Reconstruction of Tsunami-Affected Ishinomaki (Plains & Ria Coast Areas)

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Part I: Overview of the Reconstruction of Ishinomaki

Jun Oyane

1. Introduction

Ishinomaki City has the second largest population in Miyagi Prefecture, being home to the highest number of persons affected by the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami of any municipality (3282 deaths and 669 missing persons). In addition to large-scale urban damage, including damage to the city hall and coastal marine product processing and other industrial areas, there was also catastrophic damage to many small fishing villages in island areas.

With the 10-year anniversary of the disaster in sight, this report provides an overview of conditions in the area up to this fiscal year. In particular, it gives details of project case studies found by examining the reconstruction in the city (resilience ①, ②, and ③), and it provides a perspective (exploratory, mixed methods research) with which to explore and reassess such cases. It will not provide a description of problems surrounding the disaster itself, emergency restoration, and temporary housing, as these are outside of its scope (see Oyane 2011, Nakajima, etc.2015); this paper will focus on the reconstruction period (along with the relevant history of the region).

2. Reassembling the Local Pre-Disaster Situation: The Road to Pre-Planned Reconstruction

The Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami affected Ishinomaki City at a time when it sought to overcome the complications caused by its absorption of six towns in 2005 (Hirohara 2012). In the newly absorbed former towns, which lacked financial resources and authority, no independent decisions could be made, meaning that prompt, appropriate, and flexible measures could not be taken. Meanwhile, in the urban area, pre-planned reconstruction strategies could be implemented smoothly.

Here, I would like to look back on the process that led to the implementation of pre-planned reconstruction strategies in Ishinomaki (Oyane 2015).

In mid-November 2011, Ishinomaki City reported about its current reconstruction status and timeline for reconstruction going forward. The report states that the reconstruction around the central urban area of Ishinomaki City will be based on an urban reconstruction planning project focused on land readjustment projects, like in the case of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, to implement land readjustment projects in the disaster-affected areas, first, 2 months of construction restrictions were imposed in accordance with Article 84 of the Building Standards Law to prevent the overdevelopment of the disaster-affected areas. This period was extended so that meanwhile the new Act on Special Measures for Reconstruction of Disaster-Affected Urban Areas could be applied, allowing the designation of a reconstruction promotion area for the implementation of an urban reconstruction planning project and a "Black Area" to be set as the target area for

readjustment. This reconstruction style was adopted in many disaster-affected urban areas after the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami, and it was also applied in the urban area of Ishinomaki.

While adopting this style, Ishinomaki City opted for a short extension period of construction restrictions, designating its promotion area on September 12, that is, 6 months after the disaster. It was thus widely held up as a leading case in national newspapers; other municipalities designated their promotion areas in November, following a 6-month extension to the 2-month period, that is, 8 months after the disaster. Table 1 illustrates the chain of events leading up to this point, as well as the reconstruction system development in Ishinomaki City.

One month after the disaster, the Reconstruction Action Office was established with eight full-time staff, and discussions within the government began (April 11). Based on this, the Headquarters for the Promotion of Post-disaster Reconstruction were immediately established (April 15). Next, the Basic Policy for Reconstruction (Basic Principles and Planning Period) was established (April 27), and the springboard for the development of urban infrastructure, which acted as the core and drive of the reconstruction project, was unveiled (April 29).

Table 1. Timeline of Reconstruction in Ishinomaki City (mainly in the urban area)

