

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

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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

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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

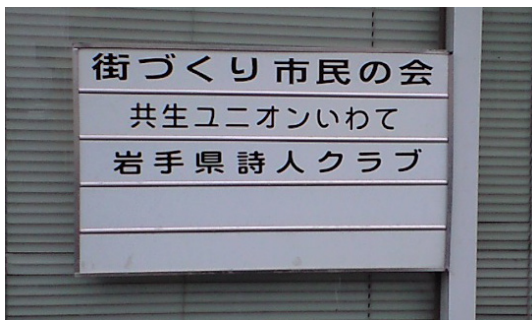


Photo 2 Plates of Office
note: Taken by author.

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

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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).

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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 reconnected. 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

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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.

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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.

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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

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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

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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 comfortable. 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

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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

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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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