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災害の社会科学研究

— 文献目録 —

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は し が き

もし C. E. フリッツにしたがい、「もっとも一般的な社会学的意味において、災害が、個人および集団が機能している社会的コンテキストの基本的な破壊、もしくは通常の予測パターンからの急激な逸脱として」とらえられるとするならば、その分析は、「ある社会、または相対的に自己充足した社会の下位部分が激しい被害を受け、またその構成員と物理的装置が被害をこうむる結果、社会構造が破壊され、社会の基本的な機能のすべて、あるいは一部の遂行が妨げられるような時間的、および空間的に集中した局面」にむけられることになる。

その点、S. H. プリンスのハリファックス爆発にかんする経験的な調査にもとづく分析は、災害の社会学的研究の最初のページをかざるものであったといつてよい。しかしそれからすでに半世紀すぎたこんにち、災害研究じたい大きな変貌をとげてきた。いうまでもなくその転機をつげたのは、第二次大戦の勃発とともに、かつての自然災害研究にかかわって登場した戦争災害の研究にたいする要請であった。戦時中のドイツおよび日本にたいする空爆の効果測定を目標とした「アメリカ戦略爆撃調査」は、その典型的な例といえる。

そしてこうした戦略爆撃の調査資料を基礎に、1950 年代初頭のアメリカにおける災害研究が、とくに都市機能の分析を中心におしすすめられていったことは、よく知られているとおりである。「スタンフォード調査研究所」、あるいは「レハイ大学調査研究所」によって手がけられた一連の空爆と市民防衛計画にかんする研究は、このように戦争中から戦後の冷戦下における災害研究の一端をしめすものといえることができる。そしてこの戦争災害につらなる研究は、「国立科学アカデミー」研究協議会によって組織された「災害研究委員会」においてもひきつがれていく。

これにつづく戦後の第二の段階は、1953 年の A. F. C. ウォーレスのマサチューセッツ州ウースターの「たつ巻」にかんする自然災害研究につづく人間行動分析にあるといえよう。その点、ウォーレスの調査は、災害における人間行動に応じた時間的な段階と、被災地点をとりまく地理的な同心円の空間座標にそった徹底的な記述を試みた先駆的業績といつてよい。1950 年代におけるアメリカの災害研究は、ここにもしめされているように、個人レベルでの心理的反応ないし行動分析を中心に展開をみせていくことになる。1957 年の M. ウォルフエンスタインの『災害——心理学エッセイ——』などは、こうした研究の動きをしめしたものとつてよいし、また 1962 年の G. W. ベイカーおよび D. W. チャプマンの編集になる『災害における人間と社会』も、人間行動の分析を中心に災害研究が到達した当時の水準をあらわしたものとつていよう。

またこの時期は、シカゴ大学の「国立世論研究センター」をはじめとする研究機関によって、災害の社会学的、あるいは心理学的分析が組織的にはじめられたときでもある。けれどもその大部分は災害にたいする個人の反応に焦点をおいた社会心理学的な志向性のつよいもので、コミュニティおよび組織対応の研究は、むしろ 1960 年代に入ってからのこととぞくする。

(3) 復旧・復興 (Recovery and Reconstruction) 48

(4) 医療 (Medical Care) 51

VII 個別災害 (Disasters)

(1) 平時災害 (Peacetime Disasters) 53

(2) 戦時災害 (Wartime Disasters) 60

つまり災害における個人レベルの心理学的な分析が集合体レベルでの組織やコミュニティの分析にむすびつけられてくるのは、60年代以降であり、1963年に設立されたオハイオ州立大学「災害研究センター」の動きは、これをもっともよくつたえているといえる。設立時から1978年現在まで、339の被災コミュニティの調査を集積し、その後、さらに化学災害をはじめとする環境破壊にかかわるいわゆる技術災害の分析にまで領域を拡大してきている同センターが一貫して課題としてきたのは、災害にたいする組織対応の問題であり、これをコミュニティ規模で経験的な調査を中心におし進めてきたところに特徴がある。R・R・ダインズ、E・L・クアランテリらの組織分析をはじめとする業績は、いずれもこうした動向をしめしたものと見てよい。

そしてこの時期に、コミュニティを単位とする災害の実証研究がすすめられ、調査資料が集積されるとともに、災害の社会学的研究も、緊急社会システム、組織対応、組織と大衆行動、家族、ヴォランタリー・アソシエーションの役割と行動をはじめ、役割葛藤、パニック、避難行動といった問題が、相互に関連したかたちでとりあげられ、はっきりとした理論と分析の枠組をもちはじめることになる。1969年のA.H.バートンの『災害におけるコミュニティ——集合ストレス状況の社会学的分析——』は、いわばこうしたうごきを見ごとにしめたものといえよう。

そしてさらに注目すべきことは、コロラド大学の「行動科学研究所」のG・F・ホワイトやJ・E・ハースらをはじめとする技術・環境、および人間行動にかんする学際的なプログラムによる災害研究であり、とりわけハースによっておし進められた地震予知情報にともなう社会経済的影響にかんする研究である。また同時に、地震予知にかかわる政策にかんするカルフォルニア大学（ロス・アンゼルス分校）のR・H・ターナーの貢献も、このあたらしい地震予知の時代の研究をみていくうえで見逃すわけにはいかない。

