Special Issue

Disaster in Transition: Displacement and Networked Assistance in the 2011 East Japan Tsunami

Hirono 3
Karumai 1
Ninohe 2
Kuji 24
Noda 11
Fudai 1
Tanohata 6
Hachimandaira 2
Iwate 1
Iwaizumi 11
Takizawa 5
Morioka 8
Miyako 81
Shiwa 1
Yamada
Hanamaki 78
Tono 16
Otsuchi 76
Kamaishi 122
Kitakami 14
Kanagasaki 6
Oshu 5
Ofunato 99
Hiraizumi 7
Ichinoseki 40　Rikuzentakata 118
Tokyo

0　　20km

Aug.24, 2012, Ofunato

Mar.22, 2012, Ofunato

Nov.4, 2011, Ofunato

Aug.17, 2011, Tono

Feb.29,2012, Kitakami

Apr.5,2012, Tokyo

Nov.11, 2011, Ofunato

Nov.4, 2011, Ofunato

Study Group on Infrastructure and Society　/　「社会と基盤」研究会

Disaster, Infrastructure and Society
Learning from the 2011 Earthquake in Japan

災害・基盤・社会　東日本大震災から考える

No.5

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contents

Editor's Note

Sociological Documents on Transitory Networks of Assistance

Tadahito YAMAMOTO

"TRANSITORINESS" AS FUTURE POSSIBILITY TO TRANSFORMATIONS

In the disaster management process, various types of transitory spaces and networks are created to access resources for setting up emergency housing, performing assistance activities, and reconstructing communities. The constellation of such spaces and networks transform as the phases of the disaster pass, and finally the process results in the construction of a new social geography (Wisner el. al. ed. 1994; Hewitt 1997; Bolin 1998).

"Transitoriness" in this dynamic process of transformations essentially means that the spaces and networks do not exist permanently. At the same time, it also indicates that their future is indefinite and open to change in multiple directions.

The field of disaster studies has taken up the role of documenting the transitory spaces and networks that repeatedly appear and dissolve in changing phases. Disaster studies must also estimate their potential to create the future constellations of society.

The aim of DIS, No.5, is to present, based on the field research in the Sanriku coastal area of Iwate Prefecture, a sociological document of such spaces and networks created for assistance in the case of the 2011 East Japan Tsunami.

ROLES OF CIVILIAN GROUPS AND THEIR IMPACTS ON SOCIAL RESTRUCTURING

This research also aims to rethink the roles and functions of civilian organizations as the society makes the transition toward a population-shrinking/post-Fordist-type society (Leitner et al. ed. 2007; Mayer 2012).

The continuous shocks of economic decline and neoliberal-oriented local policies have undermined the stable structure constructed by post-war Japan to redistribute collective risk. Disruptive events in these 20 years, such as the burst of the bubble economy in the early 1990s, the Great Kobe Earthquake in 1995, the Central Niigata Earthquake in 2004, and the financial crisis in 2008, have led to heightened risk in the present precarious economic system. This is the background against which various new types of social organizations have sprung up around the country.

Disasters can be viewed as one of such "contingent factors" that has shocked the stable structure of capital accumulation and has reconstructed "spatial fix" (social geography) in today's society (Harvey 2010a; 2010b).

Transitory spaces constructed by assistance activities are the articulating points of horizontal networks among assistance groups and the vertical relationship between the administrative governance system and civil society (Miller 2000; Martin et al.

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2003).

How has the changing society influenced the development of networked assistance activities during and after the Great East Japan Tsunami, and what types of social restructuring will those experiences bring to East Japan and to Japanese society in general? This is another concern of the research.

GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE RESEARCH

Figure 1 shows the number of events caused by the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami that the various types of media covered for two months after the disaster. The data is based on "The Great East Japan Earthquake Chronicle" (in DIS, No.1), which picked up the events related to the 2011 disaster from 320 media organizations, including newspapers,

Figure 1: Number of Media-covered Events Caused by the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami (Mar.11-May.11, 2011)
Source: The Great East Japan Earthquake Chronicle, DIS, No.1.

magazines, books, and websites of governmental agencies, professional groups, and NPO/NGOs, published until May 11, 2011 (Ueda 2011; Ueda et al. 2011).

According to figure 1, there were two "belts of events" in the Iwate prefectural area in the early stage of the disaster.

One was the coastal tsunami-stricken area. Large parts of the settlements in this area were completely washed away by the tsunami and many residents died or went missing. It was natural for the media to report such situations immediately to the entire country and abroad.

However, at the same time, another "belt of events" took place in the hinterland of the Iwate prefecture. There were major industrial cities in this belt that were starting points of supply chains in the Japanese manufacturing industry along the Tohoku highway. Shinkansen was the main traffic line linking Tohoku to the Tokyo area. These cities were also articulating points of assistance networks to the coastal tsunami-stricken area.

To what degree were the supply chains damaged? How and through which cities were manpower and relief goods mobilized into assistance activities in the coastal area? This was another concern of the media. Such a transitorily created geography indicates that the chains of events caused by the disaster were composed of multi-layered and multi-scaled networks of social activities from the local and national to the global.

To understand these multi-layered traits of the events and networks created through the East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami, our research team conducted fieldwork studies primarily in two places: Ofunato City in "the first belt" of the tsunami-stricken area and the cities of Kitakami and Tono in "the second belt" of the major industrial cities, which had become bases for assistance networks.
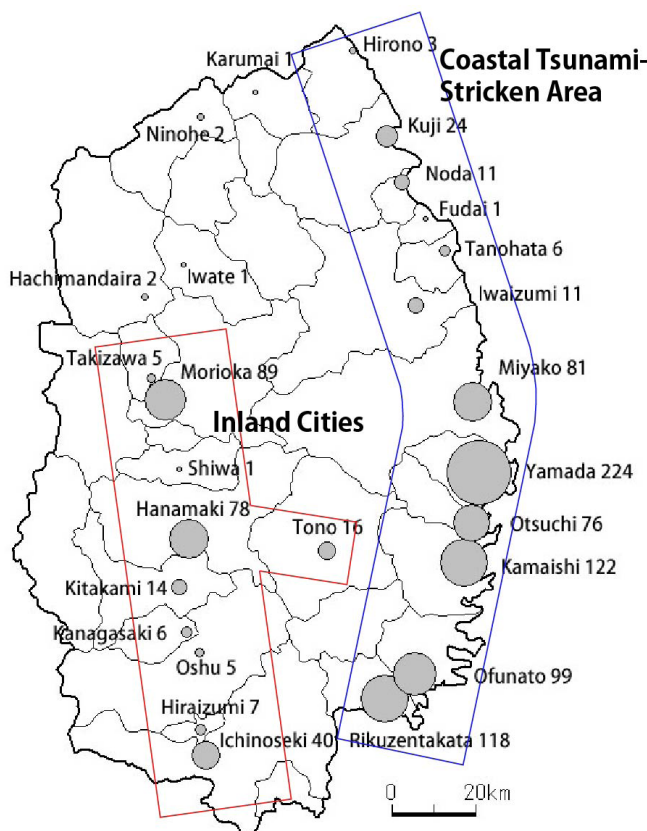
ARTICLES

This special issue is composed of two articles.

The first one by Tadahito Yamamoto is about assistance networks and is based on the fieldwork done in Ofunato City (Yamamoto 2012a; 2012b)[1].

It places a special focus on the "in-home sufferers" problem prevalent in Ofunato from the viewpoint of "socially created displacement," which has been adopted as an important approach in recent research in disaster studies (Oliver-Smith 2005; 2006).

The second article by Yutaka Iwadate is about the role of inland cities as the hubs of large-scale assistance networks for the coastal area. Specifically, it focuses on "Tono Union Volunteer Center" established by the community union in Kitakami City[2].

It throws light on the significance of "assist for assistance activities" and makes us reconsider the volunteer activities institutionalized after the Kobe earthquake. In today's precarious society, it will also present a concrete example and a possibility of a transitory "assemblage" of social activities and material spaces/infrastructures (Graham ed. 2010; 2012; Machimura 2012).

MATERIALS

The research team has collected some valuable materials through the fieldwork and is now making archives.

This issue introduces the following items from the archives: "Tono Volunteer Diary," which is a record of volunteer activities by the "Tono Union Volunteer Center," and an interview video of the center's leaders.

Notes

1 On reconstruction policies, see Maruyama (2012).
2 On the significance of fieldwork as a sociological "practice," see Iwadate (2013).

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Special Issue
Disaster in Transition:
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in the 2011 East Japan Tsunami

Displacement and Re-invention of Communities: Disaster Process and Assistance Networks in Ofunato City

Tadahito YAMAMOTO

INTRODUCTION

The Study Group on Infrastructure and Society (SGIS) established a research team[1] to study the impacts of the 2011 tsunami disaster on the Iwate Sanriku coastal area. Since it was formed in November 2011, the research team has conducted most of its fieldwork in two cities in the Iwate Prefecture: Kitakami City and Ofunato City. Kitakami is one of the bases/nodal points for inland assistance activities, and Ofunato City is one of the most heavily damaged tsunami-stricken cities on the coastal side (Yamamoto 2012a; 2012b; Maruyama 2012).

The aim of this paper is to describe the disaster process, which means a combination of the natural disaster itself and the emergency response process to the disaster, and the development of assistance networks in Ofunato during the year following the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami in 2011 (on the role of Kitakami City, see Iwadate's article).

Ofunato City is located in the southern part of the Sanriku coastal area in Iwate Prefecture. Prior to the tsunami its population was 40,737—the third largest population in the 12 municipalities along the Iwate Sanriku coast (2010 Census).
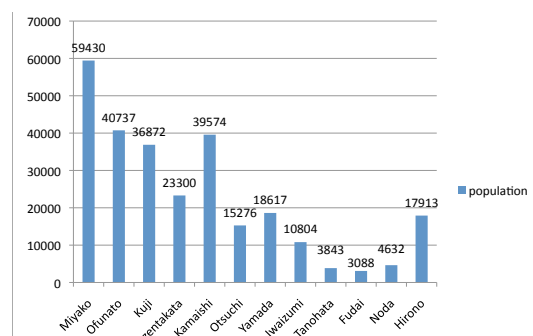
Figure 1: Population of Municipalities in Sanriku Coast in Iwate Prefecture   Source: 2010 Census

Four hundred and fourteen residents of Ofunato City died in the 2011 tsunami, and 79 were declared missing. This was the sixth hardest-hit area along the Iwate Sanriku coast. The number of totally collapsed houses was 2,787, the number of half collapsed houses was 1,147, and 1,605 were partially damaged. Ofunato experienced the largest damage in terms of the destruction of houses in all coastal municipalities (Fire and Disaster Management Agency, Sep. 1st, 2013).

At present Ofunato City is composed of both the former Sanriku Town area and the former Ofunato City area. The major industry in the former Sanriku Town area is fishing. The former Ofunato City area is more urbanized. Its industry includes not only fishing

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but also manufacturing.

Both municipalities were merged into today's Ofunato City in 2001. The policies implemented by the central government to effect this merger changed the framework of municipal administration and caused some confusion in community governance.

(person)	Dead	Missing	Total
Miyako	465	94	559
Ofunato	414	79	493
Kuji	4	2	6
Rikuzentakata	1,597	216	1,813
Kamaishi	986	152	1138
Otsuchi	853	433	1286
Yamada	671	149	820
Iwaizumi	10	0	10
Tanohata	17	15	32
Fudai	0	1	1
Noda	39	0	39
Hirono	0	0	0

Figure 2: Human Damage (Municipalities in Sanriku Coast in Iwate Prefecture)Source: Fire and Disaster Management Agency (Sep. 1st, 2013)

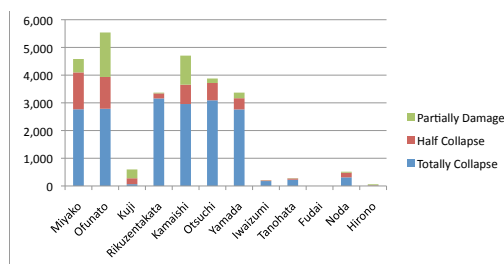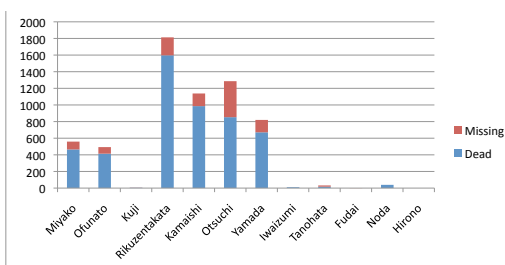| (door)	Totally Collapse	Half Collapse	Partially Damaged	Total
Miyako	2,767	1,331	484	4,582
Ofunato	2,787	1,147	1,605	5,539
Kuji	65	213	318	596
Rikuzentakata	3,159	182	27	3,368
Kamaishi	2,957	698	1,049	4,704
Otsuchi	3,092	625	161	3,878
Yamada	2,762	405	202	3,369
Iwaizumi	177	23	8	208
Tanohata	225	45	11	281
Fudai	0	0	0	0
Noda	311	168	35	514
Hirono	10	16	35	61

Figure 3: Damage to Housing
Source: Fire and Disaster Management Agency (Sep. 1st, 2013)

The influence of these merger policies on social responses to the 2011 disaster are one aspect of this research (Maruyama 2012).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND THE AIM OF THIS PAPER

This research is based on the displacement/forced migration approach described in disaster studies. Oliver-Smith, one of the major scholars to have used this approach, defined the term "displacement" as "the uprooting of people from a home ground" (Oliver-Smith 2006). This term was originally focused on refugee studies or development studies in developing countries, where migration and relocation processes caused by social conflicts or developmental projects have been researched on a huge scale(Scudder 1973; Hansen et.al. ed. 1982; Cernea et.al. ed. 2000; Oliver-Smith ed. 2009; Oliver-Smith 2010). After the Sumatra Tsunami in 2004 and Hurricane Katrina in 2005 the term was brought into disaster studies, and has been used in the analysis of forced migrations induced by disasters.

In the context of disaster studies, "displacement" indicates a type of situation in which people become vulnerable as a result of social restructuring. Essentially, neoliberal oriented policies and economic globalism undermined the collective base of people's lives, and thereby greatly increased their vulnerability to displacement (Brunsma et.al. ed. 2007; Steinberg et.al. ed. 2008; Button 2009; Johnson ed. 2011; Weber et.al. ed. 2012; Forced Migration Review, Special Issue Tsunami: Learning from the Humanitarian Response, July 2005; World Disaster Report 2012, Focus on Forced Migration and Displacement).

I am using the theory of displacement to try to understand the effects of extended evacuation and social isolation on victims of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami, and more specifically,

as a type of socially created "displacement" in a Japanese context.

The displacement/forced migration approach assumes the process of relocation and community building will follow four predictable stages (planning; coping; initiating economic development and community formation; facilitating the transition to second generation resettlers). The main focus of this approach has tended to be placed on the case of development projects, or refugee phenomena caused by war/social conflict[2].

We need to focus on different aspects in the case of displacement/forced migration induced by disaster.

For example, refugees who are the victims of wars/social conflicts have difficulty getting assistance from their own governmental agencies, which are engaged in the war/social conflict (Hewitt 1997). Evacuees who are the victims of disaster-induced migrations, however, rely on the continuation of the previously existing social resources provided by their local governmental agencies, professionals and NPO/NGOs to survive.

In contrast to the relocation process induced by a developmental project—which commonly extends into years or even for generations in difficult cases—disaster-induced displacement happens contingently, in over a short time period, in a "compressed" way. Given the unique features of this type of displacement, it is important for disaster researchers to broaden their scope of research to include the immediate social process following a disaster, in detail.

From the perspective of these concerns I will view the process of organizing an assistance network as constructing multiple pathways to enable displaced persons to re-access former social relationships, and will try to categorize early stages of the disaster into some "phases" on the basis of Ofunato's experience.

A geographical approach has also been used to analyze the complex process of disaster management and subsequent reconstruction (Hewitt 1997; Bolin et.al. 1998). The development of geographic information systems (GIS) has impacted disaster studies by expanding the capabilities inherent in a geographical approach (Curtis et.al. 2009). In this research I take advantage of these powerful information systems to focus on some transitory spaces described as "temporary living spaces" (shelters, temporary housing etc.) and "bases of assistance activities" organized by civilian groups. The construction of such transitory spaces provides the infrastructure needed to network various types of social agencies and functions, thereby serving as an intermediate conduit to link the local interest with the broader society.

I will use information describing transitory and temporary spaces to create a socially constructed index, which will allow me to identify key agents and analyze interrelationships among the disaster process and social restructuring in the wider context of society.

In sum, I try to answer three questions in this paper.

First, how can we divide the early stage of the disaster process into phases? At what moment do these phases change?

Second, by whom and for what purpose are spaces and networks of assistance activities were created?

Last, what were the key points in "displacement" phenomenon in the case of the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami? In particular, how can we understand the problems of "in-home sufferers" from the perspective of displacement studies?

RESEARCH OUTLINE

Sampling of Informants

The major sources of information for this research are key persons participating in assistance activities

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in the Ofunato area.

Informants were chosen from two groups.

One group of informants is comprised of members of the Ofunato Action Network. This Network, established on June 30th, 2011, has played a central role in networking civilian assistance groups and some municipal/semi-municipal agencies.

Another group of informants is made up of leaders of local community centers. These centers are the most basic level of community governance. Most community centers were used as urgent shelters just after the tsunami, and from here community members and municipal countermeasures headquarters offered assistance activities .

Transcripts and Chronicle of Assistance Activities

I interviewed 23 persons and made transcripts of my interviews in preparation for writing this paper. On the basis of these transcripts I constructed a "Chronicle of Assistance Activities in Ofunato City" (see Appendix), and divided the assistance networking process—beginning with the time following the tsunami until about one year after the disaster—into three phases.

Making Maps of "Temporary Living Spaces" and "Spaces of Assistance"

I drew two kinds of maps using GIS.

The first type of map shows temporary living spaces such as urgent shelters and temporary housing units in Ofunato.

The second type of map shows "bases of assistance activities" during each phase of assistance. I refer to these spaces as the "Spaces of Assistance" in this paper.

Each map showing "Spaces of Assistance" can be viewed as an epitome of the changing character of each phase in the disaster process. By providing comments on what each of these maps tells us, I

will describe the changing process of disaster and its meaning.

PHASE ONE: FORMATION OF SHELTERS AND COMMUNITY RESPONSES (MARCH-JUNE 2011)

Outline

Many shelters were made in Ofunato community centers, schools, religious facilities and other structures just after the earthquake and tsunami. The municipal government set up local headquarters in the community centers, which had previously played a central role in each district. Different types of shelter management were provided, depending on whether communities were in urban or rural areas, and whether or not they had been washed away by the tsunami.

Almost at the same time as these community-level responses were being initiated, municipal agencies and various types of local civilian organizations became active and started to offer assistance to victims.

Formation of Shelters

According to Ofunato Municipal Office records, 61 shelters had been completed before March 15th, 2011, the fourth day after the disaster (Figure 5). The map is color-coded to show where different types of facilities were used for shelters (private house-type shelters couldn't be drawn on the map because their sites were not known). The most popular structure used for shelters was the community center, which housed 25 shelters. The second most popular sites were schools, which accounted for twelve shelters. In addition, shelters were set up in eight hospital/welfare facilities, and seven religious facilities.

Proportional circles are used to represent the number

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of evacuees. Almost all shelters were small in scale, with fewer than 100 evacuees. Grassroots-type local community centers played the most important role in providing this size of shelter.

