《論　文》

Institutional Design of Individual Units and Family Units on Disaster Victim Directory in Japan

被災者台帳の制度設計にみる日本の個人・世帯単位制度の課題

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要約

日本は災害多発国であり阪神・淡路大震災（1995 年）は甚大な規模の被害で復旧・復興は困難を極めた。2011 年 3 月 11 日に発生した東日本大震災は未曾有の地震、津波、そして自然災害後の原発の複合災害となり被災死者は 1 万 4000 人以上・行方不明者は 1 万 4000 人近く（4 月現在）、避難者は一時 40 万人以上に及んでいた。

日本には災害による被災者を登録し体系的に支援するために必要な被災者台帳が全国共通には構築されておらず、そのために災害時、被災者の被害、避難者の実態が把握できない状況に陥った。

日本では住宅被害と人的被害が被災の基準であり、公的機関による家屋損壊の認定を受けた者と死亡、重症者にたいしてり災証明書が発行される。その証明書は生活再建支援法を始め各種制度の支援を受けるために必要になる。だが、り災証明を基礎とした被災証明では災害の被害者すべてを網羅することができない。その課題を克服するために、近年「被災者台帳」が議論されるようになった。阪神・淡路大震災で被災した西宮市は、その時初めて「被災者支援システム」開発において被災者台帳を開発のコンセプトに取り入れたシステムを構築し、加えて GIS の活用により被災状況の把握及び分析を行った。その後もシステムをバージョン・アップし続け、総務省所管の財団法人地方自治情報センターの「地方公共団体プログラムライブラリ」に登録された。2009 年 1 月 17 日には総務省から無料で全国の地方公共団体に CD-ROM に収録されたシステムが配布された。

災害福祉の観点から被災者台帳は個人単位で作成し、加えて世帯単位で管理できるよう制度設計がなされるべきだ。阪神・淡路大震災から 15 年を経て、震災障がい者が支援の枠組みから残された被災者として取り上げられるようになった。社会的な支援も、世帯単位のその代表である世帯主が被災者であるならば違っていたかもしれない。怪我などの人的被害への支援は長期におよぶため、個人単位での支援が可能となる被災者台帳の導入が必要だ。

キーワード：被災者台帳、個人単位、世帯単位、連帯、災害福祉

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Ulrich Beck (1986=1998), in his book "Risk Society" claimed that in modern society, one lived under the spectre of an unavoidable uncertainty. The risk addressed here refers to that which pertains to the modern social risks, and not to natural disasters. However, large-scale flooding related to global warming and deforestation are amongst the examples of natural disasters that are strongly related to development and it is said that "Disasters reflect the state of nature, earthquake induced disasters reflect society, and recovery reflects politics" (Hirohara 2007:2).

Japan is a country highly prone to disasters. The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995, which was the first urban disaster since the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, resulted in the loss of 6,434 lives and the evacuation of over 300,000 people, posing a big challenge for recovery due to its great collective loss. Based on the experiences from the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, the Disaster Victims Livelihood Reconstruction Assistance Law was enacted in 1998. The experiences of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake also led to the development of research on disaster management and recovery strategies, including the position of social welfare systems during and after disasters.

Then on March 11th, 2011 a twin disaster consisting of a 9.0-magnitude earthquake and the ensuing tsunami in northeastern Japan became the biggest natural disaster ever in modern Japanese history. The number of victims of the Great East Japan Earthquake has already surpassed fourteen thousand and the number of missing is also fourteen thousand, and it is expected to rise (as of April, 2011). It became a massive multiple disaster including an earthquake, tsunami, and the long-term effects of a subsequent nuclear crisis. Four hundred thousand people became refugees in the immediate aftermath of the disaster and a month later, more than hundred and forty thousand evacuees were still in evacuation centers and scattered around all over the country. Several local governments lost their administrative capacity due to the disaster and were not able to respond adequately, including keeping track of their citizen's numbers and the location of their temporary residence place outside of city.

