02

災害報道が伝えていない
社会リスクの検証

**A journalistic study of social risks based on
an awareness of 'social elimination'**

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概要

　社会は何を失ったのか。東北を襲った未曾有の大災害は、その実体が映像の中に収まりきらないまま情報となり、日本はもちろんのこと世界の動きに変化を与えた。「被災者」という総称の中に見え隠れする依然としてある「排除」について、この小論文では、大震災が映像から見せつけたものと、社会化がいまだ困難な排除の問題を論点と提起し、ジャーナリスティックな視座から社会リスクの核心と対策の模索を試みた。

1　Preface

　Applying an effective methodology of participatory action to reduce disaster risks or damages, this paper will attempt to focus on the issue of 'social elimination' brought out as a result of the complexity of the unprecedented disaster of what is called the 'Tohoku earthquake and tsunami 2011'. This event, which happened on March 11 in the Northern part of Japan, has killed 15,833 so far and 3,671 are still unaccounted for (according to figures from The National Police Agency as of Nov. 4, 2011). This disaster also destroyed the Tokyo nuclear reactor located in Fukushima; as a result, it has plunged the entire world into fear of invisible radioactive contamination. The countermeasures against radioactive contamination must be the priority for discussion among all parties. However, this paper will dare to study the issue of social elimination as one of the most serious hindrances against disaster reconstruction policies, and will explore the background and causes of such social elimination. Following that first part of the study, this paper will also try to analyze possibilities for participatory contribution as a social need in terms of how to mitigate risks to promote practical reconstruction. Then, this paper will discuss essential aspects for central and local governments' and communities' collaborative participation to contribute to risk reduction.

2　What is 'social elimination' ?

　The expression 'social elimination' has usually been used as an antonym of the word 'subsumption' (Iwata, 2005). Since the 1980s, the world economy as well as social circumstances have been facing historical changes included under the term 'post-industrialization', which has been placing priority on service-oriented industries over production-oriented industries. The original industries were operated by factory workers; however, the change promoted new service-oriented industries, which have been depending on

information or knowledge processed products. As a result, most economies in developed nations, including the Japanese economy, have been transformed into a new worldwide economic structure, which can be called 'post-industrialization'. Moreover, globalization could be one of the factors to hasten worldwide structural change. Inevitably, the style of family which was easily illustrated in the mid-industrialization powered by factory workers has been changed drastically, too. In another words, it can be said that the original model of family structure has collapsed. The post-industrialization has inevitably brought about unemployment and poverty; as a result, it has led society into inequality between rich and poor. While the timing of measures to deal with this sharp change has been postponed in Japan, some serious issues emerged in European nations around the 1980s. There was a long-term unemployment issue particularly in the young generation. In short, the process to get jobs after their graduation from colleges was disturbed by the post-industrialization. Specifically, in France, as Iwata (2005) describes, the young generation was not able to apply to receive unemployment benefits due to the government's default. As a result, the long lasting unemployment has become a cause of expanded poverty. However, the expression of 'poverty' was, from this context, used to categorize an excluded bracket; thus, the idea of elimination was considered to be more suitable to use in descriptions of the social situation, with the antonymous concept of subsumption (Iwata, 2005). At this point, interpretations of social elimination and subsuming can be introduced.

It should be regarded that various social relations are repeatedly changing between being open and closed. As members of a constituency to construct their own society, whether people themselves can participate to exercise their rights in such a changing society should be a key point to consider social elimination. In short, the situation that they cannot participate in principal relations can be considered a case of social elimination. Additionally, the idea of social elimination makes it possible to observe the process through which people become eliminated and how they are situated. It should be significant to analyze why and how the social elimination emerged in order to think about what kinds of factors will become causes of social elimination, including poverty, in any situation based on transforming economic backgrounds.

2-1 Social elimination revealed in the 3.11 disaster

A hypothesis can be demonstrated here that there might be two views to study relations between the 3.11 disaster and the issue of social elimination.

The first view about elimination is to focus sharply on evacuees' condition from the time of the 3.11 disaster. This is because all the victims suffering as a result of the events of 3.11 are forced to be in the same category, to be treated equally as objects under emergency measures. It could be considered that the unexpectedly huge disaster removed almost all residents living in the affected areas from their daily lives. The removal is not only taking away their lives, but also families, communities, properties, jobs, and all devices functioning to sustain their livelihoods. This means all suffering people are considered to be equally eliminated at the same time, and unexpectedly, a sense of unity to help each other in common horrific circumstances is easily developed. Besides the sense of unity generated in victims, surviving people gathered sympathies not only from inside Japan but also from overseas. In particular, many unhurt Japanese who witnessed the 3.11 disaster from a distance realized there was a quite high possibility for everybody to face risks of being attacked by foreseen huge disasters and experience the same situation any time and anywhere. Therefore, people who could escape this disaster appreciated their survival all the more, and tried to send whatever they could contribute to suffering people. Under the circumstances, an atmosphere to spread a feeling to raise bonds of friendship was formed all over Japan (Yamazaki, 2005).