	Development of the City's Reconstruction System	Consultation with Citizens and Affected Persons
04.11.2011	Establishment of the Reconstruction Action Office (8	Consultation with Citizens and Affected Let sons
04.11.2011	full-time staff)	
04.15.2011	Establishment of the Headquarters for the Promotion	
0	of Post-disaster Reconstruction	
04.27.2011	1st Meeting of the Ishinomaki City Headquarters for	
	the Promotion of Post-disaster Reconstruction	
	Ishinomaki Basic Policy for Post-disaster	
	Reconstruction (Basic Principles 1–3, Planning	
	period: Recovery (to 2013), Regeneration (to	
	2017), Reconstruction (to 2021))	
04.29.2011	Unveiling of springboard for urban infrastructure	
	reconstruction:	
	"Toward Urban Infrastructure Reconstruction in	
05.01.2011	Ishinomaki"	Common coment of questionnains t 11 (-1
05.01.2011		Commencement of questionnaire on town development (urban infrastructure development)
05.10.2011	2nd Meeting of the Ishinomaki City Headquarters for	minastructure development)
03.10.2011	the Promotion of Post-disaster Reconstruction	
	Toward Urban Infrastructure Reconstruction/	
	Advisory Group on Reconstruction Vision is held	
05.15.2011	, ,	1st Disaster Reconstruction Vision Expert Advisory Panel held
		(for the formulation of the Basic Plan for Post-disaster
		Reconstruction)
05.16.2011		City begins seeking suggestions for the formulation of the Basic
		Plan for Post-disaster Reconstruction
05.22.2011		2nd Earthquake Reconstruction Vision Expert Advisory Panel held
05.23.2011	3rd Meeting of the Ishinomaki City Headquarters for	
	the Promotion of Post-disaster Reconstruction	
	Additional Designation of Construction Restrictions for Disaster-Affected Urban Areas	
05.26.2011	Fourth Meeting of the Ishinomaki City Headquarters	
03.20.2011	for the Promotion of Post-disaster Reconstruction	
	Additional Designation of Construction	
	Restrictions for Disaster-Affected Urban Areas	
06.03.2011		Publication of results of questionnaire on town development (urban
		infrastructure development)
06.08.2011		Opinion-sharing meeting with residents (representatives of
		neighborhood associations in restricted construction areas)
06.09.2011	5th Meeting of the Ishinomaki City Headquarters for	
	the Promotion of Post-disaster Reconstruction	
	Establishment of the Citizen Review Committee	
	for the Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Post-	
06 14 2011	disaster Reconstruction	1-t Cities Perion Committee Mestine
06.14.2011		1st Citizen Review Committee Meeting (to adopt the Basic Plan for Post-dsaster Reconstruction)
		(to adopt the basic Plan for Post-dsaster Reconstruction)

06.19.2011		2nd Citizen Review Committee Meeting: Industrial Subcommittee
06.23.2011	6th Meeting of the Ishinomaki City Headquarters for	+ Lifestyle Subcommittee
06.23.2011	the Promotion of Post-disaster Reconstruction	
	For conceptualizing urban infrastructure	
	reconstruction	
	(← questionnaire + opinion sharing meeting with	
	representatives of residents in restricted	
	construction areas)	
06.24.2011	Disaster-resilient town development (basic concept)	
	Draft published Ishinomaki City Urban Infrastructure	
	Reconstruction: reconstruction image	
06.29.2011	Reconstruction. reconstruction image	3rd Citizen Review Committee Meeting
07.02.2011		4th Citizens Review Committee (Industrial Subcommittee) held
07.09.2011		5th Citizens Review Committee (Lifestyle Subcommittee) held
07.14.2011		Opinion sharing meetings with residents regarding urban
		infrastructure reconstruction plans held (17 sites citywide, until
		7/24)
08.22.2011	Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Urban Infrastructure	
	Reconstruction published	
09.12.2011	Designation of Restoration Promotion Areas under	
	the Act on Special Measures for Reconstruction of Disaster-affected Urban Areas (Article 5) (Ogatsu	
	and Oshika from 11/11)	
10.12.2011	Ishinomaki Cooperative Reconstruction Project	
10.12.2011	Council established	
11.07.2011	Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Post-disaster	
	Reconstruction (Draft)	
11.15.2011		Opinion sharing meetings on the draft plan (14 sites citywide:
11.24.2011		11/15–11/27) Information sessions on reconstruction promotion areas (33 sites
11.24.2011		citywide: November 24–December 18)
12.05.2011	Results of public comment on the draft plan, and the	,
	city's approach to the opinions and suggestions	
12.22.2011	Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Post-disaster	
02.01.2012	Reconstruction	
02.01.2012	Establishment of the Disaster Reconstruction	
	Department: 4 divisions: Reconstruction Policy Division, Collaborative Project Promotion Division,	
	Land-Use and Housing Division, Infrastructure	
	Development Division	
02.08.2012		Survey to confirm citizens' intention to stay in the city
02.17.2012	Ishinomaki City Reconstruction and Development	
03.31.2012	Council established	
	Reconstruction Promotion Plan Approved:	
	Ishinomaki Urban Regeneration Zone/Kitakami Food	
	Supply Reinforcement Zone	
	Preparation and Publication of Ishinomaki City	
05 02 2012	Reconstruction and Development Plan	Descritor of a service of a ser
03.03.2012		
05.03.2012		Recruitment of committee members for Ishinomaki City Disaster Reconstruction Promotion Council