This paper investigates the Disaster Victim Directory System in terms of the social welfare state and the need for it to incorporate data based on both household and individual units. In Japan, there is no single nation-wide system for disaster victim directry despite its recurring experiences of catastrophic disasters. In order to protect the rights of individuals and to support people's livelihood, the Disaster Victim Directory System should be designed at the national level.

Since before the Great East Japan Earthquake, there had been increasing momentum for the implementation of developing a plan for a disaster victims registry and related investigative research. In 2010, 15 years since the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, "Earthquake Disaster Victims with Disabilities" have received greater attention of late as victims who were left without assistance. Now, the strict conditions required for receiving relief funding as a certified "Earthquake Disaster Victim with Disabilities" and the lack of a system for assistance have become an issue. Assistance for these people and attention from society might have been different if the head of household were disaster victims.

This is because the amount of a solatium, equal to the value of a single human life in this case, is different whether a victim is a primary wage-earner of a household-unit or

not under the Act for the Payment of Solatia for Disaster. In such studies, families refer to the unit applied for social security, or single households. This is because basic data for disaster victim assistance requires certified household registration and therefore in most cases, the head of household (who in most cases is the primary wage-earner within the single household-unit) is the one who has the right to receive aid. Assistance for human damages such as injury requires long-term support and therefore Disaster Victim Directories based on individual units hold more meaning.

2 Disaster Victim Directory Systems in Japan, South Korean and the United States.

There is no national disaster code-number system for citizen identification in Japan, but this should not be a reason for lacking single nation-wide system for disaster victim registry. Several disaster victim directry systems were developed by different organizations such as a local government and researchers, in response to the necessity of such a system, and two particularly well-known types of Directory Systems exist. One was originally created by the Nishinomiya local government in 1995. The other was developed by a Kyoto university group in 2004. Both are not administrated by the national government.

In the United States, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) has employed a disaster victim registry (disasterassistance.gov). People are encouraged to directly register themselves on the Disaster Victim Directory System using the Internet or by phone call. Disaster victims apply to FEMA as a household (residential) unit. In the US case, the social security number is used for disaster victim registry. There are also social services for housing reconstruction assistance and 'assistance other than housing' such as medical care and car compensation for uninsured individuals. Each residential household makes a single application with the names and social security number of each registered household member, and appropriate assistance will be given based on this information. Because personal data in the United States is managed using social security numbers, no easy comparison can be made with the Japanese system, but the case in the United States can be viewed as a form of disaster victim registry on an individual basis through the social security number.

In the case of South Korea, their National Disaster Management System is also operated at the national level. On the Disaster Victim Directory System, electronic provision of administrative information is shared among ministries. Also, national and local governments share information in many ways. When a disaster occurs, local government will input victims' information on the Directory and it will then be shared by both national and local governments.

The citizen registration numbering system helps collaboration and coordination among national and local governments. In both the US and in South Korea cases, a national code-number system for citizen identification is the basis for the disaster victim registration system.

3 Social Welfare in Disaster and Registry Systems

The Disaster Victim Directory System should be designed with primacy to citizens and universality and individuality should be its underlying principle. However, due to the cost-cutting and job-shedding restructuring

exercise conducted by national and local governments, there have been many challenges to adopting a new system for at any local government level.

As earthquakes and floods continue to occur around the world, the concept of "Disaster Time Welfare" is being developed in Japan in recent years. There is no single definition for the concept, but a common point is that the perspective of social welfare cannot be left out to support possibly vulnerable members of the society during disasters (Nishio 2010), including the need for disaster medical assistance and elderly care such as day care schemes (Nabeya 2005). The official wording used by government for disaster management is roughly translated as "Individuals Requiring Disaster Time Assistance" and refers to the elderly, physically differently-abled, pregnant women, foreign residents, etc. Local governments are cooperating with Commissioned Welfare Volunteers to create a "Directory of Individuals Requiring Disaster Time Assistance" to develop a disaster prepared system.