The second view of elimination is examining the lack of equality of suffering people's condition. It questions whether anybody already existed in the eliminatory class without principal relations with society before the 3.11 disaster. In fact, it is sure that they did exist. At the first stage, just after the disaster, every eliminated person was counted as a victim of the 3.11 disaster. The people who originally existed outside of society were continuously treated in a postponable manner, and this disaster concealed the existence of elimination under the generic name of 'disaster victims' in this kind of extraordinarily confused situation (Iwata, 2005). A more significant and essential awareness among us is to expose the issue that such people certainly existed in the eliminatory class before the disasters and to try to deal with the issue before it becomes hidden beneath general reconstruction measures. Without such efforts, the elimination, rooted in ordinary times, might become entirely forgettable from social awareness. It is ironical that the originally eliminated people in Tohoku areas also collected thousands of messages of sympathy, which have been expressed to suffering people since the 3.11 disaster. However, in the process of reconstruction in devastated areas, the existence of people in more miserable circumstances, such as fatherless families, physical or mental handicapped and the elderly, has become tangible for the first time. This confirmation is certainly related to the policy of reconstruction (Ishida, 2005). As already reported by Japanese as well as international media, the prefectures such as Fukushima, Miyagi, and Iwate, of course, Chiba and Nagano prefectures are also affected prefectures; however, such detailed geographic

differences have already been forgotten 9 months after the 3.11 disaster. Nevertheless, the differences will give guidance to suitable methods regarding reconstruction policies to meet the needs of different prefectures.

It is not difficult to guess that in cities, towns and villages, many different opinions as well as differing levels of enthusiasm in survivors' minds for reconstruction policies will emerge. As Urano (2005) indicates, under the circumstances, some reconstruction plans for how to promote suffering areas' economy or to re-build the entire damaged area to become an indomitable frontier against disasters, would be emphasized on the basis of ideas of not only how to restore but also how to create a better lifestyle. Adopting such an emphasis, which tends to be insisted on in the metropolitan area, can be rewarded by abundant funds, rich technologies and excellent think tanks, such as those in Tokyo.

On the other hand, the ideas held by the metropolitan area tend to disregard the individual voice in the process of social elimination. Moreover, the general reconstruction policy, which is planned by central or metropolitan leaders, implies biased characteristics to seek an ideal standard for the image of victims. The ideal image, which shows a self-reliant effort to become an independent victim, is indispensable. Based on lessons learned from the previous disaster, the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, which occurred in the western part of Japan in 1995 and killed about 6,000 people, Nitagai (2006) cautions that the ideal image of victims will precede the actual situation and stir the public up to demand additional stress on victims to appeal for them to overcome their tragic circumstances. Media were not an exception at that time to promote the public's criticism of victims who had no other options but to stay in temporary housing until the housing rental project was over.

As this paper argues, the process of being eliminated by disaster is similar; however, the process of being restored should be different depending on each person's life circumstances. For example, the levels of possibilities of financial support from their own resources, from relatives or from financial institutions, and possibilities to be rehired by previous companies are quite different from person to person. As repeatedly mentioned, the differences are exposed in the process of general reconstruction. To raise awareness of the difference in elimination types should be the most significant way to begin deliberating feasible disaster risk reduction.

3 Participatory disaster risk reduction

Isao Nukata is a doctor, and at the same time he is the author of *Kodokushi* (lonesome death). The book was published at 1999 by Iwanami Shoten publishing company in Japan. It was just four years after the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake. The Japanese title of '*Kodokushi*' could be translated into a lonesome death or isolated death. Every day Nukata tried to visit temporary houses in which victims of the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake were staying, and he continued not only practicing free medical check up for evacuees, but also encouraging them to promote social participation. However, a limited number of evacuees obstinately refused to come out from temporary houses to take any actions (Nukata, 1999). Nukata portrayed such completely confined evacuees with the term 'sloppy suicide'. The expression became controversial for a while. Generally speaking, a lonely death, or rather a lonely suicide, is thought of as an issue among the elderly in Japan. As Iwata (2005) also warns, middle-aged males are most likely to become victims of a socially demanded image, which requires of any confined people both self-effort and daily trials to become independent. However, only the mental intention to try to become independent cannot reach the level of feasibility for starting reconstruction. It can be said that the exclusion from principal social relations is mixing together poverty caused by unemployment and elimination caused by multi-layered confined circumstances. In any case, the issue of middle-aged males' lonely suicide has become clearly tangible (Iwata, 2005).

