

災害時における信頼の構築

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自然災害では様々な主体が被災者支援を行うが、支援の調整が不十分である場合、被災コミュニティ間の軋轢や支援者に対する不信が生じ、それらは地域が復興に向かう上での障壁となる。本稿は、上記の問題を踏まえ、被災者支援と地域コミュニティ再構築の関係について考察したものである。支援主体の多様さは、レジリエントなコミュニティ形成の条件であるが、一方で、支援をめぐる不確実性を高める。2004年インド洋津波後のスリランカにおける被災者の支援に際しても、再定住先における仕事の確保の困難化とともにコミュニティ間の軋轢が生じ、再定住地が放棄される事例が多くあった。そんな中、再定住が比較的うまく進んだ事例では、マイクロファイナンス（貧困層向けの信頼にもとづく融資の仕組み）が仕事の確保とともに、コミュニティの再構築を促していた。このことは、住宅の立地や配置といった物的・空間的手段とともに、マイクロファイナンスのような、主体間の信頼にもとづく社会・経済的手段を提供することが、再定住地の継続性を高めることを示唆する。

キーワード：再定住、支援、コミュニティ、信頼、マイクロファイナンス

Building Trust in the Wake of a Disaster

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After natural disasters, various actors provide victims with aid in order to support the restoration of their lives. However aid can cause mistrust among community members, and between community and external actors when aid coordination is not enough. This article considers the relationship between support for victims and community reconstruction in terms of trust among actors. A similar situation was observed in resettlement support for people affected by the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004 in Sri Lanka. Many resettlement areas are abandoned because the victims are mainly small fishing households who cannot continue their jobs in the resettlement areas remote to the sea. Moreover, conflicts can arise when residents came from different communities. On the other hand, in resettlement areas where residents maintain a high quality of life, microfinance (small loan system for poor people) is key factor which facilitates trust among community members and it support livelihoods restoration and resilient community reconstruction.

keywords: Resettlement, Support, Community, Trust, Microfinance

1. Introduction: “Mistrust” in reconstruction

Immediately following a natural disaster, the sense of trust among local community members and between communities and external actors, such as governments, private companies, NGOs and individuals, plays an important role. After the Great East Japan Earthquake and ensuing Tsunami in 2011, there was an outpouring of assistance from governments, private companies, NGOs and individuals. However, coordination of the relief was initially confusing because the local administration and emergency services were severely affected by the disaster. This has resulted in uneven distribution of emergency assistance. Some communities received more help than others, for example, some communities received better quality temporary shelters with proper winter insulation while some others received temporary shelters with materials not suited for cold winter of affected areas. This quality difference became a key factor in the feelings of community members who received the lower quality shelter. This caused mistrust between the victims and the government, as well as jealousy among the different communities.

2. “Diversity” and resilient communities

In the case of reconstruction as described above, victims recognized the quality difference among temporary shelters as unfair distribution. Ironically, these negative feelings easily spread among members when their community solidarity got stronger and resulted in the feeling of a gap between communities. Certainly, housing after disaster is requires rapidity and efficiency to provide victims with shelter, and tends to be standardized.



Fig.1. Original settlement restored from the tsunami

However, dwellings reflect the diversity of the dweller’s lifestyle and characteristics of the community. This diversity contributes to a more resilient community in situations of emergency or uncertainty as it has been shown that “diversity” is a resource for any resilient system (Zolli 2012). On the other hand, diversity increases uncertainty in the decision making process. Therefore, this article focuses on the role of trust as psychological factor which decreases uncertainty among community members, communities, and external actors.

It is important to integrate socio-economic systems in settlement planning (spatial and physical system) and the socio-economic systems should be based on mutual trust. In the event of resettlement after a tsunami, the physical environment tends to be totally changed by disasters and the following relocations. That’s why a socio-economic system and feeling of trust are important as resources which remain even after the disaster. This article learns from the Sri Lankan experience of restoration and focuses on microfinance; a small loan system based on mutual trust.

