the transmigration of the soul and nature. The purpose of these tracks is to encourage listeners that 3.11 did not signify the end, and that by being wrapped up in support (like a cocoon), it is possible to carry forward, and that things that seem to be gone forever are not gone for good as they continue to exist in the form of

[60] Out of respect for those who lost their lives and for those who were still suffering from the effects of 3.11, in Spring of 2011, most Japanese people restrained themselves from partaking in the traditional custom of *hanami* (literally flower viewing) where people gather and feast under cherry blossom trees and enjoy their transient beauty. Many stated that the cherry blossoms that bloomed in 2011 were the most poignant that they had ever seen.

[61] The website can be accessed here: http://www.diystars.net/hearts/.

[62] Prior to 3.11, local residents and visitors used to go swimming in the sea off the Arahama coast in the summertime, but for safety reasons, the sea was closed off by barricades and swimming is still strictly prohibited.

memories and representations. Satō's work emphasizes the ways in which, as Pierre Nora puts it, "memory attaches itself to sites" (1989:22), and it is through musical representations of sites in Arahama that Satō works to revive not only her own memories, but also those of others that can be collectively shared with her own. Maurice Halbwachs notes that memory by nature is multiple yet specific; collective, plural, and yet individual (1992). Through representations of her personal memories of Arahama, Satō's work also emphasizes the multiplicity of memories that can be collectively shared through specific sites.

Track 1, "Yūnagi"[63] and track 10 "Iekaze,"[64] are linked through the theme of disconnected phone lines. In "Yūnagi," the sound of a phone being dialed breaks into an ambient track embellished by wind chime sounds, followed by the sound of a phone continuously ringing that leads to an automated answering machine message stating that the number dialed, 022-287-4069 (the number for Satō's former home in Arahama), is not available, then the line gets cut off. The feeling of unease presented by this sequence of sounds is put into suspension as Satō guides us through tracks that sonically illustrate Arahama, and aim to bring comfort to listeners, before readdressing the tension presented in track 1 in the final track. "Iekaze" begins with the sound of a phone ringing accompanied by wind chimes, reintroducing the sonic themes presented in "Yūnagi," which gradually transition into an arpeggiated melodic line repeated on a piano. The repeated phrase reaches a climax at 3:05 and becomes punctuated by a rhythmic pattern

[63] Yūnagi (夕凪) is a period of evening calm in coastal areas as the wind blows offshore.
[64] Iekaze (家風), more commonly read as kafū, means family tradition and is written using the *kanji* characters for house and wind.

that incorporates what sounds like a blend of phone, wind chime, and bicycle bell sounds. Then, a choral line is incorporated into the mix before the mass of sound reverts back to the initial arpeggiated piano line and wind chime sounds. Amidst this serene soundscape, the sound of the ringing phone returns, and when the arpeggiated piano line finally cadences on a high note, a chorus of *moshi moshi* ("hello" in Japanese when answering a phone) finally responds to the incessant ringing. Satō sampled the moshi moshi voices from a range of people of utmost importance to her including her parents.

"Arahama Callings" not only reflects Satō's personal interpretation of Arahama and her post-3.11 anxieties, but it also serves as a vessel for others to reflect upon their own memories and to find the strength to move forward from the effects of the disaster. In this respect, "Arahama Callings" can be regarded as a "memory space," which is how American composer John Adams described his work in memory of 9/11, *On the Transmigration of Souls* (2002). Adams describes his piece as

> …a place where you can go and be alone with your thoughts and emotions. The link to a particular historical event–in this case to 9/11–is there if you want to contemplate it. But I hope that the piece will summon human experience that goes beyond this particular event. 'Transmigration' means 'the movement from one place to another' or 'the transition from one state of being to another'…in this case I mean it to imply the movement of the soul from one state to another. And I don't just mean the transition from living to dead, but also the change that takes place within the souls of those that stay behind, of those who suffer pain and loss and then themselves come away from that experience transformed.[65]

In Adams' and Satō's works, the memory space is populated by personally meaningful sounds and voices that can be interpreted and customized into a familiar soundscape by listeners. Adams had friends and family members read the names of victims and mixed it

[65] Interview with John Adams. 2002: http://www.earbox.com/on-the-transmigration-of-souls/.

with taped city noises from New York City that would be familiar to listeners. Both "Arahama Callings" and "Transmigration" are not so much memorial pieces for the deceased or works in tribute of the victims as they are works for survivors to reflect upon and to negotiate their personal feelings about each respective crisis.

"Arahama Callings" functions as a sort of sonic palimpsest where Satō's reconstructed memories of Arahama are sonically remapped onto the landscape of post-3.11 Arahama. Although most everything in Arahama was effaced, Satō highlights and sonically revives traces amongst the destruction that remain to be uncovered. Satō stated that 3.11 really made her realize that the ordinary can suddenly be cut off, and that "Arahama Callings" served as a way for her to uncover and leave traces of pre-3.11 Arahama behind. Through a sonic representation of her personal journey towards post-3.11 recovery, "Arahama Callings" not only brings solace to listeners, but also serves as a means of optimistic attachment for Satō and others to work towards post-3.11 adjustment.

**Conclusion: Songs as a Way to Navigate Towards Recovery**

The body of songs that were embraced as anthems as well as the newly composed songs addressed in this chapter served in the early aftermath of 3.11 as a vital tool for affected individuals and communities during the transitional stages from shock and uncertainty, to working towards recovery through perseverance, and emotionally accepting and allowing oneself to mourn. While different in musical style and presentation, the through line between the newly composed songs presented in this chapter is that they address the multifaceted sociocultural aesthetic of gambaru as a vital mechanism to work towards recovery in post-3.11 Japan. "Hana wa saku," takes a

traditionally Western approach to disaster relief through solidarity and mourning emulated through star power, "Ubukoe" relies on the genre of hip-hop as a means of encouraging community resilience, and "Arahama Callings" presents personalized memories to foster collective memory building as a coping mechanism. Kimberly Theidon states that "…claiming trauma is in part a demand for services. Talking trauma is one way of constructing the intervenable subject–individually and collectively" (2013:35). In a society such as Japan where openly talking about trauma and emotional struggles are not commonplace and are instead replaced by encouragements to constantly gambaru, the songs were a way for people to navigate the slew of emotions and uncertainties that they were feeling, while working towards not only structural and societal, but also emotional recovery. While the reality may be that "pre-disaster normality is gone forever" (Gill, Steger, and Slater 2015:xvii), post-3.11 songs not only provided messages of encouragement and support, but also presented strategies for sustenance and survival, and models to envision and work towards rebuilding renewed communities.

When asked about the power of music, Hamada Naoki responded,

> I think after the disaster, people were trying to validate the importance of what they'd been doing prior to the disaster whether it be the arts, photography, or film making, and how that could be of use in disaster relief. People started to rethink the ways that these things could be of use following a major catastrophe…I feel like music activates power that can't be seen…Rather than the music itself, I think it's the activities and movements that arise from the music that are vital. It's the same thing with "Ubukoe." There was the song, I reacted to it, and built up the project. So it's not the music itself that's powerful. Even when putting together an event, it's not so much about the event itself as it is about how people react, take it in, and what they think about it. That's more important right because that's the reason the event is being put together in the first place. Music is powerful as a catalyst.[66]

[66] Hamada, Naoki, Interview, 14 June 2016.

Hamada looks at music as something beyond just sound and performance for consumption, and suggests that it is the act of interpretation--or how people react to it--that makes its power possible. The stakes of not only interpretation, but also music making become higher in response to a crisis because they are attributable to a specific event. Music in response to a crisis is expected to carry powerful messages and to selectively revive fragments of what existed before the rupture. It is expected to do something whether it is to encourage listeners to move forward towards recovery, or to evoke memories of the past as a means of negotiating continuity amidst rupture, or to prompt the development of relief efforts. While songs immediately following the disaster encouraged and motivated affected individuals to begin to take steps towards adjustment, the subject of the next chapter, traditional matsuri festivals and folk performing arts, was a way for affected communities to begin to rebuild their local identity by working to shift from victims of the disaster to communities that have survived the ordeal, and to consider the ways that localized and newly developed traditions could contribute to relief efforts.

## Chapter 2: Reconstituting Community through Localized Folk Performing Arts and Matsuri Festivals

In the wake of a large scale catastrophic disaster that instantaneously destroyed communities and abruptly severed ties between people and their localities, how do communities work to regain a sense of normalcy and stability? In what ways do they rebuild relationships and find the strength to move forward? How is local pride restructured and redefined and in what ways does localized community building become reconfigured and presented as globalized representations of renewed communities? In the wake of the disaster, individuals were abruptly dispersed from their homes, their neighborhoods, and in many cases, entire towns that they likely would never be able to inhabit again due to governmental designations of disaster hazard zones implemented to safeguard people from future tsunamis (*tsunami keikai kuiki*)[67] and threats of radioactive contamination within a thirty-kilometer circumference of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant (Kaketa 2014:1).

These ruptures created desires to belong to pre-existing social groups that were shattered by the disaster. But what does it mean to belong to a social group and in what

[67] Araki et al. note that roughly one-third of areas flooded by tsunamis on 3.11 have been designated as disaster hazard areas. They explain how following 3.11, the government of Japan adopted a two-stage disaster mitigation plan, which "…categorizes tsunami into two levels depending on the scale and frequency, and takes countermeasures accordingly" (2017:326). On April 11, 2011, the Reconstruction Design Council was set up as an advisory panel for the prime minister, consisting of intellectual figures and governors of disaster-affected prefectures, and after twelve meetings over a span of two-months, they formulated a list of recommendations on reconstruction planning. Based on these recommendations, "the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism; the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries; and the Fisheries Agency issued a joint notice 'Method to determine the design tsunami level'… Large-scale projects to relocate homes from the inundated areas have been proceeding, and the original sites are designated as disaster hazard areas by the municipalities under Article 39 of the Building Standards Act" (ibid.:327).

ways is belonging affirmed under these circumstances? If we are to interpret this desire to belong in terms of individual self-identity as presented by ethnomusicologist Tim Rice, the disaster fueled "…a concern for the psychology of belonging to, identification with, and 'suturing' to social groups" (Rice 2007:21). To explain individual self-identity, Rice draws on Stuart Hall's definition of identification or "a process of articulation, a suturing" (1996:3), as something that is multiply constructed and used in the process of becoming rather than of being. Articulation is "a process of creating connections" (Slack 1996:114), and "the production of identity on top of differences, of unities out of fragments" (ibid.:115). In this chapter, I focus on Hall's description of articulation as a suturing to elucidate the joining of parts to make a unity, because the word suturing succinctly captures the fragility of creating connections and attachments through modes of identification in the aftermath of crisis as a type of mend and attachment that simultaneously highlights the need for intervention. Hall posits that identification "…is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation" (ibid.:2). However, he also notes that identification is a process that is never completed, that is conditional and lodged in contingency. Amongst discussions concerning identity,[68] Hall's definition of

[68] The central dichotomy that is frequently used in discussions of identity is a distinction between essentialist and constructivist arguments. The essentialist model suggests some intrinsic and essential content to any identity, defined by a common origin and/or structure such as ethnicity, race, class, and gender (Grossberg 1996:89), and "…understands identity in terms of durable qualities and characteristics of the group that are thought to exist from time immemorial" (Rice 2007:24). It is "…a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficially or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common" (Hall 1990:393). The constructivist position denies the existence of authentic

identification is particularly useful in considering the ways that 3.11 survivors are pursuing attachments to social groups in a post-disaster context, because it does not frame identity under essentialist concepts that signal an unchanging, stable core of the self, and instead marks identities as functional points of identification and attachment (ibid.:5) that are constructed, yet always incomplete and temporary.

In this chapter, I focus on *matsuri* festivals and folk performing arts,[69] which have been documented as one of the earliest musical activities to reemerge in coastal areas of Tohoku following 3.11 because of their deep rooted history and regional distinctions. Although the term matsuri literally translates to festival, matsuri in Tohoku are localized, traditional, and mainly populated by insiders, which sets them apart from festivals marketed as a lifestyle preference that bring together people with similar tastes but possibly disparate backgrounds (Bennett et al. 2014). Yanagawa (1988) notes how "matsuri is viewed for its role in integrating the hearts and minds of the people, or giving them a spiritual sense of unity." What matsuri and festivals do have in common is the notion that they carry "expectations of a thorough liberation of mind and body, a destruction of the existing order…[and] the casting away of everyday restraints" (Sonoda 1988:38). As established "traditions," people turned to the matsuri and folk performing

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identities based in a universally shared origin (Grossberg 1996:89), and presents them as unstable and changeable, "… always constructed from the cultural resources available at any given moment" (Rice 2007:24). In this context, identities are thought to undergo constant transformation and are "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (Hall 1990:394). The general consensus between these two categories is that constructivist arguments lie within (Hall) or fall back on (Rice) essentialist ones.

[69] I use "folk performing arts" as a translation of the Japanese word *minzoku geinō*. As Thornbury notes, "though 'folk performing arts' is not a perfect label for presentations that may feature some professional performers and for the most part are not purely 'folk' in origin, it comes closest to representing the term that is used in Japan" (1997:169).

arts of their respective towns as modes of identification to reaffirm their attachment to those localities and the social groups that had constituted them. I am not suggesting that people who were relocated as a result of the disaster "lost their identities," and that the turn to localized folk performing arts was a means of identity (re)formation, but rather, that matsuri and folk performing arts served as a mode of identification for these people by functioning as a suture to social groups bound by shared commonalities particularly in the context of having inhabited the same town in the past.

I aim to demonstrate why matsuri and folk performing arts were prioritized and valued by disaster survivors and cultural producers in coastal areas, and present the ways in which these cultural properties are being supported by government organizations such as the Agency for Cultural Affairs in the Ministry of Education as well as individual scholars and researchers of Tohoku's folk performing arts. While localized folk performing arts practices have helped to reaffirm identification and given dispersed communities a reason to regularly reconvene, some post-3.11 festivals have developed to also showcase Tohoku's folk performing arts and matsuri as a means of demonstrating tenacity and to try to boost post-disaster tourism and economic redevelopment. A comparison between the revival of localized folk performing arts and the development of post-3.11 matsuri allows us to see the ways in which "tradition" is reconstituted and reconfigured to create and showcase renewed communities and the ways in which community becomes redefined in a post-disaster context.

**Post-3.11 Revival**

The Tohoku region is rich with localized, that is, regionally specific, matsuri festivals and folk performing art forms that are so deeply rooted in history and culture that they have organically developed into an integral element of local community building, especially after 3.11. Michael Ashkenazi defines matsuri as public festivals that most urban and rural communities throughout Japan have during the year, noting that there are large scale matsuri in big cities that are particularly attractive to tourists, as well as smaller ones which usually occur in and around Shinto shrines (*jinja*) in smaller towns (1993:4). The matsuri I am referring to here are the latter, which are tied to religious rituals[70] and run by community organizations. In the latter half of this chapter, I will address how large scale matsuri are operating to boost post-disaster economic redevelopment. Hashimoto Hiroyuki notes that "from the advent of the modern age…the public developed a nostalgic view of the folk performing arts as which were identified with concepts such as 'tradition,' 'simplicity,' and 'archaism'" (2003:227-228). The majority of participants of these types of activities are local residents who have learned these art forms from previous generations and have been participating in them since childhood as members of neighborhood associations and performance groups. The regional specificity of matsuri and folk performing arts in the Tohoku region has contributed to post-disaster community rebuilding and is serving as a way to suture local identities.

[70] For a view of Japanese religion gained mainly from matsuri, see Plutschow 1996.

Folk performing arts and matsuri also led to a nostalgic rediscovery of the rural ways of life, particularly in post-WWII Japan when the curation and control over the traditional became heavily bureaucratized through the establishment of cultural properties laws (see below), wherein "government initiatives encouraged the (re)establishment of local folkways, and community members were eager to preserve traditions they felt were disappearing" (Foster 2011:69). At the same time, the celebration of such local folk traditions were also retroactively invented and politically manipulated to create essentialist pride—a relationship between the historical erasures effected by industrial capitalism and the ongoing reinscription of those lost differences as identities that anthropologist Marilyn Ivy calls phantasmatic (1995).[71] Preoccupations with "the vanishing" were once again deepened following 3.11 where loss and efforts to recover loss were instigated at both local and national levels. Folk performing arts and matsuri came to represent the "traditional" and the nostalgic past, thus efforts to restore and revive them can also be interpreted as efforts to maintain continuity.

Despite the need for basic necessities following 3.11, the revival of many localized matsuri and folk performing arts[72] in affected areas was remarkably fast. Anthropologist Hayashi Isao notes that

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[71] Literary scholar Yanagita Kunio's self-published book *Tōno Monogatari* (Tales of Tōno) (1910) retells local lore and legends that he encountered while on a pilgrimage of sorts in the Tōno basin, in the inland heart of Tohoku. Within twenty years of its publication, the book became recognized as the founding text of Japanese folklore studies (*minzokugaku*), and is considered a crucial work that "secured the legendary place of Tohoku in the modern Japanese imagination" (Ivy 2015:182).

[72] Examples include *kagura* (ritual dances performed since ancient times as offerings to please the patron gods of local shrines accompanied by singing, shrill traverse flutes, stick drums, and other percussive instruments such as small metal idiophones and clappers), *shishi mai* (lion dance commonly performed during the New Year accompanied by traverse flutes and drums), *oni*

> …it was reported in newspapers and on TV that within half a month after the disaster, survivors [in Iwate and Miyagi prefectures] began performing folk arts such as *toramai*, the tiger dance, in evacuation centers…At the end of June, on the 100th day of supplication, *kenbai*, the sword dance, and *shishiodori*, the deer dance for the dead souls, were performed in the devastated coastal areas (2012:77).

Hayashi posits that one reason for the quick turn to the folk performing arts was a desire to perform ceremonial acts to mourn for the deceased. As anthropologist Jason Danely states, "memorialization for the dead is a common practice among Japanese people…[it] can be broadly defined as practices that recognize the mutual interdependence of the living and the spirits of the dead"[73] (2014:3). Ancestor veneration is dependent upon rituals of memorialization performed by the living, which made the performance of ceremonial acts to mourn for the deceased particularly pertinent following 3.11. Generally, individual spirits of the departed are pacified and consoled with funerary ceremonies held by the family and continue for forty-nine days with ceremonies held every week for seven weeks to aid in their procession to the status of honored ancestors (ibid.:30). However, following 3.11, bodies of the deceased were often difficult to locate and/or heavily damaged, leaving the bereaved to conduct what Hayashi calls "improvised mourning" (2012:76) though such acts as placing flowers and incense by a covered body laid on a desk in a classroom functioning as a temporary morgue. Hayashi argues that

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*kenbai* (dances performed while wielding a sword and stamping firmly on the ground), and *tora mai* (tiger dance accompanied by traverse flutes and drums).

[73] The connection between the living and the deceased is perhaps best known in the context of *Obon* or the Buddhist Japanese festival held for the spirits of the deceased, which is celebrated for three days from the thirteenth to the fifteenth, of the seventh moon by the lunar calendar, where it is believed that the spirits of deceased ancestors revisit the earthly world (Ashikaga 1950:217).

these improvised modes of mourning were necessary for the bereaved to begin to restore a sense of post-disaster normalcy.

Furthermore, Hayashi served as team leader of an earthquake disaster reconstruction support and countermeasure team developed by affiliates of the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka to start gathering information on the status of damage to museums, resource centers, and universities with cultural anthropology courses in the affected region. The team visited Miyagi and Fukushima prefectures in April and May 2011 and Iwate prefecture from May through June 2011 to gather information, and also assessed the extent of damage to intangible cultural properties in those regions. Hayashi found that nearly eighty percent of *shishiodori* (deer dance) troupes in Ōfunato city in Iwate alone were devastated and struggling to revive their activities (ibid.:82). While troupes were determined to resume their activities as soon as possible, they were struggling to replace the deer antlers that embellish their headdresses, which were damaged by the tsunami and no longer usable. While the type of deer antlers that are suitable for shishiordori is very specific, Hayashi was able to secure eight pairs of suitable deer antlers submitted by the president of a venison-processing company in Hyōgo prefecture (ibid.:84). It was through his early engagement with disaster-affected folk performing troupes that Hayashi realized that the revival of localized folk performing arts was being prioritized by disaster-affected communities.

Hayashi suggests that a turn to the folk performing arts provided practitioners with a sense of familiarity and provided them with a way to try to regain a sense of pre- and post-disaster continuity. He writes that “some members of folk performing art

preservation societies were willing to strive to find the clothing and props in the debris swept away by the tsunami. I think that these people were trying to find something stable in the confusion and loss, even if it might be small, for more reasons than just to 'keep up their spirits'" (2012:78). What motivated these communities to prioritize the revival of localized performing arts and matsuri when even basic necessities were not within arms reach? A person I spoke to from Rikuzentakata had mentioned that matsuri preparations were simply a feasible activity that gave their community purpose during a period when they did not have the resources to rebuild homes and redevelop their livelihood. At the most basic level, matsuri preparations gave affected communities a reason to collaborate and an attainable goal to work towards together. In other ways, matsuri and folk performing arts served as a necessary way to rebuild post-disaster livelihood and to suture dispersed communities as a way to redefine and assert one's identification with localized communities.

Gestures of alliances were and continue to be heavily emphasized in post-3.11 Japan. The most common way that such gestures are being expressed and defined is through the term *kizuna* (affective ties), which has come to represent post-disaster solidarity. Kizuna can refer to familial and blood kinship ties, but in post-3.11 Japan, it has been far more frequently used as a metaphor for alliances of solidarity. Akihiro Ogawa claims that kizuna is a key word for understanding contemporary Japanese society as it was "something that the Japanese lost during the economic development in the post–World War II era, and lifelong learning was identified as a major effort to restore it" (2015:173). Indeed, kizuna is a metaphorical suture that bonds not only community

members with literal connections to each other and an attachment to particular localities, but also (sometimes synthetically) bonds disaster supporters and survivors, and is also used sinisterly in its usage alongside nationalist slogans on the Liberal Democratic Party's campaign posters.

Richard J. Samuels notes that kizuna was formally consecrated as the representation of post-3.11 solidarity twice. The first instance was one month after 3.11, when then Prime Minister Kan issued a statement entitled "Kizuna: The Bonds of Friendship," thanking the world for its generosity and its outpouring of concern for the people of Tohoku. The second instance was in December 2011, when kizuna (絆) was chosen as the single kanji character that best captured the mood of 2011. Every year since 1995, just prior to the New Year holiday, the Japanese Kanji Aptitude Testing Foundation invites the Japanese public to submit their choices for a kanji character to represent the year, which is then publically announced when a Buddhist priest at Kiyomizu Temple in Kyoto inscribes it on a big white board with a long brush dabbed in black ink. In past years, the representative character has ranged from the celebratory ("love" in 2005 and "life" in 2006), the anxious ("war" in 2001, and "return" [of kidnapped youth] in 2002), and even disaster ("quake" [shin] in 1995 following the Kobe earthquake, and "disaster" [sai] after the Chūetsu quake in 2004) (Samuels 2013:42-43). Despite a year of immense devastation and tragedy, the forward-oriented, celebratory kizuna was the overwhelming winner of the 2011 poll likely due to the outpouring of international support and volunteerism following 3.11 (see chapter 3), and a renewed appreciation for human bonds within disaster-affected communities that experienced

sudden ruptures in familial and social ties. The relationship linking localized matsuri, folk performing arts, and recovery is based on a cultural dynamic triangulating *kizuna* (affective ties), *gambaru* (perseverance), and *furusato* (homeland) (see chapter 1). However, while localized folk performing arts foster kizuna in more literal ways by suturing dispersed communities through musical activities that reunite them, post-3.11 matsuri directed towards national and global audiences are demonstrative of a metaphorical kizuna where alliances of solidarity are figuratively represented.

**Locality of Japan's Folk Performing Arts**

In addition to providing purpose and a sense of post-disaster continuity, the regionally distinct nature of Tohoku's folk performing arts provided a mechanism for post-disaster identification for communities dispersed and separated by the disaster. Barbara Thornbury notes that while the term "folk performing arts" is "…useful to have a label for the variety of traditional presentations that stand in contrast to and, at the same time, form part of a continuum with the professional stage arts of no, kyogen, kabuki, and bunraku," it problematically "…tends to suggest—erroneously—the existence of a monolithic mass of unchanging customs" (1995:143). After 3.11, however, the diversity and regional distinctions of folk performing arts throughout the Tohoku region became more clearly defined because communities impacted by the disaster relied on the regional uniqueness and individual characteristics of folk performing arts originating in their town to reaffirm their connections with a particular region and to reconnect with former neighbors and community members following displacement. At the same time, regional distinctions also placed emphasis on the differences between various troupes,

compartmentalizing them into separate categories. An informant told me, for example, that taiko troupes almost never exchange repertoire with other troupes because loyalty and commitment to a particular troupe and its lineage (*ryūha*) are heavily enforced. Following the disaster, ties to cultural heritage and a desire to regain a sense of community were strengthened, and participation in local folk performing arts served as an ideal means of working to fulfill those desires, but were restricted to ties to specific troupes rather than across different troupes through collaborations. I have not heard of instances where 3.11 encouraged troupes to break loyalties and commitments to collaborate with each other.

Terrence Lancashire notes that one of the appeals of Japanese folk performing arts is in fact "…the still strong association with the local and the regional. Performances of *kagura*, for example, may take place in other parts of the country or even overseas as demonstrations of folk performing arts, but exponents of these traditions are almost inevitably from the region where the form originates" (2011:12). He argues that while *min'yō*[74] (Japanese folk songs) are "…acknowledged by the Agency for Cultural

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[74] Min'yō consists of traditional Japanese songs that are historically connected to various forms of manual labor and were sung by workers to ease the toil and monotony of their daily lives. Min'yō are regionally specific and many songs contain in its title the name of the prefecture it is from; in fact, they are often a symbol of pride, evoking and satisfying feelings of nostalgia. By the 1920s min'yō was a standardized, urban pan-Japanese phenomenon transmitted primarily through formal teacher-student relationships, although informal, oral transmission of min'yō songs in rural areas still exists as well. Min'yō as a genre reflects Japanese modernity through the ways it has been reconfigured to suit changing needs over time. Hughes 2008 provides the most comprehensive account in English of min'yō, which traces the development of min'yō from 1977-2008 in the context of extensive urbanization, modernization, Westernization, and globalization in the latter nineteenth century. For more compact introductions, see Groemer 2001 and Koizumi and Hughes 2001. For a discussion on oral transmission through shamisen lessons, see Tokumaru 1986, and for a methodical deconstruction of min'yō melodies, see Kakinoki 1975.

Affairs[75] and, along with other folk performing arts, are variously designated at the prefectural, municipal, town and village level" (ibid.:13), min'yō classes can be taken in any major city in Japan unlike other folk performing arts where the tradition is usually maintained solely by members of the local community. In an interview with me, anthropologist Kodani Ryūsuke elaborated on this point by stating that while min'yō used to be regionally distinct as localized working songs, in the Meiji era, *seichō min'yō*, or orthodox ways of singing particular min'yō songs developed throughout Japan, thus these songs no longer presented themselves as a way to express local identity as much as other types of folk performing arts such as kagura, which still maintain clear regional distinctions and are still deeply rooted in localized culture today.[76] Lancashire asserts that "…location is important. By their nature, the folk performing arts survive better in regional, remote or even forgotten areas where competition from alternative sources of entertainment is less threatening" (2011:116). Thus following 3.11, various organizations, researchers, and volunteers for the most part initially worked to support the revival of folk performing arts within their respective regions of origin before inviting and arranging for troupes to give performances outside of their region (see chapter 4).

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See Kaneko 2013 for a discussion on the ways that min'yō pedagogy is transmitted and altered in a diasporic, transnational setting.

[75] Set up in 1968 to promote Japanese arts and culture, the Agency for Cultural Affairs (*bunkachō*) is a special branch of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) that manages a unified administration of cultural properties protection policies.

[76] Kodani, Ryusuke, Interview, 6 February 2015.

## Support for the Folk Performing Arts

On January 26, 1949, a fire broke out and caused severe damage to the ancient Buddhist temple of Hōryūji in Nara prefecture. As a highly regarded temple by both the Japanese people and the government, debates were raised on the need to devise a law that would protect Japan's cultural properties. On May 30, 1950, the Cultural Properties Protection Law (*Bunkazai Hogohō*) was passed to "…preserve and activate cultural materials, and raise the culture [that is, cultural level] of the people" (Lancashire 2011:127), and "…laid out a framework for identifying and designating 'national treasures,' which was a crucial step in the country's postwar cultural rebuilding" (Thornbury 2013:16). According to Lancashire,

> …although the law was passed in 1950, 25 years passed before the law was reworked and subsequently put into practice the following year. Cultural 'properties' were divided into *yūkei* (tangible) and *mukei* (intangible) and, under the auspices of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, academic advisors in the field were given the responsibility of designating (*shitei*) or selecting (*sentaku*) cultural properties worthy of note. Practically, and more importantly, the law translated into the allocation of public funds which, in the case of performing arts, could be used to maintain or replace the hardware of those arts which demanded costumes and instruments and necessary appurtenances for performances to be realized (2011:127).

Thornbury argues, however, that "while the designation opens up access to funds for the repair of costumes and similar expenses, it serves mainly as official encouragement for the survival of the designated arts" (1993:172). Following 3.11, however, designation as an intangible cultural heritage was not just a symbol of encouragement, but became one of the key factors in determining a folk performing troupe's eligibility to receive funds to have tools and outfits repaired and replaced in order to revive their activities. Designation is reliant upon how unique and exclusive a style of folk performing arts is to a particular

region, as well as how historically significant it is in the history of Japan's performing arts. Selections for designation as *bunkazai* (cultural property) are made at the national, prefectural, and local government levels by committees of scholars and specialists of Japan's folk performing arts. Thornbury clarifies these distinctions by explaining that

> on the national level, the provisions of the law are carried out by the Agency for Cultural Affairs within the Ministry of Education. The Agency works with the Council for the Protection of Cultural Properties and the committees that annually select the nationally designated important cultural properties in each category. The law also allows prefectures and local governments to make their own designations (1997:56).

Thornbury notes that the revision to the Cultural Properties Law in 1975 made change the very core of what makes folk performing arts eligible as cultural properties. In other words, up until that point, the term "cultural property" implied stasis, or the preservation of materials, but the revised law clarified that the folk performing arts are "essential to understanding how life in Japan has changed over time," (ibid.:58) making them eligible for designation as important intangible folk cultural properties. Furthermore, the revision prompted the formation of folk performing arts preservation societies, which are associations of performers and supporters of a particular folk performing art that are responsible for making sure that performances are successfully carried out each year and that the tradition continues to be passed on to future generations (ibid.:63-64).

Hayashi notes, however, that following 3.11, it was especially challenging to assess the status of designated folk performing troupes in disaster affected areas in comparison to tangible cultural properties because it was not just a matter of locating and

restoring objects,[77] which was often conducted in cooperation with museums and libraries in those areas, but of confirming the whereabouts of the practitioners who were frequently being relocated between various evacuation centers. He writes that most written records of folk performing troupes were washed away by the tsunami, and that in many cases, it was near impossible to contact association members since they first had to confirm if they were alive, and if so, in which evacuation center they were living at the time. As a result, Hayashi and his team of researchers had no choice but to go to the actual sites to collect information on the activities of the associations before the disaster, and to assess their condition in its aftermath (Hayashi 2012:79).

In the aftermath of 3.11, Tohoku's abundant folk performing troupes, some of which had already been designated as cultural properties prior to the disaster, were at high risk of being unable to continue and sustain their activities. Although at first, people throughout Japan felt it was inappropriate to hold matsuri and were restraining themselves from participating in such festivities, bearers and practitioners of folk performing arts in disaster-affected areas argued that it is precisely because of such circumstances (where people needed encouragement and ways to work towards regaining

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[77] One of the most effective projects I have encountered regarding the restoration of cultural properties in the aftermath of a major disaster is the Haiti Cultural Recovery Project, which was organized by the Smithsonian Institution with the Government of Haiti, Ministry of Culture and Communication, and the Presidential Commission for the Emergency and Reconstruction, in partnership with the U.S. President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities in response to the 7.0 earthquake that struck Haiti on January 12, 2010. What is especially impressive about this project to me is that it structures disaster relief not simply in the form of providing restoration aid and leaving the site, but in training the local people to become self sufficient. The project sought to "rescue, recover, safeguard, and help restore Haitian cultural materials damaged and endangered by the January 12, 2010 earthquake and its aftermath, and train Haitians in conservation skills so they could carry on that work into the future. By October 2011, the project had treated more than 30,000 items and trained more than 100 Haitians" (Kurin 2011:7).

a sense of normalcy) that matsuri and folk performing arts needed to be revived as soon as possible (Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūsho Mukei Bunka Isanbu 2014:i). Such desires were demonstrated by a number of different groups of people who restarted their activities while still in temporary housing units using what little tools they were able to salvage out of the debris and in temporary housing. In fact, a temporary exhibit at the Tohoku History Museum featured a *shishi-gashira* (lion head used for dancing) that was constructed by former residents of Takeura, Onagawa[78] using found objects such as cans, hotel slippers, and *zabuton* cushions, while they were still in a hotel in Akita prefecture that was being used as a temporary housing unit, when somebody brought them a bamboo flute (*fue*) that was found amongst the debris.

[78] Onagawa is a town on the coast of Miyagi prefecture that was heavily damaged by the earthquake and tsunami. It houses a Nuclear Power Station operated by the Tohoku Electric Power Company, which according to most news sources, remained generally intact after 3.11.

Figure 2.1 A *shishi-gashira* constructed in a temporary housing unit using found objects such as cans, hotel slippers, and *zabuton* cushions on display at the Tohoku History Museum. Photo by author.

In response to an early initiation towards the revival of folk performing arts by the practitioners themselves, researchers affiliated with organizations such as the Japan Folk Performing Arts Association (Zen Nippon Kyōdo Geinō Kyōkai)[79] and the Society for Ritual Culture (Girei Bunka Gakkai)[80] started making trips to disaster affected areas to collect information and to get a better sense of the condition and needs of various folk

[79] The Japan Folk Performing Arts Association was established in 1973 to help preserve and promote Japan's folk performing arts.
[80] The Society for Ritual Culture was established in 1981 and supports the development of Japan's cultural traditions including tea ceremony, flower arrangement, martial arts, court music, *noh*, *kabuki*, folk dances, folk performing arts, and arts and crafts.

performing troupes.[81] Affiliates of these types of organizations were well-suited for early data collection because they had preexisting networks of information to help facilitate their research. By March of 2013, the Intangible Cultural Heritage Information Network (Mukei Bunka Isan Jōhō Nettowāku) was created through a mutual necessity to collect and share information about the state of post-3.11 folk performing arts between the Independent Administrative Institution National Institutes for Cultural Heritage Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (Dokuritsu Gyōsei Hōjin Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kikō Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūsho Mukei Bunka Isanbu),[82] the Japan Folk Performing Arts Association, and the Society for Ritual Culture. In March of 2013 and 2014, conferences were held at the Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties about the network where information about the state of cultural properties in disaster affected areas were exchanged amongst a variety of fields (ibid.:i).

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[81] Of course, efforts to protect and document tangible cultural properties took place early on after the disaster as well. According to Hayashi Isao, "at the end of March 2011, some three weeks after the disaster struck, the Agency for Cultural Affairs announced the implementation of the Cultural Property Rescue Programme…to urgently protect moveable cultural assets damaged by the earthquake and tsunami, and to prevent their destruction and scattering" (2012:78). The program emphasized that all found objects whether they be paintings, sculptures, artifacts, books, ancient documents, etc., should be collected regardless of whether they are designated properties or not. A team of researchers at the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka participated in the program and also started their own disaster reconstruction support team led by Hayashi to complement the project's efforts and "…gather information on the status of damage to museums, resource centers, and universities with cultural anthropology courses in the affected region" (ibid.:79). Detailed accounts of these efforts as well as reports about the status of intangible cultural properties are presented in Hidaka 2012.

[82] The Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties was originally founded in 1930 as the Institute of Art Research. The Institute in collaboration with other organizations has been engaged in relief projects for cultural properties damaged by the tsunami and destruction of buildings. It also works to preserve cultural properties, and disseminate information about preventative measures to help reduce the damage of cultural properties by disasters.