Meanwhile, to incorporate the opinions of affected persons and citizens, a questionnaire was implemented (May 1), experts were consulted (May 15), and the city sought suggestions for the formulation of the Basic Plan for Post-disaster Reconstruction (May 16). Opinion-sharing events were also held with citizens living in restricted construction areas (June 8), the Citizen Review Committee (including an Industrial Subcommittee and Lifestyle Subcommittee) was established (June 14), and the Urban Infrastructure Reconstruction Plan (Urban Areas and Village Areas) was prepared and published (June 24). Then, opinion-sharing meetings with citizens were held at 17 venues across the city (July 14–24), and the opinions presented there were incorporated into the preparation and publication of the Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Urban Infrastructure Reconstruction (August 22). The Designation of Reconstruction Promotion Areas under the Act on Special Measures for Reconstruction of Disaster-Affected Urban Areas was made ahead of other municipalities (September 12), and opinion-sharing meetings on the draft

were held at 14 sites across the city (November 15–27). Since then, district-specific information sessions for landowners in reconstruction promotion areas have been held at 33 sites to explain the project content (November 24–December 18).

Opinions were sought at these information sessions, and these were incorporated into the Basic Plan for Post-disaster Reconstruction, which was compiled before the end of the year (December 22). Four sections were established within the Disaster Reconstruction Department, and alongside confirming the intentions of landowners to rebuild their housing (February 8), the city's reconstruction system was established.

The following three points can be garnered from the above timeline. First, among the various disaster-affected elements of the city, it was decided that urban planning projects should be implemented and urban reconstruction carried out first. Second, the city created opportunities for gathering the opinions of affected persons, such as questionnaire surveys, citizen review committees, opinion-sharing meetings, and information sessions (however, there have of course been many issues raised with regard to this). Third, despite this, there are still a variety of disasters-affected areas, especially small fishing villages, that is, the island areas (former towns before the 2005 merger) that have received little attention. Although the Urban Infrastructure Reconstruction Plan (Urban Areas and Village Areas) was prepared and published in late June, 2011, since then, moves toward designating urban reconstruction promotion areas have been the focus, and less emphasis has been placed on village island areas.

Table 1 begins with the establishment of the Reconstruction Action Office 1 month after the disaster. However, adding some supplementary points to this makes it easier to understand what was going on behind the scenes of the reconstruction of Ishinomaki. The following three rows may be added above the establishment of the Reconstruction Action Office on April 11, representing actions by the relevant authorities of Miyagi Prefecture (Miyagi Prefecture Civil Engineering, 2016):

- March 11, 2011: Article 84 of the Building Standards Law building restrictions (2 months)
- April 01, 2011: Governor of Miyagi Prefecture and Civil Engineering Department Special Task Force formed
- April 11, 2011: Special Task force/City Survey begin → Reconstruction Action Office established in Ishinomaki City

This means that within 2–3 weeks of the disaster, the Civil Engineering Department of the prefecture took the initiative and decided to proceed with the pre-planned reconstruction strategy for this disaster (imposing construction restrictions before implementing a readjustment project for the disaster-affected urban area, i.e., the Kobe system). To this end, the Prefectural Civil Engineering Department Special Task force was set up to firmly establish a system for providing direction to coastal tsunami-affected municipalities. The Ishinomaki City Reconstruction Action Office, inaugurated in April, was in response to the call for revitalization of urban infrastructure led by the Prefectural Civil Engineering Department Special Task force on April 1. In other words, this should be understood as part of the chain of events toward the designation of the reconstruction promotion area.