3. Learning from Sri Lanka

3.1. “The Second Tsunami”

In Sri Lanka immediately following the Indian Ocean Tsunami of 2004, affected communities also encountered similar uneven distributions of emergency relief. Trust between the victims and the government deteriorated when initial help was delayed and disorganized. In addition, buffer zones were established in coastal areas and building restrictions were strengthened inside them. Buffer zones are defined by the distance to the sea (*1)

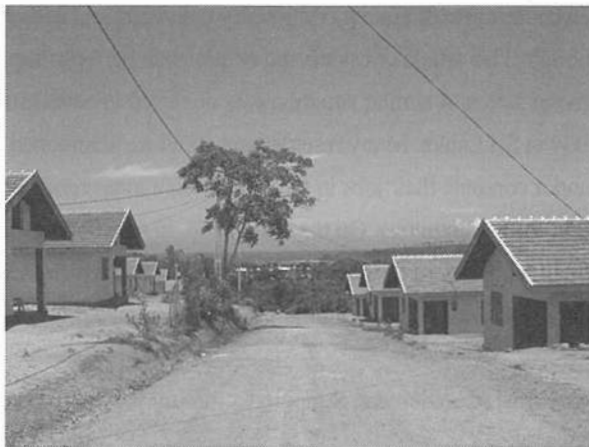


Fig.2. A new settlement called “Resettlement area”

and housing reconstruction is essentially prohibited inside the zone. Residents who lived in buffer zones before the tsunami included many small fishing households and were encouraged to migrate to new settlements which are called “resettlement areas” (Fig.1, Fig.2). It was pointed out that the policy making process concerning buffer zones and housing reconstruction lacked transparency and the Sri Lankan government regarded the tsunami as an opportunity to develop tourism industries and force fishery people to move out of the coastal areas. Therefore, this restoration process which causes confusion to the victims is being called “the second Tsunami” with evident sarcasm (Klein 2008).

3.2. The Overall situation of resettlement

Resettlement areas constructed after the tsunami totaled 351 sites, 33,760 housing units. There are various resettlement areas in terms of location, size, number of units, house type and common facilities etc. A few years after construction, “successful” resettlement areas where residents can continue to live in and “failure” ones where they cannot were observed.

According to my field investigation (*2), “location” was a main factor which determines “success” and “failure” of resettlement. The ratio of stable residents in resettlement areas decrease when they are located far from the sea (Maeda 2012). This is because most households make their living by fishing and don’t have vehicles for commuting to coastal areas. It is difficult for residents to continue fishing in resettlement areas which are remote from the sea and they move to other places.

In addition, “family” and “community” are key factors. Settlements in Sri Lanka are generally small and

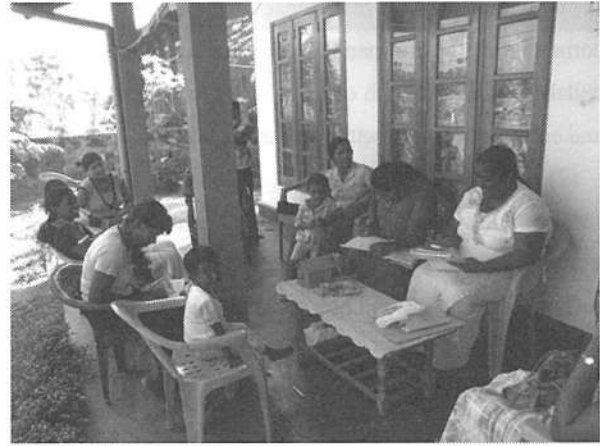


Fig.4. Group microfinance meeting

composed of approximately 50 households. They have similar socio-economic characteristics in terms of jobs, kinship, income level, ethnicity and caste. Those communities which have different characteristics were mixed in resettlement areas and it often caused conflict among residents. In some cases diversity of communities suffers in the stability of resettlement areas. Thus two types of divide, spatial divide (between resettlement areas and coastal resources) and social divide (among residents) are factors affecting sustainability of resettlement areas.

3.3. Characteristics of a “successful” resettlement

In some resettlement areas, over time through resettlement and support activities, trust was slowly restored among the various actors. Moreover, trust helped to restore their livelihoods and rebuild a sense of community in the new settlements. I examined key factors as shown below facilitating restoration of trust and lives by investigation a “successful” resettlement area (*3) in the Southern province.