Because there were significant circumstantial differences between Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima prefectures,[83] information gathering and support for each prefecture's folk performing arts were conducted by different teams of researchers led by authorities on the folk performing arts in each respective prefecture. Iwate's representatives include a folk performing arts researcher named Hashimoto Hiroyuki (Ōtemon Gakuin University) who was teaching at Morioka University at the time of the disaster and was also a committee member on the Iwate Prefecture Cultural Heritage Preservation Council (Iwate Ken Bunkazai Hogo Shingi Kai), Abe Takeshi, founder of the Tohoku Cultural Property Film Institute (Tohoku Bunkazai Eizō Kenkyūjo), who is based in Kitakami and has been documenting video footage of Tohoku's folk performing arts since the 1970s, and Iizaka Maki, a native of Iwate, who has been involved in a research organization focused on the performing arts and livelihood of Iwate (Furusato Iwate no Geinō to Kurashi Kenkyūkai). All three individuals worked to collect information and serve as intermediaries for folk performing arts relief efforts in Iwate. The authority in Miyagi is anthropologist Kodani Ryūsuke who currently works at the Tohoku History Museum (Tohoku Rekishi Hakubutsukan), has conducted extensive research on Ogatsu Hōin Kagura since prior to 3.11, and was registered with the Miyagi Cultural Heritage Preservation Branch (Miyagi-ken Kyōiku Bunkazai Hogoka) at the time of the disaster. Kaketa Hironori, who has been researching the folk performing arts in Fukushima for a very long time, serves as the primary source of information for cultural properties and

[83] While Aomori, Ibaraki, and Chiba prefectures were also affected by the disaster, the Intangible Cultural Heritage Information Network is limited to Miyagi, Iwate, and Fukushima prefectures because they were the three most severely affected regions.

recovery efforts in Fukushima. Kaketa was the chief examiner of the Fukushima Cultural Properties Board of Education (Fukushima Ken Kyōikuchō Senmon Bunkazai) and chief of Fukushima Museum's Arts and Sciences division (Fukushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan), and was also a part time lecturer at a university. Following 3.11, he worked tirelessly to gather information and became president of the Fukushima Folk Performing Arts Association (Minzoku Geinō Gakkai Fukushima Chōsa Dan) (Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūsho Mukei Bunka Isanbu 2014:1).

In what ways did these various organizations and individuals work to support the revival of folk performing arts in Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima? Hashimoto Hiroyuki asserts that the government did not play a leading role in supporting folk performing arts recovery in Iwate at first and that researchers were initially working independently to obtain information on the status of various folk performing troupes (Hashimoto 2014:2). Hashimoto has been one of the leading figures in using his expertise and affiliations as a scholar and researcher to introduce folk performing troupes to funding organizations, write grant applications on their behalf, and serve as an intermediary between folk performing troupes and grant organizations. He supports and mentors these troupes to get to a state where they are able to fill out grant applications on their own and independently sustain their activities (Hashimoto 2015:10). Hashimoto presents three steps that he believes are necessary to take in order for folk performing troupes to successfully recover. The first step is to purchase replacement tools and outfits and to apply for funding. The second step is to find places to store the equipment and to secure temporary practice venues. The third step is to maintain an environment where group members are able to

work and make a living in their hometown, while participating in rehearsals and performances (Hashimoto 2014:3). While the three steps that Hashimoto proposes may seem rather straightforward, the issue lies in the fact that various troupes are all at different stages in their recovery process and many are unable to secure the funding to move past the first step towards recovery. Furthermore, Hashimoto notes that some troupes are reluctant to ask for and accept support because they feel ill-equipped to properly perform (an expected act of showing gratitude and appreciation for aid) because they do not have enough capable performers. Thus attempts to support these troupes could also become a psychological burden, and Hashimoto believes it is important to keep these complex feelings and circumstances in mind while also carefully and aggressively moving forward towards recovery (ibid.:3-4).

Kodani Ryūsuke reports that in Miyagi, the Miyagi Prefecture Board of Education Cultural Properties Protection Department (Miyagiken Kyōikuchō Bunkazai Hogoka), where he was working at the time of the disaster, started trying to gather information about the conditions of designated cultural properties in coastal and inland Miyagi just two days after 3.11. The department prioritized three folk performing intangible cultural properties in particular (the nationally designated Ogatsu Hōin Kagura and Tsukihama no Enzunowari as well as the prefecturally designated Naburi no Ometsuki) because they were centrally based in severely disaster-affected coastal areas (Kodani 2014:8). Despite losing most of their vital tools in the tsunami and the president of their preservation society still missing, Ogatsu Hōin Kagura performed for the first time since the disaster at the end of May 2011 at a temporary housing facility using tools that they had borrowed

from a neighboring kagura troupe in Osuhama. Due to their status as a highly regarded nationally designated folk cultural property, Ogatsu Hōin Kagura received much attention from governmental support organizations, but several other lesser known troupes throughout Miyagi were also expressing interest in receiving support to revive their activities.

Around this time, the Miyagi Regional Cultural Properties Restoration Project (Miyagi-ken Chiiki Bunkaisan Fukkō Purojekuto) was built up to support the gathering of information on the status of cultural properties across fifteen coastal towns in Miyagi. Information gathered through this project made it possible to apply for funding from organizations such as the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Asahi newspaper's Cultural Properties Organization (Asahi Shimbun Bunkazaidan), the World Monument Fund, and the National Trust to support research as well as repairs and replacements for damaged tools (ibid.:9). Furthermore, independent donors and religious organizations, as well as Rotary Clubs in municipalities throughout Japan provided support. Many of these types of organizations started out by distributing food and cooking meals on site, and after several continuous visits to the same region, they eventually found out from the locals about folk performing arts tools being washed away and wanted to support the revival of matsuri and folk performing arts in those regions in addition to distributing food. Several troupes also worked to revive their activities using personal funds to restore and replace tools.

Kodani notes that the purpose of the cultural properties designation system is for the government to select those activities that they deem most valuable to the people and

find worthy of working to preserve to pass on to future generations, thus those properties that were already designated prior to 3.11 received priority in terms of support. However, at the same time, those that were already designated were not given ample attention precisely because they had already been designated and under the protection law, and efforts were being made to newly designate properties that would benefit from a designation. Because regionally designated cultural properties often do not receive funding from the country, putting the burden of restoration on its proprietors, a grant was developed in Miyagi at the prefectural level to help cut back on ownership burdens (ibid.:10). One of the main issues that developed after 3.11 regarding the support of cultural properties was the fact that not all properties could be attended to equally and that each presented unique cases.

According to Kaketa Hironori, chair of The Fukushima Research Group of the Society of Folkloric Performing Arts,[84] matsuri and folk performing arts in post-3.11 Fukushima are not simply for religious purposes, but are in fact the root of regional rebuilding by providing a space and environment for affected communities to deepen friendships and the spirit of harmony and helping others in need. He notes how an elderly woman in Sōma who lost her home and possessions told him that if matsuri were also to be taken away, there would be nothing left for her (*ie mo zaisan mo nakunatta ue ni, matsuri made nakunattara nani ga nokoru no*), arguing that matsuri are indispensable to the maintenance and revival of social bonds and community (Kaketa 2014:12). The nuclear accident, however, further complicated efforts to revive matsuri and folk

[84] Members of the Society of Folkloric Performing Arts include researchers who are active in administering the preservation of cultural properties.

performing arts in irradiated areas of Fukushima since former residents of those areas were no longer able to return, and evacuees dispersed far and wide. In fact, a total of 99,072 people who lived within a twenty kilometer radius of the nuclear power plants were forced to evacuate, of which 59,031 people evacuated to areas outside of Fukushima prefecture (Kaketa 2014b:15). While Fukushima prefecture had been known for its abundance of folk performing arts (Kaketa reports that folk performing arts traditions have been passed down in roughly 800 sites throughout Fukushima prefecture), musical instruments, tools, outfits, and perhaps most importantly, spaces such as rehearsal and performance venues that were in exclusion zones had to be abandoned altogether. In an interview with me, Kaketa stated that around sixty hamlets (which means at least sixty folk performing groups) fell apart and 200-250 folk performing groups evacuated due to radiation. Despite these challenges, he informed me that as of July 2015, forty-four folk performing groups from Fukushima had resumed their activities since 3.11.[85]

Kaketa presents the Ukedo rice-planting dance troupe (Ukedo no Taue Odori) in the town of Namie in Futaba district as an example of a troupe that worked steadfastly on their own to promptly revive their activities. In early July, four months after 3.11, the troupe resumed their practices at a Boys & Girls Club in Nihonmatsu city, and on August 21, they gave their first post-3.11 performance at an aquarium in Iwaki city. Prior to 3.11, the troupe traditionally performed on the third Sunday of February at a matsuri held at Kusano Shrine. The shrine, which was near the coast, was washed away by the tsunami, but in February of 2012 and 2013, the troupe gave performances at temporary housing

[85] Kaketa Hironori, Interview, 4 July 2015.

units in Fukushima city and Nihonmatsu city where former residents of Namie were living in lieu of the matsuri at Kusano Shrine. In 2014, an altar was set up at a temporary housing unit in Fukushima city, the gods from Kusano Shrine were summoned to the site, and the dance was performed in a closer context to the original matsuri held at Kusano Shrine (Kaketa 2014b:15-16). Kaketa stated that while religious purposes may be the root of the folk performing arts, after 3.11, it was no longer just about that as practitioners felt a strong need to continue to practice and to overcome hardships by coming together. Participation in the folk performing arts fosters teamwork and the spirit of helping others, which extends beyond practices and performances to situations in everyday life. "Participation in the folk performing arts provides a sense of accomplishment," he stated, "which deepens affective ties (kizuna) and brings people in a community together."[86]

A rice-planting dance troupe based at Kifune Shrine in Odaka town in Minami Sōma, Fukushima not only lost their tools and outfits in the tsunami, but also twelve out of thirty-nine members of its preservation society including its president and vice president. Despite these losses, the troupe had expressed interest in resuming their activities, but they did not have enough funds to do so. A folk performing arts researcher based in the Kantō region provided funds acquired from a folk performing arts performance in Europe, which made it possible for the troupe to revive their activities (Kaketa 2014b:16). This example and several others demonstrate the need for collaborative efforts to revive folk performing arts and matsuri in disaster-affected areas. In Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima, efforts to support the folk performing arts were first

[86] Kaketa Hironori, Interview, 4 July 2015.

validated through the initiation of the practitioners themselves who made efforts to restore their activities, in many cases even before working to restore their living conditions. It was after this initiation that researchers and organizations got involved to determine what kind of aid would be most valuable to the practitioners.

In March of 2016, the Agency for Cultural Affairs research office based in Tokyo launched an online archival database of folk performing arts and matsuri designated as intangible cultural heritage in disaster-affected areas of Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima prefectures.[87] The database currently has a total of 1,362 entries (315 Iwate, 337 Miyagi, 710 Fukushima), and categorizes the entries by type of folk performing art (e.g., song, dance, taiko, hayashi, toramai, shishimai, etc.), specific dates [if applicable] of when it is performed, and the city or town of origin. Some entries have photos and videos attached to them as well as information about when the particular property was designated as an intangible cultural heritage, the condition and state of the property following the disaster, and preservation societies affiliated with it. The archive is still in the early stages of development and several entries provide only minimal information, but this is a promising step towards an effort to digitally archive the extensive research conducted since 3.11 to provide a better basis for the restoration of these cultural properties in the event of any future disasters.

Additionally, Abe Takeshi, a videographer and documentarian based in Iwate prefecture established the Tohoku Cultural Property Film Institute (Tohoku Bunkazai

[87] Post-3.11 intangible cultural properties archive: http://mukei311.tobunken.go.jp/index.php?gid=10027.

Eizō Kenkūsho) in 1998 to record the folk arts, folk rituals, and intangible cultural properties of the Tohoku region, and to compile the footage as a resource for film production companies and the general public. Currently, Abe is the sole proprietor of the institute and uploads his documentary-style videos to a YouTube channel started in 2007 entitled Tohoku Bunkazai Eizō Kenkūsho Library Eizōkan (Tohoku Cultural Property Film Institute Film Library).[88] Abe's digital archive has become especially valuable following 3.11, because it provides footage of folk performances both within and outside disaster-affected areas from before and after 3.11. Furthermore, Abe strives to document these performances ethnographically by documenting not only the performances themselves, but also interviews and the contexts in which the performances are being held. He states, "my main objective is to record more than the performance art itself. I want to record the background as well, which includes the social context and the involvement with the community at large. My approach deals with the idea that, in fact, the most important aspect of folk arts is the way they are received by the communities or the region."[89] In addition to direct support of the folk performing arts such as securing funds and providing performance venues, documentation is also proving to be a vital means of support for post-3.11 matsuri and folk performing arts.

One of the most impressive and astonishing examples of support, however, is the Nippon Music Foundation's support of matsuri and folk performing arts. In June of 2011,

[88] The archive can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/user/asaproabe/videos.
[89] Osawa, Torao. "Artist Interview Takeshi Abe: A year after the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami People find strength in the region's folk arts." The Japan Foundation Performing Arts Network Japan, July 11, 2012, http://performingarts.jp/E/art_interview/1206/1.html.

the Nippon Music Foundation (Nippon Ongaku Zaidan), an organization established in 1972 under the supervision of the Arts and Culture Promotion Division of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, put up a prized Stradivarius violin on auction to support 3.11 relief efforts. The 1721 Stradivarius, known as "Lady Blunt" was once owned by Lady Anne Blunt, the granddaughter of the English poet Lord Byron, and bears the ornamented pegs and tailpiece crafted by French luthier Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume. "Lady Blunt," which was widely advertised and auctioned on the internet, sold for an astounding 8,750,000 pounds ($14,177,599.00), setting the record for the highest auction price on a musical instrument to date. Nippon Music Foundation donated all proceeds from "Lady Blunt" to the Nippon Foundation's Northeastern Japan Earthquake and Tsunami Relief Fund (Nippon Zaidan Chiiki Dentō Geinō Fukkō Kikin).[90]

Around the time when the Stradivarius was sold, the foundation noticed that newspapers were filled with articles about the endangerment of Tohoku's folk performing arts and about matsuri providing comfort and solace to disaster victims. The foundation sent representatives to disaster sites to consult with folk performing troupes and experts such as university professors to see firsthand and confirm whether the people in those regions really wished for a revival of those activities as the articles had portrayed. Indeed, the locals confirmed that the Tohoku region is known as the treasure trove of folk performing arts because of its vast array of longstanding localized folk performing arts that they cherish with pride, thus the foundation decided to utilize funds from the

[90] "Entire proceeds from the sale of the Stradivarius 1721 Violin 'Lady Blunt' donated," Nippon Music Foundation, August 11, 2011, https://www.nmf.or.jp/english/charity/post_34.html.

Stradivarius to help with the revival of Tohoku's matsuri and folk performing arts. The foundation first supported the Kamaishi Tiger Dance Preservation Society (Kamaishi Toramai Hozon Rengō Kai) in Kamaishi, Iwate in July 2011[91] because the tradition was regarded by the local people as highly instrumental in restoring community and because it required many tools, some of which take a year or longer to make. Many people in Kamaishi stated that they don't perform the tiger dance because they live in Kamaishi, but rather, they're in Kamaishi because the tiger dance is there. Therefore, they expressed concerns that if the tiger dance is not restored, many people will leave the region and the community will be torn apart. By April of 2012, the foundation had provided support to fifteen folk performing troupes[92] in Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima, spending a total of 323,895,061 yen (roughly 2,768,000 USD) to replace and restore outfits, drums, portable shrines, and floats.[93]

Additionally, funds from the Stradivarius were used towards a project to replant groves and rebuild pathways to village shrines (Chinju no Mori Fukkatsu Purojekuto). Matsuri are often held at these sites, and furthermore, shrines serve as the core of the village for many of these communities. Some locals even wanted to prioritize the rebuilding of the village shrine before their own homes. The project aimed to replant groves around thirty different shrines by spring of 2015. The first shrine to be addressed

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[91] A complete timeline of the foundation's support until February 2015 can be seen here: http://matsuri-kikin.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/d1b43650a93358505c0bd093a8e10765.pdf.
[92] Reports about these troupes can be found here: http://matsuri-kikin.com/report.
[93] "Tohoku wo Fukkō e Michibiku: Road Purojekuto," The Nippon Foundation, October 1, 2012. http://www.nippon-foundation.or.jp/what/spotlight/tohoku_earthquake/story4/.

was the Yaegaki Shrine in Yamamoto town located in the Watari district of Miyagi prefecture.[94]

According to Fujinami Sachiko, the chief priest of the shrine, it was important to begin replanting the groves before rebuilding the shrine, because the forest cannot be rebuilt in a matter of one or two years, and because the forest is a resting place for the gods where they could comfortably dwell. A month or two after the disaster, people from temporary housing units started to visit the desolate site of the former shrine to pray. This made Fujinami realize that people do not pray for the shrine, but for the gods who congregate there. While a matsuri was not able to be held and only Shinto ritual prayers were recited on site the first year after the disaster, by the second year, the people insisted that a matsuri be held there. Although many people were still living in temporary housing units, they showed up to the matsuri, and despite having endured unfathomable hardships, there were smiles all around, and more importantly, the matsuri provided a reason for community members including children to reconvene.[95]

The power of matsuri, particularly in a post-disaster context, lies in their ability to bring people together, and to provide a space to showcase the region's folk performing arts and cultural assets, which were increasingly valued by the local people following 3.11. While the Tohoku region has always been known for their abundance and range of localized and commercialized folk performing arts and matsuri, 3.11 prompted vigorous efforts towards their revival and continuity. It is important to stress here the sheer

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[94] "Tohoku wo Fukkō e Michibiku: Road Purojekuto," The Nippon Foundation, October 1, 2012. http://www.nippon-foundation.or.jp/what/spotlight/tohoku_earthquake/story4/.

[95] Fujinami, Sachiko, Speech given at Ōsaki Hachimangu Evening of Gagaku event in Sendai on 13 August 2015. Thank you to Oshio Satomi for the notes from this event.

abundance and range of folk performing arts activities and matsuri that have taken place in disaster-affected areas since 3.11, and the wealth of on the ground data collection and scholarship that has been published in Japan to document these efforts. In fact, this topic alone is an area worthy of extensive research, particularly if produced in the English language.[96] With this in mind, I will present just two examples of post-3.11 matsuri in the following sections, which only provides a glimpse into the wide array of these types of activities.

**Fukushima's Festival of the Homeland (Furusato no Matsuri)**

In mid-1992, a law was passed by the Japanese Diet allowing the Ministry of Transportation to allocate funds so that localities can use their folk performing arts to revitalize tourism, commerce, and industry (Thornbury 1993:171). The Festival Law (Omatsuri Hō), as it is commonly referred to, was developed through suggestions by prefectural governors to market local festivals to travelers to support local businesses and economy. The law was sponsored by the Ministry of Transportation, the Ministry of Home Affairs, MITI (Ministry to International Trade and Industry),[97] the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, and the Ministry of Education (Thornbury 1997:68). According to Thornbury, "the first action taken in the name of the Festival Law was the establishment of the Folk Performing Arts Promotion Center (Chiiki Dentō Geinō

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[96] There is an abundance of reports about these types of activities written in Japanese. In addition to Hashimoto 2015, Hidaka 2012, Kaketa 2014, Tokyo Bunkazai Kenkyūsho Mukei Bunka Isanbu 2014, see the edited collection by Takakura and Takizawa 2014 for the state of folk performing arts in specific regions of Miyagi prefecture (Kesennuma, Minami Sanriku, Ishinomaki, Onagawa, Higashi Matsushima, Shichigahama, Tagajō, Sendai, Natori, Iwanuma, and Yamamoto), and Nakagawa 2013 (p. 173-195) for the role of folk performing arts in arts management and community rebuilding using Unotori Kagura in Fudai village as a case study.
[97] MITI was reorganized into METI (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry) by the 2001 Central Government Reform.

Katsuyō Sentā)” (ibid.:69), which is based in Tokyo and works to organize projects such as folk-culture festivals, award programs, and symposiums. Additionally, she notes that “unlike the Agency for Cultural Affairs, which is directly funded by the government, the center is set up as a foundation…mainly supported by contributions from the travel and tourism industry” (ibid.:69).

In 2012, Kaketa Hironori, chair of The Fukushima Research Group of the Society of Folkloric Performing Arts, worked with the Folk Performing Arts Promotion Center, the Kōriyama city, Fukushima city, and Aizuwakamatsu city Chambers of Commerce, and the Agency for Cultural Affairs to organize a two-day event called “Furusato[98] no Matsuri” (Festival of Our Homeland) on October 27 and 28, 2012, with its primary objective being to provide a performance space for disaster-affected folk performing troupes in Fukushima to showcase their progress, and to give these groups a reason to regularly convene and rehearse following the disaster. The event showcased performances by fifty-four performing groups from all throughout Fukushima as well as twelve “support groups” from other parts of Japan, a dragon dance troupe from Taiwan, and a fan dance troupe from Korea.[99] The event in 2012 was an extension to the National Festival of Folk Performing Arts (Chiiki Dentō Geinō Zenkoku Fesutibaru), which has been held annually in different prefectures throughout Japan since 1993 “…to bring

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[98] See chapter 1 for an extended discussion of furusato and nostalgia. Millie Creighton defines furusato as a “native place, hometown, or home village, [that] is most frequently symbolized by rustic rural scenery, even for those who were raised in large cities” (1997:241). Jennifer Robinson highlights the ways in which “the dominant representation of *furusato* is infused with nostalgia, a dissatisfaction with the present on the grounds of a remembered or imagined past plenitude” (1991:14), while Christine Yano (2002) describes furusato’s role as a focal point of nostalgia and memory in *enka* (Japanese sentimental ballads).

[99] A detailed report of the Furusato no Matsuri 2012 can be found here: http://furusato-matsuri-fukushima.com/2012/jigyouhoukokusyo.pdf.

together groups of performers and displays of local products—all with the aim of promoting tourism to localities" (Thornbury 1997:69). Furusato no Matsuri 2012 was unusual in that it was the first National Festival of Folk Performing Arts held simultaneously in two separate cities—Kōriyama and Aizuwakamatsu—both in Fukushima prefecture. Furthermore, the event featured an exceptionally large number of folk performing troupes from Fukushima because Kaketa and the other organizers wanted to make use of this event to showcase the progress of disaster-affected troupes in Fukushima and to give them a reason to regularly convene and rehearse following 3.11. Observing the impact this festival had on local practitioners, who were motivated and encouraged to resume their activities, Kaketa and the Fukushima prefectural government decided to annually continue Furusato no Matsuri in Fukushima prefecture separately from the National Festival of Folk Performing Arts, so that it could serve as a basis of motivation and community restoration for Fukushima residents. From 2013, the National Festival of Folk Performing Arts was renamed Festivals of Japan (Nihon no Matsuri), and continues to be held in cities throughout Japan in the same way as prior to the disaster with no special treatment of Tohoku's folk performing arts.

Kaketa writes that the people of Fukushima encountered a fourth obstacle in addition to damage from the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown. The fourth, and in some cases, most harmful obstacle is that of severe discrimination based on rumors about radioactive contamination (Kaketa 2014:2). Phobic assumptions that people from Fukushima were tainted and dangerous sometimes even to the extreme that simply coming into contact with somebody from Fukushima would result in "contracting

radiation" undoubtedly complicated relationships between dispersed evacuees and their abandoned hometowns. Furusato no Matsuri was developed in an effort to help these dispersed communities to rebuild pride for their hometown not necessarily in the form of a specific place, but in the shape of a supportive community with shared goals.

Furusato no Matsuri has been held annually since 2012 in Iwaki city (2013), Fukushima city (2014), Minami Sōma city (2015), and Shirakawa city (2016) all of which are within seventy miles from the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. Not only does the "proximity to the site of the accident make the topic of nuclear power extremely sensitive to address" (Manabe 2015:301), but furthermore, many participants and attendees were robbed of their hometown as a result of the nuclear meltdown, and the purpose of Furusato no Matsuri is not to voice anger, frustration, and discontent (though participants have surely felt these sentiments), but rather to regain a sense of normalcy and to rebuild a sense of community through appreciation for the local folk performing arts.

Although Furusato no Matsuri is an event that showcases the localized folk performing arts of Fukushima, my sense from attending the event in 2015 is that it faces inwards more than it does outwards. By that I mean that the primary objective of Furusato no Matsuri did not come across as promoting Fukushima tourism or to try to justify that Fukushima is a safe place to visit to outsiders,[100] but rather, more so to

[100] However, there were traces of these objectives at the event in 2015 perhaps in part because it was held in conjunction with a festival hosted by JA Fukushima (Fukushima prefecture's agricultural cooperative). Several vendors at the event sold Fukushima-grown produce, and there was also a booth run by the Ministry of the Environment where you could safely look at radiation rays under a magnifying glass.

encourage the people of Fukushima by supporting their artistic endeavors. Furthermore, the two-day event, which featured twenty rather specialized troupes introduced with very detailed explanations about each tradition's history and current status, seemed to be primarily geared towards audience members with a predisposed interest in folk performing arts.

The performances at Furusato no Matsuri 2015 were held on an outdoor stage that was built for the event in a parking lot of a shopping center in Haranomachi, Minami Sōma. The opening ceremony, which only lasted around six-minutes, was concise and to the point unlike opening ceremonies of more commercialized matsuri such as the Rokkonsai (presented below).

Figure 2.2 Furusato no Matsuri 2015 Opening Ceremony. Kaketa Hironori (left) and co-announcer Katō Kanta backed by Fukushima *yuru-kyara* characters Kibi-tan, Noma-tan, and Eco-tan. Photo by author.

Backed by three *yuru-kyara* mascot characters (who had a separate time slot in the event to entertain the children in attendance), the announcer, a radio broadcaster from FM Fukushima, stated that twenty of Fukushima's folk performing troupes will be presented over the next two days, then introduced the president of the Furusato no Matsuri preparation committee and main master of ceremonies, Kaketa Hironori, to the audience. The announcer proceeded to state, "over the next two days, we are not only going to measure and observe the progress of these troupes, but we will hopefully bring solace to those of you in the audience, the performers, and widely speaking, those who are still living in temporary arrangements, and everyone in Fukushima prefecture, and hopefully help provide a stepping stone towards recovery. We'd like to build affective ties with all of you over the next two days by enjoying the folk performing arts together."[101] In the opening statement, the announcer operationalizes Fukushima's folk performing troupes as a basis for community attachment. Performers, audience members, and displaced evacuees should be moved by the performances, feeling the power of folk performing arts as sutures that bind Fukushima's dispersed communities together. Sara Ahmed writes that "emotions are not only about movement, they are also about attachments or about what connects us to this or that…What moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling place" (2004:11). For many of the performers featured in Furusato no Matsuri, participation in a folk performing troupe has come to serve as a substitute dwelling place, connecting people who have lost their hometowns, and any other continual reason to sustain attachments to each other.

[101] Opening ceremony (quote is at 1:21): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hx8LLhAQxhY.

The opening troupe was a *sanbiki shishimai* (three-lion dance) troupe from Ōnami town in Fukushima city. In introducing the troupe, Kaketa informatively explained how "in Fukushima prefecture, there are troupes with three, four, and five *shishi* in over 250 areas. In the Nakadōri and Aizu regions, all the troupes have three shishi because that is the old arrangement. In the Sōma region, the troupes have four or five shishi, so people from those regions probably did not have the opportunity to see this type of three shishi arrangement. There is one female shishi and two male shishi, so the set up is very much like a melodrama where the two males fight to win the female. Unfortunately, Ōnami has a high level of radiation, so all the children have been dispersed from the town, and we only have two shishi in today's performance." Kaketa then proceeded to explain where Ōnami is geographically located referencing landmarks that only local people would probably understand, then announced that traditionally the sanbiki shishimai and an *onimai* (ogre dance) are performed in mid-October at Sumiyoshi Shrine, but that there is only time for the shishimai today.[102]

Following each performance, Kaketa interviewed the performers on stage. Through the interview, we found out that Ōnami's sanbiki shishimai is designated as an intangible cultural property by Fukushima city. There were about forty students at Ōnami Elementary School prior to the disaster, but in 2014, there was only one student remaining at the school, and in 2015, the school population went down to zero and the school had been closed. Kaketa handed the microphone to the president of Ōnami sanbiki shishimai's preservation society who stated, "there are very few children left in our town,

[102] Ōnami Sumiyoshi no Sanbiki Shishimai Introduction and Performance: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W4XTF0hhFR0.

and we are just barely able to have these two children perform the shishi. So we are really thinking hard and carefully considering how we are going to continue to transmit this tradition." Kaketa then asked the two shishi to unveil themselves from under their masks. One was a girl in the fifth grade, and the other was also a girl who was only in the second grade. Kaketa stated, "shishi are normally performed by males, and prior to the disaster, it was unfathomable to have females perform these roles, but the preservation society president was firm in stating that if they did not bend the rules, the tradition would die out. It's in these ways that our world continues to change."[103]

Figure 2.3 Kaketa Hironori interviewing a young *shishi* dancer after her performance at Furusato no Matsuri 2015. The Ōnami sanbiki shishimai preservation society president (right) tells the audience that because there are very few children remaining in Ōnami, the society is carefully considering how they will continue to transmit the tradition. Photo by author.

[103] Ōnami Sumiyoshi no Sanbiki Shishimai Post-Performance Interview: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DvfaEK--PSQ.

Michael Dylan Foster writes about how a 2009 UNESCO intangible cultural heritage designation of a New Year's Eve ritual called Toshidon on the island of Shimo-Koshikijima has affected the ways that the local community perceives and performs it. To demonstrate an openness to change, one neighborhood changed the tradition where instead of the children receiving mochi rice cakes on their backs, they now receive them on a tray to distinguish this tradition from others in neighboring towns. Foster argues that their flexibility fits within what economic philosopher Tateoka Yasuo terms a "process paradigm" wherein "…the islanders express a willingness to modify their activities (and the meaning they give to their activities) for the particular demands of the particular moment" (Foster 2011:85). Similarly, Ōnami sanbiki shishimai's modifications challenge assumptions that tradition is defined by continuity, and instead demonstrate that a commitment to flexibility is often what keeps traditions alive and relevant to meet changing needs and demands.

Kaketa carefully introduced each troupe, then interviewed the performers afterwards to give audience members a rather clear sense of the importance of these traditions to the troupes as well as their struggles in trying to sustain their activities. One cultural bearer who resumed her troupe's activities just four months after 3.11 stated that at the time, she thought the troupe would never be able to dance again, but she felt a strong responsibility to ensure the continuation of what her forebearers worked so tirelessly to sustain. She expressed gratitude and appreciation for the opportunity to perform at this event near their hometown, which motivates the troupe to continue their efforts. Holding this event in Fukushima prefecture is particularly vital for participating

troupes to work to maintain ties with the communities that they were forced to leave behind. In fact, Kaketa hand selects the troupes that are featured in Furusato no Matsuri every year. A look at the troupes featured in Furusato no Matsuri 2015 demonstrates that they come from a range of areas throughout Fukushima prefecture:

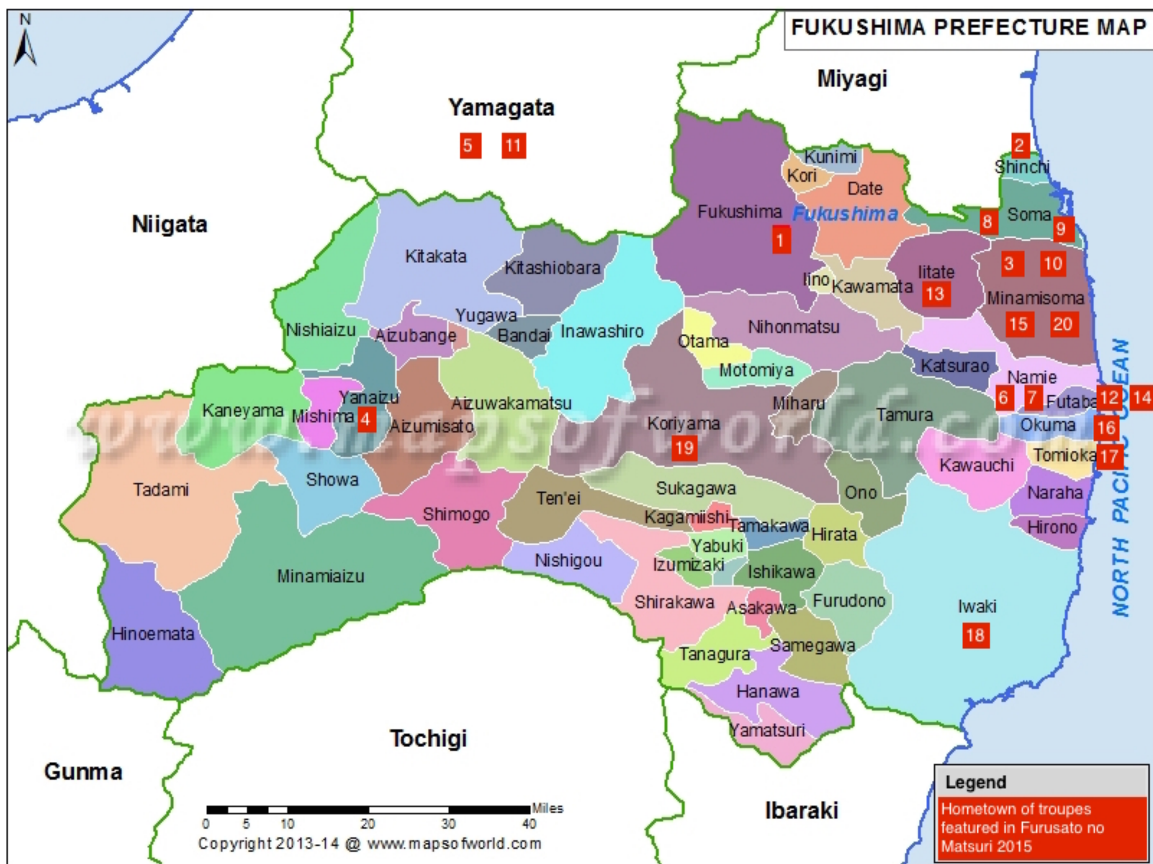

Figure 2.4 Map of Fukushima prefecture marked with the hometowns of troupes featured in Furusato no Matsuri 2015. Map from http://www.mapsofworld.com/japan/prefectures/fukushima.html.

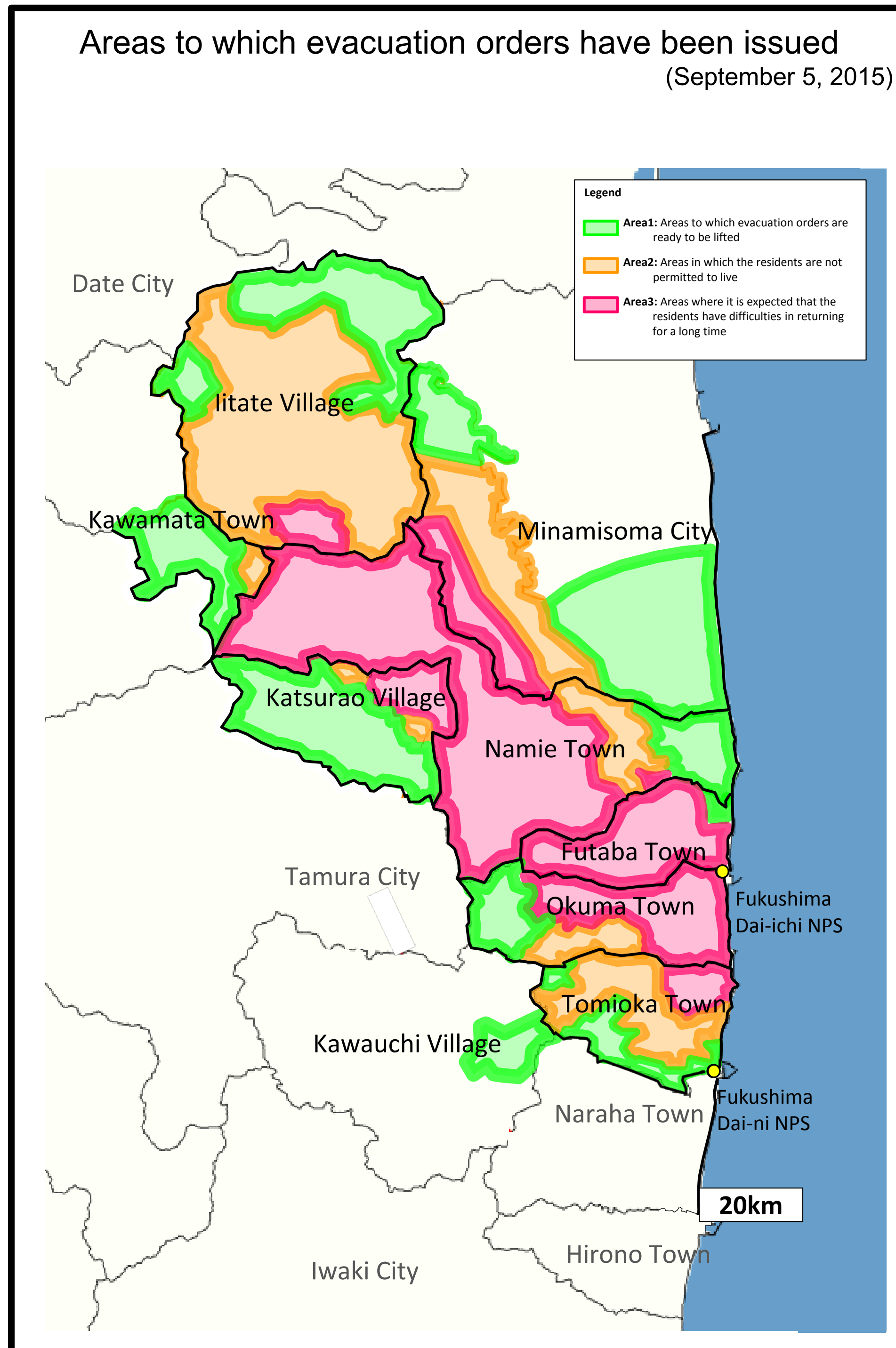


Figure 2.5 Map by the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry on the status of areas where evacuation orders were issued due to threats of radiation as of September 5, 2015 (roughly two months before Furusato no Matsuri on October 31 and November 1, 2015). Map from http://www.meti.go.jp/english/earthquake/nuclear/roadmap/pdf/150905MapOfAreas.pdf.