In disaster times, there may be many forms of victims, such as those suffering from direct damages resulting from the destruction of their homes or injuries, while others may be social victims suffering from the damages to their community. In Japan, the baseline measurement of disaster damages is gauged by damages to residences, and Disaster Victim Certifications are only issued to those who have been certified by a public agency that their homes have been damaged in various defined degrees and as casualties. For casualties, only cases of death, disappearance, and seriously-injured will be issued. It would be necessary to obtain the certification to subscribe to various assistances, including the Livelihood Recovery Assistance Law. However, a disaster victim certification based solely on housing damages and casualties does not address all types of disaster victims.

As mentioned earlier, to address this issue, the need of the Disaster Victim Directory is being discussed in recent years. The Disaster Victim Directory was first systemized by the local government of Nishinomiya City, Hyogo Prefecture during the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, which created the "Disaster Victim Assistant System". After the earthquake, this system was applied to determine the type of assistance to be given to each victim in combination with Geographic Information System (GIS) data, and total system upgrades have been made since. The System was introduced nationwide by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) and is now being distributed free of charge to every public body since January 17, 2009[2)]. Since then, more than two hundred local governments have registered to use the System and some have already used it in times of disasters.

The Nishinomiya Disaster Victim Assistant System. It is organized in seven administrative functions and several sub-functions. There are several important points that should be mentioned. One is that this system uses both household units and/or individual units. The Japanese social welfare system is designed based on household units, in many ways due to social convention, and therefore public livelihood assistance is also based on the principle of household units,. There are several public assistance systems for disaster victims that are administered based on household units, but a system based on both household units and/or individual units is desired. In the vertically divided Japanese administrative functions, individual information will be kept conveniently out of sight under the household units system. Nishinomiya also has an original identification code system named ATENA. With ATENA, every person with an

address in Nishinomiya, even without their Basic Resident Registration Number can be counted as a victim and receive assistance from the city at the time of a disaster. Any person's disaster information can be retrieved with the codes, including types of housing damages, casualties, address, and the date of birth and so on. For the Great East Japan Earthquake with fourteen thousand of fatal victims and fourteen thousand of missing, the function list of fatal victims and information on family of victims will play a very important role in a short while. Each administrative function has a number of retrieval terms and related matter will be displayed.

Aside from this, the "Disaster Victims Basic Directory System" was introduced at Kashiwazaki City, Niigata Prefecture by Emergency Mapping Center Project Kashiwazaki (EMC-K)[3], which suffered from the Niigata Chuetsu Earthquake in 2007. The prior is structured by two systems including the Disaster Victim Directory (information about disaster victims and related details), which is based on the Basic Residential Register[4] and the Disaster Affected Housing Directory (information about housing damages) and it is connected to various other information systems including evacuation and temporary housing information and relief supply management. The latter is also based on the Disaster Victim Certification Issuance Directory and combines several directory systems above-mentioned.

Further, when victims apply for the Livelihood Recovery Assistance Plan, all data is combined so that assistance plans that addresses individual needs can be designed in both systems (Yoshida 2005, 2007, 2011: Inoguchi et al., , 2008, 2008 : Yamasaki et al., 2008).

These disaster victim registry systems are effective in delivering timely public, mutual, and autonomous assistance in times of disasters, but analytical research on such disaster victim directory system plans mostly focus on

Nishinomiya Disaster Victim Assistance System: Seven Main Functions

	Function	Activities Managed
1	Disaster Victim Support	Issuing Disaster Victim Directory certificates Relief funds Livelihood support funds Suffering from a disaster certificate issuing
2	Evacuation Center	Evacuation center Evacuee information
3	Critical Material	Aid supply
4	Temporary Housing	Temporary housing Lot drawing for housing Residential information Occupancy/ departure
5	Fatal Victim Family of Victims	List of fatal victims Information on family of victims Memorial services
6	Collapsed House	Issuing certificate for collapsed house Application for destruction Wreckage of building carrying-in ticket issuing
7	Revitalization and Reconstruction	Collecting and analyzing revitalization and reconstruction with GIS

figure1 Initial Screen of the Disaster Victim Assistant System

the practical needs of its systemization, and very few research studies are conducted from the viewpoint of social welfare. Furthermore, for the establishment of such systems, there are many other issues pertaining to the simplification of procedures by using existing directories, such as limiting its use for other motives and central management of personal details, and the significance of establishing such systems and its issues are discussed by Yamasaki et al.,. In addressing this point, Yamasaki refers to the social work-like aspect of disaster victim's assistance from the viewpoint of personal data management.

