ANIMALS LEFT BEHIND: MULTISPECIES VULNERABILITY IN POST-3-11 JAPAN

By

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ABSTRACT

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The disaster that struck Japan on March 11, 2011 was a catastrophic combination of a 9.0-magnitude earthquake, tsunami, and a damaged nuclear power plant, resulting in the death and displacement of thousands. Due to radioactive leakage, residents within a fluctuating zone were ordered to evacuate. Temporary shelters were established for the human residents – often not permitting companion animals. Officials initially told evacuees they would return home in a few days but were not permitted back for weeks. During this time, officials did not provide for the domesticated animals left behind in the no-go zone, resulting in large-scale mortality. Non-profit animal rescue organizations rescued hundreds of domesticated animals during the immediate aftermath, though not without significant long-term financial, institutional, and internal struggles.

Non-human animal vulnerability is addressed in literature and policy primarily as an extension of human vulnerability, in that not including animals increases risk for humans. Engaging literature on the political ecology of natural hazards and human-animal studies, this project establishes an understanding of how vulnerabilities for humans and animals are co-produced, exacerbated, and alleviated by our multispecies entanglements. Working as a volunteer, I conducted 12 months of multispecies ethnographic fieldwork from 2014-15 with non-profit animal rescue organizations who participated in the disaster aftermath. This project was carried out with qualitative research methods, specifically participant observation, semi-structured interviews (n=64), and questionnaires (n=75).

The findings of this study illuminate how non-human animal vulnerability is thoroughly entwined in the people and institutions associated with their lives. Despite cultural animal infatuation and the rising rate of pet ownership, domesticated animals in Japan are minimally protected legally and politically. The animal rescue non-profit organizations and volunteers present are marginalized due to a variety of intersectional identities, struggling to navigate systems of power in which their associations with foreignness, gender, and species result in compounded challenges. Given the multispecies nature of vulnerability, this study found that building resiliency for domesticated animals strengthens the larger, more-than-human society in which they are a part.

This dissertation is dedicated to the animals who perished during the March 11th, 2011 Tōhoku disaster.

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Radiation is falling. It is a quiet night.
What meaning could there be in harming us to this extent?
The meaning of all things is probably determined after the fact. If so, then what is the meaning of that period "after the fact"? Is there any meaning there at all?
What could this earthquake be trying to teach us? If it's not trying to teach us anything, then what can we possibly have left to believe?
Radiation is falling. It is a quiet, quiet night.
- Excerpt from "Pebbles of Poetry", Wago Ryōichi, 2011 (Translated by Jeffrey Angles)

Chapter One: Toward a Multispecies Vulnerability Paradigm

Images of Fukushima Prefecture are that of emptiness. The scenery is illustrated in essays, poetry, and photography as a people-less space, with only memories and loss etched into the landscape. This focus of this project is the jarring opposite of this silent, empty space. It is of the barking, meowing, energetic yelping, anxious panting, and cantankerous yowling of the animals left behind following the evacuation surrounding the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. To the side of these survivors, being licked and scratched and shed on, are those who rescued the abandoned – the small-scale non-profit organizations who entered the no-go zone to carry out, shelter, and care for these vulnerable others.

In the weeks following March 11th, 2011, the day a 9.0 magnitude earthquake, tsunami, and damaged nuclear power plant devastated the northeastern region of Japan, this dissertation was conceptualized. The official disaster response was to encourage pet owners to leave their companion animals behind (Yamazaki 2015). Domesticated animals perished on a large scale, leading to small protests, animal welfare media attention, and animal rescue efforts across Japan.

From a comfortable, safe home in Lansing, MI, I followed these stories and watched as the animal welfare landscape of Japan transformed as it sought to confront a problem far larger than their capacity could hold. Disasters lay bare social inequalities and vulnerabilities within a society, and 3-11 is no exception. Engaging current trends in human-animal studies and disaster research, this dissertation explores these vulnerabilities, highlighting contemporary human-animal relationships in Japan, the cantankerous animal welfare landscape, and resiliency building tactics for the humans and non-human animals left behind.

Non-human animal vulnerability is often addressed as an extension of human vulnerability, in that not addressing animals makes humans more vulnerable in disaster situations (Irvine 2009). This dissertation considers both human and non-human animal vulnerabilities are important topics of inquiry from an anthropological lens. This is for two significant reasons. First, non-human animal lives are significant in their own right. Second, human and non-human animal vulnerability is intricately linked in this more-than-human world. The chapters in this dissertation are drawn from the collected experiences of the human and non-human animals I encountered during my Fulbright-Hays funded fieldwork at Japanese animal rescues in 2014-15.

THEORY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

This project combines the discourse in the anthropology of disaster with key trajectories within human-animal studies, theorizing how our multifaceted relationships with animal others makes *us* (human and non-human) vulnerable and resilient. To explore this connection, I use a multispecies political ecology of disaster (Ogden, Hall and Tanita 2013), drawing on nascent trends in multispecies ethnography with that of the political ecology of hazards.

In 1962, Levi-Strauss famously wrote that, "animals are good to think," implying that animals are culturally meaningful to those with whom they interact. This dissertation looks

deeply of the dynamic meanings connected to domesticated animals of Japan, particularly companion species, to more fully understand the ideologies that influence human actions and perceptions of these species. Perhaps mimicking this statement, in 1996 Kroll-Smith stated that, "disasters are good to think," in that disasters are multidimensional – impacting and exposing environmental, social, economic, and political realms (Oliver-Smith 2002). This project integrates both focuses, contributing to the conversations in the areas of disaster research, Japanese civil society, and the interdisciplinary focus of human-animal studies (HAS).

Human-Animal Studies

The term human-animal relationships has three key parts: human, animal, relationship. It is the question of all three that dominates cross and inter-disciplinary questions in the area of inquiry known as both human-animal studies and animal studies. In anthropology, the questions extend to human-animal relationships within culture and society. What socialities, or social groups, exist when the non-human animal is considered kin (Cormier 2003)? What can we learn about ourselves and our cultures by placing the focus on the other zoe, or life forms (Braidotti 2013)? What do we do with an ethnography that acknowledges that the animal subject gazes, and responds, to the anthropologist (Ogden, Hall and Tanita 2013)?

Human and Animal are often placed in a binary that the Western world inherited from Descartes' beast-machine hypothesis (Fudge 2010), forming Agamben's "anthropological machine", or begging what Fudge calls the "problem of the human" (2002). That which is defined as animal is not human, and that which is defined as human is not animal. Crossing the boundaries serves to animalize humans to otherness, or foster intimacy and propose selfhood and worth to animals. The term animal is a huge, unwieldy term, implying there is more in common with a mollusk and a chimpanzee than a human and either lifeform. Derrida contests the term, both in its nonsensical grouping, "there is already a *heterogeneous multiplicity of the living"*

(2002), as well the ignoring of the truth of individuality. Furthermore, Mitchell (2016) asserts that it is equally as absurd to presume all individuals within a species category are the same. This not only ignores individuality of the beings within, including their unique socialities and experiences, but also how they are perceived and treated by others. A Chihuahua, for instance, is quite far from a wolfhound, yet they both fall under the term "dog." A bear in the San Francisco zoo is a different being than one in the wild in Canada. Furthermore, a salmon in a farm is not the same as a salmon fighting pollution and environmental destruction. Human-animal studies opens the door, and peaks through the crack, to see and include these beings for who they are and the sociocultural surroundings that construct and affect their lives. In this project, the animal subjects are recognized as having as much complexity as the human subjects, and this complexity presented in whatever means available (e.g. images, stories, interactions). Throughout the chapters, I contribute to an understanding of how domesticated animals are categorized, perceived, and how they live in Japanese culture. The philosophical background and reliance on domesticated animals differs from that of Western civilizations, thus so does how they delineate one species from another

The social sciences are increasingly addressing and exposing those areas of academia in which animals are significant, despite being previously marginalized (DeMello 2010; Noske 1989). As this new focus turns a scholarly gaze to human-animal relationships, historically and currently, the significance of animals in the lives of humans becomes increasingly apparent. These range from emotional ties to food dependencies. Animals are prevalent in human societies, with a variety of meanings, values, and perceptions attached to them, differing by culture and context. The relationships that exist between humans and animals are formed within cultural

contexts. Anthrozoology offers a theoretical basis to understand how we relate to non-human others symbolically, economically, ecologically, and socially.

This dissertation specifically focuses on domesticated animals, primarily those we call "pets." An exception to this is cats, who may at times have a more commensal relationship in human society than one that would be considered domesticated. The definition of "pet" can be traced back to singling out individual animals for special treatment (Grier 2006). Companion animals, or pets, are prevalent in cultures around the world. They enjoy special attention by their individual people and, in some nations, legal protections. Though different across cultures, companion animals are often legally considered property of their humans, commodities who can be bought and sold or disposed of when desired. As Hurn (2012:98) states, "…the sociocultural (and legally sanctioned) expectation is that pets belong to individual humans who have certain responsibilities towards these animals, but also the power over the animal's life and death." The emotional connection we may have with these living beings is not always reflected in our legal systems or policies.

Like many socio-political vulnerabilities, this disconnect between our perceptions of animals and their legal protection certainly becomes strikingly apparent during disasters. This project contributes to the understanding of human-animal relationships in Japan, especially pets, and how disasters both highlight and alter these relationships.

Disaster: Vulnerability and Resiliency

Current conversations in the anthropology of disaster assert there is no such thing as a "natural" disaster. I use Oliver-Smith and Hoffman's (2002) definition of disaster, here:

> a process/event combining a potentially destructive agent/force from the natural, modified, or built environment and a population in a socially and economically produced condition of vulnerability, resulting in a perceived disruption of the customary relative satisfactions of individual social needs for physical survival, social order, and meaning (4).

The study of vulnerability, thus, focuses on hazards. Hazards are defined by Oliver-Smith and Hoffman (2002), as:

> The forces, conditions, or technologies that carry a potential for social, infrastructural, or environmental damage. A hazard can be a hurricane, earthquake, or avalanche; it can also be a nuclear facility or a socioeconomic practice, such as using pesticides. The issue of hazard further incorporates the way a society perceived the danger or dangers, either environmental and/or technological, that it faces and the ways it allows the danger to enter its calculation of risk (4).

From this definition, it is clear that disasters are not uncontrollable natural events, but the result of vulnerable social conditions. They are the actualization of historically rooted social vulnerability produced via socio-political systems (Davis 2001). Therefore, pre-existing social inequalities shape the impact, degree, and recovery process. Simpson (2012), notes that while disaster exposes social inequalities, what unfolds and follows is anything but normative, "What the literature consistently shows, if anything, is that disaster is more likely to bring about a moment of abnormality and confusion in which people are thrown together as victims of a common calamity."

Vulnerability

Vulnerability is a complex term itself. Oliver-Smith (2002) defines vulnerability as the following:

> By vulnerability we mean the characteristic of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resists, and recover from the impact of a natural hazard. It involves a combination of factors that determine the degree to which someone's life and livelihood is put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event in nature or in society (28).

Whereas vulnerability is sometimes considered a property, it is an outcome of social relations. Thus, it is also dynamic. Hillhorst and Bankroft (2004) state that it is important, "to recognize that the same social and cultural processes that give rise to vulnerability are partly subordinate to,

and enmeshed in, broader processes that are expressions of international and national political and economic considerations" (2). Understanding past and current social and political relations, cultural values, perceptions, and knowledges are therefore at the base of understanding vulnerability in a given society (Hillhorst 2004). Given this definition, intersectional vulnerabilities can intensify disaster situations. For example, it is not enough to look at poverty alone, but also at age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, species membership, and so on, as broader socio-political processes that determine vulnerability (Wisner, et al. 2004).

Wisner, et al. (2004) identified three core concepts of vulnerability, which will be explored broadly here. The first, livelihood security, is regarding the ability to acquire resources, be it from work, social relations (social capital, belonging to a group - gender, ethnicity, etc.), or other sources. Thus, those who have higher income or resource access, have more resiliencies when a hazard strikes. Second, self-protection is also linked to socioeconomic status with a focus on hazard preparedness - such as location and quality of your dwelling. Lastly, and perhaps most significant in this project, is that of social protection. Social protection includes social relations and state and non-governmental institutions. This would include access to aid, inclusion in emergency management and disaster assistance, and other forms of socially-derived resources. All three of these core concepts are dependent on often overlapping social or economic capital in a given cultural context.

Disaster research has only recently become a focus for anthropologists, with early studies only existing as a disaster took place in a space where other focuses were being pursued. As hazards increase and more and more vulnerable populations are affected, anthropologists are more readily understanding why W. Lloyd Warner once said "when all hell breaks loose" there is much to learn about society and culture (1947). When a disaster strikes, it exposes, unmasks,

uncovers features of a society and culture – weaknesses, strengths, kinship, conflict, social structure, belief systems, and so on. Disasters not only illustrate physical, biological, and sociocultural systems, but they expose the interconnections within these areas (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 2002). Furthermore, these conditions expose the processes and shaky boundaries that exist between the concepts of nature and culture (Ingold 1992), or, in this study, human and non-human animal.

Political Ecology of Disaster

According to Oliver-Smith (2004), "Vulnerability is fundamentally a political ecological concept." The political ecology of hazards and disaster can be traced back to the mid-1970s, where geographers and anthropologists explored the role of global political economic structures on disasters occurring in the third world (Collins 2008). However, the concepts were being considered much earlier as scholars and activists across disciplines and purpose sought solutions to environmental problems. Gilbert White (1945), for example, argued the importance of dealing with floods not through engineering, but by looking at the underlying human problem of land use and behavioral change. Significantly, he found that "the traditional distinction of those things *natural* from those things *social* is rendered particularly difficult when viewing the environment as a hazard," finding that a flood is a hybrid human-environment artifact, constructed both by land use and natural impacts (Robbins 2004:27). Even earlier, Jane Addams, the "Mother of Social Work", trained social workers to conduct a systematic assessment of garbage collection and death rates in Chicago in the beginning of the 20th century, linking disease to political corruption and socioeconomic status (Addams 1910).

The political ecology of hazards that has developed over the past century examines how social inequalities influence everyday vulnerabilities and resiliencies. An important point to make here is that when a hazard takes place, it does so not because of an unfortunate

environmental event or setting, but that the aforementioned social inequalities are as enmeshed into the environment as socioeconomic status. The environment is intricately linked to and produced by the society within it – thus contributing to both vulnerabilities and resiliencies that effect humans and non-humans within (Ingold 1992; Oliver-Smith 2002). With this in mind, Oliver-Smith (2009) argues the necessity of looking at disasters beyond a "general" ecological perspective, which would view a human social system as a "unitary element", but a political ecological perspective which acknowledges the complexities within any given natural system, such as power relations that may influence adaptation or resource allocation. This political ecological approach to disaster "situates an ecologically grounded social scientific perspective within a political economy framework by focusing on the relationships between people, the environment, and the sociopolitical structures that characterize the society" (Oliver-Smith 2009: 7).

According to Oliver-Smith (2002), "Vulnerability is a concept that allows us to bring nature in from 'out there' and facilitates reconceptualizing nature-society relations from a duality to a mutuality" (42). It is this mutuality between nature and society that is especially visible during a disaster. In this dissertation, I focus this mutuality on our relationships with domesticated species, engaging a multispecies political ecology. Domesticated animals are some of the most vulnerable of living beings in a disaster situation, as they often rely on human caretakers for some basic needs and are rarely legally or politically protected. As their guardians, friends, and family – we are intricately enmeshed in this vulnerability. A multispecies political ecology of disaster will specifically explore the entangled vulnerabilities and resiliencies that are co-produced by the relationships within.

Resiliency

Building resiliency requires the recognition of the multifaceted nature of disaster. Resilience refers to the ability to "jump back" after an impact, or to return to the previous norm. Aldritch (2012) delineates five dimensions of resilience after a disaster:

> 1) personal and familial socio-psychological wellbeing; 2) organizational and institutional restoration; 3) economic and commercial resumption of services and productivity; 4) infrastructural systems and integrity; and 5) operational regularity of public safety and government (7)

Aldritch further notes that his version of resiliency is that of a communal, or neighborhood example. Resiliency can also be observed on an individual level. In this dissertation, resiliency will be explored as a communal process – with the focus being on multispecies communities, specifically non-profit animal rescue organizations (see Chapter 2 for further engagement with resiliency).

Finally, it is important to note all aspects of disasters are constructed differently by the individuals who experience them. This is especially notable for this project, as those I worked with have a specific lens into 3-11, one regarding animal welfare and governmental failings. Their experience of 3-11 and the aftermath would be experienced and constructed distinctly based on this positionality.

Epistemologies

This project pulls from the conceptual framework of post-humanism, following Latour's challenge for anthropologists to "open up the question of humanity" and transcend traditional hierarchical concepts of the human and the related nature-culture divide (Latour 1993). This is an anthropology that takes into consideration the elasticity of the human-animal boundary, especially in cross-cultural contexts. It recognizes the agency of non-human animals, their ability to return a gaze, or respond, to their human counterparts (Derrida 2008), and understands that we are engaged with non-human animals in a myriad of meaningful forms, affecting our concepts of

self and our individual, social, political, and economic lives. As Tsing (2012) asserts, "human nature is an interspecies relationship" (4). Further, it is an anthropology that acknowledges that human-animal relationships are a significant part of human history and human understanding of themselves as subjects.

Post-humanism was chosen because I conducted my fieldwork in a cultural context with a unique historical-cultural understanding of the nature-culture divide and human-animal relationships (e.g. civilized/wild; tame/untamed). More so, I was engaged with humans who are in continuous contact (physically and conceptually) with non-human animals. This framework ensured that my research is conceptually sensitive and reflexive to the negotiability of the human-animal boundaries, allowing the identification and understanding of those socio-cultural processes (e.g. disaster) that may alter these boundaries.

Researching Multispecies Vulnerability and Resiliency

I am interested in what can be understood by decentering the human in examining vulnerability and resiliency during disasters. In other words, what can be uncovered with a posthuman, or multispecies vulnerability perspective? Inspired, in part, by feminist science and technology studies, multispecies or posthuman ethnography recognizes that our social world is composed of, and affected by, a multitude of interspecies relationships—while taking seriously the subjectivity and otherness of non-human actors (Van Dooren, Kirksey, and Munster 2016). Ogden, et al. (2013), defines multispecies ethnography "as ethnographic research and writing that is attuned to life's emergence within a shifting assemblage of agentive beings." More so, Ogden et al. (2013) expands the concept and scope of multispecies research to that beyond organisms where "agentive beings" can include "magical ways objects animate life itself" and other alternative ontologies and epistemologies. Multispecies ethnography draws upon and adds to the various strives in social sciences to reevaluate traditional considerations of nature and

culture while decentering the human. Thus, it melds well with both posthumanism and the political ecology of hazards, which strive to look beyond the human and recognize the enmeshed nature of society within its environment, respectively.

Stepping back from the label "multispecies ethnography", Hamilton and Taylor's *Ethnography after Humanism: Power Politics, and Method in Multi-species Research* (2017) propose simply questioning how ethnography can be done differently without reiterating human-animal binaries or otherwise keeping the human at the center (8). While acknowledging the significance of this type of work, they recognize the realistic limitations, uncertainty, and discomfort with conducting this form of research in a realm entirely by humans, centered on humans, and aimed at appealing to other humans. How to include non-human others, how to represent their voice, and how to acknowledge and represent animal agency are all new questions with ambiguous answers. While we cannot include non-humans as we would humans, what we can do is open our minds to what we can include; valuing information that may otherwise go unlooked. For example, the Hamilton and Taylor provide an example of police dogs:

> Just because we believe we cannot understand their minds should not necessarily be considered a barrier to including them in our ethnographic research. So what can we do? One way forward is to consider the interplay between dog and handler as part of a larger network of relations that *co-produce and enact the process of crime prevention and control* (2017:54).

While it is obvious that we must include non-human animals in our ethnographic research via methods such as this, Hamilton and Taylor point out the discomfort in doing so, frustrated they are limited only to mediums in which humans speak for animal others. To overcome this literal middle-man issue, they suggest including non-humans in descriptions and interactions as often as possible, as well as in dissemination (59). In this work, I provide examples where possible of the

interactions that co-produce vulnerability, resiliency, and define the social and political relations at hand.

Hamilton and Taylor (2017) further recognize the significance of taking power and agency into account. Making apparent the power networks that delineate our relationship with other species in a given culture is important – including our own role as human researcher. Non-human animals, especially those deeply ingrained in human life via domestication, navigate power networks that determine their value and interactions as part of our multispecies societies. For example, as companion animals are considered more valued than other animals, such as wild fish or farm chickens, they hold a certain affective power. Mundane daily interactions reveal these significant lines of power that determine the social norms, cultural rules, and perceptions of other species that determine how humans make sense of other living beings in their lives and how animals live amongst humans, and each other. Furthermore, power exists in the absence of animal representation. When non-human others are present in a research site, yet they are relegated to the sidelines – if acknowledged at all – the notion that non-human others are inferior or unimportant is reiterated (Hamilton and Taylor 2017) in the work produced. Finally, recognizing and reflecting how being human in a process of creating a work for humans (non-human animals will not read this dissertation, after all), results in humans remaining at the center despite our aims.

Another key method of multispecies or posthuman research is that of valuing anecdotes and acknowledging the individuality and unknown potential of other species and their interactions with humans. In Despret's (2016) work, *What Would Animal Say if We Asked the Right Questions?* the reliance on empirical research, which considers anecdotes as insignificant outliers, reduces our knowledges about non-human others and removes their agency. The fear of

anthropomorphism has crippled our understanding, representation of, and valuing of animals in research. In valuing these experiences, stories, and understandings of other species, we give power to the multispecies experiences extant in a society.

The animal is often included in works as, "an abstract and textualized nonperson that is available, mobile and passively awaiting inscription and representation" (Hamilton and Taylor 2017:62). Hamilton and Taylor pull from feminist research methods in acknowledging the significance of inclusion, of making visible those marginalized. Similarly, to account for the complexity of power relations and networks within my research sites (e.g. within Japanese culture; within the rocky animal welfare landscape), this project is informed by the feminist epistemologies of situated knowledges and standpoint theory (Haraway 1988; Harding 2003). My participants are primarily the marginalized and vulnerable in Japanese culture given their ethnicity, gender, race, and species memberships (discussed further in Chapter 4). This positionality offers an especially rich perspective within the disaster context under study However, in recognizing that all knowledge is partial and contextual and compounded with other identities and relations, I aimed to include a diverse group of participants to evoke a less biased perspective.

In this work, I value and utilize stories and I attempt representation of non-human participants via documented relations and non-verbal communication recorded and presented alongside those methods that reveal human perceptions and experiences of these non-human others. As Hamilton and Taylor (2017) note about their own work, including these interactions is slightly uncomfortable. This type of data feels not only out of place, but potentially invalid as I am interpreting and sometimes speaking for a species unlike my own. As an anthropologist, I am trained in crossing cultural lines, but the species line is a new terrain in practice. I recognize that

these methods are limited, sometimes rough to include, and that the human often remains at the center – both due to the researcher and the limitations of ethnographic methods in capturing the animal voice.

RESEARCH FOCUS

Disasters illuminate the multispecies world we live in. Disaster disrupts, erupts, and exposes our connections to non-human others. Even when operating under the anthropocentric lens of "humans first," as most disaster policy does, we find humans are entangled with myriad other species. These entanglements will influence the decisions and actions taken by humans and non-humans during and following a disaster. Our vulnerabilities and our resiliencies with the non-human others in our lives are co-produced before, during, and after a disaster. Our emotional, social, and economic connections with these furry, feathery, scaly others affects our capacity to see through, and bounce back from an unexpected hazard. This was especially the case following 3-11, in which thousands of domesticated animals lost their lives, and non-profit organizations struggled to survive the rescue efforts they undertook to care for those who survived. In exploring post-3-11 disaster aftermath in Japan, I theorize how our myriad entanglements with animal others co-produced our vulnerabilities and resiliencies. Thus, in the following chapters I focus on 1) contemporary human-animal relationships, 2) animal-focused civil society, and 3) resiliency building tactics for domesticated animals.

METHODOLOGY

I arrived at Animal Refuge Kansai (ARK) on a sunny, humid day at the end of May, 2014. Armed with a hand-drawn map regarding how to navigate my way to Animal Refuge Kansai, I swiftly found I was ill-prepared for the trip. Whereas the map was flat, the terrain was steep. The animal shelter I was heading for as at the top of a winding mountain village called

Nose-cho. The map had me turning left at an ancient-looking stone lantern, delineated which stone walls I should be traveling near, and what sort of signs I should see along the way.

FIGURE 1 – View from the walk to ARK

The town looked like it had not changed in a century. Rice fields and traditional-styled homes atop hills lined with moss-covered stone barriers. Elderly women tended to small garden plots and men drove small white trucks filled to the brim with farm equipment and vegetable matter. I felt out of place not only because of my foreignness, but because of my youth. As I finally neared the top of the road, I heard the faint sound of dogs barking. I was in the right place.

Crossing an old stone bridge and passing along rows of barking dogs, I entered the office building - a re-appropriated old house. I met the office head, Okuma-san, who went to retrieve Elizabeth Oliver, the head of ARK. Okuma-san was a middle-aged woman with a stern face - in

fact, one of the first non-smiling female faces I had interacted with since arriving in Japan a couple of weeks prior. She meant business, and business was serious.

After sitting at a table crowded by boxes of books and merchandise, a small, older frail-looking foreign woman walked in to greet me, "Looks like you made it," she said first. I introduced myself. We had exchanged e-mails for the past two years, though mainly regarding details of my research at ARK. We sat at the crowded desk and talked about my upcoming schedule as a volunteer and the purpose of my research. After only a few minutes, it became clear this woman was not frail, and her age did not match her personality. She was direct, bold, and decisive in how she spoke and carried herself. Her refined British accent stood out among the cacophony of barks surrounding us.

Our meeting lasted only around an hour and a half. I was given a small tour around the facility, plans were made for the future fieldwork, and I headed back on the train. In our short meeting, I learned more about animal welfare, rescue, and disaster in Japan than I had learned via academic literature over the past five years.

Positionality

I had originally intended to research gradual, but significant, rise in animal welfare awareness and organizations throughout Japan and had established contacts throughout the Kansai region during a pre-dissertation visit to Hikone in 2009. When the disaster struck on 2011, I watched as my research site and potential project drifted away into the tsunami waters. This event changed the arena of animal welfare and the organizations that champion it. Media reports covered the barely-known shelters in the mountainsides of rural villages, and because of their rescue efforts, international donation drives drew attention to the predicament of animals stuck in the radioactive no-go zones. Most significantly, awareness of animal rescue

organizations and the importance of non-human lives was now current news. This was the perspective and bias I had coming into Japan in May of 2014.