1. 大波住吉神社の三匹獅子舞ならびに鬼舞 (福島市)
   Ōnami Sumiyoshi Shrine Three Shishimai Lineup and Onimai (Fukushima city)

2. 高田神楽 (新地町)
   Takada Kagura (Shinchi town)

3. 北萱浜の天狗舞(南相馬市)
   Kitakaihama Tengu Mai (Minami Sōma city)

4. 柳津の大神楽(柳津町)
   Yanaizu Daikagura (Yanaizu town)

5. 花笠踊り(山形県)
   Hanagasa Odori (Yamagata prefecture)

6. 川添の神楽(浪江町)
   Kawazoe Kagura (Namie town)

7. 請戸の田植踊(浪江町)
   Ukedo Taue Odori (Namie town)

8. よさこい(相馬市)
   Yosakoi (Sōma city)

9. 原釜の神楽(相馬市)
   Haragama Kagura (Sōma city)

10. 下町子供手踊(南相馬市)
    Shimomachi Children's Teodori (Minami Sōma city)

11. 阿波おどり(福島県・山形県)
    Awa Odori (Fukushima prefecture and Yamagata prefecture)

12. 新山の神楽(双葉町)
    Shinzan Kagura (Futaba town)

13. 比曽の三匹獅子舞(飯舘村)
    Hiso Three Shishimai (Iitate village)

14. 前沢女宝財踊(双葉町)
    Maesawa Women's Hōsai Odori (Futaba town)

15. 鹿島御子神社の大蛇神楽(南相馬市)
Kashima Mikoshi Shrine Orochi Kagura (Minami Sōma city)

16. 熊川稚児鹿舞(大熊町)
Kumagawa Chigo Shishimai (Ōkuma town)

17. 上手岡麓山神社の神楽(富岡町)
Kamiteoka Hayama Shrine Kagura (Tomioka town)

18. 上平子供じゃんがら(いわき市)
Uwataira Children's Jangara (Iwaki city)

19. 豊景神社の太々神楽(郡山市)
Toyokage Shrine Daidai Kagura (Kōriyama city)

20. 村上の田植踊(南相馬市)
Murakami Taue Odori (Minami Sōma city)

Two troupes on the list (#5 and #11), however, attract attention because they are from Yamagata prefecture, which is Fukushima prefecture's neighbor to the northwest. Furthermore, the Awa Odori, which was a collaboration between Fukushima and Yamagata performers closed the first day, and Yamagata's Hanagasa Odori was the closing act on the second day. Why would troupes from Yamagata be so prominently featured at an event that is supposedly meant to support and showcase troupes from Fukushima? One plausible speculation is that inviting troupes from Yamagata, which was minimally affected by 3.11, but known for welcoming a number of evacuees from Fukushima, serves as a way of expressing gratitude for their support. The inclusion of troupes from Yamagata may have been a requirement stipulated by the Fukushima Chamber of Commerce or some other higher power, and was likely out of Kaketa's hands. Prior to their performance of the Hanagasa Odori, the leader of the troupe stated that the

Hanagasa Odori should not be regarded as regionally separate from Fukushima, and that they are here to share their dancing to bring happiness to the people of Fukushima.[104]

Nonetheless, similar to the Project Fukushima Festival[105] first held on August 15, 2011 in the prefectural capital of Fukushima city, the main purpose of Furusato no Matsuri is also to "support the people of Fukushima, who were 'tormented by the sense of being victimized' from not only the earthquake and tsunami but also rumors about radiation, and help them find a path to recovery" (Manabe 2015:84), and avoids directly articulating an antinuclear stance. Although Furusato no Matsuri takes place in Fukushima, antinuclear discourse is not a priority at this event as organizers and especially participants are more focused on regaining a sense of continuity in the wake of a catastrophic rupture by working to recover the state of the way the folk performing arts used to be prior to the nuclear crisis. Philip Bohlman describes endism as "a product of an anxiety about encounter…[that] manifests itself as a fear for the unknown that lies ahead" (Bohlman 2002:6). These performing groups are encountering a myriad of uncertainties including where they will resettle both temporarily and permanently, how

[104] See chapter 3 for a discussion about the ways that musical performances are utilized by outsiders to support "disaster victims."

[105] See Manabe (2015) and Novak (2017) for detailed discussions about this festival, which was founded by noise musician Ōtomo Yoshihide, who grew up in Fukushima city in collaboration with punk rocker Endō Michirō and poet Wagō Ryōichi who are both natives of Fukushima, and has been held annually on August 15 since 2011. The Project Fukushima Festival was developed to encourage the people of Fukushima and help them to recover psychologically and to give non-Fukushima residents a reason to visit Fukushima. I attended the event in 2015, and an attendee I spoke to there mentioned how the event has become less and less political and more lighthearted and celebratory every year, and that the project is about supporting Fukushima, thus the organizers actively avoid saying anything antinuclear. The event was highly participatory as original bon-odori dance moves were set to pre-existing songs such as "Sōma Bon Uta" as well as original songs such as "Ee ja nai ka Ondo" (Who Cares, It's Alright Ondo), and "Jimoto ni Kaerō Ondo" (Let's Return to Our Hometown Ondo).

they could at the very least keep their immediate family together, and whether they will ever be able to return to their hometown. Indeed, immediate livelihood is taking priority over long-term biological life for these communities. The revival of folk performing arts did not come after livelihood, but rather, the folk performing arts remains a necessary component for folk performing troupes in Fukushima to rebuild their livelihood. In order to rebuild their livelihood, folk performing troupes are working to reclaim their identity by directing their focus on more immediate issues such as bringing dispersed members together and restoring their activities. My impression is that these communities do not openly express antinuclear sentiments because they do not want the nuclear issue to define who they are. Localized matsuri and folk performing arts are a powerful mechanism for recovery and community building, especially in severely disaster-affected areas, because they provide groups with attainable goals to work towards, and a reason to convene and interact regularly during this period of continued uncertainty. Furusato no Matsuri has come to serve as a basis of motivation for folk performing troupes in post-3.11 Fukushima to regularly convene and practice for the event. It not only serves as a venue for troupes to showcase their progress, but perhaps more importantly, a reason for troupes to continue to practice and to carry on their traditions to the next generation.[106]

[106] Hayashi Isao writes that the Sasazaki Shishiodori Association in Ōfunato, Iwate has started to instruct local middle school students in cooperation with local schools to develop their interest in local folk performing arts (2012:82). Another notable troupe is Ōmuro Nanbu Kagura in Ishinomaki, Miyagi, where one year after 3.11, ex-members of its children's kagura group, who are mostly in their thirties, expressed interest in reviving their practices and performances to the older generation. Following the young adults' initiation, the troupe applied for grants to purchase instruments and masks, made costumes by themselves, and successfully held a performance in May 2013. The children's kagura group has been newly restored through instruction given to the children of the ex-members who expressed an interest in learning kagura after observing their parents' enthusiasm to continue the tradition.

**The Tohoku Rokkonsai: A Matsuri About Economic Livelihood**

A prominent post-3.11 matsuri that has developed in the Tohoku area is the Tohoku Rokkonsai (Six-Soul Festival), which was first held in Sendai on July 16 and 17, 2011 (just four months after 3.11). The Rokkonsai is a collaboration between six major matsuri representing the six prefectural capitals of Tohoku (Aomori Nebuta, Akita Kantō, Morioka Sansa, Yamagata Hanagasa, Sendai Tanabata, and Fukushima Waraji) where representatives annually converge in one location, and put on a massive parade in an attempt to boost morale, demonstrate ideas about affective ties (kizuna), and raise hope for what they call "a new Tohoku." While these messages (albeit somewhat superficially) are evident at the event, the main objective of the Rokkonsai is to draw in tourists to boost the economies of the six prefectural capitals of Tohoku.

The six representative matsuri in the Rokkonsai have served as touristic commodities since prior to 3.11 by annually drawing in both local and international tourists to come observe and participate in the spectacular festivities. They are generally well known throughout Japan not as much for their historical relevance and importance to each respective region, but rather for their grandeur and liveliness. In his discussion of the Toshidon ritual's UNESCO designation, Michael Dylan Foster notes how the designation was valuable in branding and advertising the locale, even though it did not really affect the day-to-day lives of the locals since outside visitors were still sparse due to obstacles such as frequently cancelled ferries to the island (2015:227). However, the label of UNESCO alone is believed by some locals to elevate and validate Toshidon's exclusivity and value (ibid.:229). Despite having rather long histories, designation as

intangible cultural heritage is often what validates the worthiness of matsuri to tourists and visitors, demonstrating the top-down bureaucratization of matsuri as touristic commodities.

Each matsuri featured in the Rokkonsai is a prominent summer festival held annually during the first week of August and organized by the Chamber of Commerce of each prefectural capital that draws in hundreds of thousands (in some cases millions!) of local and visiting spectators every year. The Aomori Nebuta, perhaps the most famous of the six, is held between August 2-7 and features massive, illuminated paper floats of human and non-human figures from history and mythology that are drawn along a 3.1 km course accompanied by *fue* (bamboo flute) players, percussionists (*taiko* drums and *chappa* cymbals), and bouncing *haneto* dancers. Though the exact origin of the Nebuta is unclear, it is a pre-harvest festival believed to have originated in efforts to ward off the spirits of sleep (Johnson 2006: 81-82), and was designated as a national intangible folk cultural property in 1980. The Akita Kantō is held from August 3-7 and features fifteen-meter tall bamboo poles adorned with paper lanterns that are balanced on the palms, foreheads, shoulders, and lower backs of the celebrants who are accompanied and encouraged by fue and taiko players. The first mention of the Kantō in literature was in Tsumura Soan's "Yuki no Furu Michi" (*The Road Where the Snow Falls*) written in 1789 with its purpose to drive away disease and pray for good harvest.[107] Similar to the Nebuta, the Kantō was also designated as a national intangible cultural heritage in 1980. The Morioka Sansa is held from August 1-4 and features over 10,000 dancers, fue players,

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[107] "Various opinions about the beginnings ando [*sic*] original form of the Kanto." Akita Kantō Executive Committee. http://www.kantou.gr.jp/english/beginnings.htm.

and taiko drummers (the taiko are strapped to the front of each celebrant) who march while performing synchronized choreography down the streets. Compared to the others, the Sansa festival is fairly new as it was established in 1978, and is based on the "Mitsuishi Legend" where it is said that a demon terrorized the old castle town of Morioka, and responding to prayers, a deity caught the demon and made him leave a handprint on a rock in front of Mitsuishi Shrine in a promise to never bother the people again, to which the locals rejoiced and performed the sansa dance.[108] The Morioka Sansa was designated as a prefectural intangible cultural heritage in 1991,[109] and boasts obtaining the Guinness World Record in 2007 for the world's largest concurrent performance of taiko drums. The Yamagata Hanagasa is held from August 5-7 and features dancers skillfully twirling and waving straw hats adorned with red flowers, who dance in unison to a recording of "Hanagasa Ondo," a min'yō folk song, and live taiko drumming. The Hanagasa festival was originally part of the Zao Summer Festival, and became its own separate event in 1965.[110] The Sendai Tanabata[111] is held from August 6-8 where shopping malls and streets throughout the city are lined with large, colorful paper streamer decorations hanging from ornamental balls (*kusudama*) hung on strips of bamboo to symbolize good fortune. Although this festival dates back to the early Edo

[108] "Sansa Odori Festival." Morioka Sansa Odori Festival Organizing Committee. http://www.sansaodori.jp/pdf/pamphlet_english.pdf.
[109] "Morioka Sansa Odori." Cultural Heritage Online, the Agency for Cultural Affairs. http://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/281820.
[110] "Yamagata Hangasa Odori no Yurai." Yamagata-ken Hanagasa Kyōgi Kai. http://www.hanagasa.jp/html/history.html.
[111] *Tanabata* means the seventh day of the 7th month on the lunar calendar, and is generally a Japanese star festival that celebrates the meeting of the deities Orihime and Hikoboshi. On August 7 on the Western calendar, Japanese people write wishes on colorful pieces of paper and hang them on bamboo.

period and draws in many tourists to Sendai every year, music and dance are not a primary feature of this festival. Thus, in the Rokkonsai parade, the Sendai Tanabata is represented by *suzume odori* (sparrow dance), a fan dance imitating the movements of sparrows accompanied by fue, taiko, and chappa, which is the main feature of the Aoba Matsuri, held annually in May. Although the sparrow dance and Aoba Matsuri date back to the Edo period, they were officially revived in 1985 after a long hiatus to commemorate the 350th anniversary of Date Masamune's (feudal lord of Sendai) death.[112] The Fukushima Waraji is held on the first weekend of August and features massive straw sandals roughly 12 meters in length, that are carried and spun by groups of people to wish for good health (literally, able feet *kenkyaku*). The Fukushima Waraji is derived from the Akatsuki Mairi, which dates back to the Edo period, but officially started in 1970.[113] The straw sandals are accompanied by dancers performing a choreographed dance to "Waraji Ondo," a folk song composed in 1970.

The Rokkonsai came about when the mayor of Aomori, Shikanai Hiroshi, told the mayor of Sendai, Okuyama Emiko, that he would bring the Aomori Nebuta Festival to Sendai to help boost morale. The Chambers of Commerce had departments for prefectural matsuri, and there was a Tohoku matsuri network prior to 3.11, but following the mayor of Aomori's lead, the idea came about to have all six matsuri from each prefectural capital in Tohoku convene in one location, which would provide an even stronger basis for a Tohoku network (i.e. boosting market economy and touristic appeal).

[112] "Sendai Aoba Matsuri to wa." Sendai Aoba Matsuri Kyōsan Kai. https://www.aoba-matsuri.com/kikaku/archives/56/.
[113] "Waraji Matsuri Yurai ni Tsuite." Fukushima Waraji Matsuri Jikkōiin Kai. http://www.fmcnet.co.jp/waraji/yurai.html

Backed by Kabushiki-gaisha Dentsū, one of the largest international advertising and public relations companies in Japan, which gathered all the sponsors and managed all the PR, the first Rokkonsai in Sendai in May 2011 gathered an astounding crowd of roughly 370,000 people (approximately ten times more than Furusato no Matsuri 2012).

According to Shiraishi Yū, a member of the Rokkonsai Sendai Tanabata Preparation Committee, whom I interviewed at the Sendai Chamber of Commerce office, Tohoku was hurting economically after the disaster, and the six Chambers of Commerce of the Tohoku prefectural capitals strove to find a means to boost morale for people in affected areas, and more importantly, to show the world that people in Tohoku are still alive and thriving in contrast to news footage, which made it seem that all of Tohoku was entirely decimated. Preparations for the first Rokkonsai in Sendai started in May 2011, which means it was ambitiously planned within just two months. The first Rokkonsai resulted in absolute chaos, however, as far more people came than anticipated that the festivities ended early on the second day, leaving planners and participants with mixed feelings about the extent to which this event was a success.[114] The massive amount of spectators could be attributed to a couple of reasons: 1. The power of Kabushiki-gaisha Dentsū's PR, and 2. Attendees were probably not only attracted to the convenience and grandeur of being able to see multiple major matsuri in one location, but also felt that attending this event would fulfill a sense of moral obligation as a way to show support for disaster victims.

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[114] Shiraishi, Yū, Interview, 15 May 15 2015.

Since 2011, the Rokkonsai has been held annually in a different prefecture in Tohoku each year (Morioka city 2012, Fukushima city 2013, Yamagata city 2014, Akita city 2015), and in 2016, it was held in the final prefecture of the six, Aomori city. In late January of 2016, the official dates of the Aomori Rokkonsai (June 25 and 26) were announced alongside rumors that Aomori might be the last Rokkonsai and that the festival would not proceed to make a second round around the six prefectures.[115] This was most likely a marketing strategy to lure in more attendees, and in fact, I was not informed about the decision to continue the event or not until I attended the Rokkonsai in Aomori and heard the announcement at the closing ceremony. I attended the Rokkonsai Akita 2015 and Aomori 2016, and the two events were uncannily similar in terms of setup, scheduling, and the content of the speeches and performances. In fact, going back though my footage and documentation of the two events, I sometimes found it difficult to distinguish which year's footage I was looking at even though they were held in different cities. The consistency of the Rokkonsai from year to year demonstrates how the event bureaucratically and formulaically constructs its image of a unified and steadfast Tohoku. There is no room for change because the participating governmental representatives and organizations seem to be set on "what works" to market Tohoku's recovery to tourists and visitors.

In both years, the Rokkonsai began with a brief twenty-minute display of *matsuri-bayashi*[116] (ensemble music played at matsuri) of the hosting city followed by a thirty-

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[115] "Tohoku Rokkonsai: Rokken ichijun kotoshi de saigo?" *Kahoku Shimpō*, January 30, 2016: http://www.kahoku.co.jp/tohokunews/201601/20160130_23019.html.
[116] For the effects of urbanization on *matsuri-bayashi*, see Fujie 1983.

minute formal opening ceremony. In the following section, I will describe my ethnographic footage of the 2016 opening ceremony in Aomori with timestamps that correspond to this video[117] to help clarify the ways that politics and bureaucracy are woven into overstated messages of hope and unity.

(0:00) The opening ceremony begins with a thirty second drumroll opening on the drum of hope (a taiko drum with a surface covered in words of encouragement written by people within and beyond disaster-affected areas described in detail in chapter 5).

(0:35) Announcer: "The March 11, 2011 disaster brought about unprecedented damage to the Tohoku region and we lost a number of lives. The earthquake in April of this year brought about great damage to Kumamoto and the Kyūshū region. Many lives were stolen in this disaster as well. We'd like to have a moment of silence now for all the victims who lost their lives in the 3.11 and Kumamoto earthquake disasters. Everyone please stand for a moment of silence."

(2:12) Announcer: "Please be seated. Once again, good morning everyone. The Tohoku Rokkonsai 2016 Aomori is finally starting. Combining the powers to the six prefectural capitals of Tohoku, the Tohoku Rokkonsai was born in 2011 as a requiem (*chinkon*) for the deceased and to pray for Tohoku's recovery. Six major matsuri of the Tohoku region convene in one place, and starting out in 2011 in Sendai city, the Rokkonsai was held in Morioka city (2012), Fukushima city (2013), Yamagata city (2014), and last year, in Akita city (2015). This year, we're able to hold the sixth Rokkonsai in Aomori city." (mayors and matsuri committee heads [representatives of

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[117] Tohoku Rokkonsai Aomori 2016 Opening Ceremony: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jnR1kRmH1dI.

Chambers of Commerce] of each city are on the stage). “After circling all six prefectures, this year’s slogan is ‘leaping towards the future, Tohoku’s soul’ (*mirai e haneyo: Tohoku no tamashii*). The six souls of the six matsuri in Tohoku have convened here in Aomori to express gratitude for everyone’s support up to this point, and to strengthen Tohoku for the future.”

(4:12) Message from Mayor Shikanai Hiroshi, head of the Tohoku Rokkonsai Preparation Committee and Mayor of Aomori city: “Good morning. On behalf of the 300,000 residents of Aomori city, we’d like to welcome all of you here today. I’d like to express from the bottom of my heart, my gratitude to the Rokkonsai Preparation Committee, and to everyone in Tohoku’s six prefectures…” (5:50) “We just paid tribute to those who lost their lives in the Kumamoto earthquake. I hope that Kyūshū and Tohoku will join forces on the road to recovery…” (7:03) “In addition to the original six matsuri, this year’s parade will be led by a special guest, the Hachinohe Sansha Taisai from Hachinohe region, the region in Aomori most affected by the 3.11 tsunami. With thoughts of uniting Tohoku as one, we are going to put in our best effort over the next two days. Thank you very much.”

(7:35) Introductions of Tohoku Rokkonsai preparation committee members in attendance (mayors of the prefectures, representatives of Chambers of Commerce)

(10:40) Welcome message from the Aomori Tourist Organization Chair thanking people for their support to make this year’s event possible and presenting a few of Aomori’s local specialties and an upcoming Aomori destination campaign.

(13:40) Introduction of Tokyo's 23-ward chief special organization (Tokubetsu Kuchō Kai), which provides support for the Rokkonsai through the nationwide collaboration project (Zenkoku Renkei Project). [118] Representatives in attendance include organization president Nishikawa Taiichirō of Arakawa ward, vice president Takei Masaaki of Minato ward, vice president Sakamoto Takeshi of Itabashi ward, and Tanaka Taisuke of Nakano ward.

(14:27) Mayor of Arakawa ward, Nishikawa Taiichirō: "Congratulations to the people of Aomori on this wonderful opening ceremony on this gorgeous day. We represent the 9,300,000 residents of the 23 wards in Tokyo, and thanks to the friendship between Aomori city mayor Shikanai and Nakano ward mayor Tanaka, last year, we participated in the Akita Kantō and had it featured in Tokyo as well. I'd like to promise a win-win situation here between the people in Tohoku and Tokyo. We've advertised and sold many wonderful products from Aomori in our 23 wards with the hopes that people will remember and think about Aomori. The Aomori prefectural association (*kenjinkai*) is very strong in my ward, Arakawa. I think there are many people in Tokyo who helped with the growth and progress of our city who are excited about the Nebuta. To finish, I am the one and only Tokyo ward chief who has participated in the Nebuta here in Aomori when I was younger! I pray for success and that the relationship between us and Mayor Shikanai and all the mayors of Aomori prefecture will continue to prosper. To the people

[118] The Nationwide Collaboration Project is a support network to boost economy between the 23 wards of Tokyo and municipalities throughout Japan. Their website suggests that through cooperative efforts, industry, tourism, culture, and sports of municipalities throughout Japan can be boosted in cooperation with the 23-ward chief special organization: http://collabo.tokyo-23city.or.jp/project/.

of Aomori, please support our efforts to strengthen our relationship between Aomori and the 23 wards of Tokyo."

(18:50): Takahashi Takuya (b. 1999 calligraphy genius from Kurihara, Miyagi currently in Morioka, Iwate) is introduced. He has written the representative *kanji* character for the Rokkonsai since 2011. The characters include *Inori* (2011), *Kibō (ki)* (2012), *Fuku* (2013), *Okiru* (2014), *Kagayaku* (2015).

(21:15) Senrai (taiko and shamisen troupe from Sendai discussed in chapter 5) begins drumming as the 2016 calligraphy character (*Haneru*) is brought out by a group of children and Rokkun, Rokkonsai's *yuru-kyara* mascot character.

(22:38) Rokkun is introduced. His design is representative of Tohoku's warm soul (flame-shaped head). "It is believed that good fortune will come to those who can meet Rokkun. Please approach him if you see him around the venue during this two-day event."

(23:36) Drum of Hope is introduced. "This drum has been played in disaster-affected areas to encourage and bring hope to disaster victims. Those people wrote messages on the drum. It has been present at every Rokkonsai to date. Senrai will be performing with this instrument. The shamisen and taiko they are using are made out of recycled disaster debris. We'd now like to declare the official opening of Rokkonsai 2016."

(24:24): Declaration of 2016 Rokkonsai opening by Wagai Keiichirō (Chair of the Aomori Rokkonsai preparation committee and President of Aomori city's Chamber of Commerce). "The weather has been temperamental over the past few days, but everyone's determination to see to it that this year's Rokkonsai runs smoothly has cleared

the sky. The Rokkonsai has come to Aomori to complete the circle around Tohoku's six prefectures. Over the next two days, let's join together and show how well Tohoku is doing to the rest of the nation! Rokkonsai 2016 is now officially opened!"

(25:52): Senrai plays one of their original songs, "Daichi no Uta."

This thirty-minute opening ceremony is a whirlwind of political values and references where -- after briefly acknowledging and paying tribute to those who lost their lives in the 3.11 and Kumamoto disasters -- the subject matter quickly transitions to touristic campaigns, reports about Tokyo's substantial financial support towards Tohoku and politically-ridden promises for a win-win relationship between the two regions, and vaguely optimistic messages about vivaciously uniting the people of Tohoku as one through the Rokkonsai. The opening ceremony makes it clear that the Rokkonsai is more about demonstrating Tohoku's vitality and touristic appeal than it is about memorializing the disaster or supporting disaster survivors in peripheral regions of Tohoku. It definitely does not have supporting localized folk performing arts in disaster-affected areas in its agenda. Instead, the six major matsuri of Tohoku's prefectural capitals are mobilized to symbolize a united Tohoku.

There is absolutely no doubt that 3.11 left not only Tohoku, but Japan in a state of deepened precarity. Anthropologist Anne Allison writes that

> Precarity references a particular notion of, and social contract around, work. Work that is secure; work that secures not only income and job but identity and lifestyle, linking capitalism and intimacy in an affective desire for security itself (Berlant 2011). Precarity marks the loss of this—the loss of something that only certain countries, at certain historical periods, and certain workers ever had in the first place (2013:7).

The opening ceremony exposes post-3.11 precarity wherein the prefectural capitals (read: economic centers) of Tohoku in collaboration with each other and with Tokyo, the economic powerhouse of Japan, are determinedly trying to repair the loss of any prior security in socioeconomic relations to work towards financial recovery in response to a deepened sense of vulnerability for people across the nation. This is done through the exchange and selling of goods and services gained through touristic promotions, and through symbolic demonstrations of unity most elaborately displayed in the grand parade where the six major matsuri are literally merged together in a single production. The Rokkonsai addresses issues of economic security, undoubtedly a vital and indispensable component of post-3.11 precarity, but it fails to substantially recognize the precarity of identity and lifestyle amongst disaster-affected communities in coastal Tohoku. While the Rokkonsai aims to repair Tohoku's economic security, it also emphasizes how disaster-affected communities in coastal Tohoku, many of whom were already living in regions that were economically depressed in comparison to the prefectural capitals, are excluded from these efforts. Communities in the coastal areas were never secure to begin with, and are therefore peripheral to the security that the Rokkonsai strives to restore. This is a point on which the Rokkonsai takes a substantially different approach to disaster relief from efforts by organizations such as the Agency for Cultural Affairs and Furusato no Matsuri, which focus on support towards the revival of localized folk performing arts to suture localized identification. Nonetheless, economic recovery in Tohoku's prefectural capitals is also a priority, and an economic boost in these regions could very well filter out into the coastal areas as well.

The Rokkonsai's primary objective is to promote tourism, and thus market growth, in Tohoku, putting it under what Donald Getz labels as "festival tourism" or "festivalization," which is "an over-commodification of festivals exploited by tourism and place marketers" (Getz 2010:5). The segment of the Rokkonsai that demonstrates this most explicitly is the "Tohoku Six Matsuri Stage," which follows the opening ceremony on the main festival stage.[119] The "Tohoku Six Matsuri Stage" is a one-hour segment where the mayor and team of promoters of each prefecture is allowed ten minutes to give a "pitch" about the touristic appeals of their prefecture. In comparing the Rokkonsai 2015 and 2016, the pitches during this segment were remarkably similar and formulaic (not just amongst each other, but also from year to year) where the mayor walks out clad in a *hapi* coat (light cotton jacket) emblazoned with the name of her/his city/prefecture and/or representative matsuri, holding a lantern embellished with the name of the city, surrounded by an entourage of performers, a group of roughly five or six "Misses" (young and attractive women elected as prefectural campaigners) dressed in vibrant dresses or *kimono*, and costumed *yuru-kyara*[120] mascot characters.

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[119] In addition to the main stage, there is a secondary stage about a five to ten-minute walk away that simultaneously features local performing groups of the hosting prefecture (e.g., kagura, taiko, dance, and min'yō groups). These performances are not as well advertised and do not attract nearly as many audience members as the Tohoku Six Matsuri Stage and parades. There are also an abundance of food, souvenir, and tourist information booths distributed around both stage areas.

[120] *Yuru-kyara*, short for *yurui masukotto kyarakutā*, translates to "loose" or "wobbly" mascot characters. As Debra Occhi writes, "*yuru kyara* are symbols intended to invoke interest in, or desire for, an associated entity, location, or event" (2012:113). They are often present at events in *kigurumi* mode, that is, "…represented by humans wearing large, prefabricated costumes that obscured the wearer's natural shape and identity in favor of the representation of the *kyara*" (ibid.:122). Occhi also notes that *kyara* have been mobilized for their effect to relax the spirit and effect healing, particularly with children, in the aftermath of 3.11, and presents a project called Teotsunagō Daisakusen ("Project Holding Hands"), which "…has provided images of domestic

Figure 2.6 Fukushima city's Tohoku Six Matsuri Stage at Rokkonsai 2015 in Akita city. The mayor of Fukushima city, Kobayashi Kaoru (center), members of the Waraji Matsuri preparation committee, a line of "Miss Peach" campaigners dressed in bright pink dresses, dancers, and a costumed Momorin (Fukushima city's mascot character) wave enthusiastically at the audience. Photo by author.

For descriptive purposes, I will focus on my ethnographic footage of Fukushima city's segment in detail because it was the most emphatic of the six in response to the obvious pressures stemming from the nuclear meltdown. Please refer to this video[121] while following the translated transcription and time stamps.

(0:00) The pitch opens with six men dramatically chanting "*wasshoi*" (loosely translated as "heave-ho"), carrying a medium-sized straw sandal onto the stage to a recording of "Waraji Ondo," followed by the mayor of Fukushima city, Kobayashi Kaoru,

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and imported licensed characters holding hands for free download 'hoping to deliver smiles to everyone in Japan, from small children to all the adults fighting for survival in and also out of the disaster area.'" (ibid:111).

[121] Fukushima Matsuri Stage at Rokkonsai 2015 in Akita: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMUDLMqHnl8.

members of the Waraji Matsuri preparation committee, and a line of six "Miss Peach" campaigners dressed in bright pink dresses with matching berets, the last of whom is holding hands with a costumed Momorin, a dapper white rabbit character in a red vest and blue pants, who is Fukushima city's mascot character. Everyone waves enthusiastically at the audience.

(0:22) The announcer raises anticipation about a twelve-meter straw sandal weighing two tons that will be featured in the grand parade that evening and the following mid-day.

(1:00) Mayor Kobayashi speaks: "We've brought the Waraji Matsuri from Fukushima to all of you today. This Waraji Matsuri is based on a 300-year-old tradition held in February called the Akatsuki Mairi. This is a tradition not only about praying for good health, but also one where couples visit shrines in Mount Shinobu in the bitter cold. Legend has it that if they are able to make the visit together three-times, their wishes to remain together will come true. It's a very auspicious event. I hope that all of you will be able to come to Fukushima to join us in the Waraji Matsuri and Akatsuki Mairi. I wish I had participated in these events sooner (*laughs*). This year's Waraji Matsuri will be held on July 31 and August 1. This is exactly the season when Fukushima's famous peaches will be nice and ripe. Please come and visit Fukushima – it will bring the civilians of Fukushima city and Fukushima prefecture great happiness. We'll be waiting for you in Fukushima!"

(3:00) Announcer: "Fukushima is known for their fruits. Speaking of which, let's bring forward the lovely Miss Peaches! Miss Peach are a campaign crew selected to publicize Fukushima's fruits throughout Japan. Let's have each of them say a few words."

(3:36) Miss Peaches proceed to bow deeply. "My name is Suzuki Arisa and I am part of the Fukushima city Miss Peach campaign crew. We are a crew of twelve friends who promote not only Fukushima's fruits, but all that Fukushima has to offer to the rest of Japan." "My name is Takano Chieko. The Fukushima Waraji Matsuri consists of Waraji *odori* (dance), Dancing Soul the Night (troupes of hip-hop dancers who dance to a modernized hip-hop version of Waraji Ondo), and a twelve-meter, two-ton straw sandal that is carried around. This year's Matsuri will be held on July 31 and August 1. We'll be waiting for you!" (meanwhile, Momorin is busy frantically waving and swaying back and forth). "My name is Inaba Maki. I'd like to introduce the flowers of Fukushima. In the earthly paradise of Fukushima, it's possible to enjoy a variety of flowers that remain blooming for long periods of time. Fukushima has so much to offer such as the Spa Resort Hawaiians, which is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary this year, as well as the historical castle towns in the city of Aizuwakamatsu." "My name is Gotō Natsumi. I love Fukushima's peaches! Grown with lots of love, you can trust that Fukushima peaches are safe. These fruits, which are grown with strong hopes of Fukushima's recovery, are impressively delicious. Please come and taste them in Fukushima, the paradise of fruits!" "My name is Arai Chie. Fukushima city has an abundance of *onsen* hot springs. When your skin is nice and smooth after an onsen bath, how about indulging in some delicious, juicy *gyōza* dumplings?" "My name is Abe Tomoka. From this April to June, we're

holding a Fukushima destination campaign! We'll be welcoming you with hospitality and open arms. Please come to Fukushima (incorporates Fukushima dialect *kitekudasho*) to see and taste all that it has to offer!"

(6:20) Announcer: "Thank you. Did they convey some of the great things that Fukushima has to offer? Oh, and there also seems to be a cute character on stage." (Momorin proceeds to bounce up and down with hands on its face in slight embarrassment). Miss Peach: "Yes, this is Momorin, Fukushima city's *yuru-kyara*! Momorin is very popular." Announcer: "Fukushima is famous for its peaches as well as its apples. That's why its (Momorin's gender is left ambiguous) name is Momorin (momo=peach, ringo=apple). Please remember its name. It's easy to remember. Let's all call out to Momorin!" (Momorin bounces in delight).

(7:00) Announcer: "Now we'd like to demonstrate the Fukushima Waraji dance to all of you. This year, they're presenting a new version with dances to two songs. Until now, it has only been one song, but this year, there is going to be an outfit change in-between. During the dance, the Miss Peaches will be walking around the audience passing out Fukushima goods and shaking hands with audience members."

(7:53) The dancing proceeds in *ondo* style with female dancers in hapi coats performing simple choreographed movements in unison. The lyrics of the song are typical of a min'yō song boasting about the regional specialties that Fukushima has to offer. Meanwhile, Miss Peaches are passing out tablets of Momorin post-its to audience members.

(9:00) "Waraji Ondo," a folk song composed in 1970, suddenly breaks into a modernized hip-hop version of the song at which point the dancers rip off their hapi coats unveiling tight leotard outfits and break into hip-hop style dancing (Momorin is grooving out in the corner).

(10:20) Member of the Waraji Matsuri Preparation Committee: "In the parade, we'd like to show a Fukushima in good spirits by carrying a twelve-meter straw sandal and dancing. Please come and watch. To finish, Fukushima is currently holding a destination campaign. Please come and visit Fukushima. We are doing well in Fukushima. Let's finish by doing the *juppatsu-jime*[122] together. When I give the cue, clap ten time and raise your fist, while shouting 'yay!' We're going to burn up the parade with our energy! (proceeds to lead the juppatsu-jime) Thank you very much!"

This ten-minute pitch (as well as the five others that constitute the Tohoku Six Matsuri Stage) is heavily scripted, rehearsed, contrived, and cloyingly convivial. However, all the pitches are necessary attempts to redirect what sociologist John Urry famously theorizes as the "tourist gaze," or a set of expectations that are socially organized and systematized based on representations that tourists are fed and place on a given destination (Urry and Larsen 2011). These pitches are made to reassure its audience that the Tohoku region is not a decimated landfill as many national and global media representations have portrayed, but that it consists of unique destinations that are worthy of your visit (and more importantly, your financial investment). They paint rosy pictures

[122] *Juppatsu-jime* is a type of *tejime*, which is a Japanese custom of ceremonial hand clapping typically performed at the end of a special event to bring the occasion to a lively but also peaceful close.

of pleasurable experiences, while alluding to the impacts of 3.11, but only through reassurances and optimism (e.g., “you can trust that Fukushima peaches are safe,” and “we are doing well in Fukushima”).