こうした災害研究のあらたな展開にあって、ハース、D・S・ミレッティ、およびT・E・ドレイベックは、過去の災害研究の総括的な整理と、研究成果の主要傾向および残余課題の確認の作業をおこなっているが、これを表にしてあらわすと、次ページにしめたような結果となる。

この表は、これまで刊行された191の文献から、1,399の研究成果をとりだし、それらを研究対象となるシステムのレベルと、災害の時期区分の二つの軸にしたがって分類したものであるが、ここにもあらわれているように、社会科学的なアプローチによる災害研究の主要な傾向をみていくと、分析対象では、個人反応にかんする研究が、また時期区分では、被災直後の短期的行動にかかわる研究が、もっとも多く蓄積をみてきた領域であることがわかる。他方、分析の不足してきたものとしては、対象についていえば、ナショナル・レベルおよび国際間の研究を、また時期区分では、災害前あるいは被災後の長期的局面における研究をあげることができる。

周知のように、こんにち災害の社会学的研究の対象は、災害前の予知・予報の段階から、衝撃、救援・救助、復興、復旧という変動の全過程にわたっている。こうした災害のとらえ方は、すでにJ・W・パウエルおよびJ・F・レイナーの7段階の時期区分にはじまり、さきのウォーレスの調

システム レベル	時 間 区 分						
	準備期/ 調 整	警 報	衝撃以前 の初期行 動(動員)	衝撃直後 の短期的 行 動	救 援 復 旧	復 興	計
個 人	96 (7)	93 (7)	87 (6)	162 (12)	50 (4)	31 (2)	519 (37)
集 団	16 (1)	28 (2)	30 (2)	77 (6)	15 (1)	17 (1)	183 (13)
組 織	25 (2)	11 (1)	8 (1)	126 (9)	43 (3)	9 (1)	222 (16)
コミュニティ	104 (7)	4 (0)	8 (1)	129 (9)	72 (5)	45 (3)	362 (26)
社 会 (国 会)	56 (4)	4 (0)	7 (1)	27 (2)	12 (1)	6 (0)	112 (8)
国 際 間	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)
計	298 (21)	140 (10)	140 (10)	521 (37)	192 (14)	108 (8)	1399 (100)

注1. D.S.Mileti, T.E.Drabek and J.E.Haas, *Human System in Extrem Environments: A Sociological Perspective*, 1975, p.13より引用。

2. () 内の数字は%

査において実際に分析の枠組にくみこまれたものであるが、はじめにもふれたように、災害というものが、もともと人間行動および集団・組織活動によってささえられる社会システムの破壊、損傷にあるとするならば、災害の社会学的研究は、そうした社会システムの破壊から復興・復旧による均衡回復までの全過程を含むという意味で、ひとつの社会変動論としてとり扱われなければならないといえよう。N・J・スメルサーが、さきのウォーレスの分析をもって、短期的社会変動の事例としているのは、このためである。

しかも災害じたい、かつての自然災害から、人為災害あるいは技術災害へと拡大してきている現在、われわれは研究対象においても戦線の拡大をよぎなくされている。W・A・アンダーソンは、数年前「この10年間をとおして、アメリカにおける災害の社会科学的研究は、緊急な領域から、かなり恒常的な分野のものに移行してきている」と述べたことがある。そして「災害は、高度に複合化した都市社会においては、ひとつのまぎれもない社会問題としてあらわれる」ともいっている。このことは、現代社会のうみだした歪みが、あらたな災害環境をうみ、これまでとはちがった多様な質の災害の発生を、日常的なものにまでたかめてきたということを意味する。

本篇は、こうした動向にあって、社会科学的なアプローチによる災害関係の研究業績を中心に、文献の目録を作成したものである。したがって災害研究にかんするものであっても、自然科学関係のものは含まれていない。なおそのばあい、社会科学的研究の領域においても、ここで対象とされているのは、クアランテリのいう「合意型危機」現象に含まれる災害であり、都市暴動や経済的崩壊

といった「非合意型危機」の紛争内包現象にかんする研究は除かれている。

一般にこうした文献目録の作製にさいしてつねにつきまとう困難は、境界領域にぞくする業績のとり扱いと、分類項目のたてかたにある。ここでは災害を直接的なテーマとした文献に限定し、たとえば集合行動、コミュニティ、あるいは組織研究などにあっても、災害を直接の主題としていないものはとりあげていない。また研究書、研究論文のほかに、政府・議会、およびその他の災害関連機関から発行された報告は収めてあるが、エッセイ類は除外してある。

本篇で扱った文献は、およそ1,000点にのぼるが、経費の関係から収録できなかったものも少なく、欧米篇とはいいながらアメリカが中心となり、事例研究や報告書も、大規模な災害にかかわるものに限定せざるをえなかった。しかし利用上の便宜を考え、同一文献でも研究テーマの重複するものについては、それぞれ項目ごとに掲げておいた。いずれ続篇を刊行する予定であるが、これらの点について御叱正を頂ければ幸甚である。

最後に、この研究成果は、文部省科学研究費「環境影響評価の総合解析システムの設計に関する研究」（研究代表・西野吉次）の一部をなすものであることを記し、共同研究者の方々に謝意を表したい。

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