The logic that equates reconstruction of disaster-affected areas with rebuilding of urban area infrastructure can be elucidated from the overall direction of the project, represented by the founding of the Ishinomaki Cooperative Reconstruction Project Council that immediately followed the designation of the reconstruction promotion areas. In

the reconstruction of the disaster-affected urban areas, IBM and Mitsui & Co. are leading the development of advanced energy management systems, building regional energy supply systems using renewable energy, and creating new industries using information and communications technology (ICT). These new urban development projects (so-called smart-city initiatives) are specifically aimed at reconstruction after the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami. Curiously, however, nowhere in the proposal is there any mention of rebuilding the lives of those affected by the disaster. The given aim is clear: to become a "global model city for reconstruction," by "proposing and reviewing projects utilizing subsidies from the national government and private sector, to reconstruct the city as a city that attracts people, goods, money, and information from Japan and abroad to create industries and generate jobs." This becomes a matter of "Let's Go *Japanese Industry*," a public project for the reconstruction of the disaster-affected areas, not "Let's Go *Tohoku*," for rebuilding the lives of the those affected by the disaster (author's emphasis). That is, Ishinomaki adopted the 21st century model of pre-planned reconstruction.

However, on the Oshika Peninsula, located in the newly absorbed town area (the island region), the "beach power" (resilience ①) was demonstrated by the success of the neighborhood collaboration system, which had been fostered over several generations (Oyane 2015), and independent reconstruction was planned in places yet to receive help from the restoration and reconstruction measures of the city authorities. The successful reorganization of fishing village life (Sakaguchi 2020), which had built on the history of the revival of the livelihoods of beach communities after the Showa Sanriku Earthquake and Tsunami (Yamaguchi 1943), and overcame decimation by the 200-nautical-miles regulation of the 1970s, greatly aided the successful emergency response and reconstruction of the fishing village communities after the present disaster.

Those whose houses were swept away (or burned down) lived with neighbors for several months as evacuees. The following is an extract from an interview survey conducted by the author 6 months after the disaster.

Author: How many of your neighbors were evacuated here, in your house

Sachiko: Hmm. Here, apart from our family, there were 13 people from three households. Those houses that were not swept away became like evacuation centers, and about 20 of these houses took in those neighbors whose houses were swept away. There were 20 homes like that, which were named Group 1, Group 2, and ours was Group 11.

Many volunteers came too, cooking breakfast, lunch, and dinner. They told us two meals would be enough, but we also have children, so we cooked three meals for them.

There were 13 people from three families. On the second floor of the other building, we had the young men, four others including parents and children, and the rest we had in here. We were in a 12-*tatami* room, and there was also a 6-*tatami* room in front, and another 6-*tatami* room, 8 *tatami* in the *butsuma* room, and 6 *tatami* in the room next to it. That's where we had them stay. But you know, people even brought stoves, and the place was full of supplies we received from the disaster response, one or two rooms were full of those things, so they were all in the room over there. . . . Once we decided to take in the people from those three families, everyone brought all these tools. Then we couldn't clear the rooms out. [omitted]

Author: Since the earthquake, when did you start fishing again this year?