As Nukata (1999) indicates in his book, disaster victims have some of the attributes of the homeless. Basically, they both need hope or support to be able to continue living. It is strongly demanded to seek any possible factors or places to become the hope or support. It is important to create a supportive network grasping the background of the social elimination, such as poverty and experiences gained from previous situations. Moreover, the network should provide a safety net to protect anyone who needs the supportive network, occasionally to protest against proceeding with a reconstruction plan or continuing criticism against evacuees who are not able to come out from their spaces. On the other hand, the network needs to approve a policy that will take preventive measures not to widen gaps between victims. Furthermore, it could be considered that the time spent discussing reconstruction provides a chance to explore volunteers' function to act positively in relation to social characteristics in spaces where everyone can have his/her voice. Furthermore, the volunteers' positive action will be instrumental to generate possibilities to change central as well as local government. Under the circumstances of the 3.11 disaster, lack of social-welfare services for people, for example, bedridden disabled or elderly people, who had been receiving the benefits

before the 3.11 disaster was clearly brought about by political negligence. Japan is now facing an unexpectedly huge challenge to reconstruct itself, not only domestically but also internationally. Volunteers' contribution will hopefully shoulder a part of supportive policies so as not to make the social elimination structurally established.

When the focus of what volunteers should face is considered, it could be easy to think of a methodology for how to come in contact with victims. However, the ways to contact them differ according to the circumstances of each victim, as well as the context. Additionally, is it not the goal to determine how to come in contact with victims? If so, volunteers should be prepared for repeated trial and error to explore better ways to contact evacuees. Many volunteers' motivations to visit the areas close to the epicenter of the 3.11 disaster are based on feelings of guilt about having luckily survived, or a repayment of kindness. It should be deliberated how not to allow a large number of volunteers to decide to act for victims just from temporary goodwill. In order to sustain the goodwill for any practical contributions for victims, it would be necessary to carry out a further nationwide discussion to raise accurate awareness of the current situation and make full use of the volunteers' power and goodwill to be able to shoulder an important part of reconstruction countermeasures to ease the current situation as much as possible. In the deliberation on volunteers' functions, it could be one of the essential matters to notice that every action generated from goodwill is not necessarily demanded in devastated locations. It is more important to grasp the diverse situations in widely suffering areas or timely contexts, then try to decide what would be the most essential supports for each area. Additionally, it should be well understood that there are many actions based on volunteers' goodwill for victims that do not really address their actual needs.

3-1 Where can volunteers demonstrate their participation in the midst of devastation ?

Volunteers' participation has been well studied based on lessons from previous experiences of disasters. According to Nihei (2011), there are supposed to be three fields in which volunteers will be demanded to fulfill essential functions. The first field is those areas where government service does not reach, in other words, the areas that are in a vacuum from any social security. One of the most well known characteristics of an administrative organ is to observe 'fairness' and 'equality' in its policy for the residents. This is, of course, a significant stance, and it can be described in every administrative organ at the same time. On the other hand, the stance to observe fairness and equality occasionally makes the administrative organ incapable of adapting to changing circumstances. Even if the administrative organ works fairly, as well as equally, it has usually been criticized for its slow progress. The second field is the area of the economic market. The market is just a place to accrue benefits based on the principals of the capitalistic economy. Therefore, as Nihei (2011) describes, it is hard for volunteers to supply satisfactory services for diverse evacuees through the system of the market. Basically, private enterprise supplies money and services to profitable places. The field of the market could become abandoned when the enterprise judges it to be unprofitable. Therefore, possibilities in volunteers' relief oriented participation for how to commit to the commercial based mechanism of the market could be expected, especially when existing markets do not work as social devices to help victims. The third field is a space in which volunteers can support victims' self-initiated, independent activities. The space can be considered to actually exist visibly or physically in devastated areas; on the other hand, the most essential factors to promote victims' independence invisibly exist in relations or communication between victims and volunteers. Furthermore, the place in which the three fields pointed out above intersect is the most crucial space for volunteers to make use of their participation for reconstruction.

In contrast to governmental agencies, volunteers do not necessarily observe 'fairness' as well as 'equality'. It does not mean that volunteers cannot understand fairness or equality; rather they know more practical meanings of fairness and equality based on their rich experiences, so they can choose a portion of the victims, and at the same time choose their own individualized ways to satisfy victims. In this context, it is consistent that volunteers can concentrate their possible supports on the handicapped, elderly, fatherless, and poor people. Therefore, the volunteers should grasp carefully whether places in which they are planning to carry out their activities are appropriate places or not. In essence, the places should have been determined to be those that administrative agencies cannot accept. Moreover, the precise meaning of "cannot accept" must be deliberated. There are two different meanings implied in 'cannot accept'. The first one means that administrative agencies must deal with them, but they can't accept them for practical reasons. The other one means that administrative agencies basically should not take care of them, and therefore they cannot accept them for principled reasons. Based on careful judgment, volunteers should fulfill their possible participation in the space in which administrative agencies should not manage any public services.

However, in the extraordinary situation after a huge disaster such as the 3.11 devastation, one of the most difficult issues is to consider how volunteers can deal with a public burden that should be originally carried out by administrative agencies, in other words, by government, to compensate for the absence of social security.

The extraordinary conditions actually caused the collapse of a huge scale of local administrative agencies' functioning in the Tohoku area of Japan. Tokyo could survive the 3.11 disaster, and offered its name as one of the temporary evacuation shelters to accept victims who lost at least houses and properties. However, the Tokyo metropolitan government left a blemish on its administration, and its mistake served to create necessities for volunteers' commitment to social security. Tokyo had the responsibility to supply meals to evacuees from Fukushima based on the National Disaster Act; however, Tokyo failed to fulfill this duty. The volunteers' groups immediately served meals to every evacuee, thus fulfilling the duty of the government.