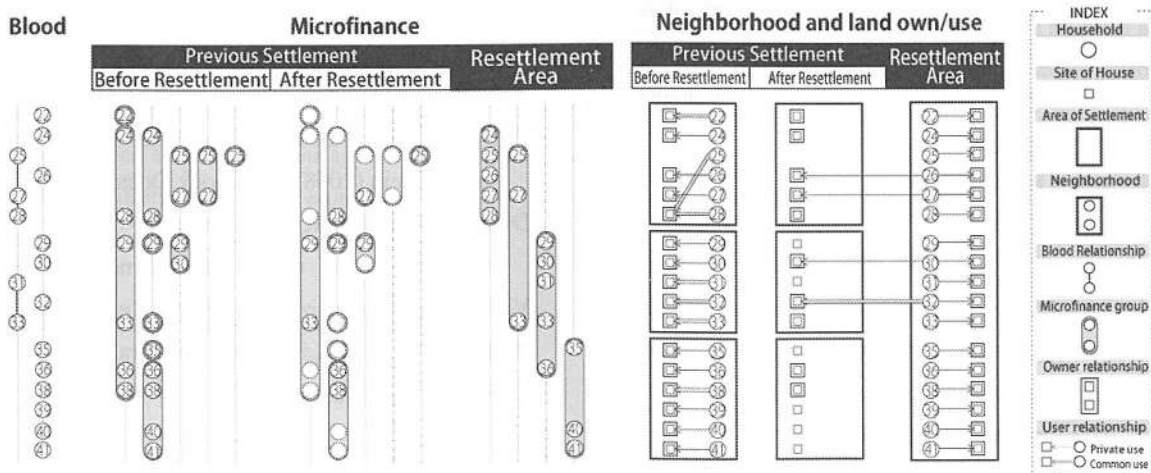


Fig.3. Analysis of multiple relationships among resettled households

(1) Introduction of microfinance (*4) to the resettled communities: Microfinance led to building trust through collaboration with each other in order to generate capital and employment in resettlement area.

(2) Physical design of the new settlement corresponding to continuity of jobs: Location near to the sea and houses with open-spaces suited for small jobs such as gardening, small boutiques and dry fishing etc.

(3) Co-learning process for utilization of capital and space: Co-learning of the residents and NGO staff before starting microfinance in order to properly use microfinance and spaces of the new settlement for development of their livelihoods.

In some cases, diversity of community members caused conflict among them and led to “failure” of resettlement. On the other hand, there are some “successful” cases in which trust was built among different community members. Microfinance is socio-economic institution which can facilitate trust among different community members and support restoration of livelihoods. In the case of “successful” resettlement, residents of resettlement areas restored their livelihoods not only in the resettlement area but also in their previous village by utilizing mutual trust with each community member (Fig.3, Fig.4). Microfinance, institutions based on mutual trust, are resources of a resilient community in the sense that it creates a network of various residents or places which support lives

4. Conclusion: Housing design for resilient community

While each post disaster experience in Japan and Sri Lanka will be different for different communities, it is safe to say that efforts to build trust among community members and between communities and external actors are crucial in restoration.

Restoration of settlement from a tsunami tends to be a choice: “reconstruction in the original site” or “resettlement to other sites”. The same tendency was seen in Sri Lanka after the tsunami. However, this is not necessarily an appropriate method for restoration in terms of life restoration and community succession.

Places and human relationships which support residents’ lives are not necessarily complete just inside the

settlements. There are complex relationships between lives and places in resilient communities as shown in the case of “successful” resettlement areas. In “successful” resettlement, people’s lives are supported by a linkage between resettlement areas, coastal areas and among multiple social relationships. As described above, trust is a key factor facilitating diversity of places and social relationships for a resilient community.

A study on settlement planning which raise resilient communities will become a steadily more important topic, not only at the time of an emergency, but at ordinary times in contemporary society with high risk and uncertainty. In order to deepen the discussion described above, research on housing and community design should bring not only physical systems but also socio-economic systems based on social relationships or trust into perspective of research and action.

Notes:

* 1: Boundary of buffer zone was at first designated on 100m from the shore line in the western coast of the country and 200m in the eastern coast.

*2: The field investigation was done at during May of 2008 to November of 2010 about 14 resettlement areas in Weligama, the Southern province of Sri Lanka.

*3: I selected a resettlement area in Weligama as a case of “successful” resettlement because it maintains high stable settlement ratio (about 90% of 100 households) although its location is far from the sea (about 1.3km).

*4: Microfinance is system of small loan for poor people. High repayment ratio is realized although loan has any security with systems based on trust among members.

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