Sachiko: This year, from the end of O-bon holiday, August 20th, for us. Usually we start to collect sea urchin from around June, then depending on how that goes, we move to conger eels. For us, this year, until August 10th, the neighbors were all evacuated to our homes, and we started preparing for fishing after they left, so August 20th was the first day of fishing. Two of the ships from next door were out from the end of July. You know the mother who was helping me with the bait, in the pink apron? She had a house right below ours, but it was swept away, and she evacuated to our place. Now she's at her daughter's place in Ayukawa, and she' comes to help me with the bait every day. Before the tsunami, their boat ran aground in the sand eel season, and since then, they've been helping us. (Oyane 2015)

There was a large volunteer disaster response in Ishinomaki, since labelled the "Miracle of Ishinomaki" (Nakahara 2011). However, in the island areas that did not receive the assistance of the authorized volunteer groups discussed in that book, the gap was filled by young people born and raised on "beach power" (e.g., the activities of Fair Trade Tohoku; see Oyane 2012). These young people continued to provide support through door-to-door visits to the houses of affected persons living in small beach areas (the private houses that had accepted many affected persons in the neighborhood, or "small-scale home evacuation centers"). Through this support, the fishermen managed to work together to clear up the debris from the beach and resume fishing.

3. Revising the Reconstruction Hegemony

Although the reconstruction of the disaster-affected areas has been designated by municipal authorities as "complete" (for example in the Status of Reconstruction Public Housing Development (completed in 2018)) the reconstruction of the livelihoods of those affected by the disaster is still far from over. This situation is known as the "stairs landing in reconstruction."

In fact, in the field, there are still activities being undertaken, aimed at preventing residents from dying alone in reconstruction public housing. One example is Ishinomaki Jichiren. This group grew out of a support group formed in the temporary housing complex period that has continued to develop on its own. The NPO, movement support Rera, which supports the movement of residents, has acted as a foothold, and doctors from the temporary clinic opened by the municipal hospital have worked closely with it. The group continues to distribute their Ishinomaki Reconstruct and Connect Newspaper by hand, which collects and records the voices of those in the field(Oyane et al. 2019). Recently, similar activities known as "Disaster Case Management" have attracted attention (Tsukui 2020). In this way, even where sites have not been authorized as disaster sites, the affected persons themselves continue building on their own activities (resilience ②).

Simultaneously, those affected by the disaster, together with the "U-Turners," are also working steadfastly on the restoration of the disaster-affected areas. These activities have adopted the name ISHINOMAKI 2.0, drawing on the ICT-industry term "version 2.0" (resilience ③), based on the announcement that the pre-planned reconstruction was complete, meaning life in the city would have to be redesigned from within (a full-version upgrade, as it were, of existing local life). The idea is that this be conducted mutually (anybody can initiate activities). In Ishinomaki's disaster-affected area, new stakeholders continue to emerge as they discover new challenges,

revising the reconstruction hegemony to look beyond the pre-planned reconstruction strategy (Oyane et al. 2020).

4. Exploratory Mixed Methods Research

Going forward, sociological research must move beyond research practices that simply exist alongside objections to pre-planned reconstruction; rather, we must actively uncover and document new reconstruction stakeholder practices that emerge from local pre-disaster conditions. For this reason, we would like to start to re-assemble exploratory mixed methods research in preparation for the next fiscal year.

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Part II: Reconstruction Challenges and Population Migration in Island Areas

Akira Miyasada

1. Introduction

In this part, we are going to examine how people affected by the Great East Japan Earthquake have been rebuilding their lives and houses 9 years after. Using survey data up to the fiscal year 2019, I will discuss (1) trends in the chosen residential areas of the affected persons, (2) resident participation in the reconstruction project planning process, and (3) factors behind activities in new urban areas and the reconstruction of fishing villages.

2. Trends in the Chosen Residential Areas of Affected Persons

This section summarizes the trends in the chosen residential areas of those affected by the disaster focusing on demographic trends. Although Ishinomaki City is our target area, as Sendai City is also within the commuting area, the population change of each municipality in Miyagi Prefecture was extracted from prefectural demographic data (March 2011 and March 2019) to elucidate the migration situation.

In addition, to understand migration tendencies in more detail, an interview survey was conducted, targeting all households in a fishing village ("Beach T," Ogatsu-cho, Ishinomaki City). The interviews focused on the history from the time of the disaster until citizens' selection of a residential area.