This incident generally led to two kinds of social reactions. The first one argued that volunteers' commitment was not necessary, because voluntary groups have well experienced manuals to cope with emergency treatments, whereas government does not have such practical manuals. As a result, government will further strengthen its dependency on voluntary groups' sophisticated contributions to be able to meet the detailed needs of the occasion. Thus, this kind of attitude will make government functioning negligent. The second reaction showed a sense of realistic understanding of the volunteers' sensitivity not to be able to ignore people who seek help right in front of them. Moreover, it argued that such sensitivity is essential for voluntary activities. Whenever the matter of volunteers' participation in social security as well as related activities is discussed, the consideration based on those two points usually becomes the main issue, and the discussion tends to demand one right answer. Additionally, this kind of discussion can be defined as 'mutually exclusive'. A variety of discussions to talk about volunteers' participation are welcome. However, many are just talking about activity scheduling close at hand. Furthermore, the exclusionary characteristics will be a serious hindrance to improving general awareness about the indispensability of voluntary activities in extraordinary situations. Recently, the number of people who are interested in exploring a variety of possible other collaborations with government as well as existing voluntary groups or NPOs as the third way is showing an increase.

3-2 Citizen's participation and disaster: The beginning of the citizen's times at the Hanshin Awaji Disaster

Almost all media in Japan called the year of 1995, when the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake occurred, the beginning of 'citizen's times'. It was a symbolic phenomenon to criticize the Japanese government as well as local administrative agencies for their incapacity to give first aid to disaster victims. On the other hand, the young generation, who had been thought to be indifferent to any social problems, was the first to come to the disaster's epicenter. The total number of young people reached 600,000 in just one month (Nihei, 2011). At the same time, the image towards the young generation has been changed to one of being more reliable than expected in a case of emergency. Then, the public opinion began to consider that the citizen's actions could be more trustworthy than the government's voices. Among the surge of enthusiasm for citizen's potential, the term 'citizen's times' has become rooted since then. The general recognition of citizens' trust has not been denied till now. In around 1995, the political scandal over frequent bribes or the extravagance of officials was deteriorating the trust in government. In addition to such political scandals, the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake proved a fatal limitation in government mobility. The firm leadership of government in extraordinary situations is always an essential matter of life and death. Consequently, the concept that regards the citizen's participation as an indispensable function in devastation has come to the fore.

3-3 The struggle between participatory activity and the market mechanisms

At almost the same time that the term 'citizen's time' appeared in society, as Kaneko (1992) describes, the time after the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake can be named 'the time of the market'. It refers to so-called 'neo-liberalism', which is an idea to activate general economic vitality and to improve a variety of fields based on the abolishment of regulations related to market exchange. The idea was applied to cover social security as well as educational services. Furthermore, the principle of competition was accelerated under the idea; as a result, the fields of social welfare and education have also been forcibly involved in the market driven competition.

The activities led by volunteers gained ground visibly in 1998, when the 'Non-Profit Organization (NPO) law' was established for the first time in Japan. The law guarantees activities produced by citizens or volunteers by law, and admits a reasonable financial deduction for the activities of NPOs to promote the entire scale of the field, which could be called the 'citizen's sector'. However, as Honma (1998) describes, the responsibility to guarantee social security as a central duty of the Japanese government had to be shared with the NPOs after the law of NPOs was adopted. Consequently, in the 2000s, the national budget for social security has been decreased by counting on NPOs' financial burden, in spite of the sharp rise of the aging rate as well as the increase of people receiving welfare benefits. The simplistic policies clearly invite a vicious spiral, because the financial difficulties of the nation are passed on to single parent families, the disabled, poor people and the unemployed. It is ironic to say that both Honma (1998) as well as Kaneko (1992) are pioneers in volunteers' social participation.

In short, neo-liberalism hopes to activate the market for social security and the industries to support the field of education.