The contacts I initially established in 2009 were based on my ethical beliefs regarding non-human animals. My identity as an advocate for animals was relevant for establishing connections. During my fieldwork in 2014-15, I was open about my ethical views when relevant or when asked, and it often aided in similarly-minded participants' openness during conversations and interviews. Ethical stances on subjects such as veganism, euthanasia, whether or not to chain dogs, etc. are all highly contested in the small world of animal welfare in Japan. Deep divisions are formed based on where one stands (discussed in Chapter 4). I tried my best to remain as neutral as possible at all times in interactions with my informants.

Finally, I continued to be reflective and aware of my own personal biases about human-animal relationships and non-human animal treatment. Throughout the fieldwork, analysis, and the writing process, I strove to present an unbiased perspective. When I do take a stance, I make it clearly known. Nonetheless, this project was chosen, carried out, and will be published with a purpose - to aid non-human animals in disasters. For that purpose, it will certainly carry the bias that non-human animal lives matter, that they are intricately connected to human lives, and that taking action to build resiliency is an important and necessary endeavor.

Sites and Research Participants

I conducted 12 months of multispecies ethnographic fieldwork at numerous non-profit organizations who support the ongoing 3-11 disaster aftermath from 2014 – 2015. This project was carried out with qualitative research methods, specifically participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaires.

To gather data, I lived and volunteered at four animal rescue NPOs in Japan, becoming acquainted with both human and other animals who experienced the 2011 disaster, as well as the

more local mini-disasters that occurred. These sites were all in rural areas just outside large cities. Additionally, I visited affiliates of my key sites.

The animal rescue NPOs studied have a small staff (1-30), rely on donations, are often consistently underfunded, and stretch resources as far as they possibly can – which is typical for NPOs in Japan, especially animal welfare related (Ahonen 2012; Kawato, Pekkanen, and Tsujinka 2012). Of animal rescue NPOs in Japan, a few were well established prior to 2011, but many rose out of the disaster aftermath when registration of new non-profit organizations was streamlined to encourage disaster relief efforts (Avenell 2012). Western foreigners initiated several of the early non-profit organizations for animal welfare or animal shelters. These are often expatriates who bring in their own cultural brand of animal welfare. However, it is becoming far more common for Japanese-run non-profit organizations to sprout and flourish (Ahonen 2012). While there were a number of non-profits, individuals, and other organizations that aided in the disaster aftermath, these findings focus on the stories and words of those organizations with which I conducted my fieldwork.

It is important to note here that the key actors in Japanese animal welfare and rescue come from within and outside of Japan, varying in ethnicity, residency and background. The foundation of these organizations – design and concepts within animal rescues, goals and practices, and so on, are a result of this mixture of Japanese and Western backgrounds. While it is tempting to presume the ethnically non-Japanese and the ethnically Japanese actors are products only of their birth culture, the reality is far more complex. Similarly, it is tempting to presume the presence of Western actors in Japanese animal welfare is a story of the stereotypical "white savior" complex. While cases like this certainly have, and do exist, many of those working in Japan within animal rescue have resided there for the majority, or a good portion, of

their lives. They have established homes, families, and identities within Japanese culture. Some of those ethnically Japanese, similarly, have roots, connections, educational backgrounds, and so on, in Western cultures. It is problematic to make assumptions based only on ethnicity, but instead important to recognize their various identities within the context in which they are acting.

This large presence of Western women and men within Japanese Animal Welfare results in a comparative perspective often discussed by my human participants (the history and Western perceptions of animal welfare in Japan is discussed more at length in Chapter 3). This comparison is often between Japan and Britain or America and ranges from welfare standards to affective dimensions of companion species relationships to concepts of civil society.

Lastly, the sites discussed here are identified by their non-profit names, but the staff and volunteers within are given pseudonyms to protect individual identity (with the exception of Elizabeth Oliver, who is far too well known and published to attempt a pseudonym). Companion species retain their given names in this dissertation.

FIGURE 2 - Map of Research Sites

Animal Refuge Kansai (ARK)

ARK, where I spent the majority of my time in the field, was accessible via an hour and a half to two-hour train ride from Osaka Station. Without a vehicle, this site required three trains, a local bus, and a 20-30 minute steep uphill walk to volunteer. When staying at the provided volunteer housing in Myokenguchi nearby, this trek included only the bus and the walk. Nose-Cho, Myokenguchi, and other small villages along the way, look lost in time -- survivors of the popularization of modernizing homes. Unlike other "sleeper" areas the train passes on the ride to ARK, these villages still survive on rice and vegetable cultivation. I arrived when the first rice seedlings were planted, watched and photographed the frogs who were born in the waters and the

herons who came to hunt them. I waved to the farmers as they harvested their rice in the fall, some traditionally and some with machines, and when it was time to leave ARK, the new seedlings had just gone in. Rain or shine, snow or crisp, the gorgeous walk up the mountains of Nose-Cho became the first step of my daily volunteering at this animal rescue center -- the oldest in Japan. This animal rescue is well-known both within Japan, and internationally, compared to others, due to their media coverage and lengthy standing as a leader in animal welfare. Within Nose-Cho, ARK is associated with foreigners, companion animals, and the impact the director has had in the community for years.

FIGURE 3 – Walking a dog at ARK

Operating for decades, ARK is embedded into its landscape, with nature growing into the wooden outdoor dog kennels that line the paths. The kennels and shelter spaces are organically built into this mountainside space. A small stream flows between the main buildings and the

small dirt parking area and narrow road. During heavy rains, this stream can grow strong and heavy enough to take out bridges and other human-made structures along the path.

As the director is a fan of gardening, the paths near the kennels blossomed in all seasons but winter. Her home was reminiscent of a British-cottage, with open windows until winter brings in a chill. Birds, bugs, and snakes are welcome to go in and out, alongside her collection of elderly dogs who she had chosen to be a part of her family. Cluttered, yet spacious, this well-worn home sat at the center of the shelter, as though it has spiraled out from it over the past two decades.

FIGURE 4 – Volunteer housing in Myokenguchi

While I resided in urban Osaka, it would be far too long of a commute to take each day. Thus, I lived in ARK's volunteer accommodations for five to eight days at a time. These accommodations were in the form of a small, furnished old home near Myokenguchi station. It

smelled strongly of mildew, had multiple insect infestations, and no internet access, but it became a treasured home. Upon arriving home each day, covered in sweat, fur, and slobber, I would shower, type of fieldnotes on the *kotatsu*, and prepare for the next day.

Daily volunteering at ARK included walking to the bus stop around 7am every morning, riding through the rural countryside – passing beautiful lush forests and scenic rice fields—and departing the bus at the base of a mountain. We then would begin a steep 20-minute walk up a narrow road, passing farmhouses, roadside vegetable stands with fresh produce, and overlooking mountain vistas. I never tired of the view, taking hundreds of photos. Upon arriving at ARK, the sound of dogs barking prepared us for what is to come. Regardless of weather, we begin by walking the dogs or cleaning their outdoor kennels. Upon our arrival at 8:30am, the staff was always already hard at work, having fed the resident animals breakfast. There would be a lunch break at noon with the other volunteers for exactly an hour. Following lunch break, we might be tasked with playing with/socializing cats or dog, brushing them, or doing more walking. While the activities were similar every day, they varied because of the wide variety of resident companion species within ARK. A dog walk is never the same, even with the same dog, thus it is always an adventure when there are 130 or so dogs and at least 100 cats.

FIGURE 5 – Kittens at ARK

The mountain trails where we walk the dogs continued along these paths, going far up into the hills and forests that surround the site. There were three main trails. The first was relatively flat, perfect for the older dogs, and provided an overlook of idyllic Nose-Cho. The second was steep, going straight up the mountain to a constructed dam. Often, old fisherman would sit near the man-made lake all day laughing and relaxing in the sun. Further up, the trail led to a camping cottage, which I never saw in use, and eventually to ancient-looking religious statues and shrines. Usually, the dogs wished to stop around the cottage and turn back. The third trail followed the road, with offshoots leading into a dark and dim forest. Construction was common due to mudslides and other mountainous happenstances. The mountain was often wet, misty, and filled with wildlife - from wild boars to large Japanese hornets.

FIGURE 6 – Volunteers on break for lunch at ARK

The office was in another house nearby. This office/house was large, with three floors filled to the brim -- no space goes to waste here. The basement held the quarantine, grooming, and veterinary structures, as well as the only bathroom. There was large storage areas filled with everything from dog food to spare blankets. Nothing seemed to be thrown away here, as you never know what demand might come next. The second floor connected with the main level of the shelter, welcoming guests. This was where the office operations took place, alongside a lunch room and meeting space for volunteers (or your friendly neighborhood anthropologist), with a connected balcony serving as a place to dry blankets and clothes. This was where I conducted many of my interviews. The third floor served as an apartment for the resident cleaning woman. In the director's words, she is the worst cleaning woman you can imagine, but she has been around for years and is an important fixture of the space. This woman came to the shelter not

unlike many of the furry residents - in need of a safe space and home. Not only a shelter for animals, ARK serves now and then as an employer and safe house for local battered women (discussed further in Chapter 4).

Interestingly, ARK was not alone on the rural mountain-site. I heard faint echo of dog barks from the end of one of the mountain trails. At first, I thought it was merely echoes. Surely, I thought, someone would have told me if there was another animal rescue site nearby. Months in, I was asked by a volunteer if I had been to Happy House. She was shocked to learn that I had not even heard of it. Within a mile of ARK stands another shelter, a former sister site that began after the directors had a disagreement on ethical issues, such as euthanasia. Despite the rarity of animal rescue NPOs in Japan, and the extreme proximity of these two sites, the two do not intermingle. Occasionally, volunteers will visit both, and even less commonly a staff member might move from one to the other. I toured this shelter and interviewed the director towards the end of my fieldwork. The lack of communication, while shocking, was common in the small, yet tumultuous arena of Japanese animal welfare. This is discussed at length in Chapter 4.

Heart Tokushima (Heart)

Heart was located in Tokushima, on the island of Shikoku. This site was purchased as a temporary shelter location following the 3-11 disaster, though the non-profit organization was established earlier, in 2006. When purchased, it was merely a semi-steep piece of undeveloped mountain. At the bottom of the mountain was a trash incinerator. The director of this shelter was open about discussing how this was not a good piece of land, but the price was right and the times were desperate. More so, it was meant to be temporary. This organization was established by Shelly, a Canadian who had come to Japan to teach English. Upon seeing the need for animal shelters, and taking in a number of dogs and cats off the street, she applied for non-profit status -- often receiving advice from staff in ARK.

FIGURE 7 – Heart Tokushima, view from the break area

When I first arrived in Tokushima to begin volunteering at Heart, my partner and I were picked up at the Tokushima bus station in a large white van by a 30-something Japanese man named Takashi. He displayed all semblances of being a hard, outdoor worker: tan, dirty, and tired. He explained that he was driving us to the volunteer apartment. We made small talk in Japanese and English, but the interaction seemed exhausting for him. Perhaps it had been a long day. Having spent a good amount of time volunteering at Heart, I now know he was picking us up after a full shift on a hot summer day, and I, too, would have found conversation exhausting.

Having experienced ARK's volunteer accommodations, I was ready for just about anything. Upon arriving, I was pleasantly surprised to find a two-bedroom modern Japanese apartment. Not only was it fit with all modern amenities -- internet, microwave, clean bedding -- it was in walking distance of a train station that would take us anywhere in Tokushima. More so,

we would be driven to the shelter site and back, every day. This felt luxurious given my usual volunteering location.

During this first trip we stayed with a British volunteer named Dan. He was in his early twenties, tall, and equally as tan now as Takashi. Dan showed us around the apartment and explained what to expect, "Takashi usually picks us up around 10ish, but it could be earlier." This was the first hint at the rather haphazard schedule I would experience. I later learned that prior to picking us up, Takashi had several other stops -- including an apartment rented just to house the cats -- as well as his own family duties. Takashi and his wife, Shelly, had two young children. This would also explain why, when we were picked up in the morning, we sat in the back of a large seatless van, holding on to what we could, alongside haphazard assorted items (from toddler cars seats to pet cages), and several bags of used cat litter. As we rode up the rocky mountain path each morning, it was a game of, "the floor is lava" as we all avoided falling onto the soiled bags. The first trip was shocking in smell and movement, but it quickly became a norm - even a joyous norm.

My first impression of Heart was similar to that of ARK. I was overcome by the noise, the smell, and the sight. A construction company had kindly aided in clearing areas of the mountain for use and the shelter, thus, consisted of three platforms. These were referred to as the first floor, second floor, and third floor—with a steep incline leading from one to the other. Half-way up the first incline is the office. This office is a pre-fabricated building housing several smaller dogs, and one large one - JamJam, a Burmese mountain dog. The "office" part seems to have taken a second place to the accommodation for these dogs. Surrounding the office were more outdoor kennels for older dogs, including one for a cantankerous Corgi named Tomato and an indoor/outdoor kennel for a beloved blue-eyed mutt named Husky.

FIGURE 8 – "Third floor" of Heart Tokushima

The second floor consisted of several pre-fabricated buildings and a few make-shift outdoor kennels. There is a pre-fab building for storing food and other resources, and a semi-functioning outdoor shade-cover structure that protected a few chairs and a table for putting together the dog's daily meals. Next to this break area is a fridge, where we can place our lunches and drinks. The freezer is stocked with ice cream and popsicles brought by volunteers, which prove incredibly useful in the summer. This break area was often littered with snacks, such as rice crackers or Pocky, brought by staff and volunteers to share throughout the day. Whereas Heart's volunteer accommodations were modern and clean, their "break room" was the opposite of ARK's. It was outdoor, under the elements, and the ramshackle benches and lawn table where we ate were in the midst of the smells, sounds, and sight of the shelter. There would

occasionally be a canopy to guard us from direct sun or rain, but twice during my fieldwork it was broken from strong winds – exposing us in full to whatever nature had in mind that day.

The third floor held newer outdoor wooden kennels. These dogs, like those in the pre-fab buildings on the second level, tended to live two to three per kennel. There are wooden dog houses within, and concrete flooring. Water dishes were provided, and their leashes hung on the outside of the gates next to their listed names. This was often the last "floor" we approached in our daily duties.

FIGURE 9 – Walking dogs at Heart Tokushima

A day volunteering at Heart, especially in the summer, was challenging work. The only full staff, when I first arrived, was Takashi. Shelly, his wife, did the majority of business and social media work while caring for her children and other animals within her home (some hers, some adoptable). Aside from Takashi and Shelly, Heart relied almost entirely on volunteers.

Some were regulars; some only came for a day or so. Some, like us, would stay for longer. Because the site relied on volunteers, no day was the same as the next. What occurred, when it occurred, and in what order varied from day to day. We might be picked up at 9am some days, and 11am others. We might arrive home at 4:30pm, or at 8pm. More so, the work was hard. There were more than a hundred dogs who needed to be fed, watered, and walked up and down a steep mountainside. Kennels needed to be cleaned, dishes washed, and some needed special medical attention. There is no tree cover to protect from the sun, rain, or snow. One of my first observations of Heart is shock that it continued to function. I learned that on some days, Takashi did all of these tasks alone.

The trash incinerator at the bottom of the site would send toxic-smelling smoke throughout Heart from morning to afternoon most days. On my first visit, the incinerator was not running. This second visit was hard on me. The volunteers wore face masks to help with the smoke, and I did the same, but it still got in. I had trouble breathing and would develop headaches regularly. For those who had volunteered or a while, they sometimes did not bother with masks. As one young woman volunteer told me, "I could hardly stand it for a week or so, and would get headaches, but now I barely notice" (Interview, January 27th, 2015). Furthermore, the smoke would often travel up the mountain, reaching all the dogs, as well. How this affected their health, or ours, is unknown.

FIGURE 10 – Dogs in a "third floor" kennel at Heart Tokushima

The volunteers I encountered at Heart were an equal mix of international and Japanese. The Japanese regulars were primarily middle-aged women from the Tokushima area. The international volunteers were mostly women from primarily Western nations, many of whom would come for a week to months at a time. Non-regulars were younger Japanese women, or foreign English-language teachers in the area.

Japan Cat Network (JCN)

It took over ten hours of travel to arrive at JCN from my home in Osaka. Placed in Inawashiro, Fukushima Prefecture, it stood on the edge of Bandai-Asahi National Park. The large home was sandwiched between scenic mountain views, Bandai-san soaring overhead, and rice fields that reach to Lake Inawashiro. During the winter, the nearby ski-village attracts many tourists. About an hour bike ride away stands the historical tourism-friendly area of

Aizuwakamatsu, famous for its samurai background. The placement was chosen due to its proximity to the Fukushima evacuation zone, making rescue efforts easier for all involved. When exploring the towns in Fukushima prefecture, tourist sites such as Japan-Guide state reassuring lines such as, "Located 100 kilometers west of the Fukushima nuclear power plants, the Aizu region was fortunate to receive only a small amount of radioactive fallout, and radiation levels have not changed much from pre-accident levels" (Japan-Guide 2017). Brochures and flyers throughout the small tourist areas similarly discussed the radiation levels, all but begging tourists to return to this gorgeous area.

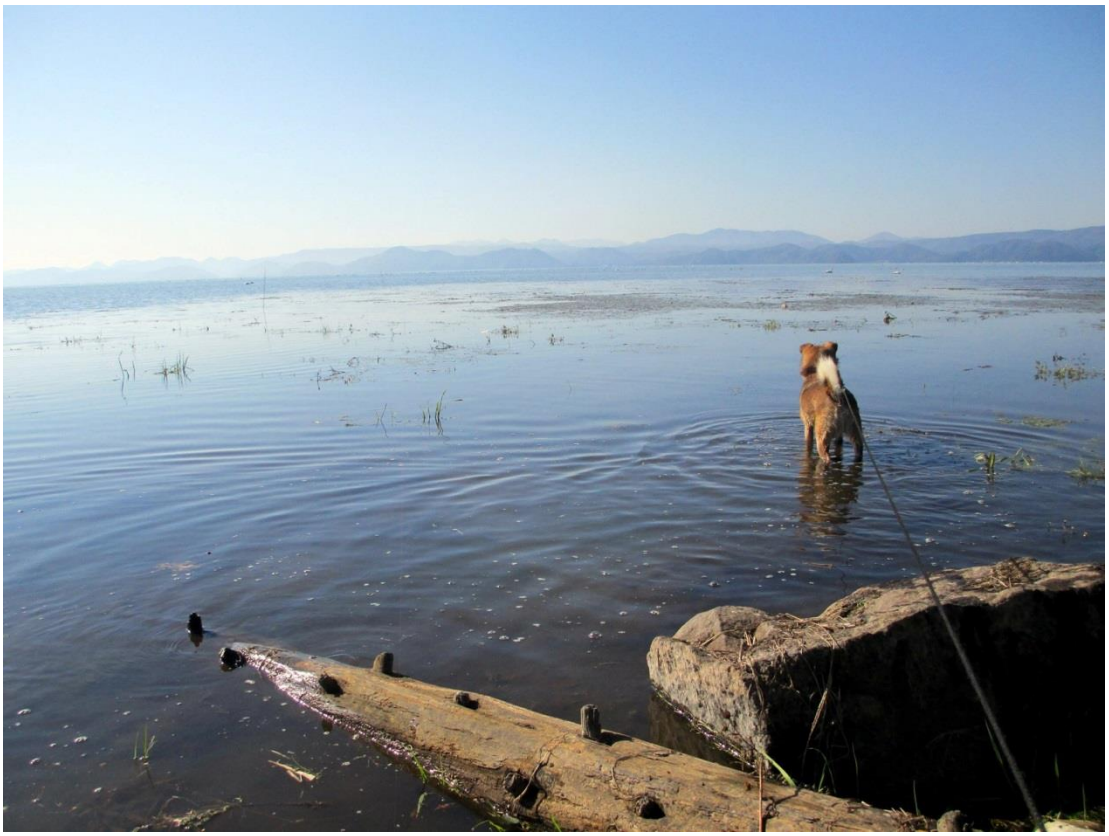

FIGURE 11 – Chacha, a JCN dog rescued from the disaster, looks out at Lake Inawashiro

I visited this site twice during my fieldwork. The first time I found myself alone, with my husband (who was bedridden ill for the entire week), the sole caretaker of about 40 cats and two

dogs. I was filling in during a lull in volunteers. One was traveling to Tokyo and another had just left. During my week stay, as an anthropologist with only non-human subjects to observe, I spent my time documenting and becoming acquainted with the home, the guidelines, the cats and dogs, and the local area.

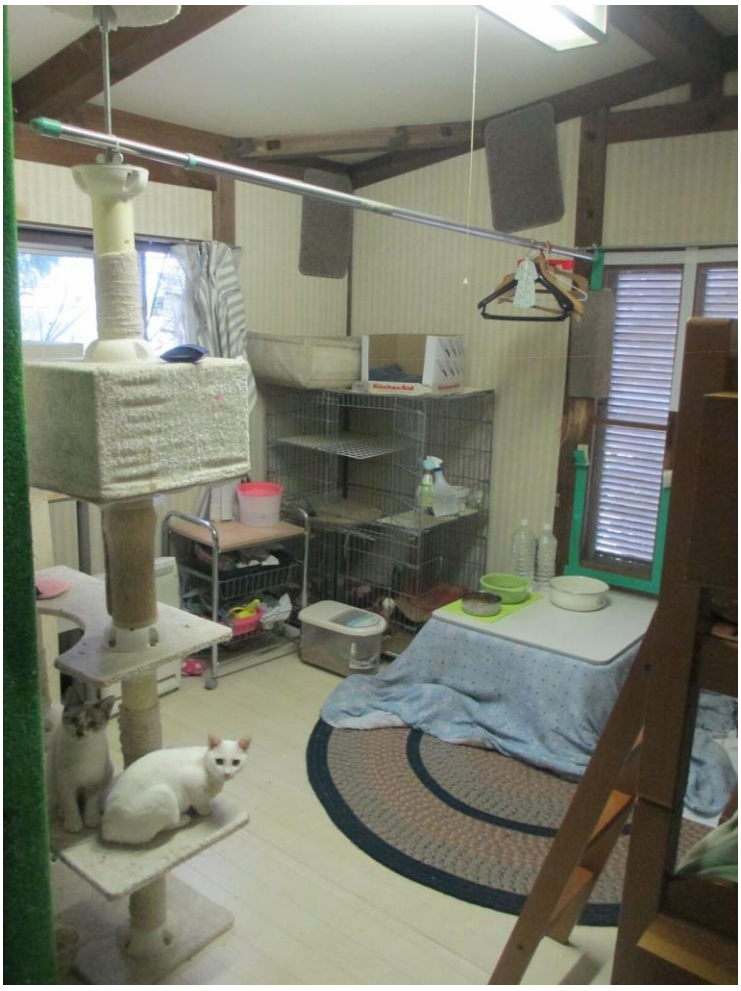

FIGURE 12 – A cat room at JCN

The director of this site is a woman originally from Michigan. We met first at a vegan ramen shop in Kyoto. Given our similar interests, we established a quick rapport. Her twelve

years in Japan, two shelters, and experience with the 3-11 disaster meant that she had significant insight on a wide variety of issues. In regard to this site, she explained during our first meeting:

> I asked [Sarah] how JCN came to be. She said she build it out of her tears. She rescued cats in Shiga with a shelter there, and then when the disaster happened, she moved up there and has been for three years...In [Sarah's] words, "I saw a problem that needed fixing and I fixed it." However, she does not want it to be a shelter that relies on one person – her – especially as she has no source of income. Others disagree, and she is struggling with the idea that maybe JCN should be closed. However, at the same time, she feels as though it has never been so great and in such a good position (Fieldnotes September 28th, 2014).

This excerpt also offers a small glimpse of the conflict that was rampant between animal welfare/rescue organizations throughout Japan, as noted earlier. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

FIGURE 13 – JCN volunteers gathering hay for cows in the evacuation zone

My second visit was a whirlwind. I was asked to participate in a mission to feed cattle within the evacuation zone. These cattle had not eaten for two weeks, and hay was being donated by a local agricultural non-profit. Thus, we rented a car and drove the ten hours to Inawashiro. I

was introduced to a house full of volunteers and interviewed all present. The morning after our late-night arrival, we drove to pick up hay, and then to the border that led to the no-go zone. The hay was delivered by the owner of the cattle, and we continued on to visit a haphazard shelter built in the recommended evacuation zone. This small shelter was built out of left behind furniture and outdoor items scavenged from the desolate neighborhood. Dozens of cats were within, and the conditions were filthy. They needed help, but no one was left. Most of the pets in this make-shift site were abandoned by those who evacuated. Arrangements were made between the director of JCN and this shelter -- they would attempt to send volunteers to help clean. The entire experience in this landscape, alongside evacuees, volunteers, and humans and animals left behind in this disaster, was emotional and unforgettable.

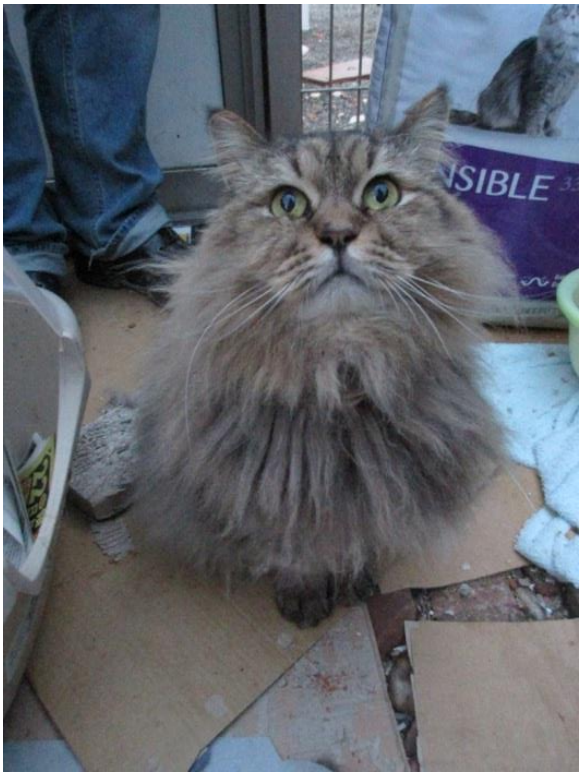

FIGURE 14 – Cat in a make-shift shelter in the recommended evacuation zone

Due to the location of this site, it continues to be actively involved with the rescue and feeding of animals still left behind in the no-go zone. This second visit introduced me to a multitude of actors who participate in these activities regularly.

Animal Friends Niigata (AFN)

While I spent less than a week at this site, AFN was a key player in the post-3-11 rescue due to its location in Niigata. My first day at this shelter, which is pulled from fieldnotes on October 21st, 2014, is telling as to the state of AFN during my time in the field:

While searching for AFN in a taxi, we passed a dog walker in the rain and I knew we must be close. The sign said both Animal Friends Niigata in *katakana,* and Animal Garden, which I believe was the name of the boarding business that existed simultaneously.