In the case of larger-scale shelters (101~800

evacuees), schools played an important role. This was especially the case in coastal areas where a school had been built on high ground, did not suffer direct damage from the tsunami, and was located near crowded urban core areas along the Sakari River
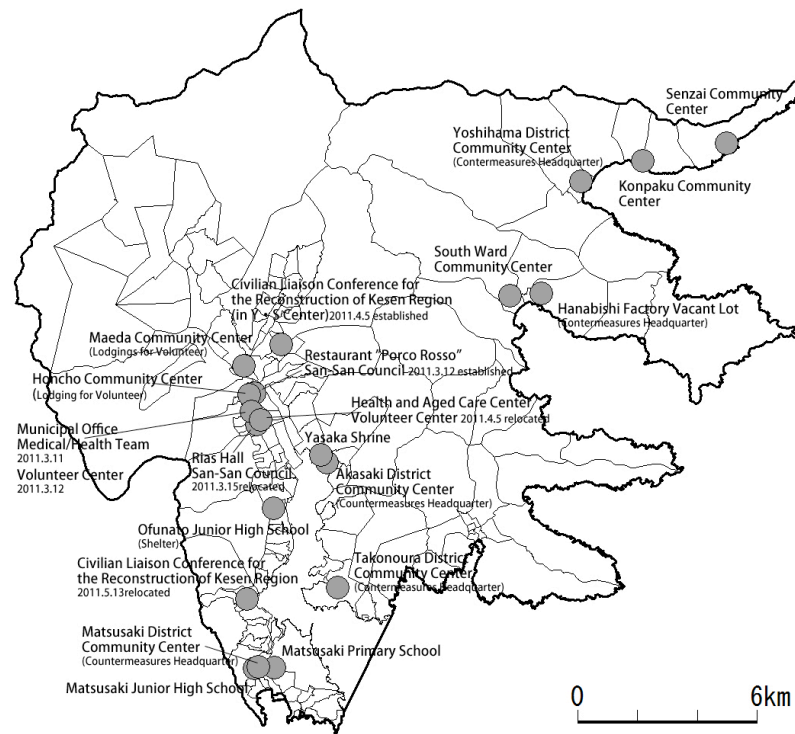

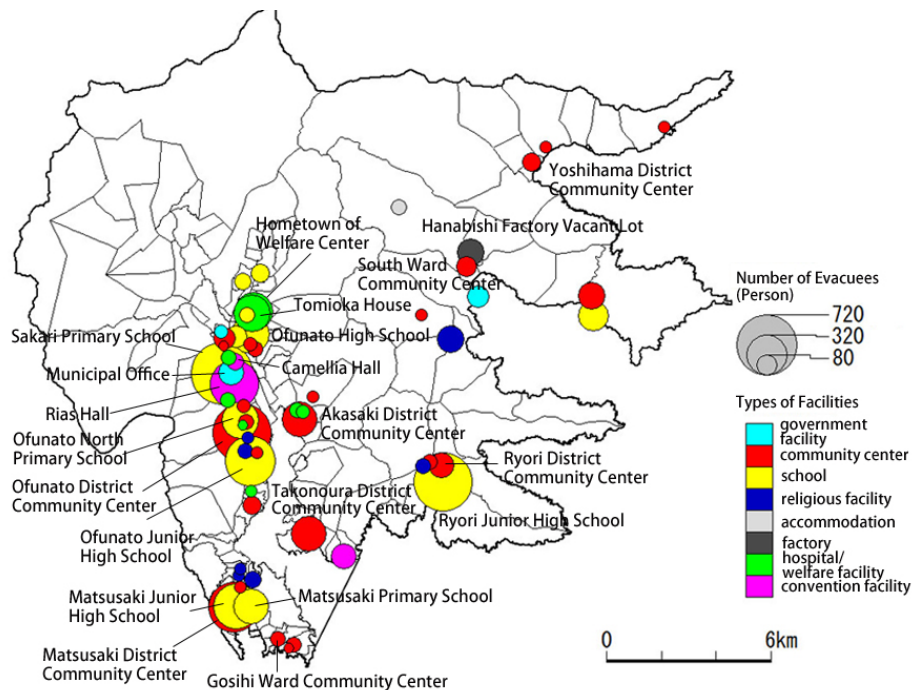Figure 4: Map of "Spaces of Assistance" in Phase One (Mar-Jun, 2011) Note: Made by author

Figure 5: Map of Shelters in Ofunato City (15 Mar, 2011)Note: Made by author based on Ofunato Municipal

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Type	number
government facility	3
community center	25
school	12
religious facility	7
lodging facility	1
factory	1
hospital/welfare facility	8
assembly facility	3
private house	1
sum	61

Table 1: Types of Facilities for Shelters in Ofunato
Source: Ofunato Municipal Office
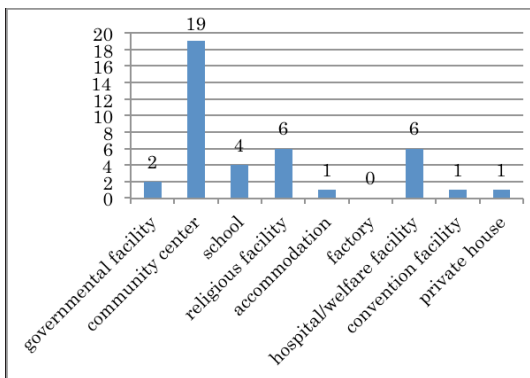
Table 2: Number of Shelters with Fewer than 100
Evacuees (Classified by Facility Type)
Source: Ofunato Municipal Office
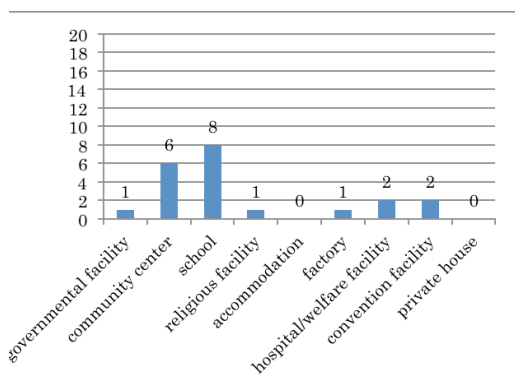
Table 3: Number of Shelters with 100-800 Evacuees
(Classified by Facility Type)
Source: Ofunato Municipal Office

where local communities had been totally washed away. Under these circumstances school buildings provided a large volume of needed shelter space.

Community Centers

There are two types of community centers in Ofunato City. One is a "neighborhood community center" which is established in a unit of local neighborhood society. Of the 132 neighborhood community centers in Ofunato, 34 were damaged by the tsunami.

Another type of community center is the "district community center," established in a "district" unit, which basically means the area of a former "village" founded in the Meiji Era—the age of modern nation-state building. There are eight districts along the coast: Sakari, Ofunato, Matsusaki, Akasaki, Takonoura, Ryori, Okirai, and Yoshihama. Immediately after the disaster the municipal government put a countermeasures headquarters in each district community center.

The Social Education Act of 1949 defined community centers as social educational facilities. This Act says that the aim of community centers is to provide services related to education, science and culture to local residents.

In the case of Ofunato City, community centers have functioned not only as social educational facilities, but also as "centers" for general activities of the community organizations themselves. District community centers have been established and managed according to the ordinances of municipal governments. But neighborhood community centers don't have a specific legal base, funding has been provided by grassroots community organizations and the centers have been self-managed.

As a result, the administrative procedures used have been inconsistent, and hierarchical relationships between districts and neighborhood community centers have been ambiguous. Further, grassroots-

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type neighborhood organizations have experienced a gradually diminishing capacity to provide enough services for local residents as the result of a decreasing and aging population.

Potential problems had been raised before the disaster. For example, what are the roles of district and neighborhood community centers? Should their functions continue to cover general activities in order to provide community services, or should they be restricted to social education? Should the authority of district community centers become stronger? Should the administrative hierarchy be made clearer?

Municipal mergers between Ofunato City and Sanriku Town in 2001 made this problem more severe. Historically in Sanriku Town, where fishing has remained a major local industry, grassroots-type neighborhood organizations and neighborhood community centers have had greater power to integrate residents than has been the case in Ofunato City—a highly urbanized center around harbor facilities. However, an "Ofunato model" was imported into former Sanriku Town area by implementing a compulsory change of administrative

framework coupled with a municipal merger, giving district community centers strong authority.

Changing local social structures and nation-wide merger policies after the 1990s have caused confusion around community governance to escalate.

We should focus on the activities and functions of grassroots-type neighborhood community centers to provide shelters, as these resources are most familiar to local residents, and more quickly available than is access to other local agencies.

At the same time, however, we need to watch and review the roles of district community centers as local disaster countermeasures headquarters in the context of community governance. These centers are built on a larger scale, and some of the facilities built at the time of municipal mergers functioned as a locus to sustain a large proportion of victims in each district. Chiefs in district community centers managed shelter space, allocated goods and food provided by municipal governments to local residents, and held meetings with chiefs of neighborhood community centers in each district to coordinate daily evacuees' needs and municipal offices. After the phase of urgent
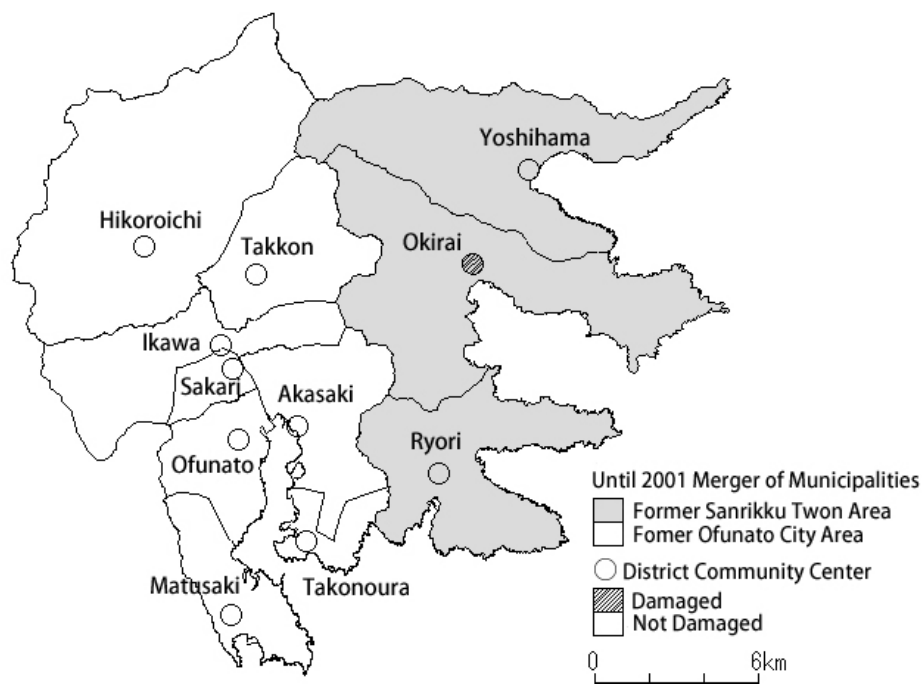
Figure 6: District Community Centers in Ofunato City
Note: Made by Author

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assistance had passed, reconstruction committees in each district were moved to the district community centers.

Shelter Management in Rural and Urban Areas

The types of shelter management provided tended to differ between rural and urban areas.

Almost half of South Area—in the Okirai District in the rural part of the former Sanriku Town—was washed away by the tsunami, and 120~130 people were evacuated into the South Area neighborhood community center until nightfall. The disaster countermeasures team had been established by the neighborhood organization during the day. While the delivery of food supplies from outside the area was stopped for two to three days after the disaster, residents who avoided direct damages by the tsunami worked cooperatively to manage the shelter and provided the food they had stored in their houses, for the evacuees who lost their houses.

In this case, the "principle of common ownership" by the neighborhood community functioned to provide emergent assistance. We found the same behavior in Yoshihama and Akasaki District community centers, and shelters in the Matsusaki District, and especially in Goishi and Kamisaka—areas where residents became isolated because main roads had been shut down by debris.

All these cases have common characteristics in that they were located in rural areas, community centers were functioning and neighborhood residents continued to work cooperatively in spite of the damage done by the tsunami. Sufferers collectively evacuated to their own area's community centers, while maintaining existing neighborhood relationships, and community organizations initially managed shelters by themselves.

The urban center core area around Ofunato Bay

and Sakari River was totally washed away by the tsunami, and consequently the approach to shelter management taken in rural areas could not be adopted here. Because the Taiheiyou Cement Factory and various other kinds of companies had been located in the bay/riverside area, many outsiders had lived here. During the gradual process of urbanization, neighborhood ties had become weaker than was the case in rural areas.

Severe damage caused by the tsunami destroyed the physical infrastructure and community ties. Residents individually dispersed to near-by shelters or relatives' houses outside of the disaster-stricken area. Shelter communities were composed of a mix of residents in terms of original community, gender and social class.

Photo 1: South Area Neighborhood Community Center
Note: Photograph by author, Aug. 24th, 2012.

Photo 2: The South Area Viewed from Central Area in Okirai District.
Note: Photo by author, Aug. 24th, 2012. The central area in the Okirai District was almost totally washed away by the tsunami. In South Ward, half of it was flooded and half of the slope of the hill remained.

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Photo 3: Yoshihama District Community Center.
Note: Photo by author, Aug. 23rd, 2012.

Photo 7: Matsusaki District Community Center
Note: Photo by author, Aug. 24th, 2012.

Photo 4: Yoshihama Farm
Noto: Photo by author, Aug. 23rd, 2012. The sea is on the right side of the photo. This farm was created by collective relocation to the upland after Meiji (1896) and Showa (1933) tsunami.

Photo 8: Goishi Area Neighborhood Community Center
Note: Photo by author, Nov. 4th, 2011.

Photo 5: Akasaki District Community Center
Note: Photo by author, Jan. 29th, 2013.

Photo 9: Main Road to Goishi Area Shut Down by Debris Just after the Tsunami (Kadonohama Area)
Note: Photo by author, Oct. 2nd, 2012.

Photo 6: Oikata Area and the Factory of Taiheiyo Cement Corporation in Akasaki District
Note: Photo by author, Jan. 29th, 2013.

Photo 10: Ofunato District Community Center
Note: Photo by author, May 27th, 2013.

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Photo 11: Ofunato Center Core Area Totally Damaged by Tsunami
Note: Photo by author, Nov. 4th, 2011.

Photo 12: Slope from Center Core to Ofunato District Community Center
Note: Photo by author, May 27th, 2013. Under the slope, houses and buildings were totally flooded. On the middle of the slope almost half-collapsed or partially-damaged types of houses have remained. In such areas, in many cases sufferers returned to their damaged houses and lived without public assistance and enough information from outside.

In such an environment it was difficult to establish a stable shelter management system, and municipal headquarters' or NPO's assistance, rather than the neighborhood community, often took initiatives to coordinate evacuees in shelters. Victims were not assisted according to the "principle of common ownership," but exposed without sensitivity to the "principle of public assistance," administered by outside agencies in degrees, depending on how much material property each person possessed, and more objectively on the extent to which each sufferer's house was a "total collapse," a "half collapse," "inundated above floor level" or "inundated below floor level."

These standards caused evacuees to separate into "have" and "not have" groups, and led to pressure to exclude people whose houses had remained standing from public assistance. Immediately following the disaster however, when distribution of goods and energy stopped completely, even the people who still had their houses were also "sufferers."

If we call uprooting people from their homes by the shock of disaster as "material displacement," we can see that being denied public assistance, and living in either their own damaged houses or in a relative's house was in fact "secondary, socially created displacement." This presaged the much larger scale of inequality which would follow in the next phase.

Outreach from the Municipal Agencies

One of the major agencies in the Ofunato Municipal Office to provide outreach to sufferers is the Health and Aged Care Center. It has public health nurses on staff, and provides residents with public health and aged care services in ordinary times.

Because the tsunami in March 11th reached the Health and Aged Care Center public building, at first the health nurses evacuated to Rias Hall (the main public hall in Ofunato City) on the opposite side of the road, and after several hours they went to the municipal office. They established a public health/medical team under the direction of the welfare division and began to assist sufferers on the same day.

On the next day, March 12th, these nurses went around to all the shelters on the tsunami-stricken coastal side so that they could confirm the situations of almost all shelters already verified by the municipal office. There were about twenty staff members at that time—a supervisor, fourteen nurses and temporary workers.

Though established policy gave the chief of the Health Center responsibility for supervising the

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Photo 13: Health and Aged Care Center
Note: Photo by author, Mar. 23rd, 2012.

public health/medical team in the municipal office, he couldn't actually assume this responsibility because he had to cover both health centers in Ofunato and Kamaishi City. On March 12th, a doctor in the Ofunato Prefectural Hospital went to the municipal office and advised the nurses to take responsibility for managing their teams themselves.

They held their first meeting in the middle of the night, and at that meeting shared the situation of sufferers they had seen in the shelters. This meeting became a regular occurrence, and was called the 'medicine, public health and welfare meeting'. A wide range of municipal staff members engaged in disaster assistance activities participated in these meetings, which soon became an important hub of mutual communication among various kinds of professional supporters both inside and outside of Ofunato City.

Beginning on March 19th, nurses' teams, assisted by doctors and public nurses from all around the country, began visiting all households in the tsunami-stricken area. Starting June 3rd they began offering 'Salon' activities for evacuees whose aims were to provide the opportunities to communicate among residents in temporary housing and to research on the needs of them. These became one of the starting points of the organized outreach programs which assistance groups implemented after temporary housing had been constructed (Ofunato Municipal Office Welfare Division 2012).

Agencies to Mobilize Volunteers

Following approved procedures for setting up a volunteer center that would mobilize civilian powers to assist sufferers was an important issue for the municipal office. In Ofunato City the Municipal Council of Social Welfare was supposed to establish a volunteer center according to an existing manual. In addition, the Council had trained its staff annually, every May, around the memorial day of the 1960 Chili Tsunami which had caused large-scale damage along the Iwate Sanriku coast.

The Council set up the Ofunato Disaster Volunteer Center on March 12th, in front of the entrance to the municipal office. On April 5th the facility was moved onto the car park of Health and Aged Care Center where the Volunteer Center is still located (March, 2014). During the month of March major activities had included sorting and carrying relief goods, and assisting in the management of shelters. In the early stages there were about 20~30 volunteers, many of whom were high school students in Ofunato. Beginning on March 19th additional support staff sent from Akita and the Aichi Prefectural Council of Social Welfare strengthened the capacity of the volunteer center.

One of the difficult problems in the early phase was to agree on when and how the Volunteer Center should receive volunteers from outside of Iwate prefecture.

In Ofunato information about volunteer activities had not been shared sufficiently with ordinary residents. Staff at Ofunato's volunteer center were worried they would undermine confidence in volunteer efforts because they had not yet built enough of a system to coordinate volunteers and local residents. To address this concern the Center decided not to accept outside volunteers until the end of April. On May 1st the Center started to receive volunteers formally, and about 1000 people came to Ofunato as

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Photo 14: Volunteer Center Managed by Municipal
Council of Social Welfare
Note: Photo by author, Aug. 22nd, 2012.

Photo 15: District Welfare Commissioner, Ms. Sachiko
Ishibashi at Shizu Temporary Housing
Note: Photo by author, Oct. 2nd, 2012.

volunteer workers during the golden holiday week from May 3rd to May 5th.

In order to identify the needs of sufferers, the Center partnered with professional District Welfare Commissioners who were closely tied with local communities. Starting in May the Center began publishing an information paper called "Oryashita," which means 'How are you?' in Ofunato's dialect. The purpose of this paper was to provide sufferers with information about volunteer activities, and conversely to ask sufferers what they needed. "Oryashita" was delivered to all shelters. In addition to this handmade media, word-of-mouth communication played a most effective role in getting information about peoples' needs.

On September 12th, 2011 the name 'Ofunato Disaster Volunteer Center' was changed to 'Ofunato Reconstruction Volunteer Center of Municipal Council of Social Welfare'.

Professionals Rooted in the Local Community

The municipal office has another senior administrative officer with responsibility for sustaining welfare services to the local community—the District Welfare Commissioner. In contrast to the Municipal Council of Social Welfare which has some professional full-time workers and is responsible for providing services all around the Ofunato area, while District

Welfare Commissioners are also a type of welfare worker, they are essentially volunteers, and often members of neighborhood community organizations. These semi-governmental welfare agencies are most closely linked to local residents.

Sachiko Ishibashi is a key person in welfare activities in Ofunato. She is a former staff member of the Municipal Council of Social Welfare, and is now the District Welfare Commissioner in the Takonoura District where she lives, and is a member of 'Open Heart'—a civilian support group for visually-impaired persons.

Ms. Sachiko Ishibashi went far from her house when the disaster struck, and evacuated into Rias Hall in Ofunato's center core area. In the Takonoura District the disaster countermeasures headquarters were set up in the district community center. On March 15th, when debris stored on the road to her living district was removed, Ms. Sachiko Ishibashi went home and joined the headquarter's team as a District Welfare Commissioner with responsibility for caring for aged and handicapped persons in the community center shelters.