4 Autonomous, Mutual, Public, and Reciprocal Assistance in terms of Disaster Recovery

"Livelihood Reconstruction" refers to the process of disaster victims overcoming the period of emergency disaster response and recovery, but this refers to the recovery of daily life in its entirety, and it is a concept that refers to all material and human resource required to sustain livelihood (Fujisaki 1987). In disaster management legislation, the social welfare terms "Autonomous, Mutual, and Public Assistance" is applied for the process of recovery[5]. Komori (2009) claims that victim assistance in the immediate aftermath of disasters Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake was implemented in the following ratio of "Autonomous 7 : Reciprocal 2 : Public 1" and points out that reciprocal help was important and for it to be implemented, reciprocal, mutual, and public help is necessary. The balance of responsibility and the right of those help should be appropriately clarified (Murosaki 2009).

Livelihood reconstruction in the stage of disaster recovery is an individual matter and autonomous assistance (or self-help) is the norm. Based on the Disaster Relief Law, relief supplies are distributed during the period of disaster emergency response, but no direct individual assistance is given as a norm. Temporary housing is only provided when securing or repairing homes are not possible by individual effort (secondary assistance) and public assistance is only applied indirectly when damages affect society at large. In order for those who cannot sustain their livelihood to receive public assistance, they must follow the guidelines of the Livelihood Protection Law and need to apply for benefits.

In earthquakes and large floods, housing welfare that Hayakawa (1997, 2001: Hayakawa et al., , 2002) refers to is of utmost importance and housing reconstruction is the first step towards a stable livelihood, hence it is nearly synonymous with "Livelihood Reconstruction". However, as Takekawa (2009) points out that in Japan, homes were seen as individual matter and it was not being interpreted as a social matter. The idea that housing recovery as part of disaster victims assistance was an individual compensation that produced no longer-term public benefit was based on such backgrounds.

In order to break down such premises, in the aftermath of the Great Hanshin-Awaji

Earthquake, a civil movement was initiated to enact the "Disaster Victims Livelihood Reconstruction Assistance Law" as a parliamentary act. After the enactment of the Disaster Victims Livelihood Reconstruction Assistance Law, two amendments (in 2004 and in 2007) led to the changing of the characteristics of this law. In the second amendment in 2007, direct assistance for housing reconstruction became possible and income requirements were abolished so that many more victims could be granted the right to receive assistance. It was required for the application to be filed by the head of household at the time of the damage to the residence and did not require them to be owners of the property. Since it is not directly related to house ownership, even multiple households can receive an assistances (A: Basic Assistant) as long as they register at and live in a demolished house hit by a natural disaster.

5 Disaster Victim Directory and the Invisible Institutionalized Gender Discrimination under Household Units System

The enactment of the Disaster Victims Livelihood Reconstruction Assistance Law with the objective of housing reconstruction support was groundbreaking. The law was, however, not retroactively applied for the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. In order to bail out the victims, the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Recovery Fund took a key role in conforming to the law. The assistance was given on the basis of head of households that were proven to be disaster victims. However, some of the victims faced difficulties. This is because household information from July 1998 was used, which in some cases had changed since the time of the disaster and therefore there were some households who could not receive assistance. For example, a woman was no longer designated the head of household due to marriage but her husband was not a certified disaster victim so they were exempted from assistance. 19 such cases were taken to court, and they won the case on the grounds that this was an example of discrimination amongst household-units system[6]. In Japan, where more than 90% of the head of the family as recorded on Japan's family registration system named KOSEKI are men, it is obvious that the majority of the head of households on the Basic Resident Registration are also men. The lawsuit therefore proved that the practice of using household units and identifying heads of households were leading to an indirect discrimination against women. This case is remarked as the gender-related problem in social policy scheme.