FIGURE 15 – New dog kennels at AFN

FIGURE 16 – Dog kennels located indoors at AFN

A smiling and friendly young Japanese man, Takata, met me as I entered the gates. Unlike other sites, I soon realized that aside from Henrietta, all staff members were Japanese. As a staff member led us to a building to put our luggage in, I noticed the conditions of the shelter. The rain made everything dark and soaked. It was quite different from the previous sites I had visited. While generally clean, some animals were kept in surprisingly small, dim spaces. A dozen or so cats were in stacked wire cages, though provided with ample bedding and litter boxes. Other cats were in large rooms, in varying levels of cleanliness. While some dogs were in new wooden and metal indoor/outdoor kennels, others were kept in small crates in a dark building with concrete floors. It was hard to determine and understand the arrangement in the few days we volunteered on site. All dogs I saw outdoors were medium to large. Takata said that the small dogs are adopted much faster.

We were given dogs to walk and told that walks were ten minutes. Takata explained that he would hand us the dogs, and we would hand him the dogs upon returning – like Heart's arrangement. He told us the name of the dog prior to handing them to us. Furthermore, he explained their personality and other key factors. During a lunch break, I learned Takata joined AFN when the 3-11 disaster happened three years ago. I also learned AFN had fallen on difficult financial times and staff were no longer being regularly paid. The staff members present were now essentially volunteers – staying out of a love and dedication to the companion animals.

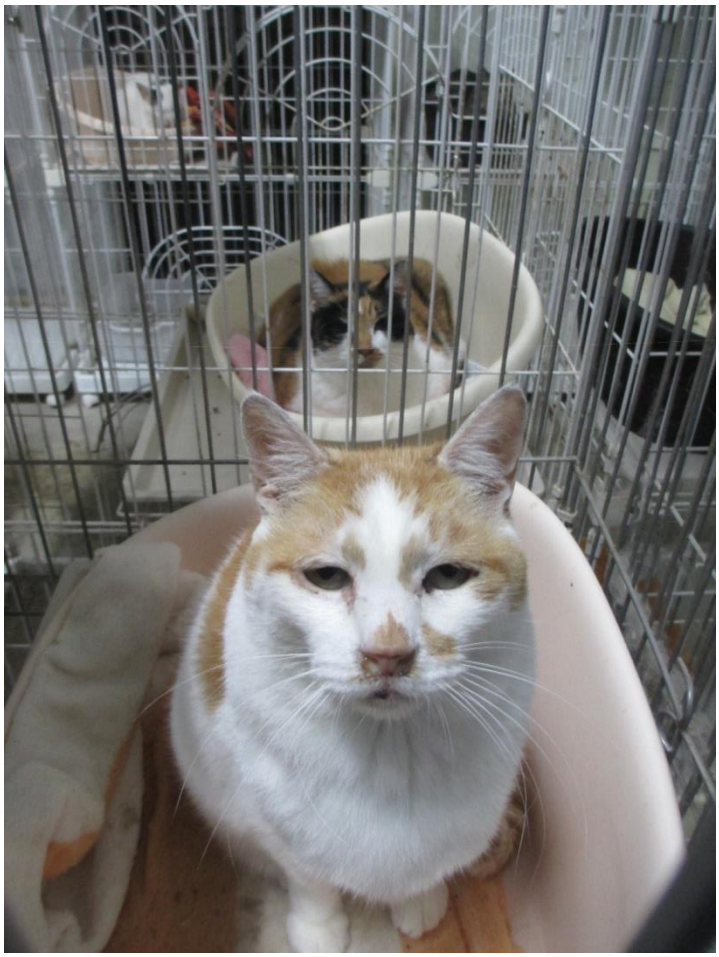

FIGURE 17 – Cat at AFN, named Yakuza due to his gangster-like face

Takata gave a small tour after we finished the dogs in the shed on the first day – there were 215 cats, 78 dogs, 36 rabbits, and then a tortoise and chicken as boarders. Fifteen of the

dogs are "Staff Only" due to being dangerous. During the disaster, he explained, there were 200 dogs. Takata told me that AFN is the only shelter in Niigata Prefecture, but there are houses that rescue animals, such as foster homes and individuals who take in animals.

I met Henrietta in the main building, what was previously a boarding hotel for animals. When she arrived, we had a brief handshake and she apologized for being late. She was a tall, slender woman with a short haircut and thick eye make-up. She wore yoga pants and nondescript, tight fitting layered shirts. She appeared to be in her 40s. Henrietta had been in Japan for 28 years. She originally came for the language. She was studying Chinese at university and Japanese was part of the program. She lived in Tokyo for four years and then came to Niigata. She married a Japanese man. I asked if he was an animal lover as well and she said that he certainly puts up with a house filled with animals.

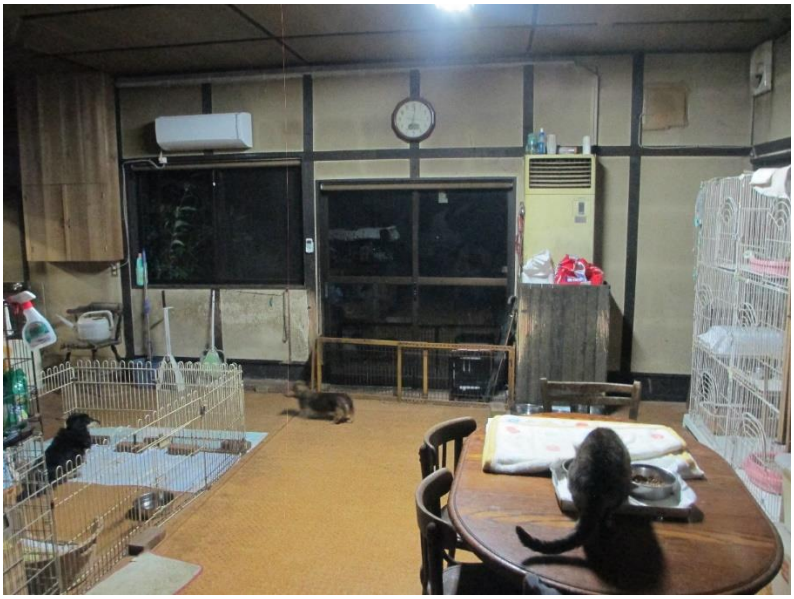

FIGURE 18 – The office at AFN

After introductions, Henrietta said she needed to take care of the "rabid German Shepherds" in her office as she is the only one who can go in "without being torn apart." She led us to her "office" commenting and smiling that it was at one time an office and now it is more

like "one giant toilet. That's how it happens, right?" I agreed, though the large room looked far nicer than that. It had old bookshelves, a dusty television screen and a desk area with a computer and files that may still be in use. There was a table in the middle of the room with cat food and water, and a playpen area with blankets for the smaller dogs. There were three dogs – two dachshunds and a larger mix. There were many cats – everywhere I looked there were cats, going in and out of the room into connecting ones from entry ways near the ceiling. Henrietta quickly went into the connecting room, from which all I could see was a small opening and occasionally a German shepherd's head poking out. The shepherd was barking quite a bit but calmed down after Henrietta entered. A larger dachshund, an old man Henrietta pointed out, kept barking as well and Henrietta repeatedly yelled for him to stop. Once done, she made room in her car for us and drove us to an Izakaya, a Japanese pub. She had said we could grab a bite to eat and then go to a volunteer apartment.

Henrietta said she was "staying over tonight." They take turns staying the night at the shelter, and she was on for the night as she had been in England for the past week visiting her mother. I asked why they stay the night and she said it was because they could not afford expensive security needed to ensure the facility would be safe. If an emergency happened, they would want to know right away. She compared the situation to Heart's – Henrietta's husband does not have a job outside the shelter, similar to Takashi's situation. They both care for the shelter together. Later, when I asked Henrietta whether or not she has own pets, she again referred to Shelly and Takashi's situation, "they are not so much pets," but like with Shelly and Takashi, there are animals living in her apartment that she cares for.

During our conversation, we talked about the 3-11 disaster, in which they took in 700 animals as part of a coalition with Heart and JCN (discussed in Chapter 4). "I don't know how

we managed." She said they were the intake shelter and the idea was that the animals would then be transferred to JCN and Heart. Henrietta said that she expected JCN would expand their shelter to take in more animals. Heart took 50-70. She commented that they should have carried out matters more officially, with a contract. Henrietta explained that she was able to reach out to Japanese funders after the earthquake far more than Heart and JCN, and so they were funded this way for some time – though, "people move on." The disaster was three years ago and funding from Japan-based donations as dropped as well as international. She said she is going to try and make calendars this year.

After dinner, she drove us to the apartment. Upon entering, she became frustrated – the electricity was turned off and there were trash bags behind the door. She instantly got on the phone and was yelling as who I believe was her husband. She just needed to find the bill, pay it, and the electricity would be turned on. We waited for her to go back to the shelter to find the bill, and she was able to work it out. Once inside, the volunteer apartment was nice – spacious, and modern, with the minimum furnishings. The electricity came on after a few hours.

Though we arranged to be picked up to head to AFN and volunteer the following day, Henrietta was in a car accident – drove into a rice field. We were able to make it the following two days, with a routine of ten-minute dog walks, cat room cleaning, and a midday lunch with the staff. During this time, I distributed questionnaires and chatted about the shelter.

Participants

The participants of this study consist of those within or associated with animal rescue organizations in Japan. These organizations were primarily in Japan (e.g. ARK, Heart, etc.), but others (e.g. Kinship Circle, HSUS) were international organizations that sent volunteers to Japan during the 3-11 disaster aftermath. Additional participants include veterinarians and disaster management staff. I sought these participants out verbally or via e-mail and met with them on an

individual basis. Those who have since left Japan, or located outside of Honshu, were contacted via Skype. Additionally, I participated in events held by ARK and affiliates, including fostering fairs and adoption events. Finally, the non-human animals at the research sites and who were impacted by the 3-11 disaster, either directly or indirectly, are key participants in this project.

TABLE 1 - Interview Participant Demographics

INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS	
Gender	
Female	43
Male	19
Nationality	
Japanese	29
American	14
Britain	7
Canada	1
New Zealand	1
Iceland	1
Switzerland	1
Ireland	2
Israel	1
Residence	
Japan	53
Japanese ethnicity	27
Long term Japan residents	13
Short term (one year or less)	13
Role	
Director	7
Staff	25
Volunteer	29
Other	1
Organization Affiliation(s)	
AFN	3
JCN	10
ARK	27
Heart	10
Other	12

Personal Meaning Maps and Questionnaires

Prior to interviewing, I sought to administer Personal Meaning Maps (PMMs), a qualitative tool which uses the words and ideas of the informant as a basis for understanding

knowledge, beliefs and attitudes, to gain an understanding as to how the participants conceptualize the animals in their lives and those they rescue, and accompanying questionnaires regarding their involvement, demographics, and history with animal welfare. These items were to serve as stand-alone data for those subjects who volunteer at ARK for a relatively short period of time.

However, in practice, this method failed. I abandoned this method after three months of attempts. The volunteers who filled them out had no trouble with the questionnaire and were open to inquiry in other forms, but simply did not know how to fill out the PMM. I adjusted my description of them and provided examples, to no avail. In fact, when I provided examples, they would simply copy the examples in form and even terminology. Finally, one volunteer told me outright that Japanese people did not like this sort of open-ended activity - they needed guidelines. Whether or not this was accurate, as it was merely one personal perception, I chose to focus only on providing the questionnaires and talking directly with fellow volunteers during our lunch period rather than struggle with this method any longer. Results of the questionnaire were helpful in understanding why volunteers came to ARK and contributed to understandings of Japanese civil society and human-animal relationships.

In total, I received 75 questionnaires throughout the course of the fieldwork. I will discuss the details of the volunteers surveyed in Chapter 5. The questionnaires were given during lunch breaks at three sites: ARK (61), Heart (3), and AFN (11). JCN was not set up in a way that allowed for questionnaires to be distributed and so I only conducted interviews in this location. Discussion often followed these questionnaires, which is recorded in fieldnotes. Furthermore, some of the answers in the questionnaires aided in asking questions during interviewing.

These questionnaires asked simple demographics questions, as well as whether or not they have a pet (and what kind), where the pet was acquired (rescued or purchased), why they volunteer at the site they are on, how they learned of this organization, and whether or not they volunteer anywhere else (animal rescue or otherwise). The answers highlight whether or not animal-based volunteering corresponds to the literature on other forms of volunteering in Japan--which will be discussed at length in Chapter 5.

Lastly, I ask for the e-mail addresses of anyone who would be willing to talk further about animal rescue in Japan. The majority of questionnaires were returned with an e-mail address provided--many accompanied by notes saying they would love to talk further. As I did not ask for the name of the volunteer on the form, many added their own name and pronunciation. These enthusiastic volunteers were often regulars and became trusted informants. While the setting did not lend itself well to full interviews, we talked at length during our daily lunch breaks and these conversations appear in fieldnotes. Thus, these questionnaires unexpectedly served as a means to formally introduce my project and research to fellow volunteers in these sites, including them in my work as the months went on.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used throughout my fieldwork due to their non-hierarchical format that encourages a guided, yet flexible, conversation. I interviewed my fellow volunteers, staff, and affiliates. Additionally, I recruited those who aided in the disaster aftermath who were not formally affiliated with these organizations, such as staff from international organizations who focused on animal rescue and aid after the 3-11 disaster. These interviews sought the experiences with the animals with whom they interact, their reasons for their affiliation with animal rescue/welfare, their thoughts, perceptions, and experiences with animal

welfare in Japan, their experiences and perception of the disaster and aftermath, and all overlapping themes.

There were 64 interviewees in total, including six directors of NPOs, 25 staff members at these organizations, and 29 volunteers. Interviews were conducted in English and in Japanese, and 18 required the use of a translator. While 27 were of Japanese ethnicity, 13 more were long-term expatriates. Thirteen others were volunteering short-term (less than a year), and came from all corners of the world, from Iceland to Australia. As many as 68% of participants interviewed, and significantly more who volunteered alongside me, were women. All participants in this study volunteered or worked in animal rescue efforts following the triple disaster and/or took in companion animals who were rescued. Some continue these efforts, entering the 20km no-go zone to help the animals who remained beyond the blockades.

A consent form was provided prior to the interviewing process and the participants were informed that they had the liberty to end the interview or skip any questions they felt uncomfortable with at any time. The comfort and trust of my participants was of great importance. Despite this framework, only one participant declined to answer a question.

Participant Observation

Throughout the research period I acted as a participant observer – the primary tool for ethnography. Participant observation serves to inform and triangulate all of the data collected due to its incomparable abilities to impart understanding of humans, non-human animals, and their interactions and entanglements. My role as a long-term volunteer at ARK and associated organizations were my main sites for participant observation, with events held by these groups also contributing significantly to my fieldnotes. I also took fieldnotes at key areas of human-animal interaction in the Kansai region. For example, the Tenoji Zoo in Osaka, a multitude of pet

shops and pet-oriented businesses, and *doubutsu ai* locations - businesses in which you pay by the hour to interact with often exotic animals within shopping centers.

Photography

The use of photography was ever present throughout my fieldwork. I documented the interactions between humans and other humans, humans and non-human animals, and animals and other animals. I photographed my research sites, their events, and the key locations therein.

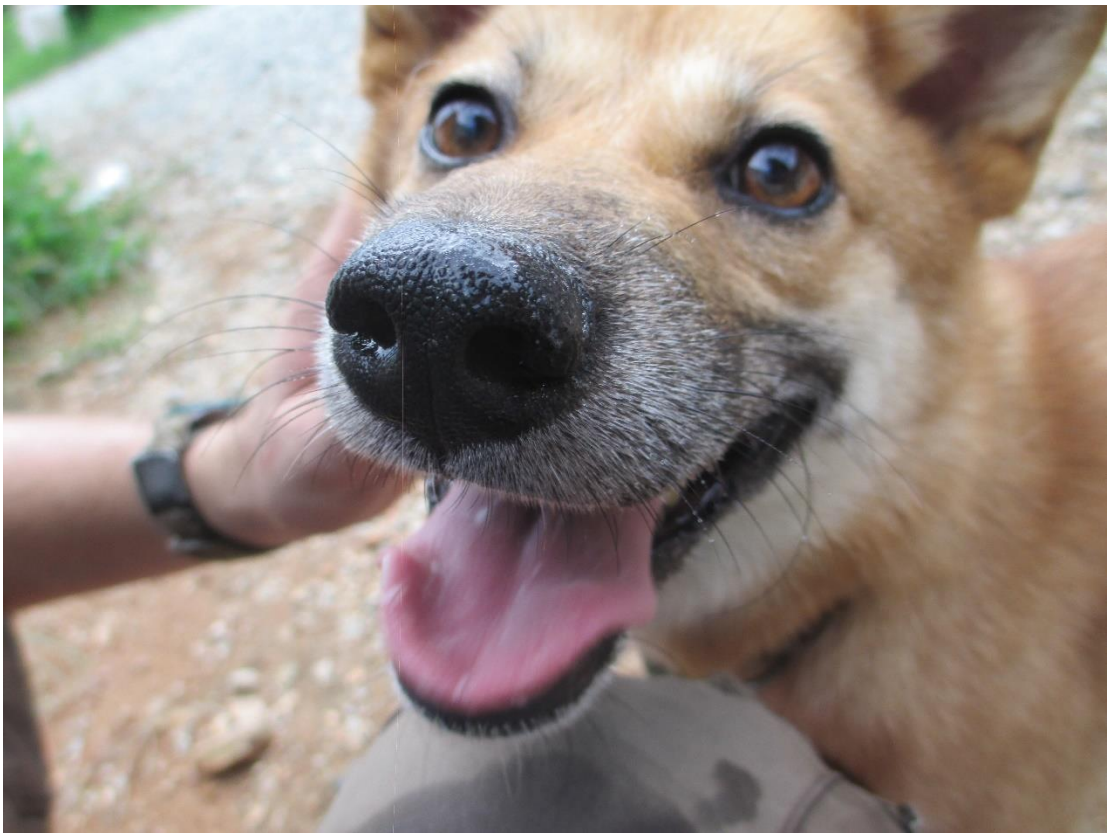

FIGURE 19 – The gaze of a friendly dog at Heart Tokushima

When I visited the Tōhoku region, I used photography to capture that which words could not - the abandoned towns, the haphazard shelters constructed by locals, and the sense of hopelessness for humans and animals left behind. Where it can add to the words on paper, I include the images of the animal and human subjects discussed.

Analysis

I returned from my twelve months of fieldwork with a plethora of data. I have 12 months of nearly daily entries of fieldnotes (some days are grouped, such as during long trips without computer access), 64 interviews, 75 questionnaires, hundreds of photographs, newsletters and articles regarding animal welfare in Japan collected since the early 1970s (hundreds of documents), and modern materials, such as posters and flyers from pet shops and regarding disaster donations. There is far too much data to fully include in this dissertation, especially where the backlog of newsletters and articles are concerned. Hence, I have chosen to only include those documents that relate to either the 1995 or 2011 disaster or the themes covered within this project, and to save the other for future projects.

To analyze this data, I used Nvivo to code the fieldnotes and transcribed interviews for themes. Once these themes were established, I organized them into the major themes that arose during my fieldwork (e.g. emotion, animal welfare, inter-NPO conflict, volunteering) and underlying themes. For example, the multiple mentions of the *hokensho* (animal control), breeders, and pet stores were moved under the theme of "Japanese Animal Welfare Concerns." These primary themes became the basis of my dissertation chapters. I connected the findings to the associated discourse and interpreted my findings in the following pages.

OVERVIEW OF DISSERTATION

The following chapters pull from the fieldwork discussed above. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the 3-11 disaster aftermath, delving into the link between human and non-human animal vulnerability and resiliency, and how disaster management is addressing these issues on a local level. Chapter three focuses on the vulnerabilities that present themselves within the relationships between humans and companion animals in contemporary Japan. Using animal

abonnement as a focus, this chapter explores social and cultural phenomena that have contributed to the individual and social vulnerabilities experienced by companion animals.

Chapter 4 inquiries into the vulnerabilities of the non-profit organizations who aided in the 3-11 disaster aftermath. Introducing the history, struggles, and strengths of ARK, I uncover the marginalization, isolation, and intersectional challenges that resulted in both increased vulnerability following 3-11, and as an overall obstacle to the development of a social safety net for domesticated animals in Japan. Chapter five examines the animal rescue side of Japanese civil society, specifically exploring the volunteers within these non-profit organizations as a form of resiliency. I ask why volunteers within animal rescue continue to return to these spaces. Based on a volunteer questionnaire and fieldnotes, I reflect on what brings them back, despite the challenging work.

Finally, Chapter 6 centers on domesticated animals in Japan, complicating the category of "companion animals." Within companion species are myriad categories of animals, all of whom suffered varying levels of vulnerability during 3-11 due to their status in Japanese society. This chapter argues for the significance of understanding a sociozoological scale in devising resiliency plans for animals.

I conclude this dissertation in discussing the significance of understanding the entangled vulnerabilities and resiliencies we share with non-human others in this more-than-human world. As Haraway suggests (2016), in the Cthulucene, we are all but refugees surviving environmental disasters – the only way forward is together.

Chapter Two: The Shared Vulnerability and Resiliency of the Fukushima Animals and their Rescuers

ABSTRACT
There is a dearth of research on non-human animal vulnerability during disasters or their resilience in the aftermath. Japanese emergency response plans during the March 11, 2011 catastrophe illustrate the problems inherent in ignoring the strong bonds between people and animals. The evacuation required by the Fukushima nuclear disaster required domesticated animals to remain behind. With little government aid, many relied on the handful of animal rescue non-profit organizations across Japan, who worked tirelessly in the disaster aftermath to aid non-human others. This chapter explores the vulnerability and resiliency tactics for those who were abandoned in the Fukushima no-go zone in 2011 and for those who rescued them.

INTRODUCTION

The disaster that struck Japan on March 11, 2011 was a catastrophic combination of a 9.0 magnitude earthquake, a tsunami, and a damaged and malfunctioning nuclear power plant. This resulted in the death and displacement of thousands of humans and animals. The current number of confirmed human deaths is 15,894, with more than 2,500 people still reported missing (Reconstruction Agency 2016). For animals, the majority perished via abandonment, starvation, and euthanasia. The disaster led to the initial displacement of over 470,000 residents. As of November 2015, Japan's Reconstruction Agency has reported 180,000 evacuees remain, awaiting housing reconstruction and/or relocation plans (Reconstruction Agency 2015). The temporary shelters did not always allow companion animals to accompany their people or were unclear about their pet guidelines. In some shelters, it was reported that pets were only allowed outdoors, leading evacuees to sleep in their vehicles to accommodate them. In many cases, companion animals were banned primarily out of community disapproval—where they were not officially disallowed from the premises, it would be considered discourteous to others present to have their animals with them.

All elements of 3-11 affected both human and animal residents of Tōhoku. However, it was the conditions following the damaged Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant that resulted

in the highest fatalities and large-scale abandonment of domesticated animals. While animal rescuers aided in offering shelter and resources to those in the wider earthquake and tsunami-affected areas, the bulk of the problem and the rescue efforts were in the 20km evacuation zone.

Due to the radioactive leakage, residents within a fluctuating zone had to evacuate. Temporary shelters were established for the human residents. Officials told evacuees that they would be away from their homes for a few days. Unfortunately, the situation worsened, leading to further evacuations and the shelters becoming temporary housing. In the urgent days and weeks that followed, officials took no direct action to provide for the large population of domesticated animals in the no-go zone, resulting in mortality on a large scale. Dogs had been chained up outside with only a few days' worth of food and water; some cats were locked inside homes awaiting their people's return. Agricultural animals perished from starvation, were executed, released, or, rarely, were rescued by a non-profit organization or individual.

FIGURE 20 – Trash bags filled with contaminated topsoil – part of a project to "decontaminate" the evacuation zone

Prior to this disaster, there were 5,800 registered dogs, and a comparable number of cats (Ito 2013), and around 3,400 cows, 31,500 pigs, and 630,000 chickens (Biddle 2011) in what became the no-entry zone surrounding the Fukushima nuclear site. According to a report commissioned by Humane Society International (Ito 2013), of the approximately 10,000 cats and dogs within the 20-km radius,

> Approximately 26% of them were killed in the tsunami, approximately 300 were evacuated with their guardians, and approximately 2,000 were taken out of the zone by volunteers and others. Among the remaining 5,000 animals, 80% starved to death. Furthermore, approximately 600 out of the remaining 1,000 were rescued through administrative efforts (5).

The report notes that this would leave at least 400 companion animals in the zone following these efforts. However, this does not account for offspring that were produced from these animals (Ito 2013).

The number of companion animals who starved is large, at 80% (Ito 2013). The cause of this can be linked to the events that occurred during and immediately after evacuation. Evacuated residents were not allowed to return to their homes for weeks, and then only for two to five hour visits to collect select family belongings. Those who had pets within the zone returned to find them lost, dead, or otherwise suffering from the neglect. Some used this opportunity to leave bags of food and large amounts of water to last until their next potential visit. Sadly, these bags of food would also attract feral or wild animals and lead to the unforeseen death of the often chained-up pet. Others were able to transport their companion to a shelter, relative, or make other arrangements. Signs were placed in front of homes or in neighborhoods stating the presence of animal others, asking for someone to help them (Interview, December 9th, 2014).

Those companion animals who survived, in both Fukushima and the wider Tōhoku - region, and were not rescued by intervening non-profit organizations, currently roam the deserted area searching for food, becoming increasingly feral. As many were not neutered/spayed prior to 3-11, they continue to reproduce, worsening the problem. Individuals and local non-profit organizations have set up feeding stations within the no-go zone. They continue to leave and collect traps to take as many as possible out and get them into shelters or homes.

FIGURE 21 – JCN in a make-shift shelter in the recommended evacuation zone

The events discussed here occurred in an already marginalized context. The aging population, struggling economy, and increasingly dispersing youth left Tōhoku marginalized. However, this marginalization has deep roots that define their relationship with other regions of Japan, especially their urban neighbor, Tokyo. A devastating famine in 1905-6 caused by crop failures led to the necessary aid of the American and Japanese Red Cross. The latter responded by publicly proclaiming the importance of ensuring the resources would be earned by the "peasants" rather than encouraging any form of laziness. This reiterated a prominent rhetoric of Tōhoku citizens as less intelligent and inferior in class (Brannigan 2015). Such rhetoric and circumstances has contributed to Tōhoku's image as Japan's "colony" (Brannigan 2015). Tōhoku provides rice and other agricultural needs, electricity, and manufacturing to the rest of Japan. However, this relationship can be considered exploitative. A good example of this relationship is the very nuclear facility that wreaked havoc during 3-11 - the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power facility. This facility provides electricity to Tokyo, not to Tōhoku, where it is based and run. Brannigan (2015) asserts that Tōhoku's history has led to the production of resilient people, with a "strong sense of being-together-though-it-all" (56). Such a stance not only defined how residents of Tōhoku made it through the aftermath, but also how they perceived input from urban citizens and international aid.