At the same time, she visited the tsunami-stricken area as a member of Open Heart and confirmed the safety of visually-impaired persons.

Every Tuesday she holds a "salon" meeting for the residents of Shizu temporary housing. This activity is a worthy focus of attention as it is one of the ongoing

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Photo 16: Rias Hall
Note: Photo by author, Nov. 4th, 2011.

Photo 17: Activities of San-San Council in Rias HallNote:
Photo by San-San Council, Jun. 12th, 2011.

practices designed to help the local community care for aged victims and other handicapped residents.

Voluntary Groups from the Local Community

・San-San Council

New grassroots groups emerged after the disaster, with the intention of offering voluntary assistance.

One such group is "San-San Council," whose major activity is providing food to sufferers around the Ofunato area. "San-San Council" is the abbreviated term for "3.11 Council for the Reconstruction of Sanriku Kesen Region." In Japanese we read "3" as "San," and the first syllable of "Sanriku" is also "San," this group has given itself the nickname of 'San-San Council' .

A chef at an Italian restaurant named "Porco Rosso" made "onigiri" (rice balls) and delivered them to sufferers on March 12th. This event served as the basis for future activities of the San-San Council. On March 15th their activities were relocated to Rias Hall, which was a public hall that had been constructed as a major cultural facility in Ofunato

City in 2009. It included a big, well-equipped kitchen for a restaurant tenant on the first floor. Because it was so well equipped, Rias Hall became one of the major shelters in the Sakari District.

A key aim of San-San Council activities was to provide sufferers with needed dietary side dishes. For example, some members of the council felt strongly about the necessity of such an approach when they learned that some sufferers had acquired beriberi because the main food supplied by the municipal office had been rice or bread, especially in the early phase of the disaster, and sufferers had become deficient in important nutrients. In this instance we can say that civilian groups formed after the disaster played an important role in raising the alarm and making arrangements to compensate for a municipal shortcoming.

The Council delivered 2000 meals a day to all the shelters in Ofunato during the peak of demand . It continued to provide that level of support, without even one holiday, until August 14th. At the time of our interview in November, 2011 the number of meals that had been delivered exceeded 170 thousand. About 500 volunteers participated in the Council's activities. It was able to provide such high quality meals in large part because several professional chefs whose shops had been flooded supported the Council.

San-San Council opened its Facebook page on May 4th, 2011, and used it to send information to the broader society using the internet. It also used two community centers near Rias Hall as lodging houses for outside volunteers. In this way, the Council functioned as an intermediate organization for Ofunato and outsiders in the early phase of the disaster.

The municipal decision to turn over use of the space in Rias Hall to the Council was a definite factor allowing the development of all its activities. But once this phase of the disaster had passed, the aim of the activities undertaken had to change, and it became

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difficult for the Council to maintain its partnership with the municipal office.

On July 11th the Council changed its major objective of delivering food to residents in shelters, to delivering food to those in temporary housing. At this time the municipal government began delivering daily packed lunches to sufferers. Because permission to use Rias Hall was scheduled to end in September, 2011, the Council relocated to another space on September 30th.

・Civilian Liaison Conference for the Reconstruction of Kesen Region

On April 5th, NPO "Dream Net Ofunato" addressed other civilian groups from the Ofunato area and established the "Civilian Liaison Conference for the Reconstruction of Kesen Region," in collaboration with NPO "Aichi Net," which came into Ofunato from outside, namely from the Aichi Prefecture.

Dream Net Ofunato was founded in 2006. It was the first intermediate NPO to support various types of civilian groups in the "Kesen" Region, which includes Ofunato City, Rikuzentakata City and Sumita Town. The Dream Net website provides information about sixty-four groups in this region. Pre-existing relationships among members of these groups prior to the disaster helped speed the establishment of a viable network during this emergency.

This network-type of conference distributed relief goods and food to shelters. Since April 11th it had published "Reconstruction News," which carried information about assistance services provided by the municipal office and NPO/volunteers, and about events held for sufferers.

At first the conference placed its tentative office in the building of the Municipal Council of Social Welfare (named as the Y・S Center). The next, and independent, office was located in Matsusaki District on May 13th, 2011.

Photo 18: Office of the Civilian Liaison Conference for the Reconstruction of Kesen Region in Matsusaki District
Photo by Civilian Liaison Conference for the Reconstruction of Kesen Region, Mar. 19th, 2013.

Summary

Figure 7 provides a schematic of the organizations, groups and individuals who provided assistance during the first stage of the disaster, and their inter-relationships.

The horizontal axis represents the scale of activities. The left side indicates a broad scale, senior to municipalities. The right side indicates a narrow scale, at the neighborhood community level. The vertical axis represents a state/civilian continuum. The upper level denotes state activities, and the lower level denotes civilian activities.

In the first phase municipal and quasi-municipal agents assisted sufferers using institutionalized methods of communication/governance across municipal and local/civilian sectors. This can be termed a "hierarchical partnership" type of relationship, in the sense that it presupposes a vertical relationship among both sectors.

Local quasi-governmental agents such as district community centers and district welfare commissioners played an important role with regard to the intermediate municipal assistance network for sufferers in local neighborhood-level shelters.

Some NPOs/volunteer groups emerged after the earthquake and tsunami. They provided assistance for sufferers from outside the institutionalized/administrative assistance networks, and in some

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cases played an important role in compensating for deficiencies in the municipal sector's assistance.

Especially in places where local community ties had been totally destroyed by the tsunami, existing systems for providing assistance did not function adequately. These issues would become more apparent in the next phase of the disaster, and ultimately provided the motivation to build networks linking assistance groups.

PHASE TWO: REMOVAL TO TEMPORARY HOUSING AND FORMATION OF ASSISTANCE NETWORK (JUNE 2011-MAY 2012)

Outline

A step to the next phase of the disaster process was moving sufferers from emergent shelters to temporary housing. Finding space where sufferers could live as a family unit generally meant that they would get the opportunity to move from an unstable evacuation situation into the stage of rebuilding a normal, ordinary life.

On the other hand, the abolishment of shelters caused risks by requiring sufferers to leave their local communities, and so an important relationship which had helped to sustain them while they had lived in the shelters. Municipal agencies and other assistance groups had to organize assistance networks to protect these social relationships during the transitional period.

The Ofunato Action Network—established in June 2011—became the first group to organize these important assistance networks in Ofunato.

Until then, assistance groups from outside Ofunato
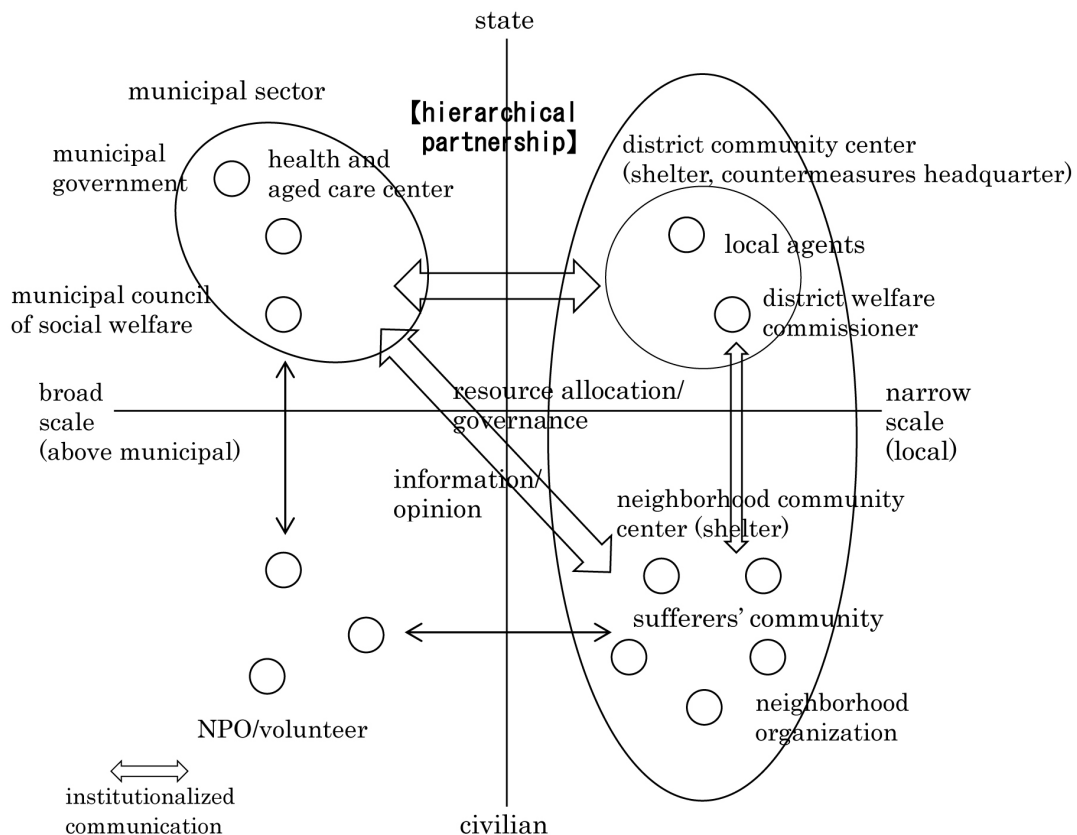
Figure 7: Relationships among Key Providers of Assistance in Ofunato During Phase 1
Note: Made by author

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could continue to enter the coastal disaster-stricken area, and an intermediate "space" was used to coordinate these volunteer groups. One such group—the "Tono Magkoro Net"—was formed at the end of March 2011 in Tono City, the mid-point between the inland and coastal sides of Iwate Prefecture .

A staff member of NPO "Moyai," one of the major anti-poverty movement organizations in Tokyo and a national level homeless support network, took initiatives in constructing the Action Network in Ofunato.

The Municipal Council of Social Welfare and one of the major inland municipalities, Kitakami City, in partnership with a temporary employment agency called "Japan Create," formed a new team to assist with the management of temporary housing in Ofunato using an Iwate Prefecture fund. Kitakami City's office employed 80 staff who had been

sufferers, and intended to create a model system for providing assistance to the residents in temporary housing.

Through such cumulative, mutual and dynamic communication among those inside/outside the disaster area, and governmental/civilian sectors, a framework of assistance networks began to form in this phase.

Removal to Temporary Housing
Construction of temporary housing in Ofunato began on March 25th and finished on July 28th, 2011. Through removal process more than 60 shelters were integrated into 37 temporary housing units. A large number of the available residential spaces in urbanized areas were inland, and in rural areas temporary housing units were often constructed on the former grounds of public facilities or vacancies

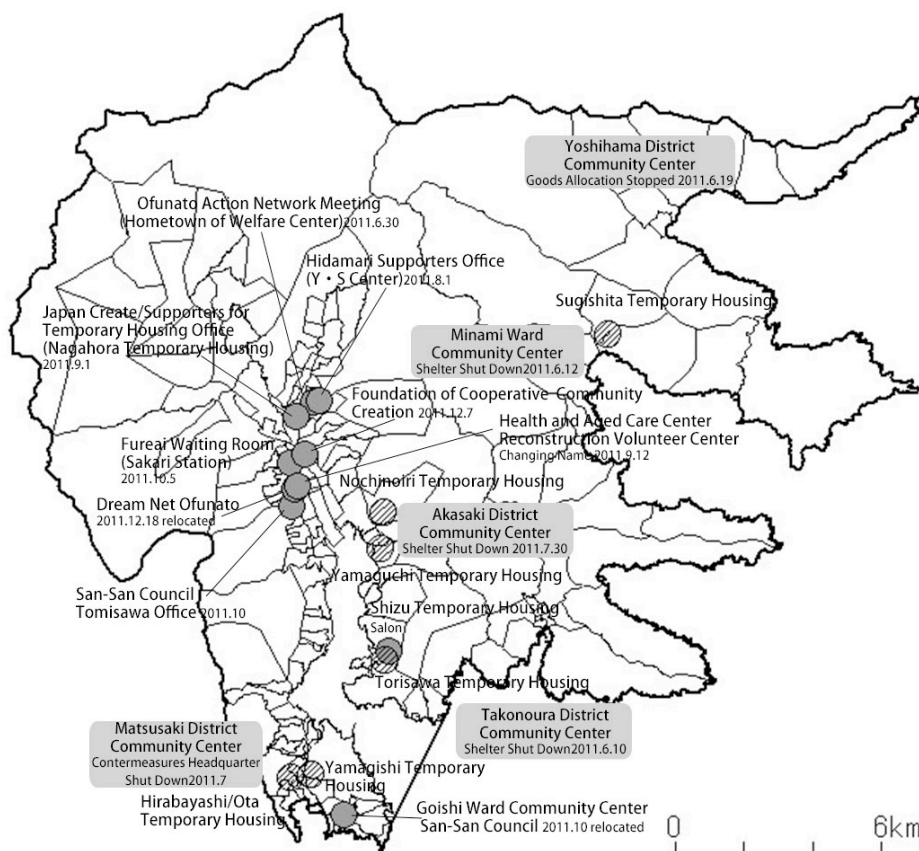
Figure 8: Map of "Spaces of Assistance" in Phase Two (Jun. 2011-May. 2012) Note: Made by author

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on hills.

Residents for each housing unit were selected by lottery. This method of selection had the effect of destroying the shelter communities formed during evacuation. Residents in shelters were dispersed across multiple temporary housing units. During the process of migration to temporary housing, original neighborhood communities tended to dissolve because of the double shock of the disaster itself, and the subsequent dispersion of residents into temporary housing.

On the other hand, in some cases in rural areas residents could negotiate with the municipal office and get permission to keep a shelter unit. For example, in the case of the Sugishita temporary housing in Okirai District, residents in a shelter could enter each housing unit as a group.

We should also focus on changes in the ways communities were managed in such cases. Shelter communities in rural areas tended to be managed by existing neighborhood community organizations themselves. After sufferers relocated to temporary housing, the disaster countermeasures teams in local communities dissolved, and new associations comprised only of sufferers who lived in each temporary housing unit were established.

On the one hand, removal to temporary housing provided a more secure living environment for sufferers than had been possible in shelters, but on the other hand, the re-location created risks of being uprooted by severing the relationship they had had with their neighborhood community.

Organizing Assistance Networks

In the process of moving from the emergent situation phase to rebuilding ordinary life, issues became more complex, and how assistance groups and municipal agencies contacted sufferers and managed temporary housing units which were now also new social units
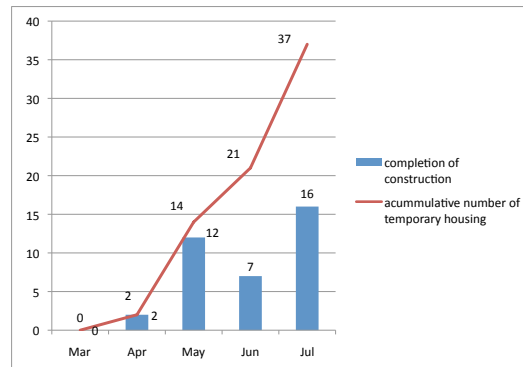
Figure 9: Number of Temporary Housing Units Constructed
Source: Ofunato Municipal Office

became a big problem.

On June 30, 2011, assistance groups in Ofunato organized the "Ofunato Action Network," to respond to such situations. Its aims were to build a system to care for sufferers, to prevent isolated deaths and suicides and to reconstruct society in anticipation of the city's re-development. This Network held meetings periodically to share information about the needs of sufferers and coordinate activities among civilian groups and municipal agencies.

We should note that both civilian and municipal, agencies participated in this meeting. The Ofunato municipal sector did not have enough resources to care sufficiently for sufferers, and wanted to have information about volunteer groups' activities. In this sense we can see that the Ofunato Action Network was not only one of the starting points for horizontal networks of assistance groups in the civilian sector, but also of a governance system constructed among volunteer groups and municipal agencies (Ozeki 2011a; 2011b; 2013).

Ozeki Terukazu, an activist in NPO "Moyai—one of the major anti-poverty movement organizations in Tokyo and the "National Homeless Support Network"—took the initiative of organizing the network in Ofunato.

Ozeki took part in assistance activities following the Kobe Earthquake in 1995, and again after the Mid Nigata Prefecture Earthquake in 2004. These were the

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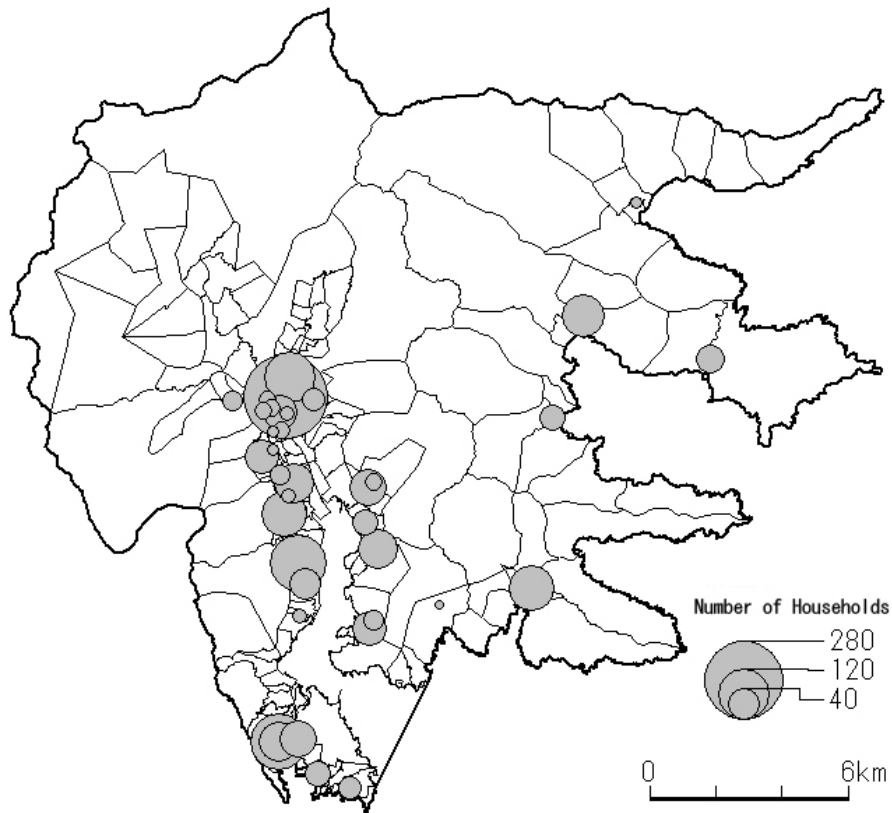
Figure 10: Map of Temporary Housing Units in Ofunato City
Note: Made by author based on material from the Ofunato municipal office.

two major earthquakes after the 1990s in Japan. Both disasters played important roles in the development of voluntary disaster relief organizations around the country, and the institutionalization of their activities in governmental policies.

Mr Ozeki had been engaged as a staff member of "Moyai" in support of activities for temporary workers who had been dismissed abruptly after the 2008 financial crisis. The Government of the Democratic Party of Japan, which came to power in 2008, recruited a chief of "Moyai," Makoto Yuasa, as Special Advisor to the Cabinet to cope with problems of poverty. He became the Head of the Cabinet Secretariat's Volunteer Coordination Office on March 16, 2011 in the immediate aftermath of the Great East Japan Earthquake.

The National Homeless Support Network was established in 2007 to support homeless people and to advise the national government on how to draft policies that will solve the problem of homelessness, and how to use the Act on Special Measures Concerning Assistance in Self-Support of Homeless.

The Chief of the national network is Kazushi Okuda, a clergyman in Kitakyushu City and the chief of the "Kitakyusyu Homeless Support Organization." As a member of the Social Security Council of the

Photo 19: Ofunato Action Network Meeting
Note: Photo by author, Nov. 4th, 2011.

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Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare he is also a key person in the development of national social inclusion policies.

On April 1st, 2011, the National Homeless Support Network formed a joint project entity with two cooperative networks—the Green Coop and the Seikatsu Club Consumers Cooperative—to assist sufferers. The project was called the Joint Assistance Project Entity of National Network, Green Coop and Seikatsu Club. Its central office was located in Sendai City and its branch office was situated in Tono City, as a base to assist those in the Iwate tsunami-stricken area. Ozeki was recruited as a key staff member to the Iwate Branch of the Joint Assistance Project Entity. He chose Ofunato as the main focus of its activities.