Urry and Larsen argue that “performances of service are crucial for the tourist gaze” (ibid.:76). Service workers who have high face-to-face contact with tourists literally work under the tourist gaze and are thus vital to profit maximization. They must be master performers who can convince their audience that the luxurious products and services they promote are in fact necessary and worthwhile. In her study on the emotional work of flight attendants, Arlie Russell Hochschild argues that “*the emotional style of offering the service is part of the service itself*” (2003[1983]:5, [emphasis hers]). The style presented in the preceding segment is to commodify disaster recovery through staged exuberance and appeal that may be far removed from the inherent sentiments of the performing service workers. The performers involved in the Tohoku Six Matsuri Stage must partake in what Hochschild defines as “emotional labor,” which is labor that “requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others” (ibid.:7). The purpose of the segment is to leave spectators eager to see a twelve-meter two-ton straw sandal (repeated at least three times over the ten minutes), to feel the vivacity of a recovered Fukushima city ready to welcome visitors with an opulence of goods and services, and to join in celebration and dance (a symbol of vitality as opposed to endurance). Any inklings of ongoing struggle and uncertainty must be concealed. Even Momorin is functioning as a benefactor in this segment by strategically facilitating interactions between the performers on stage and the

audience. Debra Occhi writes that while the performativity of *yuru-kyara* is restricted by the *kyara* costume, usually making its greetings limited to waving, jiggling from side to side, and nodding, the *yuru-kyara* is able to promote "specific principles, practices, places, or products towards their spectators" (2012:125) through frames of interaction mediated by announcers and other attendants. Momorin's gestures serve as affirmations of the statements being made throughout the pitch, which in turn contributes to the emotional labor being performed by its fellow campaigners.

The main attraction of the Rokkonsai is undoubtedly the parade, which is held on the evening of the first day and mid-day on the second day. The parade lasts approximately three hours and slowly moves along a roughly one-kilometer-long route that becomes absolutely packed with spectators from hours before its commencement.

Figure 2.7 Spectators awaiting the commencement of the evening parade at Rokkonsai 2016 in Aomori city. Photo by author.

Michael Ashkenazi writes about how parades are the most visible of a matsuri's many parts and that it is their visual impact that draws in a great number of spectators, which becomes a measure of the success of the parade itself (1993:49). What is unique about the Rokkonsai parade is that the six representative matsuri are presented very much in the same context as they are in their respective summer festival, but in a long, continuous line, so that spectators are given the luxury of seeing all the matsuri, that they would normally have to travel from city to city to observe separately, in one setting. The parade is the ultimate selling point of the Rokkonsai, and virtually the only part of the festival featured extensively in media representations of the event. It is difficult to determine the effect that a symbolic fusing of Tohoku's major matsuri at the parade has on bringing the people in attendance, and more broadly, the people of Tohoku together. The Rokkonsai carries what Marilyn Ivy calls "representative value," where "the powers of mass-mediated dissemination and spectatorship…become a local representation of a cultural world where such festivity had its place but also becomes generically representative" (1995:12). The Rokkonsai is ultimately a generic representation of 3.11 recovery that asserts unity and affective ties for the sake of economic redevelopment. Attendees likely leave the event impressed and entertained by the spectacle of the parade, and perhaps having enjoyed some of the specialties and attractions that the hosting city has to offer (I certainly did), but the lasting effects of the Rokkonsai for community building amongst the people of Tohoku is perhaps not as clearly defined as some of the examples presented earlier in this chapter, namely because the matsuri presented at the Rokkonsai are primarily operating as commodities.

Figure 2.8 Audience engagement during the parade at Rokkonsai 2015 in Akita city. Photo by author.

Economically speaking, however, the Rokkonsai is an extremely powerful force. The Kahoku Shimpō newspaper reported that the 2016 Rokkonsai in Aomori amassed a total of roughly 29 *oku man* yen (over 25 million USD) in earnings from expenditures at the two-day event as well as expenditures in restaurants and lodging in Aomori city.[123] This is not significantly far off from earnings at previous Rokkonsai (over 32 million USD in Fukushima, over 27 million USD in Akita, over 20 million USD in Yamagata,

[123] Rokkonsai-related expenditures surely branched out beyond the hosting city. In 2015 and 2016, I was unable to secure a hotel room in the hosting city as everything was already fully booked by the time the Rokkonsai dates were announced to the public each year. Consequently, I stayed at a hotel in Yokote city (a one-hour train ride from Akita city) in 2015, and in Hirosaki city (a 45-minute train ride from Aomori city) in 2016.

over 19 million USD in Morioka). The article also reports that the 2016 event brought in roughly 270,000 spectators to Aomori city over the two days.[124]

Readers may be wondering at this point what the verdict was on the continuation or cessation of the Rokkonsai announced at the closing ceremony in 2016. The mayor of Aomori stated that the network between Tohoku's six matsuri shall continue, and that desires to unite Tohoku as one will continue to remain unchanged, but that the location, name, shape, and form of the continuation is yet to be determined by the Rokkonsai preparation committee.[125] On November 19 and 20, 2016, an indication of future uses of the Rokkonsai was demonstrated in the Tokyo Shintora Matsuri, a two-day event featuring two Tohoku Rokkon Festival parades that were held in the Shimbashi-Toranomon district of Tokyo. The parades were held in conjunction with booths, workshops, and stage performances featuring Tohoku products and attractions. In contrast to the Rokkonsai, this event seems to target an international audience and spectatorship as it was subsidized by JLOP, which is a division of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) providing subsidies to organizations working to promote overseas expansion of Japanese products. The Tokyo Shintora Matsuri website[126] presents thorough English translations of most content (unlike the Rokkonsai website), and a video of the parade on the website shows that each matsuri was

[124] "Rokkonsai Aomori kaisai keizai kōka 29 oku yen." *Kahoku Shimpō*, July 22, 2016, http://www.kahoku.co.jp/tohokunews/201607/20160722_22001.html.
[125] Rokkonsai 2016 Closing Ceremony Announcement: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Ps5w7kksFU.
[126] Tokyo Shintora Matsuri Website (English version): http://trans.shintora.tokyo/LUCTSF/ns/tl.cgi/http://www.shintora.tokyo/index.html?SLANG=ja&TLANG=en&XMODE=0&XJSID=0.

introduced in the parade in both Japanese and in English. The event was hosted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Arts Council Tokyo, and the Shintora-dori Area Management Council, with special cooperation by (you guessed it) Tokyo's 23-ward chief special organization featured in the Rokkonsai opening ceremony. Moving forward towards the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, it appears that Tohoku's six matsuri will increasingly continue to function towards the global rather than the local.[127]

In January of 2017, it was announced that the Rokkonsai will make a second round around Tohoku's six prefectures under a new name, Tohoku Kizuna Matsuri, which will be held on June 10 and 11, 2017 in Sendai city. It remains to be seen how the Tohoku Kizuna Matsuri will differ from the Rokkonsai, but a Kahoku Shimpō article announcing the event notes that the Tohoku Kizuna Matsuri will be on a smaller scale and "more compact" in order to address management issues that were arising from the consistent growth in scale of the Rokkonsai.[128]

Although the Rokkonsai is an economically and bureaucratically powerful enterprise, I do not see it as a threat to or replacement for localized folk performing arts and matsuri. For practitioners of localized folk performing arts, their activities were never about drawing in tourists and national attention, and instead defined by localized pride and community building. The matsuri that constitute the Rokkonsai, on the other hand,

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[127] Tohoku's six matsuri participated in the Tohoku Recovery Matsuri Parade as part of "Japan Day" at the 2015 Milan Expo, Italy on July 11, 2015. Furthermore, a one-hour presentation of Sendai *suzume odori*, Morioka *sansa*, and Yamagata *hanagasa* were featured at Mitsuwa's (Japanese supermarket chain in the US) Tohoku food fair in Torrance and San Jose, CA, and New Jersey, NJ on November 5 and 6, 2016.

[128] "'Tohoku Kizuna Matsuri': Rokkonsai isshin futatabi rokken junkai." *Kahoku Shimpō*, January, 27, 2017, http://www.kahoku.co.jp/tohokunews/201701/20170127_73056.html.

have functioned as touristic commodities since prior to 3.11, and have always remained peripheral to practitioners of localized arts in precarious coastal areas of Tohoku. Hashimoto Hiroyuki elucidates this divide by labeling localized folk performing arts as "traditional regional culture to be preserved and practically applied in accordance the provisions of the Cultural Properties Protection," and commercialized matsuri as "touristic resources…covered by the Festival Law concerning the revitalization of tourism and selected regional commerce industry" (1998:35). Ultimately, 3.11 seems to have deepened the divide between folk performing arts and matsuri that are for localized, communal purposes versus those that are for globalized, commercial purposes, while also highlighting a dependence on governmental support and recognition for sustainability in both cases.

The Rokkonsai provides a different perspective on post-3.11 livelihood where economic growth and touristic appeal are prioritized over tsunami memorialization and local community re-building. All of these components are valuable and necessary in the post-3.11 recovery process. By emphasizing an alliance between Tohoku's six prefectures, and by commercializing Tohoku's resilience as a means of promoting tourism, the Rokkonsai defines post-3.11 livelihood by capitalizing on a moment of vulnerability to glorify resilience and collaboration through affective ties.

**Conclusion: Continuity and Change in the Rebuilding of Post-3.11 Communities**

3.11 triggered movements towards both continuity and change. Neither, continuity nor change, however, are independent of the other. Traditions are often invented to imply continuity with the past as well as to address constant change and

innovation that are intrinsic to modernity (Hobsbawm 1983:1-2). Efforts to maintain tradition, rebuild community, and suture identification *a la* Hall following 3.11 as seen through endeavors to revive localized folk performing arts activities are manifestations of cultural change. While they aspire to revive and restore what existed prior to 3.11, they are ultimately reconstructions of pasts that are inevitably altered. Take for example the Ōnami sanbiki shishimai troupe that was introduced at Furusato no Matsuri. It is precisely because of the consequences of 3.11 that young women are now allowed to perform shishi roles. The preservation society president expressed a willingness to change "the tradition" in order to protect its continuation.

The Rokkonsai capitalizes on adapting the conventional layout of Tohoku's six summer matsuri by merging them into one spectacular event that is meant to demonstrate post-3.11 tenacity and revival. As Hobsbawm notes, adaptation takes place "for old uses in new conditions and by using old models for new purposes" (1983:5). The Rokkonsai takes matsuri that have been customarily held to draw in visitors and boost local economy, and adapts them as a basis to broadcast an invented or imagined (Anderson 1991) declaration of post-3.11 recovery and unity to the nation, and increasingly, to the rest of the world as a lead-in to the 2020 Olympics. It fosters and symbolizes social cohesion, but only under terms that productively contribute to national economy and reputation.

As Kay Kaufman Shelemay writes, "rethinking the notion of community opens opportunities first and foremost to explore musical transmission and performance not just as expressions or symbols of a given social grouping, but as an integral part of processes that can at different moments help generate, shape, and sustain new collectivities"

(2011:349-350). All the examples presented in this chapter demonstrate the ways in which musical activities are integrally used to structure post-3.11 collectivities. They are types of what Shelemay defines as a “musical community” or “a collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performance” that are both socially and symbolically constituted (ibid.:364). While localized folk performing arts practices tend to emphasize the importance of continuity and transmission as a mode of recovery and identification, the Rokkonsai relies on performance to symbolically instill a united and steadfast Tohoku through exaggerated demonstrations that attempt to prove recovery. In both cases, they are, as Thomas Turino writes, “a primary way that people articulate the collective identities that are fundamental to forming and sustaining social groups, which are, in turn, basic to survival” (Turino 2008:2). Movements to revive and support Tohoku’s folk performing arts, as well as the formation of newly formulated matsuri festivals, uncover the urgent need for collectivities as a basis for post-3.11 survival.

## Chapter 3: The Moralities of Relief and Reciprocity: Music "for" Disaster Victims

Victims are often depicted as suffering and in pain, suggesting that they are in need of external intervention in order to begin to overcome their status as "a victim." In contrast to survivors, victims are rendered weak, passive, and often powerless, eliciting sympathy and pity, and prompting efforts to provide aid and to "heal" their wounds. Victimhood translates to a call for humanitarianism, which anthropologists Redfield and Bornstein define as "…a structure of feeling, a cluster of moral principles, a basis for ethical claims and political strategies, and a call for action" (2010:17). In contrast to development, which frames human good through an imagined future, and human rights discourse, which defines its version through past failures, humanitarianism, they argue, "emphasizes the physical (and increasingly the psychological) condition of suffering people above all else" (ibid.:6). Rooted in morality and altruistic intentions, humanitarianism, as anthropologist Didier Fassin writes, tends to "elude critical analysis" (2010:36), "…because those activities involve persons and institutions believed to be above suspicion because they are acting for the good of individuals and groups understood to be vulnerable" (ibid.:37). Fassin proposes that there is an aporia, or a dysfunction intrinsic to humanitarianism's functioning, between its immunity to critique and the impossibility to actually maintain the objectives it proposes. For example, he suggests that while Médecins Sans Frontières promotes a maintenance of the "equality of lives," "the lives of humanitarian workers are actually deemed to be much more precious than those of local civilians" (ibid.:50). While it is crucial to acknowledge the shortcomings and impossibilities faced by humanitarian organizations, I am more

interested in examining the ways that they adjust their functioning to better serve the cultural demands of the communities they service.

Following 3.11, volunteer efforts were not always openly welcomed, often times because they challenged cultural expectations of reciprocity. In part because Japan as a nation emphasizes self-sufficiency, even in their foreign aid policies, and because reciprocity is such a deeply-engrained cultural standard, 3.11 victims were/are sometimes reluctant to receive volunteer assistance because they were not in a position to be able to reciprocate the favor, or felt that it would be more appropriate to refuse needed assistance than to be indebted to it. In order to address these issues, several relief organizations carefully frame their activities as requested services in order to help lessen the burdens of reciprocity for aid recipients. At the same time, volunteerism can also have a tendency to burden the providers especially in the case of professional musicians who are expected to "donate" their means of making a living. Thus, in post-crisis situations, performance becomes valued for its ability to comfort, encourage, and bring communities together, but it is also devalued when expectations of "free performances" become too standardized.

In this chapter, I analyze the carefully constructed systems of aid by Japanese organizations with attachments to severely affected coastal areas, and the ways that organizers and participants position themselves in relation to aid recipients in ways that foster morality and solidarity to try to mitigate the kinds of inequalities that Fassin exposes. I focus on musical activities facilitated and provided by "outsiders" that aim to

assuage and support 3.11 disaster victims.[129] I consider what it means to bring joy and comfort to disaster victims through musical performances and contemplate the moralities of these services, which can sometimes burden the receivers and empower the givers. I begin by looking at the complexities of humanitarianism and volunteerism in Japan – a country that culturally emphasizes reciprocity and self-sufficiency. I then focus on musical disaster support organizations that configure their activities in ways that give agency and choice to service recipients in order to mitigate their burden of having to reciprocate for the services they receive. Lastly, I look at the ways that 3.11 has prompted efforts to musically express solidarity as "fellow victims" with survivors of subsequent disasters such as the 2015 earthquake in Nepal and the 2016 earthquake in Kumamoto, Japan. I argue that shared solidarity between victims of different disasters should not be regarded as expressions of shared suffering, because as Susan Sontag reminds us, "no 'we' should be taken for granted when the subject is looking at other people's pain" (2003:7). Instead, I look at these musical expressions as informed means of "paying it forward" by using experiences gained from being on the receiving end of aid and support to conscientiously give back to others.

**The Bourgeoning of NGOs and Volunteerism in Japan**

Richard J. Samuels notes that following 3.11, an outpouring of international support was provided from 163 countries and 43 international organizations that extended help to Japan. In some cases, the prompt and generous response was in acknowledgement

[129] My use of disaster victim as opposed to disaster survivor in this chapter is deliberate. I aim to emphasize the ways that humanitarianism and support can easily diverge into pity and sympathy when disaster survivors are treated as victims.

of Japan's previous aid, such as with China, which sent a fifteen-member rescue team along with a pledge of $4.5 million in humanitarian assistance in response to Japan's assistance with their 2008 Sichuan earthquake. The Korean Red Cross collected $19 million in two weeks and Taiwanese charities alone provided $175 million in aid (2013:17). Such gestures were prompted by desires to express national solidarity and support.[130]

According to Nobuhide Sawamura, "Japan was the top donor country in terms of volume of official development assistance (ODA) throughout the 1990s" (2004:27), and in 1992, the Cabinet of Japan formally endorsed the ODA Charter, which recognized one of the primary principles of Japanese aid as supporting the self-help efforts (*jijo doryoku*) of developing countries (ibid.). Alan Rix argues that the principle of self-reliance has been entrenched in Japan's current aid policies because of its own rapid modernization process from the Meiji period (1868-1912) based on "deliberate adaptation and learning from the West, strong internal leadership and control, conscious policies to promote education and national awareness, and imperial expansion to support domestic economic growth" (1993:15). Rix argues that as a result, Japan's sense of charity towards the less fortunate is weak and instead centered on supporting self-help which is unconventionally based on principles of nonintervention where aid is only provided on a request basis. Similarly, Sawamura argues that stemming from Japan's post-World War II reparations

[130] According to Picard and Buss, while there was some government financial or humanitarian assistance prior to WWII (humanitarian and development assistance had its origins in the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment), the first broad transfer of funds on a worldwide basis in peace time occurred with the 1948 Marshall Plan (2009:5-6).

to Asian countries, where it was "difficult for Japan to present an aid policy imposing economic and political conditions on recipients," Japan's ODA assumes that accepting the entire burden discourages self-help efforts and negatively impacts sustainable development (2004:28). In an attempt to foster an idea of equality, Sawamura notes that "Japan has preferred to use the word 'cooperation' rather than assistance or aid" (ibid.:37). Furthermore, Rix adds that to strengthen ideas of cooperation, reciprocity has always been built into Japan's aid program (1993:30). In 3.11-related relief efforts, the word "aid" is most often referred to as *shien*, which literally translates to "support" or "backing" rather than "help" (e.g., *enjo, tetsudau, tedasuke, tasukeru*). Variations of the word "help" in Japanese suggest giving something to someone in need and "saving them." Shien, on the other hand, suggests that support is provided to those who request it, emphasizing cooperation and collaboration to mutually work towards resolutions.

While Japan's ODA policies are structured around ideas of equality and cooperation, the regulation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) correlates with public administration, which is vertically organized and divided by bureaucratic agency (Bloodgood et al. 2014:729). While laws governing NGOs in Japan date back to 1896, government reforms to facilitate the creation of and reduce the bureaucratic oversight of NGOs developed quite recently with the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (SNPC Law) enacted in 1998, and three new laws enacted in 2008. The 1998 law created a new legal form, the special nonprofit corporation (SNPC: *tokutei hieiri katsudō hōjin*), which made it possible for organizations not previously considered to provide for the

public interest under article 34 of the Civil Code (1896)[131] to achieve legal status. Prior to this law, NGOs had no corporate identity, and consequently had difficulty renting office space and hiring staff (Samuels 2013:62). Although NGOs were still heavily restricted by the government through onerous reporting requirements and limitations on charging for overheads, the 1998 law prompted a large growth of civil society organizations and impacted their strong presence following 3.11. The 2008 laws significantly changed the legal framework of NGOs by: 1. Allowing general incorporated associations and foundations (*ippan shadan hōjin* and *ippan zaidan hōjin*) to obtain legal status without requiring that they operate in the public interest; 2. Making it possible for associations or foundations to be recognized as public interest associations and foundations (*kōeki shadan hōjin* and *kōeki zaidan hōjin*); and 3. Qualifying other special public benefit organizations such as Social Welfare Entities, Medical Organizations, Private Schools, Relief and Rehabilitation Enterprises, and Religious Organizations (ibid.:729-730). Bloodgood et al. conclude that while new Japanese NGO regulations are more permissive than in the past, a large number of conditions are still imposed, which makes their presence less prominent in comparison to the US.

Government reforms to facilitate the creation of NGOs in Japan were prompted by the 1995 Hanshin Awaji Earthquake where a tremendous number of volunteer activists (1.3 million) came to Kobe to assist people in need, and came to be known as "the birth of Japanese volunteerism" (*borantia no gannen*) (Samuels 2013:61), though

[131] Article 34 of the Japanese Civil Code (1896) stated that "any association or foundation relating to any academic activities, art, charity, worship, religion, or other public interest which is not for-profit may be established as a juridical person with the permission of the competent government agency" (Bloodgood et al. 2014:729).

volunteerism was steadily developing throughout the post-war era. Shinji Yamashita notes that "this marked the coming of age of a new civil society activism in Japan, termed 'the new public sphere' (*atarashii kōkyō*)," standing in contrast to the "old" public sphere, which was dominated by the state (2012:23).

To my understanding, there is no Japanese word for "volunteer" aside from the commonly used loan word "*borantia*," which is also a testament to how newly established and emergent the concept is in Japan. Linguists argue that borrowing is never confined to words alone, and that cultural implications such as the changing of social values and developments with intercultural relations are implicit in loanwords (Hoffer 1980:2). Linguist Bates Hoffer presents the example of the word "loan" (*roon*) as a loanword used to avoid the negative cultural connotations associated with the Japanese word for loan (*shakkin*). Because falling into debt is considered culturally disgraceful, the phrase *roon wo kumu* (forming a loan) is used to describe a well-planned economic activity carrying connotations that the borrower has a healthy and secure financial future. Hoffer argues that the borrowing of the word "loan" as a positive euphemism for *shakkin* parallels the development of the Japanese economy, especially in the 1960s (ibid.:14). Similarly, borantia as a loanword is indicative of a cultural shift in Japan where the concept of unreciprocated aid, borrowed from Western models, was finding its place in post-earthquake Kobe as a renewed mode of civil society activism in contrast to the nation's emphasis on self-sufficiency in aid policies.

Shifts in volunteer activism and government reforms following Kobe 1995 impacted the strong and effective volunteer response to 3.11, where volunteers were now

more experienced, better prepared, and more widely acknowledged by the government and the victims. State-civil society relations had evolved significantly as seen through comparisons between Kobe 1995 where local officials did not know how to handle volunteers, and Prime Minister Kan Naoto's quick establishment of a government support structure for Tohoku volunteering (Kingston 2012:9). As Simon Avenell notes, "one day after the disaster, Kan appointed Tsujimoto Kiyomi as prime ministerial aide in charge of disaster volunteering and civic activist, Yuasa Makoto, as director of the Cabinet Secretariat's Volunteer Coordination Office (*Naikaku Kanbō Shinsai Borantia Renrakushitsu*, VCO)" (2012:62). The VCO was officially launched on March 16 -- only five days after the disaster -- made up of three-non-governmental appointees and seven bureaucrats, and it communicated directly with the public through its information portal "Tasukeai Japan" launched on March 22 to provide information on volunteering and donating in Japanese and in English.

Samuels notes that despite Tohoku's remote location, nearly 150,000 volunteers made their way to affected areas in April alone, and the number of volunteers continued to grow, reaching 935,000 volunteers within the first year following 3.11 (2013:18). Disaster Volunteer Centers (DVCs), established by each of the affected municipalities and staffed by NGOs, assigned and coordinated tasks to visiting volunteers. Samuels writes that DVCs had become primary institutions for coordinating disaster relief across Japan by providing needs assessment, assembling volunteers, evaluating their work, and providing information to the nation and the world often ahead of the government. In Iwate prefecture alone, there were only twenty-four NGOs before 3.11, which increased

to a staggering 360 NGOs just six months later (ibid.:18). NGOs are providing a myriad of vital activities and services for 3.11 victims that are not provided by local governments including telephone hotlines for women to report cases of domestic violence, hotlines for children under eighteen years old, as well as counseling hotlines in cooperation with volunteer psychiatrists, priests, and lawyers. Others NGOs are financially supporting children who lost parents in the disaster, providing cars and drivers for volunteer doctors, and offering job support and social welfare services and education for registered evacuees (Kawato et al. 2012:89).

The strong presence of NGOs and volunteers in post-3.11 Tohoku has also impacted localized matsuri festivals (see chapter 2). Anthropologist Kodani Ryūsuke told me that following 3.11, matsuri that were formerly populated by local residents were suddenly filled with visiting volunteers who put up tents to distribute free food, and even became regular matsuri participants by helping to maneuver floats, playing instruments, singing, and dancing. In some cases, matsuri have become so dependent on volunteer participation that they recruit volunteers via Facebook because there are not enough people remaining in the region to carry *mikoshi* (ritual palanquins).[132] Folklorist Hashimoto Hiroyuki has been deeply involved in supporting the Rikuzentakata Moving Tanabata Festival (*Ugoku Tanabata Matsuri*) by gathering a team of volunteers including students from Ōtemon Gakuin University in Osaka to help decorate and pull the festival floats as part of the Kawarahara Matsuri Group (Hashimoto 2014:4-5). When I attended the Kesennuma Minato Matsuri in August of 2015, one of the groups featured in the

[132] Kodani, Ryūsuke, Interview, 6 February 2015.

Hamarainya Dance Parade was the Waseda University Kesennuma Team from Tokyo, which consists of volunteer students who have continually visited Kesennuma since the early aftermath of 3.11 to help with community rebuilding efforts such as hosting conversational sessions with the elderly at temporary housing units and mentoring students in local high schools.

Figure 3.1 Waseda University Kesennuma Team participating in the Hamarainya Dance Parade at the Kesennuma Minato Matsuri on August 2, 2015. Photo by author.

A university student who is originally from Kesennuma and in high school at the time of the disaster told me how indebted she is to the warmth and support she received from the Waseda University volunteer students. She said that the volunteer students' enthusiasm, friendship, and encouragement helped her get through a very difficult time after having lost her grandparents and home in the disaster. In these examples, it appears that volunteer engagement is warmly received and effectively supports local activities such as matsuri. However, in many cases, the presence of volunteers has also been burdensome to

service recipients due to obligatory feelings of reciprocity that recipients are unable to return.

**Volunteerism and the Burdens of Reciprocity**

As French sociologist Marcel Mauss (1990 [1925]) famously asserts, there is no such thing as a "pure, free gift" because tokens of exchange are always a part of larger circuits of reciprocity, or the obligation to give as well as the obligation to receive. Mary Douglas adds that based on Mauss's assertion, "the theory of the gift is a theory of human solidarity" (1990:xiii). Under Mauss's framework, gifts are not so much objects of exchange as they are markers of an individual or community's morality. Anthropologist Erica Bornstein argues that gifts "connect those who are excluded from resources with those who are willing and able to actively engage in it," and that the exchange of gifts hierarchically connects individuals to a larger society (2012:17). Humanitarianism, she argues, is a form of the gift, which is not a right but may be considered a duty or righteous action (ibid.:19).

In Japan, gifts are heavily embedded with cultural ideas of reciprocity, where gifts and favors are expected to be reimbursed to redress debt-credit imbalances. Takie Sugiyama Lebra writes extensively about *on* or the culture-bound notion of reciprocity for the Japanese, which is "…a relational concept combining a benefit or benevolence given with a debt or obligation thus incurred" (1976:91). While *on* refers to social credit for the donor, the receiver is left with a social debt, which is expected to be repaid through *ongaeshi* or *okaeshi*. Receiving *on* could also become burdensome, expressed as *giri*, which "…implies a sense of constraint under which the debtor feels bound in his

actions toward the creditor" (ibid.:93). The Japanese custom of *okaeshi* or the act of returning complicated humanitarian efforts in disaster-stricken Tohoku because many disaster victims were left with *giri*, burdened with feelings of having to return favors received from volunteers, but not in a position to be able to properly reciprocate the favor.

In his reflexive account of working with volunteer teams to dig out mud and clear debris in Ishinomaki city, anthropologist David H. Slater (2015) writes about the ways that victims in Tohoku treated the goods, services, and support provided by volunteers as "gifts" that must be reciprocated. He recounts the experience of spending a day with a group of eight other volunteers to clear out debris from the front yard of an old man's tsunami-hit home after the man unenthusiastically gave the okay for them to proceed with the work before retreating back into his broken home. Around lunchtime, they noticed that the man had inconspicuously left bottles of water for them at the end of their work area, and at the end of the day, upon hearing that Slater's team of volunteers would probably not return the next day, the man handed Slater a plastic shopping bag filled with nine chipped, dirty cups and shot glasses that were wiped down (the man did not have running water to rinse them off). Slater proceeds to explain that although the exchange was clearly uneven in terms of market value (eight hours of labor for bottles of water and chipped cups), the cups were the man's rushed yet thought-out attempt to contribute to a relationship of balanced exchange knowing that their relationship would not be continued. He provided a set of exactly nine cups that could easily be divided between members of Slater's team to demonstrate that he took note of how many volunteers were working on

his yard, and to fulfill a duty to reciprocate for the service despite compromised circumstances.

Slater's anecdote is a vivid example of the deeply-rooted Japanese custom of *okaeshi*.[133] As Saeko Fukushima notes,

> when somebody receives a gift, s/he is expected to give a gift in return. This applies not only to such material things as gifts, but also to what somebody did for somebody else as in the case of attentiveness. A beneficiary may have felt that s/he had to do something in return, having felt a burden, when attentiveness was demonstrated. The idea behind *okaeshi* may be the fact that a beneficiary wants to pay the debt back, that is, *okaeshi* is a means to redress a debt-credit imbalance (2009:531).

However, the logic and practice of *okaeshi* between disaster victims and aid volunteers were complicated by the ethics of "free gifting," which often defines volunteerism, as well as the inability of disaster victims to properly settle imbalances caused by assistance and support. Slater writes that "even the *expectation* of a return can compromise the moral purity of voluntary assistance" (2015:270, [emphasis his]). Thus volunteers and recipients of aid in Tohoku were often left with the troubling dilemma of giving/receiving aid without offending or burdening the other party. While this dilemma was often unconventionally resolved through symbolic *okaeshi* such as the dirty cups, some chose to resolve it by refusing help that they could not repay altogether despite clear needs for it. Slater writes that in addition to these solutions, others avoided the challenge by reclassifying aid as an entitlement or right as opposed to a gift. He posits that aid was rendered more manageable by framing it as citizen's entitlement for example by

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[133] An interesting counterexample to the Japanese *okaeshi* is the Indian idea of *dān* where no social obligations are incurred. According to Bornstein, "dān is a gift that is not reciprocated. Dān is a liberating mechanism that releases the giver of social obligation and eventually frees the giver of the constraints of the material world" (2012:19).

validating international volunteers as representatives of state-level relationships or by accepting Japanese volunteers as reaffirmations of the Japanese nation as a moral community (ibid.:283-287). When the "personal" is removed from these relationships (i.e., when micro-level interactions are reinterpreted as macro-level ones), they are no longer about exchanges as they are about valid services. What happens, then, to the logic of *okaeshi* when the gift is not helping to restore homes and clean up debris, but rather, music as a service to bring joy and comfort to disaster victims?

**Charity Concerts**

Amongst post-3.11 musical relief activities, the abundance of post-3.11 charity concerts held by outsiders both nationally and internationally was perhaps the least burdensome to disaster victims in terms of prompting feelings of obligation to return the favor because they are very often directed towards generalized audiences whether they are concerts to pay tribute to victims and express solidarity, or concerts directed towards outsiders to elicit compassion and donations. However, a lack of potential imposition does not necessarily translate to success or effectiveness. Sometimes, charity concerts have a tendency to prioritize self-indulgence in the ways that Reebee Garofalo describes "We Are the World." Garofalo points out the line "we're saving our own lives" as demonstrative of the way that "the artists assembled proclaimed their own salvation for singing about an issue they will never experience on behalf of a people most of them will never encounter" (1992:29). Although performances such as this raise awareness and funds, they also have a tendency to emphasize gaps between privileged sympathizers and pitied victims. Elaine Scarry writes about the unsharability of pain and that while one's

own physical pain is effortlessly grasped, "for the person outside the sufferer's body, what is 'effortless' is *not* grasping it" (1985:4, [emphasis hers]). Charity concerts sometimes have a tendency to inadvertently expose the unsharability of pain where performances that intend to express altruism and solidarity become exploitative and self-fulfilling. Sara Ahmed writes, however, that "the impossibility of feeling the pain of others does not mean that the pain is simply theirs, or that their pain has nothing to do with me…an ethics of responding to pain involves being open to being affected by that which one cannot know or feel" (2004:30). In the context of charity concerts, however, a common occurrence is for performers to assume that they know how others feel rather than to acknowledge that they will never understand the pain of others, which allows performers to transform the pain of others into their own sadness. In other cases, musicians and institutions will go a step further towards self-fulfillment by using the label of "music for disaster relief" or "charity concert" simply as a way to try to promote themselves as altruistic and giving when they are in fact putting themselves and the success of their careers and institutions first. Thus although charity concerts can be influential and highly productive, they must be questioned in terms of intention and sincerity rather than optimistically assumed as righteous and ethical.

My intention, however, is not to completely dismiss charity concerts as ineffective and self-fulfilling, because there are numerous post-3.11 charity concert projects that have powerfully raised awareness and funds, and disaster victims have felt supported and comforted by such concerts. For example, Noriko Manabe notes that "Team Amuse's 'Let's Try Again' (2011), written and fronted by Kuwata Keisuke and

featuring fifty-four artists from the Amuse agency, was one of the bestselling hits of the year; between proceeds from its sales and charity concerts, the agency raised nearly 500 million yen (about $6.4 million at the time) for charities in Tohoku in the fiscal year ending March 2012" (2015:99). Another example is popular j-pop idol girl group AKB48's "Dareka no Tame ni" (What Can I Do for Someone) disaster relief project where members of AKB48 have held monthly volunteer concerts in disaster stricken areas since May 2011. From March 2011 to March 2013, the project raised a total of roughly 1.3 billion yen ($11.4 million) from funds donated to the project bank account as well as donation boxes at AKB48 concerts and events. AKB48 released a disaster support song in March 2013 to serve as an anthem for the project called "Tenohira ga Kataru Koto" (The Things Palms Can Say) that is available for free digital download on their website to bring comfort to listeners.[134] I believe charity concerts, as the initial, instinctual musical response to 3.11 by outsiders, were a vital starting point and stepping stone for the revival and development of other, more unique types of musical support activities.

Ethnomusicologist Oshio Satomi painstakingly assembled a database of post-3.11 musical activities including performances, cancellations, and CD/song releases presented in Kahoku Shimpō newspaper articles from March 12 to December 9, 2011. Musical activities are sorted under four categories which include:

1. Musical activities by disaster victims in disaster areas
2. Musical activities by outsiders in disaster areas
3. Musical activities by disaster victims in outside areas
4. Musical activities by outsiders in outside areas that reference 3.11

[134] "Dareka no Tame ni Purojekuto," AKB48 Official Site, 2011, https://www.akb48.co.jp/darekanotameni/.

In the first two months alone from March 12 to May 12, 65 out of 171 listed articles (roughly 38%), fall under categories 2 and 4. Out of a total of 788 articles from March 11 to December 9, 260 articles (roughly 33%) fall under categories 2 and 4. Considering that cancellations and postponements are also included in the count, a sizeable percentage of musical activities reported in Kahoku Shimpō that were held within the first two months fall under categories of support and charity efforts by outsiders (Oshio 2013a).

Amongst charity and disaster relief concerts that I have observed, the ones that I have found to be most memorable and impactful are those that feature amateur musicians from disaster-affected areas in ways that support their musical endeavors rather than exploit their status as disaster victims. I now turn to musical activities that go beyond standard charity concerts because I am drawn to the unique ways that they are conscientiously being organized and executed, as well as the ways that the nature of these activities continue to be altered to meet changing needs.

**Catered, Customized, and Delivered Musical Support**

Within disaster-affected areas, hierarchies of victimhood have developed where people in Sendai city, for example, who experienced the earthquake, but may not have lost homes or family members in the tsunami, have developed disaster-support musical activities that involve visits to coastal areas. These providers of musical support sometimes describe their positionality as fellow victims who have a better understanding of what other victims are going through than complete outsiders, and thus assert that they know what kind of support is helpful and appropriate. Kai Erikson writes about the ways that trauma creates community as a source of communality where people are drawn to

others similarly marked, developing a spiritual kinship and a sense of identity (1995:186). He calls this "a gathering of the wounded" who can "supply a kind of emotional solvent in which the work of recovery can begin" through shared understanding (ibid.:187). Erikson also importantly addresses the ways that disasters can "force open whatever fault lines once ran silently through the structure of the larger community, dividing it into divisive fragments" and creating "corrosive communities," which divide the people affected by the event from the people spared (ibid.:189). Thus, while there may be a certain degree of sharedness between inland and coastal victims, there are always disparities in suffering (Schwenkel 2009:47), and victimhood becomes hierarchized as separations between providers and recipients of aid deepen. However, as demonstrated in the examples below, I believe that sentimental solidarity does foster modes of aid that are very carefully and conscientiously developed, stemming from a shared understanding of post-disaster fragility and vulnerability.