On the other hand, citizens or volunteers are waiting for their turn. In addition, they tend to concentrate on finding ways to build up a citizen-centered society rather than searching for ways to insure that government takes responsibility to protect the socially weak members of society. Furthermore, the public gradually tends to consider that smaller government should be better. However, it was assessed highly that government contributed positively to the first stage of countermeasures against the 3.11 disaster. Mass media reported every day's announcement about the latest situation of devastated areas by Mr. Yukio Edano, the Chief Cabinet Secretary of the Kan government at that time. Under the circumstances, the popularity of Mr. Edano rose, and officials of administrative agencies or the Self Defense Agency, who worked night and day for the restoration task, were reported like heroes. On the other hand, volunteers were regulated to visiting the suffering areas in such a way as not to disturb those professionals' mission. As Nihei (2011) points out, only 116,000 volunteers could participate in supply relief activities for the victims in the month just after 3.11. The number of participating volunteers was less than one-third as compared to the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake. It can be concluded that the occurrence of the disaster in the relatively remote Tohoku (Northern part of Japan) was a factor that delayed relief activities in the initial stage. The geographic distance from the centers of public interest is one of reasons for decreased numbers of volunteers, too. However, a more realistic reason not to be able to accept volunteers was the fatal collapse of almost all administrative agencies in the Tohoku areas. The function of coordination to direct volunteers' supports was also crucially damaged by the Tsunami caused by the 3.11 earthquake. The scale of the 3.11 disaster, and the physical, financial, and mental damages left by the disaster, are unexpectedly huge, and this unbelievable situation in a developed country has already been well reported worldwide. However, many complaints about misdirection of administrative agencies failing to coordinate volunteers' goodwill were discussed in the space of the newly emerged SNS (Social Networking Service). Additionally, specialists such as researchers on volunteer studies or active NPO staff are also calling for downsizing of government as opposed to regulations over the voluntary citizen's activities. It was all right to push all responsibilities off onto government 16 years ago, when the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake occurred. But, the times have obviously progressed since the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake; therefore, much more deliberate and strategic policies to make full use of volunteers' participation for post-disaster reconstruction are being significantly discussed.

4 Tohoku crisis

Tohoku was attacked by an unprecedented disaster on 3.11. Ironically speaking, even many Japanese did not know the particular culture, climate, and geographic features in Tohoku areas well before 3.11; in fact, it can be said we did not need to know the area well. After 3.11, many people began to visit Tohoku, not only participating in volunteer activities, but also trying to have a look at a real situation damaged by a huge disaster. Then, gradually Tohoku has become better known nationwide. The Tohoku area has been considered as an accumulation of traditional industries, such as steel or paper manufacturing industries. Additionally, the existence of the Tokyo nuclear power plant in Fukushima shows complicated relations to the central government and the system of public aid to activate Tohoku. Those factors symbolize the economic position of Tohoku located in the Northern part of Japan.

The Tohoku area became synonymous with delicious rice production after World War II, and the connection with rice production became the steady identity of the entire Tohoku region. However, if the background of becoming synonymous with rice is examined, the reason was not necessarily welcome (Akasaka, 2009). Outside the Tohoku area, it was possible to produce a variety of vegetable processing products to be able to enter the central market. In contrast, especially Iwate prefecture in Tohoku had no options but to choose rice producing because of its geographically as well as economically difficult conditions. In particular, Iwate prefecture is a clear example to demonstrate the situation of 'elimination' by economic as well as political difficulties in the administrative level of the prefecture. As Nihei (2011) describes, the central government had initially promoted the policy to return benefits, which were gained with processed products developed in metropolitan areas, to Tohoku. The policy was tried just after World War II. The policy attempted to distribute the benefits among Tohoku prefectures, because it aimed to achieve geographically equal economic development by means of benefit circulation generated by not only metropolitan industries, but also various industries' exploitation with special products or unique manufacturers in Tohoku. However, on the way to implementing the policy, Japan was deep in the bubble economy nationwide in the latter half of the 1980s. Then, the original policy to activate the whole national economic condition by centering on exploitation of the primary industries and their related economic development was easily changed to a new policy to invest in plants and equipment such as leisure facilities or conference halls. Consequently, so called 'theme parks', which actually had no meaning, not only in terms of the name of 'theme park' itself, but also in terms of the policy to develop the areas, were constructed with huge amounts of money. In the circumstances, many leisure facilities were jumbled

up especially in Tohoku areas. It is quite easy to guess the result left by the thoughtless policy. Government gave up almost every public investment into the Tohoku region simultaneously with signs of the bubble economy's collapse in the beginning of the 1990s.

This political background shows clearly that since then Tohoku has been twisted around, and eliminated by the suspension of public aids from central Japan. In addition, the aging issue and its related matter of economic exhaustion in Tohoku areas have escalated. Akasaka (2009) calls Tohoku a forgotten area instead of an area of elimination in his book. In the 20 years after the collapse of the bubble economy, the financial difficulties of Japan have been passed on to remote areas, in particular, Tohoku areas. Because of the difficulties, a newly adopted countermeasure by the central government is to integrate small-scale neighboring administrative agencies into one comprehensive agency to be able to cover larger scale administrative districts. The integration was attended by the evil of having to cope with a controversial reduction of official personnel. As a result, it inevitably caused a debasement of administrative services.

Under the circumstances, the 3.11 disaster unfortunately took place in Tohoku areas, and prompt relief measures were demanded of the reduced numbers of officials by hundreds and thousands of suffering people at the same time. Consequently, it became an opportunity to expose the limitation of functions of administrative agencies in emergency situations. Therefore, collapsed administrative functions could not organize volunteers' participation in measures for the relief of the victims. Residents who were living in villages located on the coastline of the area devastated by the huge Tsunami began leaving their home villages one after another. Actually, those villages had already been under-populated, and over 50% of the residents are over 65 years old (the Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications). The young generation had moved out and the residents left behind had already decided to give up their home villages before the 3.11 disaster occurred. Therefore, Akasaka (2009) says this disaster hastened the time of villages' closing down. Additionally, Akasaka (2009) indicates this kind of phenomenon to leave the home villages or towns in Tohoku in fact began 10 years earlier than scientific prediction of the disaster. The crisis, so to speak, that is the Tohoku crisis together with other similar crises, is steadily making progress in remote areas in Japan.