The following sections are drawn from the collected experiences of key informants during my fieldwork -- specifically, those who have directed or otherwise been involved in Japanese animal rescue for a decade or more. First, I introduce the consideration of domesticated animals in disaster-related research and provide cultural context. Next, I discuss the socio-political vulnerability of animal rescue non-profit organizations, and their rescues, who volunteered to aid animal others during the 3-11 aftermath. Finally, I introduce resiliency tactics

and recommendations expressed to me by informants who have lived through a multitude of disasters in Japan, to better plan for the next catastrophe.

STORIES

I met Calex during my second day at Animal Refuge Kansai. I noticed that the nametag posted on his kennel had an extra flag marking him as an "earthquake" rescue. He was saved from the turmoil of the earthquake that occurred in 2011 in Tōhoku. This was 2014, and he was among many who had yet to be adopted. Dogs are slowly adopted regardless of their situations in Japan. I was told time and time again that rescue dogs were seen as "used" items, belonging to another family. In a nation where thrift stores and recycled items were rarely available, where new is highly preferred, a used dog came with a number of negative connotations. Those with an "earthquake" tag, however, had an advantage. After the 1995 earthquake in Kobe, staff found that these "disaster" animals were adopted much faster than their non-earthquake counterparts. This was such a noticeable phenomenon that they added the "earthquake" tag to some of those who were not from Kobe to help their adoption chances.

FIGURE 22 – Calex, adoption photo from ARK's website

Calex, however, did not escape the earthquake unscathed. Just like humans, experiencing disaster can be traumatizing and result in both physical and emotional scars - some that could take years to overcome. When I was first introduced to Calex by one of the staff, Oka-san, she informed me not to follow her into his kennel, that she would put on his harness and leash and bring him out to me, "He is a little difficult" she explained. When a dog is said to be "difficult", it meant that he or she had quirks that we had to watch out for. This often-meant aggression or anxiety – the dog might hide, making it difficult to put on a harness and take for a walk, or the dog might be dog aggressive, resulting in a trying initial pass through the dog-packed kennels. Rarely, the dog was aggressive towards people unless certain conditions were met. This was the first "difficult" dog I had met in Kennel 1. Usually they kept the less friendly dogs in Kennel 2, in the back part of the shelter. Oka-san brought out Calex and he seemed friendly, and energetic.

I was told to bring him back to her after the walk, not attempt to remove his collar alone. "He does not like his neck or head touched," she told me while smiling.

It would be a month or so before I was permitted to put on and remove his collar and leash alone. I discovered this otherwise friendly, rusty grey-wolf colored medium-sized dog would turn instantly aggressive when his neck was touched. A warning bark would be given if I touched his neck by accident, and growling would commence if I attempted to continue with the harness – regardless of where we were at in the process. His harness rested on his neck, so the trick was to move swiftly and gently so your hands would not need to touch this area. However, he also wore a collar, which the harness could catch on. I had watched staff harness him multiple times. They would talk sweetly to him in a high-pitched voice and swiftly put the harness over his head. In practice, this was not as easy as it looked.

My fieldnotes paint a story of struggle with Calex. There was one hot summer day where I had so much trouble removing his harness that I simply knelt in his kennel crying in exhaustion while he hid in his wooden hut, leash and harness still half attached. The harness was unclipped, but instead of sliding off as usual, it had caught on his collar – on his neck. Simply touching the collar resulted in aggressive warning barks. I briefly met eyes with him—he was not angry or afraid, he was as exhausted and desperate as I was about this situation. I stayed in there with him for about ten minutes, while we both calmed down. I spoke to him, coaxing him out of his hut. Not expecting an answer, I asked him about his life before 3-11, and what had happened to him to fear touch in only one part of his body. I told him I understood and that it was ok. He eventually came out, and cautiously approached me. I reached out, knowing he might bite, and swiftly pulled off his harness. I had to brush his neck for this to happen, and he stiffened, but did not bark or become aggressive. I felt like we connected in this difficult meeting.

Future walks with Calex were much easier -- we trusted each other a bit more, and this comfort made the motions of putting on, and taking off, his harness more swift, natural, and without the tension that defined our earlier relationship. In time, Calex became one of my favorite dogs to walk. He was still there when I left in 2015, and I know he might be there until the end of his days. With all the easy and friendly dogs available, who would choose one with a potentially dangerous issue?

FIGURE 23 – Yoshi, smiling at Heart Tokushima

Yoshi was one of the friendliest and handsome dogs I had met during my twelve months in Japan. He looked like an extra fluffy husky, and he was all smiles and joy, despite his surroundings. Yoshi had lived in a pre-fabricated building up a hill at Heart in Tokushima. While many of the dogs at Heart were incredibly friendly, young, and healthy, Yoshi stood out. His personality shined through. I asked Shelly, the head of Heart, why Yoshi was not adopted yet. She explained that Yoshi was from the 3-11 disaster. Yoshi's family asked Heart to take him when they could not continue to care for him. It had been three years, and the family could still not bring him home. They offered no support for him, nor did they visit him. This was not a unique situation—many dogs who found a home in these rescue NPOs had a family still alive up north. What distinguished Yoshi from other dogs is that his family forbid Yoshi's adoption to a new family. He was their dog, after all, despite not being able to welcome him back to their family, despite not supporting him financially or otherwise, Yoshi was stuck due to social obligation. Shelly found this situation frustrating, as Yoshi could have a good life while his previous family sorted out their own (Interview, October 9th, 2014).

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter explores the question of vulnerabilities exposed by the 2011 Tōhoku disaster. What vulnerabilities led to an exacerbated aftermath for domesticated animals, and how might resiliency be built to prevent future impacts? This question continues conversations regarding the entangled vulnerabilities of non-human animals and their guardians, opening space to discuss strengthening resiliencies for both.

As discussed in Chapter 1, there is no such thing as a "natural" disaster. Disasters are the result of vulnerable social conditions and the onset of a human-made or biophysical problem. Humans have power to cause or prevent disaster for animals by lessening vulnerabilities (Irvine

2009). Irvine (2009) asks "who makes it on the Ark," calling into question how we decide which animals are protected during a disaster and what this says about how given cultures value certain species. Emergency response policies reiterate and reflect values that often give preference to human lives and potentially ignore the strong emotional and social connections between humans and animals, leading to disasters within disasters. For example, during Hurricane Katrina, the residents were forced to evacuate without their animals, as in Japan. This led some to risk their lives to remain with their pets. Similarly, Heath, et al. (2001) found that in the Yuba County, California flooding evacuation, more households with pets (20.9%) than households without pets (16.3%) failed to evacuate. According to a Fritz Institute survey, among those who did not evacuate from Katrina, approximately 44% did so because they did not want to leave their pets behind" (Department of Homeland Security 2015). Specifically, these were often those who were already vulnerable, who did not already have the resources to evacuate the area with animals.

As animals could not accompany humans during evacuation, a large-scale animal rescue took place. However, this rescue effort was limited to companion animals. Irvine (2009) explains,

> The effort was a disaster-upon-a-disaster, as animal welfare groups struggled to find ways to feed, house, and care for the endless stream of dogs and cats brought out of stricken areas. Yet, as rescuers roamed the streets of New Orleans, breaking into homes to rescue dogs, cats, birds, and other companion animals, millions of farm animals died because of Katrina…the media reports these, and the deaths of other animals used for food, as "losses" for the producers. Their lives are not noted (3).

Due to the backlash that occurred following Katrina, the value of these companion animals in American culture, and because of the safety risk for both the animals and city from leaving them behind, the Pets Evacuation and Transportation Standard Act or PETS was enacted. This represents a start to addressing the needs of the most valued animals, pets, in a disaster (Irvine

2009). The Act requires companion animals to be included in disaster planning by each state, particularly in regard to evacuation. The bill passed with an overwhelming majority, with Congressman Lantos, who proposed the Act, stating that it received more support than any other legislation in his 25-years in office (Potts 2014). Potts is quick to note that this act was created "as a way to improve outcomes for humans caught in disasters", as a means to ensure more humans evacuate when necessary (10). Additionally, it is focused on companion species and service animals alone, as made obvious by the name "PETS."

Institutional "Thinking"

The PETs Act was the result of a shift in how companion species are valued. As Brackenridge describes (2012), in the past 50 years pets in America have gone from being valued as possessions to non-human "social actors" (235). She refers to them as "vulnerable dependents", similar to children. However, unlike children, they legally fall under the category of "possessions" or "property" belonging to a human. Potts (2014) asserts,

> …companion animals, who are considered valued, integral members of most families in developed countries, have nevertheless been caught in the fraught in-between space of object and subject – thing and person; they are at the mercy of our constructed hierarchical animal categories which dictate whether they may move in one direction (thing/farmed animal/laboratory animal/able to be replaced) or the other (person/companion animal/irreplaceable and saved) (233).

Irvine (2009) refers to this was an issue with how institutions "think", pulling from Mary Douglas's use of the term:

> As a guiding metaphor, institutional "thinking" reveals how the discourse and activities of a group or organization produce and reproduce characteristic definitions of and solutions to the problems within their scope (11).

This "thinking" is shaped by the positionality and interests of those in power, based on economic interests and philosophical and political biases. Thus, how non-human animals are handled in a disaster is highly dependent on how key institutions value animals, economically, philosophically, and otherwise. Following Hurricane Katrina, this was made strikingly apparent

where animal shelters were set up and funds donated to aid every found pup while poultry farms might simply be bulldozed, with no public outcry or notice. Similarly, these values effect how animal rescuers are viewed. For example, Irvine notes that animal rescuers during Katrina broke into homes, destroying property to save any suffering animals within, yet if members of Animal Liberation Front carried out the same actions for the same purpose, they would be labeled "terrorists", rather than "rescuers" (108).

This institutional "thinking" was noticeable in post-3-11 Japan. Those groups who entered the no-go zone through back roads were labeled "rogue groups" or other unsavory terms, despite their actions and intentions. Furthermore, the disaster aftermath reflected the values placed on the variety of animals residing in the Tōhoku region. Whereas agricultural animals were present in large numbers, the majority of the rescue efforts were focused on companion animals. The value of companion animals has grown in the past three decades, as Japan's pet boom has continued to usher them into the home. In many cases, they are considered animal friends, sometimes serving as an alternative to children or a remedy for an "empty nest" (discussed at length in Chapter 3). Values and perceptions of companion animals are highly regional in Japan, however. Relationships of all varieties exist in all regions of Japan. For example, dogs in the disaster-ravaged Tōhoku region are commonly kept outdoors as *banken*, or guard dogs, rarely entering the family home. In comparison, it might be just as common to find a dog snoozing in a stroller and dressed as a human child within the Tokyo area.

Livestock

Whereas in Katrina and 3-11 above, the top of the non-human hierarchy is that of companion species, it is important to note there this is not always the case. It is in our relationships with livestock that human exceptionalism and anthropocentrism is often most

apparent, as their losses are seen in dollars, rather than as lives. As Steve Glassey, an expert on animals in disaster, states,

> Disasters can strike developed and less-developed countries. In a less developed country, the focus is on survivability, on keeping livestock safe and healthy because these animals are essentially bank accounts on four legs for the people of poorer communities. In developed countries, the focus tends to be on companion animals. In either case, protecting animals actually protects the people – you save animals, you save people (Potts 2014:16).

This anthropocentric focus of disaster management is especially apparent in this excerpt, in that it reduces livestock to a bank account. It is important to acknowledge the values of non-human others within a given cultural context to appropriately prepare for hazards, and to recognize the significance of varying and overlapping forms of value. These bonds can be diverse, from emotional to deep responsibility to these individuals, resulting in anguish and grief when they are lost. For example, media coverage following 3-11 found farmers committed suicide in the 3-11 aftermath due to the death of their animals and/or from the inability to sell their products in any foreseeable future due to the radiation contamination (Herrmann 2011; The Japan Times 2013).

Realistically, regardless of the bond between farmer and livestock, disaster preparedness for these beings can rarely go beyond shelter in place due to their size (Thomas et al. 2013). Large animals require large amounts of food, water, and have specific housing needs. For example, stallions cannot be placed together or there will be fighting – yet they each require ample space. To move such large animals could take multiple trips in large trucks and trailers, which many families do not have access to in an emergency. Beyond these physical details, these animals are individuals with emotional needs. A disaster would be a stressful situation. They may be anxious, aggressive, and unable to accommodate the needs of rescuers – or even their guardian. Those livestock who are part of commercial operations will likely not be considered

for evacuation. There is rarely an emotional connection in such spaces, and they will thus be sold or slaughtered (Thomas et al. 2013).

Emotional Connection

The emotional connection to non-human animals has also been documented in disaster situations. Potts (2014) found that grief for the loss of companion animals following emergencies is complicated by numerous factors, such as age, loss of others (human and non-human), loss of livelihood, and so on (6). For example, an older woman who loses her cat – her only companion in her old age, will experience the loss differently than a large family who loses one of several companions. Significantly, Hunt et al. (2008) found that pet loss can be as profound as losing one's home, leaving the griever to experience depression, PTSD, and other forms of mental trauma.

Potts (2014) cites a study by Sarah Lowe (2009) that found it is those who are most socially marginalized who are more harmed by the loss of a pet, suffering longer and more intense periods of grief. These results were found following a survey of 365 working class African American women following Hurricane Katrina (236).

An unfortunate side effect of the anthropocentric bias that dominates disaster discourse during and following these events is the lack of social appreciation for these strong emotional bonds. Cordaro (2012) refers to the suffering as "quiet sorrow" as the bonds between human and animal are not as socially supported or recognized (285). Especially in times of disaster, to lose a pet among human loss may not be viewed as significant.

Not surprisingly, a study linked a lack of emotional connection to negligence during disaster. Conducting a survey of pet evacuation, Heath et al. (2001) found that those who scored low on a commitment and attachment to their companion animals similarly showed low levels of

preparedness and motivation to rescue their animals. This is an individual-base example of how disasters highlight vulnerabilities that already exist prior to the hazard.

FINDINGS

Vulnerability of Animal Rescuers

Japan is no stranger to catastrophic events. Despite the multitude of failures in properly handling the Fukushima Daiichi situation, internal disaster response operations reacted quickly and smoothly. This is especially true when compared to the infamous government failures of the major earthquake (Hanshin-Awaji) in Kobe in 1995 (Avenell 2012). However, these improvements were largely only in human-oriented disaster response.

The initial decision to leave domesticated animals behind during the evacuation, as well as the lack of institutional aid for animals in the wider Tōhoku region set the stage for the situation that followed. Due to the lack of initial official support, as their focus was on human need, the majority of the animal rescue efforts fell into the hands of a number of small non-profit organizations. In the case of the Japan-based groups, resources were already tight. Elizabeth Oliver of ARK (1999) reported a similar situation during the 1995 earthquake.

> As the days passed and the scale of the tragedy unfolded it became clear what a huge task for us lay ahead. Priority is of course on rescue but then what? We had at ARK facilities for perhaps a hundred dogs at a pinch and fifty cats but how to cope with the potentially thousands of animals made homeless in the quake? In other countries with established animal welfare systems, there is a built-in evacuation mechanism to rescue and save animals in cases of natural disasters, with facilities to care for them, and trained people to treat them. In Japan, there are no facilities for holding animals except the *hokensho* which are geared only for killing. Veterinary clinics and pet hotels have limited facilities for short-term stays where animals are invariably confined to tiny cages.

Unfortunately, despite nearly a decade passing, little has changed. This disappointing fact was noted by all interviewed who had experienced the earthquake in 1995.

Henrietta, director of Animal Friends Niigata (AFN), heard of the abandoned animals in the 20km zone and decided to head in ten days after the earthquake, asserting, "As far as I'm concerned, I'm in animal rescue, this is what I do. There is an animal, if not animals, who need rescuing and I've just got to do it." The conditions were dangerous. Galleon-Aoki describes what she found on her first entrance into the 20km zone, which required entering illegally, as there were checkpoints throughout that would not permit entrance for animal rescue,

> The roads were really bad, ten days after the disaster… That was actually quite scary as there was no phone signal and if we get stuck in one of the cracks, or something, we just have to walk out of here somehow…There was a stench of death. There were putrefying bodies throughout, you could smell it…and there were loud explosions in the background from the nuclear plant. We did take a Geiger counter in, but we couldn't get hold of a decent one. It was a shaky old thing with a dial that was just going berserk. We had no idea of the radiation, but probably it was better not to know. I can imagine that was what going into war is like. Because you're just concentrating on what you've got to do. You don't even have time to think about it (Interview, March 9th, 2015).

Henrietta's volunteers, as the geographically closest NPO in an animal rescue coalition called JEARS (Japan Earthquake Animal Rescue and Support), were responsible for bringing out the majority of the companion animals rescued in the 20km zone in those critical first few weeks after the disaster, using traps for cats and treats to lure dogs into crates.

Official support was noticeably lacking. Despite a large number of donations coming in to the Dobutsu Kyuen Honbu (Headquarters for the Relief of Animals in Emergencies), animal rescue non-profits continue to see little of these funds, despite ongoing efforts. According to Toro, a Japanese veterinarian who set up a spay/neuter clinic in Fukushima Prefecture in the aftermath of 3-11,

> "[The Dobutsu Kyuen Honbu] was set up after the Hanshin-Awaji earthquake in 1995 with the intention of helping in future emergencies. In reality, it has done nothing of the kind… poor investment decisions have so far led to losses of ¥8.4 million after the purchase of mutual funds in 2006. A massive ¥200 million currently sits in the organization's account with no designated purpose" (as quoted in The Japan Times 2013).

After a large portion of the fund was lost due to poor investments following the Kobe earthquake, all five directors of animal rescue non-profit organizations shared fears that this money would be either lost or otherwise misused before the next disaster occurs. Toro explained to me in an interview, "There are no lobbyists of animal rights or welfare." All the weight falls on the shelters, and the shelters lack political power – in fact, they are barely known by the public (Interview, March 23rd, 2015).

Non-Human Animal Vulnerability

The rescued animals suffered a myriad of afflictions. As one volunteer put it, "It wasn't fluffy dogs and cute kitties, these animals had psychological problems" (Interview, August 5th, 2014). These problems included fear, aggression, anxiety, and general depression. The rescued companion animals had been traumatically separated from their humans. In addition to the usual afflictions accompanying rescue animals, such as a lack of socialization or dog-aggression, these beings were going through multiple traumas. The stressful life in a crowded and chaotic shelter compounded these issues, as weeks, months, and years went by. As a staff at ARK explained, "Some dogs will stop eating or will become aggressive when previously friendly" (Interview, February 8th, 2015). These forms of agency were acknowledged, respected, and changes made to alleviate the issues at ARK. In other shelters, there may not the space or resources to make the changes these animals needed.

Many dogs could not handle the other dogs' smells and sounds or the multitude of unknown humans coming and going. Cats had trouble with the proximity to nearby barking dogs, as well as their own overcrowded situations. Combining these conditions with the large influx of new volunteers, some of whom had never handled a dog before, created sometimes chaotic conditions (Interview, August 5th, 2014).

Furthermore, many animals arrived unvaccinated, not yet neutered or spayed, and/or requiring often-costly vet care due to injury or sickness. Microchipping has only recently become a mainstream practice for companion animals, thus information on their medical or social issues was difficult to obtain. As some pets were found wandering or otherwise trapped away from their home, contacting their previous caretakers for this information was difficult.

Many of the rescued animals required rehoming. Reuniting was difficult, as residents remained in temporary housing for years. Those who were able to move had to deal with relatively strict housing rules regarding pets. Rehoming often takes time for a number of reasons. First, the majority of pets in Japan are purchased from pet shops. Animal shelters are scant and often unknown to the typical pet shopper.

Rescuing animals is becoming more common, according to the directors of these shelters, but rehoming animals, especially dogs, can still take years. An exception to this is the noted initial desire to adopt a "disaster" pet during the immediate aftermath. This occurred after the Kobe Earthquake in 1995 and again after 3-11. Having a dog or cat who survived the disaster became temporarily trendy, both in Japan and abroad. This may represent a materially obtainable, and perhaps socially recognizable, form of contributing aid to address the large-scale disaster (Interview 8/5/2014).

BUILDING RESILIENCY

Resilience is defined by Walker and Salt (2006) as, "the ability of a system to absorb disturbance and still retain its basic function and structure" (1). It is defined by Hill (2018), as "a process of skillfully navigating through crisis with the ability to…bounce back from times of distress." Whereas Walker and Salt's definition focuses on a system's ability to retain functionality, Hill's definition includes being prepared enough to navigate a crisis when it hits

and be able to bounce back from the damage taken. Thus, resilience-based perspectives encompass the potential impacts that might occur when a disturbance takes place to a system, community, or individual—including during the impact, the short-term and the long-term effects (Cochrane and Gecho 2017).

The concept of resilience caught on swiftly, and rather recently, in disaster research - taking hold past year 2000 and made prominent by the 2005 Hyogo Framework for Action and in efforts by the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction. Despite this late start, resilience of communities has become prevalent in policy initiatives (Tierney and Sureshwaran 2013). Current consensus on resiliency identifies the significance the "hazards cycle": prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery (Kapucu, Hawkins, and Rivera 2013). It is relevant in all stages of a disaster and can be investigated as such. Further, there is an awareness of the difficulty in assigning time to these cycles, as they are highly dependent on the context.

A key aspect of resiliency is that is a community effort. Government alone cannot build resiliency. Resilience requires collaboration amongst the government, the citizens, the non-profit sector, for-profit sector, and all in between. Recent work in resiliency is focused on the social stratification that gives rise to vulnerabilities, and the practices and design that can overcome these deficits within a community (Tierney and Sureshwaran 2013).

Despite this consensus on government involvement and social stratification, key critiques of this area of inquiry include a concern that resiliency studies avoid an engagement with politics and social theory. As its origins are ecological in nature, Harris, Chu and Ziervogel (2017) suggest resilience studies fail to address the power structures and social justice issues involved in issues such as resource distribution. Such apolitical discourse silences the marginalized populations who are not included in decision-making, or otherwise given a voice. Whereas such

work could be transformative and progressive, it instead simply maintains the status quo. For example, Harris, Chu and Ziervogel (2017) propose "negotiated resilience" as a way forward, in which greater attention is given to including diverse resilience goals, focusing on inclusivity and participation while highlighting political dynamics.

Here, I focus both on resiliency building tactics that allow multispecies communities to prepare infrastructure and systems to remain functional during and after an impact as well as tactics to aid in navigating a disaster situation – addressing all areas of the "hazards cycle". The former includes understanding carrying capacity, spay/neuter and microchipping programs, and encouraging basic training of dogs, and the latter includes volunteer infrastructure and pet-friendly shelters. Further, here and in the following chapters, I acknowledge and highlight those areas of power that influenced resiliency and vulnerability during the 3-11 disaster and following.

Carrying Capacity

The various non-profit organizations employed a number of tactics to remain resilient. The most important, and most emotionally difficult tactic is to use foresight and rationality. As Elizabeth Oliver of ARK warns, "I think we have to avoid burnout. We cannot save everything. We should aim to be compassionate and avoid sentimentality" (personal communication, August 24th, 2015). A staff member echoed this sentiment, "You want to save as many dogs as possible, but there is a certain capacity" (Interview, February 8th, 2015). With the sheer number of retrieved animals, the rescue efforts would have long-term consequences. As Shelly of Heart Tokushima explained,

> Before the earthquake our max number of dogs was only 40 or 50. After the earthquake we took in almost 100 dogs and basically our numbers have stayed about the same…it's 3 or 3.5 years now and of course everyone's forgotten about the earthquake. Donations, volunteers and adoptions have decreased. Now is the most difficult point for us, as opposed to before when everyone was willing to help (Interview August 22nd, 2014).

During my fieldwork, I encountered dozens of these pets still residing within shelter walls originally meant to be temporary and disaster-related funds have largely run dry. As people turn towards other news items, or a new disaster in another part of the world, it is difficult to obtain financial support or to adopt out such a massive number of pets for such a long, indeterminate, period of time. As difficult as it is to turn away when there are still animals who need to be saved, it is essential to both human and animal well-being to avoid over-commitment. The significance of "saying no" is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Pet-Friendly Shelters

Another key resiliency building tactic is to permit pets into evacuation shelters, temporary housing facilities, or to have accessible government-run shelters adjacent to the human-only facilities. "The best situation would be that there would be evacuation shelters where they could have pets, and others where pets are not allowed – just as in apartment complexes," argued one ARK staff member (Interview, February 8th, 2015). Allowing pets to accompany their people during an evacuation or when seeking shelter is more than preserving the lives of the animals. It is an issue of emotional well-being for their people. As Oliver (1999) learned in the aftermath of the 1995 Kobe earthquake,

> For single elderly people especially, having a pet to look after would relieve their loneliness and stress. Without the pet they held nearest and dearest to them they would be more likely to suffer depression and illness. This in reality became the case. More than a hundred elderly people were to take their own lives or die alone in the temporary housing units over the next year. But at the time the local governments actively discouraged pets in temporary housing or outright banned them, despite the fact we urged these cities to consider the importance of keeping pets and owners together.

In the 3-11 aftermath, informants observed the positive emotional impact of those evacuation shelters that allowed, or tolerated, the keeping of companion animals. The presence of pets can be therapeutic. Hurn (2012) argues that pets not only aid in physical health benefits such as lowering blood pressure. They also provide "ice breakers" with fellow humans,

encouraging communication and perhaps brief distractions in an otherwise often monotonous atmosphere. One volunteer who participated in animal rescue in the Fukushima region noted that those few companion animals who were kept near or even within evacuation shelters, against regulations, became a sort of community mascot, especially for the children. The companion animals provided purpose and reciprocated affection to those who cared for them (Interview, February 5th, 2015).

In the United States, the allowance for pets in evacuation procedures and accepting them in temporary shelters and housing has precedent. Pet-friendly temporary shelters are being encouraged more and more, as the PETS Act is addressed by each state. For example, the Mississippi Board of Animal Health (MBAH) integrated this into its emergency programming (MBAH n.d.). Pet-friendly sheltering is defined as an emergency shelter located within the same facility or general area that permits companion animals. These shelters make it possible for guardians to care for their own pets, which both saves on staff needed and creates a less stressful environment for human and companion animals (DHS 2015).

Such shelters are designed with the advice and collaboration of local Animal Control or Animal Rescue institutions. They make use of public spaces, such as parks and fairgrounds. They pre-arrange veterinary services and other key resources prior to a disaster occurring. Such measures are an extension to other human services considered necessary during and following major disasters.