When the earthquake struck on 3.11, nearly all the members of the Sendai Philharmonic Orchestra[135] (hereafter referred to as Sendai Phil) were rehearsing together in a local concert hall, and while no one was injured and the musical instruments were only minimally damaged, concert halls franchised by Sendai Phil were considerably damaged making it nearly impossible for the orchestra to hold regular rehearsals, and

[135] The Sendai Philharmonic Orchestra was initially formed in 1973 as an amateur community-based orchestra called the Miyagi Philharmonic Orchestra. Following its designation as an incorporated association in 1978, the Miyagi Philharmonic Orchestra became a full-fledged professional orchestra, and in 1989, it was renamed the Sendai Philharmonic Orchestra. For a history of the Sendai Philharmonic Orchestra and descriptions of their outreach activities, see Murchie 2010.

forcing them to cancel all of their scheduled concerts until June 2011 (Makuta and Ōtaki 2012:1). The Sendai Phil is not only one of Japan's premier professional orchestras, but it also engages in numerous community-based outreach activities including instructing the Sendai City Junior Orchestra, hosting the Sendai International Music Competition, and actively participating in the Sendai Classical Music Festival. These prior engagements provided a foundation for Sendai Phil to promptly engage in disaster relief efforts through recovery concerts and interactions with disaster-affected communities.

The Center for Recovery through the Power of Music, Tohoku (Ongaku no Chikara ni yoru Fukkō Sentā Tohoku) was developed almost immediately after 3.11 in order to address needs to develop a separate organization that would manage Sendai Phil's disaster relief volunteer and fundraising efforts. Three days after 3.11, one of the directors of the center, Ōsawa Takao, received a phone call from a superior in the Agency for Cultural Affairs stating that he believed it necessary to hold a disaster relief concert as soon as possible, and he asked whether Ōsawa could help make it happen. The superior was directing an orchestra at the time, and felt that Sendai Phil is in a good position to hold the concert since it was centrally based in the largest city in the Tohoku region. In the 1970s, Ōsawa was manager of the first cultural promotion agency in Sendai city and his first job with the agency was to coordinate funds to support the Sendai Phil. He also worked with the Sendai Phil on the second Young Composer Tchaikovsky Competition, and the Sendai International Music Competition, and since 2009, he has done their administrative work. Since Ōsawa has worked on both the giving and receiving end of support for Sendai Phil, he applied his prior knowledge and experiences to develop the

center as a separate establishment from Sendai Phil in order to keep donations and unpaid volunteer work separate from Sendai Phil's usual activities of paid performances. Whenever the center receives a donation, they confirm with the donor whether the funds should go to the center, to Sendai Phil, or divided into both accounts. The other representative of the organization is Professor Ōtaki Seiichi, dean of the Graduate School of Economics and Management at Tohoku University and director of the Sendai-Miyagi NPO Center[136] (Makuta and Ōtaki 2012:1).

The center was, as Ōsawa humbly puts it, haphazardly built up as an organization on March 24, 2011 (Enomoto and Ōsawa 2015:36), but promptly organized Sendai Phil's first disaster recovery concert which took place on March 26, 2011. The center organizers and Sendai Phil members had conflicting feelings about holding a concert so soon after the disaster. In a description about the center's activities, a statement reads,

> we, ourselves, were also disaster victims (*hisaisha*) and had a shared feeling. The solid sense we had was that we could not afford to put off resuming playing music. We knew that music comforts dejected people trying to get back on their feet and trying to maintain their strength. So we began with conflicting feelings: 'it's no good, it's too early' and 'the sooner the better.' We prepared meticulously for the first recovery concert. We wanted the audience, who came from the areas worst hit by the earthquake and tsunami, to learn the real power of music (Makuta and Ōtaki 2012:2).

The most commonly used Japanese term for disaster victim following 3.11 is *hisaisha*, which literally means surviving victim of a natural disaster.[137] Hisaisha is particularly complex in the case of 3.11 in that it could refer to people who lost family members and homes to the tsunami and were constantly moving between temporary housing units,

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[136] The Sendai-Miyagi NPO Center was established in 1997 to support community activities and local infrastructure throughout Miyagi prefecture.
[137] The generic term for victim, *higaisha*, usually marks the victim as a casualty of an accident.

people who were relocated due to the nuclear fallout in Fukushima, people who experienced the earthquake but not the tsunami, and even people in Tokyo who had to walk miles to get home due to power outages. The broadness of the term helps to foster solidarity, but it also blurs the hierarchies of victimhood, which sometimes makes “shared feelings” too easily attainable. Furthermore, hisaisha has a similar nuance to *hibakusha*, or surviving victim of an atomic bombing (also used to talk about those exposed to radiation from nuclear leaks, accidents, and meltdowns) in that survival is tainted with the lasting impact of fragility and vulnerability, marking it as a stigma that some people desire to leave behind. By regarding and presenting themselves as fellow disaster victims, concert organizers and performers are not only expressing their solidarity with disaster victims in more heavily hit regions, but also perhaps highlighting the legitimacy of their activities as “victims” who understand what others are going through and want to morally support them through music. The relationship and dynamics between performers and attendees at this particular concert seems different from charity concerts conducted by complete outsiders in that the relationship between givers and receivers is somewhat levelled as inclinations of pity are reinterpreted as solidarity.

The March 26, 2011 concert was held in a ballet studio within the precinct of Kenzuiji Temple, which is conveniently located within walking distance from Sendai Station. The chief priest of the temple, Rev. Kataoka Yoshikazu, is the vice-chairman of Sendai Phil’s board of directors. The performers consisted of thirty Sendai Phil members under the direction of conductor Satō Juichi, a resident of the badly-hit Natori city, concert master Denda Masahide from Tokyo, and soprano Suga Emiko from Kyoto. The

one-hour concert with carefully hand-selected repertoire drew in close to one-hundred audience members (Makuta and Ōtaki 2012:2-3), and believing that it successfully brought solace to listeners, the center decided to organize similar types of performances to continue to comfort disaster victims.

In an interview with me, Ōsawa noted that there were two purposes to the March 26 concert. One was to create an environment to bring comfort to listeners and for souls to be put to rest through repertoire that helped convey these themes such as Bach's Air on G String, Barber's Adagio for Strings, Elégie from Tchaikovsky's Serenade for Strings in C, Op. 48, and Schubert's Ave Maria. The second purpose was to inform people about the center's existence and to ask for support. Reports about the concert were picked up by the media and dispersed around the world via two companies that deliver news worldwide, which prompted an influx of donations from foreigners who were convinced that they could directly contribute to disaster victims.[138] Ōsawa also notes that amidst the confusion and disorder following 3.11, as with other disasters, culture gets lowered in terms of priority no matter what. "This can't be helped," he states, because

> it is obvious that livelihood and economy should be prioritized. Even if we think the power of culture is necessary, the local government cannot get to it. It's because we had the center that we were able to support cultural recovery. We weren't supporting the government, but rather, we were necessary to support 'societal needs.' I think the center exists as one model of an organization that supports the soul (*kokoro*) when people and money did not move to fulfill those needs. Although everyone may know that care of the soul is important, people and money do not get around to it (Enomoto and Ōsawa 2015:37).

[138] Ōsawa, Takao, Interview, 13 April 2015.

In early April, the center put together a series of "marathon concerts" that were held in central areas of downtown Sendai to gradually bring live music back into the soundscape of post-3.11 Sendai city. The marathon concerts were proposed by a staff member at the center whose home in Namie, Fukushima was washed away by the tsunami. Concerts were regularly held by Sendai Phil chamber ensembles at Yamaha Music Studio from April 3 to April 15, 2011, and in the atrium of AER, a highrise building for offices and shops, from April 5 to May 11, 2011. Each concert began with Bach's Air on G String and closed with "Furusato" (Hometown) sung by members of the Sendai Opera Association who also encouraged spectators to sing along. Similar concerts were also subsequently held at Sendai Trust Tower Building and in shopping malls such as Vlandome Ichibanchō (ibid.:4). These concerts were also picked up by the media, which helped to disseminate the center's activities and prompted more and more performance requests (Enomoto and Ōsawa 2015:36).

Around mid-April 2011, requests for Sendai Phil recovery concerts started coming in to the center from evacuation centers and schools in heavily-stricken coastal areas.[139] The center prioritized these requests over city-center concerts, and on April 14, concerts were held at Natori Cultural Hall in Natori city and at Hebita Elementary School in Ishinomaki city. Since then, the center coordinated fifty-eight concerts in disaster-areas within the first year. Ōsawa noted that these concerts never exceed one-hour in length so as not to be too much of a burden to those in the facilities who do not want to hear the

[139] Requests for fundraising concerts were also sent in from areas outside of Tohoku as well. Over the first year, Sendai Phil held twelve charity concerts throughout Japan from Sapporo to Hiroshima (Makuta and Ohtaki 2012:10).

music. Programs for all requested concerts are custom-designed to cater to each audience, for example, creating participatory concerts full of uplifting children's songs for performances at schools (e.g., Ghibli songs), and a repertoire of nostalgic songs for elderly audiences (e.g., *shōka*, *kayōkyoku*, *min'yō* medleys). The large amount of requests could be attributed to a number of reasons, but the most likely is that requesters wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to invite members of Sendai Phil, a nationally renowned and esteemed orchestra, for a free, intimate concert. Secondly, there seems to have been a snowballing effect of requests. As word got around about the concerts, they became easier to request by others who felt entitled to the service.

By July 2011, the concert hall at Sendai City Youth Cultural Center was restored and ready for use enabling Sendai Phil to resume their subscription concerts, which were held without any alterations. Around this time, evacuees in some areas were gradually getting relocated from evacuation centers to temporary housing units, and slowly moving towards post-disaster normalcy. The center began coordinating participatory activities inviting amateur musicians to perform jointly with Sendai Phil. Students from high school brass bands and local chorus groups were encouraged to take part in relief concerts held in coastal areas.

By the end of December 2014 the center had given a total of 440 concerts averaging roughly five to six concerts per month. Ōsawa notes that the aim of the center when starting up was simply to deliver music to disaster-affected areas. He states,

> at the beginning, it was about providing music to people who specifically requested the Sendai Phil. The music was to help heal and encourage (*iyasu* and *hagemasu*) listeners as a requiem. We set up a separate organization and bank account for the center, but volunteers from the Sendai Phil office were working

> with the center, and the musicians were also participating as volunteers. We knew the musicians could not continue to perform for free for an extended period of time, so we set up ways to compensate them. At first it was only 1200 yen (roughly $12) of payment per performance. Now they're getting about 5000 yen (roughly $50) to perform in Sendai city. We apply some donations to support the musicians while also ensuring that the center doesn't go into debt (Enomoto and Ōsawa 2015:38).

This comment in particular tends to emphasize the hierarchies of victimhood that I address in the beginning of this section. Sendai Phil members are also victims of the disaster, but they possess the power to heal and encourage others who were less fortunate. At the same time, they also cannot afford to be overly burdened with the obligations of volunteerism because they also need to work to restore their own livelihood. *Iyasu*, the word Ōsawa uses to describe the music's healing effects, also connotes curing as in curing a disease and satisfying as in satisfying hunger. These implications suggest that the music is both a necessity and a luxury. 3.11 led to a simultaneous revaluing and devaluing of performance in that performances were deemed valuable for their ability to help heal and encourage, but were also expected to be free of charge as services provided to victims in need. In order to help mitigate some of these challenges, as time passed, the center's mission has increasingly come to focus on servicing the community as a performer and recipient match-making organization. Ōsawa notes,

> put simply, our office does match making. We get requests for recovery concerts and they consult with our coordinators. As far as consulting, our philosophy is that we try to support all requests to the best of our ability. We get calls from people who want to do something to help but don't know what to do so they call and consult with us. Outsiders generally aren't aware of the conditions in disaster-affected areas and people in disaster-affected areas have never requested to have musicians come and perform. We serve as intermediaries between these two parties, hearing both sides and coming up with ideas together with them (ibid.:39).

When Ōsawa provided me with deeper insights into the goals and challenges of the center, he emphasized that after being in operation for four years, the priority of the center has developed to systematically customize and prepare activities that help to console disaster victims.[140] Itō Miya, one of two staff members at the center's office who coordinates roughly forty to fifty events for the center every year, further elaborates on the importance of systematic and conscientious preparations at the center. She describes how when a request comes in, staff members first go to the venue and have a meeting with the requesters to decide what kind of music they would like, then the center contacts musicians that they think would be a good fit for that particular event before creating a program together with the musicians. Since most venues are not arranged for performances, staff also often have to work to rearrange the spaces to make it suitable for performances. The staff conscientiously asks specific questions about repertoire for example whether to include "Furusato," which has become an anthem for the disaster, but is also difficult for some people to take in because it can evoke memories of the past that remind them of the places and people that they will never encounter again. They also ask whether music that evokes the sea should be included. While some adamantly refuse this repertoire because it could elicit traumatic memories, others in coastal areas such as Ishinomaki and Kesennuma have said "we love the sea, so please play songs about the sea" despite tremendous damage caused by the tsunami because they are grateful to the sea for providing sustenance to their town (Enomoto and Ōsawa 2015:38).

[140] Ōsawa, Takao, Interview, 13 April 2015.

Itō also describes the transition in audience reactions that she has seen over two years of working at the center and the ways that the center has adjusted its activities in response to these shifts. Early on, there were many people in the audience who remained stone-faced throughout the performances. Gradually, people started reacting with tears while listening to music, then eventually, people wanted to sing along to the music. When staff pass out song lyrics and people sing along, they become lively. In response to this positive response, the center created the Miyagi Hana wa Saku Gasshōdan (choir) whose members are elderly people over the age of sixty who live in temporary housing units. The members gained confidence after giving a spring concert at a music hall in 2014. Itō notes that there are many elderly survivors who carry extreme guilt for having survived the disaster. The singing cannot erase these sentiments, but it gives confidence to the elderly by providing them with goals to work towards and added purpose to their lives (ibid.:38).

Furthermore, Ōsawa emphasized to me how important it is that the center not force any activities on victims especially because many still suffer from exhaustion from having to welcome the excess of consolation visits and volunteer efforts (*imon zukare*) that were especially overwhelming in the early aftermaths of 3.11. When I accompanied Ōsawa to a song café event at a newly built housing complex for relocated disaster victims, the extremity of the center's emphasis on not imposing on the victims was elucidated to me. On the drive over to the venue, Ōsawa firmly told me that I mustn't speak to the attendees nor ask them any questions, and that I absolutely must not try to interview them because they are there to have a relaxing time. Upon arriving at the venue,

I was instructed to help a man from a nearby coffeeshop to prepare coffee in a separate room, so that I was not around to "mingle" with the victims as they arrived for the event. Once the musicians were ready to commence, I was invited to slip into the audience. I was basically directed to be an invisible presence who was there to observe, but could not intervene in the carefully constructed programming in any way. The way I was directed gives me the sense that there was a particular image of the center that Ōsawa wanted to orchestrate, and he did not want me to affect it. In contrast to a volunteer affiliated with a different disaster support organization who told me that they prioritize conversing with the victims and listening to their stories (and also allowing the victims to treat the volunteers to lunch to create a more even exchange) over presenting music to them, it appeared that the center's primary task is to provide a comfortable space for disaster victims to interact with each other and that the music alone is a sufficient mode of intervention in that it provides comfort without being overly intrusive. Treating the soothing effects of music as self-evident and passively waiting for victims to approach organizers and musicians is perhaps not always the best method of engagement, and it shows how tactics to avoid being overly instrusive could potentially widen the divide between victims and organizers when social interactions are avoided for fear of being an imposition.

Ōsawa asserts that the center thrives on a trust system between the community and the performers. If the performer has gone to a particular site several time, he or she could play music about the sea, for example, without misunderstanding, and is able to expand his or her repertoire through trust. Ōsawa claims that there are musical activities that are

appropriate for every step of the recovery process and the objectives of the center have shifted over time to accommodate new needs and circumstances.

While the center started out as a provider of comforting music, it has shifted to better serve its communities through more interactive activities that aim towards fostering self-sufficiency. Ōsawa stated that the types of musical activities that are needed from now on are those that allow affected communities to become self-sufficient through their own music. He claims that while it is helpful to collaborate with professionals and for children to experiment, there is not much reason for outsiders to continually come in and perform for victims if it is not fostering self-sufficiency. I agree with Ōsawa's observations and find his emphasis on self-sufficiency intriguing because it mirrors the principles of Japan's foreign aid policy, which prioritizes supporting the self-help efforts (*jijo doryoku*) of developing countries. Furthermore, an emphasis on collaboration lessens the burdens of reciprocity as disaster victims are not simply recipients of musical aid who may end up feeling indebted, but are also participants who actively engage in the music making.

Ōsawa provided an example of a community-based orchestra in a coastal area that was encouraged and motivated to regularly practice and perform through mentoring from Sendai Phil members. Ultimately, the most impressive feature of this particular center is that it continues to adjust its support activities to cater to cultural trends and demands. Unlike charity concerts which are rather formulaic (go to site, perform one's set, then leave), and are often only conducted once without repeated visits, the center realizes the need to gradually shift efforts towards fostering self-sufficiency by planting seeds to

encourage communities to develop their own paths towards restoration through their own musical activities.

Ōsawa also asserted that music is medicine, and that the center's activities have the power to heal people in need. While I do not doubt that music can bring solace to troubled individuals, music deployed as a cathartic medicine to cope with traumatic events is only a temporary fix (Gilbert 2005:17), or as anthropologist Peter Redfield describes most humanitarianism, a way to "maintain 'life in crisis' and not to address the structural and political conditions that may have produced such crisis" (Feldman 2007:696). While there are certainly situations where music raises social consciousness and addresses health-related issues,[141] I believe that the center's true power lies in its malleability and its ability to fluidly address individualized needs, and I hesitate to reduce their activities to a type of healing medicine.

At the time of this writing, the center continues to receive donations and carry out their disaster support activities. While the center was initially set up as a volunteer organization, in September 2012, it became a general incorporated foundation (*ippan zaidan hōjin*), and in April of 2014, the center became a public interest incorporated foundation (*kōeki zaidan hōjin*) (Enomoto and Ōsawa 2015:39). Although the center was

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[141] Gregory Barz's study of grassroots efforts by artists in Uganda to disseminate information and educate the community about HIV/AIDS is one of the most successful scholarly contributions to this area because he presents a convincing case where music and performance are wholly integral to raising social consciousness. For culture bearers in the area, singing, dancing, and performing is literally a form of medical intervention because it commands attention and urges people to listen to their message (sometimes by disguising health-care outreach as entertainment), which has directly contributed to a decline in Uganda's infection rate (though the issue is far from resolved). Barz proposes that his study has "the potential to persuade governmental and non-governmental organizations of the power and efficacy of musical performance as a forum for medical interventions" (2006:3).

initially built up with uncertainties about its long-term effects and use, it continues to receive requests, and as Ōsawa put it, the center is continuing to "power up," and he stated that the more they continue with their activities, the clearer their purpose becomes.

Since July 2012, the center has also served as the Tohoku office of the Arts and Culture Consortium for Reconstruction (accr: *Bunka Geijutsu ni yoru Fukkō Suishin Konsōshiamu*), which was set up under the Agency for Cultural Affairs in May 2012 as a cooperative organization that supports arts-related disaster recovery efforts in consultation with representatives from government agencies, artistic institutions, cultural institutions, sponsors, businesses, NPOs, arts universities, and cultural volunteers. The consortium operates around five keywords: *tsunagu* (connecting), *tsudou* (meeting), *shiraberu* (researching), *tsutaeru* (conveying), and *tsuzukeru* (continuing), which also parallels the ways that the center has adjusted their support activities. Affiliates of the consortium connect various networks to develop support activities in disaster-affected areas, hold member meetings to promote the recovery of disaster-affected cultural activities, conduct research on the issues and outcomes of the consortium's support activities, convey its participants' disaster support activities on their website, Facebook, and mail magazines, and insist on the need to continue to support the recovery of cultural activities in disaster-affected areas. The consortium is led by an advisory committee and operations committee consisting of representatives such as Ōsawa who are from prominent organizations such as the Japanese Society for Rights of Authors, Composers, and Publishers, Geidankyo (Japan Council of Performers Rights & Performing Arts Organizations), The Association of Public Theaters and Halls in Japan, Association for

Corporate Support for the Arts, Tokyo University of the Arts, and National Bunraku Theatre. Furthermore, individuals and organizations are able to register for the consortium free of charge to both provide and receive support in arts revival, and as of February 2017, there are 113 individuals and 246 organizations registered with the consortium. The consortium aims to serve as a model for cultural support and recovery assistance for future disasters as well and provides a tripartite system of support that weaves together folk performing arts, children, and the cooperation of cultural institutions as indispensable components to the cultural and societal revival of disaster-affected regions.[142] The consortium represents the power of networking and collaboration, and also provides catered and customized methods of support.

The Center for Recovery through the Power of Music is certainly not the only organization that provides customized and catered musical support to disaster victims. Art Revival Connection Tohoku (ARCT), is a nonprofit organization established by a group of artists who convened on April 4, 2011 to consider what local artists could contribute to 3.11 relief efforts. Participants are primarily actors, but include 113 individuals and 30 troupes. Their office is based at Sendai 10 box and open to anyone to come and visit. Ten empty warehouse rooms called "boxes" are available as performance venues for artists and performers in the affected areas who no longer have a place to work on their craft and give performances. ARCT provides acting, dance, and music workshops that are "delivered" in response to needs and requests. ARCT frames their services as a *demae katsudō* (delivery service, often associated with food as in pizza

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[142] "Bunka Geijutsu ni yoru Fukkō Suishin Konsōshiamu ni tsuite," The Arts and Culture Consortium for Reconstruction, 2014, http://bgfsc.jp/consortium.

delivery) to enhance the implication that their presence and engagement were requested by the communities they service. Furthermore, ARCT provides a list of services to these venues and has them list their preferences in numerical order. The ARCT office arranges workshops based on preference and do their best to give each venue one of their top choices. As of 2015, ARCT has reached out to at least two-hundred daycare centers, elementary, middle, and high schools, and their support is spreading outside of Miyagi prefecture to Iwate and Fukushima as well (Enomoto and Ōsawa 2015:41). ARCT staff member Chida Yūta notes, however, that the organization struggles to sustain their activities having started out with zero funding. Grants alone are not enough to support ARCT, and because ARCT artists need to hold other jobs to make a living, the quality of their programs are consequently affected (ibid.). When I spoke to Chida in 2013, he noted that after the 1995 Kobe earthquake, the array of complimentary concerts and performances for victims cultivated an expectation of free entertainment, raising issues for artists when they started to charge for shows again and people stopped attending. What begins as efforts to mitigate the burdens of reciprocity for recipients sometimes turns into a burden for the performer as their performances become devalued by expectations of volunteerism. Similar issues are emerging in the wake of 3.11 where complimentary performances are categorized with volunteer work either as a service that victims are entitled to or conversely, something that satisfies the performer more than the observers as an act of goodwill.[143] Thus there are instances where the burden of musical

[143] Chida, Yūta, Interview, 5 August 2013.

relief efforts falls on the provider as well despite motivations fueled by morality and altruism.

One last unique example is the Hisaichi he Piano wo Todokeru Kai (Organization to Deliver Pianos to Disaster-Affected Areas), which was established on June 9, 2011. Oshio (2013c) provides an extensive interview with coordinator Shōji Michiko who is a pianist herself and built up the organization in collaboration with affiliates of Sendai Phil and university music departments in Sendai. Shōji was inspired to develop an organization to deliver pianos to disaster-affected communities after giving a performance at an evacuation center in Utatsu town in Minamisanriku on April 30, 2011 where after the performance, two young girls in the second grade brought up a tattered book of anime song notation and asked if they could play on the piano. The girls' home and piano were washed away and the book of notation they were carrying was the only one that withstood the disaster. The girls struggled to play a song on the piano before a piano teacher in the audience came up to help them, and one girl said that she would like to own a piano again in the future. The first donated piano was delivered to a daycare center in Higashi Matsushima in August 2011, and as of November 2016, the organization successfully delivered 482 donated pianos to schools, community centers, and individuals throughout Miyagi, Iwate, and Fukushima prefectures.[144]

I want to stress here the importance and effectiveness of framing the preceding support activities as delivery services that respond to requests rather than as services that are provided to disaster victims. The word 'provide' has similar associations with

[144] "Higashi nihon daishinsai hisaichi ongaku fukkō shien: Hisaichi e piano wo todokeru kai," 2016, http://www.piano-donation.org/.

compassion, which denotes privilege and the ability to alleviate someone else's suffering (Berlant 2004:4). Susan Sontag asserts that compassion is "an unstable emotion [that] needs to be translated into action, or it withers" (2003:101). What impresses me about the preceding activities is that they operate in ways that mitigate the hierarchies of victimhood by framing disaster support as requested deliveries, making them easier to request and lessening the burdens of reciprocity.

**Victim Solidarity**

Erica Bornstein defines empathy as "an emotional response that involves the possibility of experiencing the feelings of others" (2012:110). Sympathy, on the other hand, "is a sensibility that entails feeling for others, being affected by their suffering to the degree of compassion, and, ultimately, being compelled to end their suffering" (ibid.). Pity, she asserts, is simply "a derogatory act" (ibid.: 112). However, empathy does not always translate to benevolence because it can also be provoked by sentiment and affect developed through the moral imagination, which allows a person to distance themselves from a site of suffering while still producing a type of global solidarity in which one anticipates the violation of others' rights (ibid.). This is similar to what historian Thomas Haskell calls self-deception, which occupies the space between intention and consequence to imply intention and also allow us to disown responsibility (Haskell 1985:348), as well as what Sherene Razack calls "stealing the pain of others" or to rely on the consumption of images and stories to "confirm our own humanitarian character" (2007:376). Sara Ahmed describes others' pain as an object that can become ours through "…an appropriation that transforms and perhaps even neutralises their pain into our

sadness" (2004:21). She asserts that ultimately, "the subject who gives to the other is the one who is 'behind' the possibility of overcoming pain" (ibid.:22), putting the giver in an elevated position of power. The moralities of solidarity and support are complicated, however, when empathy is expressed by disaster victims towards victims of subsequent disasters. I present two examples below where those who experienced 3.11 musically "pay it forward" by redirecting the support and attention they received towards victims of the 2015 earthquake in Nepal and the 2016 earthquake in Kumamoto, Japan.

On March 10, 2016, I went to a charity concert in Sendai that featured a variety of local musicians with connections to Sendai called "Hikari Song Gift: Higashi nihon daishinsai wo keiken shita watashitachi dakara dekiru koto (Hikari [Light] Song Gift: What only those of us who experienced the 3.11 disaster can do)," which was coordinated by a singer/songwriter from Sendai named Sano Aoi.

Figure 3.2 Concert flyer for "Hikari Song Gift: Higashi nihon daishinsai wo keiken shita watashitachi dakara dekiru koto (Hikari [light] Song Gift: What only those of us who experienced the 3.11 disaster can do)" held at Sendai Darwin on March 10, 2016. The flyer reads, "Under the same sky from Sendai to Nepal," and "A charity concert featuring 'light (hope)' and 'music' by seven artists with connections to Sendai."

Admission was 3000 yen (roughly $30), and the premise behind this concert was to consider what musicians who have experienced 3.11 can do for victims of the April 25, 2015 earthquake in Nepal. Sano experienced 3.11 in Tokyo, and her mother lives in

Kathmandu and survived the 2015 earthquake. Sano went to Nepal to volunteer and perform in disaster-affected areas, and quickly realized that the people there, most of whom were living in temporary tents with minimal access to electricity, would benefit from solar lanterns. Sano stated that even by 2016, there were still several areas that experienced eight to ten hours of daily power outages. She put together a charity project called "Hikari Song Gift," and has been giving concerts to collect funds to deliver solar lanterns to people in Nepal.

Sano ended her closing set at the 2016 charity concert with an arrangement of the Nepali folk song "Resham Firiri," which she sings at all of her charity events. She stated that she receives positive responses from locals whenever she performs the song in Nepal. Ethnomusicologist Tori Dalzell informed me that "Resham Firiri" is perhaps the most ubiquitous Nepali folk song, recognizable to virtually everyone in Nepal, and in her own experiences of living and conducting fieldwork there, she heard the song performed by Gaine (caste musicians, itinerant) musicians playing it in places such as street corners and on buses along with other improvised songs that they perform for money from their audiences. Sano sings the chorus and first verse of the song[145] in Nepali:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Resham firiri, resham firiri* | Resham firiri (vocables) |
| *Udera jaunkee dandaa ma bhanjyang* | Shall we go the valleys or sing on the hills |
| *Resham firiri* | Resham firiri (vocables) |
| | |
| *Ek nale banduk, dui nale banduk* | Not with one gun, not with two guns |
| *mirga lai takeko* | [I] shot a deer |
| *Mirga lai mailey takekohoina* | I did not shoot the deer |

[145] Sano performing "Resham Firiri" on Huawei Namaste TV Show in Nepal: "Resham Firiri – Japanese Singer Aoi Sano LIVE (HUAWEI Namaste TV Show)," YouTube video, 5:15, posted by "Namaste TV Show" on April 27, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i--Ph3yxP6U.

| | |
|---|---|
| *maya lai dakay ko* | I shot my love[146] |

Sano sings the next several verses in Japanese, which she wrote herself:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Anata wo omou kimochi wa kitto*<br>*koete shimau Himalaya* | My feelings for you are probably<br>greater than the Himalayas |
| *Utsukushiki Bhaktapur,*<br>*Bungamati, Pokhara* | Bhaktapur, Bungamati, and Pokhara<br>(earthquake stricken regions) are beautiful |
| *Donna keshiki yorimo suki*<br>*anata no egao* | More than any landscape,<br>I love your smile |
| *Aini yuku yo Thai wo keiyu*<br>*Tokyo kokokara Kathmandu* | I'm going to go visit you with a layover in<br>Thailand, from here in Tokyo to<br>Kathmandu |

She ends the song with a refrain in English, “we live on the earth,” perhaps as an expression of solidarity in line with the theme of the concert. At the concert on March 10, Sano passed out lyric cards to audience members to sing along as well as solar lanterns for us to wave back and forth during the song.

[146] Thank you to Tori Dalzell for the translations and for noting that this is perhaps the most well known verse in the song.

レッサンフィリリー / 作詞(Japanese)：佐野碧

レッサンフィリリー レッサンフィリリー　ウデラ ジャウキ ダーダマ バンジャン レッサンフィリリー ×2

エクナレバンドゥク ドイナレバンドゥク ミールガーライ タケコ ×2
ミルガラマイレ タケコホイナ マーヤーライ ダケコ ×2

レッサンフィリリー レッサンフィリリー　ウデラ ジャウキ ダーダマ バンジャン レッサンフィリリー ×2

あなたを想う 気持ちはきっと 越えてしまうヒマラヤ　美しき バークタプール ブンガマティ ポカラ
どんな景色よりも好きあなたの笑顔　会いにゆくよ タイを経由　Tokyo ここから Kathmandu

レッサンフィリリー レッサンフィリリー　ウデラ ジャウキ ダーダマ バンジャン レッサンフィリリー ×2

We live on the earth

レッサンフィリリー レッサンフィリリー　ウデラ ジャウキ ダーダマ バンジャン レッサンフィリリー

Figure 3.3 Lyric card for "Resham Firiri" distributed to audience members to sing along at the Hikari Song Gift charity concert. The first verse and chorus are in the original Nepali with several verses in Japanese and a refrain in English written by Sano.

When the song ended and as solar lanterns were being collected, Sano announced that we can donate a solar lantern that she will hand deliver to Nepal on her next visit for 2000 yen ($20) a piece, and that she hopes to continue to be able to deliver lanterns until they are no longer needed. What I appreciate about Sano's project is that she focuses her charity efforts towards solar lanterns, which she determined would be helpful to disaster victims in Nepal based on her own observations and involvement in the community. Furthermore, her choice to feature "Resham Firiri," a folk song that is meaningful to people in Nepal rather than to emphasize her own songs or traditional Japanese songs, is

also an informed decision that connects experiences – a gesture that is not as commonplace as one might suspect.

In April of 2016, Kumamoto, in the southwestern Kyūshū region of Japan, experienced a magnitude 7.0 earthquake and several aftershocks, which caused severe damage and killed at least fifty people. At the Blue Carp Streamers event where blue carp streamers are raised and music is performed annually in the severely hit coastal town of Higashi Matsushima in Miyagi prefecture in tribute to the children who lost their lives on 3.11, a specific modification was made to a particular piece to pay to tribute to Kumamoto victims at the 2016 event (see chapter 5 for more about this event). In 2015 and in 2016, the event opened with a collaborative piece entitled "Michinoku,"[147] featuring taiko drummers from different local groups performing the piece together. In 2016, the piece was slightly modified where in the latter half of the piece, the four-syllable chant "MI-CHI-NO-KU" was replaced with "KU-MA-MO-TO."[148] The four-syllable chant begins with a strong hit on the taiko drum using both *bachi* drumsticks that falls on the first syllable, then two rests, before both arms are raised on the emphasized fourth syllable. When chanting "Michinoku," the movement could be interpreted as a way for 3.11 victims to demonstrate pride for their homeland, whereas when they chant

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[147] Michinoku (historical name for the Tohoku region) was written in 2011 to encourage disaster victims by composer Satō Mitsuaki. The piece was not written for any one taiko group, and is meant to be a piece that various groups can practice separately, then perform together collaboratively.

[148] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RbEICxmvYLs 2:24-7:36 for "Michinoku" in 2015, and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GHv7evVzAic for "Michinoku" in 2016 ("Kumamoto" begins at 4:18).

"Kumamoto," it could be interpreted as a gesture of support cheering for the recovery of Kumamoto victims.

The modification to "Michinoku" was meant to express solidarity and support, and to show that the Blue Carp Streamers event can be extended beyond 3.11. This gesture could be read as a way to demonstrate progress in that enough time had passed since 3.11 to be able to acknowledge and include other tragedies in the event. In her description of war sites in post-war Vietnam, Christina Schwenkel writes that memory at such sites "…is not necessarily erased, defiled, trivialized, or homogenized, as popular beliefs would hold, so much as it is reconstituted, recombined, renarrated, and resignified by multiple actors, all of whom bring to the site their differing histories and relationships to the past" (Schwenkel 2009:100-101). While most if not all the performers of "Michinoku" experienced the 3.11 disaster first hand, enough time seems to have passed where 3.11 victims are able to demonstrate their solidarity with those of other disasters.

**Conclusion: Lessening the Load**

A member of Operation Tomodachi,[149] the U.S. Armed Forces assistance operation to support post-3.11 disaster relief, gave a brief speech when he was recognized for his services at a charity concert I attended in Los Angeles in 2017. Towards the end of his speech, he humbly stated, "our task was simply to lessen the load." While seemingly obvious, this line resonated with me because it is one that I rarely heard in my encounters in the field, and it frames disaster relief in a way that is not optimistically restorative. No

[149] Operation Tomodachi (Friend) was launched the day after the earthquake and lasted until May 4, 2011. It cost $90 million and involved 24,000 US service members, 189 aircrafts, and 24 naval ships (Allison 2013:189).

relief activity can completely mitigate the physical and psychological effects of a major catastrophe, and it is important to conscientiously bear this in mind and to be cognizant of the hard fact that we can never fully understand someone else's suffering. The role of outside supporters is to listen, to encourage, to mitigate, and to support, but recovery is ultimately defined by the victims themselves. As J.F. Morris asserts, "…if recovery does not come from the victims themselves, if it does not engage them on centre stage, then it will not be a true recovery, but a pillaging of the region by other people who will reap the economic and other benefits of restoration work within the region" (2012:47). In the next chapter, I examine musical activities wherein disaster survivors take "center stage" to express their gratitude for outside support and demonstrate their strength and tenacity. These activities carry a different set of complexities that both complement and contradict the ones addressed in this chapter in that survivors remain reliant on support from outsiders to a certain extent, but must also negotiate how to overcome their status as victims on the national and global stage.