4-1 Participatory reconstruction from donation to social security

Nine months after the 3.11 disaster, the scale of relief donations for devastated areas has been shrinking; on the other hand, the scale of the commercial market is expanding, becoming restored rather rapidly. The number of local governments that have decided to close down the disaster volunteers' centers is increasing. Additionally, some local governments have begun to discontinue free relief services, such as distributing lunch boxes, hair dressing services and hot water bath services, supplied by volunteers. As some editorials of Japanese major newspapers assess the situation, this discontinuation cannot be avoided in order to regain political function, and in order not to disturb signs of rehabilitation in the local economy. If the free services are continued, a scarcely rehabilitated local economy will be nipped in the bud. However, there remains devastation, and huge space is left as it is in suffering areas, in which relief donations or contributions are still crucially necessary. It is difficult, however, to determine the timing to manage the activity to send donations or to continue free services without their becoming gratuitous.

The ways to make the best use of the goodwill of volunteers and contributors should be considered from diverse angles, for example, how to spend the goodwill money or distribute services critically in order not to undermine any small possibility for reconstruction generated among the victims. The current situation still needs volunteers' comprehensive supports, which will be able to cover overlooked political services for victims. As Urano (2005) points out, the number of volunteers obviously decreased a few months after the Hanshin Awaji earthquake in 1995, and the number was never restored. As a result, diverse incidents continuously occurring inside the devastated areas became invisible. It means one of the volunteers' daily activities, to renew information to put onto a variety of new media, so called SNS, are making public the hidden realities occurring after the disaster. And it can be said that the decreasing number of volunteers made one of the most important functions of looking around every corner in the suffering areas very difficult.

In this context, one of the most important lessons, which we should study carefully in the period of the post disaster, is to deal with certainly increased lonesome deaths. The lonesome death is symbolic of elimination. Poverty or handicap is also the background of elimination and lonesome death. In a previous section of this paper, this issue of frequently occurring lonesome death is raised by referring to Nukata's warning not to repeat the same negligence of not taking immediate and effective measures. Nukata (1999) is a doctor who is well-known to donate free medical services especially to evacuees staying in temporary houses. His point of view, which must be emphasized, helps to create critical understanding of why many people have to decide on such a lonesome death in temporary houses. The deaths cannot be determined to be either a suicide, or an accidental death. In short, the reason to make a person decide to approach death is unclear. As this paper mentioned previously, this issue is multi-layered with diverse kinds of elimination from the community, such as

simultaneously existing issues of poverty, isolation, and aging.

Under the post-disaster measures, rather than a distribution of emergency relief goods, supporters who are not only volunteers but also administrative officers have to protect the suffering people in the social security system to try to guarantee their lives and human rights. As Nihei (2011) describes, a relatively large number of NGOs in Japan are trying to employ people who lost jobs due to the 3.11 disaster. However the limitation is obvious, because almost all surviving people are looking for a new job. Agriculture and fishery are principal industries in Tohoku, and many survivors used to be engaged in those industries. It can be suggested that one of the indispensable measures to solve elimination based on unemployment is to try to promote vegetable and fish harvesting in Tohoku. When safety control of food products against radioactive contamination is successfully conducted, the products can be sold and the economy in Tohoku will be restored to its original vitality. Consequently, the marketplaces in Tohoku will be able to generate economic power. There has been strong awareness that harmful rumors of food contamination spread rapidly and they have been rife not only in Japan but also overseas. Media, NGOs or voluntary groups are speaking for food producers in Tohoku, saying that people in Tohoku are not angry about such a negative rumor, but are grieving over radioactive contamination of their land.

It is getting more difficult to take relief measures for food producers in Tohoku 9 months after the unprecedented disaster took place. The government has been considering measures in repetitious consultations. On the other hand, a new scheme, which has been created by NGOs and voluntary groups, is functioning to promote safe and non-contaminated products going for a premium to specific consumers who are concerned about not only the ecological system including radioactive substances or influences by public pollution but also the issue of welfare security in the metropolitan areas. NGOs or voluntary groups are the only sector to make the scheme, which is clearly targeting specific consumers, possible through use of their networks developed based on their grassroots activities.

Besides the scheme to protect food producers in Tohoku, the volunteer's potential contribution is, as Urano (2005) describes, to cooperate with local caseworkers or social workers to call for fair welfare benefits to help people in extreme difficulties caused by the 3.11 disaster. Additionally, as this paper has repeatedly mentioned, every eliminated person should receive social security as a human right. Information about social security, therefore, is indispensable for everyone to know about each program to be able to survive the great difficulty. Lederach (1997) also points out that volunteers' fundamental rule is to explore a comprehensive approach to reach better measures to achieve participatory disaster risk reduction.