Volunteer Infrastructure

The Kobe earthquake of 1995 displayed a lack of volunteer infrastructure; there were willing volunteers, but little coordination of them. They would show up with no arrangements for sleep or food. Rather than accomplishing anything worthwhile, they merely took resources from those they hoped to help (Avenell 2012). By the time 3-11 occurred, Japan was far more

prepared to provide training to and coordination of volunteer efforts. Learning from Kobe, there was a system that connected the state to the individual volunteer. This brought people to where they were needed to be, with the proper accommodations and training to make a difference. This structure rose above pre-crisis volunteer arrangements that were disjointed and community-based. As Avenell (2012, 70) explains,

> After the triple-disaster in Tōhoku we have witnessed the operation of a highly organized, professionalized, networked, and financed volunteer infrastructure, involving extensive cooperation and collaboration among state authorities, quasi-governmental organizations, NGOs and NPOs, corporations and business organizations, and voluntary groups.

However, despite these vast improvements for human aid, key interviewees who experienced both disasters noted no improvement for the volunteer infrastructure within animal rescue efforts. As there was no order, no hierarchy of command, and no standards and regulations, it was a chaotic process. Including volunteer coordination alongside human and structure-based volunteering for animal rescue efforts would have contributed to a more orderly rescue effort. The organizational system already exists; it merely needs to be extended to the non-profit organizations working for animals.

FIGURE 24 – Checkpoint at entry to evacuation zone

Furthermore, volunteers from abroad often lacked proper cultural and linguistic training to carry out their activities. For example, I spoke to several international volunteers who believed the owners of the abandoned pets did not deserve them or believed that they would be better off at their rescue location (Interview, February 12th, 2015). They displayed ignorance regarding the conditions that led to leaving behind often-beloved pets. Further, their interaction with authorities sometimes proved difficult and frustrating for all parties, as a native Japanese speaker could not always accompany them. Unfortunately, perhaps due in part to these types of culturally insensitive actions, entry into the no-go zone proved more and more difficult. This forced otherwise legitimate and respectful organizations to explore other options. Proper training for international volunteers, such as by the organization that recruits them or a partner system that assures a Japanese-fluent and culturally knowledgeable person accompanies volunteers during rescue activities, could greatly help overall community relations and support of animal rescue efforts.

Spay/Neuter

When interviewed, Toro, of the Animal Rescue System Fund, explained the need to push for spay/neuter practices in Japan as a way to enhance future disaster resiliency, "You have to decrease the number of animals that need to be rescued before the disaster" (Interview, March 23rd, 2015). Toro initially ran a spay-neuter clinic following the 1995 Kobe disaster, greatly reducing the feral population in the years that followed. He continues to run a clinic in Fukushima Prefecture, which has already lowered the number of reproducing feral animals significantly. Residents in that area did not typically spay/neuter their pets. As spay/neuter practices were highly priced and not valued, it was a common practice to simply drown unwanted litters of kittens or puppies when they occurred, "bringing them back to nature" as several interviewees explained. Had spay/neuter practices, such as Trap, Neuter, and Release

programs, been more common and accessible prior to 3-11 and used to control feral populations already present, the disaster aftermath would have required significantly less resources.

The director of Japan Cat Network, Sarah, explained the importance and efficacy of trap, neuter, release programs in Japan. Sarah advocates for educating and empowering locals, more than anything. When someone calls her shelter having found an injured or pregnant cat, she does not jump in and help, but she educates them on what to do, where to go, and how to do it. She offers traps and funding but sees her position as aiding key people in local spaces so that they, too, can become the educators. This works well with current neighborhood associations, working together to solve a feral cat problem will go much more smoothly than a general, city-wide ordinance. Once Sarah had implemented this program in Inawashiro, the feral cat population diminished significantly,

> "People saw what was possible." Using TNR as the main goal of Japan Cat Network, the cats in the Fukushima area disappeared over time. Neighbors commented to her, "*fushigi*" or *mysterious* that the cats have gone. Sarah said, "*fushigi* my ass." It was hard work and toil that led to the lack of stray cats. Now, this is a model for what can be done in any community (Fieldnotes September 28th, 2014).

Microchipping

Microchipping companion animals is another easy resiliency practice that can be adopted by local veterinarian practices. It is only recently that microchipping is being considered as a recommended practice by veterinarians in Japan. Most companion animals in Fukushima Prefecture were not microchipped. Had it been the norm, many pets could have reunited with their people more swiftly and easily. Furthermore, any medical or other concerns could be more easily discovered and accessed via the microchip. For instance, once an owner is located and contacted, updates on current or past medical history could be recounted to those holding the animal.

Basic Training

Whereas training cats is a feat few have accomplished, basic training for dogs is often a possibility. Alongside the encouragement for spay/neuter and microchipping, training basics could contribute to building resiliency on an individual basis. Whether or not a dog will sit, stay, and come can make a significant difference in their ability to escape or avoid a vulnerable situation. Furthermore, having the control and mutual respect earned through this training can be especially helpful in aiding a dog in a panicked or dangerous situation.

CONCLUSION

A recent text entitled *Social Vulnerability to Disasters*, states in their chapter on animals,

> Why should we focus on animals during disasters? Because ignoring animals can dramatically affect the success of disaster plans for humans. The emotional attachment as well as financial and humane concerns surrounding animals makes it dangerous to exclude them from disaster planning (Thomas et al. 2013:371).

The "danger" expressed in this excerpt is for that of humans, representing again the anthropocentric nature of much disaster planning. Whereas disaster response policy is often anthropocentric, even when addressing the needs of non-human animals, this chapter illustrates that it is hard to separate the vulnerabilities of humans from non-human animals as they are co-produced in our entanglements with each other.

Following the nuclear explosion in Fukushima Prefecture, the humans were successfully evacuated. Nonetheless, humans risked radiation exposure and legal sanctions to rescue and feed the animals left behind in the no-go zone. The danger to the animals was significant and humans volunteered to intervene, affecting them socially, economically, and emotionally. More so, the animal rescuers interviewed here did not see it as a choice, but as a necessity. The vulnerability of the animals placed in danger by institutional "thinking" on the part of the Japanese

government transferred directly to that of the animal rescuers – together, they shared in the long-term struggle of disaster aftermath.

Addressing the response for animals in disaster situations is increasingly a global and urgent need, and one that is significant for our more-than-human societies. Although this chapter focuses on companion animals, including the plethora of other species who exist in our care carries the same urgency. Failing to account for the human-animal bond that exists between human and companion animal in modern Japanese culture created additional emotional and physical health and recovery issues. Further, it exacerbated long-term economic and livelihood problems, especially as related to farmers and their herds.

For companion animals, basic prevention strategies, such as planning pet-friendly emergency shelters, microchipping, and an increase in spay/neuter programs are globally applicable. Their implementation can result in greatly reducing the amount of resources needed following a disaster. Furthermore, extending volunteer infrastructure to account for culturally significant animals within a given culture, be they cats or cows, can serve to aid humans emotionally and financially post-disaster.

Chapter Three: *Kawaii*! Human-Animal Relationships in Japan

ABSTRACT
Kawaii animals are everywhere in Japan, as cute mascots for corporations or train stations, as YouTube stars, as cat cafe playmates ready to alleviate loneliness, and, of course, as pets. The *kawaii* trend is prevalent throughout Japanese culture, offering warmth, joy, and amusement in a society in which human-human relationships may be strained (Kinsella 1995). The number of pets being brought into the home continues to rise as the human birth rate declines – primarily coming from pet shops advertising and selling the youngest, most *kawaii* living products legally allowable. Notably, this increase in pet keeping is matched by a rise of abandoned companion animals, a problem exacerbated by the limited social safety net for homeless pets. As animal welfare concern and awareness gradually rises in Japan, animal rescue non-profit organizations and supporters seek a solution to this social problem. In the seminal work "Why Look at Animals", John Berger questions the physical and cultural marginalization of the urban pet, which co-opts them into the family and spectacle and transforms them into "realistic toys" whose biological needs are largely ignored. Through this lens, this chapter combines findings from interviews with observations in pet shops to address an underlying cause of animal abandonment. Specifically, I illustrate how pet shops cleverly capitalize on selling *kawaii* "realistic toys" to recruit buyers, only to see the pets neglected or discarded when the animals exhibit their biological and social needs.

INTRODUCTION

The perception, value, and relationship one has with an animal other will alter the vulnerability and resiliency that animal experiences during a hazard. Thus, this chapter focuses on a key contemporary relationship in Japan – that between companion animals and their guardians in urban Japan. In exploring these relationships and the perceptions and understandings of animals who compose them, Japan's approach to animal welfare is depicted. Animal welfare institutions build resiliency for non-human others. The approach to, and state of animal welfare in a culture determines the safety net (legally, politically, and socially) that may catch those beings protected under the net of these institutions.

This chapter pulls from a variety of human-animal scholarship regarding domesticated animals to understand a piece of contemporary human-animal relationships in Japan. I use the social problem of widespread companion animal abandonment as a lens to explore the

connections between these human-animal relationships, the state of animal welfare, and key cultural phenomena. This social problem was chosen as a focus as it was quoted as the primary concern for animal welfare and rescue workers in Japan in semi-structured interviews. The question I seek to answer in this chapter is one that originally sparked my interest in animal welfare in Japan. I found there were two major narratives coming out of Japan via media, blogs, and journalism regarding their relationship with animals – they absolutely adored them, and they had no regard for their well-being. While either extreme was not likely, the strong presence of both narratives was of great interest. What social conditions produced a nation enamored with animals, yet lacking animal welfare infrastructure? This question was found to be key in understanding animal abandonment and the related social and political structures that surround this problem.

Whereas contemporary Japanese pet culture is often compared to those of West, including widespread pet-supportive businesses (e.g. groomers, pet shops, veterinarians, kennels, funerary practices) and the placement of these animals in the home as family members, a closer examination finds that the adoration and "pet mania" (Skabelund 2012) is perhaps shallow. Namely, animal welfare law and organizations, social safety nets such as animal rescues, adoption centers, spay/neuter clinics and other supportive cultural practices are few and far between. Thus, pets are flooding the nation, in homes, in the media, as mascots, as forms of entertainment, and yet they are undeniably vulnerable. According to Goto-san, an office staff at Animal Refuge Kansai, 160,000 animals are gassed each year by the *hokensho*. Of this number, 80% are cats. The majority of these cats would be considered stray or feral. Twenty years ago, the numbers were far larger for dogs, when as many as 400,000 were gassed each year (Interview, February 6th, 2015). The Japan Times notes the statistics for 2010:

> More than 204,000 pets — 82 percent of the total taken into public "animal shelters" that year — were euthanized in 2010, according to the latest available government figures. Just under 52,000 of these animals were dogs; the majority were cats. In that same year, less than 29,000 abandoned pets — 11 percent of arrivals — were successfully re-homed.

The reason for the decrease in animals gassing is unclear but could be related to the rise of rescue NPOs and the recent decrease in pet purchasing.

The emergent theme that dominated interviews and daily discussions in the field was how pet shops marketed and sold companion animals. The culture and processes that brought these pets into the home also contributed to large scale pet abandonment issues that filled the animal rescues, and the *hokensho*, to the brim.

FIGURE 25 – Train mascot

From the moment I stepped off the plane at Kansai International Airport, I was surrounded by animals. These animals came in various contexts and forms – photographs of real cats and dogs, cartoon animations, humanoid animal mascots. As I was in the Kansai region,

Hikonyan, the zoomorphic mascot from Hikone, Shiga Prefecture, was prevalent. Videos of him dancing played alongside cutesy music as we waited for our luggage. Men, women, and children had animal trinkets hanging from their baggage and purses. As an anthropologist come to study human-animal relationships, I could not jot down fieldnotes fast enough.

FIGURE 26 – *Kawaii* animal-themed donuts

Despite the continuous presence of zoomorphic animals in Japanese popular culture, in the urban center of Osaka, there was a noticeable dearth of flesh and blood non-human animals. My first encounter with a large number of animals occurred at a pet store within a popular shopping center at Osaka Station. I happened upon the store by accident. Having read extensively about Japanese pet stores, I was nonetheless surprised by the large presence of exotic

animals. A small, maybe 10 x 10 room held various owls, one of whom was being poked at and teased by a toddler at the full encouragement of the parent. Nearby was a singular meerkat, next to a singular prairie dog – both pack animals digging and pacing stereotypically in their small fish-tank like holdings. Large tortoises and small piglets were fenced into a middle area, where kids and adults alike could touch them as they pleased. The space served as an impromptu touch zoo for all who wandered in. Spirits were high for all observing, despite the noticeable discomfort experienced by the exotic animals. My fieldnotes from this day comment on the human-animal interactions:

> Watching the humans interacting with these animals was also of interest. One young girl, perhaps 10 years old, was deliberately enraging a cockatoo by presenting her finger and tapping on his cage. She would giggle when he became angry, and then wait for him to turn and calm down, and then do it again. Similarly, parents and children seemed to take pleasure in tormenting the owls in the store. They would wave their hands closely and laugh as he attempted to fly away. There were "Please do not touch" signs posted right above their display (Fieldnotes, August 15th, 2014).

Nearby, in the merchandise section of the store, there was a wide-range of products, from puppy pee pads to Gucci dog collars worth nearly $1000. Products to adorn one's real-life companion animal are themed either with popular cartoon characters and mascots, such as Hikonyan, or with human child-related products, such as strollers, booties and toy pacifiers.

FIGURE 27 – Pet clothes

The connecting theme of the animals I encountered in urban Japanese cities is that they are bred, or otherwise constructed to meet the *kawaii* cultural ideal. This is done via clothing, breeding practices, or context (e.g. decorating a pet shop kennel with Hello Kitty imagery). This chapter examines the place of *kawaii* culture, the pet shop and associated institutions as a key player of pet vulnerability in Japan.

FIGURE 28 – Character-style pet clothes

The data for this chapter arose from conversations and interviews with the four key animal rescue non-profit organizations with whom I conducted my fieldwork. Further, I collected photographs, flyers, and detailed fieldnotes from visits to Japanese pet shops in urban centers. It is important to note that the context of this work – primarily at animal rescue non-profit organizations – means that the majority of interactions I experienced and learned about from participants are in which something went wrong (hence, the animal in question needed "rescue"). There are endless examples of the positive side of pet-keeping that unfortunately is not represented in full capacity here. Please keep this in mind while traversing the more negative side of companion animal ownership.

STORIES

While chatting with a few staff members of ARK, I heard a story that would prove representational of the extreme aspects of the *kawaii* culture that I came to associate with urban pet-keeping. With a smirk, the director of Site 1 leaned in and asked, "Did you hear about the dog who never touched the ground?" I told her I had not and readied my pen.

It is common to see dogs in strollers, dogs in designer clothing, dogs in rain jackets during a storm, or adorned in any number of accessories in downtown Osaka. These are primarily the smaller dog breeds, though Shiba Inu (a medium-sized Japanese breed) are sometimes included in this set. The dog I learned about on this day was a Chihuahua who visited a groomer on a regular basis. The director narrates, "While the groomer was used to fussiness and picky customers, this Chihuahua's person had a request to top them all, 'My baby must never touch the ground.' The groomer looked at the little dog - dressed to the nines, including booties on his paws. He inquired as to medical issues regarding this request. She shook her head, 'No, my baby just is not to be dirty. The ground is dirty.' While shocked, the groomer did as directed."

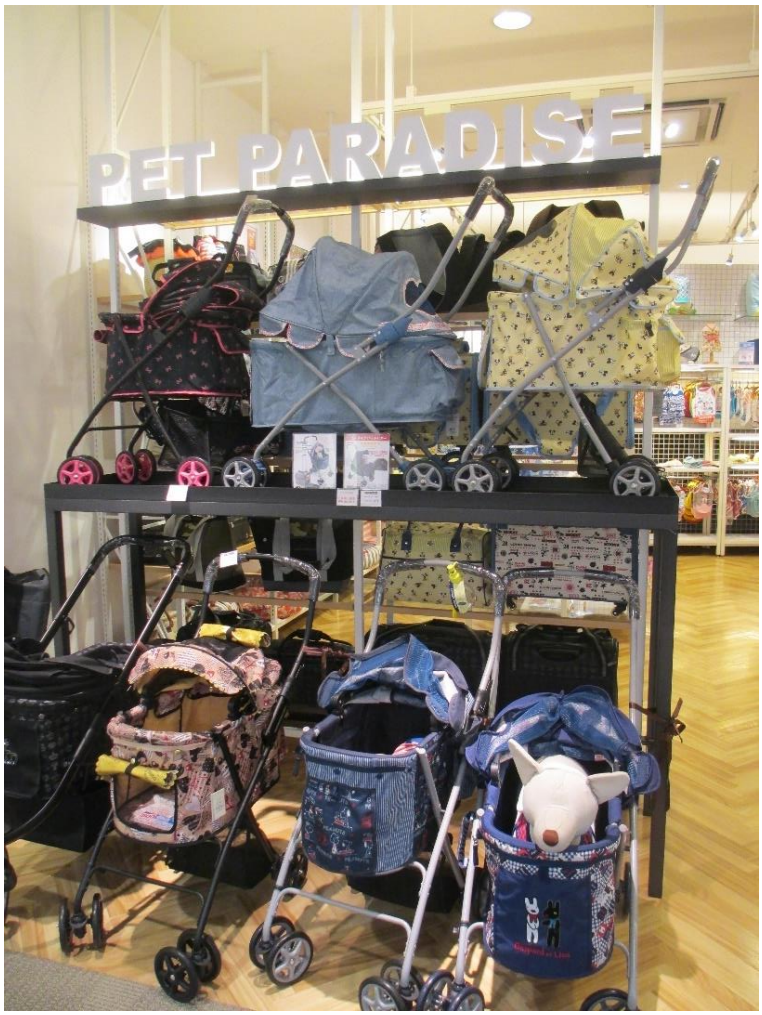

FIGURE 29 – Strollers for dogs

We all had a laugh at this situation, and condolences to the "poor dog" who is missing out on "being a dog" and acting out his natural instincts, acting as a doll instead. The dynamics here are telling. The animal rescue staff members are constructing themselves as distinct from the woman who treats her child as a "baby" rather than as a "dog." Furthermore, the staff insisted the dog is being treated as both a child and as a doll. In this chapter, I argue that he is perhaps both, or an in between of these two roles.

The other story included here shows a different side of pet-keeping. In inquiring about popular dog trends in Japan, I learned about a brief love of Border Collies. These dogs are known to need large amount of exercise and training, as they are highly energetic, intelligent, and willful. Thus, they are not well suited for a Japanese apartment. Nonetheless, many found their way into apartments, and then, often, into the *hokensho* or another means of animal abandonment. This story is about a specific Border Collie. Due to the cramped conditions in which he lived, he exhibited a number of behavioral problems and the owner contacted ARK for advice. Unfortunately, before these problems could be rectified, he jumped through the window on his high-rise apartment complex, falling to his death.

Lastly, this story directly implicates pet shops in the unfortunate abandonment of two dogs. Chatting with the director of ARK, I was told of two puppies who had been brought in on a day in June. As recorded in fieldnotes from June 5th, 2014:

> Elizabeth mentioned in an exasperated tone that not one, but two puppies were brought in today with similar back stories: 70+ year old men bought puppies from a pet store for companionship and then died a year later, leaving the puppies homeless. Worse, one was a border collie, who has plenty of energy – not at all suitable for an old man. She kept shaking her head, asking, "Why would a pet shop sell these puppies to old men?"

To address the cultural context of these stories and seek answers to my overall questions for this chapter, I situate the current place of human-pet kinship in urban Japan by examining three related trends: *shōshika mondai* (a declining birth rate), *kawaii* culture, and the recent pet boom. Next, I will theoretically explore the place of pets from human-animal studies literature and connect this to discourse on Japan's perception of nature. Reflecting on the themes raised therein, I introduce key findings from my fieldwork.

There are two sections to the findings included in this chapter: first, the perceptions of Japanese animals and animal welfare, and second, human-animal interactions. Together, these provide a response to the question of how companion animals hold such a high, fictive kin-like status in Japanese culture, yet animal welfare laws are lacking. In examining what is occurring on the ground between humans and animals, asking experts in animal rescue about animal welfare, and reflecting on contemporary human-animal studies theory, I construct a potential answer.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Pet Boom and Changing Kinship

While finally steadying, the number of purchased companion animals rose for decades, as did the pet industry that supported them. The number of pet dogs went down 17% from 2011 to 2016, though the number of cats remained the same (Mainichi Japan 2017). A 2008 Japan Close-Up article asks, "As Japan's pet population swells and its child population shrinks, it becomes hard not to wonder: Are pets replacing children as the focus of family interest? Are little dogs the babies of the 21st century?"

Whereas media talk openly about the pet boom, or "canine frenzy", Skabelund (2012:182) asserts that this fervor for pet-keeping is simply a continuation of a long interest in pet-keeping. Post-WWII socioeconomic conditions have permitted many more families to purchase their own family dog, or *kaiteken*. The large decrease in crime has meant *banken*, or guard dogs, are kept more for companionship than utilitarian purposes. The number of pets in Japanese homes has continued to increase for the past three decades, with economic recessions merely slowing the increase. Ambrose (2012) notes that a survey in 1979 found that pets were enjoyed in a more distanced fashion, perhaps even utilitarian. Those who owned pets did so

because, "...pets were entertaining and had a calming effect, because they helped teach children moral responsibility, and improved family relationships" (5). It was not until 1989 that pets as companions was recorded in surveys. Ambrose cites a survey conducted in 2007, finding that 70.3% of dog owners and 68.2% of cat owners considered their pets to be family members, children, or companions. This is a significant increase from the survey in 1979.

Further, the families that own pets are spending more on their pets year by year and letting animals into the home rather than outdoors (Invest Japan 2005). Naturally, markets are responding by increasing their supply to the steady and continuously increasing demand. In 2009, $12.7 billion worth of pet-associated goods, from breeders to pet food, was recorded by the Yano Research Institute. Furthermore, with the exception of pet food, which is largely imported, the businesses profiting from the increase in the industry are primarily local and small businesses, such as private breeders and local pet stores (Smith 2010). Japan's pet industry has been deemed the "trillion-yen (US $9.5 million) market by Invest Japan's Spring 2005 issue, of which the cover story is the rising pet industry, quoting the recent revolution in traditional attitudes toward pets—now seen as "family members" as the reasoning behind the boom (Invest Japan 2005:7-8). Takashi Harada, President of Yaseisha Co., Ltd. and Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *Pet Management* theorizes that pets are filling the emptiness traditionally filled by children, close family, and wider social circles that are no longer present in contemporary Japan (Invest Japan 2005:8). The spatial aspects of the human-pet relationship have changed, as well. As many as 80% of owners keep dogs indoors, with 30% allowing them to sleep in their bed (Kakinuma 2008).

Hansen (2013) examines the role of dogs in "postfamilial" Japan. Postfamilial is in regard to the change from a "...predominance of largely patriarchal, agricultural, extended family

systems (ie) to increasingly egalitarian, individuated, urban, and nuclear ones" (86) that have emerged after WWII. Hansen further notes the changes the post-economic bubble has had on society, including a declining birthrate, economic stagnation, and unemployment. Meanwhile, Japan's largest population is that of the aging baby boomers. It is the older generations who are most likely to purchase a pet (Sugita 2005:108-114 in Hansen 2013). As Hansen explains,

> In these Japan after Japan times, there has been an increasing trend for Japanese to rely less on assistance from extended family (cf. Lee 2007) and a decrease in the desire to start new families (Buerk and Evans 2012). It is unsurprising, given such trends and demographics, that the breakdown of traditional human affective relationships was the most prominent reason offered by my informants when I asked them why they had initially decided to purchase or adopt a dog...Dogs, at the least, are envisioned as stand-ins, and perhaps in some cases actual replacements, for particular and significant human others; again a fuzzing of boundaries (93).

To confirm these notions, Hansen conducted a mail-in survey to ask fellow urban dog-walkers about their relationships with their dogs. Not surprisingly, all respondents considered their dog as part of the family. Further, these dogs are considered individuals, with full personalities (95). Similarly, Omura Enso uses the term "neofamilism" to describe Japan's new furry nuclear family, linking the change to the declining birthrate and aging society (Ambrose 2012).

Linguistically, the way the Japanese refer to their companion animals has shifted, as well. Rather than use terms such as *esu* or *mesu*, male or female, it is more common to hear boy and girl (*otokooko; onnanoko*). Similarly, pets are referred to as "my kid" or "my baby" rather than just, "my dog" (Mouer and Kajiwara 2016; Ambrose 2012; (Hamno 2013). Skabelund (2012) notes that phrases such as "*inu to tanoshiku kurasu*" (let's live pleasantly with a dog) have replaced phrases such as *petto no kaikata* or "raising a pet" (183).

Alongside this pet-keeping passion are a number of supportive pet-related industries. Pet breeders, shops, groomers, veterinarians, cafes, food, fashion, and furniture continue to rise in

profit -- leading to the conflation of pets and products. Skabelund (2012) cites a psychiatrist, "Ohira Ken wrote in his longtime best-selling account of obsessive materialism in contemporary Japanese society, dogs have a dual meaning as a 'family member' and an 'animate stuffed toy,' as an 'object of deep friendship' and a 'thing to be bought and sold'" (184). Hansen (2013) notes the existence of a busy pet shop called Mother Garden, which "sells children's and dog's clothes in the same space, divided only by the ends of the shelves" (93).

Such cultural phenomena have led to Hansen (2013) declaring, "I suggest we are currently witness to trans-species fictive kinship" (99). Fictive kinship is defined by anthropologists as those forms of kinship not defined by blood or family lines. This might include close friends of parents whom children refer to as "aunt" and "uncle", for example. In Japan, we are seeing non-human companions fill the role perhaps traditionally filled by extended family or social circles.

Lastly, there is an association of both modern pet keeping and animal welfare with Westernization. While Japan has its own history of animal welfare, Skabelund (2012) identified as early as the 19th century animal welfare rarely extended beyond expatriates. In 1914, the Japan Humane Society began with strong Western connections. Widespread social interest in animal welfare issues did not become popular until the 1960s and 70s, when post-WWII dog adoption became associated with financial well-being and a middle-class lifestyle. The oldest animal rescues and lobbying groups I was introduced to during my fieldwork, such as SALA, ALIVE, and ARK, all found their roots in the early 90s. Of these organizations, only one of the three directors was foreign. The majority of animal rescuer groups, foster organizations, and other animal-related non-profits are Japanese run. Nonetheless, the concept and face of animal welfare, much like the bred pets themselves, is of that of the West.

Expanding this area of inquiry, this chapter uses primary data integrated into work in the area of human-animal studies regarding cultural marginalization of pets to further understand the relationships present between humans and non-human companion animals in contemporary Japan.

