Security in the Context of our Everyday Lives : Lessons from the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake

Alexander, Ronni

Security in the Context of our Everyday Lives:
Lessons from the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake

Ronni Alexander

I. Introduction: Security, Violence, and Pajamas

It has been just a year and a half since the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake destroyed most of the city of Kobe and much of the surrounding area. For most people, both in and outside of Japan, that earthquake is a thing of the past; a horror from which certain lessons can be learned, but which is best quickly forgotten. For those who lost their homes, jobs or loved ones, the earthquake is far from being over, and the problems it presented are far from being solved. But even for many of us who were not so tragically affected, the earthquake will never be forgotten, for it not only shook the foundations of our homes and lives, but our belief in our own security as well.

What, then, is security really about? The 1994 edition of the UNDP *Human Development Report* begins as follows: "For too long, the concept of security has been shaped by the potential for conflict between states. For too long, security has been equated with the threats to a country's borders. For too long, nations have sought arms to protect their security. For most people today,...(j)ob security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime — these are the emerging concerns of human security all over the world."[1] This new interpretation of security means, among other things, thinking about "security of all people everywhere-in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environments."[2]

The above interpretation of security differs greatly from the traditional concept of military security used in the study of international relations. It is a more human approach to security and addresses the question of national security in terms of our everyday lives. It is my belief that somewhere in the long march through two world wars and enough nuclear weapons to kill us all many times over, the Westphalian idea of defending national borders became not a means of enhancing the security of the people inside, but an end in and of itself. 'Security' became equivalent with armed defense, and the emphasis of security grew to be more and more on the machinery instead of on those whose lives were in fact to be secured. This paper is an attempt to return the emphasis to peoples' lives through looking at the concept of

security and the 'insecurity' created by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake of 17 January 1995.

One way of approaching this idea of security is to think about what physical evidence there is in our everyday lives which expresses our feelings of being secure. This is a difficult question, for 'security' can be felt and examined at a variety of levels, and has different meanings for different people. Personally, the earthquake gave me many opportunities to think about this question, and one good example is the following from the cover of a publication by a local women's organization. *(See below).*

I want to sleep in Pajamas!

(Source: *Me-Me-Me Tsūshin* No.46, 10 April 1993, p.1)

The earthquake occurred at 5:46 a.m. in mid-winter. It was pitch black and freezing cold. There was no time to think about clothing as people tried to free themselves from debris and get out of their collapsed and often burning houses. After that, the night became a thing of terror; people slept clutching flashlights, their valuables packed and laid beside the pillow. There was no thought of sleeping in pajamas in those early days, assuming one had anything other than pajamas left to wear. The city held its breath, waiting for the next big aftershock to strike.

What, you may well ask, is so special about pajamas? From the time I was a child, I loved getting new pajamas. I liked fanciful ones; animal shapes and bright colors, often with tails or ears or feet. Pajamas were the ultimate expression of a private self, free from the restrictions of life at work or school, to be worn at times of relaxation and peace and, ultimately, in sleep. If bad dreams were lurking, the bright and cheerful pajamas would chase them away. When the earthquake struck, I was wearing bright red pajamas with big colorful cats on them. Over a year has passed, and I wonder if I will ever feel secure enough to wear them again.

The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake has thus made me think again about

security, in a very personal way.   Aside from the horror and shock of the experience itself, there are three ways in which I felt my personal security threatened in ways which are applicable to the theme of this paper.   The first is the threat of radiation poisoning, because the first thing I heard after finally uncovering my radio was about an earthquake in Fukui Prefecture, home to 15 nuclear power plants including the fast breeder reactor, *Monju*. I was immediately terrified and angry; all of my energy had been concentrated on ensuring that I stayed alive, and now those efforts were in vain. Fortunately, my radio was mistaken.   This quake did not originate in Fukui, and the nuclear power plants there were not damaged, but for me, the question of the sacrifice of individual lives for 'national development' has taken on a new and much more personal meaning.

The second personal threat was as a resident and especially as a foreign woman.   The fires which raged in my neighborhood were terrifying, and life without power and water was certainly difficult.   In fact, one reason I decided to seek refuge in Tokyo was that a neighbor was burned alive, the smell permeating my apartment.   But more than the fires and concern about whether I would be able to get food and water was the fear of being a foreign woman alone in a society which has a history of violence toward minorities, although every day life in Japanese cities is quite safe.   In retrospect I can say that I felt not only physical discomfort and anxiety, but also in a very personal way experienced the fear of the violence of sexism and racism embedded in the structure of Japanese society.

The third type of threat came from the feeling of powerlessness, both in a personal sense vis a vis being able to provide for myself and those around me, and also in a public sense in terms of being unable to have any impact on the way things were handled, except in a very minor way.   I was involved in political action after the quake, but felt totally without access to mechanisms for making my voice, or that of others, heard.

The earthquake was in and of itself an example of the violence of nature; it has provoked strong emotional responses, some violent and others not.   The violence of the earthquake has been exacerbated by the violence of discrimination, a phenomenon with deep roots in Japanese society.   It is also a reflection of the violence inherent in our approach to urbanization and the development process itself.   Violence in nature and society is perhaps something about which we can do very little, but it is the contention of this paper that in defining 'security,' these issues must at least be addressed. For this reason, the first part of this paper will deal with some of them through a discussion of the concept of 'endogenous security,'[3] a holistic, bottom-up approach to the question of state security.   The second part will deal directly with the earthquake, focusing on women and minorities.

---

3.   On endogenous security, see for example Ronni Alexander, *Putting the Earth First*, Spark Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai' i, 1994 or "Guns, Butter and Tuna: Security in Pacific Island Countries," *Journal of International Cooperation Studies*, Vol.2, No.1, June, 1994.

II. On Being Secure

When we talk of being secure, we mean more than wearing pajamas and sleeping peacefully at night. For some, the key to security lies in having the strength to deter or combat any possible threat; for others it can be found in the inner ability to withstand any affront to one's peaceful existence. The former example is the basis for militarism in all its forms, culminating in the concept of nuclear deterrence. It presupposes a 'rational' and 'rule-abiding' enemy, one who will refrain from destroying something if that destruction ultimately means destroying him or herself. It is based on what, for example, Karen J. Warren terms a *"logic of domination,* that is, a structure of argumentation which justifies relations of dominance and subordination on the grounds that superiority (or being 'Up') justifies subordination (or being 'Down')."[4] It is this type of thinking which allows for conceptions of 'invincibility,' military, technological and otherwise, making some countries convinced of their military superiority or their ability to 'control' nature. This conception of the world is the ultimate combination of violence and power, and in so being is a denial of both the power of nature as well as that of 'irrational' behavior, particularly that invoked by human emotion. It is in this sense the 'inhuman' security which the concept of human security mentioned earlier seeks to rectify.

Related to security through rationality and control is a world view based on domination and opposition: strong and weak, rich and poor, have and have-not, north and south, developed and developing, etc. One is either secure or insecure, and security is defined in terms of being on the dominant side of the dyad, essentially being a 'have' rather than a 'have not.' Thus, the solution to the problem of insecurity is to seek to become secure, often through 'development.' At the same time, from the perspective of those on the dominant side, it is the relative balance of the opposites that keeps the whole structure in place. Thus the solution to the problem of insecurity becomes contradictory in that states are encouraged to seek the preservation of the stability of the system as a whole while at the same time encouraged to strive for the acquisition of wealth and power.

This contradiction can be clearly seen in the great panacea of the nineties: free trade and economic restructuring, the supposed solutions to the insecurity problem on a global scale. Led by the World Bank and other donor agencies, developing countries have been forced to turn themselves into cash and export-oriented economies. The cost of this transformation is born, first of all, by the environment which has to provide more and more

4.   Karen J. Warren, "Toward an Ecofeminist Peace Politics," in K. J. Warren, ed. *Ecological Feminism,* London: Routledge, 1994, p.184.   This is one of five characteristics of what Warren calls an "oppressive, including patriarchal conceptual framework".   The other four are: value-hierarchal thinking giving higher status, etc. to Ups than Downs, value dualisms based on oppositional rather than complementary pairs, power-over conceptions of power which maintain relationships of dominance and subordination, and conceptions of privilege which consistently advantage Ups in Up-Down relationships (p.184).

natural products for export and suffers more and more destruction as a by-product of infrastructure and other so-called 'development'. People, many of whom are already marginalized, bear the brunt of the burden of development loans, as more and more corners are cut on social welfare. In rural areas, people find themselves in even more serious straits as natural resources, water, land and often the very basis of their existence disappears. People are dispossessed and move to urban areas, becoming squatters with inadequate food, housing, clothing and facilities for the support of their own lives and those of their families.[5]   Some of these people cross international borders in their search for a way to survive, thus involving states in the processes of urbanization in both formal and informal ways.   Where, in all on this misery and disregard for life, can we find any semblance of "being secure"?