The Joint Assistance Project Entity was reorganized

Photo 20: Terukazu Ozeki in Tono Branch
Note: Photo by author, Nov. 5th, 2011.

and renamed the "Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation (FCCC)" on Nov. 1st, 2011.

A characteristic of assistance networks in Ofunato is that civilian groups in the anti-poverty /homeless support movements participate in disaster assistance and have taken initiatives to organize volunteer networks.

Relay Point to the Coastal Side: Tono Magokoro Net

One of the reasons Ozeki Terukazu and the Joint Assistance Project Entity placed its branch office in

Tono City was that a large volunteer coordination association had already been created there. That network—the "Tono Magokoro Net,"—was established on March 27, 2011 by representatives of local NPOs, the Municipal Council of Social Welfare, and a company collaborating with assistance groups coming from outside Iwate Prefecture.

Tono City was a useful point from which to assist the coastal side because it was located mid-way between the tsunami-stricken area and inland major cities along the Northeast expressway and Shinkansen (ballet train), the main traffic line linking Tokyo with the northeast region of Japan.

Individuals and assistance groups coming from outside the Iwate prefecture could not have matured as they did without Tono Magokoro Net, because many local volunteer centers on the coastal side had prohibited outside assistance groups in the immediate aftermath of the disaster (Tono Magokoro Net ed. 2013).

Supplementation for Outreach

The construction of temporary housing for 1801 households gave the municipal office the necessary influence needed to design a new system for mobilizing skilled persons to help sufferers. The Ofunato Municipal Council of Social Welfare employed 11 staff members and established a new support team—named "Hidamari (which means 'sunny spot' in Japanese) Supporters,""—to respond to such needs on August 1st, 2011. The number of staff members increased to 23 in November of that year.

One of the main roles of Hidamari Supporters was to provide routine care for the residents in temporary housing. They periodically visited and assessed the living conditions in temporary housing units and held and managed "salon" meetings in temporary housing units to meet with sufferers and facilitate

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Photo 21: Tono Magokoro Net in the Tono Synthesis
        Welfare Center
Note: Photo by author, Aug. 17th, 2011.

communication among sufferers.

Hidamari Supporters inherited "salon" activities from the municipal team of public health nurses, and started holding them in nine places on October 10th, 2011. The number of "salon" meetings had increased to 21 by October 2012.

"Salon" meetings were a precious opportunity to study every sufferer's mental and physical conditions in detail. It is characteristic of Ofunato that the Municipal Council of Social Welfare played such a central role in planning and practicing 'salon' meetings in coordination with other NPOs/volunteer groups.

Another important activity of the Hidamari Supporters was to maintain the list of residents in "deemed temporary housing," and to collect information about them. "Deemed temporary housing" meant rental housing which the central or municipal government subsidized as temporary housing for sufferers. Because there was no difference in outside appearance between ordinary rental housing and that deemed temporary housing, it was difficult for assistance groups to find out where the sufferers were.

Even the municipal government did not have a complete list, because the agency which managed deemed temporary housing directly was in the Iwate

prefectural office.

At first Hidamari Supporters got information about deemed temporary housing from District Welfare Commissioners. In December 2011 a lot of information became available because the Prefectural Council of Social Welfare got the list of residents of deemed temporary housing in Ofunato, and sent letters to them to permit them to give their information to the Municipal Council.

Hidamari Supporters proved to be an indispensable resource for the Ofunato municipal office when it required information about residents in deemed temporary housing.

Support from Outer City

Kitakami City, one of the major cities in the inland Iwate Prefecture, was engaged in support activities for the coastal side of tsunami-stricken municipalities. In particular, its project on "supporters for temporary housing" provided a basic framework for managing temporary housing in Ofunato city.

Kitakami City, NPO Iwate Fukko (Reconstruction) Collaboration Center and Iwate Prefecture made a plan to support municipal governments on the coastal side, and proposed its adoption in June 2011. The Collaboration Center was organized by the intermediating NPO in the Iwate Prefecture on April 28, 2011, and played a key role in coordinating the involvement of related agencies in drafting the proposal.

Ofunato City agreed to adopt the plan in the late June. The Kitakami Municipal Assembly approved the plan in July and started the project in September.

The gist of the project was that Kitakami City would employ "supporters" from the population of sufferers in Ofunato by using funds for emergent employment in Iwate Prefecture, and provide ongoing assistance to residents in temporary housing. A temporary employment company named Japan Create, was

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Photo 22: Deemed Temporary Housing 雇用促進住宅赤崎宿
舎（2012.8.22)
Note: Photo by author, Aug. 22nd, 2012.

commissioned by Kitakami City in early August to organize staff and manage support activities. Japan Create employed 80 staff members until the end of August, and activities commenced on September 1st.

The supporters' teams were placed in each temporary housing office every day, seven days a week. Their activities were divided into providing "assistance" and "linkage." "Assistance" meant helping residents and neighborhood organizations in temporary housings. "Linkage" meant linking the needs of residents with the appropriate municipal agents or other professional groups, and initiating communication among residents.

Kitakami City held a meeting in the Ofunato Municipal Office on August 24th, named as "Ofunato City Partnership Meeting for Livelihood Support." The first Chairman was NPO Iwate Fukko from the Collaboration Center, and most members represented municipal governmental or quasi-governmental agencies in Ofunato, such as Japan Create, several divisions in the municipal office related to the management of temporary housing, the Health and Aged Care Center, Hidamari Supporters and the Volunteer Center managed by the Municipal Council of Social Welfare, the police, and so on. At first NPO groups did not participate.

This was the second important network to link a broad range of agencies providing assistance with those needing temporary housing. A characteristic of this group was that the level of government

involvement was much greater than that in the other assistance network, Ofunato Action Network.

The genesis for the development of this project was the success of a community building project in Kitakami City in 2006. In that project Kitakami City reorganized local "community centers" into "civic communication centers," and commissioned neighborhood councils to employ local residents as workers and manage communication centers themselves.

The skills produced by this reformation of community governance were used to manage temporary housing after the disaster.

Another factor related to the implementation of this project was an internship program by NPO "ETIC," which commenced in 1993 and provided internship programs to develop young persons' entrepreneurial talents from before the disaster.

Three young staff members participated in Kitakami City's project as managers through ETIC's program called the 'disaster recovery leadership development project'. Such resources from outside NPO led to the stable management and continual elaboration of Kitakami City's project (Kikuchi 2011; 2012; 2013).

The establishment of a strong system for administering temporary housing forced the reshuffling of former relationships among municipal offices and civilians, as well as between local and external assistance groups. Distinctions and relationships among the activities being conducted by Kitakami City staff and existing civilian assistance groups became confused.

Ozeki Terukazu and a staff member in the Joint Assistance Project Entity participated in a "Partnership Meeting" held in the Ofunato Municipal Office on September 21, in order to share information and coordinate responsibilities between the "Partnership Meeting" and the civilian "Action Network Meeting."

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We can say that through such an interactive and dynamic process of communication, an "elliptical structure of mobilization" was created in Ofunato.

One center was the "Ofunato City Partnership Meeting for Livelihood Support" managed by Kitakami City. The aim of this network was to assist residents living in temporary housing. The major role of civilian groups in this network was to supplement activities of the supporter's team managed by Japan Create (Commissioned by Kitakami City) in terms of caring for or holding "salon" meetings with residents. The other center was the "Ofunato Action Network" managed by civilian assistance groups. This network included all types of assistance and partially played a role in supplementing governance mechanisms to intermediate civilian assistance groups and municipal agencies.

Ofunato City created such a multi-layered system to relieve the needs of sufferers, and to coordinate various types of actors engaged in assistance through multiple connections.

We can call the elliptical system of coordination the "Ofunato model" created through the experience of the Great East Japan Earthquake in Ofunato.

What issues were visualized by such a system, and how it transformed the structure of the assistance networks, became the themes of the next phase of the disaster process.

Relocation of Volunteer

The end of the emergent phase of assistance forced volunteer groups to relocate and to change what they had been doing. Some groups ceased their activities and left the disaster-stricken area. If the groups continued to act, they had to create a new field of activities to respond to the new situation.

San-San Council left Rias Hall and began preparing meals and conducting other activities at the Goishi Area Neighborhood Community Center on September 30, 2011. San-San Council moved its prefab office to Tomisawa in the center core area in Ofunato City. After its use of Goishi Area Neighborhood Community Center ended on December 30, 2011 the Council started construction on a permanent building with a kitchen and communication space, thanks to the donation of a building kit by the Malaysian Government. It was named the "San-San Kitchen House" on June 2012.

San-San Council continues to provide side dishes for sufferers in temporary housing, and to explore ways for it to become an independent NPO, which produces and delivers safe food to aged persons or to welfare facilities.

The Sanriku railway was destroyed by the tsunami
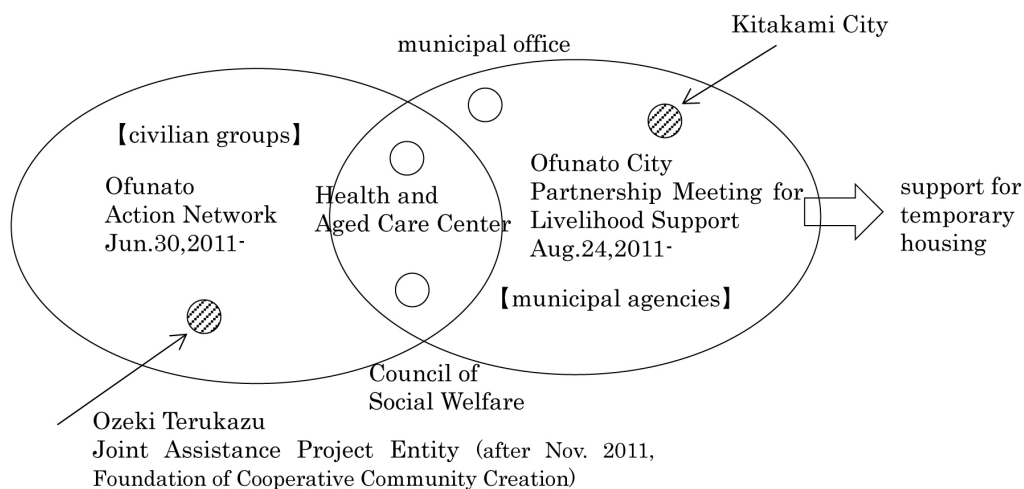
Figure 11: Elliptical Structure of Assistance Networks in Ofunat   Note: Made by Author

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on October 5, 2011. Dream Net Ofunato was commissioned to manage the "Fureai Waiting Room" at the Sakari Station. The purpose of creating this space was to provide sufferers with the opportunity to talk with other people and to get information about assistance.

Dream Net Ofunato relocated its office from Matsusaki to the Sakari District near the center core in Ofunato on December 18, 2011. The Civilian Liaison Conference for the Reconstruction of Kesen Region was completed on April 2012.

Summary

Establishing the Ofunato Action Network was a step toward the next stage in the process of building an assistance network. The coordinator of the network was a NPO, the Foundation for Cooperative Community Creation, from outside the

Iwate Prefecture It had grown up after the 2000s by providing support activities for the homeless. This was a horizontal network made up of various types of workers engaged in providing support for sufferers marginalized in the existing administrative system of assistance. We can describe this as network as an "inclusive partnership," in contrast to the "hierarchical partnership" type of network that appeared in the first

Photo 26: Kitchen of San-San Council in Goishi Area
    Neighborhood Community Center
Note: Photo by author, Nov. 4th, 2011.

Photo 24: Office of San-San Council in Tomisawa
Note: Photo by author, Mar. 23rd, 2012.

Photo 27: San-San Kitchen House under Construction
Note: Photo by author, Mar. 22nd, 2012.

Photo 25: Space of Activities by San-San Council in Goishi
    Area Neighborhood Community Center from
    September to December 2011
Note: Photo by Author, Nov. 4th, 2011.

Photo 28: Fureai Waiting Room at the Sakari Station
Note: Photo by author, Nov. 4th, 2011.

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phase.

One of the major challenges of the second phase was the construction of a support system for temporary housing. Because the inland industrial city of Iwate Prefecture, Kitakami City, agreed that the Ofunato Municipal Office should cope with this problem, the administrative sector played a central role in providing assistance for temporary housing.

As a result of these dynamic networking processes, an elliptical structure was created for mobilizing assistance in Ofunato. It was composed of the "Ofunato Action Network" and the "Ofunato City Partnership Meeting for Livelihood Support."

This situation led to pressure to rethink the specific roles of civilian groups in assistance activities, and necessitated the reorganization of relationships among municipal/civilian sectors. This became a major issue in the next phase.

PHASE THREE: DISCOVERY

OF "IN-HOME SUFFERERS" AND RECONSTRUCTION OF ASSISTANCE NETWORKS (MAY 2012-PRESENT)

Outline

People's vulnerability to disaster is dependent on whether they have the opportunity to access resources such as housing, goods, information and human relationships needed to rebuild their lives while living in a situation of forced displacement caused by disaster (Wisner et.al. 2004).

Now the legal basis of public governmental assistance is the Disaster Relief Act established in 1947. Its objectives are defined by the extent of damage inflicted on houses and described as total collapse, half collapse, partially damaged and inundated above floor level. Public agencies can give "houseless" sufferers material resources such as temporary housing and relief goods on the basis of such standards.
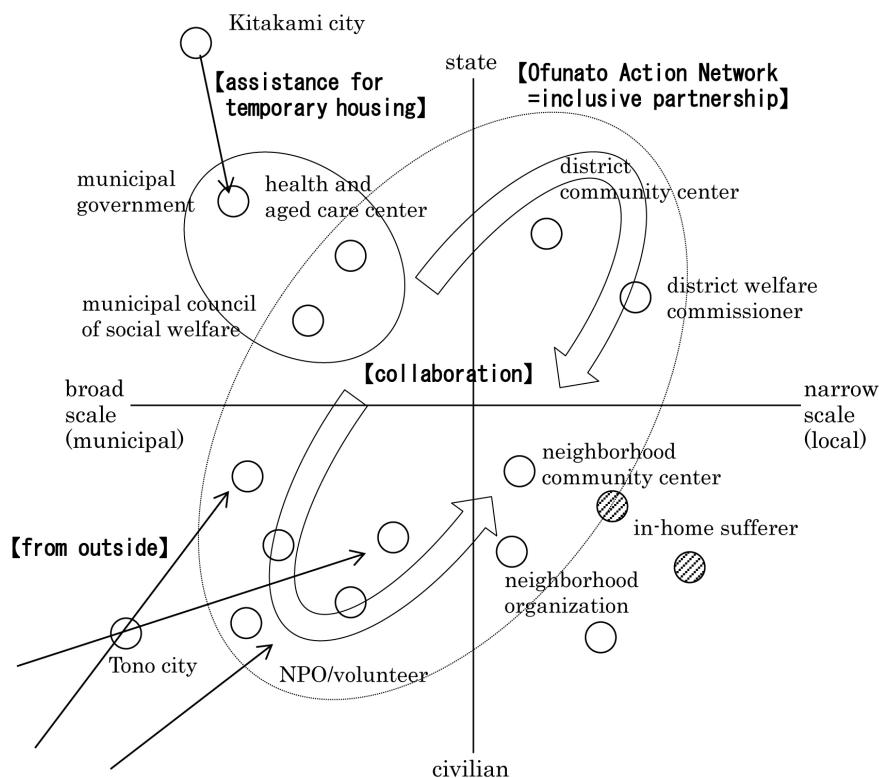
Figure 12: Relationships among Key Figures Providing Assistance in Ofunato during Phase 2   Note: Made by author

This standard can cover only a part of sufferers' loss, if we define a "sufferer" as losing the opportunity to access not only residential space but also access to resources such as goods, energy, information and human relationships indispensable to keeping themselves alive after a disaster.

Following people's removal to temporary housing, the inequalities between sufferers who were covered by public assistance and those who did not lose their houses but 'suffered' from the disaster became more and more apparent.

This "in-home sufferers" problem appeared in Ofunato after the construction of temporary housing.

Civilian assistance networks actively coped with such invisible "sufferers" and warned the governmental sector and wider society of the severity of this problem. On December, 2011 one of the central groups in the civilian assistance network,

Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation, set up an independent office in Ofunato as a point from which they could provide continued assistance to 'in-home sufferers' It was formally commissioned by the Ofunato Municipal Office in May 2012 as a support project for such types of sufferers.

We can see this process led to the discovery of the "in-home sufferers" problem, and the institutionalization of a post-disaster civilian network of assistance in Ofunato.

Discovery of the "In-Home Sufferers" Problem

The process of discovering " in-home sufferers " had two steps.

The first shock occurred during the CSR project in August 2011 which involved giving sufferers seasonings provided by the Ajinomoto Company. Originally the Ajinomoto Company asked the Ofunato Municipal Office to cooperate with this
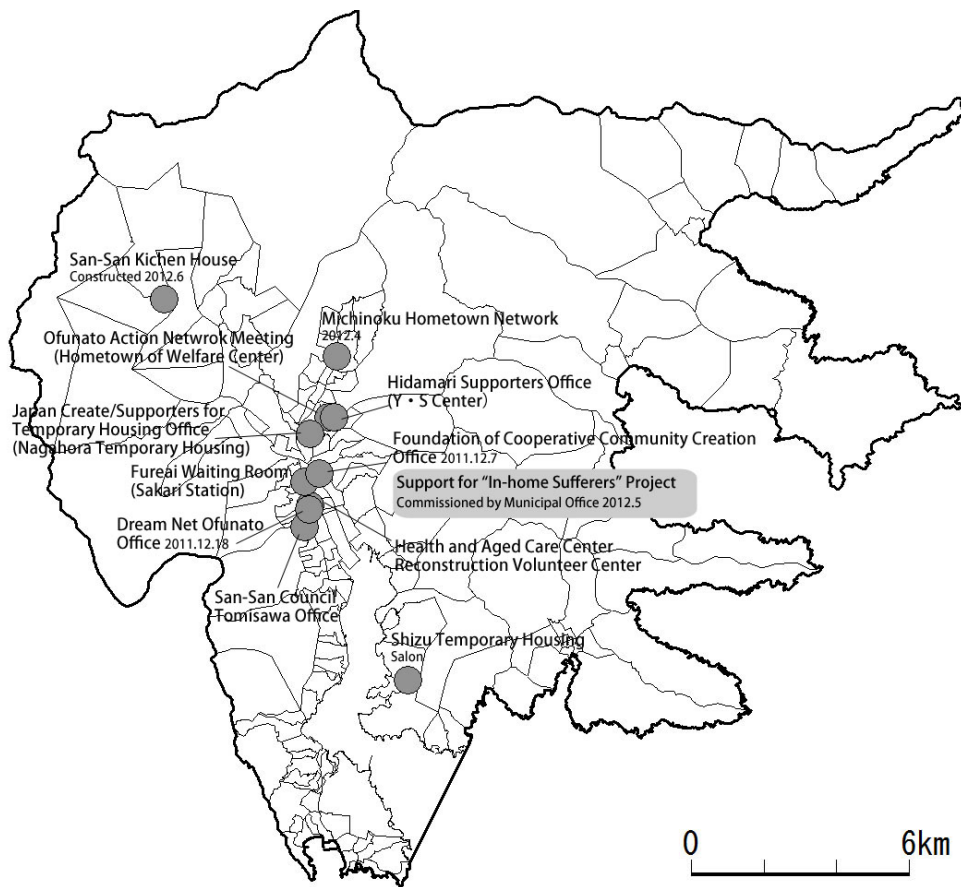
Figure 13: Map of 'Spaces of Assistance' in Phase Three (May, 2012-)   Note: Made by author.Note: Made by author.

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project. Because the municipal office refused to do that, the Ofunato Action Network allocated the seasonings instead of the municipal agents.

At first the aim of the project was to present seasonings only to residents in temporary housing. The project was extended to other types of sufferers when members of the civilian network met with sufferers outside of temporary housings while allocating space and moving around the disaster-stricken area.