4-2 Restoring communities

One point that broadcast reports, news editorials, and this paper continuously insist on is that a human cannot live without any relations to people or communities. No matter how much convenient and new equipment is provided in temporary houses for evacuees, it is seriously doubtful whether they can spend a pleasant time, in other words, can spend human time or not. As this paper mentioned previously, the phenomenon of an increasing number of lonesome deaths can deny the possibility of such a fantasy. As far as the issue of restoring communication is concerned, the victims' voices must be centered in the plan from the beginning. Furthermore, as Nihei (2011) anticipates in his book, a commitment to a new movement in the process of restoring communities will generate new relations, which will be able to go beyond traditional bonds existing as a factor to maintain exclusive relations. The exclusiveness in communities is the origin of one of the issues of chronic poverty (Lederach, 1997).

Some examples of the actual Japanese situation of the elderly and low-income earners can be introduced here based on information from the website of the Ministry of Health, Labour and welfare 2011. The low income-earners tend to stay at home and try not to go out and never to relate to society. This is because, once they select actions to go out, they need some money to make their actions socially acceptable. Furthermore, there is another reason, which is more interesting, for them to refrain from going out. It can be concluded that the reason comes from an attitude of hesitation that makes them refrain from causing anybody the annoyance of having to take care of them. Many Japanese, such as the elderly or handicapped people, hate to cause anybody, even their children and relatives, any nuisance (Ishida, 2006). Besides exploring approaches to deal with those sensitive considerations, paying attention to a new movement led by NPOs or voluntary groups to observe the minimum income law as well as to create an original currency to be used only inside the communities is also constructive to be able to appeal the situation of poverty to the public.

The other aspect that this paper is trying to insist on is the strong necessity of raising awareness about elimination and its causes within the present situation. It can be said that raising awareness is one of the essential steps to develop the expertise on the social security system to be able to distinguish between originally eliminated people and those eliminated by the unprecedented disaster. As such, the correct judgment will not lead to any mistakes in countermeasures for each eliminated person. Government also has to be in charge of making full use of the social security system, and demonstrating the leadership as well as financial measures to succeed in completing the whole scale of reconstruction, and these

responsibilities are all conclusively significant. However, government work is usually too slow to start dealing with individual demands. Therefore, government sometimes cannot notice any signals from each victim, each area, and each risk. One of the most necessary contributions to restoring communities by means of a participatory style is coordination between the individual requests and the government's measures, or management to build a smooth relation between individuals and administrative agencies. In any case, the participatory contribution for restoring communities requires strategic commitments as well as lasting perseverance. It is very important for volunteers to explore their potential daily to be able to support people in difficult times, and at the same time, they have to try to consult with the government sector as well as the private market sector regarding any possible measures to activate victims' autonomous actions to approach their own reconstruction. This kind of multiple management, which by nature is hard for government or a large sized enterprise to practice, is an essential contribution of volunteers' participation to start reasonably sized reconstruction and continue the participation until the whole scale of reconstruction will come into existence.

It can be argued that the 3.11 disaster exposed the unsettled issue of poverty in Japanese society, and as a result, necessities of the social security system have been reconsidered. In this extraordinary situation just after the unprecedented disaster, it has become more decisive to grasp the difference from necessities in the temporarily established course of marketability in the bubble times. All factors which are usually indispensable to build up communities are possible to be targeted as marketable, for example, the management of housing rights or property rights, and the coordination of labor security. Those factors are usually the most distant from market mechanisms. Therefore, as Konno (2009) describes, we must avoid unnecessary risks existing in the competitive market mechanism, and our making a special determination to cut into the core position of the invisible as well as the most serious issues related to social security is even more strongly demanded. The participatory support by NGOs or voluntary groups, which are expanding their grassroots activities to grasp citizens' voices, will have real significance when the summarized and analyzed voices raise questions about policy which should be grappled with to implement future-oriented Japanese social security. When the voices trigger a nationwide discussion to rethink the social security system, the movement will be able to influence the central government. One movement can be introduced here. A shelter was constructed in front of the Diet Building in Tokyo, and it was called 'Hakenmura (A Part-time or dispatched workers' shelter)'. It was a symbolic demonstration against the Worker Dispatching Law, or the Temporary Staffing Services Law in 2008, and it became the focus of public attention to influence the government to reconsider the original conditions of the Law. The movement, with NGOs and voluntary groups at its center, could appeal to not only central government, but also to major media, and they conveyed in public the actuality of unhappy laborers. As a result, the proposed amendment to the Worker Dispatching Law was adopted in 2010. Under the circumstances, a 'Second Safety Net' was established. It became an epoch-making policy adopted in the entire Japanese labor market. The Second Safety Net is a system to protect all laborers, for example, laborers whose unemployment insurance has expired not because of their own actions, or laborers who cannot be covered by unemployment insurance. In the Safety Net, unstable laborers can receive social benefits, and at the same time, job training when they hope to do so. The movement was initially created by a volunteer, whose name is Makoto Yuasa. He became nationally famous through the appeal movement. It can be said that the Second Safety Net could at least wipe away inhuman brutality from the labor contracts. Based on lessons learnt from both the dispatched workers' village, as well as the 3.11 disaster, it can be said that improved understanding of how Japanese policy needs to undergo a transition to begin reforming the social security system and practical reconstruction in each community is demanded for all survivors living in Japan. As Esping Andersen (1985) insists in his book, to break away from a policy to irrationally commercialize labor is the most significant step. In short, the issue is not to consider how much money is dealt with in the market. Instead, a guidepost to all laborers' stable working condition to sustain their lives should be the most essential point. Grappling with both the issue of poverty and the issue of labor has a common point, based on Andersen's opinion. At such urging of volunteers' participation, the situation has been progressing little by little. However, it will be most necessary in the post 3.11 disaster to expand autonomous areas in which basic human rights can be observed without the logic behind the market's mechanism.