While in the above discussion 'developed countries' are contrasted with 'developing' ones, it should be noted that the situation is nowhere near that simple.   One of the interesting aspects of 'development' is that the goal is never reached, so that the processes of development continue in 'developed' countries as well as in developing ones, although they are called by different names.   Moreover, the same kinds of marginalizing forces are at work resulting in more poverty, more unemployment, more poor health and more violence.   The violence of 'development' is recreated in the violence of poverty and environmental destruction.[6]   This is also true of 'urban development' and can be seen particularly clearly in a situation such as the present Kobe, where 'development' has become the first priority in earthquake recovery.[7]

It has been suggested that processes of 'development' are inherently violent, and while they are purported to be the solution to the problem of insecurity, they are often a major part of the cause.   Vandana Shiva puts it dramatically:

> The Age of Enlightenment, and the theory of progress to which it gave rise, was centered on the sacredness of two categories: modern scientific knowledge and economic development.   Somewhere along the way, the unbridled pursuit of progress, guided by science and development, began to destroy life without any assessment of how fast and how much of the diversity of life on this planet is disappearing.

---

5. United Nations Department of Public Information. "Survival in the Cities: Urban Poverty and Urban Development," DPI/1798/HAB/CON-96-04677-March 1996-20M, 2.

6. It should also be noted that the processes of militarization, poverty, environmental destruction and human repression are interlinked. "War causes poverty, environmental damage and repression. Poverty causes environmental damage and can lead to revolt, as can repression. Environmental damage causes poverty but it is also true that many 'development' projects which are supposed to relieve poverty also cause environmental damage." Paul Ekins. *A New World Order: Grassroots Movements for Global Change,* Routledge, 1992, p.13.

7. For example, safety standards were ignored when tearing down buildings, resulting in high levels of asbestos in the air *(see Appendix 1),* and burning of garbage on beaches and other open areas resulted in dangerously high levels of dioxins.   Local authorities and construction companies ignored demands by citizens for more stringent controls.

The act of living and of celebrating and conserving life in all its diversity — in people and in nature — seems to have been substituted by the sanctity of science and development.[8]

The 'religion' of science and development can also be seen in the increasingly pervasive culture of militarization, which not only views solutions in military terms, but defines problems in military ways. Moreover, it creates whole structures to support and reinforce the power-over/dominating world view: video and other games, violence in movies and other media, military styles in clothing, etc. The ultimate expression of this belief in technology is in the conviction that nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction actually make one more secure. This belief is possible only if one accepts the premise that technology and rationality can ultimately triumph over nature. It reaches nonsensical proportions with assertions about, for example, the 'safety' of nuclear testing or the 'safe' disposal of nuclear waste. Human beings cannot even conceive of time in terms of the 20,000 years or more which constitutes only the half life of plutonium, let alone guarantee safety over all that time. It is in fact the arrogance of this approach which is most disturbing, for a corollary to this belief in rationality and technological solutions is a belief that the impossible can never happen. In the real world, however, the impossible does happen, and it is only through the recognition of our own inability to predict the future that we can begin to seek ways to reduce our vulnerability and make ourselves more secure.

How can we begin to conceptualize this idea of reduction of vulnerability and increase of security? If the reduction of vulnerability is based on the idea of increasing strength from within rather than power from without, it can be seen as an endogenous approach to security, since it places the locus of security within the individual person or state. This approach sees security as being the product of a dynamic relationship between the beneficiaries of security policy and those who create and/or provide that policy. At the same time, it sees the beneficiaries as being an integral part of the creation of that security, thus requiring active and informed participation in all phases of 'security-making'. It is therefore a democratic process, but one which seeks to reduce vulnerability from within, rather than ignoring or sacrificing the weak in favor of the middle or the strong. In this sense, it recognizes that by empowering its weakest members it is really empowering the whole.

Through requiring participation, endogenous security by definition requires the creation of an environment in which everyone can be healthy, educated, and lead a fulfilling life, for these are seen as being prerequisites to active participation. It takes an inherently non-violent approach, recognizing the costs both to the individual and the society as a whole which violent solutions ultimately require. It is an approach which seeks

---

8. Vandana Shiva. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development.* Zed Books, 1989, p.xiv.

equilibrium, striving for balanced relationships which acknowledge existing tensions.   In this approach, there is no 'conquering' or 'subjugation' of nature, but rather an attempt to coexist.   Similarly, the domination of power and patriarchal relationships is replaced by equality and recognition of difference.

In the international world of the 1990's, civil society plays an increasingly important role in almost every aspect of international negotiation.   In particular, environment and development NGOs have created a place for themselves in the hierarchy of international politics.   Yet when it comes to issues of security and to a lesser extent human rights, civil society is essentially left out in the cold.   The burden of protecting life itself is one of the most important and glorious tasks to confront humanity, but people are presently excluded from participation in that task in the name of 'national security'.   In so far as it takes peoples participation as a fundamental requirement, endogenous security is an approach which calls for the democratization and 'de-statification' of security policy.

Endogenous security is not a solution to the problems of our world; it is an approach which forces us to question the fundamental assumptions of 'security' defined in dominating and military terms.   In this sense, it can be seen as a type of human security.   It asks us choose the uncertainty of natural difference over the conformity of rationality; to appreciate the beauty and creativity of humanity, but to reject its domination over nature.

III. The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake

The idea of considering national security in the context of urban development is unusual, and is made more so by looking at a city which has been subject to a natural disaster such as that which struck Kobe.   Yet, if we are to consider security in terms of peoples' lives, then perhaps it is not such a bad idea after all.   In fact, disasters are part of what UNDP identifies as the two main aspects of human security: safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression and protection from "sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life."[9]   While relatively few people in Japan suffer directly from the former, the earthquake is certainly an example of the latter.   Moreover, in a country such as Japan where earthquakes are almost daily events, this type of threat can be very serious indeed.

The "threat of sudden disruption" is exacerbated by the process of urbanization.   At present, almost half of the world's people live in cities, many of them in horrendous conditions, and those cities are growing at a rate of about one million people every week.[10]   Cities have been "engines of

---

9.   op. cit. UNDP, p.23.

10.   United Nations Department of Public Information.   "Habitat II: Why a Conference on Cities?", DPI/1641/HAB/CON/rev. 1-96-05487-March, 1996-20M, p.1.   By the year 2005, the majority of the world's population will live in cities and about 40% of them will be children.   (Advance unedited text of Habitat II Agenda, C.   Sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world, par.76).

growth and incubators of civilization and have facilitated the evolution of knowledge, culture and tradition as well as of industry and commerce. Urban settlement, properly planned and managed, holds the promise for human development and the protection of the world's natural resources."[11] Urbanization is a global fact of life, and when viewed in the above way, cities can be seen as playing a vital role in the development process in both developed and developing countries. At the same time, cities are a reflection on the one hand of how human society views its relationship with nature and on the other of attitudes toward governance in general and the abilities of governments and local authorities to provide a healthy and safe environment for their people. Large, densely populated cities are especially vulnerable to natural and other disasters, and "poor people are forced to live in the most exposed, dangerous and cramped conditions...and as a result, they are most likely to lose their homes or their lives when disasters occur."[12] In addition, when we consider that women and men "use and experience cities differently, according to their roles, responsibilities and access to resources,"[13] and take into account the fact that an increasing number of the 'poor' are women, it then makes sense to focus on gender issues when thinking about the violence of urbanization and security issues. In seeking a bottom-up approach to security, we can postulate that urban women comprise a group which is likely to help to clarify that perspective and provide some illustrations of its further implications.

In every urban society, there are some groups of people who live in better circumstances than others. This disparity in living standards has of course been the subject of many analyses, from every theoretical perspective, and it is clear that regardless of whether one bases one's analysis on class or ethnicity or gender, certain groups tend to be worse off than others. Here it is proposed that even under the best of circumstances these groups, namely women, minorities, disabled and senior citizens, tend to bear more than their fair share of the burden of the violence of society, and therefore tend to have lower incomes and live in worse housing than others. Accordingly, in the case of a disaster such as the earthquake, both natural and societal violence tends to be focused on these groups. In the case of Kobe, I am not suggesting that the earthquake struck where it did because there were many low-income people living there, but rather that it was less than coincidence that what turned out to be the most dangerous neighborhoods were also the most physically and socially vulnerable ones.