On September 10th, immediately after Terukazu Ozeki, an officer of the Action Network put advertisements for this project in a local newspaper. About 80 sufferers who had vacated their own houses but had not received any public assistance called him in one day. The total number of "in-home sufferers" given seasonings by members of the network totaled about 250 in the end.

The second step was the project by the Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation (FCCC) to give blankets and clothes to sufferers to prepare for winter. The objective of this project was to help all types of sufferers beginning on November 24th. In the process of conducting the project FCCC assessed the situation of "in-home sufferers" in collaboration with broad assistance provided by members of Action Network and municipal agents. Mass media covered this problem, and then the municipal office

Photo 29: Office of Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation in Suwamae, Akasaki District
Note: Photo by author, Mar. 21st, 2012.

gradually realized the severity of the situation. The FCCC proposed a collaborative project to the municipal office to build a system to care for "in-home sufferers" and assess the total extent of the situation by networking across professional/municipal agents and civilian assistance groups on November 15th.

Until the end of March 2012, blankets and clothes were given to 350 households.

Through such processes the inequality among sufferers in temporary housing and "in-home sufferers" became recognized as one of the big issues in the disaster-stricken area.

Structure of the Problem

Why did such inequality of assistance emerge? Why did the problem not become apparent until several months after the disaster, even though situation of "in-home sufferers" was so serious? The causes are divided into two factors: making the problem itself and visualizing it.

The first factor related to the cause of the problem has three points.

To begin, the act outlining the provision of public assistance for sufferers is not adequate.

According to Disaster Relief Act, which is the legal basis for governmental sector assistance activities, the municipal office cannot assist sufferers who live in their own houses. The act presupposes that if sufferers have their own houses they can live life securely by themselves. But in the case of the Great East Japan Earthquake and the Tsunami this assumption was incorrect. Many sufferers evacuating their own houses became isolated and suffered from shortages of public assistance, goods and information.

Secondly the causes of the "in-home sufferers" problems are complex.

Table 2 illustrates the paths leading to, and the causes for, becoming "in-home sufferers," according to interviews with researchers on the situation of "in-

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home sufferers" in FCCC staffs.

Paths are of four kinds and include voluntary/involuntary living in one's own house, or evacuation to a relative's house or rebuilding one's house.

Conditions which caused "in-home sufferers" problems are classified into three categories: disaster-induced factors (lack of food, goods and information); physical factors; and social factors. The last two of these factors derived from vulnerabilities which sufferers already had before the disaster. The "in-home sufferers" problem was caused by integrating disaster-induced factors with the physical/social vulnerabilities of residents existing prior to the disaster. Besides that, the situation of sufferers changed from time to time. As time passed, if the lack of goods and information induced by the disaster vanished, they became labeled as "non-sufferers,"

though they could continue to be placed in serious situations as long as they had vulnerable factors.

To grasp the situation of "in-home sufferers," researchers must assess each situation on a case by case basis, and approach it repeatedly. This type of communication is difficult for an administrative sector to administer.

Thirdly, "in-home sufferers" were invisible and spatially dispersed around the disaster-stricken area. We could not discern them even if we could see their houses from the outside. Because of such spatial characteristics, once temporary housing had been constructed, assistance tended to be concentrated on those sufferers.

The next factor related to visualizing the problem has two points.

First, the civilian network of assistance was

factors \ paths	goods shortage	Infor-mation shortage	elderly disabilities patient house-hold	house-hold without young child-ren	no earth-quake insu-rance	Vulnera-ble road users	Looseni-ng of kinship	unemploy-ment economic poverty
evacuation to relatives' house								
voluntary living in one's own home								
involuntary living in one's own home								
reconstruction of house								
	factors directly induced by disaster	physical factors	social factors					
	【disaster】						【ordinary times】	

Table 2: Factors Which Caused the "In-home Sufferers" ProblemNote: Made by author.

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established in June 2011 after the construction of temporary housing had commenced. Network leaders had not only disaster relief skills, but were also trained to deliver welfare services as a result of their experience with homeless support activities during the 2000s. This made a flexible and comprehensive approach to the assistance project in Ofunato possible At the same time, after the Lehman Brother's shock to global markets the central political regime changed and relationships among government and NPO agencies were strengthened to make anti-poverty policies more effective. As a result, it was possible to get approval for FCCC's proposal, based on the experiences of homeless support activities.

Finally through the process of conducting assessment and assistance activities for "in-home sufferers," trust gradually grew between professionals in the municipal sector and civilian activists. Such close communications among participants coupled with the openness of the municipal sector were important conditions enabling the governance network to cope with the problem.

These factors make us think deeply about today's public system of disaster relief. The experience with the assistance network in Ofunato will be a touchstone for disaster relief activities in the age of a post-aging/shrinking local society.

Institutionalization of the Network and Assessment Results

The Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation formally commissioned the support project for "in-home sufferers" by the Ofunato Municipal Office in May 2012. FCCC employed five Ofunato residents as staff members and assessed the situation of "in-home sufferers" all through the tsunami-stricken area. They have interviewed all households whose houses remained inside the inundation area. Interim results to the end of March, 2013 are provided below.

Researchers interviewed 571 households, and 447 of them were viewed as "in-home sufferers."

Thirty-three percent of their houses were in total collapse, 26% were heavily half collapsed, 33% were half collapsed, and 8% were partially damaged.

Two hundred and eighty-seven households of "in-home sufferers" did not need assistance when approached by the researchers. Ninety-four households became no "sufferers" as a result of assistance activities provided by FCCC. FCCC continued to assist 190 households.

They had been directly damaged by various types of disaster-induced factors.

11% of the households had experienced the death of a family members or close friends.

Six percent lost their jobs, and 12% were in temporary retirement because of damage inflicted by the disaster.

Thirty-three had not finished repairing their houses, even though they needed these houses.

The next aspects to be analyzed are physical factors.

23% suffered from depression or excessive mental stress.

9% began to drink more alcohol than they had before the disaster.

Finally other social vulnerability factors were identified.
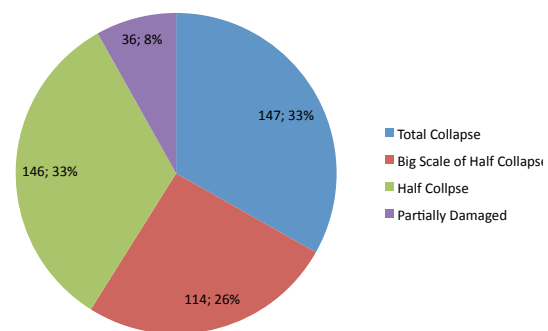
Figure 14: Types of "In-home Sufferers" in Terms of Disaster Victim Certification
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation, Mar. 31st, 2012.

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11% lived alone, 34% lived with one other person, 25% lived with two other people, 11% lived with three other people, 8% lived with four other people, and 11% reported more than six people living together.

9% were elderly and living alone, 16% were two elderly people and 2% were three elderly people.

76% had no child under school age.

16% had no close friends nearby.

11% had no friends who could visit them.

The first task which should be given priority in 2013 is to conduct research on the households in the tsunami-stricken area which have not yet been interviewed. We also need to focus on residents who returned to reconstructed houses from temporary housings.
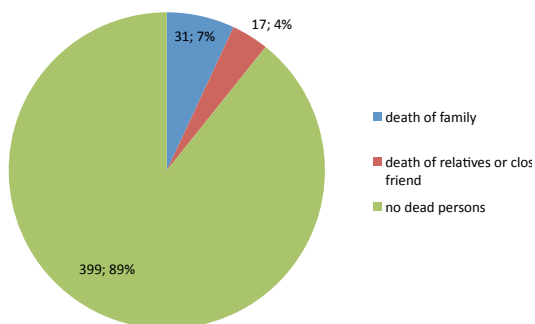
Figure 15: Were any of Your Close Acquaintances Killed?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.
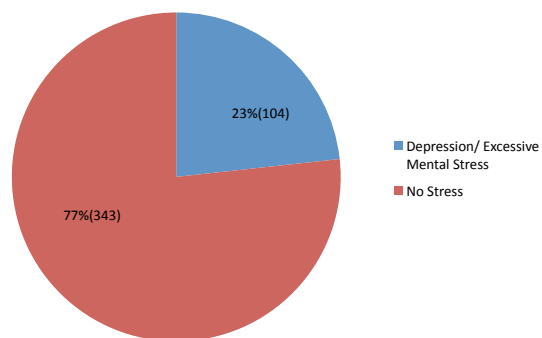
Figure 18: Do You Have Mental Stress?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.
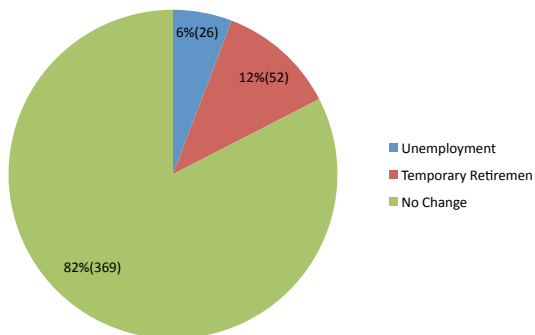
Figure 16: Is there any Change in Your Work Environment?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community
Creation, Mar. 31st, 2012.
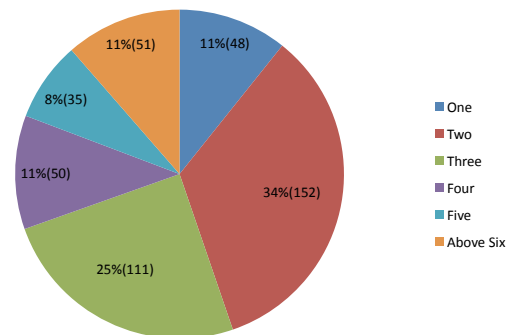
Figure 19: Household Size
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.
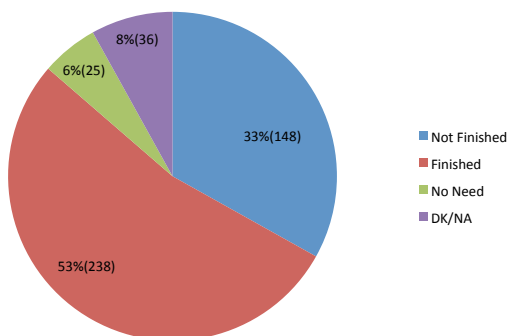
Figure 17: Have You Repaired the Damage to Your House
Caused by the Disaster?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.
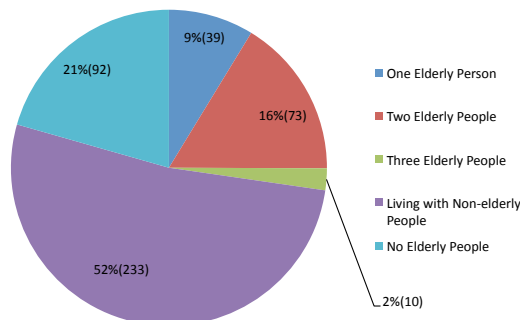
Figure 20: Are There Elderly People in the Household?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.

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Figure 21: Do You Have Child in the Household?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.
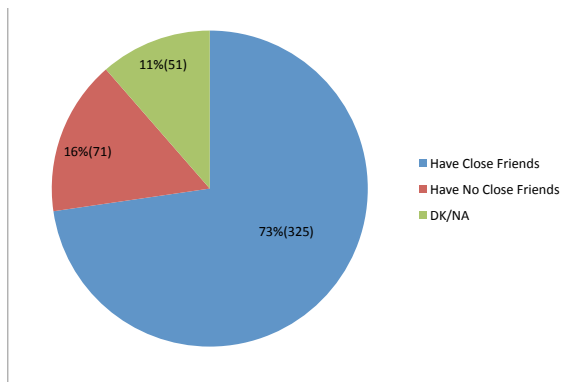
Figure 22: Do You Have Close Friends in the Nearby Area?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.
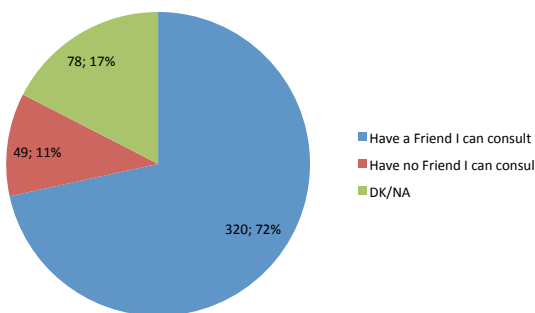
Figure 23: Do You Have Friend You Can Consult?
Source: Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation,
Mar. 31st, 2012.

The second, more important task is to develop a close network among local agencies engaged in providing support activities and creating a model for continuous assistance on the basis of the experience in Ofunato.

Such tasks will be issues in the next phase.

Summary

An "inclusive partnership" type of assistance network functioned effectively to discover "in-home sufferers" marginalized in an administrative system that provided assistance by focusing on temporary housing, and assessed the complexly intertwined conditions which resulted in such problems.

The causes of the problem were related directly to the disaster-induced conditions and physical/social vulnerabilities, which were exacerbated by the social restructuring of a shrinking/aging population beginning prior to the 2011 disaster.

The experience of collaboration while coping with such problem strengthened trust among key participants engaged in assistance, and prompted the municipal office to decide to commission an NPO to support the project for "in-home sufferers."

We can see that the process led to the "institutionalization of assistance network" which appeared after the 2011 disaster.

Ofunato's challenge to networking has the possibility of making a model support system not only for sufferers in an urgent disaster situation, but also for various types of collective risk in post-neo-liberal environment with a shrinking/aging local society This will be a point of study in a further phase of reconstruction.

CONCLUSION AND AGENDAS FOR THE FUTURE

Conclusion: Answers to the Paper's Questions

In this section I summarize my conclusions and present agendas for further research.

The early stage of the disaster process in Ofunato City is divided into three phases: the first is March to June 2011; the second is June 2011 to May 2012; the

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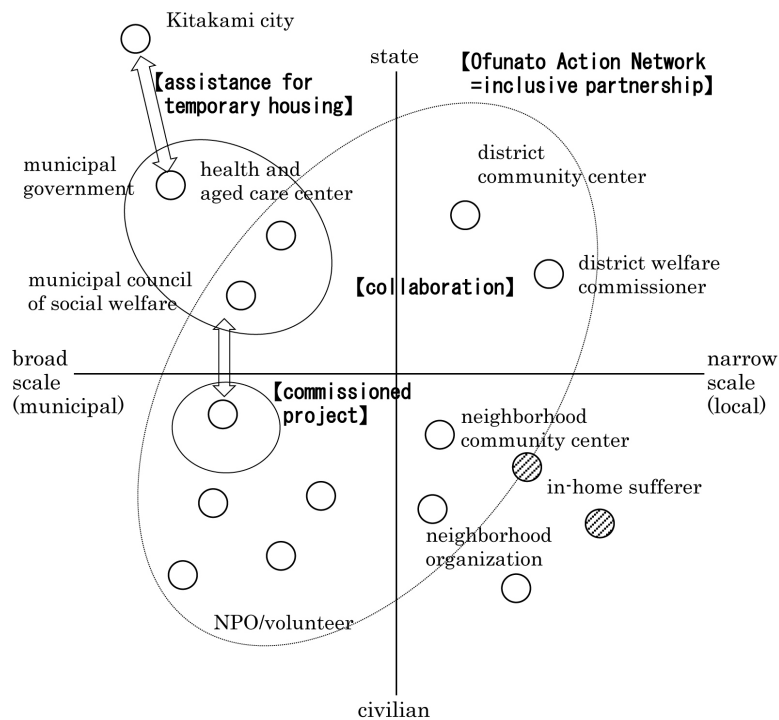
third is after May 2012.

Major factors which changed the first phase into the second were the construction of temporary housing and emergence of the "Ofunato Action Network" which functioned as a central network to bring civilian assistance groups and municipal agents together. Institutionalization of the network was the next factor, and the one which changed the second phase into the third factor. Significantly, an NPO, Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation—which plays a key role in managing civilian networks—was commissioned by a municipal agency to lead a support project for "in-home sufferers" —one of the important tasks for government that appeared during the disaster.

Secondly, these assistance networks were composed of municipal/semi-municipal agents (the health and aged care center, the council of social welfare, the district welfare commissioner, the district community center and an external municipality, Kitakami City), NPO/NGOs from the local and external society, and grass-roots community organizations (the neighborhood community center). Two different types of networks were important: "Ofunato City Partnership Meeting for Livelihood Support," which was formed to support temporary housing with the assistance of Kitakami City and the civilian "Ofunato Action Network."

The elliptical structure integrating such different types of networks is a characteristic of the assistance systems in Ofunato. We can call it the "Ofunato model" for mobilizing asistance activities. Especially, it is a noteworthy to point out that in the case of the Great East Japan Earthquake and the Tsunami that anti-poverty social movement organizations and welfare agencies took the initiative of constructing networks.

Finally, important information provided by such complex networks led to the recognition of the "in-home sufferers" problem, which occurred after building temporary housing. The existing act presupposed that moving evacuees into shelters and temporary housing were the major objectives of public assistance. Displacement studies have usually focused on the process of collective relocation from former communities, through shelters to new sites of

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residence.

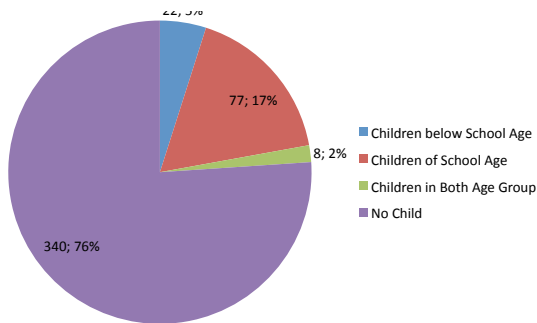Having dispersed invisible "evacuees in their homes" for extended periods was an unexpected outcome by the conventional assistance system of public agencies.

Agendas for Further Research and Analysis

・What Is the "In-home Sufferers" Problem?

From the view of displacement analysis I will focus on three points as an agenda for further research and analysis.

The first point is to think about the "in-home sufferers" problem from the view of socially created displacement in the context of a shrinking/aging population promoted by neoliberal policies.

The Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation is continuing further research on the "in-home sufferers" in Ofunato. Conducting a detailed analysis of the data collected from such research will be the next task.

We can see in a sense that the "in-home sufferers" problem developed from the "isolated death" problem focused on in the case of the Kobe Earthquake in 1995, because the root causes of both problems have common elements—"social isolation" or "being displaced" from ordinary community relationships.

However, in some regards the "in-home sufferers" problem seems to be more serious.

In the "isolated death" problem following the Kobe Earthquake, the places where problems became apparent tended to be restricted in temporary housing or disaster recovery public housing. How to supplement a deficiency in the emergent welfare system by mobilizing volunteers was a major issue of discussion by disaster study researchers. There was an implicit assumption that families and communities outside of temporary housing or disaster recovery public housing still had enough capacity to offer support to sufferers.

But in case of the Great East Japan Earthquake

such assumptions were not self-evident. "In-home sufferers" were spatially dispersed, the problems induced by the disaster were complexly intertwined with accumulated vulnerabilities that existed before the disaster. Boundaries between the space allocated as a result of the disaster and ordinary living space became more blurred.

It is necessary not only to supplement, but also to "reconstruct" the emergent welfare system itself, because the strength of the administrative welfare system has been weakened by neoliberal-oriented merger policies and municipal reforms of the previous twenty years.

To cope with these problems it is not enough to focus on the functions of volunteers in times of emergency. It is necessary to mobilize many kinds of social skills to cover a wide range of social needs including a continuing support system from just after the disaster until the reconstruction of life for each sufferer has been completed. The framework of research must cover not only volunteer activities but also the total system of community governance.

The trial use of the assistance network in Ofunato is a touchstone for rebuilding a support system for residents in the age of a shrinking/aging society following neoliberal restructuring of local municipalities.

Therefore, the existence of "in-home sufferers" is not necessarily unique to Ofunato. For example the same type of problem was reported in Ishinomaki and Kesennuma in Miyagi Prefecture. In this sense the "in-home sufferers" problem is symbolic of the problems that appeared with the Great East Japan Earthquake.

・Meaning of Networks and Re-invention of Communality

The second point is thinking about the meaning of assistance networks from the view of re-invention and re-definition of communality.