## Chapter 4: Expressing Gratitude and Showcasing Progress: A Call for Critical Pedagogy in Music "by" Disaster Survivors

*6/20/2015*

*I was in Tokyo today to see a production of "At Home in the World" (Sekai ga Wagaya) at the Nerima Cultural Center. "At Home in the World" is a stage production first performed in Japan and in the US in 2014 envisioned and directed by London-based theatre director John Caird with support from the Ashinaga Foundation, a Japanese organization founded in 1993 by Tamai Yoshiomi that provides educational and psychological support to children around the world who have lost one or both parents. The foundation runs programs to support children who lost parents in the 3.11 disaster, and to children in Uganda who have lost parents to HIV/AIDS. The production featured adolescent taiko players from Ishinomaki city directed by members of Senrai (see chapter 5), young singers and dancers from Uganda, and members of New York's Vassar College Choir. Vassar College is involved in the production because Ashinaga's founder was greatly inspired by the novel Daddy Long-Legs[150] published in 1912 and written by Vassar alumna Jean Webster. The production was entirely scripted and presented a loose narrative of collaboration and overcoming hardships together, while featuring both individual and collaborative musical numbers. The individual numbers by the taiko drummers and the Ugandan singers/dancers were impressive and touching, yet the production as a whole felt disjointed and arbitrarily put together. Collaboration proved to be a fault rather than an asset.*

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[150] *Daddy Long-Legs* is an epistolary novel that tells the story of an orphan whose education at an unnamed women's college is sponsored by an anonymous gentleman she refers to as "Daddy Long-Legs."

*3/26/2016*

*Today, I went to see Sakamoto Ryūichi's*[151] *Tohoku Youth Orchestra Concert at Tokyo Opera City Concert Hall. Sakamoto started the orchestra as a means to provide moral support for children still in the process of recovering from the 3.11 disaster. Children living in Miyagi, Iwate, and Fukushima prefectures at the time of the 3.11 disaster were chosen to join the orchestra via a public call for participation, and 103 adolescents ranging in age from fourth grade to fourth year college students performed today with Sakamoto and jazz pianist Yamashita Yōsuke. I was very impressed with the children's musicality as they expressively performed a range of repertoire from Sakamoto's film scores, Gershwin's Rhapsody in Blue, and Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 in E Minor, Op. 64. Yet, I was left wanting to hear more about how participation in the orchestra was helping the children recover in their own words to complement and validate the worth of showcasing their impressive performance skills.*

Despite obvious differences in musical genre, the preceding examples have shared commonalities that serve as the basis of examination in this chapter. Both performances were held outside of Tohoku in theaters packed full of audience members, and featured young "survivors" of the 3.11 disaster on a stage. Both were orchestrated and coordinated not by the survivors themselves, but by influential outsiders trying to help by giving survivors a space to express their gratitude for support and to demonstrate their progress

[151] Sakamoto Ryūichi is a world-renowned composer and musician. He is a member of the iconic late-1970s techno-pop group Yellow Magic Orchestra (YMO) and an Academy-Award winning composer for his score to Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* (1987). Sakamoto has been incredibly prominent and vocal in the post-3.11 antinuclear movement (see Manabe 2015), but he made no mention of these issues at the Youth Orchestra concert.

towards recovery. They offered a space to raise awareness about disaster survival and for interactive engagement between disaster survivors and intrigued and impressed spectators, yet both examples were formulaically the same – privileged organizers put together staged displays of disaster survivors for an audience to simply consume as righteous and impressive. Organizers taught the children performance skills, but they dictated what and how they should perform to impress and satisfy the audience. Organizers were not as successful in involving the children in the planning and presentation process to allow them to determine how they want to present themselves, and more importantly, how they could apply the skills they've learned through participation in the productions to work towards recovery. Both productions came short of seizing opportunities to even power dynamics and foster critical pedagogy.

The critical pedagogy movement was formulated in the 1960s by the Brazilian educator and theorist Paulo Freire, who observed a need to reimagine education that avoids authoritarian teacher-pupil models using methods that would allow students to come to a new awareness of selfhood through education and begin to look critically at the social situation in which they find themselves, often by taking the initiative in acting to transform the society that has denied them the opportunity of participation (1993:11). As ethnomusicologist Deborah Wong writes, "rather than 'give' knowledge to those regarded as being without it and thus reenact colonial models of power and authority, Freire argued that teachers and students should share the responsibility for, and the power of, generating the terms of knowledge, and should teach one another how to learn" (2009:6). Wong argues that critical pedagogy has much to offer to ethnomusicologists in

that it provides a framework for us to address moral imperatives that we are "often unwilling to draw from or even to articulate" (ibid.:8). In this chapter, I aim to address moral imperatives that I observed in presentational performances by 3.11 disaster survivors as a way to begin to think about the ways that musical support activities for disaster survivors could draw from Freireian models to provide platforms for disaster survivors to work out their own visions towards recovery. I present disaster survivors as disadvantaged in order to suggest that they should share the responsibility in not only educating their audiences through public performances, but perhaps more influentially, to generate new strategies towards recovery in collaboration with outside educators who are eager to help, but not always in the best ways.

In this chapter, I present musical activities that feature disaster survivors as performers who have adequately "endured" and "overcome" their suffering to be able to express their gratitude for support on the public stage. This framework ignores opportunities for critical pedagogy by suggesting that disaster survivors have sufficiently recovered, undermining remaining needs for assistance. I argue that while such efforts are well intended, they can be improved by implementing models offered through critical pedagogy, which avoids the authoritarian teacher-pupil model, and is instead based on the actual experiences of students and on continual shared investigation (Freire 1993). In the context of post-3.11 staged performances, the students are the disaster survivors, and the teachers are outside supporters with the power and influence to coordinate such productions. Knowledge dissemination should educate the audience about what post-disaster survival means to disaster survivors, and address what the audience can do to

help survivors achieve their visions – not to continually re-narrate disaster survival as a celebration deserving praise and admiration. I suggest that outsiders should work in closer collaboration with disaster survivors to allow them to determine how they want to present themselves on the public stage rather than to mold disaster survivors to fit certain expectations of how they should assert their recovery.

I will present the underlying issues and challenges of two types of prolific staged 3.11 survivor performances: 1. Staged productions of Tohoku's folk performing arts, and 2. Staged productions of post-3.11 children's ensembles. In both examples, technique and skill are often valued over creativity and uniqueness, which sometimes creates harmful effects. Valuing technique means that often times, only the most skilled and highly regarded folk performing troupes are invited to perform at prestigious venues, and children are subjected to rigorous discipline to technically perfect how they play their orchestral repertoire. Social context and human interaction are lost in a blinding effort to impress the audience. Deborah Wong describes her disinterest in valuation as actively resistant. She writes that "such qualitative judgments are inescapably rooted in modernist Western art ideologies that systematically remove meaning from social context and human interactions and instead invest it in artistic objects" (1998:82). Qualitative judgments define the criteria by which 3.11 survivor performances are deemed worthy of public attention. Worth becomes based not on societal values and localized impact, but on how well a performance can impress the audience. The critical pedagogy model can help create a shift in these standards.

**Showcasing Localized Folk Performing Arts**

*1/24/2015*

*I visited the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka to observe a performance by the Hisanohama Ōhisa jangara nembutsu dance troupe who were invited from Iwaki, Fukushima. The performance was coordinated by folklorist Hashimoto Hiroyuki and researchers affiliated with the museum. Before the performance, it was announced that this particular troupe revived their activities just four months after the disaster and has performed several times outside of Tohoku since 3.11. The lights in the theater were dimmed and a line of performers entered from the doors behind us, marching down the aisles and onto the stage as audience members clapped to the beat of the taiko drums and kane bells. They proceeded to present a staged performance of the jangara nembutsu dance, which is traditionally not performed on a stage for an audience, but is actually a ritual observance where performers move from house to house during the Obon season to pay their respect to households who lost family members that year. The performers who were all relatively young adults stated that they were inspired to continue their activities after people found their equipment in the debris and took the effort to return it to them. Despite receiving criticism from some locals who argued that these young members are wasting their time with jangara when they should be more productively contributing their able bodies to help with clean-up and restoration efforts, they stated that these performances are giving them the opportunity to express their gratitude for all the support they have received and that the performances also allow them to educate outsiders about the jangara nembutsu tradition as well as the current state of their town.*

In an effort to try to provide disaster-affected folk performing troupes with more performance opportunities, several troupes have been invited to give performances at renowned theaters and venues both domestically and internationally. Although outside performances are giving visibility to folk performing troupes from affected areas, they are also forcefully changing them into presentational practices that are sometimes stripped of their unique features in ways that Philip Bohlman categorizes as the "exotic" or "unqualified difference…with no characteristics of its own." (Bohlman 2002:26). Folk performing arts from disaster-affected areas lose their uniqueness when they are clumped together with others and broadly labeled as "performers from disaster-affected areas." The presentation of the jangara troupe at the Museum of Ethnology was rather rare in that they were the only troupe featured in the presentation. Even within Japan, when these performers are put on a stage and introduced as people who really suffered but are working hard to recover, it often stimulates expectations of sympathy from spectators that override the original purpose of these performing art forms.

According to cultural anthropologist Kodani Ryūsuke, folk performing arts have traditionally been performed in villages for people in that village, in many cases often serving as background music for matsuri attendees, and were not meant to be performed presentationally on a stage for an eager and curious audience. Furthermore, these performances were not about demonstrating a high skill level, but were more about providing a space for attendees to periodically listen, jump in, and participate as they please. In many cases, however, for a group to be selected to give an outside performance,

they must be at a very high skill level, thus only the best groups are given these opportunities.[152]

Barbara Thornbury writes that "unlike the mainstream arts of noh and kyogen, kabuki and bunraku, all of which have their own national theatres to ensure their survival and accessibility to audiences, folk performing arts by their very nature give spectators a narrow range of viewing opportunities. Like the festivals of which they are part, most are presented only once a year in a given locale" (1993:163-164). As explained in chapter 2, the localized musical culture of disaster-affected areas in Tohoku consists predominantly of folk performing arts as opposed to classicized art forms such as noh and kabuki. Following 3.11, however, folk performing troupes from Tohoku were invited to give performances at major venues and theaters throughout Japan as a way to both showcase their work to audience members curious to learn more about Tohoku culture, and to give troupes a chance to publically express their gratitude for outside support.[153] While this may sound like a splendid opportunity for folk performing troupes to take center stage at venues that they would otherwise never have had the chance to access, these offers sometimes have drawbacks. Thornbury aptly writes,

> …the inescapable fact is that folk performing arts are not stage arts. The glare of stage lights in a darkened auditorium with hundreds of spectators looking on

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[152] Kodani, Ryusuke, Interview, 6 February 2015.

[153] Thornbury notes that the earliest of showcase events that took folk performing arts out of their festival context to present them on center stage was in 1925 with the launch of the first annual Convention of Folk Dance and Song (*Kyōdo Buyō to Min'yō no Kai*). "First held to celebrate the completion of the new Nihon Seinenkan (Japan Youth Association building) in Tokyo, the convention ran for just over ten years, from 1925 to 1936. It was revived in 1950 as the National Convention of Local Performing Arts (*Zenkoku Kyōdo Geinō Taikai*), the name by which it has been known since 1958" (1997:42-43).

expectantly can make the performances of even the most dedicated volunteer appear amateurish. The fear of not being good enough for public view may cause groups to alter their presentations, resulting in changes that stick even when the group goes back to its home base (ibid.:170-171).

For Tohoku's folk performing troupes, the conventional issue of transforming a folk performing art into a stage art is coupled with the loss of individualized identity when they are grouped in a program with a range of troupes that are broadly labeled as Tohoku's folk performing arts that are praised for their perseverance and determination.

The National Theatre in Tokyo, which has served as a home to kabuki and bunraku since its opening in 1966, has hosted numerous one to two-day folk performing arts presentations since prior to 3.11 that are usually thematically based (ibid.:167-168). Following 3.11, the theatre started a series called "Tohoku's Folk Performing Arts" (Tohoku no Geinō). The first of the series was held in June of 2012 and featured five different troupes from Iwate prefecture. From there, the series has continued annually under the following themes: Miyagi, Fukushima, coastal regions of Iwate Miyagi Fukushima, the six prefectures of Tohoku, and Tohoku ogres. Arguably, the theme of the series has broadened with each subsequent year, loosening the ties that connect the representative troupes together. However, the Tohoku folk performing arts series serves as an impactful site to educate audiences and raise awareness about the state of post-3.11 Tohoku's folk performing arts namely because it draws in large audiences as a prestigious and easily accessible venue. Performances featured in the series are carefully introduced by performers and folk performing arts specialists (similar to Furusato no Matsuri discussed in chapter 2) raising awareness about the state of post-3.11 Tohoku's

folk performing arts, but the extent to which these types of staged performances are contributing to the region's sustainability is not as clear.

Better alternatives should strive to foster knowledge production under the terms of the practitioners themselves. Ethnomusicologist Samuel Araújo (2006) demonstrates the effectiveness of approaches that take both conflict and violence as central conditions of knowledge production. Drawing from Freire's models, Araújo calls for academic investments in natives' formation in and conduction of research activities. 3.11 heightened public interest in the Tohoku region, but thematically based presentations of Tohoku's folk performing arts in major theatres sometimes feed the audience's curiosity at the expense of altering folk performing arts from their usual context, which can attenuate their localized value.[154] Rather than to support a folk performing art's local sustainability, the art form is presented as an object that symbolizes tenacity.

One possible alternative that educates "audiences" while supporting localized sustainability is an organized tour to the region itself to observe the performance in its localized context. Hashimoto Hiroyuki has led educational two-day tours that take people from Tokyo to Fudai village in Iwate to sit amongst the locals and observe the Unotori Kagura troupe's performances at *kagurayado* (residences where the troupe stays and performs to entertain the deities and bring good fortune to the household). Attendees gain firsthand knowledge of the tradition's impact on the local community, while also supporting Fudai village's economy by staying at local inns and indulging in local

[154] See Foster 2015 for a discussion about the ways that a UNESCO designation posed a threat to the localized value of Toshidon for local neighborhoods.

foods.[155] Rather than to stage a representation of a community for the audience, the audience is immersed into the community, albeit temporarily, but to the benefit of the local community.

When the musical community is not a pre-existing group as is the case with most of Tohoku's folk performing troupes, but a constructed post-3.11 musical community, a different, but related set of moral imperatives come into play. In the next section, I present the issues behind the creation of an El Sistema-inspired children's orchestra and chorus in Sōma, Fukushima. Although participation in the program offers performance opportunities at prestigious venues and collaborations with elite musicians, their rehearsals follow an authoritarian pedagogical model that inhibits critical discovery, and overlook the potential for the orchestra to enact localized social change.

**El Sistema and The Sōma Children's Orchestra and Chorus**

El Sistema is a publicly financed voluntary sector music education program that was founded in Venezuela in 1975 by José Antonio Abreu, an economist, former government minister, and accomplished musician. Abreu's vision was to bring disadvantaged young people together as an orchestra to provide not only musical learning, but more importantly, social and emotional growth. Starting out as a humble eleven-member orchestra that practiced in an empty parking garage in downtown Caracas, by 1977, a federal government foundation called Fundación del Estado para el Sistema Nacional de las Orquestas Juveniles e Infantiles de Venezuela (FESNOJIV) was established to provide support for the orchestra as a youth development project (Tunstall

[155] For more about Hashimoto's efforts to support the revival of Unotori Kagura in English, see Miichi 2016.

and Booth 2016:6). Currently, there are El Sistema-inspired programs in hundreds of cities and towns in the United States as well as programs in over sixty countries worldwide. El Sistema includes over 370 different programs, over 1,000 núcleos (the Venezuelan term for a Sistema community music center), over 1,500 choruses, over 2,000 youth orchestras, and almost one million children (ibid.:xvi).[156] In their generous overview of El Sistema's international impact, Tunstall and Booth argue that "the El Sistema mission is not only to help children but often, literally, to rescue them—and, in the process, to effect real and lasting changes in the lives of their families and communities" (ibid.:xv). In Venezuela, the primary purpose of El Sistema is to combat the effects of poverty, while in some European Sistema-inspired programs, the goal is to defuse the damage wrought by ethnic segregation and prejudice. When El Sistema was adopted in the development of a children's orchestra and chorus in post-3.11 Sōma, Fukushima, however, the purpose was not to combat poverty or ethnic prejudice, but rather, to bring encouragement and joy to children who were relocated and traumatized by the disaster.

The idea to develop the Sōma Children's Orchestra and Chorus was initiated several months after 3.11 when Kikugawa Yutaka, a Japanese UNICEF national committee[157] official helping to lead Sōma's recovery efforts, had a chance to work with the Berlin Philharmonic (one of the UNICEF goodwill ambassadors for disaster victims),

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[156] For a discussion of El Sistema's growth in Venezuela and the United States, see Tunstall 2011.
[157] The Japan Committee for UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) was founded in 1955 and has grown to become a leading institution for the advocacy of children's rights in Japan.

and met Fergus McWilliam, one of the orchestra's French horn players. McWilliam, who had worked with El Sistema in Venezuela for over ten years suggested to Kikugawa that El Sistema might be beneficial to disaster-affected children in Sōma. Kikugawa proposed the idea to the Sōma City Board of Education, which responded with enthusiasm (ibid.: 245-246). The Friends of El Sistema Japan (FESJ) was founded in 2012 as the first El Sistema-inspired program in Japan to provide technical and financial support to the Sōma City Board of Education to develop the Sōma Children's Orchestra and Chorus. Funding for FESJ comes from MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology), and donors. FESJ signed cooperation agreements with Sōma city in 2012, and with Ōtsuchi town in Iwate prefecture in 2014, and provides free instrument rentals and music classes to children in both towns, but Ōtsuchi town does not have an official orchestra and chorus at this time. The Sōma Children's Orchestra and Chorus was launched in 2013, and has since held numerous performances both nationally and internationally. They have also collaborated with other El Sistema-inspired orchestras including YOLA (Youth Orchestra Los Angeles).

On January 23, 2016, I conducted an interview with Katō Asako, a violinist and Program Coordinator of El Sistema Japan Sōma Children's Orchestra and Choir. Katō was previously involved with an El Sistema program in Guatemala, and her work there ended in July of 2011. Upon her return to Japan, she heard about plans to develop an El Sistema-inspired program in Japan, and was eventually hired as an assistant instructor and program coordinator for the Sōma Children's Orchestra. Katō is not only an assistant instructor for the Sōma orchestra, but also gives violin lessons with the program in

Ōtsuchi. At the time of the interview, the Sōma orchestra had seventy string players, and the chorus had roughly eighty members. Katō explained that while there is no audition process and any child is welcome to participate regardless of skill level, there are a very limited number of instructors, thus calls for new participants are only advertised once a year. The orchestra and chorus each practice once a week, and on every other Saturday, optional group lessons are offered, and on one weekday evening a week, a two-hour session is offered as an independent practice space for upper elementary school students. Katō stated that most students do not take advantage of these extra offerings and many students are not particularly committed to practicing because they are too busy with other commitments, and perhaps more influentially, because participation in the orchestra is free of charge, which tends to lessen the incentives to commit to the orchestra. She speculated that if they were to charge a $10 monthly fee, for example, many students would probably quit not because they are unable to pay the fee, but because it would not be worth it to them. In fact, Katō noted that students are constantly quitting and replaced with new ones.

The Sōma Children's Orchestra and Chorus differs from El Sistema programs in Venezuela in that it is not nearly as intensive and demanding. Many El Sistema students in Venezuela practice for around four hours a day, five or six days a week, and are expected to continually improve and commit to the program (Baker 2014:3). In both contexts, however, participation in the program provides benefits to the children such as the opportunity to enjoy making music, to receive personal attention from mentors, and to socialize with their peers, serving as a temporary escape from their daily struggles.

Participation in the orchestra certainly has its rewards, but the extent that these benefits are impacting the children outside rehearsal and performance settings is questionable. In his critical examination of El Sistema's shortcomings, Geoffrey Baker convincingly writes about the orchestra as a metaphor for social inclusion, solidarity, and teamwork. He argues that the orchestra's role is metaphorical, and that "the propagation of appealing orchestral metaphors of order and harmony depends on an ignorance or denial of their distance from the challenging and sometimes sordid realities of orchestral life and thus on a suspension of disbelief" (ibid.:122). Without substantial change, Baker believes that El Sistema orchestras in Venezuela "…may never be more than a metaphor for an ideal society —which is not much use for a real-life music education system or social development project" (ibid.:125). Similarly, while the Sōma program's objective is to help heal traumatized children by bringing them joy and self-confidence, it would be more effective and powerful if it could more directly contribute to local community building in Sōma by not only serving as a platform to showcase Sōma's children to outside audiences through public performances, but also working in closer contact with the people of Sōma to develop programs of their choosing that they are inspired to sustain.

Katō believes that El Sistema as a label has strong name value, especially for people in Tokyo where the main program coordinators are based. There is only one lead violin instructor based in Sōma and a music director from Tokyo comes to lead rehearsals every two weeks. A devoted group of volunteer college student string players, mostly from Tokyo and Sendai, take day-trips to rehearsals every week and also help as assistant teachers. Most are drawn not only to helping disaster-affected children, but also to the

idea of taking part in an El Sistema-inspired program. At public performances, audiences are mostly filled with the children's relatives and acquaintances and most other spectators are not locals from Sōma, but people from Tokyo who are curious to find out what the world-renowned El Sistema method is all about and are interested to see its results. Katō said she would like to see the Sōma Children's Orchestra and Chorus develop into something that is more representative of Sōma by becoming something that the people of Sōma take pride in rather than a construct that is almost entirely controlled by outsiders. The music directors dictate what repertoire the children will learn and play, and for the most part, they oppose any suggestions that are not Western classical music. Even though Western classical music may not have much meaning to the children, the program coordinators carry a reverential attitude towards it by asserting that it is more worthy, impressive, and sophisticated than popular songs that the children request to play and find more relatable. The directors call the shots on how the children should be presented to the public as survivors of the disaster by attributing their rescue to Western classical music.

Furthermore, labeling and promoting the Sōma Children's Orchestra and Chorus as an El Sistema-inspired program reifies that the children are disadvantaged, suffering, and in need of rescue. It puts them in the same category as impoverished children in Venezuela and ethnically segregated children in Europe. Suggesting that Sōma city *needs* El Sistema also suggests that the city is socially stigmatized and underprivileged. While Sōma city was heavily impacted by the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear fallout, and residents undoubtedly continue to experience immense hardships, using children to reify those hardships is not particularly helpful for their recovery. After all, El Sistema's

current mission statement describes itself as “a social program of the Venezuelan state devoted to the pedagogical, occupational, and ethical salvation of children and young people via the instruction and collective practice of music, [and] dedicated to the training, protection, and inclusion of the most vulnerable groups in the country” (Baker 2016:11). Ironically, by trying to save the children from their trauma, participation in the Sōma program sometimes forces them to remember and recount their disaster experiences. Katō stated that for performances in disaster-affected areas, the children write essays to recite to the audience, and they include such lines as “I’m sure the disaster was difficult for you. Our hearts were also scarred, but the orchestra is helping to heal us.” She observed,

> It’s a bit of a shame. The better children are at discerning what the adults want to hear, the better they are at writing emotionally evocative essays. If 3.11 didn’t happen, what kinds of things would these children have to say? It’s almost as though their fate has been determined for them. It’s very complicated. You also can’t say that 3.11 is not relevant. It’s certainly become a big part of their lives, but it’s not everything.[158]

To a certain degree, the children in the Sōma program are being used to showcase Western classical music as a form of salvation as well as to convince funders that participation in the orchestra is saving the children from their suffering. Baker asserts that “El Sistema’s approach treats music education as a tool less of social justice than of capitalist development” (2016:16), and the same could be said about the Sōma program to the extent that the children are sometimes exploited as part of funding strategies and marketing tactics. Instead of training the children to solicit pity and donations, it would be productive to teach them skills in leadership and creativity, and to give them a basis to develop their own programs.

[158] Katō, Asako, Interview, 23 January 2016.

Katō noted that there are no children in the Sōma program who are still living in temporary housing units, but because rehearsal spaces large enough to accommodate the orchestra are only available in remote areas, children cannot attend rehearsals unless they have a guardian who is able to take them there. Transportation is a big problem especially since several households have parents who work on weekends, and many children miss rehearsals simple because they cannot find a ride. This issue may also be tied to the fact that students do not pay a participation fee. Although free instrument rentals and lessons are provided as a service to disaster survivors, it also tends to overly lessen the burdens of obligation to the extent that participation in the orchestra is treated as supplemental and something that is available to them when it is convenient for them.

"Come and see our rehearsal sometime," Katō said towards the end of our interview. "The children are rehearsing frequently right now for an upcoming recital that will be held in Fukushima city." On February 7, 2016, I went to observe an orchestra rehearsal at a storage warehouse for disaster emergency supplies built in 2013 in a remote part of Sōma city (Sōma-shi Bōsai Bichiku Sōko). I was the only person who disembarked from the mostly unoccupied, tiny local train at the nearest stop, which was a thirty-minute walk from the venue. As I exited the platform, I was faced with nothing more than an open field full of rice paddies and a narrow gravel road that cut through the fields.

Figure 4.1 Path to Sōma Children's Orchestra rehearsal site. Photo by author.

Slightly worried that I had gotten off at the wrong stop, especially since another train would not come for over an hour, I quickly pulled up google maps on my cell phone, which reassured me that I can walk to the venue in a half hour. I proceeded to follow the route, which led me to a couple of dead-ends where I literally had to go off the beaten path, and trudge over mounds of dirt. After walking for twenty-minutes or so, a building finally came into sight, but there was no direct route to it, so I continued to follow any path I could in that general direction. I was grateful that Katō offered to give me a ride to the station after the rehearsal since it would have been quite dangerous to trudge through these paths in the dark. As I got closer, cars full of students and parents periodically

zoomed past me until one finally stopped beside me, and a mother rolled down her window. “Are you an assistant teacher?” she asked. “No, but I’m here to observe the rehearsal,” I replied. “The building is just right over there. I just dropped off my daughter, but let me give you a ride. I figured you were affiliated with the rehearsal since nobody else would have any reason to be walking around here.” I had barely strapped my seatbelt on before she dropped me off in front of the building.

I recount my experience of struggling to get to the rehearsal site to emphasize Katō’s point that children cannot participate in the orchestra without the cooperation and approval of their parents to get them to and from rehearsal and performance venues. She noted that while in Venezuela, El Sistema provides buses that take children to rehearsals, and organizers make an effort to hold rehearsals at convenient and accessible venues, the Sōma program lacks such accommodations. Thus while the orchestra may advertise that it is open and available to all children who are interested, the reality is that it is only accessible to children whose parents see the worth and benefits of participation in the orchestra. Baker writes that “inclusion is a complex topic, since activities themselves can be exclusive, even if they include marginalized social groups. Today, therefore, many argue that it takes much more than an open door to foster social inclusion” (2014:189). Accessibility is not the only factor hindering inclusivity in the Sōma program. Children who are able to attend rehearsals every week may be physically present, but based on the rehearsal I observed, there is no time offered to solicit their input or thoughts. The entire six-hour rehearsal was about following the conductor and implementing his corrections.

It was about playing in tune and in tempo. It was about playing to impress technically not creatively and collaboratively.

Upon my arrival at the rehearsal venue, the raucous sounds of children conversing, of parents scolding, of teachers giving directions, and of instruments being tuned and fiddled with emanated from the building. I climbed up the stairs to the rehearsal room, and was just barely able to squeeze in as Katō spotted me, told me where I could drop off my things and set up my tripod, and quickly introduced me to the other teachers before proceeding to help with tuning. As the students got to their seats, it was evident that the youngest children, some of whom were so tiny that their legs were dangling from their seats, were in a row in the back, and a couple of older adult players were strategically planted amongst the orchestra. Parents who stayed to observe the rehearsal formed a circumference around the room. As the rehearsal began, the room grew silent before the players were directed through a long series of tedious scales and drills.

Figure 4.2 Sōma Children's Orchestra rehearsal at a storage warehouse for disaster emergency supplies built in 2013 in a remote part of Sōma city. Photo by author.

As someone who played violin in the school orchestra throughout middle and high school, I can honestly say that I was very impressed with the children's skill level and attentiveness to direction throughout the long rehearsal. Katō was incredibly modest during her interview as the children were far more advanced than I expected, zipping through movements of rather difficult orchestral repertoire such as Beethoven's Symphony No. 5, and Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 3. The orchestra was impressive in terms of technicality and skill, but I quickly forgot that I was even in Sōma, and that this is supposed to be an orchestra to help heal and support traumatized children.

The most inclusive and communal moments during the rehearsal were, ironically, moments when the students were not playing their instruments. Before, during breaks,

and after the rehearsal, I overheard children chatting with each other about their Sunday plans, about something they learned in school that week, about the episode of whatever television show was trending at the time. They seemed joyful about the opportunity for social interaction until they were directed to quiet down, sit back in their seats, and carefully follow the director's orders. I later found out that the older adults mixed into the orchestra were retired Sōma residents who seized the opportunity to play in a local orchestra. They seemed less impressed with El Sistema and more interested in playing and mentoring. I wondered how different the rehearsals would be if they led it instead of the seasoned director from Tokyo. If the Sōma program was not affiliated with El Sistema, the children may not be as technically skilled, and they would surely not have opportunities to tour and perform at prestigious venues, and receive mentorship from and collaborate with esteemed directors and orchestras, but I was left wondering what these opportunities mean to the children. To my understanding, most are not aspiring professional musicians, and in many cases, it is their parents who encouraged them to take advantage of this free opportunity. Katō mentioned that the month after the rehearsal I observed, some of the children were going to Germany for a collaboration with the Berlin Philharmonic. She noted that most of the children do not comprehend what a big deal and great opportunity it is for them. She mentioned that there was recently a collaboration and mentoring session with members of the Los Angeles Philharmonic at Suntory Hall in Tokyo, and that these types of events are necessary to solicit donors and to attract the media.

It appears that the driving forces of the Sōma program and El Sistema is to impress its audiences through displays of underprivileged children who have been saved by the orchestra. As Baker describes it, “displays for outsiders substitute the business of learning” (2014:255). The Sōma program has potential for social change if it could implement models that allow the local people to transform their society under their own terms.

**Conclusion: The Responsibilities of Disaster Survivors**

Becoming a disaster survivor demands a certain amount of critical and social responsibility. Only survivors know how it feels to survive, how they want to embrace that survival, and how they want to express gratitude for surviving. Expressions of survival should not be dictated and orchestrated by others, yet this has become a recurrent trend with post-3.11 staged performances. One of the most flawed representations of 3.11 survival was in the production of “At Home in the World” where young taiko drummers from Ishinomaki performed a reenactment of the earthquake and tsunami as a scene in the musical. Students were seated at desks in a classroom when the theater lights began to flicker and powerful thumps on taiko drums represented the shaking of the earth. Students ducked under their desks, screamed in fear, escaped to higher ground, and yelled that the tsunami was rolling in before performing a booming, heavily punctuated taiko piece that was meant to sonically represent the tsunami waves destroying everything in its path. The sound of a serene *yokobue* (bamboo flute) cut in to accompany the shouts of children desperately, yet optimistically, looking for their missing parents. “We pray for the revival of our hometown” everyone chanted before singing together, chorus style,

about overcoming hardship and moving forward. The scene concluded with the thunderous roar of taiko drums now reinterpreted as the performers' hopes for the future as opposed to the destructiveness of the natural disaster.

Throughout the scene, emotions were vicariously being felt as the sounds of heavy sniffles filled the theater from all sides. This scene was undoubtedly powerful and moving—it was received with the most thunderous applause of the evening—but it was impactful at the expense of the performers having to relive their disaster experiences. What lasting effect does such a reenactment have aside from re-narrating and reifying the struggles and hardships of disaster survivors in a staged performance for audience consumption? Araújo presents a transcription from his fieldwork where a young female from a Brazilian favela refused a request to create a dance choreography based on her daily experience with violence, arguing that she wouldn't want to be represented by violent images, and that she wouldn't want to record images and sounds of violence as representative of her community either (2006:302). Indeed, staging suffering as a finished product for consumption does more to define survivors as objects of suffering than to instigate social action. Augusto Boal, a Brazilian innovator of post-Brechtian political theatre and practice, translated Freire's ideas into theatrical techniques called Theater of the Oppressed, which

> emphasizes theatre as a language that must be spoken, not a discourse that must be listened to. It also stresses theatre as a process that must be developed, rather than a finished product that must be consumed. The theatre of the oppressed goes beyond the ordinary boundaries of theatre because it asserts the oppressed are the subjects rather than the objects of theatrical activity (1990b:35).

In the theatre of the oppressed, there are no spectators: there are only active observers. The purpose is to help the active observer to become a protagonist so that he or she can apply the actions learned in the theatre to real life.[159] The goal is to "operationalize the performative" (Wong 1998:87), which is what I see as largely missing from post-3.11 staged performances.

The activities presented in this chapter may give public visibility to survivors from disaster sites, but these activities should not define who they are. As Joshua Pilzer writes, "there is more to a person than suffering, more than victimization, more than survival and flourishing. These are only a few way stations in an endless cycle of blooming and falling—a wheel of time" (2012:142). Staged performances coordinated by outsiders tend to cage disaster survivors as nothing more than survivors who should be applauded for their tenacity and ability to move forward towards recovery. These performance opportunities should only be seen as starting points from which disaster survivors can determine their own path towards recovery, rather than as remedies that have generously alleviated the suffering of disaster survivors. When disaster survivors achieve a relative state of autonomy where they have found ways to share their experiences and educate others under their own terms, then perhaps this is a true step towards post-disaster recovery.

[159] The theatre could also be invisible wherein ethical dilemmas are staged in public environments such as restaurants, supermarkets, trains, and streets (Boal 1990a).

**Chapter 5: Materiality and Memorialization: Objects that Extend Post-3.11 Musical Experiences**

9/13/2015

*The entire building was encased in glass and steel rods. Behind the glass in visibly large text read "5:46 am, 1995." Upon further inspection, the time and year were framed with smaller text that read "7.3 magnitude," and in even smaller text, "The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, 17th January."*

Figure 5.1 Exterior of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Memorial Museum in Kobe. Photo by author.

When I entered the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Memorial Museum in Kobe, I was faced with a wall full of artifacts, that upon first glance, just seemed like an assemblage of bent, damaged, and dusty objects. It's not until one reads the placards that accompany each object that one begins to realize each object's significance: a father's grief symbolized by a bent and broken flute that belonged to his music-loving twenty-

four-year-old daughter who perished in the disaster, dented harmonicas preserved in antique boxes that belonged to a husband who didn't make it through the quake. While these objects will not bring the deceased back to life, they continue to tell a slice of their stories twenty-years after that fateful day, January 17, 1995, when a 7.3 magnitude earthquake took the lives of over 6,400 people.

Figure 5.2 A father's grief symbolized by a bent and broken flute on display at the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Memorial Museum in Kobe. The placard reads, "Father is alive, daughter died is too sad of a result. She was very active in junior high school band. When she was alive (she was 24 years old at the time of the disaster), this was my only daughter's favorite flute. Even though the case was hardly damaged, the flute itself was bent." Photo by author.

Anthropologist Igor Kopytoff suggests that we can ask cultural questions to arrive at biographies of things. He writes,

> in doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent

> in its ‘status’ and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? What has been its career so far, and what do people consider to be an ideal career for such things? What are the recognized ‘ages’ or periods in the thing's ‘life,’ and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness? (1986:66-67).

Objects on display at the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Memorial Museum are just one example of the ways in which disaster experiences can be encapsulated and retold through things that come to become representative of those experiences. Representation, however, often implies what Alison Clarke refers to as the notion of objects as “silent ‘bearers of meaning’ in which human action and history are embedded, and their agency is only invoked through the act of interpretation” (2014:17-18). The bent flute and dented harmonicas at the museum are representations evoking histories and memories of the people they belonged to, but only through interpretation. They are preserved and displayed to serve as mediators of meaning – passively symbolic rather than actively independent. Clarke argues for the agency of things whereby things not only operate as a means of mediation and passive carriers of meaning, but also as actors with independent agency (ibid.:19). Her proposition is drawn from tenets of “new materialism,” which as ethnomusicologist Eliot Bates writes, “theorizes the social to include people, animals, material objects, spaces, and ideas/concepts” (2012:372). Seemingly inanimate objects are theorized into the social through what Bates presents as a trifurcation between “parts (also called actors, actants, agents, objects, or vital matter), assemblages (also called networks, webs, ecologies, or societies), and relationality (also called sociality and semiotics)” (ibid.:372). This trifurcation, Bates claims, is most often approached through Actor-Network Theory (ANT) which makes it possible to explore the relationality

between actors (sources of action) and networks (associations) (Latour 1996) to understand how groupings of heterogeneous objects cohere (ibid.).