Shōshika Mondai

One of Japan's ongoing socio-political concerns is *shōshika mondai*, or their declining birth rate. The number of children being birthed has been falling for three decades, with the current rate standing at 1.42 (The Japan Times 2015). Future projections warn of national, economic, and social catastrophe if the trend continues. "Since a birth rate of 2.08 children is considered to be the minimum required simply to maintain a level population, demographers here have been vying to calculate the exact year, date, and time when the sun will set on the last surviving Japanese inhabitant" (Japan Inc. 2000). Beyond the continual loss of the members of an already relatively small population of Japanese speakers and carriers of Japanese culture, economically the number of young Japanese citizens will not be sufficient to support the growth needed to sustain the nation. The work force will not be replenished as the current generations age, while the new retirees will lack the economic or family support in their elder years. The reasons behind the falling birthrate are many. *Shōshika mondai* lies at the core of dynamic social phenomena - such as traditional gender roles, the costly education system, and housing matters (Mohr 2008).

Reproduction is touted as a women's action first by the Japanese media and governmental focus regarding this issue. For women, not having children is linked to their desire to participate in the workforce, which is itself linked to a problematic workforce situation which would make it highly unlikely for women to return to a particular position after leaving for child-rearing purposes (LeBlanc 2008). The government has implemented various reforms that would grant

women time off from work and aid the return to their positions once the child is 12 months old. On the other hand, caring for a child and working is difficult at all ages, particularly when the role of child care-taker still falls in the realm of women's work (LeBlanc 2008). "The government can only do so much to improve the way mothers are treated in the workplace. Progress beyond that point depends on mothers fighting for fair treatment one workplace at a time" (Schoppa 2008). Not surprisingly, another reason cited for women's choice to forgo marriage and children is their desire to maintain their independence and youth. Not all are envious of the lives they watched their mothers lead. Critics of this focus on women have rightly argued that it is not the responsibility of women to sacrifice their lives and employment to solve this national problem. Inequality in the workforce, poor social support for single mothers, and the high cost of child rearing all make the choice to have children a much broader and complicated problem.

The high cost of education and the lack of housing available means having more than one, if even one, child is a significant financial dedication that is simply not obtainable, or desirable, by all couples. From kindergarten to cram schools and all extracurricular activities associated with school, a significant income is needed to ensure academic success. Having two children would double these costs and significantly impact a family's income. With traditional gender roles leaving the mother at home, this financial burden may be up to the one partner entirely. LaBlanc (2008) found that less than half of women continued in the position they held prior to marriage, while nearly 30% quit. In contrast, over 70% of men stay on in their profession after marriage, and a meager 1.4% quit (12).

The problem of housing these children is also important to consider. Japan is a small island nation largely covered in mountains, making land in short supply and, therefore,

expensive. In urban settings, less than half the residents own their residences and it is perfectly normal for families to reside in apartments or condos their entire lives. The floor space within both houses and apartments are the smallest amongst other industrial nations, and in Tokyo and other urban centers it is substantially so (Kanemoto 1997).

Kawaii Culture

Closely related to the rise in dogs and cats is the *kawaii* culture of Japan. *Kawaii* in Japanese translates to "cute." Literally it translates to "pitiful" or "shy" and the way it utilized in Japanese can mean anything from "pathetic" to "innocent" to "sexy" depending on the context. Linguistically, it is also one of the most widely used words in the Japanese language (Kinsella 1995). Originating in the 1970s through "cute" handwriting containing over exaggerated loops and with additions of hearts and early emoticons, and later through the use of this style in manga, or Japanese graphic novels, the cute movement began with young girls. It caught on with the help of the market capitalizing off of this new youthful trend, particularly Sanrio, Inc. (Kinsella 1995). Hello Kitty and all of her friends are arguably the most recognized Japanese-created character in America. By the 1980s and in correspondence with the economic well-being, *kawaii* culture took off in fashion, merchandise and as a long-term infatuation for men and women of Japan.

As Kinsella, explains, "*Kawaii* or 'cute' essentially means childlike; it celebrates sweet, adorable, innocent, pure, simple, genuine, gentle, vulnerable, weak, and inexperienced social behaviour and physical appearances" (Kinsella 1995:220). In her early work on the cultural phenomenon, Kinsella theorized that the *kawaii* imagery and characters throughout Japan represent, in part, an escape from responsibility. Childhood and youth are treasured – children are catered to and adored. Adulthood, while changing, is described by Kinsella as confining, long hours, responsibilities, and so on, leading many to seek experiences and imagery that provide

small affects of happiness and escape. When you are overworked, of course you'd want to look at tarepanda – a character so lazy he does not walk, he just flops around. Sugiyama, president of Digital Hollywood, echoes this reasoning for the rise in cute culture, " Japanese are seeking a spiritual peace and an escape from brutal reality through cute things" (Kageyama 2006).

FIGURE 30 – Panda plushie, representing various *kawaii* traits

FIGURE 31 – *Kawaii* cookware

It is important to note that while the *kawaii* culture started with young girls, the culture does not stop at females or at youth. It is not considered odd for men and women of all ages to embrace the cute culture. It is not considered taboo for men to, for instance, collect cell phone charms of their favorite cute characters. Young men may also adhere to the cute styles that young girls are following fashion-wise – though not without taking criticism from the older generations (Bremner 2002).

All genders, however, are open to social criticism due to the seemingly endless hypothesis for why cute in Japan has taken off. First, and often the easiest suggestion, is that it is an exaggeration of traditional Japanese gender roles. Women were traditionally expected to be passive, quiet, weak, and delicate in traditional concepts of beauty. In *kawaii* culture all of these attributes exist, perhaps with Hello Kitty's lack of mouth as the most common evidence for this reasoning (Ito 2005). In its more extreme forms of Lolita fashion and *burriko, (*in which an older girl or boy might strive to express the language, fashion, and emotions of a younger child while

ignoring the maturity and wisdom achieved with age), is individualism and an aware rejection of traditional Japanese society. As Kinsella (1995) discusses, the popular magazine *Cutie* focuses on the child-like attitudes and fashion in a manner in which, "…the rebellious, individualistic, freedom-seeking attitude embodied in acting childlike and pursing fashion is very clear" (Kinsella 1995:230).

The traditional (and somewhat outdated in 2018) roles of men and women, with men as the laborers and women as the hard-working mothers, are associated with a lack of creative expression, a lack of free time, extremely demanding responsibility through work and society. As Kinsella explains, "For many young men, cute fashion represents freedom and an escape from the pressure of social expectations and regulations." In the case of women, "Maturity and marriage threatened to separate her from these privileges, and very likely to shunt her off to a small apartment in a remote and unattractive suburb, with only her devotion to her children and their school books to occupy her" (Kinsella 1995:244-5). Furthermore, Kinsella suggests that the rampant consumerism associated with *kawaii* culture is similarly a rejection of traditional norms of frugality (Kinsella 1995).

The rising popularity of *kawaii* culture, the lowering birth rate, and the rise of pets parallels each other. The cartoon characters that often decorated these cute goods also had particular recurring features. "The essential anatomy of a cute cartoon character consists in its being small, soft, infantile, mammalian, round, without bodily appendages (e.g. arms), without bodily orifices (e.g. mouths), non-sexual, mute, insecure, helpless or bewildered" (Kinsella 1995:226). Not surprisingly, animals comprise the majority of characters within the cute movement, and animal-like imagery appears throughout *kawaii* culture. These cute characters and elements spread quickly and were adopted throughout Japan, from fashion corporation and

regional mascots, to a particularly extravagant instance in which the "…Japanese carrier All Nippon Airways spent upwards of a million dollars in licensing fees and paint to decorate the exterior of three Boeing 747s with colorful, 20-foot-high Pocket Monsters from *Pokémon*..." (Roach 1999).

FIGURE 32 – Choices are plentiful for styling your dog

Given *kawaii* characteristics, it is no wonder that the cute culture and the pet boom correspond so closely in their history. Kinsella carried out a survey regarding when one might use the word "*kawaii*" and found that the use of the word was strongly associated with pets (Kinsella 1995:239). Further, the endless array of cute goods associated with these animals has led to the *kawaii* culture to be used extensively in the pet industry. Japan is considered a leader in fashion intended for dogs and cats, often in correspondence with the current fashion trends and in

line with features valued in *kawaii* culture. The ample ability to consume and spoil one's pets has led to the previously mentioned question of whether these pets are replacing the children Japan's government desperately wishes couples to birth. The same December 2008 issue of Japan Close-Up posed this question.

> Conversations reported in the August issue of "Aikento" [a magazine regarding dogs] permit us a glimpse into the minds of young women whose affection for their toy poodles and Chihuahuas is apt to strike a reader who doesn't share it as eerily, distortedly maternal. In fact the magazine doesn't hesitate to refer to the owners as "mama," and the mamas seem instinctively to use the word "child" to mean dog. Their remarks come in response to queries by an "Aikento" reporter who, for example, asks about "accessories"—costume jewelry, pendants, and the like...
> "I look for accessories that are light so they won't weigh the dog down, and yet look high-class," says one mama...
> "Yes, beads are adorable," chimes in a third. "They're unisex and go well with a small 'child' or a big 'child,' as the case may be."
> "Basically I choose [dog] suits that match what I'm wearing. If the material or the workmanship looks cheap, I won't buy it."
> "Yes, the 'child's' fashion has to harmonize with mama's. Seeing the dog should give you an idea of what kind of person the owner is."

This fashion and trend related enjoyment of the pet has led to a further hypothesis popular in Japanese media, which is that the pet is not only a replacement for a child in an increasingly childless Japan, but one that can be more regarded as an accessory to one's fashion statement (Japan Close-Up December 2008).

URBAN PETS, MARGINALIZED ANIMALS

The move of young adults from rural to urban settings throughout Japan has meant that many new animal adoptions are taking place within urban settings. The ways in which these animals are bred, advertised, perceived, and experienced is in relation to this setting. In this section, I review the literature regarding how urban existence affects the lives of companion animals. Following this section, I link the change to current understandings of Japan's perception

of nature. Together, I argue that the cultural phenomena that result are key causes of animal welfare issues, including animal abandonment and lackluster social safety nets for pets.

Human perceptions of pets occur not only as a result of the physical reality of the animal, but also what humans culturally associate with the animal as a result of social conditioning of contemporary cultural concepts. Oftentimes both ways of being with non-human others overlap, into what Haraway calls naturecultures (2003). Whatmore (1999) acknowledges two separate ways of viewing nature – social constructionism and natural realism. Social constructionist view of nature is the "...already crafted product of human interpretation..." in such things as "...landscape paintings, TV nature programmes, computer models, and so on" (Whatmore 1999:337) and natural realism's view of nature as is "...ontologically separate from the natures of social representation in order to sustain the possibility of...a singular analytic-diagnostic truth - an account of society's relationship with nature that uniquely corresponds to a real, objective world" (Whatmore 1999:338). Whatmore proposes merging these two views into one unit, recognizing that both of these aspects of nature exist and are only separate in the minds of humans predisposed to see them as such. This is especially pertinent when examining human-pet relationships. Here, I address the pet as both socially constructed and naturally real, as Whatmore delineates.

With the shift from rural to large urban settings, utilitarian animals gradually became nonexistent, often replaced with machines such as cars and bulldozers. Pets, however, flourished in their full form to fill the gap animals left in the lives of urban dwellers. Serpell and Paul (1994) define pets as animals, "...that are kept primarily for social or emotional reasons rather than for economic purposes..." (129). Tuan's (1984) assertion that domestication means domination, deriving from the same root with the meaning of mastery over one another being,

becomes particularly clear in the case of pets. Pet selective breeding, as opposed to utilitarian breeds, chooses aesthetics over traits such as intelligence. According to Tuan, the first change in domestication is to make the animals smaller and more docile to promote manageability and control. "Once an animal became fully domesticated and docile, humans could deliberately seek ways to alter it so that it was even more useful and pleasing to them (Tuan 1984:144).

Berger describes the increase of pets as one of the few situations in which animals are increasing rather than disappearing from this world. "Never have there been so many household pets as are to be found today in the cities of the richest countries" (Berger 1980:256). As urban settings led to the isolation of people into their own private spheres and made connections with each other more difficult, pets filled in a much-needed gap of affection. "It was easy to entertain warm feelings toward animals that seemed to have no other function than as playthings" (Tuan 1984:151).

These animals continue to develop unique relationships with the humans who surround and interact with them. One such relation is that of a pet as a symbol of social worth. "They were protected and treated with as much care as other precious possessions" (Tuan 1984:149). The animal, however, provided entertainment that a piece of jewelry or fine furniture could not. Interestingly, because they were biological and finite, as opposed to the presumed infinite features of a diamond ring, they could also be disposable and replaceable. This could lead to a strange relationship in which the animal could be "...a source of pride and yet treated with cruel arbitrariness" (Tuan 1984:150). The modern pet is one who has, according to Berger, been co-opted into the family and into the spectacle through both cultural and physical marginalization. Physically, the pet often lacks much resemblance to his wilder ancestors in both appearance and environment.

> The small family unit lacks space, earth, other animals, seasons, natural temperatures, and so on. The pet is either sterilized or sexually isolated, extremely limited in its exercise, deprived of almost all other animal contact, and fed with artificial foods. This is the truism that pets come to resemble their masters or mistresses. They are creatures of their owner's way of life (Berger 1980:256).

The cultural marginalization described by Berger refers to animals of the mind, who have become animals with no particular limits or needs, serving as mere puppets of animal shapes onto which we project what the masters and mistresses, to use Berger's terminology, desire. The manufacture and popularity of toys, cartoons, and pictures featuring realistic animal imagery only came into popularity when the real animals were no longer a part of daily life, along with zoos and the other animal imagery that seems to exist throughout wealthy nations. Berger explains, "One could suppose that such innovations were compensatory. Yet in reality the innovations themselves belonged to the same remorseless movement as was dispersing the animals" (Berger 1980:260). They all serve as representations of the further marginalization of animals in modernity. "The realistic toys" Berger asserts, "increased the demand for the new animal puppet: the urban pet" (Berger 1980:261).

NATURE, CONTROL, AND PETS

A survey conducted in the late 1980s emphasized the key features of Japan's relationship with wildlife and nature in comparison with America. By analyzing the results of the survey conducted in terms of basic wildlife values, Kellert found that Japan differs significantly from Americans in several of these values. In Japan, the humanistic value was most prevalent. This value is defined as a "Primary interest and strong affection for individual animals such as pets or large wild animals with strong anthropomorphic associations" (Kellert 1991:5). Additionally, utilitarian - or interest in the practical value of animals for human purposes, dominionistic attitude - or the primary interest in the mastery and control of animals, was also prevalent,

"...suggesting that direct experience with nature was most valued in situations involving considerable control within strict definitional boundaries or limits" (6). In addition to the preference for controlled nature, there was a clear emphasis on the preference for nature in the most idealized form.

Kellert found in in-depth interviews that the objective of these controlled and structured situations with nature were to "capture the presumed 'essence' of a natural object, often by adherence to strict rules of 'seeing and experiencing' intended to best express the centrally valued aspect of nature" (Kellert 1991:7). As one respondent expressed, this is the willingness "'…to go to the edge of the forest, to view nature from across the river, to see a natural beauty from a mountain top, but rarely to enter into or immerse oneself in wildness or the ecological understanding of natural settings;" (Kellert 1991:7). This phenomenon is well known in popular traditional practices such as bonsai, in which a natural tree, bush, or herb is carefully altered by humans to create a beautiful artistic piece capturing idealistic nature. All the while one must tread lightly as to ensure viewers cannot see traces of the human alterations done, such as a wire indented onto a trunk (Tuan 1984; Murata and Mura 2000:33; Douthitt 2001:33). "In these situations, the importance of control, structure, and definition were stressed. Those features falling outside of the valued aesthetic and symbolic boundaries tended to be ignored, considered irrelevant, or judged unappealing" (Kellert 1991:7). In the case of the bonsai, if it does not live up to one's expectations it is sold to someone else to continue the alterations or started anew.

In all of these cases the object of nature being appreciated is separated either spatially or mentally from that part of nature that is not a part of the ordered and controlled "nature." This explains commonly observed phenomena such as a beautiful and prized potted plant garden with a random assortment of vegetable gardens and tools in the backdrop of a Japanese yard. This is

in opposition of a perfectly landscaped American suburban yard, in which objects such as garden tools are often shoved away out of sight, and out of mind. Kalland explains, "In cultures, people select certain elements of the physical environment - certain animals, plants...for special attention, whereas other elements are overlooked or ignored...a common way to do this in Japan is by reducing nature's profusion" (Kalland 2002). This reductionism of nature is also seen in what is called "framing," in which those parts undesired are excluded mentally. This "framing" is more literally emphasized in traditional art forms such as *ikebana*, or flower arranging. In this art, the arrangement is created to be viewed from one specific front alone. It is "framed" to reveal its ultimate artistic expression just as the artist intended. It is considered an insult to look at it from the back or from other angles not intended by the artist.

FIGURE 33 – Ad on train for an animal park, "Feel nature for your emotion"

Furthermore, those species or individuals that are chosen to exist within the "frame" at hand are not only separated out from the surrounding non-aesthetically pleasing species but are

often not linked to their fellow species or their habitat. They do not instill in the lovers of this nature a desire to preserve and protect the species or the area from which it came, as Kellert found in the indifference to and lack of ethical values towards conservation. Only one percent of the Japanese respondents claimed membership in a wildlife or environmental organization (Kellert 1991:10). In fact, the responses to the survey at times placed this type of relationship with nature in a negative light, with humans stealing from nature in the name of creating art, with no regard for what it leaves behind. Kellert quotes R. Taylor,

> The Japanese nature-oriented traditions of bonsai, flower-arranging, and rock-gardening were typically divorced from issues of ecological function; in many ways, as one respondent described, 'they were more like having a pet' with no idea of the basis of production, no understanding of these natural objects in a complete life cycle or an ecological sense (Taylor 1990:5) (Kellert 1991:10).

In finding enjoyment primarily in controlled nature of individuals, the indifference or animosity to uncultivated nature stands in stark contrast.

FINDINGS

The phrases and criticisms my participants had regarding animal welfare concerns were placed in terms such as, "they treat them just like dolls"; "it's like they're raising a bonsai" and "oh yeah, that's your baby, you'll just switch him out for another as soon as he grows tired of the stroller." These critical comments were plentiful, and arose via interviews, fieldnotes, and in advertisements and published newsletters.

During interviews, I asked my participants several questions regarding animal welfare in Japan. The first question addressed what they perceive to be the most significant animal welfare issue in Japan. Unanimously, the response was in regard to pet shops. While most were directly stated as such (e.g. "*mochiron petto shoppu"; zettai ni petto shoppu*") others spoke of issues related to pet shops, such as the breeders who sell to pet shops, the lack of regulation regarding

pet shops, or the advertising used by these businesses. Pet shops were, to them, the root of a multitude of animal welfare issues in Japan.

FIGURE 34 – Pet shop in Osaka

Within the topic of animal welfare, there were three other sub-themes that arose: Westernization, Progress, and Ignorance. The first, Westernization, concerns the connection between the current animal welfare situation and the West. Given the shelters I worked at were primarily led by a Western director, this is not surprising. However, it was common to hear comparisons from my informants, regardless of their ethnicity. When asked about welfare, they would compare it to Britain, Germany, and America as a matter of course, with Japan always found lacking. This may be partially due to the directors' influence (all were foreign-born), but literature also shows that Animal Welfare as a concept is associated with the West (see above, Skabelund 2012). The ARK Newsletter from Winter 2010 encompasses nearly all these themes:

> In Japan, breeding has become rampant in recent years with the pet boom fueled by a changing society; fewer women getting married and seeking a pet as a companion and older people, fit and healthy after retirement using their leisure

> time to walk a dog. There are now more pets than there are children under the age of 16. Japanese are prolific consumers, opting for brand goods, the latest popular craze and everything packaged beautifully. They love the options available, for example when buying a car; colour, style, accessories. The same applies when they choose a dog; breed, style, colour, shape, cuteness are more important than whether that dog will suit them and their life-style or indeed whether they should be buying a dog at all.
>
> So where do they find a dog? At a pet shop of course… But few of these, often first-time pet buyers, stop to consider where the cute puppy in the glass cage in front of them, came from. For every tiny puppy sold for an astronomical sum to a gullible customer in a pet shop, there are thousands that suffer and die or are killed in backyard breeding factories, or puppy mills, hidden from public eye in the countryside. These places have cage upon cage stacked on each other occupied by what are virtually breeding machines. These breeding adults have no access to fresh air, walks or affection but are forced to eat, sleep on top of a pile of their own urine and feces. They age prematurely, with rotting teeth, and weak bones, the result of having to produce endless litters. When they finally burn out, often at a young age, they are 'disposed of', often to 'no questions asked' *hokensho*… The puppies we see in pet shops are deprived of toys, playmates and water which is why they appear comatose from the heat in that glass box. But most customers rarely think about this, transfixed as they are by the cute puppy in front of them.
>
> Educating the public is one thing, but there have to be laws, regulations and standards for breeders to follow. The Breeding and Sale of Dogs (Welfare) Act 1999 in the UK states, licensed breeders must: * not mate a bitch less than 12 months old * not whelp more than six litters from one bitch * not sell a puppy until it is at least eight weeks of age…Of course not all breeders are registered and there are always 'hobby' breeders or those in secret locations in the countryside of Wales or Ireland running puppy mills, who dodge the system…At present breeders and pet shops in Japan are supposed to be registered and inspected by local authorities but the guidelines are vague and difficult to enforce. And where is the Japan Kennel Club in all this? It seems all they do is collect a registration fee and 'no questions asked.' In the mean- time breeders will be trying their utmost to produce a dog small enough to fit in a tea cup or a blue Chihuahua, in other words a mutant, to satisfy public demand and to make lots of money. The tragedy is that thousands of dogs suffer and die in the process. True breeders in Japan are as rare as a blue Chihuahua.

This excerpt is a clear picture of both the breeding situation in Japan, and the position—materially and in terms of opinion- of ARK in the breeder-pet shop-shelter scheme. This newsletter not only places blame on the breeders, but the failure of regulations and laws in existence, or enforced, to prevent the issues at hand (note: in 2015, a law was introduced that

made it illegal for breeders to dump the unsold and unsellable animals at the *hokensho* for disposal). Furthermore, they refer to the purchasers as mostly "first-timers" and as ignorant and gullible people looking for an accessory. This excerpt also points the blame at young unmarried women, and the retired, older generations – calling out the same issues addressed in articles on the *shoushika mondai* and the pet boom. Lastly, it also provides a comparison to the UK, pointing out what Japan supposedly lacks in terms of breeding regulations.

Discussions on animal welfare echoed the position in the above newsletter. The following interview excerpts are from the discussion on Japan's most significant animal welfare concern. Both are from Japanese staff members at an animal rescue non-profit organization:

> The biggest problem is how people impulse buy pets without thinking of the consequences and the factors that go into taking care of an actual pet. In Japan it's very easy to go and pay for a pet at a pet store. The pet stores are doing this as a business and they aren't thinking about animal welfare, and that leads to a lot of pets coming to shelters (Interview, Takeda-san, 2/5/2015).

> S: What is Japan's largest animal issue?
> T: Pet shops. It is easy for anyone to purchase a pet at a pet shop for just money, and so there are people who don't know how to take care of the pets. Some people even live in places where you can't have a pet or have an allergic relative and they don't know. So, there are many instances where pets are let go shortly after they are bought. We need stricter rules and regulations on who can buy pets (Taki-san, Interview, 2/9/2015).

The emotions expressed when discussing these issues should be noted as well. When discussing pet shops, even the shyest of interviewees had a good deal to say, and with quite a lot of emotion. This emotion includes anger, sadness, and a combination of both. For example, this excerpt from my fieldnotes while heading to lunch with a director of an animal rescue non-profit captures a moment of this affective reaction:

> Upon walking to our ramen shop we passed a pet shop with a sign for animal welfare. The sign had two young animals and a message about love and welfare. Sarah saw it and became irate and upset swiftly. She swiftly changed the subject, and her emotions turned to anger, as she talked about how they should not be

> using that poster – they have an animal welfare poster in their shop window and it is false advertising. Even worse – "it is associating animal welfare with the horrors of a pet shop." As we passed the pets for sale in the window, she said, "I can't even look" and, true to her word, did not even turn her head to the cute, infantile dogs and cats for sale (Fieldnotes, March 15th, 2015).

The sub themes of Westernization and Progress were often combined – and included comparisons of those "behind" in terms of animal welfare, as well (see Hoon and Fabre 2010 as an additional media example). For example, here is an excerpt from an interview with a young Japanese woman, Kara, involved in fostering:

> The problem has to do with the regulation and laws. In Europe, there are rules as to who can get a dog or a cat, but in Japan there is nothing like this. You'd think that Japan is one of the most developed countries in Asia, but as a whole, Asia is still Asia and there's a lot of people who don't realize animals are alive, and that they have their own rights (Interview March 16th, 2015).

The comparison to the West as an example of progress was common. For example:

> AM: It is getting better. There are places like this. Second hand dogs are not rubbish. Children are seeing it more in schools. They're starting to wake up to what they woke up to in the West, the link between child abuse and animal abuse.
> SM: What would be the drive for this change?
> AM: More exposure to Western Culture now, maybe not so insular. More access to travel and exposure (Interview, Marie, March 16th, 2015).

> Japanese as a whole, their understanding of animal welfare in general is really low compared to European and Western countries, so as a whole that is the overall big problem. They have the misconception that you should only buy dogs from pet shops, and not mixed dogs. They don't have a culture of adopting pets, just buying (Mira-san, Interview, February 6th, 2015).

> Countries like England or Germany that are really advanced with animal welfare and regulations, it's probably important to look at what they did. Like not having pet shops and making it so you cannot buy pets from pet shops or breeders, and that you have a lot of knowledge about the pets before they can adopt them (Taki-san, Interview, February 9th, 2015).

Ignorance as a sub-theme arose over and over. The type of ignorance is that of people not "yet" understanding that animals have lives, and perhaps even rights, of their own. The context

of this discussion often involved a comparison of people who have had pets and people who have not. For instance, Kara comments:

> The problem would be the killing of animals, how easy it is to buy dogs and cats from Pet shops. It's almost as if you're buying shoes or a new bag. The problem is not with the people who love cats and dogs, but with the people who don't have them. The norm is to buy pets from a pet store, and that is the biggest problem. The majority are people who decide to buy a cat or a dog, and then they develop a love for this animal and they realize this animal also has a life, and then realize there are animal welfare problems in Japan (Interview, March 16th, 2015).

Similarly, when I asked an opinion on why they believe animal welfare issues, or perceptions of animals, are changing in Japan, the most common response was, "living with animals." As the ARK newsletter notes, many people purchasing pets at the pet stores are "first-timers." It might be their first introduction to having a non-human companion. However, even if purchased as an accessory, or spontaneously, the act of having pets has the potential to change perceptions.