Overall Trend of Disaster-Affected Ishinomaki

Looking at the trend of Miyagi Prefecture as a whole, the populations of Sendai City and surrounding municipalities (Iwanuma City, Natori City, etc.) are increasing (red areas). In the coastal region, Watari-cho and Yamamoto-cho in the south, and in the north, from northern Shichigahama-cho to the towns and cities on the Sanriku Ria Coast, the population is decreasing (blue areas) (see Figure 1).

Looking at the population dynamics of each area in Ishinomaki City, the population in the coastal and island areas absorbed by the city in 2005 has decreased, while that of inland areas (the extension of the previous city area, i.e., the "new urban areas") has increased. In the inland area, the Disaster Prevention Mass Relocation Promotion Project (Prevention Relocation) and Land Readjustment Project are carried out as part of the broader Reconstruction Project, while residential land development and public housing have been constructed for independent home rebuilding. Meanwhile, the affected persons in the coastal area are moving away (see Figure 2).

In Area T of Ogatsu-cho, Ishinomaki City (46 households before the disaster), a prevention relocation project was implemented, and 41.3% of all households (19 households out of 46) were rebuilt within the area. Meanwhile, 58.7% of all households (27 out of 46) were rebuilt outside the district and classified as moving away (as of November 2020) (see Figure 3).

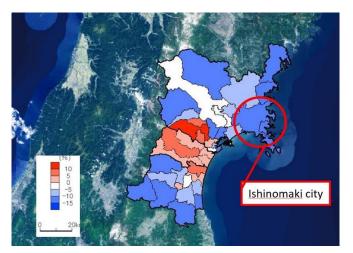
Disaster-Affected Status of Area T and Securing Temporary Housing

In Area T, most of the buildings were inundated by the tsunami. For 1 week following the disaster, evacuees sheltered together in vacant village houses before an evacuation center was built some 20 km inland. The reason for

this was that the roads into the village, prefectural roads to the island areas, were out of use, so supplies could not be delivered.

Looking at Ishinomaki City as a whole, the elderly, for whom living in evacuation centers is difficult, as well as the adults and independent children affected, whose homes were located inland, evacuated to a wide area beyond Ishinomaki City as they left the evacuation shelters and secure housing. Due to the difficulty of securing land within the district, only 161 temporary houses (12.3% of a total of 1304 destroyed houses) were constructed in Ogatsucho.

Approximately a year after the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami (June 2012), 73.9% (34) of all households from Area T had secured housing outside Ogatsu Town, and four households from Sendai City had already purchased houses.



Higashima tsushima city

Onagawa town
Ishinomaki
City

Ocity

Fig. 2 Population Change in Miyagi Prefecture

Fig. 1 Population Growth in Ishinomaki City

Elderly Households Struggling to Secure Housing: Case Study of Mr. S

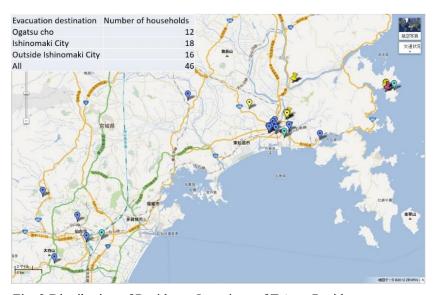


Fig. 3 Distribution of Residence Locations of T Area Residents

Mr. S' family in District T was initially evacuated to a relative's house; one member of the household was elderly and had a medical condition, making it difficult to stay in the evacuation center. However, it was not possible to stay for an extended period of time, so after a month, the family moved to a rental property (post-disaster public-funded rental accommodation). Afterwards, a family member (Mr. S' mother, 90 years old) suffered injuries, and because the construction of facilities such as handrails in the rental property was not possible, they secured housing independently. Their re-establishment took 7 months (a relatively quick re-establishment outside the district).

3. Participation of Residents in the Reconstruction Project-Planning Process

The reconstruction project decision process has been summarized based on administrative data (Ishinomaki City, MLIT: Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism) on public civil engineering projects related to reconstruction, along with interviews with resident groups.