The importance of disaster victim assistant systems based on the Disaster Victim Directory also relates to the above point. The Disaster Victim Directory makes holistic assistance possible by collecting a lot of information about disaster victims and connecting with related systems. At this point, the qustion 'Who is a subject of disaster supports?' becomes a crucial issue.

The Nishinomiya Disaster Victim Assistant System of uses both individual units and household units. Registered residences will be automatically on their Disaster Victim Directory. The Nishinomiya system records basic individual information including the age, gender, employment details, income of the applicant and the members of their household, current status of disaster damages, cohabitants or separately living household members, move in or out of the current area, details of housing during the disaster, current housing, housing damage (building interior, land) and casualties. Through this system, the issuance of disaster victim certification by proof of being affected by the disaster, and the

amount of assistance funds and other legal proceedings can be swiftly tended to by being able to process a large amount of information in a short period of time. In contrast, in the case of Kashiwazaki City, only household units with proven housing damages will be on the Disaster Victim Directory.

However, as an important point, the difference in registration items and obstacles arising from "use (of budget) outside set objectives" prevent the use of the Basic Resident Registration for a Disaster Victim Directory. As such, the current Disaster Victim Directories are based on household units that are built around designated household heads.

From the viewpoint of disaster time welfare (social welfare in disaster), it seems to be important to develop a Disaster Victim Directory based on individual units and managed by household units. As was reflected by the lawsuit for the independence assistance fund, after the time of earthquake, there is a possibility for disaster victims to have a new head of household or for households to break apart. Even if the baseline was determined to be the time of the disaster, change of household structure effects the available combination of assistance.

6 In Conclusion: Individualism or Dismantling Family and Welfare State Solidarity

That the suggestion of using individual units does not come up when considering Disaster Victim Directories is deeply related to how the Japanese social security is based fundamentally on household units. When undertaking this current study, an opinion was also raised that a Disaster Victim Directory based on individual units would mean that the entire content of disaster assistance would be based on individual units and therefore disregard the overall System and its budget.

Beck (1986=1998), also points out the difficulties of disaster victim support, and that people who do not have the capacity or skills to respond to social risk will stop trusting the social system. Therefore, there needs to be a development of a system that is secure and can be trusted so that each individual can reaffirm their connection to society. Therefore, the Disaster Victim Directory which gives certification to disaster victims is actually a way to reaffirm solidarity.

In thinking about the welfare state and social security, discussion on individualization is important. Beck says that individualization is the key term and when individualization progresses in a mature society, danger looms over solidarity. However, promoting the family principle like in Japan and forcing solidarity in law and institutional management through a household (family) unit does not mean avoiding individualization. In the discussion of individualization in Japanese society, detractors often argue that the change from household units to individual units in social welfare systems lead to the dismantling of families. Takekawa (2007) argues that the system of the welfare state was developed under the assumption that household units pointed to nuclear families. However, for de-gendering, individual units should be the bases instead of household units.

Even now, in the Japanese family principle, directly related families still cannot be ignored as part of the household unit. As the above-mentioned lawsuit proved, entitling social security to household units lead one to wonder whether placing importance on the head of household instead leads to a mistrust of the state. It is necessary to elucidate what kind of solidarity is needed amongst individuals to implement and manage rights for

receiving social security and to identify what sort of rights each individuals have in welfare state.

In the case of Nishinomiya City, they are looking for new ways of using the list based on social welfare in disaster. Nishinomiya continues to formulate future strategies for enhancing social welfare in disaster and registry systems, especially for supporting the evacuation of people in need of particular help during disasters (Yoshida 2010). They collect the information on special needs of each individual and created a new date-based system as a community security network system with GIS data. The system was put to use to order an evacuation directive and rescue people in need of particular help before the floods that occurred in Nishinomiya in 2004. These very sensitive private information are collected by the local Commissioned Welfare Volunteers, and the local government needs continuous data in order to keep an up-to-date database. The Nishinomiya system is not only designed to improve efficiency but also designed with primacy to citizens. This is the reason why they have developed a Disaster Victim Directory System that is based on both household units and individual units. Disaster recovery affects lives over several years or even decades from the initial disaster and to think about assistance that tends to individual needs, a nationwide Disaster Victim Directory based on individual units will be necessary.