5 Conclusions

Many Japanese people can access a variety of information about the 3.11 disaster by means of newspapers, television programmes, books, reports, government announcements, news releases by research groups in the Tokyo nuclear plant, words of famous people, and so on. They are interpreting or analyzing the disaster from diverse aspects, for example, geographical science and earthquake mechanisms, as well as social science and psychological expertise. After 9 months, the disaster is still devastating a wider area of the Eastern part of Japan due to the difficulties of restoring human relations and communities. In these circumstances, some Japanese have gradually begun to notice that the disaster gave an absolutely

painful opportunity to reconsider the common practice of treating all the people suffering as a result of this unpredictable disaster as being in exactly the same group. As this paper has insisted there are obviously different backgrounds between victims of the disaster and the originally eliminated people, and the difference is easily disregarded. Once the issue fails to be recognized by society, we will miss any possibility to grasp the detailed actuality of the issue.

Diverse participatory activities or voluntary operations to rescue or support victims suffering as a result of disasters are demonstrating the strong necessity of cooperation with not only other people and other organizations, but also other ideas and other methodologies (Konno, 2009). In other words, the risks always have a potential to make people generate inevitable actions to collaborate in order to tackle a problem. However, the collaborative potentiality to form a practical system has paradoxically produced an atmosphere to demand people to take a self-restrained attitude in their activities, for example, for self-reconstruction or appealing against radioactive contamination. It is nonsense if the course of forming collaboration denies individual activity. Furthermore, the atmosphere ironically produced a stronger than before demand for victims to behave in a victim-like manner. As time passed, the question whether people gradually forget their initial sympathy towards victims was raised. In the circumstances, the quality of life among Japanese is reconsidered, in the same way as the quality of thoughts on elimination is questioned.

It is pity to say that some relief supplies sent to Tohoku were cheap and trashy. In spite of being temporary supplies, the idea of forgiving someone for sending such cheap and trashy relief goods to survivors undermines the fundamental intentions of a public. The insincerity in any case weakens the awareness of social participatory cooperation. Furthermore, in the process of disaster reconstruction, the general mood of the country produced a public tendency to demand unemployed people or people who receive social benefits to act in a poverty-stricken manner. Just a public tendency is not reflected in policies of relief measures for victims of the 3.11 disaster. But, unfortunately, the survivors who received compensation from Tokyo Nuclear Power Company or relief donations had their social benefits suspended. It is clear that temporary compensation and donations cannot secure their future. As Konno (2009) cautions, social pressure to demand the victim to become independent financially as well as mentally is taking an enormous toll by depriving the victims of their scarcely remaining power of self-reliance. Although it may seem to be an exaggerated reference, James Mayall's (2000) definition of a people, which is no different from defining a nation, can dare to give us an opportunity to reconsider our attitudes about whether a people in whatever situation should be slighted by temporarily agitated public opinion.

As is generally reported, this is an unforeseeable recession,

occurring only once in a century, and the 3.11 disaster is an unprecedentedly huge one, occurring once in a thousand years. However, it should be questioned whether we have effective countermeasures against the next unforeseen coming events, which could be very similar to those that have completely ruined the most precious lives as well as fundamental social infrastructure. A large fluctuation in the market economy will place daily lives in a chaotic situation. Unemployment and illnesses are daily events. Therefore, the participatory cooperation to mitigate risks existing within comprehensive social trends should be more fully developed, culturally as well as scientifically. The first thing is to set an objective in terms of policies of social security by the central government which will guarantee all residents' lives. Then, a second step of building up social participatory cooperation can function in the circumstances. In other words, a firm principle of social security to protect anybody in any situation must be provided. This is the time to gain awareness of the need for a sense of cooperation with others. Therefore all Japanese who could fortunately escape the damages of the 3.11 disaster should acknowledge a shortage of participatory cooperation, and try to reflect on the necessity of improving policies of social security to mitigate elimination as well as expansion of unnecessary risks. We, current Japanese residents, are all living witnesses who have experienced the time of unprecedented suffering. At the same time, we have the obligation to pass what we have learnt from these times on to the next generations.

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