Fig. 4 Housing Reconstruction Paths of Mr. S

Participation of Residents in the Reconstruction Project Planning Process (Miyasada 2013)

• Establishment and Activities of the Ogatsu Town Development Council

According to the "Questionnaire Survey on Town Development (Urban Infrastructure Development)" (Ishinomaki City) in May 2011, 56.0% of the residents of Ogatsu Town said they wanted to relocate to other areas in the city, and 8% said that they wanted to move outside the city.

The "Ogatsu Town Development Council" (hereafter, the "Town Council") was formed by the heads of the administrative districts of the town (May 2011). Thinking that there must be more affected residents who wanted to return to the town, the Town Council conducted an independent questionnaire survey targeting all households in the town. According to results, 58.1% responded that they "wanted to do something to be able to live on their original land," the opposite of the results of the city's survey (see Footnote 1 of this paper). On July 29, the Town Council

submitted a request to the mayor of Ishinomaki City titled "On the Promotion of Infrastructure Development Projects, etc. for the Reconstruction of Ogatsu Area."

Procedure for Creating the Former Towns Reconstruction Plan: Lack of Reflection of the Intentions of Each Unique Administrative District

Immediately following the disaster, it was not possible to submit requests to each administrative district (this was first allowed on July 29).

One by one, the Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Urban Infrastructure Reconstruction (August 22, 2011), Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Disaster Reconstruction (Draft) (November 7), Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Disaster Reconstruction (December 22), and Ishinomaki City Basic Plan for Disaster Reconstruction (February 15, 2012) were published. They determined the height of the seawalls, and it was decided that, in principle, housing could not be constructed in inundated island areas of Ishinomaki City.

In December 2011, the "Act on Special Zones for Reconstruction in Response to the Great East Japan Earthquake" (Reconstruction Special Zones Law) was enacted and the "Grant for Reconstruction after the Great East Japan Earthquake" was established. The method of allocation of the budget was decided, and the affected municipalities began fervently preparing their project applications.

At a resident briefing in November, it was decided that the plan for the Ogatsu urban area would only be for relocation to higher ground (to other administrative districts away from the sea). Reconstruction project request options differed between administrative districts, and residents of administrative districts who did not accept the relocation proposal founded the new organization "Ogatsu Town Consideration Association" (a voluntary association).

• Reconstruction Projects that Converge with Pre-planned Reconstruction

Reconstruction (civil engineering project) plans progress steadily as legally stipulated projects, within the process of pre-planned and regulated reconstruction (pre-planned reconstruction). Meanwhile, in the disaster-affected areas, discussions by resident volunteers begin, but for these volunteers, this is an entirely new experience, and it is impossible to know what the process of pre-planned reconstruction or its results will be. Resident volunteers independently collate the wishes of the those affected by the disaster (through questionnaires, meetings, etc.) and submit written requests to the city, but the city steadily progresses the statutory business process and does not interact with residents.

On the project, it was prohibited to rebuild houses on the land affected tsunami. So Land was purchased by Ishinomaki City Government. Once the project begins, even those affected persons who do not wish to resettle on higher ground will be able to sell land, and alternatively, if they let go of the land, they will no longer need to maintain it. This way, the number of households applying to this scheme will increase, promoting consent with the project.

4. Issues with Activities in New Urban Areas and Reconstruction of Fishing Villages

Various challenges have emerged in the affected communities as a result of rapid population movements following the disaster.

In the disaster-affected island areas (reconstruction project areas that include dangerous areas), the following are becoming a challenge: deteriorating business in retail stores, reduction in medical and nursing care service provision, lack of labor to support fishery market development and the busy fishery season, and loss of neighborhood ties (community).

In the newly built inland housing complex (disaster prevention group relocation promotion project, land readjustment project), community building between the relocated inhabitants (reconstruction of the neighborhood relationships) has become a problem. In other disaster-affected areas (non-business areas/white areas, that do not include dangerous areas), "residential affected persons" who fall through the cracks of the conditions and information around support options are a problem (cf., Part I, resilience ②).

Although reconstruction projects are being undertaken in the central urban area of Ishinomaki City, various entities are continuing to search for ways to revitalize the city (cf., Part I, resilience ③).

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