---

11. ibid. Habitat II, Preamble, par.5.
12. op. cit., UNDP Habitat II: Why a Conference on Cities?, p.3. In Kobe, of the 14,951 households receiving welfare payments, the homes of 3,619 (24.2%) were totally destroyed, 2,652 (17.7%) were partially destroyed, and 278 people were killed (0.26% or almost 5 times the figures for deaths in Kobe in general). (Shimin ga Tsukuru Kobeshi Hakusho Iinkai, ed. *Kobeshi Kokusho: Hanshin Daishinsai to Kobe Shisei*, Rodojunsha, 1996, p.26).
13. ibid., p.2.

(1) The Setting: Urban Development in Japan

Rapid economic growth in Japan began in the 1950's at the time of the Korean War, and really took off in the sixties and seventies. Successful it was, but at a price. The long hours, poor conditions and high stress took their toll on the bodies of the workers, making ulcers and intestinal disorders commonplace. It is perhaps more than symbolic that a word was coined to describe 'death from overwork'—*karoshi*. Women worked for lower wages and often in part time jobs, and few if any facilities were available to care for the children of working parents. The physical, social and psychological cost of economic 'development' was immense, not only for the people but the environment as well. This period of rapid industrial growth was accompanied by severe pollution of the air and water and widespread environmental destruction. Lax environmental standards and corporate disregard for the environment resulted in such debilitating disorders as Minamata Disease (mercury poisoning) and Yokkaichi Asthma, illnesses from which people are still suffering today.

The Japanese approach to economic development has resulted in a certain level of comfort and affluence for many people, and a great amount of affluence for a few, although the disparity in income and lifestyle in Japan is much less striking than that in most other developed countries. In this sense, perhaps people can view their lives as being 'secure,' although the price paid in individual time, energy and creative freedom is immense. In the course of thirty years of environmental devastation, Japan has grown a bit more skilled at dealing with the problem, although no less violent. Most of the natural resources have either been depleted or the costs of continued exploitation are prohibitive. Industries such as mining and forestry have virtually collapsed, and most heavy industries are in the process of relocating overseas. Strong opposition by local communities has made the disposal of industrial and toxic wastes considerably more difficult, and as a result waste disposal and waste-creating industries are also moving overseas.

Today, the mountainous interior of Japan remains sparsely populated, while the limited flat land around the coast has become one huge urban-industrial area, stretching for example with hardly a break from Tokyo to Osaka. As we have seen, this approach to urban development is inherently violent, for it destroys not only the natural environment, both of the earth and sea, but it erodes the health and well being of the people, destroying their creativity and vitality and eating away at the very heart of the society it is striving to 'develop'. In the Japanese version, there is little room for positive difference, and in spite of the introduction of democracy into political life in Japan, the country in many ways remained a hierarchical monolith, a prototypical example of the sacrifice of the people and environment for the cause of development. Today, that attitude is often called 'development despotism' or 'development racism' and is used in an accusatory manner by the 'developed' countries in reference to some 'developing' ones. Yet, in the

aftermath of the earthquake, one of the most commonly heard phrases in response to demands for greater protection of human life and the environment was, "It can't be helped, redevelopment comes first." In this context, the question which must be posed is whether in fact it *can* be helped, and at what cost. In other words, while recognizing the need for infrastructure development, is there a way to go about it which is both nonviolent and effective? In a country where most of the population live in urban areas, is it unrealistic to consider this the basis of 'security' in its most fundamental form?

(2) Urban Development and the City of Kobe

The city of Kobe has been no exception to the national pattern of development. In fact, one might say that it has been a model for such a pattern. 'Kobe City, Incorporated' is known for its clever moneymaking schemes, its tourist-promotion and its hi-tech development. For about twenty years leading up to 17 January 1995, the city of Kobe, with the consent of most of its residents, had created a metropolis in which high-tech development took priority over social welfare.[14] Construction of islands and building complexes, landfill and land reclamation projects and industrial development were given priority over environmental concerns.[15] It was, in fact, a prime example of Shiva's "substitution of the sanctity of science and development for the sanctity of life," and was predicated on the sacrifice of individual rights and freedoms for the sake of economic development, conceived of in terms of a patriarchal hierarchy emphasizing industrialization, trade and technology.

The city of Kobe also boasts one of the largest and, at least until the earthquake, busiest ports in the world. In 1854, the ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki and Hakodate were opened to the world; nine years later on 1 January 1863, Hyogo followed suit. In a former army training ground near the port, the government constructed a special district for the foreigners to live in, with the intention of keeping them apart from the Japanese population. While construction was going on, foreigners were also allowed to live elsewhere. As a result, foreign residents were concentrated in three areas:

---

14. During the 26 years of the administration of Mayor Miyazaki, Kobe City boasted "the best social welfare (programs) for the least money," and in fact expenditures for social welfare were among the lowest in urban Japan. In reply to accusations after the earthquake that his administration had ignored warnings of earthquakes and other disasters, knowingly approved public works projects at secondary rather than primary earthquake safety levels, and not prepared proper emergency procedures, Miyazaki replied, "Disaster prevention was not an issue for my city management. It would have to be dealt with elsewhere." (Mainichi TV, 6 March 1995). In op. cit. *Kobeshi Kokusho*, pp.6-7.

15. For example, 2,023 hectares of ocean was filled in between 1960 and 1990, using a total of 283,430,000 cubic meters of gravel that had been taken from 1,328 hectares of mountain land in the northern part of the city. A housing development was build on the remains. Most of this liquefied during the earthquake. (op. cit. *Kobeshi Kokusho,* p.125).

the designated district, the hill district of Kitano for those foreigners from treaty countries such as the US, Britain and Germany and the area near the present 'Chinatown' where many Overseas Chinese and later Koreans and Indians lived. The Chinese and Indians have been primarily involved in trade and in the food industry. Today, Kobe has one of the largest Korean populations in Japan, many of whom were forcibly brought over after the annexation of the Korean Peninsula, or are descendants of people who were. In addition, Kobe now has one of the largest Vietnamese populations in Japan. While foreigners are now free to live wherever they please, the demographics of the present-day Kobe reflect these original divisions.[16]

The relationship between the international population and the city of Kobe has many aspects, some positive and others negative. In Japan, foreigners, including second and third generation Koreans, do not have voting rights, and are generally not entitled to employment in government offices. In recent years, the presence of Europeans and Americans has been used by the tourist trade to promote Kobe as an 'exotic' and 'international' city; the overseas Chinese provide commercial opportunities as well as helping the tourist trade with the popular 'Chinatown' district. The city has by and large treated these minority populations as useful decorations, but has not as a rule given them a role in the actual governance of the city.[17]

The other Asian minorities, particularly Korean and, more recently Vietnamese, have had a less than positive experience. They have formed an underclass which has supported the local industries such as the manufacturing of synthetic shoes. This industry requires the use of highly flammable petrochemicals, and until the earthquake, much of the production took place in small shops or in-house factories. The structures which housed these factories and residences were for the most part old and flimsy buildings which had been built in a great hurry after most of the city was razed during the war. The streets were narrow and crowded, and for some time the city had been working on a plan to 'clean up' that part of the city.[18] It was thus no surprise that when the earthquake struck, large portions of that part of Kobe (Nagata Ward and parts of Suma and Hyogo Wards) burst into flame. It is also no surprise that the fires could not be controlled.

---

16. Gaikokujin Jishin Joho Senta, ed. *Hanshin Daishinsai to Gaikokujin: Tabunka Kyosei Shakai no Genjo to Kanosei (The Great Hanshin Earthquake and Foreigners)*, Akashi Shoten, 1996, pp.24-36.

17. This attitude is beginning to change. Since the early 1990's, both Kobe City and Hyogo Prefecture have begun to make efforts to reach foreign residents. International Divisions have been created in public offices, and foreigners are now afforded most of the same rights and privileges as Japanese residents. After the earthquake, both the City and Prefecture established foreign advisory committees on earthquake recovery, but there has been very little effort to integrate foreigners into already existing committees and programs.

18. A Kobe City Master Plan for the 21st Century called for the cleaning up of these districts, referring to them as the 'inner city problem'. It is this author's opinion that the Master Plan was a 'plan waiting for a disaster;' the disaster happened and the plan formed the basis for the extremely unpopular Kobe Reconstruction Plan.