Progress is attributed largely to the internet. The ability for people to not only be exposed to these issues, but act on them directly – personally, or in an organized fashion – contributed to a changing society. More so, informants commented on the ability to not have to work within an organization, which might have stringent rules, guidelines, or difficult leaders to work with. This interview with Miko, a Japanese woman working with two organizations, highlights the change:

> The internet has made a large difference. Twitter, Facebook, etc. it is easier for people to get real time information. When something is put on the news that people disagree with, a mass amount of people can receive this information and respond. This isn't just with animal rights, but with everything. This is especially related to the earthquake. Protests against nuclear power, for instance. The government is now hearing from these people that animal lives need rights and help. Because of Facebook and twitter it is no longer organizations doing all the work. It's become personal. You see this message on Twitter and FB and you feel something and want to make a chance. What happens is you are now able to do something on a personal level. She is no longer part of an organization. I am now able to work personally. I no longer need to work under a director and under certain rules of an organization, I have the freedom to work directly towards the issue on my own.

Miko points out in this excerpt that it is not only the world of animal rescue that has seen these changes, but nuclear power protests and other disaster-related concerns. The influence of social media is a change seen in Japanese civil society overall.

FIGURE 35 – Observing in a *doubutsu ai* space – this one with "exotic" species

Human-Animal Interactions

One of the key themes that arose in coding was recorded interactions. These were split into three sections: human-animal interaction; animal-animal interaction; and human-human interaction (in discussions regarding animals). I had separate coded sections for human-animal communication and animal-animal communication, though the continuous overlap between the two coded items meant that they were combined in the end. The recorded interactions were primarily from observation or participant observation at my key research sites, but also include interactions observed at *doubutsu ai* spaces, in parks, and pet shops around Osaka's urban center

– as part of daily life. Once coded into these themes, I delineated interactions by gender, ethnicity, and age.

These three aspects were chosen based on research regarding *kawaii* culture, human-animal relationships in Japan, and based on the differences I became well aware of throughout my fieldwork. *Kawaii* culture is not only considered feminine, but it is expressed differently by gender. Both men and women partake in the linguistic and symbolic expression and adoration of *kawaii* culture in different form (see discussion on *kawaii* culture above). As discussed above, as well, changes in human-animal relationships are often attributed to gender (women choosing pets over children), age (young couples and empty-nesters), and foreign influence (Japanese interact differently from Westerners). Furthermore, key communication terms, such as *"kawaisou", "kawaii", "kashikoi", "genki"* (the most common terms used when interacting with dogs and cats) were coded and included and marked in regard to which animals received which form of sentiment.

FIGURE 36 – Volunteer cuddling Comet while saying, "*kawaii, ne*"

These interactions were explored to understand how, or if, differences were observable in the field – did women interact with animals differently than men, did children interact differently than adults or the elderly, and lastly, did Japanese participants interact differently than their Western co-workers and friends? Do these recorded interactions correspond to the literature regarding *kawaii* culture, Japanese perceptions of animals, or human-animal relationships in contemporary Japan?

The findings in regard to gender are in line with research on *kawaii* culture. Women were far more open with their excitement and adoration for *kawaii* features. One of the most common words heard throughout all aspects of the research, was, "*kawaii!!"* This occurred in sight of an animal, in discussing an animal's actions, in sharing a picture of an animal, or merely talking about why a person likes a dog, cat, or animals in general. While both men and women were open with saying, "*kawaii*" – women did so in a more emotive fashion than most men. Women were open with excitement, using high-pitched voices. Men would say "*kawaii*" often, but in a neutral tone.

Further, the use of a similar phrase, "*kawaisou*" was used primarily by women. This word means, "pitiful" or "how pathetic/sad". This is often said in response to a dog whining or barking, a cat meowing, or even an animal misbehaving in some form. The misbehavior is interpreted as the animal's need for attention, and so the response is to look sad towards the animal and utter, "*kawaiisou."* I do not have any recorded instances of men saying, *"kawaiisou."*

FIGURE 37 – At an adoption event, an elderly woman approached me as I held this puppy. ignoring me entirely, she gentle grasped his paw and gazed into his eyes, saying, "You grow big and strong now, you hear?"

Lastly, it was more common for women to baby talk the animals, regardless of age. This was similar in all nationalities, with noted exceptions. The exceptions include two women directors of animal rescues who rarely baby talked the animals, but instead spoke to them neutrally, almost as equals. They addressed them and spoke to them more equally and directly than they did their own staff. In comparison, the women staff members were open with baby talk

and high-pitched expressions of adoration. A second exception was foreign men. Foreign volunteer men were more prone to talk in baby-talk and loudly exclaim their adoration for an animal as compared to Japanese male volunteers and staff.

It is important to note that the context in which these interactions take place may have had an impact on how staff interact (volunteers would be less affected by the NPO atmosphere). For instance, one male staff member at ARK explained to me, after I noted the cuteness of an office dog, "I view animals as having individual personalities, not as just 'cute.'" This differentiation was in the context of a conversation regarding the importance of not being too sentimental towards animals, but instead being realistic.

Regarding touch and interactions, there were little differences noted in gender. In the break areas at shelters, it was common for women to hold the smaller dogs like babies, baby-talking them. However, as there were far more women volunteers, it is not clear if this is a pattern. In regard to age and ethnicity, however, there were notable differences.

Western foreigner volunteers of all ages – though most were young adults – were far more interactive with the dogs than Japanese volunteers. They would hug, pet, and even wrestle with the dogs. Japanese volunteers – especially if new – would be more distant. They might pat them on the head, or even obtain from touching them more than necessary. For example, the following are common daily observations:

A. A Japanese volunteer enters a kennel with a staff member. The staff member says hello to the dog and introduced the dog. The volunteer does not kneel or touch the dog in any way. The staff hands the leash to the volunteer and explains where to go. The volunteer returns after the walk and removes the leash with minimal touch. She then leaves the kennel.
B. A foreign volunteer approaches a dog for a walk. He introduces himself to the animal, crouching down as his eye level and allowing the dog to jump up on his shoulders. He laughs and talks to the dog, ruffling his fur. He then attaches the leash and takes him on a walk, talking to the animal all the while. When returning, he kneels and says goodbye to the dog before leaving. He makes eye contact with the dog often.

C. A Japanese staff enters the kennel of a dog, and kneels down in front of the dog, saying hi and petting his neck. She puts on his harness, while baby talking him and telling him what's going to happen (walk with a volunteer). When the volunteer returns with the dog, the staff says "*okaeri*" to the dog, or "welcome home" and smiles at him.

The largest differences here are in terms of touch, communication, and eye contact with the dog. Whereas long-term regular volunteers act more like the staff members, newer volunteers often have little idea how to interact with a dog. In speaking with them, and in interviews, I learned that this occurs for two reasons. First, some simply had never had a dog before – this is truly their first interaction with a dog. Second, and most commonly, these dogs are different from the dogs they have interacted with. The dogs most volunteers have met are from pet shops. They are often smaller, more obedient, and cleaner. These dogs live outdoors, might have been stray animals, and could come with any number of behavioral issues or personalities. Dogs with aggression, hyperactivity, or physical ailments are swiftly weeded out at breeders, but not at shelters. Thus, volunteers report feeling unsure, even scared around these animals (volunteer motivations further discussed in Chapter 5). In contrast, the staff are not only used to these dogs, but dogs of all varieties and types. More so, the staff is trained and well acquainted with these animals and clearly have relationships with all of them (sometimes positive, sometimes negative).

As shelter dogs are common in many nations in the West, foreigner volunteers are often used to dogs of many varieties. Notably, the foreigners at these shelters are often those already acquainted with animal rescue in their own country. Whereas many Japanese volunteers come to shelters such as ARK for a nice brisk walk and/or the sights of cute dogs and cats, foreign volunteers report coming primarily to help out with animals. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

DISCUSSION

It is important to note that the perception of pets, and the attitudes and treatment of pets discussed below is not representative of all of Japan. Indeed, one overriding finding was that pet-keeping and perceptions of pets are highly regional. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6. More so, the perspectives captured here are all from the context of staff and volunteers working with animal welfare in Japan – they are the people who pick up the pieces of the social problem of animal abandonment. Further, this chapter focuses on the mainstream pet shops that are found in urban centers, often as a part of a greater shopping mall. These shops rely on selling highly-priced pure-bred kittens, puppies, exotic animals, and so on, to passersby stricken by their cuteness. This chapter does not capture the relationships between seller, consumer, and perceptions of animals in regions in which pet shops are not involved in the process.

With this context in mind, I found that in Japan the pet as an animal-as-such (Shapiro 2008) or biological being with needs may be marginalized by those unfamiliar with pet-keeping. This is especially the case when the animal serves as a palette upon which the desired characteristics of an animal, such as *kawaii* characteristics, are pushed via breeding and advertisement. This process can be compared to the relationship one might have with a bonsai tree. In the case of the bonsai, however, it is the essence of nature that is idealistically perfected upon the form of the tree, in the case of pets, it can be the embodiment of *kawaii* culture that is perfected and embodied in the animal. This marginalization is viewed in the sellers of these pets, the consumers' expectations, and the reasons and modes of abandonment or disposal of the animal bodies.

My informants unanimously agreed that pet shops, and pet shop related practices (breeding, disposal), are the largest animal welfare problem in Japan. Pets are bred in droves by barely regulated breeders, bred to be as small and cute as possible, and sold as small and cute as

possible. The common pet in Japan is often derived from private breeders and sold in pet shops. Adoptions from shelters are rarely offered, and the few offerings only recently came into being with a few non-profit organizations scattered across the country. Hart, et al. (1998) suggests one cultural reason for the reliance on pet shop purchases, "…animals in public shelters are presumed to be part of a family and that relationship is respected, the convention generally precludes giving an animal to anyone who is not already the owner, and therefore they cannot be adopted out. Newborn puppies or kittens lack a history with a family" (158).

As with owners of pets, the conditions of breeders can vary. Similarly, pet shops can resemble upscale spotless stores to a series of feces-covered cages with price tags haphazardly taped on. Regulations and animal welfare laws do little to impact the conditions in which the breeders and these shops keep their animals. The Environment Ministry, which has jurisdiction over all Japanese pets, has only four officials to monitor all of 25,000 pet shops, kennels and breeders in Japan (Fackler 2006). Hidekazu Kawanabe, one of the country's top Chihuahua breeders explains, "There are a lot of bad breeders out there who see dogs as nothing more than an industrial product to make quick money" (Fackler 2006:2).

The breeders sell to pet shops that are placed throughout busy city centers, alongside other shops selling cuteness. But these consumer goods are living - they are living creatures who have been groomed (literally or otherwise) to embody *kawaii* culture. Advertisements place cartoon animals next to flesh-and-blood kittens and puppies who look almost identical, stressing this connection. These pet shops are set up to appeal to people's desire for this cuteness, this escape from responsibility (Kinsella 1995). What the consumer is receiving is a large biological responsibility. If the pet is not sold within their young and cute age, their price is cut until they are determined unsellable. During my fieldwork, a law was passed that halted the practice of

merely dumping these animals in "nature", often on a riverside (alive or dead). Now, the pet stores and breeders had to find an alternative for the large surplus of companion animals they are producing. This law speaks to the problem of treating living creatures as goods who are not just consumable, but who come with a short expiration date.

Words commonly used in interviews and field note conversations included the perception of pets by consumers as, "mere toys"; "fashion accessories"; "playthings" for people who "don't even realize they are real." The story of the dog who never touched the ground is an illustrative example of Berger's dire assertion of what pets have become in urban settings. For at least the "first-timers'" pets, the lives the animals lead may be at odds with their needs. Living space is limited. Pet health has become a running problem due to the lack of exercise within such small quarters. While apartments and condos almost always come with small balconies, expansive yards are a rarity even in rural homes. Space to exercise is scant, though parks are increasing to meet demand, and often at a price. One busy dog park's director charges the yen equivalent of $12 a visit for dogs to enter, "The dog park is barely 50m square and it quickly gets crowded at weekends. But some of the visitors travel an hour by train just to get there" (Scanlon 2001). Cats and other animals that require a yard to roam are not as lucky. Obesity, high blood pressure, and other sedentary health issues are increasingly being addressed by the pet industry with new products to aid these aging animals (Yano Research Institute 2009). Recalling the story of the Border Collie who jumped from a high-rise window, ending his high-anxiety-life, it is clear to see the danger involved in not knowing the needs and realities of pet-keeping prior to purchase/adoption.

With this is mind, it is promising to hear from my informants that one of the drivers for change is simply owning a companion animal. Even those who purchase a pet from a store,

spontaneously, because the animal is cute – the process of living with that being and getting to know the needs and inner-world of another species is potentially transformative. This is the first step in not only becoming a more responsible pet owner, but for many of my informants, learning about animal welfare. In witnessing human-animal interactions at the shelters, I saw countless first-time pet owners properly meet a dog for the first time. The first interactions were awkward, with the humans having far to go in learning key elements, such as boundaries, affection, and discipline with another species.

In contrast to the shelter adoption, which is a lengthy and informative process, obtaining a pet from a pet shop can happen spontaneously, after seeing the puppy or kitten in the window. In these situations, it may be that a person is adopting merely an idea of a pet, a social construction of an animal based on the *kawaii* ideal. In this case, the biological and social needs of the individual may prove detrimental for the pet's survival. For instance, a small, round, fluffy Pomeranian may lack the silent and sweet aspects of a *kawaii* depiction imagined upon purchase. She may be a barker, or perhaps even a biter, leading to her disposal. This fits well with the responses often given for animal abandonment at the shelters I worked with. People often state having had no idea how to deal with the animal, complaining of behaviors that are quite normal for the breed at hand, not being able to handle the reality of shedding or the smell of dog poo – all speaking to a lack of awareness of these beings as having their own biological needs, their own agency, of not just being an escape, but another responsibility.

Despite this new fuzzy role pets have in Japan, despite pets increasingly finding themselves loved and adored as almost family members, they are still socially and politically vulnerable. There is an astounding lack of a safety net for pets in Japan. Were an animal to be abandoned or relinquished by an owner in America, for instance, the animal would enter into a

shelter, a foster system, and so on, after being assessed. Depending on where the animal lives, there are varying chances of euthanasia. Whereas in America, too, large powerful groups such as HSUS, PETA, Mercy for Animals, etc., lobby for animal welfare progress on a grander scale. In Japan, again, this is not the case. There are groups, such as ALIVE, JAWS, and animal rescue non-profits, such as those I worked with, but they come nowhere close to the lobbying power and public influence of those seen in America. I will discuss more of this in Chapter 4.

FIGURE 38 – The Dream Machine, which gasses multiple companion animals at once

Finally, the disposal of animals is also telling. One of the top issues cited as a problem by my informants was this gassing by the *hokensho*, or Japanese animal control. Whereas pets are increasingly coming into the home and treated with warmth and care, the *hokensho* is the opposite of this. The one I toured was hands off. The dogs are placed into metal cages and given a number of days. After those days are up, the walls in the cage are made to push the dogs out to

a hallway. The wall in that hallway pushes the dogs towards a truck fit with a “dream machine”, or a mechanism for gassing animals. The dogs then are driven around while being gassed – a gas that takes 15 minutes to end their life in a choking, gasping fashion. Why do they drive them around? Because they could not get the locals to agree with having the animals killed in their town – thus, this is what they came up with – technically, they do not die there, or anywhere specifically, but throughout the area. This combination of caring about the deaths of these animals, while simultaneously not caring is what interests me here.

Stray dogs are not common in Japan, even in most rural areas. Thus, the dogs who end up at the *hokensho* were perhaps at one time companion animals, or the offspring of bred or unplanned companion animals. The large number of animals gassed each year has resulted in various regions aiming to go no-kill by 2020. The reaction to this lofty goal by my informants was not optimistic, with the majority saying it is a mere pipe dream, with no structures in place to achieve it. The goal is, like pet shops, often touted alongside *kawaii* imagery of companion animals – happy, cute, young companion animals - not a mangy or flea-ridden stray in sight.

CONCLUSION

Berger asserts that urban pets have become physically and culturally marginalized, leaving puppets or "realistic toys" behind in environments lacking anything reminiscent of their past habitats, and certainly a far cry from their wilder ancestors. They serve as an extension of their owners' lifestyle, at times with little regard that they are biological beings at all. The idealized and "tamed" pet wearing the trendy cute accessories can be a mere temporary and disposable object of affection and entertainment, or a beloved family member.

Pet owners in Japan are as diverse as the pets they choose. This chapter presents a small lens into urban pet-store sourced animals as living materializations of *kawaii* fashion – alongside

clothing and fashion objects matching this *kawaii* ideal. In a similar manner in which the Japanese are said to enjoy nature, via Kellert's early 90s survey, in a tamed, controlled, aesthetic fashion, such as seen in a bonsai tree, these animals may not only be acting as an idealized form of a particular species of an animal, but as an idealized embodiment of *kawaii* culture. While these animals are bred to match these ideals, they are nonetheless animal bodies. They have instincts, needs, and desires. They grow old, they smell, they make noise, they need to run and play, they poop. These biological realities, especially among new pet owners who bought the animal on a whim, may lead to the animal's abandonment.

As with *ikebana*, the ability to "frame," or disregard those parts of the plant that the owner may find as "raw nature" may further shed light on the disregard of the gassing or euthanasia (discussed further in chapter 6) of thousands of strays each year while pet owners continue to dote upon their own pet. The discarded pets, just like the bonsai, cease to be groomed and trimmed and quickly revert back to the wild, uncontrolled nature of which they are truly a part. Their animality becomes unappealing or even threatening, and therefore, these strays and unwanted pets are only considered in mind, rather than body – hence the concern that they not be destroyed in their village limits, but it is acceptable that they are destroyed.

Chapter Four: "Compassionate, not Sentimental": Identity, Emotion, and Conflict in Animal Rescue NPOs

ABSTRACT
The animal rescue non-profit organizations who aided in 3-11 disaster aftermath efforts are marginalized due to a variety of intersectional identities. Due in part to this marginalization, they are often isolated, secretive, and in conflict with other, similar organizations. From an intersectional lens, I question how the marginalized animal rescue organizations navigate systems of power in which their associations with foreignness, gender, and stray animals result in compounded challenges, including difficulty accessing post-disaster resources and strained ties with local and government institutions. Furthermore, I examine how their outsider status, both personally and as an organization, has created steep obstacles for the growth of animal welfare efforts in Japan.

OVERVIEW

Cigarette smoke filled the air as I jotted down fieldnotes on the famously cluttered dining room table. Swallows ducked in and out through the open window, their nests safe in the corners of the English cottage in the middle of this rural Japanese countryside. Elizabeth Oliver sat to the side of me, staring off into the distance as she pauses in her story. I had asked Elizabeth to talk about how non-profit organization, Animal Refuge Kansai, was in the early days. Speaking in her refined British accent, but with a harshness that spoke to the difficulties she has experienced, she told the story of a pony rescue.

> I had been asking [Liz] questions about her early life in Japan and she told me of a time she was driving home in her small car, along the rural mountain roads near Nose-cho. She passed by a house with a pony. This pony was standing up to his knees in mud and waste and looked neglected and forgotten. She immediately stopped her car and marched up to the house. She knocked on the door and three Japanese men come out to see this petite British woman on their porch. "Whose pony is this?" she asked them. They laughed and said it was theirs. "Why is he in this state?" she inquired. They simply laughed at her and shrugged. It did not matter to them that the pony was in a poor condition. Liz stood tall and stated, "I'm taking him." Now, the men laughed even harder. "How are you going to get a pony in that little car?" they asked, pointing to her small vehicle. Liz simply responded, "I'll walk."
>
> With that, she unhooked the pony and led him out of the muck. The men just stood, speechless, as she left with the animal. It was fairly late in the day already,

> and she was still quite far from her home –it would take hours to walk back. She concluded the story by telling me, "That pony and I really got to know each other well that evening."

I choose this story to begin this chapter because it illustrates the social dynamics I would continue to see throughout my fieldwork. The animal rescuer as a foreign woman. The ridicule of her actions. And the allowance of her to continue – oftentimes because her presence and actions are not taken seriously. It is her identities that both holds her back and allow her to move forward.

Whereas Chapter 3 introduced human-animal relationships and the state of animal welfare in Japan, this chapter is focused on how the internal obstacles of the animal rescue non-profit organizations who operate in this climate. Every organization I visited differed in structure, opinions on animal welfare issues, animal handling, and on the future of animal rescue in Japan. Despite the differences within and between organizations, there were notable similarities due to their identity, struggles and similar mission in the context of Japan's third sector.

To narrow and make tangible this topic and the supportive material, I have chosen to focus on one organization as the center point: Animal Refuge Kansai. This organization was chosen for several reasons. First, it is one of the oldest animal rescue non-profit organizations in Japan. Second, it was the one with which I spent the majority of my time, and thus, have a wealth of data about. Finally, it has served as a nexus for other, similar groups to arise – either by directly influencing them or serving as an example. Notably, even those organizations who disliked ARK, or the staff within, acknowledged ARK as a good place for animals and a promising example for the potential of shelters in Japan. I will utilize the key themes and related

excerpts from semi-structured interview with staff members who have been a part of this organization for at least a decade.

The themes that arose from a deep look into animal rescue NPOs expose a number of significant vulnerabilities. These vulnerabilities were cracks in the foundation of these NPOs prior to 3-11. Thus, when new infrastructure, social relations, economic needs, media attention, and droves of companion species appeared on scene post-disaster, the fissures ruptured – exposing key problems within the Japanese animal welfare landscape, as well as within individual NPOs. These themes include: the impact of identity and the related outsider status, the role of emotion and affect, and the voluntary isolation and conflict that dominate the animal welfare terrain in Japan.

To explore these themes, I engage with current conversations regarding affect and emotion between humans and non-human others – particularly affect, "becomings" (Haraway 2008) and emotional management within NPOs. Overlapping with these conversations is that of intersectional identity and marginalization in Japanese society. Intersectionality is defined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) as a means to explore the social, political, and legal issues immigrant women of color experience due to their overlapping identities. Intersectionality is especially relevant here because of the multitude of identities that are at play in the world of Japanese animal welfare, and the dependence on context in how they play out. For example, to be a British woman running a Japanese organization results in disadvantages in interactions with, for example, Japanese bureaucracy. To be a woman, and one working in care work, may lead to a lack of authority acknowledged in such official contexts. However, the same woman in the context of a Japanese animal welfare meeting – especially one with international actors - may experience privileges due to perceptions of British animal welfare as exceptional. This context-

specific dance of privilege and disadvantage is best examined through the frame of intersectionality as it gives space to the complexity and daily dance of privilege.

In this chapter, I look at how the overlapping identities of NPO staff and volunteers impact their experiences during the 3-11 disaster, particularly in regard to resource access and inclusion in the third sector.

ANIMAL REFUGE KANSAI

As a foundation for understanding the internal obstacles discussed in this chapter, I will briefly introduce ARK's founding and development. Specifically, I will provide a brief background as to how ARK has transformed through the two major disasters, in 1995 and 2011, from the perspective of Jake and other long-term staff. Jake first discovered ARK the way many others do – by finding themselves in a place with an animal in need. The following story was recounted to be in our interview on April 1st, 2015. I share it both to illustrate how volunteers/staff become acquainted with animal rescue in the early days, before googling was a daily function, and to paint a picture of animal rescue in the early 90s.

> So then, the Day of Destiny. It was the summer of '96 and I needed a spare tire. I knew this place five minutes away and so I drove over. There, I saw this huge husky, chained, with a large bloody wound by his ear. At that time, we already had four cats, so I knew the local vet….so I looked at that dog and thought… (shakes head sadly) …and the owner wasn't picking up the poop, it was just being sprayed with a hose. So, I went inside, he found a tire for my car. I said, in my broken Japanese, "I know a vet and I can pay for the dog's ear." The mechanic just said, "Oh he's fine, no problem." So, I remembered reading about ARK in this English magazine…I was searching for materials for my students and there was an article about this British woman in the mountains. So I called Liz in the mountains, explained the whole thing to her. I asked her what I could do, and Liz told me that talking to the man won't help, it won't get across. Then she asked, "Can you steal the dog?" (Laughter)
>
> This woman I'd never met, talked to her for two minutes and she's asking me to steal a dog. Liz said she has done this hundreds of times. That is the solution. If you want to help the dog, this is what you do. I'll tell you how to do it, she said. I was like, "uh…ok". But I was not going to let the dog suffer. So, Liz

> said, "You go on a Friday night at 3am…is he friendly?" I said yes, I touched him, he was big, but friendly. "So, what you do is you take a car and grab him and drive down the road about ten minutes and then assess the situation, see how he's doing. And then drive here. Deal with what's going on in the car later, get the dog out of the situation in five minutes. Then just deal with whatever is going on in the car later." This was really good advice.
>
> So, I did it. I went there at 3am and he hopped right in. I'd never been to ARK before. I met Liz at a Mister Donuts and showed her the dog and she said, "Let's go to the vet." We went, and the vet said would call later after he did some tests. And then we drove to ARK and went to her house. I was totally blown away. Earthquake dogs were still at ARK. All kinds of volunteers, international and Japanese. The vet called, and he said it was cancer. I started crying like a baby. Liz just sat there, smoking. She calmly asked me what I want to do. Let's let the vet have a shot at it, she said, and I said, "Ok, if you think that's ok..." She said ARK would pay for it. She told the vet to go ahead. And then as I was driving home, I thought, "How many times has she been in that situation…that's her whole life." At this point she'd already quit teaching English. So, from that day I was involved in ARK. Even after the dog died, I kept at it.

As Jake recounts, the early days of ARK were a bit more "Wild West" than the current law-abiding non-profit version. However, certain themes arise from the above story that remain true even in the organization today. Namely, the decisive and experienced nature of Elizabeth Oliver and the emotional distance necessary to carry on the work day in and day out.

Other staff came to ARK as a volunteer and decided to stay. This was the case for Okawa-san, a middle-aged Japanese woman from Osaka who has worked at ARK for over twenty years.

> I always had pets as a kid, but when I got married and moved to Osaka I decided not to get any pets because it would be a lot of responsibility and hard to go on vacation. And then one day I saw an article in the newspaper that talked about a retired dog from a special needs program, and ARK was one of the places where this dog had come. And so I came to ARK to meet this dog who needed a host. I met Oliver-san and saw a pamphlet asking for volunteers. I knew I could make my own hours. I volunteered a while and decided to stay. The main reason I became a full-time staff was because of the Great Hanshin Earthquake – there was a huge influx of dogs and cats and the volunteer work was not enough. They needed staff (Interview, February 8th, 2015).

This method of becoming a staff was common back in the early days. More recently, staffs come from two-year specialty schools, where students learn animal care. For example, students now come in with specialties in grooming, with dealing with clinic help, and so on.