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Oliver-Smith wrote that according to Lifton's psychological studies, becoming uprooted from family and community has become a normal condition of life in modern times (Lifton 1970; Oliver-Smith 2005). In such conditions we always need a radical re-invention of the self and community as a principal form of social living. In this sense we can say that the "re-invention" of communality is needed in disaster-stricken areas to overcome the effects of displacement and to reconstruct the community.

Tomoshi Okuda, one of the proponents of a "personal support system" in welfare services, spoke of the necessity of "the fourth communality." In present times people tend to be directly exposed to risk because three types of communality have emerged in post-war Japan: family, the local community and company, have been shrinking drastically. We need to create a "fourth" type of communality among individuals to help them cope with aspects of communality that the former three types cannot cover (Okuda et.al. 2013; Yamazaki et.al. 2006).

We can see that displacement made these problems of communality more visual in a disaster situation. One of the important missions in assistance networks is to create some paths to access resources indispensable to rebuilding the base of life, and to present models of communality needed in our times.

Following up on the movement to organize networks from such viewpoints is one of the issues that needs to be addressed in further research.

・Future of Community: Dissolution, Reconstruction or Creation?
The last point addresses the future of community.

Some communities had already been dissolved in the heavily damaged tsunami-stricken area, because residents had been prohibited from returning to former housing in the inundation area. They were placed in the most difficult circumstances for reconstructing a community. There is high probability that there will be a "community dissolution scenario" in such cases.

If members of a community were able to find and get new land they could collectively relocate to a new housing site. Even in this case it would be difficult for all members of the community to remain until the relocation had been finished. In other words relocation does not mean "re-appearance" of the past community, but rather the "re-creation" of community which has built in a new environment with new rules on ways of collective living.

The process of relocation is an experiment to rebuild communality in the present society. This is another important follow-up point for further research.

Appendix
Chronicle of Assistance Activities in Ofunato City

Notes

1　The members, in alphabetical order, are: Yutaka Iwadate, Masao Maruyama, Takefumi Ueda, and Tadahito Yamamoto.
2　In development studies, Scudder's four stages model is famous, stage 1:planning for resettlement, stage 2: coping with the initial drop in living standards that tends to follow removal, stage 3: initiating economic development and community-formation activities necessary for improving the living standards of first-generation resettlers, stage 4: handing over a sustainable resettlement process to the second generation of resettlers and to nonproject authority institution. It is difficult for this model to be applied directly to the displacement/forced migration process induced by disaster. At the same time of referring such recent discussion in displacement/forced migration studies, we also need to survey on long discussion on "disaster process model" in disaster studies.

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Chronicle of Assistance Activities in Ofunato City, Iwate Prefecture

岩手県大船渡市における被災者支援活動年表

Tadahito YAMAMOTO

Explanatory Remarks

・This chronicle was made on the basis of interviews with key persons and published data on assistance activities in Ofunato City. It covers the early stage of the disaster from March 11, 2011, the day of the disaster, to June 2012 (text in Japanese).

・The chronicle shows thirteen major participants in the assistance activities in Ofunato. These participants form five different types of groups.

・The first group (Column 1-4) is the community center. This is the most basic community organization in Ofunato local society.

・The second group (Column 6-9) comprises NPO/NGOs. Dream Net Ofunato (Column 6) and San-San Council (Column 7) began in Ofunato, and Moyai/Michinoku Hometown Network (Column 8) and Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation (Column 9) are organizations from other parts of Japan that have set up in Ofunato.

・The third one (Column 5, 10-11) consists of semi-municipal agencies that assist in municipal policies. These are the district welfare commissioner (Column 5) and two agencies derived from the council of social welfare (Column 10-11).

・The fourth one (Column 12) is the outer municipality, Kitakami City, which supports the management of temporary housing in Ofunato City. A temporary employment agency, "Japan Create," has been commissioned for the management of the staff at the temporary housing office.

・The fifth one (Column 13) comprises a municipal organization and a health and aged care center.

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岩手県大船渡市における被災者支援活動年表
Chronicle of Assistance Activities in Ofunato City, Iwate Prefecture

年	月	日	1越喜来地区南区公民館 Okirai District, South Area Neighborhood Community Center	2吉浜地区公民館 Yoshihama District Community Center	3末崎地区公民館 Matsusaki District Community Center	4赤崎地区公民館 Akasaki District Community Center	5蛸ノ浦地区民生委員・オープンハート(石橋祥子) Takonoura District Welfare Commissioner/ Open Heart (Sachiko Ishibashi)	6夢ネット大船渡 Dream Net Ofunato	7さんさんの会 San-San Council	8みちのくふる里ネットワーク・もやい(大関輝一) Michinoku Hometown Network/ Moyai (Terukazu Ozeki)	9共生地域創造財団 Foundation of Cooperative Community Creation	10市社協ボランティアセンター Municipal Council of Social Welfare,Volunteer Center	11市社協生活支援相談員 Municipal Council of Social Welfare, Livelihood Support Councelor	12北上市協働チーム・ジャパンクリエイト Kitakami City Collaborating Team/ Japan Create	13市保健介護センター Ofunato City, Health and Aged Care Center
2011	3	11	・南区公民館（南区会館）を開放。・越喜来小学校から先生・生徒約80人が南区公民館に避難。・大船渡市三陸支所が流される、花菱縫製工場跡地に地区対策本部を設置。・夜、避難者は約120～130名、停電、2～3日は近隣からの食料・物資提供を受ける。・従来からの分担に基づき南区公民館に区長をトップにした災害対応の組織ができる。	・4軒の民家が流される。・吉浜地区拠点センターに65人、千歳公民館に16人、根白公民館に25人の住民が避難。・食べ物は避難者が自宅から持ち寄って食べる。・吉浜川の川口橋が流され、増舘の集落が孤立。	・18公民館のうち7公民館が津波で流失、1公民館が半壊で使用不能。・被災住民は町内の小中学校、公民館、寺院・神社社務所など11避難所で生活。・地域公民館ごとに組織された自主防災組織が活動。・末崎地区公民館に市の救援本部を設置。・地区公民館長は市の救援本部員に入らず避難者の要望の把握、救援本部との連絡に当たる。・碁石・神坂地区が孤立。	・漁村センター（赤崎地区公民館）に対策本部設立、公民館単位の自主防災組織が構成員。・対策本部のトップは自主防災組織連合会の隊長、市役所は事務局的に動く。・避難者名簿づくり、記載人数336人、保育園児と小学生が多かった。・備蓄は米10キロ、水200本、毛布200、センターの厨房で炊飯。・宿の住民は八坂神社社務所、山口は高台の民家に避難。・宿・山口・大洞公民館は流失。・赤崎中学校は山口地域の民家7～8軒に避難。	・大船渡町に外出中震災が発生。・リアスホールに避難。・蛸ノ浦の住民は厚生施設に避難。・清水は公民館が流されたので民家に分散して避難。・蛸ノ浦、清水、長崎、合足の契約会会長が集まり厚生施設に対策本部を作る。	・大船渡町地ノ森の理事長自宅の20メートル手前で津波が止まる。		・東京のNPO・もやいで生活電話相談中に地震が発生。・夜津波の映像を見て支援に行くことを考える。		・夜、市役所と連絡を取り、翌日から大船渡市災害ボランティアセンターの受付開始を決める。			・保健介護センター裏まで津波が来たのでリアスホールに避難。・津波から数時間後市役所に行く、生活福祉部に班を編成して救護活動を開始する。・栄養士は保健活動班に入らず、炊き出しを担当（約3週間続く）
2011	3	12	・保護者が越喜来小学校生徒を全員引き取る。・先生方は車が流されたため残る。	・吉浜地区拠点センターに吉浜地区対策本部を設置。・市役所の出張所長が本部長、地区公民館長が本部長補佐、9部落の自治会長が本部員となる。・灯油、食料、飲料水の確保、ミルク・おむつを市の本部に要求、所在不明者の情報収集、消防・警察・自衛隊による行方不明者の捜索。		・備蓄した食料は当日でなくなる。・3月12日は周辺の民家にお願いしてパンや米を集めて食べた。			・盛駅前のイタリア料理店・ポルコロッソの主人がおにぎり50個つくったところから活動が始まる。・3.11三陸気仙復興委員会設立。			・市役所の玄関前にボランティアセンターを設置。・避難者の名簿確認など市役所に相談に来た市民の案内。			・市医療班・保健活動班による避難所巡回開始、確認できた避難所についてはほぼ回ることができた。・夜中にミーティングを開催、状況を共有する。・統括1人、現場を回る保健師・看護師14人、臨時職員も協力してもらい20人ぐらいの体制。・岩手県立大船渡病院の医師が来庁、保健師が中心となり支援チームを運営するように助言。

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2011	3	13	・先生方が全員ヒッチハイク等で自宅に帰る。	・市は拠点センターに物資を配給、拠点センターから9集落に物資を配達。 ・最初に届いたのはジュース、水、おかしなど、避難民が食べるだけの量はなかった。 ・精米機、給水タンクを確保、臨時電話が大船渡消防署に設置、吉浜地区水道が使用可能になる、小中学校は休校。	・大きい避難所では2～3日で市の救援物資が届く。 ・その間プロパンガス、薪、釜で炊き出し、自宅の米を持ち寄って分ける。 ・神坂地区では被災を免れた家から食料を持ち寄り。 ・市の救援物資を地区公民館から1各避難所に運ぶ。								・物資が入り始める。 ・3月中は物資の仕分け、運搬、避難所の運営支援などが主な活動内容。 ・3月中のボランティアは1日20～30人、その7割ぐらいは高校生。			
2011	3	14	・市の招集による地区長会議で現状報告と要望を行う。毎日各地区公民館長が集まり要望を伝える。 ・物資は花菱の対策本部に来る。	・千歳・根白の水洗トイレ処理場が損傷して使用不能。	・道路の復旧まで3日間ぐらいかかる。 ・その間、末崎小・中学校の生徒が学校に宿泊。	・米軍ヘリコプターが水、食料を運んでくる。 ・まだ道路は冠水して不通。			・3日目頃に自衛隊が入る。 ・野菜が3～4日目から入り始める。 ・ガスコンロなど調理器具が不足。 ・市の配給は白飯が中心、栄養に偏りが出る。		・グリーンコープが物資を出荷。				・相模原市、能代市から最初の保健支援チームが派遣、市の保健師と避難所を巡回。
2011	3	14ごろ	・2～3日後自衛隊が到着、食料配給はパンとお米が中心。												
2011	3	15	・テント設営、古いストーブで暖をとる。 ・国際援助隊来訪。 ・市本部より毛布20枚支給あり。			・道路が開通。 ・その後は市役所の支援が始まる。 ・ボランティアがつくったおにぎりが入り始める。 ・市役所から届いた物資を漁村センターから赤崎の9地区に配布する。	・道路が開通し、蛸ノ浦に帰る。 ・石橋さんも民生委員という立場で対策本部に入る。 ・避難所に別室を設けて高齢者や体の弱い人たちの世話を担当。 ・3～6月、視覚障害者支援団体・オープンハートのメンバーとして視覚障害者の安否確認。		・炊き出し場所をリアスホールに移動。 ・そこから市内の全避難所に調理されたおかずを配給。 ・地元の調理人が集まり調理を担当。		・薗島一匡（現在の事務局長）が被災地に入る。			・佐久市、武蔵野赤十字病院から最初の医療支援チームが入る。 ・医師に保健師がついて避難所を案内、体調の悪い人を診療してもらう。
2011	3	17	・五右衛門風呂で入浴する。						・菊池真吾さんが活動に参加（現在代表）。						

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2011	3	18	・地元業者によりガス供給開始。・入浴施設が受け入れ開始。								・ホームレス支援全国ネットワークのスタッフが被災地に入り。				
2011	3	18ごろ		・1週間後頃から自衛隊が物資を配り始める。											
2011	3	19	・NPOがお米などの援助物資持参、感謝する。						・1日の炊き出し数2250食を超える。			・秋田と愛知県の社会福祉協議会がボランティアセンターの支援に入る。・伊藤勉さんはチーフコーディネーターとして活動の後方支援を担当。			・3月19日から全戸訪問を開始。
2011	3	22										・グリーンコープから2トントラック2台提供。			
2011	3	23	・本部から燃料支給開始。												
2011	3	23ごろ		・停電が11～12日間続く、電気の復旧後避難者が拠点センターから自宅に帰り始める。											
2011	3	25ごろ	・連日のように支援物資を届ける人たちが来訪するようになる。	・10日～2週間で拠点センターから避難者が帰る。						・2週間後に現地に入った。・最初は仙台のホームレス支援団体・ワンファミリー仙台の炊き出しを手伝う。・仙台から岩手に入る際遠野までごころネットにコンタクト。・現場を大船渡、拠点を遠野に置く。・大船渡中学校の避難所にスタッフを常駐させる。					
2011	3	31										・奥田知志代表被災地入り。			
2011	3		・行方不明者の探索に協力。							・被災地支援の団体としてみちのくふる里ネットワークを設立。					

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2011	4	1	・自衛隊による援助物資の運搬。	・4月1～2日、地区住民による沖田・川原耕地の瓦礫収集作業。							・仙台郡山拠点（現財団本部）を設立。・任意団体として「全国ネット・グリーンコープ・生活クラブ被災者支援共同事業体」設立。				
2011	4	3	・栄養士が避難所を巡回し炊き出し状況等確認。												・栄養士が避難所を巡回し炊き出し状況等確認。
2011	4	5	・菊の花が支援として届き地域的に配布してお墓に備える。		・被災開業医に依頼、公民館に診療所・薬局を開設。		・オープンハートが気仙市民復興連絡会の会議に参加。	・市内の中間支援NPO団体・夢ネット大船渡が気仙地域の市民団体に声をかけて気仙市民復興連絡会を設立。・大船渡市Y・Sセンターに仮事務所。・愛知ネットの協力。・ボランティアセンターを通して救援物資の運搬、炊き出しなどを行う。			・支援方針検討会議を開催。	・ボランティアセンターを総合福祉センター駐車場に移動。・ボランティアの数が増えてくる。			
2011	4	7						・陸前高田市ボランティアセンターの要請で米崎小学校の備品運搬、旧米崎保育園へ支援物資運搬。							
2011	4	10						・神奈川災害ボランティアネットワークと気仙市民復興連絡会と一緒にがれきの中から思い出の写真等を探し、写真の洗浄作業を開始。							

注：3行目（2011/4/3）の記載は13市保健介護センター欄のみ。

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2011	4	11	・電気が避難所まで復旧。					・『復興ニュース』を創刊。・中央共同募金会から助成を受ける。・広田町慈恩寺で炊き出し、その後1か月15か所避難所で炊き出し。							・県栄養士会等の支援を受け、栄養士が市内全避難所の栄養状況調査開始（-6/18まで、4回実施）。
2011	4	11 ごろ	・1か月後頃から物資が順調に来るようになる。・この頃から色々なボランティアが来る、一番多かったのは炊き出し支援のさんさんの会。	・1か月後頃に橋本から増舘に通じる臨時道路ができる。											
2011	4	18							・大船渡市ボランティアセンターで炊き出しを行う。						
2011	4	20	・ミサンガづくりを始める。												・4月20日に最初の仮設住宅ができる、4月下旬から仮設住宅の健康状態調査をはじめる。・全国から派遣された保健師の支援を受ける。
2011	4	21						・大船渡市長へ気仙市民復興連絡会の結成と当面の事業を報告。							
2011	4	25	・地区本部が花菱縫製工場跡地から三陸保健福祉センターへ移る。								・岩手展開に向け遠野まごころネットと連携の打ち合わせ。				
2011	4	28	・義援金を支給。											・いわて連携復興センター設立	
2011	4										・岩手県山田町から陸前高田市にかけて物資を配達。	・4月から連合が継続的にボランティアを派遣。			
2011	5	1							・本町公民館、前田公民館をボランティア宿舎として利用させてもらう。			・県外ボランティアの受け入れを始める。			

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2011	5	3									・スタッフの岩手視察（遠野・大船渡・陸前高田・釜石）。	・5月3～5日、1000人のボランティアが来る。・5月中のボランティアは4000人。			
2011	5	4	・相模原市より心のケアチームの来訪。						・facebookによる食材募集の情報発信を開始。・全国から食材が寄せられる。						
2011	5	5										・第1回代表者会議を開催。			
2011	5	6						・大船渡中学校避難所で写真展示し持ち主へ返す事業開始。							
2011	5	8										・生活クラブスタッフ現地視察			
2011	5	11	・夏用布団セット10組届く。												
2011	5	11ごろ			・2か月間は水が出なかった。・自衛隊と和歌山県の給水車が来る。										
2011	5	13							・愛知ネットの支援で事務所を末崎町石浜34-1に移転。						
2011	5	18										・ボランティアセンターのブログ開設			
2011	5	30	・津波の避難訓練を協議。				・寝たきりの父を避難所に連れてきていいか相談を受ける。・市内の介護施設で、5月30日までショートステイさせてもらう。・仮設住宅ができた後、蛸の浦地区の仮設住宅に移る。								

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2011	5									・ホームレス支援全国ネットワーク等共同事業体のスタッフになる。	・大関輝一さん、竹内隼人さん、スタッフに採用される。	『おりゃした』創刊号発行、全避難所に配布。・初期は民生委員の協力でニーズを把握。・電気が復活してから『おりゃした』を制作・発行、最も主要なニーズ把握の手段はロコミ。			
2011	6	3													・医療生協の医療チームが5月末で撤退、これをきっかけに市の保健チームが主催するサロン活動を開始。
2011	6	4									・ホームレス支援全国ネットワーク総会で協働事業の実施を確認。				
2011	6	7	・仮設住宅の説明会。								・第2回代表者会議。				
2011	6	9		・第1回吉浜地区復興懇談会。											
2011	6	10					・蛸ノ浦小学校の校庭に仮設住宅を建設。・地区内の避難者が仮設住宅に一斉に移動。・社協の陽だまりサポーターと民生委員で相談しながら地域を回る。		・全国ふるさと大使連絡会から義援金。						
2011	6	12	・南区公民館の避難所解散式。・避難者は杉下仮設住宅に移転、仮設住宅でも行政区ごとに棟を分ける。												
2011	6	15										・グリーンコープ総会で活動報告。			
2011	6	15ごろ								・6月中旬頃、仮設住宅の支援団体に連絡調整会議の開催を呼びかける。					

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2011	6	19		・吉浜災害対策本部地域代表者会議、救援物資の配布打切りを確認。・対策本部解散。											
2011	6	21					・後ノ入仮設住宅に入居開始。・後ノ入仮設住宅は行政的には後ノ入公民館の傘下に入る。・住民に共通する問題があるので後ノ入公民館の行政区のなかに仮設住宅の自治会をつくる。・生形公民館は活動停止。・復興の情報は公民館単位で流す。								
2011	6	30								・第1回大船渡アクションネットワーク会議を開催。・地元の市民団体、県外支援団体、行政などが参加する。	・大船渡アクションネットワーク会議開始。	・大船渡市社会福祉協議会として大船渡アクションネットワークに参加。			
2011	6								・認定NPO法人ブリッジエーシアジャパンと共同で配食を継続。					・北上市、沿岸被災自治体に仮設住宅支援のスキームを提案・6月後半、仮設住宅支援について北上・大船渡市の打ち合わせ	
2011	6ごろ						・視覚障害者支援団体・オープンハートを母体に移動支援団体・チームアイを設立、物資の配布活動を行う。								
2011	7	1									・古川加美拠点の運用開始。				・外部からの医療チームが完全に撤退。

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2011	7	6						・地域支援センター星雲でパソコン教室を再開。							
2011	7	7													・アクションネットワーク会議に参加。
2011	7	10ごろ			・7月上旬、地区公民館に設置された市の末崎地区救援本部を閉鎖。										
2011	7	11			・町内5か所に仮設住宅313戸完成、避難所すべて閉鎖。				・東芝株式会社からパソコン90台の寄贈受ける。	・行政による弁当の配給が始まる。・7月11日以降、メインの配給場所を避難所から仮設住宅に移す。					
2011	7	13										・第3回代表者会議。・大船渡アクション会議、週1回の定例化。			
2011	7	17		・拠点センターに宿泊していたボランティア（能代市など）との交流会											
2011	7	20							・セーコーエプソン株式会社からプロジェクター・スクリーン3組寄贈。						
2011	7	24	・自衛隊が業務を終了。				・山口仮設住宅に入居完了。・山口仮設には自治会なし、地域の公民館長が対応。								
2011	7	30					・漁村センターの避難所解散。								
2011	7												・仮設住宅ができ始めた6～7月頃から10月頃まで、被災した住宅の片づけ・泥だし、側溝の泥だし、仮設住宅への引っ越し支援が主な活動。	・北上市議会、大船渡市の仮設住宅支援事業の実施を決定	