Other parts of the city also suffered serious damage, some also with very bad fires. While many wealthy people were also affected, and many of their houses destroyed, the damage was clearly worst for those who could least afford it.[19] *(See Appendix 2)*. Almost all of the low-cost rental housing in Kobe was destroyed as a result of the earthquake, as well as many private homes. Low cost housing had been occupied by a variety of people, in particular minorities, students and pensioners, many of them unemployed and living alone. Their situation was at best sub-standard before the earthquake;[20] after the earthquake the choice (for the those who had one) was between staying in emergency relief centers or temporary shelters or returning to what was left of their homes. No one could in good faith ask people to return to their prior lives, often in even worse conditions than before, but no acceptable low-cost housing alternative has been presented.[21] People have had to uproot themselves, moving far away to unfamiliar neighborhoods where transportation is at best poor and services are virtually unavailable.

A year and a half after the earthquake, a first-time visitor to Kobe would be surprised by how little evidence is left to tell the tale of what happened here. There is a lot of empty space, vacant lots where buildings once stood, but most of the rubble is gone. Several months after the quake, the Bullet Train line which had been severed was restored. Electricity was restored to many areas within days, most within weeks, although many of the fires are reputed to have started because the power was turned back on without making appropriate checks on appliances which had been in use at the time of the power failure. Water service was restored within several months, and gas followed soon after. Work continues day and night on the highway which collapsed, and it is now scheduled to reopen in October. It is altogether quite remarkable, and the argument is made that in order to create jobs and bring economic affluence back to Kobe, the infrastructure has to be replaced. Yet from the standpoint of security, one wonders if perhaps they haven't got the equation turned around. It seems that once again, 'development and science' are replacing 'life'.

---

19. For example, 106 residents of the *Burakumin* districts of Kobe died in the quake, comprising 1.6% of the total Burakumin population as opposed to 0.3% of the Japanese population as a whole. Similarly, 374 residences were partially or totally destroyed (54.2% of the total) as opposed to 39.8% for the whole population. Thus the death rate for the Burakumin was 5.3 times that of the city as a whole, and destruction 1.4 times that of the whole. (Japanese NGO Forum for Habitat II, *Habitat II: Japan NGO Country Report,* June 1996, pp.115-116).

20. "According to a recent housing census by the government, about half the households (in Japan) are experiencing housing problems. There are about 3.4 million homes which do not meet the minimum housing standard." (ibid., p.14).

21. As this paper is being written, the prefecture has just announced a plan for very low cost housing for earthquake victims, with rooms for those with no income beginning at ¥5,000/month. *Asahi Shimbun, 28 June 1996.*

IV. The Violence of the Earthquake: Woman and Minorities

The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake occurred in a highly industrialized and urbanized area which as we have seen was already at high risk due to the process of urban development.   After the earthquake, several other kinds of violence became superimposed on this background.   First, there is the physical violence of the earthquake itself, as indicated by the extent of the damage and the number of fatalities.   In this respect, women and foreigners comprise proportionally more of the fatalities than do men and Japanese. Next, there is the issue of women and violence.   In Kobe, women have been victims of both threats and actual physical violence.   A related issue is that of violence toward foreigners, and there have been instances of this as well. In addition, one can look at the structural violence inherent in urban life which affected access to services and relief supplies.   Here we find that people who were part of an established community, foreign or Japanese, fared better than those who were on their own.   Finally, one can look at the violence reflected in the process of recovery.   This is difficult to ascertain, but can be conceived of in terms of concrete measures such as employment (re-employment) and income, as well as in terms of numbers of people seeking counseling, lasting emotional effects, satisfaction with living conditions or illnesses.   Here again we are likely to find that the socially isolated, particularly seniors living alone, disabled people, women and minorities are at a disadvantage.

(1) Physical violence of the earthquake itself

The area hardest hit by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake was Hyogo Prefecture; of the over 6,000 deaths caused by the quake, 5,470 occurred in Hyogo, and most of those in Kobe City.   Of these, 3,278 or more than half were women, and of the 2,904 people over the age of 60, 1,875 were women. *(See Appendix 3).*   Of those killed, an estimated 88% were crushed by collapsed buildings, while about 10% died in the fires which followed the quake.[22]   Why were so many of the victims women?

As has already been mentioned, most of the victims lived in low cost housing which was unable to withstand the quake.   Since the earthquake occurred early in the morning, almost everyone was at home, most people still in bed.   The high number of people over the age of 60 who were killed

---

22. 53.0% of the fatalities were people over the age of 60, 33.7% over 70 and 15.0% over 80.   A total of 218 (130 in Kobe City) disabled people were killed, 200 (118) physically disabled and 18 (12) mentally disabled.   *Most of the victims lived in cheap, crowded, old wooden buildings near the entertainment district, and worked at nearby clinics doing massage and acupuncture.   Almost all of these buildings were destroyed.*   (Zenshoken Hyogoshibu, *Gareki no naka no Shogaisha,* 1995).   For details on foreign deaths, see Appendix 4.   Foreigners comprise 2.9% of the population of Kobe, and about 4% of the population of the wards most seriously hit by the quake.   The death rate for foreigners was 3.14%, a figure which is proportionally high. op. cit., *Hanshin Daishinsai to Gaikokujin,* p.14.

suggests not only that they were less able to physically withstand the earthquake, but that the living conditions of pensioners were worse than those of others.   The high number of women reflects the large number of older women with relatively low incomes who were living alone.

(2) Violence after the earthquake

Thanks to modern telecommunications, during the period of confusion directly after the earthquake, the outside world probably knew more about it than those living in the area.   One of the aspects which attracted attention in both the domestic and international press was the lack of outright physical violence.   There were few reports of looting or robbery immediately after the earthquake, and people lined up quietly, often for hours, to received food and water.   Moreover, as reports began to filter in about the extent of the damage, people flocked to Kobe from all over the country to bring food and other emergency supplies, or just anxious to offer physical assistance. Stories of kindness and generosity abounded, and Japan complimented itself on how far it had progressed since the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, where tens of thousands of people were massacred.

In fact, there *were* relatively few lootings and violent incidents.   With the transportation system paralyzed and the roads jammed, thefts of motorcycles and bicycles increased, but otherwise the crime rate is said to have gone down after the earthquake.   People were more open and friendly than usual; men were at home and active in their neighborhoods, where ordinarily they would have been at work from early morning to late at night.   People bonded in the face of the horror of the quake and its aftermath, and for a while it truly seemed that a new 'era of volunteerism' had dawned.

The reasons for this docile reaction to the difficulties caused by the earthquake are beyond the scope of this paper.   Suffice it to say that if Tokyo, or even Osaka had been destroyed, I doubt things would have been nearly so peaceful.   The outside world remained in tact, and people expected that it was therefore merely a question of waiting until rescue arrived.   The earthquake itself was a huge shock, and it was greatly compounded when the authorities did not respond as quickly or efficiently as people expected.

Contrary to popular reports, there was also a dark side to the earthquake which has not been addressed by the media.   That dark side is rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment, discrimination and physical violence. There is very little data available on this darker side of the earthquake, although many people have stories and examples.   A small illustration from one of the womens' hot lines set up after the quake appears below, but it is safe to assume that the actual numbers far exceed these figures.   I have personally heard about several cases of unreported rape.   One person described how the rapist, a 'volunteer,' entered an emergency shelter in the late morning, after most of the men had left for the day.   He chose his

victim, and there was little she or the people around her could do.   Other
cases involve women, both residents and volunteers, being dragged into
destroyed buildings on dark, deserted streets and raped.

Hot Line Calls Received (2/6/1995)

COMPLAINT	AGE 20~29	AGE 30~39	AGE 40~49	AGE 50~59	AGE 60~69	TOTAL
Child abuse	66	37		1		104
Insomnia	94	55	144	4	8	305
Fear/anxiety	72	41	38	6	5	162
Depression, recurrence of depression	5	4	12			21
Physical distress, etc.	20	19	60	3	2	104
Trouble with interpersonal relationships	56	68	137	10	4	275
Trouble within family relationships	88	84	129	2	4	307
Trouble at work/sexual harassment, etc.	64	21	31			116
Anxiety about children	57	114	27	6		204
Rape/attempted rape	31	5	1			37

(Source: *Asahi Shimbun*, July 26, 1995)

A different type of violence which occurred after the earthquake was
directed primarily at minorities, and grows out of the general discrimination
against non-Japanese, particularly Asian minorities.   After the quake,
jikeidan or vigilance committees were formed in many neighborhoods.   They
consisted of groups of men armed with sticks who went around patrolling the
destroyed neighborhoods to protect their property from potential looters.
Again, hard data is difficult to find, but personal experience and communi-
cation indicates that the primary suspects were foreign men, and at the very
least a fair amount of harassment went on.   In the first few weeks, there
were also reports in newspapers and other news sources accusing foreign
residents of looting.   To the best of my knowledge, none of these proved to
be accurate.   There were, in addition, many foreign residents who were
afraid to go to emergency shelters, or who left the shelters after incidents of
direct or indirect discrimination and/or violence.   In addition, many un-
documented workers were afraid to go to public offices or shelters, and were
thus unable to receive the compensation to which they were entitled.