Japanese photographer Ishiuchi Miyako's ひろしま/*hiroshima* series (ongoing since 2008) features photographs of the remnants of clothing, shoes, and other personal possessions remaining in Hiroshima after the 1945 atomic explosion. In describing Ishiuchi's series, research curator Lena Fritsch writes, "needless to say, the great majority of the people who once owned these dresses, shoes, and watches were killed either directly during the bombing or gradually over the following months and years. They cannot be photographed anymore. However, Ishiuchi personifies their possessions instead" (2015:62). These objects, however, do not simply personify the possessions of atomic explosion victims. They are ambivalent objects that both attract and repulse as remains of death and destruction. While such objects are meant to personify the victims and to help sustain memories of their lives, they are also polluted objects forever tainted with tragedy. In these examples, possessions are personified not by those who owned them, but by others who draw meaning and memories from those objects. Personification here could be reinterpreted as what Jane Bennett calls "thing-power" wherein "ordinary, man made items exceed their status as objects and to manifest traces of independence or aliveness, constituting the outside of our own experience" (2010:xvi). Bennett argues that found objects can become "vibrant things with a certain effectivity of their own" (ibid.). Objects that personify lost lives function as actants of memory – sources of action that vibrantly assert independence albeit laced with the pollution of tragedy, while facilitating and mediating social interaction.

Historian Takenaka Akiko notes how "…many second-generation hibakusha (*hibaku nisei*) have begun the task of recreating the past that occurred before they were born. Satō Naoko, the daughter of Nagasaki hibakusha Ikeda Sanae, has decided to become a storyteller (*kataribe*) in place of her aging father" (2015:50). I argue that objects, like people, have the agency to speak (Hoskins 1998) and transmit memories of the past. While memorialization efforts, especially in the case of the atomic bombings, are taking place retrospectively, in the case of 3.11, memorialization efforts are often operated by people who experienced the disaster firsthand as a means to preserve memories for the future while recalling the past in the present as a measure to prevent disaster experiences from being misinterpreted and forgotten.

While only five years has passed since 3.11 compared to twenty years since the Hanshin-Awaji earthquake, and seventy-one years since the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, efforts to memorialize the effects of the tsunami, in particular, are already ubiquitous within and beyond disaster-affected areas in the Tohoku region. Interestingly, several musical activities I observed in disaster-affected areas that aim to ensure that the disaster remain unforgotten involve objects embedded with disaster memories that aid in the enhancement and prolongation of these activities. The objects that accompany music making in memorialization of 3.11 serve as what Pierre Nora calls *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself" (1989:7). Nora explains that "*lieux de mémoire* originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no

longer occur naturally" (ibid.12). The musical activities I present below are methodically repeated and commemorated through the use of objects that deliberately serve as *lieux de mémoire*.

In this chapter, I investigate how objects accompany, symbolize, and materialize musical activities that aim to memorialize 3.11. In the first half of this chapter, I present examples of musical activities wherein objects are mobilized to educate and spread awareness about the 3.11 disaster both within and beyond the Tohoku region. I aim to demonstrate the personal and societal relations that these objects foster as objects with agency. Nora asserts that "modern memory is, above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image" (1989:13). The first set of examples demonstrate the ways in which unique musical instruments such as a taiko drum with a surface covered in signatures and words of encouragement, and recycled instruments made out of disaster debris materialize memories of the disaster and serve as artifacts that facilitate the retelling of disaster experiences. I demonstrate how memories becomes embedded in materiality.

The second half consists of examples where music making in conjunction with objects to memorialize 3.11 takes place in disaster sites within Tohoku. Here, I demonstrate how memorialization gets tied to specific locations, and how vibrant objects revive such sites for commemorative events. Susanna Hoffman notes how disaster survivors linguistically begin to live their life again by launching verbs with the prefix 're.' She writes, "survivors recovered, rebuilt, replaced, and were renewed. In linguistic metaphor, they took a second spin on the wheel of existence, and everything they

performed was a duplication of what had gone before. On top of that, survivors were avidly caught in anniversaries. One week, one month, one year, they celebrated and suffered every one" (2002:133). Survivors are saddled with the responsibility to keep living with the trauma, and the anniversary events I present aim to redirect suffering by providing a space to not only reflect on the past, but to generate new goals and ideas for the future.

While emotionally powerful, the memorial sites that I present exude hope over sorrow, and serve as a way for attendees to annually measure progress from the disaster on both personal and communal levels. Furthermore, the memorialization activities I discuss have been held annually on the same day since 3.11 to provide a space for collective remembrance, which posits that remembering and forgetting are socially constituted activities (Middleton and Edwards 1990). Displays of *koinobori* carp streamers in Higashi Matsushima on May 5, Children's Day, and balloons in Arahama on March 11 that accompany music making serve to mark disaster anniversaries, which enable attendees to mark progress and growth, while also collectively recalling the past.

**Memorializing the Tsunami: Senrai's Post-3.11 Musical Activities**

*The earthquake that we experienced, the tsunami that our fellow performer Kento experienced, and in the US, catastrophes such as typhoons, are indications of the sheer energy of nature that has the power to terrify us from time to time. However, without nature's blessings such as delicious food and beautiful landscapes, we wouldn't have been able to meet all of you and we wouldn't be inspired to try to feel something in the here and now. We are not simply living amidst this unfathomable level of energy, but rather, we are being kept alive by it. Despite this, we wanted to believe in the strength of mankind to restore things, and so we have some musical instruments here. This shamisen[160] and this taiko[161] were made out of disaster debris from the 3.11 disaster. By*

[160] A three-stringed plucked lute.
[161] A membranophone drum struck with two wooden sticks (*bachi*).

*using pillars that might have been a part of someone's home to make musical instruments, when we are no longer able to tell everyone about the disaster through our own words, fifty, one-hundred, two-hundred years from now, these instruments will live on to educate others about the horrors of the disaster as well as the wonderful encounters that the disaster made available for us. I believe that these instruments will be able to teach those things.*

- Miura Kōki, leader of Senrai, at Tanaka Farms in Irvine, CA 7/24/2014

Senrai (閃雷) is a professional level neo-folk[162] performing ensemble based in Miyagi prefecture consisting of four young men who perform modernized repertoire on traditional Japanese musical instruments.[163] The members were in different parts of Miyagi on 3.11, and thus experienced the earthquake and subsequent blackout firsthand. According to their producer, Chiba Shū, within the first week following the disaster, members of Senrai went to a temporary housing unit in Miyagi with a taiko drum and offered to give a performance. Prior to 3.11, taiko was nostalgic, especially for the elderly, and reminded them of attending matsuri festivals with their families. For children, it was an exciting, invigorating instrument to listen to. However, this time, Senrai was flat out refused by the people at a temporary housing unit and told that the sound of the taiko would remind residents of the sounds and rumbling of the earthquake, and that the children would be frightened. At that very moment, it became strikingly clear to them that the very thing they had invested themselves in was not only worthless, but also

[162] I am borrowing neo-folk from Marilyn Ivy's definition of "neo-Japonesque," in which "elements of a revivified past operate as the amplified elements of the stylishly novel" (1995:57). Senrai reinterprets "traditional" instrumentation and techniques to perform modernized repertoire.
[163] Instruments include *taiko*, *chappa* (a pair of small cymbals), *yokobue* (a bamboo traverse flute), and *tsugaru jamisen* (a type of *shamisen*). When additional performers are included such as bass and keyboard, the group is called M's Japan Orchestra ("M" being short for "Michinoku," the historic name for the Tohoku region). When the group performs without *tsugaru jamisen*, they are called Yakara (族).

denied, refused, and rejected in a post-disaster context, and they started to question whether they would be able to continue their career as taiko musicians.

Thereafter, members of Senrai went to temporary housing units to help not as musicians, but as volunteers by cleaning up debris, distributing donations they received from the taiko community, and chatting with the residents. One day, an older woman at a temporary housing unit saw an *ōdaiko* (large taiko drum) that they happened to have in the back of their car, and told them that she would love to be able to dance *bon odori*[164] to it someday, then asked if she could write a message on the face of the taiko saying that she hopes to be able to hear the sound of this taiko someday. Then, others quickly followed suit and started to write their thoughts, hopes, and words of appreciation on the taiko. From there, this ōdaiko came to be known as the "kibō no tsuzumi" (drum of hope), which initially served as a means of communication for people in various housing units, and eventually for people outside of affected areas to write messages of support as well.[165]

The drum of hope, which originally started out as an abandoned, un-played drum tucked away in the back of a car, came to serve as a mode of communication and inspiration for disaster victims during a period of immense uncertainty and vulnerability. As Eliot Bates argues, "instruments are not only incidental to social interaction, but constitutive of it" (2012:372), and the drum of hope is an exemplary example of a way that a musical instrument as an object of agency has actively contributed to the (re)development of post-3.11 relationships by serving as a catalyst for action. Physically

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[164] Communal dancing at summer *matsuri* festivals to honor the spirit of the ancestors
[165] Chiba, Shū, Interview, 20 August 2015.

writing messages to one another on a shared surface that not only displays the messages, but also resounds to continue to share disaster experiences in a variety of performance spaces further contributes to the drum's agentive power. Affected individuals wrote messages on the face of the drum with the hopes that the conditions of their livelihood would be improved by the time it became appropriate for the sounds of the drum to resonate once again, which could have been the next day, or the next month, or years later. On May 5, 2011, Senrai performed for the first time since the disaster as the drum of hope resonated throughout the city of Higashi Matsushima in coastal Miyagi in tribute to the children who lost their lives on 3.11. Following this event, Kabushiki-Gaisha Dentsū, one of the largest international advertising and public relations companies in Japan, approached Chiba and asked if the drum of hope could be played at the opening ceremony of the Rokkonsai (post-3.11 festival discussed in detail in chapter 2). Since the first Rokkonsai in Sendai in June 2011, the drum of hope has been displayed and played in the opening ceremony every year, and has come to serve as an emblem of hope and recovery in the festival.

Figure 5.3 The Drum of Hope played by Senrai member Chiba Kyō at the Rokkonsai opening ceremony in Aomori city on June 25, 2016. Photo by author.

Furthermore, while members of Senrai were volunteering at temporary housing units, an American named Stu Levy saw the drum of hope in their car, inquired about it, then asked if he could write a message on the drum. Levy subsequently directed a documentary film entitled *Pray for Japan* (2012), which focuses on perspectives about shelter, school, family, and volunteerism after 3.11 and features disaster relief activities by Senrai. On March 11, 2014, the drum of hope was featured in its 365th performance.[166] Tracing the "social life" of the drum of hope allows us to see "how social relations are mobilized around material objects and the thing-power that they possess" (Bates 2012:388). The drum of hope has literally connected networks of people together,

[166] The Drum of Hope has been featured in a range of performance settings from disaster relief concerts, charity events, performances at local elementary schools, and the Tohoku Rokkonsai festival.

mediating relations between disaster survivors, supporters, and media/event outlets to raise awareness about 3.11.

At the time of this writing, five to six years after 3.11, the drum of hope, though rather worn with its loosening surface and dulling sound, continues to be selectively used in Senrai's 3.11-related performances. While the sound of the drum may not be particularly impressive, its cultural biography and aesthetic appearance as well as the memories that it encapsulates and revives are what makes it valuable as a *lieux de mémoire*. What started out as a refused object, evolved into an object of sociality that contains memories and experiences of the immediate aftermath of the disaster, and provides opportunities to re-tell disaster experiences. Anthropologist Janet Hoskins notes the significance of her interlocutors in eastern Indonesia choosing containers such as a betel pouch and hollow drum as "biographical objects" to narrate their personal stories. She argues that such objects are given biographical significance as "memory boxes" (1998:5). The drum of hope, while not a personal biographical object, not only serves as a vessel for memories, but also produces effects as an object with agency. Furthermore, Hoskins writes about the symbolic power of a drum as an object of patriarchy that encapsulates both womanly receptiveness and manly aggression at curing and singing ceremonies (ibid.: 137-159). While the drum of hope was developed in response to a woman's yearning for nostalgic dancing and festivals, it has become an object of masculine assertions of recovery, loudly beaten with the vigor of male drummers masking grief and vulnerability with strength and tenacity. The drum has attracted

attention not only as an object with direct ties to disaster survivors, but also as an object that can proclaim recovery through masculine power.

Inspired by the development of the drum of hope, Senrai has been involved in a number of other relief effort projects since 3.11.[167] The Zero to One Debris Recycling Project, established on May 11, 2011, constructs musical instruments out of disaster debris to donate to affected communities, sell to raise disaster-relief funds, and to ensure that 3.11 is not forgotten. While volunteering and helping to clean up debris, Chiba was pained to see the buildup of debris all homogeneously classified as disaster remains, when amongst the debris laid an abundance of memories for many people. Chiba thought about how when Senrai gives workshops at schools, they ask the children what kind of animal skin they think the instruments are made of, and how that becomes a way of educating them, as well as how people in the past made an effort not to waste leftover animal parts, and would make taiko skins and other parts of instruments out of them. Chiba felt it was vital to continue to think about the people who passed away, and to use manpower to rebuild and recover from the disaster by recycling debris into musical instruments.[168] Working in collaboration with instrument makers across the nation, Zero-One has successfully created taiko drums, shamisen, ukuleles, guitars, bass guitars, cajons, and snare drums out of disaster debris. Appadurai describes Kopytoff's cultural biography as "…*specific* things as they move through different hands, contexts, and uses,

[167] In addition to projects discussed in this chapter, Senrai is also part of the Ogatsu Middle School Recovery Taiko Project (est. July 23, 2011) where Senrai gives taiko lessons using tires at Ogatsu Middle School to children whose taiko were washed away.
[168] Instruments built out of disaster debris are also cost effective since they do not require a material fee.

thus accumulating a specific biography, or set of biographies" (1986:34, [emphasis his]). The purpose of Zero-One's recycled instruments is to create cultural biographies through tangible objects that provide a space and make it possible to continue to recount disaster experiences and stories, which help to ensure that the disaster remains unforgotten.

Figure 5.4 Senrai presents a *shamisen* (three-stringed lute) constructed out of disaster debris at the Rokkonsai opening ceremony in Aomori city on June 25, 2016. The *okedō* (hourglass shaped drum) to the right of the shamisen is also a disaster debris instrument. Photo by author.

Ian Woodward notes how "the term 'material culture' emphasizes how apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people, and are acted upon by people, for the purposes of carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity" (Woodward 2007:3). The recycled instruments allow Senrai to frame their performances around the subject of 3.11 as instruments that literally embody the effects of the disaster. However, the effects of 3.11 that are openly acknowledged and remembered are quite selective. The nuclear fallout is completely

omitted from Senrai's public discussions of 3.11. In fact, Senrai has never mentioned the possibility of radioactive contamination with the use and dissemination of repurposed debris. The instruments are presented as objects of hope that allow for the prolongation of disaster memories, but any ambivalence associated with the instruments is erased. Senrai does clarify that the debris for the instruments were exclusively collected in Ishinomaki in Miyagi prefecture, which is an oblique way of avoiding discussions about the potential of radioactive contamination by abiding with assumptions that the nuclear fallout is contained within Fukushima prefecture.

Presenting disaster remains as not only portable, but physically present and able to produce sound, reifies 3.11 far more than to generically perform music "in solidarity" with disaster victims. Something about the actuality of materials from the disaster sites, of a drum's surface covered with the actual handwriting of 3.11 evacuees, and of instruments constructed from the actual pillars and foundations of lost homes, and the capability of these objects to resonate, keeps memories of 3.11 in the present, prompting a sense of immediacy rather than preservation in the past. While the mobility of Senrai's musical instruments makes it possible for them to share disaster experiences with and educate audiences outside of disaster-affected areas, memorialization activities held in actual disaster sites tend to focus more on creating a calm and comforting space for disaster survivors to remember and reprocess their own disaster experiences.

**Blue Carp Streamers Project**

*From the stance of a disaster victim, "to not forget" is very difficult. It's important to not forget, but some people need to forget to be able to move forward. It's under these*

*circumstances that on this day, May 5, we convene under the carp streamers to look back at the past and not let it fade away, to talk about the past, and enjoy the scenery. Then, there is also the future. If we are going to talk about the past, I think we should talk about the future too. Even if we feel and remember things like we are doing today on only one of the 365 days in a year, I think there will come a time the following year when this will become a great source of power. My speech got a bit heavy, but I would like everyone to talk to each other a lot about tomorrow, about the future of Higashi Matsushima, and about the next disaster that might strike. Today, we are going to raise the carp streamers together. Each and every one is packed full of memories, so let us raise them with great care.*

- Itō Kento, Blue Carp Streamers Project opening speech in Higashi Matsushima 5/5/2015

The Blue Carp Streamers Project, established on April 20, 2011 by Chiba Shū and Itō Kento, is a project to collect and raise blue carp streamers[169] on children's day to honor the children who lost their lives on 3.11. Itō is an adolescent taiko player from Higashi Matsushima who lost his 5-year old brother, mother, and grandparents in the tsunami of 3.11, and reached out to Chiba via email as a fan of Senrai asking if he could play taiko with them as one way to start recovering from his 3.11 experience. Contrary to the refusal of taiko playing by people at the evacuation center, Itō turned to taiko for recovery not only as a long-time practitioner of the instrument, but also because taiko represented many fond memories that he had shared with his little brother, who also played taiko. Chiba and Itō first met at a train station where they made arrangements to put a performance together that they would co-produce in the fall, and Chiba invited Itō to train at Senrai's taiko studio. Itō then stated that he found his brother's favorite blue carp streamer amongst the debris around his former home, and had raised them for his lost family members. Chiba suggested that they raise carp streamers and perform music under

[169] *koinobori* carp streamers are raised on May 5th, Children's Day to celebrate their happiness and well-being.

them (using the drum of hope and recycled instruments) on May 5 in Higashi Matsushima near Itō's former home not only for Itō's younger brother, but for all the children who lost their lives on 3.11. From there, the Blue Carp Streamers Project was born, many volunteers jumped on board and donated carp streamers, and participants raised two hundred carp streamers on children's day that year. Since then, the event has been held every year on Children's Day.

Figure 5.5 The Blue Carp Streamers event in Higashi Matsushima, Miyagi on May 5, 2016. Photo by author.

At the event on May 5, 2014, Senrai presented an okedō (an hourglass shaped taiko drum slung on the shoulder) to Itō that was built using pillars from the front entrance of his former home, and since then, Itō has featured it in his performances at the event. For Itō, the repurposed okedō is one of the only possessions he has left, aside from his memories, that is tied to his lost family members, and his devastated hometown. It continues to serve as an indispensable object for him to share his disaster experiences with others.

Figure 5.6 Itō Kento playing his okedō drum built using pillars from the front entrance of his former home at The Blue Carp Streamers event in Higashi Matsushima, Miyagi on May 5, 2016. Photo by author.

At the event in 2016, Itō explained that the wooden frames of the repurposed taiko drums are made from local disaster debris, and that it was likely made from the pillars of someone's home, or the flooring, or event part of a dresser. He speculated that the pillar

of someone's home marked with pen marks measuring a child's height could have been repurposed into an instrument. He asserted that disaster debris is not trash, but material that belonged to someone in the past. The instruments are made from materials that have "thing power," or "the curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and subtle" (Bennett 2010:6). The debris, repurposed as musical instruments, function as actants (sources of action) (Latour 1996) that produce effects by sounding and sharing the traces of 3.11 that still remain.

Since May 5, 2011, the event has been held annually on the same day in roughly the same location.[170] Holding this event in a part of Higashi Matsushima that still remains a barren wasteland is essential because it functions as a reason for attendees to make the visit, and for many, to activate their memories of the area and their disaster experiences. Elizabeth Jelin asserts that "the past leaves *traces*, in material ruins and evidence, in mnemonic traces in the human neurological system, in individual psychical dynamics, and in the symbolic world. In themselves, these traces do not constitute 'memory' unless they are evoked and placed in a context that gives them meaning" (2003:18, [emphasis hers]). The Blue Carp Streamers event provides a means for attendees to overcome difficulties in accessing these traces by creating a reason to revisit a potentially traumatic site. I attended the event in 2015 and in 2016, and in both years, the wind continually strengthened and waned throughout the day, prompting a sort of choreography of carp streamers as they swam vigorously in the air, and then occasionally fell and suspended as

[170] On May 5, 2011, the event was held right in front of the remains of Itō's former home. From 2012-2015, the event was held in an open area near a bridge, but in 2016, due to construction to raise the ground level in the area as a way to help prevent damage from future tsunamis, the event was held about a half mile away.

if taking a break. I overheard an attendee saying the he could feel the presence of the children revisiting the site, that the carp streamers embodied their spirits, flying carefreely and taking occasional breaks, just as the children present at the event were running around and playing, only stopping and sitting occasionally to watch the performances. For this attendee, the traces of the children who lost their lives on 3.11 are evoked through the fluidity and movements of the carp streamers.

Figure 5.7 Carp streamers flying vigorously at The Blue Carp Streamers event in Higashi Matsushima, Miyagi on May 5, 2016. Photo by author.

Figure 5.8 Carp streamers fall still as the wind wanes at The Blue Carp Streamers event in Higashi Matsushima, Miyagi on May 5, 2015. Photo by author.

Furthermore, the event marks the site as a space where the evocation of past memories as well as the creation of new memories are activated through the act of hanging and raising carp streamers together, as a community. The inclusive and hands-on nature of raising carp streamers together, where everyone in attendance is invited to handle the carp streamers and actively participate in the performance of claiming and marking the site, sets this event apart from concerts, for example, where attendees come to listen to a presentational performance and leave without taking much of an active role in the event.

On September 25, 2011, the collaborative concert that Chiba and Itō planned to co-produce during their first meeting was held at a cultural center in Misato, a neighboring town to Higashi Matsushima near the epicenter of the 3.11 earthquake. The concert was titled "Live 'Ground Zero' 震源地 (*shingenchi*; epicenter)" and featured performances by M's Japan Orchestra (including Itō), a string quartet, and gospel ensemble. The title of the concert is based on a dramatic piece of the same name for taiko ensemble composed by Satō Mitsuaki in 2001 following the 9/11 terrorist attacks that served as the opening piece for the event.[171] The piece, which is full of sudden shifts in dynamics, strong punctuations, unusually frequent use of double hitting, simultaneously striking the taiko with sticks in both left and right hands (perhaps to visually represent the twin towers), and held extensions, is both visually and sonically dynamic. The piece demonstrates control and solemnity as well as frustration and uneasiness. In May of 2002, members of M's Japan Orchestra gave a performance at Battery Park to show their support for 9/11 relief. "Ground Zero" was performed at this event and was well-received by an audience full of Americans who had lost loved ones on 9/11.[172] In December 2004, Chiba, Satō, and Miura (leader of Senrai) were in Java working on a forthcoming collaboration with Balinese musicians, when the Indian Ocean earthquake hit. Chiba recalled rushing to an internet café following the quake and frantically typing out a

[171] The performance at the concert can be seen here: "GROUND ZERO.m4v," YouTube video, 9:21, posted by "MsJapanOrchestra" on January 11, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YhXT0eegFEI.
[172] One member of Senrai, Chiba Kyō, was only in fourth grade at the time. Following the concert, he was embraced and complimented by an older American woman who had lost her daughter in the WTC. She was in tears, but told him that she felt comforted by their performance. This moment inspired Chiba to pursue a career as a professional taiko musician.

message to inform others back in Japan that they were safe. Shortly after the earthquake, M's Japan Orchestra performed "Ground Zero" in Indonesia to express support for earthquake victims. Chiba stated that he never imaged that "Ground Zero" would carry such relevance to their own region seven years later. "Ground Zero" is just one example of the ways in which pre-existing repertoire can be resignified to suit a variety of situations. What started out as a piece written for 9/11 survivors has been generically repurposed to speak to survivors of the 2004 tsunami and 3.11. Thomas Turino argues that "indices continue to take on new layers of meaning while potentially also carrying along former associations—a kind of *semantic snowballing*" (1999:235, [emphasis his]). The repurposing of "Ground Zero" is productive in highlighting shared social experiences by adopting subsequent disasters into its first layer of meaning, but it also has a tendency to equalize all disasters as one in the same. Events at specific disaster sites, on the other hand, help to avoid such generalizations by creating a space to commemorate a particular event. Annual events at disaster sites such as the Blue Carp Streamers Project demonstrate the mobility and fluidity of memory, while also demarcating a specific time and place where memories are contextualized and evoked.

**HOPE FOR Project**

On March 11, 2016, I attended a 3.11 memorialization event called HOPE FOR Project in Arahama, a small coastal town in Sendai that was almost entirely washed away by the tsunami. Since March 11, 2012, former Arahama residents and visitors have converged in the town every year on the disaster's anniversary to release hundreds of colorful balloons as an expression of their hopes. The balloon release is followed by an

intimate concert featuring both famous and local musicians. The event's mission is to give former Arahama residents a reason to visit the town on the disaster's anniversary, and more importantly, to provide them with a space to be able to commemorate 3.11 peacefully and not alone.

Figure 5.9 Balloon release at HOPE FOR Project event in Arahama, Miyagi on March 11, 2016. Photo by author.

The founder of HOPE FOR Project (hereafter abbreviated to HFP) is Takayama Tomoyuki (b. 1983) who was born and raised in Arahama and lost his job as a company worker as a result of 3.11. I interviewed Takayama a couple of months after attending the event because I was drawn to the immensely conscientious care that he put into the event. I wondered why it is so important to him to create a reason for people to continue to revisit the now desolate town of Arahama, and why he is so selective about the kind of

music that should be performed at his event on the disaster's anniversary. Takayama described his 3.11 experience to me as follows:

> I was near my home in Arahama on 3.11 when the earthquake happened. First, I returned home to check on my family where my grandfather was home alone but safe. There was no electricity, and it was still winter and cold and it didn't seem that the stove would be usable anytime soon, so I got back in my car and headed towards the nearest gas station to buy kerosene, but was told by the police to turn around because a tsunami was expected to come. Shortly after that, the tsunami started coming towards the car—I drove through back paths, picked up my parents and grandfather, then picked up two people who were running to safety on foot, then headed to Arahama Elementary School to evacuate. I was probably the last person to safely escape from my area. The tsunami was coming up to the car bumper.[173]

Narrowly escaping death and determined to help with relief efforts, Takayama played an active role in working to confirm the whereabouts of Arahama residents in the early aftermath of the disaster. He recalled,

> I first went to Shichigō Elementary School where around 3,000 evacuees were living. Within the evacuation centers, people knew who was there and who was still missing, but people outside the region whether in Tokyo or abroad had no way to confirm people's whereabouts. On the evening of March 12, I posted on Twitter that if anyone is looking for someone around this area, I will try to confirm if they're here or not. I just wrote it matter of factly, not expecting much of a response, but when I got up the next morning, there were about one hundred replies to my post, and that's when I felt this is something I'd better commit to, and continued searching for people and updating people until around the end of April 2011. It was difficult because this was a matter of life or death and this kind of information (whether somebody was alive or not) should have been given in person, but after two weeks or so, somebody might keep sending messages to please look for a particular person, but they are not found. It was about two weeks after 3.11 that the severely damaged areas in Arahama could be accessed again. Some locals went to those areas by bus, and I would get the confirmed information from them, but by only hearing from one person, there was a high chance that there could be a mistake, so I would confirm with at least two or more people, then if it was quite certain that someone had passed away, I would inform people I never even met before via Twitter that so and so had passed away. I

[173] Takayama, Tomoyuki, Interview, 13 May 2016.

> really contemplated about whether it was morally right to do this, but I went ahead with it until we were no longer frequently receiving requests for confirmation of people's whereabouts.[174]

In addition to working to confirm people's whereabouts, Takayama, with a group of former classmates, collected photographs amongst the debris, hand washed them, and delivered them to the government office. In the summer of 2011, however, a specific Arahama photo restoration team consisting of experienced photo experts was designated at a photo exhibit, so there was no longer a need for Takayama and his classmates to continue this work.

During the first few months after the disaster, Takayama committed himself to volunteer work, but he also needed to find a way to put food on the table especially since his former job was no longer available after 3.11. In the summer of 2011, Takayama was offered a job as a schoolteacher by his former classmate. This job would eventually become connected to the start of HFP on March 11, 2012. The former classmate who offered Takayama the job lost his mother and two-year-old-daughter on 3.11. One day, while Takayama and the classmate were working at the school together, it came up in a conversation that the classmate's daughter used to love things that were the color green. Then, the idea came about to release green balloons in Arahama on March 11, 2012 even if it was just amongst a small group of classmates. The classmate agreed to the idea, but suggested that only having green balloons might be rather plain and lonely, and that it would be better to have a variety of different colored balloons. Furthermore, they decided to have "Hope for" written on each balloon. When asked why, Takayama replied,

[174] Takayama, Tomoyuki, Interview, 13 May 2016.

normally, “hope for” precedes something, right? But we didn’t want to decide what people should hope for. We wanted to let people decide what they want to hope for when releasing the balloons. It might be hope for the future or whatever, but we wanted people to be able to put their own feelings into their own balloon and release it. We placed a flower seed in each balloon to represent those feelings.[175]

Figure 5.10 Balloons with “Hope for” written on each surface and a flower seed inside of each balloon. Photo by author.

Ian Woodward notes that “people require objects to understand and perform aspects of selfhood, and to navigate the terrain of culture more broadly” (2007:vi). Takayama designed the balloons as a tangible tool to release pent up feelings that he hoped would help bring comfort to participants while facing the disaster’s first anniversary in Arahama. Takayama and a group of his former classmates prepared two-hundred balloons to release from an open field in Arahama on March 11, 2012. However,

[175] Takayama, Tomoyuki, Interview, 13 May 2016.

on that day, they were shocked to find that 1,700 people came to Arahama to pay their tribute to disaster victims on the disaster's first anniversary. Takayama and his classmates had seven-hundred balloons in their possession, so they quickly inflated all the balloons, handed them out, and released the balloons as a larger group including people who they had met for the first time. When the balloons were released, people reacted in a variety of ways. Some faced the balloons and pressed their palms together in prayer, others said, "we have to say good bye to so and so *chan*,"[176] and there were people who were crying as well. Takayama stated that when he saw those different reactions, he realized that while he and his former classmates lost people they knew and loved, they never really had an opportunity to release their emotions and cry together, but when they saw how the releasing of the balloons elicited such a sudden shift in the mood, they all broke into tears too.

After observing the powerful reactions to the balloon release in 2012, Takayama was inspired and determined to hold the event annually in Arahama on March 11.[177] In 2012 and 2013, balloons were released from an open field, but by 2014, ownership of the land where the balloons were released went to Sendai city, thus it became difficult to hold the event on an open plot of land. A proposal was submitted to Sendai Board of Education, and after a long and arduous process, Takayama received approval to hold the event at Arahama Elementary School from 2014.

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[176] Chan is a diminutive suffix that expresses that the speaker finds someone endearing. It is a way to express closeness and is often used for children and those younger than the speaker, but can also be used for relatives and close friends.
[177] I've chosen to use 3.11 to indicate March 11, 2011, and March 11 to indicate March 11 of any other year.

Figure 5.11 Arahama Elementary School, the site of Hope for Project since 2014. Photo by author.

HFP is heavily self-funded, thus Takayama has paid for expenses out of pocket and relies on volunteers to keep it active. Takayama has reached out to companies for sponsorship and financial support, but past offers have turned out to be laden with ulterior motives as in the case with a Japanese housing company that provided equipment such as tents, portable heaters, and tables for HFP, but after the event finished, company representative invited Takayama to a drinking party and pressured him to gather a group of former Arahama residents to go and observe their construction process and housing units. What was initially presented as a generous gesture turned out to be a shrewd attempt at a business exchange. Takayama also mentioned that Sendai city offers financial support for disaster victim community building activities (*hisaisha kōryū jigyō no joseikin*). HFP is eligible for a $1000 governmental support grant from Wakabayashi

ward where Arahama is located, but the application process is very involved requiring extensive paperwork and a detailed report after the event is over. Takayama said that HFP was not able to secure this support in 2016, and that it is almost not worth the effort and time investment for that amount of money. Furthermore, volunteers in the past were actually seeking ways to earn money by going to disaster sites and seeing where they might be able to find work, while others wanted to use the name Arahama to boost their own projects (e.g., we even provided support in Arahama). Needless to say, these people are no longer involved with HFP.

Despite financial hardships, Takayama decided to include musical performances for the first time at HFP 2014. Adding musicians to the mix has raised expenses to about $5000 per event due to equipment rental and transportation expenses. In 2016, Takayama was able to cover these expenses through support from Toto toilet company. Furthermore, all the musicians perform without pay, and in exchange, Takayama gives them photos and videos of the event as well as produce and items made by Arahama farmers such as rice and towels made of Arahama cotton. Takayama finds it important to try to give back to the musicians through things born out of Arahama.

**Music at HFP**

Takayama has always really enjoyed music in general and collected record albums and deejayed[178] from time to time since prior to 3.11. In 2013, Satō Nami, a composer from Arahama (discussed in detail in chapter 1), invited Takayama to her

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[178] Takayama's entire record collection was washed away by the tsunami and he is currently working to rebuild his collection. Prior to 3.11, there used to be a small one-day summer music festival held annually on the Arahama beach where Takayama used to DJ.

graduation exhibit in Yamagata that featured her newly composed album, “Arahama Callings.” Satō was one of the people who contacted Takayama via Twitter after 3.11 in search of her grandfather and offering to help in any way she could from Yamagata. During the drive home from Satō’s exhibit, Takayama listened to “Arahama Callings,” and feeling that Satō put a great deal of thought about Arahama into her album, he felt it was essential to have Satō’s music performed live in Arahama. In the summer of 2013, five-hundred candles were lined up in the school playground of Arahama Elementary School, and Satō performed her music in an evening outdoor concert. Even though it had been over two years since 3.11, audience members were in tears, likely because Satō’s music evoked memories of sites in Arahama that were no longer there, and people who lost their lives there on 3.11, and that was the moment when Takayama felt that music had the power to touch the people of Arahama, and strengthen HFP. Sara Ahmed argues that memory can be the object of feeling where feeling is shaped by contact with the memory (2004:7), and it was at this particular performance where Takayama realized that music can make and leave an affective impression on people in ways that complement the balloon release event.

Takayama carefully hand selected a group of artists who would perform at HFP 2014. In addition to Satō Nami, Takayama recruited rapper MC Hunger of Sendai-based hip-hop group Gagle, singer songwriter Aida Shigekazu (aka Aigon) from Tokyo, and Tsuneoka Akira, drummer for hardcore punk band Hi-Standard based in Tokyo. Takayama met all the artists post-3.11 as all of them were making visits to Arahama to show their support and to volunteer in disaster relief efforts. Takayama admittedly stated

that it initially seemed ridiculous to have artists from such a wide range of genres (ambient, hip-hop, rock, punk rock) performing together at HFP, but after getting to know each artist in the context of volunteer work, Takayama felt that they all had sincere feelings of wanting to support Arahama's revival, and that they have insight into the kind of music that would be appropriate to perform on March 11.

Figure 5.12 Satō Nami (keyboard), KGM (acoustic guitar), Tsuneoka Akira (drums), MC Hunger (vocals), and Aida Shigekazu (electric guitar) performing at Hope for Project on March 11, 2016. Photo by author.

Since 2014, Takayama has started receiving performance requests from a variety of artists expressing interest in performing at HFP. He makes it a point to listen to every recording that everyone sends, then he thinks about whether the song is something that should be performed in Arahama on March 11. If the song has potential to be a good fit, Takayama meets with the artist to get a sense of his or her positionality, character, and

motive. While Takayama has invited a few additional artists to perform, the original four artists are the only ones who have performed at more than one HFP to date. Takayama remains firm that March 11 is a special day and that the music that is performed in Arahama on March 11 has to be thought out very carefully. In the past, he has refused performance requests based on genre such as idol groups, as well as motive, such as artists who have no knowledge of Arahama but simply want to perform at a disaster site on March 11 for publicity purposes. Takayama also avoids veering too much towards a single musical genre since a variety of people from children to the elderly come to HFP, so it would be difficult for all attendees to relate to the music if it was too restricted.