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2011	8	1						・ジャパンプラットフォームの助成で3人スタッフ採用。・大船渡市・住田町・陸前高田市の仮設住宅全戸パトロールを開始。・民芸品を作る活動を支援。					・市社会福祉協議会の生活支援相談員を設立、市内福祉施設から3名、市社協ヘルパーから8名のスタッフを採用。・主に仮設住宅から全戸訪問活動を開始。		
2011	8	5						・夢ネット大船渡が被災者支援の情報紙『みらい』を発行。・ジャパンプラットフォーム助成。							
2011	8	6									・生活クラブ生協が加美倉庫に物資納品。				
2011	8	9						・稲盛財団の助成により永沢仮設住宅の見守りとお茶会開始。							
2011	8	10			・仮設診療所、完成移転。			・東京調布ライオンズクラブから中古自転車の寄贈を受ける、6回に渡り155台の支援を受け被災者へ引き渡す。							
2011	8	16						・三陸海の盆送り火を末崎町門の浜海岸で開催。							
2011	8	18											・第7回アクションネットワーク会議に参加。		
2011	8	23									・第4回代表者会議。				
2011	8	24												・大船渡市生活支援連携ミーティング第1回、大船渡市の関係機関、いわて連携復興センター、ジャパンクリエイトなどが参加	

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2011	8	26											・雇用促進宿舎や県公舎などのみなし仮設住宅の戸別訪問開始。		
2011	8	29													・栄養士による応急仮設住宅等栄養・食生活改善支援基礎調査開始(−11/16)
2011	8	30									・スタッフが大槌視察。・岩手の活動についてミーティングを開催。				
2011	8	31		・第2回吉浜地区復興懇談会。					・代表を変更。						
2011	8										・岩手県被災地域仮設団体環境アセス調査協力(県復興局事業)。・味の素株式会社の調味料セットを配布(仮設住宅全戸、民間借り上げ・在宅被災世帯250世帯)。	・味の素調味料セットの配布に協力。	・学生ボランティア・NPO主催のサロンに参加。	・8月お盆前、人材派遣会社ジャパンクリエイトが仮設支援員の事業を受託する。・8月お盆明けから人材募集の開始、地元被災者から80名の支援員を採用する。	・8月末頃から市社会福祉協議会の生活支援相談員が仮設住宅の訪問を始める、保健師の訪問やサロン活動に協力してもらう。
2011	9	1							・岩手県立福祉の里センターをボランティアの宿舎として利用させてもらう。					・仮設住宅支援事業開始、岩手県緊急雇用事業費を活用。・ボランティア団体や仮設住宅の自治会との調整が課題になる。	
2011	9	8											・市内地区民生委員・児童委員の定例会に参加。		
2011	9	12								・大船渡市災害復興ボランティアセンターに名称変更。					

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2011	9	13											・上智大学、高木教授による「グリーフケア研修」受講（社会福祉協議会事務所）・医療・保健活動関係者によるミーティング参加。		
2011	9	14													・市社会福祉協議会の生活支援相談員主任が大船渡市医療・保健・福祉ミーティングに参加。
2011	9	20								・みちのくふる里ネットワークのNPO法人化。（同HP）					
2011	9	21									・大船渡市・生活支援連携ミーティングに大関輝一さん、竹内隼人さんが参加。			・9月21日第3回大船渡市・生活支援連携ミーティングに大関さん参加。	
2011	9	30							・リアスホールを出る。・碁石地区コミュニティセンターに拠点を移動。						
2011	9										・生活支援連携ミーティングに参加。		・9月、生活支援連携ミーティングに参加、仮設支援員と連携。・仮設支援員と仮設住宅で開催されるサロンのスケジュールを調整。・仮設支援員と名前が似ているので社協の生活支援相談員に「陽だまりサポーター」の愛称を付ける。・市の保健チームによるサロン参加。	・9月頃、ETIC.がいわてNPO-NETサポートが調整する大船渡市の仮設支援事業にインターンを派遣（右腕派遣）。	・仮設支援を主なテーマとする生活支援連携ミーティングに参加。

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2011	9ごろ						・半年後頃から仮設住宅で小物づくりの活動。								
2011	10	1						・気仙市民復興連絡会が中央共同募金会の助成を受けスタッフ4人採用、『復興ニュース』継続発行、仮設住宅パトロールなど開始。				・毎週月曜日を定休日にする。	・市役所の医療チーム・保健師が仮設住宅で行っていたサロン活動を引き継ぐ。		・市の保健チームが開催してきたサロン活動を社協生活支援相談員に依頼する。
2011	10	4		・吉浜地区農地復興委員会による市長陳情。							・第5回代表者会議。				
2011	10	5						・三陸鉄道南リアス線盛駅舎を活用した賑わいづくりを岩手県から委託される、ふれあい待合室開設。・お茶会・カラオケ・手芸などの開催、支援物資の配布。・ヒューマンライツ・ナウによる無料法律相談開始。							
2011	10	12			・第6回地域公民館長会議、末崎町復興推進委員会を設立。										
2011	10	24						・劇団「ともえ座」（宮城県栗原市）復興イベントにボランティアで公演。							
2011	10				・末崎町復興祭を開催。					・大船渡町富沢のプレハブを事務所と倉庫として使用開始。			・10月頃から仮設住宅の生活が少し落ち着く、仮設住宅の生活課題の支援。		

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2011	11	1						・ジャパンプラットフォーム助成により3名のスタッフ雇用継続、『みらい』発行・仮設住宅パトロール継続。・支援の布・毛糸などを希望者へ配布（約200名から要望）			・一般財団法人共生地域創造財団設立（登記）。				
2011	11	13									・大船渡仮設住宅でのカフェ・配布会（冬物衣料ほか）。				
2011	11	27				・赤崎地区復興委員会を設立。									
2011	11												・スタッフ12名が追加採用され合計23名になる。		
2011	12	1										・ボランティア受け入れを金土日にする。			
2011	12	3			・第1回碁石地区復興まちづくり協議会開催。										
2011	12	7									・赤崎町諏訪前に大船渡宿舎契約。				
2011	12	8					・大船渡アクションネットワークに民生委員として参加。								
2011	12	14											・沿岸南部社会福祉協議会情報交換会参加。		
2011	12	18						・盛町字内の目14-15に事務所を移転。							
2011	12	20		・吉浜地区公民館報第9号で体験記の文集づくりを呼びかける。											・外部の保健チームが完全に撤退。
2011	12	21									・第2回理事会。		・第9回気仙地域精神保健福祉担当者連絡会に参加。		
2011	12	25									・朝日新聞、岩手現地同行取材。				
2011	12	28									・在宅被災者向け毛布配布会。				

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2011	12	30						・碁石地区コミュニティセンターから撤退。			・独居高齢世帯向け年越しそば・おせち配布。				
2011	12										・毛布・防寒着配布、市内全被災者対象（350世帯3500枚）。・大船渡市福祉課に「大船渡みらいサポート」事業の企画書を提出。		・県社協が見なし仮設住宅の居住者に文書発送、これをきっかけにみなし仮設居住者から情報を受け新規訪問開始する。		
2012	1	4						・日本NPOセンター助成金でスタッフ2名雇用、情報発信など。							
2012	1	8									・ボランティア山形（米沢市）冬物資配布会へ物資提供。				
2012	1	11									・在宅被災者向け毛布配布再開（〜2月末目途）。				
2012	1	12									・第20回大船渡アクションネットワークミーティング、開催を隔週に変更。				
2012	1	23									・第3回理事会。				
2012	2	5						・陸前高田市米崎コミュニティセンターで被災者の手芸品展示会。							
2012	2	8									・第1回アクションネット在宅支援分科会。				
2012	2	12									・大船渡冬服配布会。				
2012	2	19						・大船渡市カメリアホールで被災者の手芸品展示会、125人、520点展示。			・大船渡冬服配布会。				
2012	2	20									・遠野まごころネット構成員会議。				
2012	2	22									・アクションネット在宅支援分科会。				
2012	2	23									・第4回理事会。				

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2012	2	27									・大船渡研修「ソーシャルワークと生活困窮者福祉の基礎」。				
2012	2													・大槌町でも同じスキームで仮設支援事業開始。	
2012	3	22									・第5回理事会。				
2012	3	24									・大船渡冬服配布会（大船渡・前田地区公民館）。				
2012	3	31								・共生地域創造財団のスタッフをやめる。	・大船渡冬服配布会（前田地区公民館）。・大関輝一さん、共生財団との委託契約が切れる。				
2012	3										・大船渡市3月議会で「大船渡みらいサポート事業」に最終的な決定が出る。				
2012	4	1						・仮設住宅での手芸講習を開始。							・市役所生活福祉部の機構改革、保健介護センターが独立した課にになる。
2012	4	3						・三陸鉄道南リアス線部分開通に伴い盛駅業務を三陸鉄道株式会社から委託を受ける。							
2012	4	8									・亘理拠点開所（ワタリス開所式）。				
2012	4	20		・体験記集『その時 私は…―大船渡市三陸町吉浜の人々の記録』発行											
2012	4	21									・大船渡プレハブ移転。				
2012	4	22									・陸前高田冬服配布会。				
2012	4	23									・第6回理事会。				
2012	4	26											・Y・Sセンター敷地内にプレハブの事業所完成、使用開始。		

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2012	4	27						・気仙市民復興連絡会を解散、事業は夢ネット大船渡が引き継ぐ。							
2012	4									・みちのくふる里ネットワーク大船渡事務所設立。					
2012	5	1									・大船渡市委託事業「大船渡みらいサポート事業」開始、在宅被災者の見守り支援活動を実施。・緊急雇用創出事業で地元からスタッフを採用。				
2012	5	27						・第6回復興ほら吹き大会開催、子ども4人、大人10人出場。							
2012	5	31							・NPO法人格を取得。						
2012	6	13									・大船渡市医療・保健・福祉・メンタルミーティングに参加。				・共生地域創造財団が大船渡市医療・保健・福祉・メンタルミーティングに参加。
2012	6							・日頃市にさんさんキッチンハウス建築完成。							

The Transitory Space for Rearguard Support: A Case Study of the Kyosei Union Iwate Tono Volunteer Center

Yutaka IWADATE

DISASTERS AND TRANSITORY SPACE OF CIVIC ACTIVITY

Introduction

After a disaster strikes, relief action and support by civil society have vital roles for successful retrieval and reconstruction. One such role complements the official system of countermeasures against disaster with material efforts at the ground level. The other role is the critical disclosure of the limits and contradictions of the official system, both practically and through the demonstration of alternative actions. These roles are mostly articulated and actualized in concrete ways in a material, transient space as opposed to emerging from conceptual or idealized discourse.

The transitoriness of the space, in which the civil actor operates, has ambiguous meanings. On the one hand, it is an impermanent space in transition. According to phases of disaster, the form and location of the space are changing. Therefore, it could function flexibly. When function or role is not needed, the space disappeared. On the other hand, temporariness means a partially institutionalized space. When resources necessary to carry out disaster relief activities are in short supply, it is difficult to sustain the physical spaces for longer than a short period. However, lack of authorization and certification opens the meanings of the space for various actors (Dorent, 2011; Martin and Miller, 2003).

This study focuses on a concrete example of temporary space for rearguard support of disaster volunteers that was constructed by a civil organization. The study relies on field data to address two arguments:

•The transitory space for rearguard support of volunteers creates a pathway that enables actors with few or no resources, particular unstable urban workers, to join volunteer activities.

•There are distinctive effects of the self-contained principle on the disaster volunteers who responded to the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011. "Self-contained principle" on volunteer activity is an ideological discourse, in which individual volunteer should be independence from the other and have to be self-sufficient in volunteer activity process. This principle are caused by the standardization of volunteer activities after the 1995 Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (also known as the Kobe Earthquake).

Fieldwork at Kyosei Union Iwate Tono Volunteer Center (UVC)

On April 18, 2011, a support base for the disaster volunteers who went to Sanriku—an area devastated by the March 11, 2011 tsunami—was developed at a community center in Tono City, Iwate prefecture. This space was an effort of Kyosei Union Iwate, a individual affiliated labor union based in Kitakami city in the inland region of Iwate prefecture. The official name of this space was Kyosei Union Iwate

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Tono Volunteer Center (UVC).

Between April 18 and October 31, 2011, and between May 26 and August 11, 2012, a total of 740 volunteers from urban areas such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto visited the UVC where they received nutritious meals, bedclothes, and tools for working in the disaster area. These rearguard support actions for volunteers were termed Koho Sien（後方支援）by the UVC staff, which means rearguard support.

Since November 2011, I have conducted fieldwork in the Sanriku area, specifically, Ofunato city, Tono city, and Kitakami city. My research methods consisted of (1) personal interviews with UVC staff; (2) direct video documentation of UVC activities; (3) examination of documentation regarding Kyosei Union Iwate; and (4) personal interviews with staff members of Tohoku Zenryokyo in Sendai and the National Union of General Workers Nambu at Tokyo, which were in cooperation with Kyosei Union Iwate. My fieldwork provides the data used in this study to address two questions with the goal of determining the effects of the UVC:

•How did this space emerge, develop, and appear?
•What kinds of assistance were provided at the UVC?

Background and context

Kitakami city is characterized by its transportation corridors. Historically, Kitakami city was the junction port of the Kitakami River and the post towns on the Oshu Kaido (Oshu highway) (see Photo 1). Today, the

Photo 1 Kitakami city viewed from river side
Note: Taken by author.

variety of transportation infrastructures has increased and they intersect in Kitakami city. Specifically, from north to south, Tohoku Shinkansen, Japan Railway Tohoku Honsen, Tōhoku Jūkan Expressway, and National Route 4 pass through it. From east to west, Japan Railway Kitakami line, Tohoku Odan Expressway, and National Route 107 run through it.

Industrial manufacturing had been situated in Kitakami city because of its transportation capacity. Between 1955 and 1999, nine industrial parks and one distribution base were constructed. In 1987, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry recognized four cities and one town, including Kitakami city, as Technopolis areas. Furthermore, the Kitakami city industrial administration improvement division and the Kitakami city office plaza were constructed in 1999. These structural conditions invited enterprises and advanced industries and Kitakami city is clearly considered to be an industrial city (Ando, Yoshikawa, and Kitajima, 2003).

In this context, Kitakami Godo Rouso (Kitakami Joint Labor Union), which is a precursor of Kyosei Union Iwate, was founded in 1985. A struggle by young workers at a private school for unpaid wages is one example of the early activities of Kitakami Godo Rouso. After that, this union wrestled with the labor problems of workers in the manufacturing industry in small and medium-sized enterprises in the inland cities, such as Kitakami, Ichinoseki, and Morioka. After the 1989 dissolution of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, Kitakami Godo Rouso joined the National Trade Union Council and Zenkoku Ippan (National Union of General Workers). From the beginning, Kitakami Godo Rouso closely linked the local cultural movement to its concerns as a workers' union. That influence has remained today and a core member of Kyosei Union Iwate, Yamashita Masahiko, is a secretariat of the Iwateken Sijin Club（岩手県詩人クラブ）, which is the Iwate Prefecture Poets' Club. As a consequence of that

close connection, the offices of the Poets' Club and Kyosei Union Iwate share the same space (see Photo 2) In 2001, Kitakami Godo Rouso's name was changed to Kyosei Union Iwate and it became involved in the Afghanistan-Iraq Anti-War movement. In 2008, it responded to the economic crisis triggered by Lehman Brothers with respect to workforce lay-offs in the Kitakami city industrial areas and it negotiated
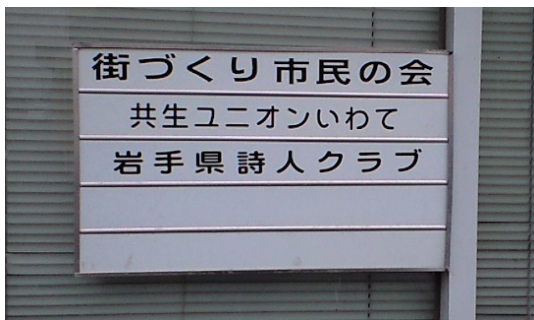

Photo 2 Plates of Office
note: Taken by author.

with Kitakami city to provide public housing as shelters. As these examples indicate, Kitakami Godo Rouso was committed to social issues.

Kitakami city faces another challenge. Since the 1990s, businesses have been increasingly relocating to the suburbs, causing commercial clusters in the central urban areas to decline. To respond this issue, members of Kyosei Union Iwate founded Machizukuri simin no kai（街づくり市民の会）, which is a type of civic association to promote

community development. It was organized by owners of small pubs or bars and artists living in or near Kitakami city who obtained the approval of the

Kitakami City Council.

At the time of the beginning of the fieldwork in February 2012, Kyosei Union Iwate's membership numbered almost 20 and it was not very effective as a labor union. However, the office space resembled a social center for local community organizing because of its other functions and its connections to the local artistic community (see Photo 3).

EMERGENCE OF THE UVC

From the date of the earthquake to the start of relief action

At 2:46 p.m. on March 11, 2011, the Great East Japan Earthquake hit Kitakami city. It measured 9.0 on the Moment Magnitude Scale and 8.9 on the Richter Scale and it unleashed a huge tsunami that created massive damage. The earthquake caused less damage inland than it caused in the coastal areas; but, as Masahiko Yamashita, a member of Kyosei Union Iwate, stated, "There was no electric power for three days. There was no running water, either, for three days. So people were lining up for food in

Photo 4 Yusuke Takahashi (on left) and Masahiko Yamashita (on right) Note: taken by author

supermarkets and convenience stores. This continued until March 18." (Yamashita, February 29, 2012, personal interview) (see Photo 4)

One of the main problems caused by the earthquake was lack of transportation. Japan Railways' (JR) service stopped and people could not buy gasoline. In Morioka city, the capital of Iwate prefecture, gas

was available but there was a queue. Union members had difficulty holding a meeting; but, finally, on March 17th, they managed to gather together. Yusuke Takahashi, another member of Kyosei Union Iwate, stated, "The JR resumed operation from Morioka to Hanamaki on the 16th and to Kitakami on the 17th. So we held the meeting on the 17th." (Takahashi, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

At the March 17th meeting, they decided to first negotiate with the mayor of Kitakami city to lease residences as secondary shelters for the earthquake victims who were evacuees. Their second topic was a consideration of the steps that they could take on their own to be of assistance. As Yamashita stated,

> We would all share ideas amongst ourselves: 'Can we work as volunteers? What should we do?' But soon it dawned on us that we were not so young, and even if we tried to remove rubble, we'd probably do a poor job. So maybe we should support all those volunteers from the rest of the country. (Yamashita, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

So, they went to Tono to secure a place for a volunteer center but they did not know how they would be able to obtain the money necessary to run it. Then, when the Zenkoku Ippan group came to Tono on April 9th, they brought some donation money with

them. Now that they had funding, the final decision to set up a volunteer center was made on April 9, 2011. (see Map 1)

> We decided to set up a base in Tono. Historically and geographically, Tono is well situated to be a hub for
> exchange. From Tono, you can go to Otsuchi and Rikuzentakata easily. When we got there, Tono was full of Self Defense Forces and police. (Yamashita, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

Moment to change from suffering labor to assistant labor in Tohoku

On April 2nd, before the final decision to set up a volunteer center was made on April 9th, a countermeasures meeting was held by Tohoku Zenryokyo, which is a network of individual affiliate labor union in Tohoku area, concerning this horrendous disaster. After personally viewing the tsunami-inundated area around Sendai City, the members of Kyosei Union Iwate keenly realized the necessity of assistance to the coastal areas. At the April 2nd meeting, community unions, which are based in Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima Prefecture, joined Tohoku Zenryokyo to take counsel together in Sendai. They decided that each organization would

Map 1 Showing Kitakami City, UVC, and Ofunato City
Note: Original source is World Food Program (2011).