(3) Structural violence: access to relief services

It has been suggested that the groups which suffered most in this disaster
were those that were already marginalized, particularly minorities, disabled,
seniors and women.   In addition, a group which has been consistently
ignored and discriminated against is people who were already homeless at

the time of the earthquake.   These people were denied access to emergency shelters and relief supplies because they did not have a prior address. They have also been denied access to temporary housing for the same reason.[23]

On the day of the earthquake, an estimated 202,043 people sought refuge in 497 schools, auditoriums and other emergency shelters.   The shelters were overflowing, and in spite of freezing temperatures, many people found themselves sleeping in parks and parking lots for lack of any other place to go.   When supplies started flowing, a system of 'official' and 'unofficial' shelters was adopted, with only those in 'official' shelters being eligible for food, clothing, medical attention and other emergency supplies.   In order to become an 'official' shelter, there had to be least five people with permanent addresses and a person willing to serve as a leader.   In addition, in spite of the fact that no stores were open, and many neighborhoods had no power or water, supplies were only available for officially registered shelter residents.   Those people who had arrived too late to register at shelters, did not have the energy or ability to go to a shelter, or who had for whatever reason chosen to remain in their homes, often in partially destroyed buildings, found themselves without access to food and water.   Most of these 'leftover' people had to rely on volunteer groups and organizations for food and water.   Those without access to these services were totally on their own.[24]

Contrary to peoples' expectations that the government would take care of them, after the earthquake most of the initial slack was picked up not by local government but by local community and service organizations: PTAs, YMCA, YWCA, neighborhood associations, and the like.   These organizations already had the expertise in managing volunteers, and maintained networks outside the stricken area, so they were able to mobilize both physical and human resources.   Moreover, they were familiar with their constituency, so they were able to collect and disperse information much more efficiently than government authorities.   In fact, for a while both national and municipal authorities were relying on the YMCA disaster relief center in Tokyo for information.[25]

Foreign residents who had no access to these community organizations

---

23   In this case, the 'homeless' are primarily older men who are living apart from their families and work primarily as day laborers at construction projects.   With the downturn in the economy, it is more and more difficult for these men to work, particularly as they get older, and many are forced to live on the street.   (Christian Fellowship in Kamagasaki & Association for 'The Homeless' in Kobe, "'Victims', Yet Treated as 'Non-Victims': 'The Homeless' People in Kobe," p.2).

24.   For example, a man was found about a month after the earthquake under a bridge.   He was extremely malnourished and died soon after, in spite of many emergency shelters, food stations and free clinics in the immediate vicinity. (ibid., p.2).

25.   For example, the Volunteer Center in the National Council of YMCAs of Japan in Tokyo served as a direct information center for the Japanese government.   Personal communication, Hiroshi Yoshinaga, director, Japan YMCA.

were at a disadvantage, particularly since there was virtually no foreign language information available during the early period of confusion.   These people encountered difficulties such as the discrimination which has already been mentioned.   A related problem for foreign residents was access to medical care, particularly if they did not have medical insurance.[26]   In addition, many foreign residents suffered from discrimination in terms of compensation and benefits.

For those that were connected, affiliation with organized communities and community groups worked to the advantage of people in the non-Japanese community, particularly those who had access to these organizations prior to the quake.   This advantage was twofold; they were already organized in a 'community' (e.g. they knew who and where their constituency was) so that they were able to take action to help each other immediately and they had strong connections with the 'outside' world.   The best examples of this are the Korean and Overseas Chinese communities, which were able to both organize locally and receive contributions from similar groups in Japan, as well as from abroad.   These communities were of course helped by the fact that they are well established, have a good understanding of the Japanese language, and have schools in Kobe which served as centers for their operations.   The Canadian Academy also served as a focus for the English speaking community, especially that on Rokko Island, and was helped by Proctor and Gamble, a multinational located nearby which has a large foreign work force and which mobilized immediately for help with earthquake relief.

In comparison with these organized communities, individual foreigners who were not part of a well established community or foreign communities which are not well established within and outside of Japan had more difficulty.   Similarly, Japanese, both men and women, who were not in some way part of a 'community' had a much more difficult time.   Since women in Japan tend to be responsible for 'caring' tasks, the burden of keeping the family together, caring for injured or homeless relatives, providing emotional support, as well as providing for everyday activities such as food preparation was primarily on women.   These tasks, difficult under the best of circumstances, became overwhelming in the face of the disaster.

(4) Recovery

The city of Kobe has come a long way in a year and a half, but it still has an even longer way to go.   It has already been noted that those most seriously affected by the earthquake were those in the lowest income categories.   In Japan, many women are employed in part time rather than full time jobs; those who do work full time are often paid less than their male counterparts.

---

26.   See for example MORIKI Kazumi in Women's Net Kobe, ed.   *Onnatachi ga Kataru Hanshin Daishinsai,* Women's Net Kobe, 1996, pp.192-194.

Foreign workers, particularly those who are undocumented, are paid even less. Before the earthquake, many foreign women and foreign students worked in bars, restaurants and nightclubs. Since most of these establishments were destroyed, the foreigners found themselves without even the hope of employment. But things were not much easier for Japanese women. Many part time workers were fired *(see Appendix 5)* and many others found they had to choose between family and work. With no school and no one to care for children, aging parents, and homeless or injured relatives, many women felt they had no choice, and many of those who chose their jobs over family were severely criticized for the decision.[27]   In any event, women found themselves taking responsibility for maintaining a semblance of 'normalcy' amidst the confusion in the months which followed the quake. *(See Appendix 6)*.

In the months since the earthquake, there has also been a great increase in psychological and physical complaints. Many people report that their aging parents have suddenly become ill or senile for no apparent reason and many patients with illnesses which had been under control suddenly found their symptoms recurring or growing worse. Immediately after the earthquake, many people in emergency shelters died from influenza and pneumonia, a result of the shock and the cold.[28]   Now that most shelters are closed and tent cities are not so visible, these types of problems are much more difficult to discern, but it is clear that women are not only victims themselves, but they are expected to care for those around them who cannot care for themselves.

In the year or so since people have moved into temporary shelters, hardly a day passes without a story in the paper of the discovery of the body of someone who lived, and died, alone. Sometimes they are discovered immediately, other times it takes longer. Some of these people have died from illnesses, but over 100 people have committed suicide. Most of the suicides were men in their late fifties or early sixties who had lost family or jobs or both, and could not stand the stress, pain and loneliness. With no jobs, no hobbies, no friends and no place to go, many of these men turn to alcohol as their only source of comfort. For these people, the structure of gender relations which has kept them locked into their jobs and masculinity does not offer very much choice.

It is perhaps important here to say a word about political participation and action.   On 17 March 1995, two months after the quake, Kobe City announced a reconstruction plan for the 13 most severely damaged areas of the city. The plan was presented unilaterally, and residents were given only two weeks to review it.   There were no public hearings, and many residents

---

27. op. cit. Women's Net Kobe, pp.72-78.
28. Here again is an example of how older people were more seriously affected. Of the 442 people said to have died in emergency shelters after the quake, 90% were over the age of 60. (op. cit., *Hanshin Daishisai to Gaikokujin,* p.14).

were not in Kobe at the time because they had lost their homes and had no place to live.   Blueprints were on display, but only for limited hours at only one location.   Since train service was still disrupted, moving around the city was extremely difficult, and most people could not go and see the blueprints, even if they wanted to.   In spite of these obstacles, more than 2,000 people voiced their complaints.   These opinions were ignored, and the plan went through.   The same thing occurred again when plans for building a local airport in Kobe were under review.   Most local residents felt that housing should be built before the airport; these opinions were also ignored.   Moreover, public hearings, if and when they are held, generally consist of the city proffering a completed document and the committee rubber stamping it. This has been the typical attitude of Kobe City for more than twenty years.