Takayama's emphasis on the proper kind of music that should be performed on March 11, and the conscientious attention he pays to song selection at HFP is worth considering in more detail. In his discussion about disaster anniversaries, Thomas R. Forrest writes that "significant events are separated out from the continuous flow and designated with special meaning" (1993:445). He suggests that a physical time such as March 11, 2011 becomes significant when it is translated into social time (e.g., a commemorative event) where the physical time is interpreted. One way of marking social time are anniversaries, which Forrest defines as "…a unique time designation where the past is consciously brought forward into the present. It is a specific time period when people consciously stop to acknowledge a past event on a specific date" (ibid.:445). Takayama's ultimate objective with HFP is to create a space where attendees are able to commemorate and spend March 11 peacefully (*odayaka na jikan wo sugoseru*), and the music must reflect this purpose as well. Takayama relies on his musical choices to

orchestrate the sociality of emotions that take place at HFP. Sara Ahmed critiques both the “inside out” and “outside in” models of emotion because they “assume the objectivity of a very distinction between inside and outside, the individual and the social, and the ‘me’ and the ‘we’” (2004:9). Instead, Ahmed suggests that “emotions create the very effect of the surfaces and boundaries that allow us to distinguish an inside and an outside in the first place” (ibid.:10). Thus, Takayama relies on “proper music” to create a “dwelling place” through attachment where attendees are moved by the proximity of others (ibid.:11). Takayama avoids music that is overly uplifting and carefree, but he also avoids music with melancholic lyrics, and mentioned that it really does not matter what kind of music is played in Arahama on any other day, but on March 11, in marking the anniversary of the event, the music needs to bring solace to the attendees, and if they do not leave the event feelings better than they felt before coming out to Arahama and attending the event, then HFP should not be held at all.

I attended HFP 2016 as a volunteer helping with simple tasks such as inflating and distributing balloons and cutting out balloon-shaped paper cutouts for attendees to write messages on. While observing the musical performances, two performances in particular stood out to me as reflective of Takayama’s mission. Satō Nami performed an original composition entitled “Falling Stars in the Night Garden,” which is a piece she wrote in 2011 and had only performed once prior to that day. She gave a personal speech before performing the piece:

> I used to live in Shinmachi, right over there (points outside school window). There was a dog living with me there that I got when I was seven years old. I’m an only child to working parents, so I spent a lot of time at home with my dog. My dog was home alone on 3.11 and was never found since. You might think so

> what, it's just a dog, but I realized after the disaster that it was a member of my family. I think many of you here, myself included, feel that so much was taken away from us on that day and that we haven't been able to fully process and clean up our thoughts about it, even now, five years later. The view from this window is different from last year even. I've seen messages of recovery all over the place, but I still wonder what that really means. A lot of debris has been cleaned up and we've been supported by so many people, but I still have this lingering feeling of uneasiness. This is a song I wrote in 2011. It was written with thoughts about my dog, my own grandfather, and people who were kind to me in my neighborhood who lost their lives on 3.11. I was desperately trying to recover all the things I had lost. I finally feel ready to perform this song here in Arahama today. Perhaps this is a sign of progress and moving forward. I think recovery and happiness means being able to face your own fears and uncertainties and to be able to move forward from them. Recovery is something that only those of us who are alive can achieve. I want to dedicate this song to everything that was lost on 3.11. 'Falling Stars in the Night Garden.'[179]

Satō's speech and performance carefully balance the tragedies of reality with uplifting messages of hope and inspiration. The piece itself is sonically lighthearted being in a major key with a repeated phrase played on a synth that resembles the sound of a toy xylophone. The chorus, which translates to "I'll be able to meet you at the ends of the sky where the light shines, saying goodbye to Orion," and "I'll be able to meet you. Everything will be alright. The long night will end in the garden where the stars are falling" are hopeful while simultaneously presenting a sense of loss that needs to be negotiated.

The closing song at the event was a collaboration by the original four artists (Satō, MC Hunger, Aida, and Tsuneoka) performing "Kikoeruyo" (I Can Hear It), a song originally performed by Gagle with lyrics written by MC Hunger in 2013. Before the song began, the artists handed out ten shakers to audience members to help set the rhythm

[179] Clips of Satō's speech and performance can be seen here: "Falling Stars In The Night Garden / 佐藤 那美 (HOPE FOR project 20160311@荒浜小学校)," YouTube video, 3:49, posted by "y_itgk" on March 12, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_sCdsrgiH3A.

for the song. The chorus repeats "I can faintly hear it," referring to the sounds and voices of things, places, and people that are no longer with us, but remain alive with us in our memories. MC Hunger carefully orchestrated this particular performance where the song begins with the sound of shakers by the audience and ends with the resonance of Satō's melodica.[180] When I later asked Takayama what song he felt received the best audience response at HFP 2016, his response was "Kikoeruyo," which he found to be particularly powerful because,

> …as the shakers were cued to cease and the guitar and drums gradually dropped out, MC Hunger had Satō close the song out. The song ended with Satō. Ending the music performed on March 11 with Satō is something that MC Hunger created. 'Kikoeruyo' the song has profound meaning on its own, but ending the sounds of that day with someone who lost family members on 3.11 was, I think, something very meaningful. But that wasn't a moment that I directed or demanded of the artists. MC Hunger is older in age than Tsuneoka and Aida, and that may also be why he is regarded as the coordinator. There's a trust circle between me, the organizers, and the artists, but a trust circle has also developed between the artists. Musically speaking, I think this year's HFP was the best. The music has gotten more and more developed over the years.[181]

"Falling Stars in the Night Garden" and "Kikoeruyo" both present feelings of loss that are eased by messages of hope and optimism. While it is perfectly fine to just go to Arahama on March 11, press palms together in prayer, and leave, Takayama believes that releasing balloons and listening to music provides a little more comfort than simply putting palms together and leaving. David Middleton and Derek Edwards define collective remembering as "…what is recalled and commemorated [that] extends beyond the sum of the participants' individual perspectives…the contest between varying

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[180] The performance of "Kikoeruyo" at HFP 2016 can be seen here: "2016 年 3 月 11 日 Hope For Project," YouTube video, 7:38, posted by "022carpediem" on August 16, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pP5gN-JZA.
[181] Takayama, Tomoyuki, Interview, 13 May 2016.

accounts of shared experiences, people reinterpret and discover features of the past that become the context and content for what they will jointly recall and commemorate on future occasions" (1990:7). The ways that HFP and the Blue Carp Streamers Project foster collective remembering is what makes these events more profound than acts of commemorating the event independently. Not unlike the events and projects in memorialization of the nuclear attack on Hiroshima that Lisa Yoneyama argues "…illuminate the trajectories of memories, the processes through which a landscape of death is being converted into one of opulence, seductiveness, and comfort" (1999:44), HFP and the Blue Carp Streamers Project aim to reconstitute sites of immense loss and tragedy by constructing a space where memories are not only recalled and confronted, but also created and commemorated. Especially without much governmental support, severely affected coastal areas need to be reconstituted as spaces of comfort by former residents of those spaces not only to bring people together and provide a specific moment for collective remembering, but also to ensure that those regions do not become abandoned and forgotten as disaster casualties. Through visually and emotionally stunning performances of raising carp streamers and releasing balloons in conjunction with personally and socially meaningful music making, both events strive to demonstrate progress and growth and to revive landscapes that would otherwise remain desolate and possibly eventually forgotten.

**Conclusion: Maintaining Memory and Overcoming Nominal Stigmas**

*When people hear Arahama 3.11, many will say, 'oh yeah there's something with balloons right? MC Hunger performs at that right? There's some event at the elementary school right?' so word seems to have spread. But even now, there are people from Arahama who know nothing about HFP. Around the time of the disaster, the TV was not*

*working in Arahama, but it was in other areas, and there was a broadcast that announced that over 200 bodies were found on the Arahama shore amongst the debris. So when people outside of the region hear the word 'Arahama,' they associate it as the place in Sendai where lots of bodies were found, but I wanted to change that image. For a small town like Arahama to be featured on the news, it had to be presented as something very sad and compelling, but this is the town where we grew up. Even now, if I go to other regions such as Kansai or Kantō, people say 'oh Arahama is that place from the TV broadcast,' but I'll tell them that we are doing this kind of project, then come back home. But even by just telling them about HFP, these people can develop a renewed image of Arahama. Even if they've never been to Arahama, they may remember, 'oh that's right people from Arahama came that one time,' then people may search for 3.11 Arahama on the internet, get information about HFP, and decide to come the following year. So HFP was developed for the people of Arahama to have a place to reflect, but HFP is also becoming a place for people outside the region to come and show their support.*[182]

-Takayama Tomoyuki

Anthropologist Susanna Hoffman writes that "the imagery surrounding disaster implements cultural and personal survival. It provides a compass of orientation on how to think about calamity and gives an orbit of persuasion on how to cope with and survive it" (2002:114). The objects and activities that I have presented in this chapter serve as examples of cultural responses to 3.11 that strive to overturn common assumptions about the state of disaster recovery, which usually lie at one of two extremes. One assumption is that areas affected by the 3.11 earthquake and tsunami are sufficiently "fixed" and "healed" and that there are other ongoing catastrophes in more need of immediate help. Objects as *lieux de mémoire* and cultural biographies of disaster experiences whether they be personal musical instruments on display at a museum, a drum covered in hand-written messages, or instruments recycled out of disaster debris, all work to keep memories of the

[182] Takayama, Tomoyuki, Interview, 13 May 2016.

disaster alive and open up a space for conversations about the disaster. Appadurai writes that

> …restoration and conservation are about more than preservation. They are a testimony to the fact that the very objecthood of art objects requires action in order to resist the historical processes that turn one kind of thing into another kind of thing unless one is committed to the project of maintaining the work of art as such — a permanent object and a repository of permanence (2006:16).

What makes Senrai's drum of hope and recycled musical instruments particularly powerful is that they require action to activate the memories and meanings that are embedded in them. While musical instruments on display as artifacts in a museum are not ineffective in eliciting compassion and curiosity, being able to utilize such artifacts to sonically withdraw and revive moments and sentiments from the disaster through performance activates a sense of immediacy regardless of how much time has passed since 3.11. These instruments are not meant to be preserved and laid to rest in a museum, but re-sounded as a way to continually reactivate disaster memories. As Bates, Woodward, and Hoskins argue, objects are imbued with meaning and can have agency as tools that help define and develop modes of identification. Objects develop biographical significance by mobilizing social relations through the thing-power they possess and are especially instrumental in the aftermath of major catastrophes that threaten to obliterate the memories and meanings associated with affected regions. Following 3.11, material objects are particularly meaningful in reviving and sustaining selected memories of the past.

The other assumption is fueled by the inability to reconsider the stigma of devastation, destruction, and contamination that overpowers everything else -- and which has come to define the names of regions (e.g., Arahama, Fukushima, Hiroshima). These regions have unfortunately become emblematic of disaster and ruin, and any other meaning that these regions carry are often overrun by those associations. The Blue Carp Streamers Project and HFP are both heavily powered by the motive to redefine the regions in which they take place to not only be labeled as sites of immense loss and tragedy, but also as places where memorialization is continually reactivated and communities can be rebuilt. As a disaster anniversary event, HFP strives to redefine and decenter negative associations of Arahama.

While it is impossible to completely overturn stigmas associated with the names of places that have endured extreme loss and tragedy, there are ways to mitigate these stigmatizations by developing renewed associations and ways to redefine these regions. Lisa Yoneyama claims that while "Hiroshima" is "…a master code for catastrophe in the twentieth century" (1999:15), "the visualization of Hiroshima that is created by particular styles of writing used to represent the city's name can also help decenter atom bomb memories within the official cityscape" (ibid.:48). She suggests that "Hiroshima" written in kanji (Chinese characters) is the most mundane form eliciting "a rather prosaic image of the city," while in tourist and municipal events, the hiragana syllabary has increasingly come into use because it "constructs a new, affable signifier saturated with images of the nurturing hometown, or furusato" (ibid:48). "Hiroshima" in katakana (phonetic symbol system used mainly for transliterating foreign words), on the other hand, "appears most

frequently in the discourse of peace and antinuclearism" standing for "abstractions directly related to the specific historical moment of the city's bombing" (ibid.:48). Similar linguistic distinctions are made with post-3.11 Fukushima where "Fukushima" written in katakana refers to the nuclear disaster. However, similar to the way that Takayama is fighting to counter Arahama becoming shorthand for a site of mass casualties, people with connections to Fukushima prefecture are working to counter the ways in which Fukushima is being stigmatized as a site of contamination (see Manabe 2015).

Yoneyama provides an example where a contributor to the Hiroshima Flower Festival strove to invoke peace at the event in separation from the dark and dismal atom bomb memory by "…distinguishing the city that had been bombed from the city that has miraculously recovered and is now flourishing economically" (1999:58). This does not mean effacing memories of the tragedies that took place there, but to present the city as one that "…also emerged out of that experience—with vitality" (ibid.:58). Demonstrating signs of vitality is the most powerful mechanism in asserting recovery. While there is no end to recovery and the effects of 3.11 will never completely diminish, disaster experiences are remembered, revived, reclaimed, and retold because post-disaster livelihood cannot proceed without these modes of memorialization.

**A Note on Nuclear Silencing**

While the tsunami impacted areas in Miyagi, Iwate, Fukushima, Ibaraki, Chiba, and Aomori prefectures, Fukushima prefecture was and continues to be singled out and stigmatized as the sole bearer of the nuclear disaster for having housed the Fukushima

Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in the towns of Futaba and Ōkuma. Despite drastically different circumstances in each of the disaster-affected areas, the preferred moniker for the triple disaster has become 3.11, because, as Noriko Manabe writes, the 3.11 metonym makes it possible to "…refer to all three disasters without implying a greater emphasis on any one" (2015:6), therefore making it possible to express sympathy for disaster victims without having to take a political stance on the nuclear issue.

In the immediate aftermath of the disaster, public discourse – in newspapers and television – initially emphasized perseverance as a key cultural value that would guide all affected communities towards recovery. While this still holds true at the time of this writing, five years later, the focus for many communities in Miyagi prefecture seems to have shifted towards "never forgetting" the lives that were lost and the damage from the earthquake and tsunami through efforts to memorialize these components of the triple disaster. This discourse has also translated to music making by and for affected communities since the disaster. In contrast, the nuclear accident is silenced and seemingly "forgotten." While tsunami victims and outsiders are addressing and negotiating ideas about healing, recovery, and progress through musical activities and performance, there is a clear silencing of the specter of radiation and antinuclear sentiments.

Scholar of Japanese Studies, Norma Field's concept of the "dissociation of life from livelihood" (*seikatsu to seimei no kairi*) helps to further elucidate these distinctions. Field argues that

> …in a situation like that represented by Fukushima, with its host of nuclear plants supplying power to Tokyo, people who are economically vulnerable are compelled to take on the risks posed by radiation exposure to their long-term health (life) in order to gain sustenance (livelihood) for today and tomorrow. But

> life and livelihood are in fact inseparable: they should never constitute an "either/or" choice (Takahashi 2014).

As evidenced in the aforementioned examples, in Miyagi, livelihood is often sought out through efforts to memorialize the event, and demonstrate recovery from the effects of the tsunami, while in Fukushima, efforts to regain livelihood are demonstrated through activities that foster a rebuilding of communities dispersed by the nuclear fallout, and aim to remedy the ruptures caused by threats of radiation exposure (see chapter 2). The seeming absence of antinuclear discourse in the musical scenes I have presented throughout this dissertation is likely tied to a need to prioritize immediate livelihood and economic survival over long-term life (i.e., biological well-being). In contrast to antinuclear protestors in Tokyo, who can afford to worry about their biological well-being, the communities I have presented are forced to focus on short-term modes of livelihood to regain a sense of pre-disaster normality. This is not to say that they deny the threats and consequences of radiation, but that silence often becomes a necessary mode of survival to regain livelihood. The activities I present are different from antinuclear demonstrations in that they are not as much about disruption and giving voice to the silenced, as they are about recruiting support and demonstrating signs of recovery. These activities are about revival and survival (immediate livelihood) in contrast to disruption, opposition, and anger (long-term life).

When asked whether Senrai has participated in any antinuclear events, Chiba responded that there has not been an opportunity to do so, and that wishing for an end to nuclear power is in line with the expressive methods Senrai uses in musical performances,

so they do wish for an end to it, but they have not participated in any straightforward activities to oppose nuclear power. Furthermore, he stated that if Senrai were to participate in such an event, they would need to not only oppose the nuclear, but also provide an alternative system for nuclear power.[183] In other words, Senrai does not feel comfortable voicing antinuclear sentiments unless they could provide a solution to the issue.

While antinuclear protestors, particularly in Tokyo, are making the precariousness of biological life more visible through exclamations of anger, discontent, and disruption, which also functions as an affirmation of life, an unspoken silence about the nuclear fallout pervades over communities in disaster-affected Tohoku. This is not because they deny its presence or its gravity, but because livelihood in the form of overcoming the disaster through memorializing progress from the effects of the tsunami, local community building efforts to reunite dispersed communities and regain a sense of pre-disaster normality, and efforts to demonstrate a united and determined Tohoku for the sake of economic redevelopment are prioritized for their immediate future. In the catastrophic aftermath of 3.11, life and livelihood have become an either or choice, and in order to better understand what factors constitute post-3.11 livelihood for communities in the disaster-affected areas, we need to acknowledge silence about the nuclear issue not only as a government-enforced mode of disavowal, but as a mechanism for survival.

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[183] Chiba, Shū, Interview, 20 August 2015.

## Conclusion

*Experiencing disaster requires a transformation*. Music making allows disaster-affected communities to cope with that transformation by working to rebuild and restructure post-3.11 identifications, normalcy, and livelihood. My narrative has charted musical performance's roles in disaster recovery, tracing the flows and patterns of musical support activities, while addressing their issues and successes. These activities adhere to the conceptual dichotomy between convivance (harmoniously living together) and survival presented by anthropologist Marc Abélès (2010). Abélès argues that the era of globalization has put survival, or outlasting the uncertainties and threats of a precarious future (i.e., the preoccupation with living), at the heart of political action, and that survival has supplanted harmonious coexistence (convivance) as the primary goal of politics.[184] A political departure from models of social cohesion towards an overarching focus on survival is more evident in the antinuclear movement than in tsunami and earthquake recovery efforts. As Noriko Manabe argues, the "combination of potential

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[184] Marc Abélès's work serves a critical purpose for ethnomusicologists Marié Abe's (2016) and David Novak's (2017) works about music and the post-Fukushima antinuclear movement. Abe argues that *chindon-ya* (an ostentatious musical advertisement practice on the street) sounds at antinuclear demonstrations are forging new affective alliances that have produced "a kind of politics against different kinds of insecurity or what anthropologist Marc Abélès calls the politics of survival: a political preoccupation symptomatic of the neoliberal moment plagued by global insecurity" (Abe 2016:251). Abe notes that while the politics of survival aptly captures the social and nuclear precarity in Japan as symptomatic of the neoliberal global order, it is not a perfect fit because it prioritizes preventative measures against potential catastrophe over improving the status quo, and it shifts focus away from hope for a better world towards fear of a worse one (ibid. 258-259). Novak writes that 3.11 seems to have sped the Japanese nation faster towards what Abélès describes as a global departure from models of social cohesion toward an overarching focus on survival (2017:237). He suggests that public consciousness in "post-Fukushima Japan" has shifted from convivance to survival and that "living is not just about staying alive; rather, survival is a cultural project to generate and institutionalize ambiguity about the future" (ibid.).

anonymity in cyberspace and the expressivity of music helped citizens to overcome the spiral of silence[185] and raise their voices against nuclear power" (ibid.:4). In the context of antinuclear demonstrations, the urgency to fight for survival is often expressed through loud assertions of anger and discontent that mobilize political resistance. This passion continues to intensify in disapproval of the Abe administration's policies, particularly with the passing of the Secrecy Law in 2013, which reinterpreted the Constitution to allow Japan's military forces to defend its allies, and the Security Bills that enable the deployment of forces even if Japan is not under attack. The situation only continues to become more fraught as seen through the passing of the Anti-Terror Conspiracy Bill in June 2017, which criminalizes the plotting and committing of 277 acts, some of which are ridiculously linked to terrorist activities such as "copying music,"[186] and "mushroom picking in conservation forests." Reactions to such contentious issues continue to demonstrate that musical protest is very much alive in Japan as a way for citizens to voice what they normally cannot express in words. The spiral of silence, however, remains quite pervasive within disaster-affected regions of Tohoku in response to the nuclear issue. The politics of tsunami and earthquake recovery rely on narratives of convivance, solidarity, and affectivity (e.g., kizuna) as both desirable and necessary attributes for post-3.11 survival.  While some musical activities adhere to and settle for notions of

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[185] Manabe is drawing on Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's (1974, 1993) concept of the spiral of silence, which "occurs because societies threaten individuals who violate the consensus, and individuals conform out of the fear of social isolation" (ibid.: 111).

[186] Manabe noted that an outlaw on "copying music" means that composing with pre-existing materials without clearance would be banned, making it impossible to replicate the dissemination of protest cover songs, contrafacta, and mashups that pervaded the internet in the wake of the antinuclear movement.

convivance through generalized, self-fulfilling declarations of post-disaster solidarity, others are more demonstrative of efforts towards post-3.11 survival where musical activities assuage the threats of a precarious future.

Unsurprisingly, no single activity proved to be the best or most successful. The manifold types of musical support activities that 3.11 prompted demonstrate a variety of interpretations of the effects of the disaster that should be prioritized. While some prioritize recovery at the localized level, working to restore and revive folk traditional arts and encase personal memories of disaster-affected areas in songs and objects, others prioritize recovery at the national level, working to restore economy and tourism, and to present depictions of steadfast survivors for a global audience. David Novak writes that "survival generates the ethics of solicitude" (2017:237), and that this has made it "appear logical for NGOs and NPOs to take over disaster work from the government, and 'support' stricken populations without demanding changes in administration or policy" (ibid.). While this has been more than evident in post-3.11 musical support activities, solicitude is deeply discrepant depending on an organization's proximity and relationality to the disaster's epicenter (Hayashi 2015) as well as the amount of financial backing and institutional support that it receives. Each chapter of this dissertation showed a discrepant side of post-3.11 musical solicitude, and laid out different approaches to urgent issues and questions that arose with each case.

**Frameworks for Musical Sustainability**

Cultural and governmental structures have been key to the revival and development of the majority of aforementioned musical activities. Frameworks of

cultural sustainability such as intangible cultural heritage designations and methods of transmission, raising awareness, and pedagogy, and cultural tenets of aid, volunteerism, revitalization, and development heavily shaped the types of musical support activities that were prioritized and valued in post-3.11 Japan. It was not simply hope, but structures and initiatives that made these movements possible. Jeff Todd Titon argues that the following elements contribute to sustainability in music:

> Cultural and musical rights and ownership, the circulation and conservation of music, the internal vitality of music cultures and the social organization of their music-making, music education and transmission, the roles of community scholars and practitioners, intangible cultural heritage, tourism, and the creative economy, preservation versus revitalization, partnerships among cultural workers and community leaders, and good stewardship of musical resources (2009a:5).

Indeed, these precise elements also contributed to the sustainability and revival of musical activities in post-3.11 Japan. 3.11 prompted dynamic takes on "issues of sustainability in music, beyond preservationist agendas" (Schippers and Bendrups 2015:3), and the ways musical sustainability has been handled in post-3.11 Japan can serve as a model for ways to further develop disaster mobilization systems to aid in arts recovery following disasters.

Grantmakers in the Arts, a national network of private, public, and corporate arts funders in the US, developed The National Coalition for Arts' Preparedness and Emergency Response in 2006 following the catastrophic effects of the 2005 megastorm on the Gulf coast to "strengthen disaster readiness and resilience within the arts and culture sector" (Schoenfeld 2013). The coalition is in the process of developing a handbook "to help local and state arts agencies, organizations, foundations, and other arts groups plan and administer a coordinated disaster mobilization system within their

service area" (Schwartzman 2011:3). Obviously, there is no "one-size fits all" model that is applicable to all types of disasters because appropriate responses are heavily reliant upon cultural and governmental standards, but the guidelines that the coalition proposes serve as useful starting points. The coalition recommends that foundations and arts service organizations initiate "collective, on-the-ground relief efforts for artists and arts organizations" (Schoenfeld 2013), develop and administer systems to distribute resources including financial assistance, and serve as experts and liaisons on issues related to the arts and culture community (Schwartzman 2011:7). I think ethnomusicologists are also well-equipped to collaboratively and actively initiate and participate in these types of relief efforts. We are in a better position than most to put music and associated research to use to help solve concrete problems (Harrison 2012:514). However, Daniel Sheehy warns that "applied ethnomusicology as a *conscious practice*…begins with a sense of purpose…that shapes our action into concrete lines of strategy that are not preconceived or predetermined by an absolute idea of what these actions should be" (1992:323-324, [emphasis his]). Ethnomusicological support of arts preparedness and emergency response must also center on strategically devised modes of purpose that are not assumptively absolutist, but informedly flexible.

I hope that my study fosters interaction between different organizations to draw ideas from one another and collaborate. In interviews, I found that just about all the organizers I spoke to were understandably preoccupied with the functioning of their own activities, and were not particularly focused on what other types of activities were happening around them. I hope that this dissertation opens up possibilities for new types

of collaborations. As Samuel Araújo writes, "the issue at stake here is not quite simply returning something to a community with which one works, out of respectable ethical considerations, but moreover the opening of a possibility of a new kind of knowledge about social forms" (2006:291). "Giving back" to the communities one studies by taking social responsibility to solve concrete problems is the central tenet of applied ethnomusicology,[187] but Araújo argues that investing in natives' formation in and conduction of research activities is more socially engaged and potentially transforming (ibid.:291). I agree that researchers need to engage in collaborations with their interlocutors rather than to simply "give back" what the researcher assumes to be most helpful to the communities she works with.

The term "applied" in itself should be approached with caution since it can buttress the empowered and superior stance of the ethnographer in relation to the communities with which she interacts. Applied ethnomusicology sometimes suggests that the scholar/ethnographer can enter a community, apply a remedial and influential stamp

[187] A special interest group for applied ethnomusicology was begun in SEM (Society for Ethnomusicology) in 1997, and was officially established as a SEM section in 2002 (Titon:2009a:8). In 2007, an applied ethnomusicology study group was established within ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music), which developed an "approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts" (Harrison, MacKinlay, Pettan 2010:1). The responsibilities of applied ethnomusicology include openness, self-reflection, communication skills, and broadness, and addresses the need for interdisciplinary approaches. For an overview of applied ethnomusicology's pioneers and philosophers, see Sheehy 1992. Sheehy argues that "there *is* a tradition and record of applied thought and purpose that should be included in the history of American ethnomusicology, and that there has been an evolving sense of strategy and techniques for action that has flowed from this thought and that demands our attention as ethnomusicologists" (1992:329). For the histories and developments of applied ethnomusicology in national (US) and global perspectives and for a wide range of cultural policy intervention examples and case studies, see Pettan and Titon 2015.

supported by scholarly insight, and leave having made a significant difference. I prefer the term engaged because it suggests a give and take exchange between the ethnographer and her ethnographic community, putting both parties on a more level playing field.

Ultimately, the most beneficial kinds of support, I believe, are those that support initiatives by disaster victims and provide aid in ways where local communities are left in a position where they are able to self-manage and sustain activities on their own. Sustainability is key here. Huib Schippers has developed a systematic framework consisting of five domains that impact sustainability across music cultures: systems of learning music; musicians and communities; contexts and constructs; regulations and infrastructure; and media and the music industry (Schippers and Bendrups 2015, Schippers 2016). Each examines the underlying values and processes that are central to a music culture's sustainability "beyond traditional preservation and conservation models based on the application of expert knowledge administered by heritage management agencies, with a limited view and goal of controlling targeted resources so as to prevent their extinction" (Titon 2009b:121). My observations of post-3.11 musical activities also fit into Schippers's five domains, and demonstrate that traditional preservation efforts alone are not adequate enough for post-3.11 musical sustainability. Systems of learning music are crucial to sustain the transmission of folk performing arts and help build ties between disaster survivors and outsiders through the development of post-3.11 musical communities such as children's orchestras. The positions, roles, and interactions of musicians within their communities are of utmost importance to the sustenance of localized folk performing arts and matsuri festivals, and are also vital to the continuation

of post-3.11 commemoration events held at disaster sites. The social and cultural contexts of musical traditions have shaped the genres of music that were deemed appropriate to foster solidarity and commemoration in post-3.11 Japan, and also impacted the types of performance practices that were deemed worthy of representing survival and tenacity on the public stage. 3.11 revealed the regulations and infrastructure that held Japan's musical cultures together, demonstrating that the "hardware" of music such as places to practice and perform, tools, outfits, and musical instruments are essential and require financial support to restore and sustain. Lastly, the media and music industry were effective in raising global awareness about 3.11, but it may have been the least impactful in sustaining localized musical cultures because as Schippers writes, "while it is perfectly possible to 'freeze' a specific musical expression" as commercialized post-3.11 songs did, "it is hard to imagine a music practice being sustainable without being embedded in a supportive environment" (Schippers 2016:8). Schippers notes that each domain should not be regarded individually but as parts that overlap and interrelate to constitute an entire ecosystem (ibid.:11). Similarly, it is the amalgamation of the ways that each domain interconnects and amends various gaps in post-3.11 Japan that reveals a sustainable future for the region's musics. My hope is that this dissertation can begin to serve as a pedagogical tool for post-3.11, and more broadly, post-disaster cultural recovery. I hope it can inspire the development of more critical and conscientious projects that foster direct and collaborative involvement with disaster survivors, that listen to their needs and hopes, and that support their visions for action towards recovery.

**Hope**

In his first public speech following 3.11, Emperor Akihito asked Japanese citizens to remain *hopeful* and calm and to help one another out. "The theme of hope (*kibō*) reverberated throughout the country" (Allison 2013:196). The Japanese word for hope (希望; kibō) is composed of two characters, the first meaning 'rare and uncommon' (*mare*) and the second meaning 'to look far ahead' (*nozomu*), and when put together, the compound carries a similar resonance to the English saying "there's a light at the end of the tunnel," that "gazing beyond the self at something alien yet engrossing, beautiful yet unapproachable, is a good way to understand hope as subjectivity of yearning for transcendence" (Danely 2016:17).

Remaining hopeful suggests passivity, while hoping or working towards the light at the end of the tunnel implies action. Genda Yūji, Professor of Labor Economics at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, and founder of "hope studies" (*kibōgaku*) (2006)[188] distributed calendars to disaster survivors in Kamaishi one month after 3.11 because he regards time as essential to the construction of hope. Genda's notion of hope is that "thinking about the future—thinking oneself into the future (tomorrow, then the next week, on a calendar)—becomes 'the energy for action.'" In other words, "a vision of living into the future demands action and energy now" (Allison 2013:198-199). 3.11 sped up time for the people in Tohoku, prompting and urging them to take action now, so that hopeful visions of the future could be achieved more

[188] Genda's hope studies project was inspired by the lack of optimism in Japanese society, which "tended to dwell upon issues such as the persistence of an 'aging society,' the impoverishment of regional economies ('shrinking regions'), mounting fiscal deficits, the intensification of global competition, and concerns arising from widening social inequalities" (Genda 2016:154).

efficiently. Genda's hope studies emphasizes how individuals' hopes are influenced by their social environment, and also considers how individual formations of hope can influence the direction of society as a whole. He found that following 3.11, prioritizations of people's hopes shifted from work, which was prioritized by 66.3% of survey respondents in 2006, to the family precisely because of sudden ruptures that threatened social ties (Genda 2016:158-159). Hope, Genda argues, "shouldn't be top down—or pronounced in the name of a collective Japan that exerts pressures and exclusions all its own. Rather, it should come from going to the scene itself and hearing from those victimized" (Allison 2013:199). Anne Allison paraphrases Genda's notion of hope as "an ethics of care built from a precariousness ontologically shared if differentially distributed" (ibid.:199), and "a working partnership recovering, relieving, reconstructing the stricken areas, moving it—and Japan—forward, cultivating hope" (ibid.:202). Ethnomusicological studies of hope must also operate under directly engaged working partnerships that collaboratively cultivate hope.

Hope in post-3.11 Japan, and in any post-crisis zone for that matter, needs to be rooted in action for it to have any significance to recovery. So what might an ethnomusicology of hope in a post-disaster context look like and how can it effectively contribute to the communities in question? An ethnomusicology of hope might be close to Samuel Araújo's proposition of an investment in natives' (in this case, survivors') visions and formations of research activities (in this case, recovery). It is not applied work, but engaged work that is, as Deborah Wong writes, "grounded in a politics of motion and a commitment to action" (2009:7). In reflecting upon his pedagogy of the

oppressed, Paulo Freire asserts that "hope is an ontological need. Hopelessness is but hope that has lost its bearings, and become a distortion of that ontological need" (1994:2). However, he also argues that "the idea that hope alone will transform the world…is an excellent route to hopelessness" because hope "demands an anchoring in practice" (ibid.:2). Hirokazu Miyazaki, the "founder" of an anthropology of hope, argues that hope is a *method* of knowledge formation rather than a subject, and "demands a temporal reorientation of knowledge" (2004:9). Drawing from concepts of hope in philosophy and his own ethnographic insights, Miyazaki suggests that hope as a method of knowledge consistently introduces a prospective momentum that propels the pursuit of self-knowledge (ibid.:26). There is hope in post-3.11 Japan—and lots of it, but in order for disaster survivors' hopes for recovery and normalcy to be realized, they must be put into practice, and musical activities as deeply enmeshed components of local culture and community serve as powerful modes of working towards hope. An ethnomusicology of hope requires deep listening and attentiveness as does any form of ethnographic work, but it also requires a sustained commitment to our interlocutors that takes witnessing/listening beyond writing, and writing beyond interpretation. An ethnomusicology of hope requires advocacy grounded in hopeful action.

*8/7/2016*

*It has been exactly three years since I last visited Rikuzentakata. The Tanabata Festival is scheduled to start at 10AM in front of the Community Hall, a newly rebuilt building that houses a hall seating 330 people and an assortment of meeting rooms. It's around the corner from Rikuzentakata Station, which now consists of a small waiting*

*room for the bus rapid-transit line (BRT) that runs towards Kesennuma in one direction and Ōfunato in the other (the train line that used to run between these cities prior to 3.11 was heavily damaged and scrapped). As I stand by the Community Hall parking lot and gaze at the handful of apartment complexes and shops, simultaneously signs of noticeable progress since my last visit, yet also indications of all the work that still needs to be done, I hear familiar sounds coming from the distance. The sounds of taiko drums and fue melodies interspersed with the occasional "YOOOI YOI," and "YOIYA SAAA, YOIYA SAAAA" emanate from stunningly beautiful dashi (floats) being pulled by community members both young and old. The dashi are assembled in the Community Hall parking lot before they are energetically dragged back to their respective neighborhoods to be adorned with lights for the evening parade. I follow behind one of the dashi, walking for half an hour or so before it is parked in an empty lot and participants take a brief rest before evening preparations commence. In the meantime, I walk around and explore the still largely barren city, which feels much larger than three years prior, simply because reconstruction efforts have cleared up many more paths, expanding out from the city center.*

*As the sun begins to set, the dashi are dragged out and brought back to life for the evening parade. I continue to follow one dashi around the town until it is parked back in the Community Hall parking lot.*

Figure 6.1 Residents of Rikuzentakata pull a *dashi* (float) during the Moving Tanabata Festival on August 7, 2016.

*Once parked, the taiko players vigorously beat their drums and the shrill sounds of fue and loud chants emanate across and beyond the lot. The dashi is shaking from all the sonic energy and human movement. After one final sonic climax, the festivities are brought to a close, and the dashi is being prepared to roll into storage.*

*But then, I hear uneven, intermittent thumps coming from a taiko drum inside the dashi. I peer in to find a little girl maybe two or three years old with a bachi (drum stick) in one hand, being carried by (presumably) her father who is hunched over and proudly gazing at her. He praises her and encourages her to continue bouncing the bachi on the drum, while a fellow musician documents this moment of musical recovery on his phone.*

Figure 6.2 A young girl learning to drum at the Moving Tanabata Festival on August 7, 2016.

*What compelled the fellow musician to document this moment? Was it to capture the touching moment for the father and daughter, to document musical recovery for himself, or perhaps to contribute this hopeful moment to the troupe's photo archive? While I may never know, I can tell you what this moment meant to me. I documented this moment from the vantage point of an outside witness, literally looking up and peering in from outside the dashi. Unlike the fellow musician, my vantage point was slightly obscured by the paper streamers that both enclosed and unveiled this intimate moment. This photograph depicts my positionality as a witness throughout this project. My vantage point is always comparatively distanced, partial, and framed, but I work to operationalize this position to highlight potential for post-3.11 musical revival and sustainability. The girl is surely a post-3.11 baby, likely unaware of the tragedy that had hit her hometown just five years*

*prior. Despite immense hardships, the tradition continues to be transmitted to the next generation, and it will be up to them to decide how they want to sustain and renew the memories and effects of 3.11. They are the ones who will bear the power to cultivate post-3.11 hope.*

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