Photo 5 Ouchi Tadao (left), Kameya Tamotsu (right)
Note: Taken by author.
Note: Original source is World Food Program (2011).

take individual actions based on the particular needs of the areas and they would provide support for each other. Mr. Kameya, secretariat of Tohoku Zenryokyo, said that it was at this moment, on April 2nd, that suffering labor changed to labor acting for assistance in Tohoku:

> We founded a primary center of countermeasures because the electricity supply was reconnectied. And then, we made a request to our companions and supporters around the nation for help. Also, during March, we had inquired about the safety of our members as much as possible. After that, on the basis of our recognition of the situation, we gathered on 2nd April and we discussed that each union should re-organize and take action as best it could because the damage and the situation of each area was different. At that time, Kyosei Union Iwate said that they planned to have a center for assistance in Tono city. (Kameya, January 30, 2013, personal interview)

After Kyosei Union Iwate received nation-wide funding from Tohoku Zenryokyo and decided to create the volunteer center in Tono city, the members made a request on April 12th to community organizations in the Matsuzaki district to rent an assembly hall and an agreement to do so was reached on April 15th. Two days later, the members delivered equipment and supplies to the location and, on April

Photo 6 Rice balls provided by UVC
Note: Taken by volunteer.

Photo 7 Scene of UVC in 2011
Note: Taken by volunteer.

18th, about five weeks after the earthquake hit, Tono Union Volunteer Center was founded.

Managing UVC and accepting volunteers

UVC was open for 197 days in 2011, from April 18th to October 31st. It supplied nutritious means, a safe space, bedding, and equipment and tools for the volunteer workers (e.g. boots and gloves). Volunteers came from Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and other areas, including other countries. The volunteers who visited UVC went to the tsunami-stricken areas such as Ofunato, Kamaishi, and Rikuzentakada to join other assistance activities that were gathered together via the Tono Magokoro Net, which is a volunteer network. About 650 people went to UVC in 2011, which was about 1.5% of the total volunteer workforce of the Tono Magokoro Net.

The number of UVC staff members in 2011 was about 250. In the second year (2012), from May 25th to August 11th, 90 volunteers visited UVC. There were about five core members who had committed to manage UVC. Two of these core members were Takahashi and Yamashita, who were members of Kyosei Union Iwate. The other three core members were not Kyosei Union Iwate members. These members had joined Kyosei Union Iwate for the civic association for community development on a one-on-one basis, not for mobilization via unions. Another UVC staff member, who is not a member of the union, was part of the cultural component, termed Miyazawakenji ga aisita yama ni noboru kai（宮沢

賢治の愛した山に登る会），which is a mountain-climbing group. Yamashita and Takahashi stated,

> We started carefree, rather optimistically . . . For starters, we should start collecting futons and providing meals . . . To do that and to have more people, we fully utilized the contacts we had . . . I'll cook . .. So will he . . . It was like that. (Yamashita, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

> I had mountain-climbing buddies in Tono whom I'd known for 20 years . . . So, even before the quake, I used to stay at a friend's house once a month . . . I was familiar with the geography of Tono and the traits of Tono people . . . So I was able to fit in rather easily. (Takahashi, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

UVC was founded by Kyosei Union Iwate, which was supported by the network of Zenkoku Ippan. Because of that, some of the networks that were created by non-union activities offered useful resources to UVC for its work. It is important to recognize that the interconnections between things and people grew and strengthened through community development activities and the cultural connections that effectively managed the activities of the UVC. The labor union was not the sole basis by which goodwill expanded. For example, Yamashita stated,

> The union membership was small. So I once asked an acquaintance of mine to lend us a truck. In this manner, the scope of goodwill expanded. Some would come and say, 'I'm not a union member, but I want to help.' (Yamashita, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

Volunteers visiting from cities

The news that UVC was opening and accepting disaster volunteer workers had reached members of labor union nationally. For example, Zenkokuippan Tokyo Nanbu, a community-level labor union headquartered in Shinbashi Tokyo, heard about it. This section's focus is on a chain reaction in the critical situation.

Since Tohoku Zenryokyo founded a center for countermeasures in response to the earthquake on March 15th, increasing amounts of "practical information" had been sent to Tokyo from the disaster-stricken areas. Based on this information, Zenkoku Ippan Tokyo Nanbu began to react in its capacity as a labor union to the labor aspects of the disaster. Nakajima Yumiko, secretariat of Zenkoku Ippan Tokyo Nanbu, responded the situation. She stated,

> When the earthquake occurred, we first inquired about the safety of my companions in Tohoku. Because we have members of the union belonging to Zenkoku Ippan, we worried whether they were safe or not. By as time went on, it became clearer how serious the suffering of this disaster was. So we thought we should do something. We cannot stand without doing what we can do . . . Having connections to unions, we could receive direct information

Photo 8 Yumiko Nakajima
Note: Taken by author.

about the condition of human life, not like the information supplied by mass media. That's a matter that the labor union should commit to. Especially, various labor problems such as the disappearing of the work place, unemployment, and illegal termination from a job had happened in the disaster area. In this situation, as a labor union, we had started assistance. It was a story. (Nakajima, April 5, 2012, personal interview)

After the members of Zenkoku Ippan visited the disaster-stricken areas on April 2nd, union members went there with supplies and commodities that the people needed, such as gasoil, food, and donated money. Upon their return to Tokyo, they shared the things they had seen there and the living conditions of the suffering people. Union members began to think about the things they might do, if anything, "in a subjective way." At that very moment, they received a fax from Kyosei Union Iwate about the UVC opening. Nakajima Yumiko explained,

> People who visited the disaster-stricken area spoke of how shocking a scene it was and the conditions of the sufferer[s]. So, members of our union sought a way to help. What can we do in a subjective way? It was that time that we got the information; Kyosei Union Iwate began to do volunteer work for volunteers. To respond to this, we decided to send volunteers. (Nakajima, April 5, 2012, personal interview)

The fax about UVC was received on April 16th. To get to them, this information had to flow through the labor union. Members of the union branch for non-regular workers of water works received that information through their leader. They had seen horrendous situations in the disaster areas and they were trying to decide what to do about it. From the fax, they learned that there was a center for volunteer
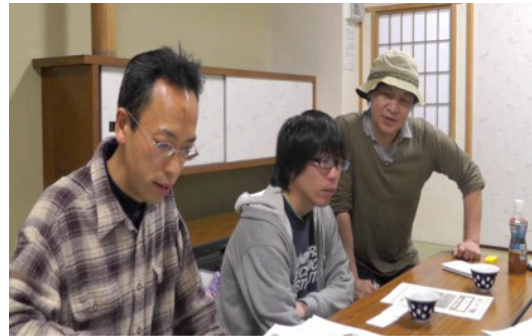

Photo 9   Mamehara Taizo, Ogawa Yukinobu, Wajima
Note: Taken by author.

in Tono City.

Armed with that information, they shortly decided to go there to work as volunteers. Let us listen to their words:

> Because there was the opportunity, we went. Not like a union. There was a space to stay and conditions were good. (Ogawa, April 19, 2012, personal interview)
> It's volunteer work literally, right? Going and working by myself. Not for pay, but just because I want to do that. It is the volunteer as to means. (Wajima , April 19, 2012, personal interview)
> I thought it was good timing because I had been concerned about Tohoku. I could not decide to go at once. But, because Mr. Ogawa said to go, I will go. Then, I arrived at the center of Kyosei Union Iwate. (Mamehara, April 19, 2012, personal interview)

The interviewees' narratives suggest that UVC functioned as a pathway that connected the unstable urban worker to disaster volunteer work. In fact, these workers went to UVC to volunteer many times. In the next section, the inner workings of the UVC are discussed.

THE PRACTICES OF ASSISTANCE TO VOLUNTEERS

Central location to assist volunteers

UVC located their central place for volunteers at an assembly hall in the Matsuzaki-cho 7th district. The assembly hall is a one-story building that is divided into an entrance, a kitchen, a common room with a tatami, two toilets, and a closet. (see Photos 10 and 11)

In the entrance, there are many boots, gloves, helmets, and the like, that the volunteers could rent

Photo 10 exterior of UVC
Note: Taken by author

Photo 11 Door plate of UVC
Note: Taken by author.

Photo 12 Entrance
Note: Taken by author

Photo 13 Living room
Note: Taken by author

for use in the work. The kitchen was stocked with many different foods and the staff prepared the food and cleaned up after meals. Every volunteer ate breakfast and dinner there prepared by the UVC staff. Volunteers slept in the living quarters, which were divided with a curtain to separate the women from the men. The UVC did not have a bathroom or shower room and the volunteers and staff members used the public baths, such as Kame no yu（亀の湯）, the coin shower. (see Photos 12 through 15)

Every morning at 5:00 a.m., the staff members awoke to make breakfast and lunch boxes for the volunteers. The volunteers awoke at 6:00 a.m., ate breakfast, and went to work at 7:00 a.m. In Tono Magokoro Net, registration began at about 7:00 a.m. every morning and warm-up exercises started at about 7:20 a.m. One of the volunteers described a normal day:

> UVC is very close to the base point of Tono Magokoro Net. It takes about 1 minute. Access is so good. Magokoro Net makes a big sound to wake us up every morning. It makes us get up early. And, we clear up the bedclothes and have breakfast that the staff makes from 5:00 a.m. We take part in making rice balls for lunch. There is not enough time in the morning at UVC . . .At about 7:00 a.m., the volunteers have to gather in front of the gymnasium where Tono Magokoro

Net makes its base. Exercises would start at 7:20 and we'd have a meeting. After that, we'd go to

Photo 14 Kitchen
Note: Taken by author

Photo 15 Kame no yu (亀の湯)
Note: Taken by author

Photo 16 Volunteer work in tsunami devastated area
Note: Taken by author

Photo 17 Flower garden in Otsuchi-cho
Note: Taken by author

work at each disaster area by bus. (Mamehara, April 19, 2012, personal interview)

At the beginning, the work was mostly the disposal of rubble and debris and the removal of dirt out of the roadside ditches. One big problem at this time was the rotten seafood, particularly Sanma (Pacific saury; aka, mackerel pike). Yamashita and Takahashi explained,

> The rotten sanma fish were all exposed and the terrible odor was in the air. The smell stayed with you when you got home . . . There was a refrigerator. Inside, it was full of unprocessed sanma fish, frozen. Apparently, the fish were all washed away and got mixed with the debris. So we could see the rotten fish inside the disposed rubble. (Yamashita, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

> No matter how many times we washed our boots, rubber gloves and body, there was the stench . . . The fish were scattered all over the land that was originally rice paddies or residential lots. (Takahashi,February 29, 2012, personal interview)

After that time, the work had changed to another. In my fieldwork in July of 2012, one of the major tasks of the volunteers was making flower gardens in the tsunami-devastated areas. In these areas, there were so many vacant land where people had lived. Volunteer group decide to change these dismal landscape to more pleasant one. (see Photo 16 and 17)

When the volunteers had left the UVC for the day's work, the staff members cleaned up the hall and washed clothes and bed sheets. The assembly hall

Disaster in Transition:
Displacement and Networked Assistance in the 2011 East Japan Tsunami

Special Issue

The Transitory Space for Rearguard Support:
A Case Study of the Kyosei Union Iwate Tono Volunteer Center

Yutaka IWADATE

was, first of all, a space for the local community to gather. People used it to make handicrafts, hold dinner parties, and attend meetings. According to Takahashi, Local people didn't trust UVC at first. But they had developed relationship each other.

> During the daytime every Thursday, middle-aged ladies used the building for a handicrafts class. I think they were watching our volunteer work. Since we were renting the place, we kept everything spic and span, the bathroom, the kitchen and all. And then those ladies began to give us vegetables in the morning. In return, we shared sweets with them. Eventually, our relationship developed into one of mutual trust. That's what happened. (Takahashi, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

Two dimensions of assistance for volunteers

Photo 18 Scene of dinner
Note: Taken by author

Photo 19 Talking in face-to-face
Note: Taken by author

Volunteers usually finished their work at about 3:00 or 4:00 p.m. and then they returned to Tono to the UVC by bus. Most other (non-UVC) volunteers ate food bought at convenience stores or "fast" food and they slept on the hard floor. In contrast, UVC offered fresh and hot foods and beds. The UVC conditions were much more confortable. The quality of the material assistance provided to the volunteers is crucial to the disaster volunteers' ability to work because volunteer work is physically and mentally demanding. One volunteer said that dinnertime in the kitchen of the UVC was a really good experience:

> In the UVC, dinner starts at about 6 pm. By that time, the volunteers have to take baths. We had talked each other with drinking. The food was so good . . . Farmers gave UVC many fresh foods which were harvested there. Staff cooked that . . . In UVC, there are various talented people, such as a man who can draw portraits of people quickly. That's interesting. A visitor from Osaka talked about the political situation of Osaka with humor. It was so attractive that I went there many times. Although UVC was a small space, it felt good to stay. (Mamehara, April 19, 2012, personal interview)

Volunteers used their dinnertime to share their experiences in relief action in face-to-face conversations with other volunteers. And then, other volunteers and/or staff members would share their experiences and respond by offering frameworks. These frameworks for interpretation of their experiences were not absolute. In the temporary space, weak and temporal social relationships were constructed. A kind of mutual relationship, which is relative, emerged each time. Clearly, UVC staff members were relatively powerful actors in this space. But, for the staff members, the UVC was

a temporary place that was not their own place. So, volunteer who talked about own experiences could reconfigure the appropriate frameworks by themselves.

In other words, for the volunteers who went to the coastal area, disaster was a secondhand experience. Reflecting on their activities in the disaster area, they were impelled to consider what they were doing and what it meant. To maintain the activities, it was indispensable to ask questions such as, "What is volunteer activity and assistance?" or "What does it mean?" Thus, while the material, physical labor of the volunteer work was important, a second dimension of the volunteer assistance was the meaning of the activity. UVC helped the volunteers to consider the meaning of the activity along with the individual trajectory.

Should volunteers be self-contained?

These two dimensions of assistance for the volunteers, the materiality and the meaning, were interwoven in UVC. Moreover, they are underpinned by a certain way of thinking about the work. A staff member stated,

> When you hear 'self-containment' it sounds cool, but when working in individuals or groups, one can do it in a self-contained manner only in the military . . . But, if you come as individual volunteers, how do you solve the bathroom issue? There is no way you can stay self-contained. (Takahashi, February 29, 2012, personal interview)

One of characteristics of the volunteer activity that responded to the 2011 earthquake was the idea that the "volunteer should be self-contained." That idea grew out of the civic volunteer activity for the relief action in response to the Great Hanshin-Awaji

Earthquake (Kobe Earthquake) in 1995. After those relief activities, from the neoliberal perspective, civic volunteers have been believed to be "more efficient" and the standardized worker to be more "fit for public management" by authorities (Seki, 2013). The idea that the "volunteer should be self-contained" reflects these developments. This ideology had the effect of restricting the low-resource actor, particularly the unstable urban workers who were willing to participate in volunteer activities. In this context, assistance in the material and meaning dimensions of UVC demonstrates alternatives.

CONCLUSION

UVC closed its doors on August 11, 2012. It was never meant to be a permanent, big, or powerful activity, but it always was intended to be modest and in a relatively small social space. It did not change the whole structure of civic society. But, by making a place for rearguard support of disaster volunteers, it opened a pathway by which people, particularly part-time and unstable urban workers, were enabled to participate in assistance activities. UVC demonstrated the effects of the self-contained principle on disaster volunteers and showed the possibilities to be derived from the temporary assemblage of social activities, materials, and space. Finally, through the assistance activities and conversations in UVC's interactive space, unstable urban workers tended to redefine volunteer activity as "mutual aid" due to their own their vulnerable condition and as a way to resist displacement. One unstable urban worker who visited UVC, stated,

> Even in Tokyo, there are many people who are displaced into the homeless life who are not sufferers of a natural disaster. We might be so. We also live precariously . . . Joining the relief

activity, I found my position of heart more clear. Anyway, volunteer activity is not different from helping people in everyday life. It is not only action in the natural disaster area. There are so many sufferers and so much misery in this society. (Mamehara, April 19, 2012, personal interview)

This process of redefining civic activity is an indication that ideas emerge that forge a reorganization of the collective infrastructure of life from the grassroots.

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Documents of Relief Experiences
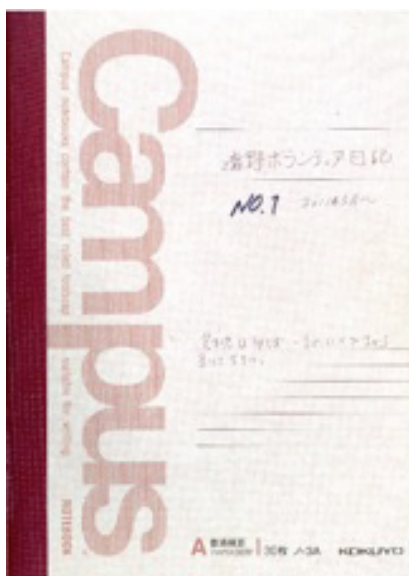## "The Tono Volunteer Diary"

Yutaka, IWADATE

The Tono Volunteer Diary contains descriptions of events in tsunami-devastated areas—including the details of relief activities in these areas and the emotions felt by volunteers who participated in those activities—that were written by visitors to the Tono Union Volunteer Center. A number of people who came to the Center from Iwate prefecture, Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, and overseas left notes about their experiences in two notebooks that were laid out inside the Center. Turning the pages, a reader can find many fragmentary words and sentences about huge debris, rotten sanma fish, the conditions of the wounded, etc. These are the footprints of the volunteers who went to the Sanriku coastal area—a document of their relief experience.

One volunteer from Kyoto wrote that the journey from there to Sanriku spanned 1,000 km, and that he "saw breathtaking scenes that made impressions on my mind." He also drew pictures in the notebooks, such as those seen below.

How did these volunteers engage in relief action in this tsunami-devastated area? What did they witness there? In the transitory space of Tono Union Volunteer Center, what kinds of events occurred? These materials will offer valuable hints to answer these questions.

With the cooperation of Kyosei Union Iwate, we preserved the Tono Volunteer Diary, making the raw materials available electronically as PDF files.

Cover of The Tono Volunteer Diary No. 1,
begun in May 2011.

The Tono Volunteer Diary No. 1, May 3 and 4.
Images of "sagging rails," "odor,"
and "rotten sanma."

Yutaka IWADATE, Doctoral Student, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hitotsubashi University

| **Material** |

Interview Video
"Rearguard Support for Disaster Volunteers: Trials by a labor Union in Kitakami City, Kyosei Union Iwate in the Great East Japan Earthquake"

Yutaka, IWADATE

BASIC INFORMATION

Date	February 29, 2012
Place	Office of Kyosei Union Iwate in Kitakami City, Iwate Prefecture
Interviewees	Yusuke TAKAHASHI (Secretary General) Masahiko YAMASHITA (Vice President)
Interviewer	Tadahito YAMAMOTO
Editor	Yutaka IWADATE
Recording Time	22 min, 50 sec

This interview video will soon be posted on the website of the Study Group on Infrastructure and Society:

http://sgis.soc.hit-u.ac.jp/index.ja.html.

高橋祐介氏　山下正彦氏

Note: The video was subtitled in English by Nishigahara jimakusha（西ヶ原字幕社）

ABOUT THE VIDEO

It took about two hours to interview Yusuke Takahashi and Masahiko Yamashita, who are the core staff members at the Tono Union Volunteer Center. How did they provide rearguard support for disaster volunteers? How was the transitory space for this support constituted? What kinds of actions and thoughts underlay the work of the Volunteer Center? This interview was conducted to examine these questions and to investigate the process of making and managing the Tono Union Volunteer Center in response to the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami. I hope that viewers will be able to gain a vivid perception of these trials by watching this video.

Contents of the Video

· Circumstances Immediately After the Earthquake

· The 1st Earthquake Disaster Countermeasures Meeting

· Setting Up the Tono Volunteer Center

· The Volunteer Center Founded

· Acceptance of Volunteers

· Activities in the Quake-Hit Area

· Management of the Volunteer Center

· Volunteer Work Should be Done in a Self-Contained Manner?

· The Union Volunteer Center as an approach to crisis response

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