Not surprisingly, the redevelopment plan calling for redistricting and construction of high rise apartments met with opposition.   People were very angry and a certain amount of community organizing occurred.   In the end, however, the overwhelming details of getting on with life in a disaster area seemed to sap the energy for political action and people began to resign themselves to the city's plans.

The exceptions were, understandably, the minority neighborhoods which have a history of solidarity and resistance to oppression.   These neighborhoods have managed to take the initiative to reconstruct their lives in their own way, and their successes have given others hope.   It is interesting to note that in the case of Nagata Ward, for example, Japanese as well as non-Japanese residents have been active, although foreigners do not have the right to vote, even in local elections.   In general, however, where the foreign community has been politically active, it has been with regard to ensuring their own rights and benefits rather than with more general issues such as housing.

Some battles have been won.   For example, at least in a legal sense, there is no longer any difference between Japanese and non-Japanese sufferers. Also, it seems that in some City and Prefectural Committees, the established agenda/proposal format has been discarded, and committees are actually beginning to draw up their own original proposals.   It is too early to tell whether these changes are in fact meaningful, but they seem to be a step in the right direction.   Unfortunately, processes which are truly democratic require both time and energy, and there is very little of either to spare in Kobe right now.[29]

The trauma of the earthquake and its aftermath, the loss of loved ones and friends, the shock of the sudden transformation of one's home into piles of rubble and empty lots — these have had, and continue to have serious implications for the mental health of the community.   The experience of the earthquake has created powerful emotions which can become both creative

---

29.   op. cit.   Japan NGO Report, pp.132-134.   Also personal communication, Rev. Kenichi Kusachi, Director, Local NGO Coordinating Team for Hanshin Quake Relief, 29 June 1995.

energy and destructive violence. It has affected individuals differently at different times. There were periods of short temper, lack of concentration, lethargy and despair. There was much talk for a while about mental health care, but with regard to the politics of redevelopment and the logistics of everyday life in the city, people were expected to be rational and even-tempered. Let us recognize that when it comes to one's own security, defined in terms of the life and lifestyle of oneself and one's loved ones, dispassion is neither possible nor desirable.

Strong emotion and frustration often lead to violent behavior. In addition to rape, there was and continues to be a great increase in domestic violence, alcoholism, suicide and alcohol-related death.[30] While the most common victims of domestic violence are women and children, suicides and alcohol-related deaths tend to be single, older men living in temporary housing. This reflects the stress of life in post-earthquake Kobe, the result of insufficient housing, economic difficulties due to the earthquake, unemployment, and general malaise which accompanies life in a disaster area.

V. Conclusion

We live in a violent world and our security ultimately depends on our ability to cope with that violence. This simple statement forms the essence of what it is hoped has been conveyed in this paper. It has tried to look at the violence of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake within the framework of a broad, human approach to the question security. It has been an experiment, an attempt to link personal concerns with national security, taking the idea of human security and particularly endogenous security as its point of departure.

It has been suggested that the issue of the earthquake and security cannot be addressed without at least acknowledging the problem of violence. In the course of these pages, we have looked at various forms of violence which seem to be pertinent. In particular, the earthquake has underscored the existence of five areas of violence which are transnational in nature, and therefore not included in conventional conceptualizations of state security. These are the violence of nature, the violence of human emotions, violence against women, and the inherent violence of cities and of the development process itself. Let us review each briefly.

The idea of the violence of nature, as well as that of human emotion, is closely related to the concept of power; that which is both powerful and destructive is seen as being violent, while non-destructive power is often perceived as strength. The insistence in the field of international relations on dispassionate rationality denies this type of violence, in spite of the fact that this type of violence often presents the biggest threat to our security

---

30. With regard to domestic violence, etc. see for example *Asahi Shimbun,* 13 May 1996. *"Hisaichi 'Ippitsu' kiregire" (Letters from the Disaster Area).*

and well-being. One response is to build one's strength from without; another is to reduce one's vulnerability from within. The remaining three categories of violence can be defined within the concept of structural violence. In this context, violence against women pertains both to physical violence and also to the structural violence inherent in our patriarchal world. The inherent violence of cities and particularly mega-cities refers not only to the structural violence involved in the building of cities, but all of the issues involved when large numbers of people are concentrated into relatively small spaces. It is both compounded by, and at the same time compounds the problem of poverty, thus increasing the violence of both. Finally, the violence of the development process is seen in terms not only of the relationship between human society and nature, but also in terms of the effects of development, particularly hi-tech development, on human society itself.

The concept of endogenous security is proposed as a way of incorporating these kinds of transnational violence into the security paradigm. By looking from the bottom-up rather than the top-down, endogenous security makes issues such as peoples' concern about the power/violence of nature an issue of international importance. It would therefore make environmental issues and disaster relief a matter for global concern. At the same time, reduction of vulnerability from within would mean placing emphasis on the security of the weakest rather than the strongest. It would mean adequate housing and social welfare, as well as up-to-date disaster preparedness and training.

By emphasizing participation, endogenous security calls for involvement of people. The reactions of people to the earthquake underscores the importance of recognizing both that participation is not necessarily rational or consistent, and that there is a need to establish means for the non-violent expression of strong emotion. To a certain extent, the earthquake created opportunities for new kinds of participation. New links have been established, for example, between different ethnic minorities. Similarly, some women have become more actively involved in politics, although the public/private nature of gender roles remains virtually the same. For a while, the sheer violence and destruction caused by the earthquake removed the usual social barriers, and people simply did what they could to help, but while individuals may have changed, it takes more than an earthquake to change the structure of how society works.

Endogenous security is not a way to prevent natural disasters from occurring, nor will it prevent the destruction of lives and property if and when one does occur. What it might do is allow us to take a different perspective on our own alternatives for action. One of the main lessons of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake is that if we are to be secure, we must take responsibility and guarantee that security for ourselves. It is hoped that the idea of endogenous security will give us a way to begin to approach the problem and to take action.

APPENDIX 1

RESULTS OF MEASUREMENTS OF ASBESTOS (SIX TIMES)


(Source: *Kobeshi Kokusho*, p.96)
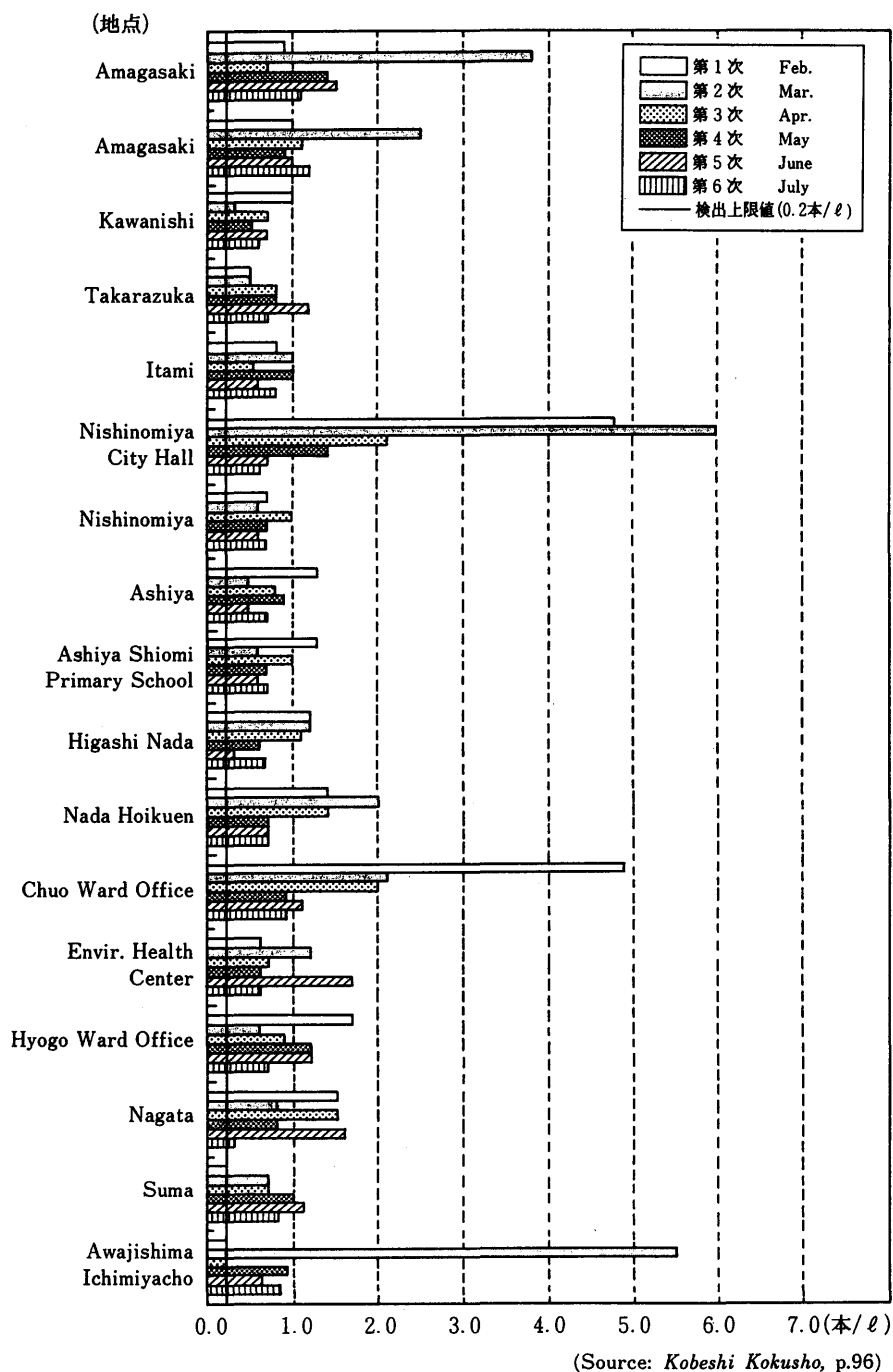
APPENDIX 2