The Disaster Victim Directory should also have a gender retrieval term as there are several issues that need to be addressed according to gender. People who need particular assistance in times of disaster are very diverse, including the elderly, or people with physical or mental disabilities. The majority of the elderly who need assistance are female, therefore, gender-sensitivity is also important for a Disaster Victim Directory. Other people who need particular assistance are pregnant women. This is because pregnancy is only for a limited time period, the directly needs to be updated regularly with maternity status in order to appropriately coordinate with obstetrician and maternity centers.

The base date of a disaster victim directory is the day on which the disaster occurs. However, many kinds of information need to be regularly updated from that day and the disaster victim directory has the role of adjusting the compartmentalized public administration by incorporating broad perspectives and to avoid overlooking individual needs. As in the Nishinomiya Disaster Victim Assistant System, it is expected that the national management system will also record each victim's medical treatment record, social welfare, and compulsory education under the 6-3 school system, so that in the future, victims and governments are both able to trace the all records and to follow countermeasures for individual needs.

1) This paper is based on the presentation "Familism in Japan and Social Supports for Natural Disaster Victims" presented at The Sixth International Conference on Social Security held on September, 12, 2010, Southwestern university of finance and Economics, Chengdu, People's Republic of China.
The research study is a part of research outcomes of 'Gender in Disaster Recovery; An International Comparative study on Institutional Design and Livelihood Reconstruction' granted by Grants-in-aid for Scientific Research (B) 2010-2012 (Representative: Kumiko YAMAJI)
2) The system was registered in Operational Program Libraries for local municipal use at Local Authorities Systems Development Center.
3) The members of collaboration team were from industry, academia and government including Dr. Haruo Hayashi, Kyoto University and so on. See http://emc.nhdr.niigata-u.ac.jp/
4) The Basic Residential Register is the national

all-inclusive system, where individual is registered by households units by address at their local government, each providing detailed information including name, sex, dates of birth, legal domicile, relationship with the household head and social security information.

5) See the Tokyo Metropolitan Earthquake Disaster Countermeasures Ordinance http://www.reiki.metro.tokyo.jp/reiki_honbun/g1010173001.html

6) The lawsuit reached reconciliation on March 31, 2008.
See the agreement on the reconciliation (in Japanese) http://www6.ocn.ne.jp/~kouteki/

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Institutional Design of Individual Units and Family Units on Disaster Victim Directory in Japan

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Abstract

After the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995 on March 11th, 2011 the Great East Japan Earthquake became a massive multiple disaster including an earthquake, tsunami, and the long-term effects of a subsequent nuclear crisis.

Due to the lack of a single nation-wide system for disaster victim registration, both national and local governments were not able to respond adequately track of victims and the location of their temporary residence place. In Japan, the baseline measurement of disaster damages is gauged by damages to residences, and Disaster Victim Certifications are only issued to those who have been certified by a public agency that their homes have been damaged in various defined degrees and as casualties.

The Disaster Victim Directory was first systemized by the local government of Nishinomiya City, Hyogo Prefecture during the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, which created the "Disaster Victim Assistant System". The System was introduced nationwide by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) and is now being distributed free of charge to every public body since January 17, 2009 . Since then, more than two hundred local governments have registered to use the System and some have already used it in times of disasters.

From the viewpoint of disaster time welfare (social welfare in disaster), it seems to be important to develop a Disaster Victim Directory based on individual units and managed by household units. In 2010, 15 years since the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, "Earthquake Disaster Victims with Disabilities" have received greater attention of late as victims who were left without assistance. Assistance for these people and attention from society might have been different if the head of household were disaster victims. Assistance for human damages such as injury requires long-term support and therefore Disaster Victim Directories based on individual units hold more meaning.

Key words: Disaster Victim Directory System, Individual Units, Household Units, Solidarity, Social Welfare in Disaster