AVERAGE INCOME OF RESIDENTS OF WOODEN APARTMENTS
WHICH SUFFERED DAMAGE IN THE EARTHQUAKE

NET ANNUAL INCOME (YEN)	% LIVING IN WOODEN APARTMENTS
Less than 1 million	34.8
1 – 2 million	27.9
2 – 3 million	20.8
3 – 4 million	15.9
4 – 5 million	11.5

(Source: *Kobeshi Kokusho*, p.26)

APPENDIX 3

DEATHS FROM THE HANSHIN
EARTHQUAKE: # OF WOMEN/MEN

TOTAL: 5,470 (14 APRIL 1995)
WOMEN: 3,278   MEN: 2,192

Ratio of deaths from the earthquake to
natural deaths (black line) by age
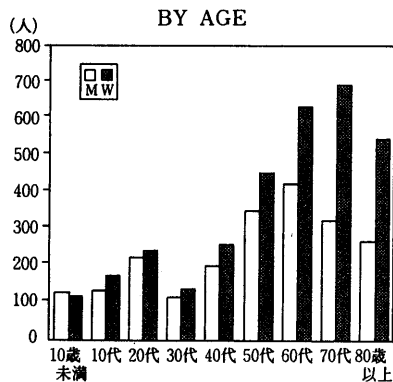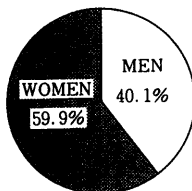
(Source: Hyogo Prefectural Women's
Center. *Danjo Kyosei no Machizukuri*).
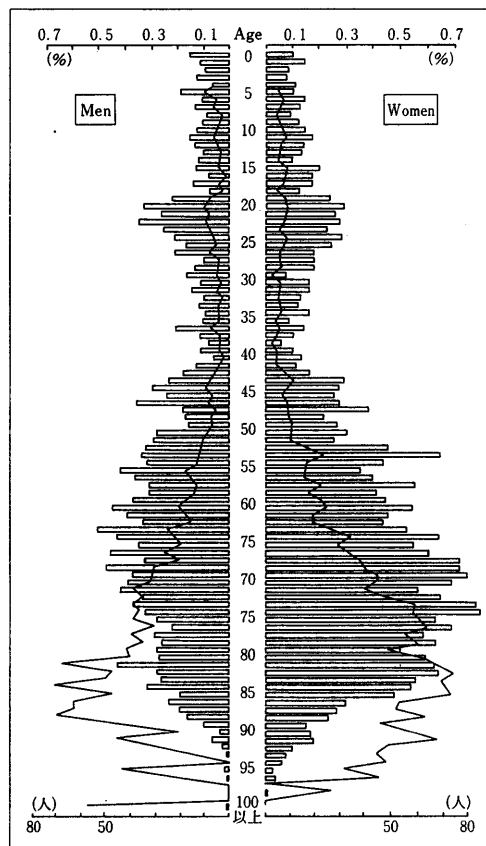
(Source: *Mainichi Shimbun*, 6 March 1995.
Based on police reports.)

APPENDIX 4

Number of Deaths by Country of Citizenship

Country of Citizenship	Number of Deaths
Korca	117
China	44
Brasil	8
Burma	3
USA	2
Philippines	2
Algeria	1
Australia	1
Peru	1
TOTAL	174

(Source: *Tagen Bunka Kyosei Senta,* p.76)

Average increase in Foreign Residents (%)

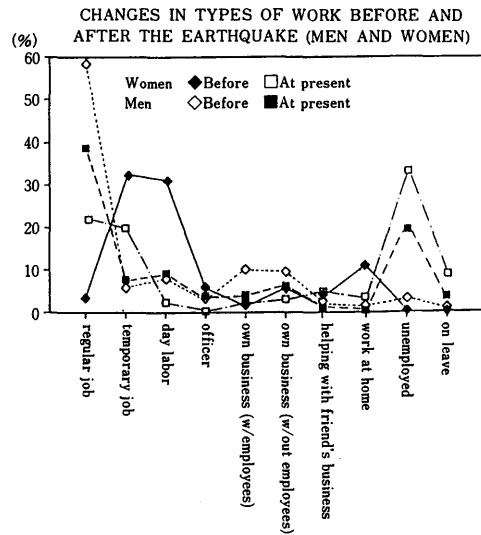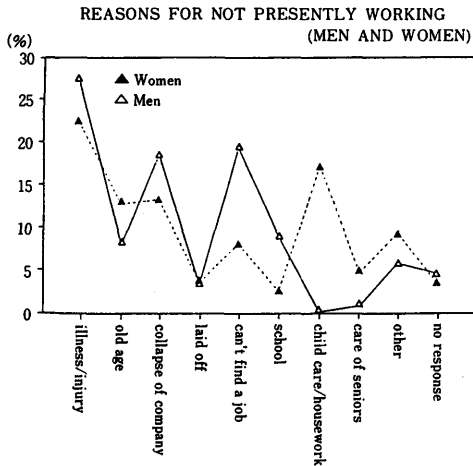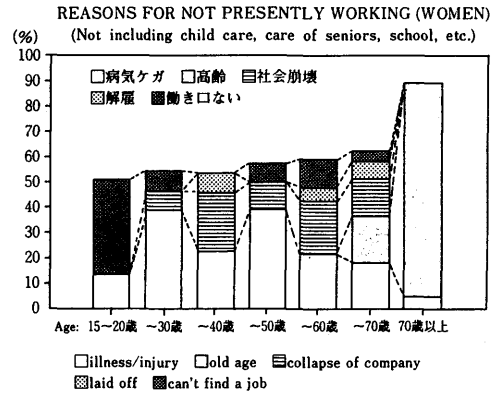| Period	Kobe	Japan
1960–65年	1.4	0.5
1965–70年	1.3	1.2
1970–75年	0.4	1.2
1975–80年	0.4	0.8
1980–85年	0.8	1.7
1985–90年	1.0	4.8
1990–93年	2.1	7.1

(Source: *Tagen Bunka Kyosei Senta,* p.52)

NUMBER OF DEATHS AND % FOREIGNERS

AGE	DEATHS (Total)	FOREIGN DEATHS	FOREIGNERS (% OF TOTAL)
0~10	249	10	4.0
10代	310	4	1.3
20代	470	28	6.0
30代	261	20	7.7
40代	468	20	4.3
50代	814	24	3.0
60代	1,061	32	3.0
70代	1,029	29	2.8
80代	736	7	1.0
90代	95		0
TOTAL	5,493	174	3.2

(Source: *Tagen Bunka Kyosei Senta,* p.76)

APPENDIX 5

CHANGES IN JOBS BEFORE AND AFTER THE QUAKE
(WOMEN)

Age: 15~20歳   ~30歳   ~40歳   ~50歳   ~60歳   ~70歳 70歳以上

before the quake: ○Employed   ◇Employed but on leave   □Unemployed
at present: ●Employed   ◆Employed but on leave   ■Unemployed

REASONS FOR NOT PRESENTLY WORKING (WOMEN)
(Not including child care, care of seniors, school, etc.)

Age: 15~20歳 ~30歳 ~40歳 ~50歳 ~60歳 ~70歳 70歳以上

□illness/injury □old age 目collapse of company
図laid off ▩can't find a job

REASONS FOR NOT PRESENTLY WORKING
(MEN AND WOMEN)

CHANGES IN TYPES OF WORK BEFORE AND
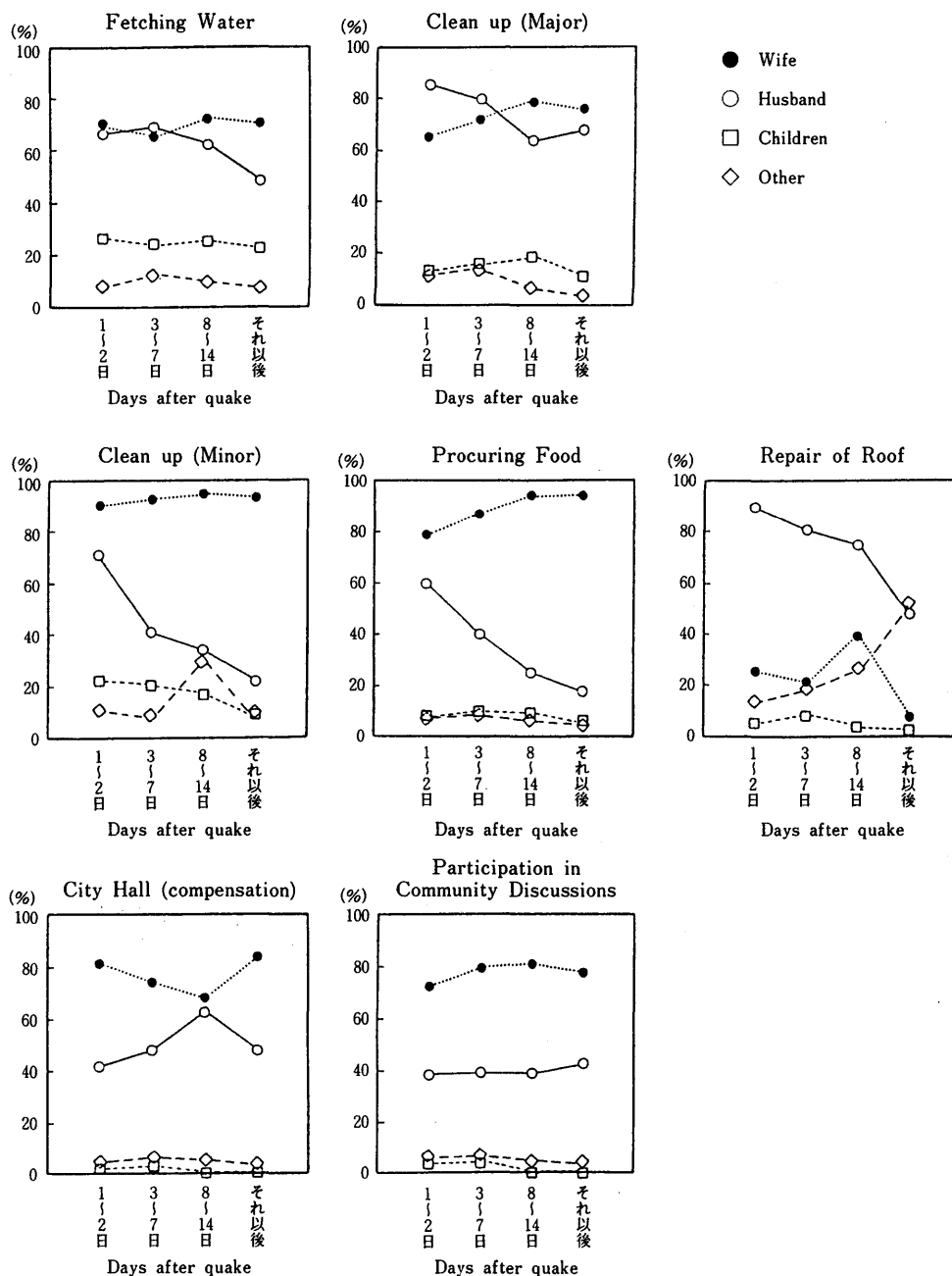AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE (MEN AND WOMEN)

(Source: *Onnatachi ga Kataru Hanshin Daishinsai*, pp.70-71)

APPENDIX 6

DIVISION OF LABOR IN HOMES AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

(Source: *Onnatachi ga Kataru Hanshin Daishinsai*, pp.77-78)

PRIMARY REFERENCES

Alexander, Ronni, "Guns, Butter and Tuna: Alternative Security in the Pacific Island States." *Journal of International Cooperation Studies,* Vol.2, No.1, June 1994.

...............*Putting the Earth First: Alternatives to Nuclear Security in Pacific Island States.*   Spark Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i, 1994.

Commission on Global Governance.   *Our Global Neighbourhood: The Report of the Commission on Global Governance.*   Oxford University Press, 1995.

Ekins, Paul.   *A New World Order: Grassroots Movements for Global Change.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Gaikokujin Jishin Joho Senta, ed.   *Hanshin Daishinsai to Gaikokujin: 'Tabunka Kyosei Shakai' no Genjo to Kanosei (The Great Hanshin Earthquake and Foreigners).*   Akashi Shoten, 1996.

Grant, Rebecca and Kathleen Newland, eds.   *Gender and International Relations.*   Indiana University Press, 1991.

Halliday, Fred.   *Rethinking International Relations.*   Macmillan, 1994.

Hayakawa, Kazuo.   "Hanshin Daishinsai: Fukkoha Jinken no Kaifuku to tomoni" ("Great Hanshin Earthquake: Recovery Should Include Return of Human Rights"), *Jurisuto,* No. 1070, 20 June 1995, pp.21-30.

Held, Virginia.   *Feminist Morality: Transforming Culture, Society and Politics.*   The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Hyogo Prefecture. "Chiiki Kokusaika Suishin Kihon Shishin 'Gaikokujin Kenmin to no Kyosei Shakai wo Mezashite'".   March, 1994.

Japanese NGO Forum for Habitat II.   *Habitat II: Japan NGO Country Report.*   June, 1996.

Kirdar, Üner and Leonard Silk, eds.   *People: From Impoverishment to Empowerment.*   New York University Press, 1995.

Lynn-Jones, Sean M. & Steven E. Miller, eds.   *Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security.*   The MIT Press, 1995.

Miller, Lynn H.   *Global Order: Values and Power in International Politics.* Westview Press, 1994.

Reardon, Betty A.   *Women and Peace: Feminist Visions of Global Security.* State University of New York, 1993.

Sakai, Michio, ed.   *Kobe Hatsu: Hanshin Daishinsai Igo (From Kobe: After the Earthquake),* Iwanami Shinsho #397, 1995.

Serita, Kiwako.   "Shinsai, Josei, Chikyu" (Earthquake, Women and the Earth).   *Josei Kukan, Vol. 13, 1996, pp.120-124.*

Shimin ga Tsukuru Kobeshi Hakusho Iinkai, ed.   Kobeshi Kokusho: Hanshin Daishinsai to Kobeshisei.   (Kobe Black Paper: Kobe City Administration and the Great Hanshin Earthquake).   Rodojunposha, 1996.

Sylvester, Christine.   *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Post*

  Modern Era.   Cambridge Studies in International Relations,
  Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Tickner, J. Ann.   *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives
  on Achieving Global Security.*   Columbia University Press, 1992.

United Nations Conference on Human Settlements.   "Habitat II Agenda"
  (unedited text). 15 June 1996.

United Nations Department of Public Information.   "Habitat II Background
  Papers," 1996.

..............."Women and Violence." DPI/1772/HR-96-00229-February 1996-
  20M.

United Nations Development Programme.   *Human Development Report
  1994.*   NY: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Warren, Karen J., ed.   *Ecological Feminism.*   Routledge, 1994.

Women's Net Kobe, ed.   *Onnatachi ga Kataru Hanshin Daishinsai (Women
  Talk About the Great Hanshin Earthquake).*   Mokubashokan, 1996.

Yoshioka, Motoi and Minoru Murata.   "'Victims', Yet Treated as 'Non-
  Victims'".   Christian Fellowship in Kamagasaki & Association for
  "The Homeless" in Kobe, 1996.