FIGURE 39 – Andrew and Seven Mattes with Elizabeth Oliver

ARK was established in 1990 with the aim of rescuing, rehabilitating, and rehoming homeless companion animals (Oliver 2008). During this time, there were only small, isolated and poorly funded organizations dotted across the country. Elizabeth Oliver set out to do something different than what she experienced thus far in the Japanese animal welfare arena. ARK began when Elizabeth made a respectful break with JAWS (Japan Animal Welfare Society). Jake recounts this story,

> At that time, [JAWS was] like everybody else, you kept animals for a certain amount of time and then you euthanized them. Well, killing. It was not euthanizing. There were some puppies, about seven of them, they came into Hanshin JAWS and the clock started. Liz frantically tried to find homes, she knew she needed to find homes by a certain time, and she worked hard and played by

> the rules. The day before the deadline, she said to the board, "I'm so close, give me one more day." And they said no, that is the rule. Liz told me that at that moment, ARK was born (Interview, April 1st, 2015).

ARK rose out of the inflexibility and lack of choice regarding adopting out homeless animals. JAWS, the organization she was working with, also has roots in Britain. JAWS was created when two British women, wives of military occupation workers, saw the state of horses and dogs following World War II. Established in 1956 in London, the organization exists today and occasionally works with ARK, in various capacities. According to Jake, it was the respectful honesty with which Elizabeth broke off ties with JAWS that retained their relationship and mutual support. JAWS aided in purchasing the home ARK currently uses as their office.

ARK was established as a non-profit organization in 1999. Within this decade, 1990-1999, ARK experienced a major earthquake close to home, the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, which transformed the organization entirely.

To talk about animal rescue non-profit organizations in Japan is to talk about Japan's recent history with major disasters. The shelters within these organizations ebb and flow with the tide of need. With the need that accompanies disaster comes donations, volunteers, infrastructural and organizational change, and a mix of new actors and, thus, innovative ideas. The period of disaster aftermath is a time in which these new actors come together to rebuild, socially, structurally, and economically. This space of change is driven by the physical and symbolic space opened by the disaster at hand. While this sounds idealistic, the results are often far more chaotic. This is especially true at ARK. (Note: aspects of this growth, and the sometimes-catastrophic consequences, are also discussed in Chapter 2.)

All organizations I worked with were heavily impacted, if not created, by the recent 2011 Tōhoku disaster. However, for ARK, which was formed in the early 90s, it was the Kobe

earthquake in 1995 that determined its future. Jake explains, "That's what happened in Kobe…that's the reason ARK is where it is today, because Liz went on TV and said, 'if you're in a situation where you can sleep out in the cold with your dog or put it down and sleep in a gym, come here.' After she went on TV and did that 200 dogs came in a week" (Interview, April 1st, 2015). Marie, a vet nurse involved with ARK since 1993, stated on the Kobe quake, "It was a chaotic time. It was absolutely chaotic. It was a time of growth, a time of change. If Kobe hadn't have happened, I don't think ARK would be as it is today. I don't think animal welfare in Japan would be as it is today" (Interview, August 5th, 2014).

This disaster occurred on ARK's doorstep. It was a two-hour drive away from the shelter, and they all felt the quake where they slept. Elizabeth shared that she remembers waking up and finding no one at ARK. The staff members, volunteers were all missing. She tried to phone, but the lines were down. Slowly, they started showing up and reporting damage to their homes. Once word got out as to the dire straits Kobe was in, "the response was immediate. We had to do something" (Interview, August 5th, 2014). According to Marie, "At the time you had people living in horrific conditions, apartment buildings with floors sandwiched down so floor 3 is now floor 2, and people didn't know what to do with their animals, and the government wasn't sure" (Interview, August 5th, 2014). Marie emphasized, "There needed to be a local base for the disaster animals and the only person doing anything was ARK. In 1995 there was ARK. That was it. So, this had to be the base of disaster aftermath for animals." Acting as base meant they became the hub of activity for foreign and local volunteers. "We had a lot of foreign volunteers, and a lot of Japanese volunteers…this was the place that was doing it. ARK was basically it. There wasn't a lot going on back then for animal welfare" (Interview, August 5th, 2014).

Marie noted that all the volunteers slept side-by-side in the small upstairs room of the house (now converted into an office space, break room and an apartment for a long-term staff member– the location where most interviews took place). She slept near the edge, so she would not have to step on any other volunteers when she was awoken in the middle of the night for emergencies. The words used most to describe this time period is "chaotic", and "overwhelming". Many of the animals were traumatized, unsocialized, struggling with their entire world disappearing overnight. Some were hurt. Some died of depression or anxiety from the conditions (Interview, August 5th, 2014). Despite the chaos, Marie hammered in that they kept strict rules to keep as much order as possible.

> Even though it was shoestring, we had very specific and tight guidelines. We tried to keep the animals coming in quarantined. We had vets come up. We were sure to let the owners know that any dogs were going to be vaccinated and neutered. We were taking on the expense and we must do this. We took them for free. Some put up a fight, but what other choice did they have (Interview, August 5th, 2014).

It was choices like this, in the midst of the storm, that set the stage for ARK's ability to survive the disaster.

I interviewed a British woman, Rachel, who came to ARK in 1998, about three years after the Kobe quake. She was looking around the space and explaining how everything looked different back then. She said it was still hectic, and full to the brim with earthquake animals. "Everyone used to just chip in and get on with it really. Some would do certain tasks because they were more competent" (Interview, March 19th, 2015). In Rachel's memory, it was a lot of long days, morning to night, primarily walking dogs. The majority of volunteers were Japanese, but there were two other international volunteers, as well as Jake and Marie. "Marie was really helpful, she knew the place well. She taught me about animal care, as she was vet nurse trained. I remember Marie standing out and she would direct the volunteers coming in and they would

work all day, every day. And it was hot in September." Rachel described ARK in this early post-disaster days as a sort of ordered chaos. They still worked dawn to dusk, and the tasks never ended, but they had a handle on it.

I was informed by multiple older staff that these early days after the quake were said to be less structural, with flexible roles and staff. These older staff, Elizabeth included, look on those days with nostalgia. Everyone would simply jump up to do a task, rather than need to be instructed or have it in their job description. When speaking to Jake about this perspective, he simply laughed. He said the casual nature has certainly been exchanged for structure and hierarchy (he described it as becoming "more Japanese"), but that it is necessary for ARK to function – especially if Elizabeth steps down. Okawa-san echoes this sentiment, explaining that the staff is now trained and ready for the work needed at ARK, whereas before it was merely interested, but inexperienced, volunteers like herself running the show (Interview, February 8th, 2015).

As Marie noted above, it was this disaster that defined what ARK is today. The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake was a catastrophic event. The 7.0 earthquake's epicenter was near a major urban center, Kobe City, which resulted in massive infrastructural damage, leading to the death and displacement of hundreds of thousands of citizens. To make matters worse, this disaster exposed poor disaster management on the part of the government. Resources were not able to reach those in need in a timely matter. Further, the government refused to accept foreign aid, despite the dire need of the people. Not surprisingly given the poor situation for human citizens, there was little to no response to aid the non-human animals struggling in the aftermath. Evacuation shelters would not permit animals. In her work *Best Friends* (1999), Elizabeth notes

hearing of a family taking turns sleeping rough with a 13-year-old Maltese as the hotel in Osaka refused to allow him entry.

Elizabeth explained that countless people saw no option other than euthanasia for their pets. ARK, thus, put out the word that they can provide a safe space for companion animals. Given most forms of communication were down, they made flyers and found the help of a Tokyo motorcycle gang to help distribute. During this time, help came in the form of international animal welfare organizations. The International Fund for Animal Welfare set up shop in Elizabeth's kitchen, led by Annamieka Roell. Together, along with international and local volunteers, they rescued over 500 dogs. Elizabeth notes that she is not sure what would have happened if they had not taken in these animals. The Hyogo Veterinary Association "belatedly" set up a rescue center, as did JAWS, but both closed within a year – leaving ARK to take in animals from these minimal shelters. More so, Elizabeth notes that funds were not ever provided to ARK, despite a large fund existing of donations to help the animals who experienced the earthquake. This fund was, supposedly, to help future earthquakes. This Kyuen Honbu is discussed in Chapter 2 in the context of the 2011 disaster, where once again it failed to be distributed where needed. Elizabeth notes in *Best Friends* (1995),

> The earthquake was indeed a watershed for ARK. We could never go back to being the small intimate group of volunteers we had been. Through media attention and word of mouth ARK had become well known not only in Kansai but throughout Japan. The whole organization had expanded three-fold, both in terms of animal numbers and staff to care from them. People changed. We lost friends who preferred the old ARK, the way it had been before the quake, but we gained a lot of wonderful volunteers many of whom are still coming regularly to ARK… The overseas volunteers contributed their energy and dedication. In the two years after the quake we had over 30 volunteers from abroad, most of whom came in on tourist visas and were therefore only permitted to stay three months because Japan has no visa system for volunteers. People we have never met and who have never seen ARK sent generous donations and many still support us from afar. It is really heart-warming to know there are those out there who still remember the forgotten earthquake animals at ARK. For me personally it was the most stressful but

> fulfilling time of my life. I quit being an English teacher to become a full-time guardian of the family of animals at ARK. One second in time changed my life forever (13).

It was not until my fieldwork in 2015 that the Earthquake section of ARK's shelter was taken down. This was now called K3, or Kennel 3. The owner of the land it was built upon had passed and the family wanted the space. It had been 20 years, and the space was nonetheless almost always filled with furry residents. As K3 was dismantled, I saw memories unfold, including a large painted sign along a building that read, "EARTHQUAKE ANIMALS," meant to help those in need find their way to ARK in this rural mountainous village.

Following this earthquake, ARK was far more well-known in both Japan and on the international arena. They were invited to conferences, donations were brought in from abroad, and volunteers and foreign vets came to aid in the long-term aftermath. As Okawa-san explained, "The disaster spread the word of ARK. Before the quake, there were 50 or so dogs and after the quake there were hundreds. The name and, most importantly, the concept of ARK became known not only throughout Japan, but internationally as well" (Interview, February 8th, 2015).

Nearly two decades later, the Tōhoku disaster hit Northeastern Japan. This time, the disaster was not at their doorstep, and there were a number of other groups that has begun animal rescue operations throughout the country. ARK was no longer the only player on the field. The day after the Tōhoku earthquake, ARK was contacted by three other foreign-run groups regarding a collaborative effort to tackle the gigantic animal rescue need. These three groups are the other key organizations I worked with during my fieldwork. After much deliberation, Elizabeth declined to participate in their collaboration. Marie stated, "Yeah, it's not even about picking and choosing the animals you rescue as a group but using your funds correctly. They didn't have the experience of this, whereas ARK did. The long-term is important to account for.

You have to think, how are we going to manage for ten years." Elizabeth explained the actions ARK did take,

> It was a totally different situation. Kobe was on the doorstep of ARK. Tōhoku…you had to take water, food, for people and animals, and drive for 16 hours. What we would do is meet Tokyo ARK staff and then fly the animals we rescued back. I went three times, and some of our staff here just remained up there and continued to send back rescues. This was around April 2011 (Interview August 5th, 2014).

ARK chose to independently rescue and otherwise aid animals in the disaster aftermath. This decision was brought on for a number of reasons, some which will be discussed below in the section on conflict and isolation, and ultimately determined the outcome of the organization.

IDENTITY

The staff and volunteers I worked with were often socially or and/or self-identified outsiders. In Chapter 3, I discussed how animal welfare is associated with foreignness. Thus, those who work within are associated with foreignness, despite ethnicity. Further, as animal rescue and working with stray and feral animals is uncommon – outside of animal control – those who work and volunteer within this area are further constructed as outsiders, perhaps "strays" in their own society. Whereas urban pet-keeping is depicted and idealized as clean, pure bred, and cute, animal rescue at these sites is dirty, wet, stinky, and even dangerous. The animals can be not only mixed breeds, but sometimes ill and/or unsocialized. The last identity I will discuss here is gender, specifically femininity, as a key aspect of these organizations. All four organizations I worked with were headed by women and staffed primarily by women.

In discussing identity, I am doing so from the perspective that it is dynamic and socially constructed. De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg (2006a) define social constructionism in relation to identity as follows,

> [Social constructionism is] the assumption that identity is a process that (1) takes place in concrete and specific interactional occasions, (2) yields constellations of identities instead of individual, monolithic constructs, (3) does not simply emanate from the individual, but results from the process of negotiation, and entextualization (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) that are eminently social, and (4) entails "discursive work" (Zimmerman and Wieder, 1970) (De Fina, 2).

The dynamic, fluid process of identity construction occurs in relation to other social actors. Furthermore, identity is entrenched in social processes (Foucault 1978), within a given cultural context. The people involved in animal rescue have different identities depending on the context in which they are found. For example, a Japanese animal rescuer will be perceived differently among other animal rescuers as opposed to Japanese society in general. Here, I focus on how identity may result in an obstacle when working with outside institutions, such as local governmental institutions.

Foreign

In Japan, foreigners will exist as outsiders despite the number of years they spend within the country (Takeyuk 2003). Physically, linguistically, and in terms of socialization, their foreignness is given away. Foreign volunteers and ex-pats spoke of this as a double-edged sword. On one hand, they are given the go ahead to do whatever you please because you will never fit in, regardless of what you try. On the other hand, you will never belong (Takeyuk 2003; Moody 2014). Elizabeth Oliver told me a story one night, when driving home after an ARK event, relating to her attempt to "be Japanese." My fieldnotes recorded the following narrative:

> When I first moved here [Nose-cho], we came upon some horses. I had land, but I needed to build a fence to hold them in. I went to the village board and asked them permission to build this fence for the horses. Well, they said ok, but I need to get the approval of everyone in the village. Ok, then. I set out and did everything correctly. I knocked on doors, I brought cakes and chatted with every house wife. I followed all the rules and did all the right things. It took so long. I eventually had everyone's approval, right? So, I created a big fence-raising party. We would build the fence and have a picnic, you know…Well the day came of the big event and we had all the materials, everyone came, and right when we began building a man comes running down to us from his car. Huffing and puffing he told me, "Someone just said they don't want this fence here." Because

> of that one person, we could not build the fence. After that, I gave up on trying to play by the rules (November 18th, 2014).

In speaking to Okawa-san, I asked her, "Is ARK a foreign non-profit or a Japanese one?" There was a long pause. She told me it was a good question and paused further. Eventually, she replied, decidedly, "It is based in Japan, and it works with Japanese problems only. It is a Japanese organization. However, Oliver-san is foreign, and this is good because it gives us connections all over the world" (Interview, February 8th, 2015). For Okawa-san, the foreign aspect of ARK is advantageous because it opens doors beyond Japan, but ARK is firmly a Japanese organization.

A famous saying in Japan is, "The nail that sticks up gets hammered down." This alludes to the necessity of conformity. Those who deviate from the norm will be sanctioned or bullied until they fit in the line. For instance, in the interview with Jake, he repeatedly brought up these themes regarding Japanese veterinarians.

> I remember being on vacation in Hokkaido, Hakodate, and seeing a cat with a broken leg, with a bone sticking out. The cat was crying. Ok here we go, I thought, not taking the tram today I guess. I took the cat to the woman who owned our lodging and she just says, "Ah, give him some fish, he'll be fine, he'll shut up." So, we call a vet in the phone book, it's late, and so we explain we're one vacation, but we have to do something about this cat. We call a taxi and it's a long way. The cab driver was not happy, the cat was meowing and yowling. So, we got there, and the vet looks at it and he says it's a clean break. I said, not expecting much, "Dr. Sato we're on vacation and we can't take this cat with us. I'll give you 30,000 yen; can you please do an operation and take care of the cat." I was not expecting much. He said, "Come 'ere" so he walked out of his office and opened a connecting room and there's two three-legged cats and he said, "Yeah, we'll take him" (crying). That vet… vets like him, they know if they stand up they'll have to deal with the consequences of being hammered down again. That's where Liz being a foreigner helps. People just think, "She's *gaijin*, that's why she's like that." If she was Japanese, (makes pounding noises).

Jake becomes emotional during this story because it is an unusual and unexpected circumstance to find a Japanese vet who goes out of his way to help stray animals, rather than to turn them

away. According to Jake, and several other staff at ARK, vets must follow the rules, prices, and regulations of the Japanese Veterinary Association. This limits their ability to "rescue" or offer lower prices for key procedures, such as spay/neuter, even when it is greatly needed. According to Jake, "There is no leadership. There are these NPO organizations in America that help vets help them reach no kill, subsidies for spay/neuter for those with no money, and so on. But in Japan, there has been a few subsidies for feral animals, but there's no one out there clanging the bell, leading the way" (Interview, April 1st, 2015). This vet in Hakodate was a rare case of a nail that had not been hammered down. Jake calls on Elizabeth's foreignness to explain her ability to deviate from the normal path. If she was Japanese, she would have been hammered down long ago.

This comparison to Japanese versus "*gaijin*" agency is mentioned repeatedly by NPO staff. *Gaijin* is a shorthand for *gaikokujin* (even a slur depending on the context), the Japanese word for foreigner. It was common for foreigners to identify themselves as "*gaijin*" during my fieldwork, but also to complain about being treated as *gaijin*. While acknowledging the freedom being *gaijin* grants, Jake discusses this *gaijin* aspect of ARK as one of the reasons it is held back. For example, in describing Toro, a Japanese vet who studied in America, he states, "

> Like [Toro], [Toro] will search and find the answer and will make things happen but will piss people off while doing it. I told him, you're not *gaijin*, but you're not Japanese. Him and Liz butt heads, but he loves her. He says, "Man we need more people like Liz…" and I tell him, "What we need is more [Toro]." We need more Japanese…Japanese-y people who can play by the rules and shut up when needed to, and butter people up…but you and Liz don't do that, you just don't play that game. And that is like an anchor tied to the leg that keeps us from being where we could be. Maybe I'm wrong though. But maybe that wouldn't work, that going drinking with people and kissing up…I don't know (Interview, April 1st, 2015).

From Jake's perspective, despite being Japanese, Toro is too *gaijin* in mannerisms to play the part that perhaps ARK needs. Later in the interview, Jake discusses the need for a Japanese

citizen to head ARK once Elizabeth steps down. He cites Merritt Clifton, an investigative reporter (Animals 24-7, The Clifton Report, etc.), as claiming that foreign-led groups around the world die off during the second generation if not locally led. Jake agrees with this, "I think it would be best if, after Liz, a Japanese person took over. That's the funny thing, too, whenever I get into discussions about it, Japanese staff say a foreigner should be at the top because it brings in money. That's not true. It needs to be a homegrown, local person" (Interview, April 1st, 2015).

FIGURE 40 – Shelly and husband taking a break at Heart Tokushima

While the *gaijin* versus Japanese constructions are more about mannerisms than ethnicity, as illustrated by Toro being called "*gaijin*" despite his background, these mannerisms are key in Japan's third sector. To be *gaijin* is to be outside the traditional rules, hierarchies, and structures that a non-*gaijin* would maneuverer within. Thus, while providing freedom, the *gaijin* status also ostracizes these organizations from inclusion. This notion of "being Japanese" is linked to being

"well-behaved" by Shelly, Canadian director of a shelter in Shikoku. She shared a Facebook post, in response to finding her old blog from her early days as an animal rescuer,

> You know what? I was thrown into this thing. I came to this country with a dream…of paying off my loans and returning to where I came from as soon as possible. A free woman… Maybe I would have a good paying job. Maybe I would have been keeping up with the Jones'. Many a year ago, I found myself in a hell for stray and abandoned animals. I have tried to do my best. More than 1400 saved, more than 1100 to forever homes. But still not good enough. Forever the nail that sticks out, forever the nail that sticks out. If only I could change my face. If only I could change my upbringing. If only I could change... I am much more "otonashi" (well-behaved) than I used to be. But still not good enough (Personal communication, October 16th, 2014).

Shelly's perspective speaks to her context. Whereas ARK has established itself for decades in rural Japan, Shelly's organization is comparatively new, and she works near a major city center, Tokushima. Despite working with the local *hokensho* for years, she is still treated with disrespect and as an outsider, both professionally and socially. In her case, as well, being *gaijin* aids in bringing in international volunteers and occasional donations, but it remains a large obstacle in necessary interactions with locals – again, preventing her organization from being the best it can be for animals.

Strays

Compounded with association with foreignness, working with animal rescue is an uncommon activity. Many of the volunteers I encountered considered themselves "outside" the norm, either in regard to their relationship with animals, or in society as a whole. It was the daily lunch breaks with fellow volunteers and observed these identity perceptions, hence I focus only on volunteers here.

As discussed in Chapter 3, pets are adored in Japan – but not stray or feral animals. These are a different entity altogether (see more in Chapter 6), and thus those associated with them are constructed as outside the norm. As Ritvo (2007) notes,

> With animals the question of us and them is always close to the surface. Not only have they often functioned…as representatives of the natural world, but they often have been selected as obvious representatives of human groups, whether as totems or national emblems or team mascots (137).

The association of animals to human groups can be positive or negative depending on the context and the intention. Here, the association with "strays" it is perhaps both, depending on who is perceiving the connection.

While the volunteers encountered during my fieldwork varied greatly in personality, socioeconomic status, age, etc., what they connected on was their approach with animals within the context of Japanese society. When they spoke in interviews, or during daily conversations, they spoke openly of the "rest" of society's stance on pets, on pet shops, and on any number of other animal-related issues. There was a clear perception of them and everyone else. The volunteers were, in their view, a different, more socially aware breed. They were openly judgmental of those who, for example, purchased their companion animal from a pet store, or dressed their dog or cat in baby clothing. A volunteer during lunch introduced herself to me by saying, "I have a dog from a pet shop, but I know better now. The next one will be from ARK" (Fieldnotes, September 21th, 2014). They used terms to identify themselves with the rescued animals, saying they have similar personalities as the animals they had come to love. The rest of society, for example, were Chihuahuas and Pekinese, constructed as hoity toity and dimwitted. They, on the other hand, were mixed breeds. Genuine, clever, friendly (or feral), and able to get dirty. As one volunteer explained, "I am like Astro, a mutt that you don't notice at first, but much smarter than [points to dachshund in room]" (Fieldnotes, February 9th, 2015). Within the context of volunteering, their identities were deeply entangled with the animals they had come to love.

When new volunteers came in who were not yet acquainted with the dirty, sweaty, messy life of animal rescue, the regulars would judge them amongst each other - though also offer to help and guide the novice. They were all there once, after all. I found myself doing the same towards the end of my fieldwork. Fieldnotes from the site in Tokushima during a strenuous week volunteering with a new young Japanese woman are filled with un-reflective judgements. For example, "She clearly had never been near a dog who was not the size of her palm. She complained for an hour about getting muddy paw prints on her name-brand jacket…despite the friendly, attention-starved antics of the dogs, she somehow manages to take them on their short walks without so much of a light pet. I don't think I saw her touch a dog voluntarily all day" (Fieldnotes, December 20th, 2014). These notes, meant to only record human-animal interactions, clearly show the biased judgement that I heard from regulars on the daily. Similarly, regulars would make negative comments and judgements about those less experienced with animals, or those afraid to become dirty. Interestingly, women were openly proud of their strength in these spaces, which was most notable when laughing at and commenting on women who found themselves overcome by the strength of a medium or large sized dog on a walk.

Another "outsider" aspect to animal rescue is the commonality to take in human "strays." Jake explains,

> There's this other side of ARK. These women have come to ARK from bad circumstances. Terrible relationships, domestic abuse…That's another facet of this. You go out and help the dogs who have been trampled on and abandoned, but the people here have been trampled on, left behind. You could write an entire book on the women Liz has helped at ARK. There's been all kinds of situations. Entire families who have moved here who had nowhere else to go. They can catch their breath here before moving on to a new rental. Of course, Liz was just looking for anyone to walk the dogs (laughter).

Jake intersects the abandonment of the stray animals here with the stray people who have shown up on the doorsteps of ARK.

Gender

The management of the animal rescue non-profit organizations did not fall under traditional Japanese gender lines. All were almost all head by women, even in the early 90s. The primary staff and volunteers were also women. The purpose and evolution of those non-profit organizations started by women often arose via individual animal rescue – they reported seeing dogs and cats left abandoned, ignored in their social sphere by all. As many were foreigners or identified otherwise as outsiders due to other identities (e.g. unmarried), they perhaps saw a connection between their positionality within their new community and the fate of the stray animal before them.

The link between women and animal oppression has been researched extensively via strands in eco-feminism (e.g. Adams and Donovan 1995; Birke 2002) and intersectional feminism (e.g. Hovorka 2015; Deckha 2013). It is not surprising that the majority of activists fighting for non-human animals identify as women – both in Japan and abroad. In contrast, the men who head animal rescue or welfare non-profits in Japan do so from a professional or business point of view (e.g. veterinarian) and are more involved in political aspects of animal welfare. Thus, those organizations headed by men – of which all were Japanese men - tend to have more access to governmental resources (e.g. funds for animal rescue following the 3-11 disaster), media attention, and political power.

Notably, despite being run and staffed by primarily women, the tasks within ARK were often gendered. This was especially true for volunteers. Women volunteers would handle the easier and "cuter" jobs while men would be tasked with the messy, strong and difficult jobs. This would occur regardless of strength, abilities, or even language ability – gender was the key divider. This did limit volunteers and staff who otherwise would prefer to work and interact with different animals. In my case, I was immediately placed in what was called K1, or Kennel 1. My

husband, who accompanied me to this field site, was placed in K2. Whereas I was tasked with walking, brushing, and playing with fairly well-socialized dogs, my husband (who had almost no Japanese language ability) spent his days scrubbing the kennel floors and walking nervous, large dogs. It was months before I "graduated" to working in K2. My husband never worked in K1.

Furthermore, the ability of a volunteer or staff member to handle the death or adoption of an animal was a key aspect of whether or not they would be hired as staff. This concern for sentimentality (discussed further below) was often discussed in regard to women, who might be relegated to aiding the garden instead of working with the animals, but there were open judgements made about male staff who had these "negative" traits, as well. The research of women within animal welfare and rights movements (e.g. Gaarder 2011; Kheel 1985) has revealed the societal consequences of women greatly outnumbering men – notably, the stereotype of the overly emotional and sentimental woman activist. These studies link directly to my findings, in which the staff of the animal rescue NPOs take on roles and traits to distinguish themselves from the sentimentality trope (e.g. Elizabeth's cool demeanor when encountering a potentially fatal situation for the dog Jake rescued in the story above), as well as from the Japanese stereotype of the "cat woman" outsider status that traditionally accompanies a member in society who takes interest in the local strays. In short, it was clear that women in this NPOs have to work extra hard to be perceived as rational, capable, and non-sentimental.

WHEN THE HARDEST JOB IS TO ANSWER THE PHONE

Closely entangled with gender is the significance of emotional management. Discussed briefly in Chapter 2 in regard to decision-making during a disaster, emotional management is key to a successful animal rescue organization. A theme that arose again and again in interviews, in daily conversations is the ability to manage emotions. Often, this is within a discussion on how a

person or an organization lacks the ability to make rational decisions in the presence of animals in need. The ability to manage, or not manage emotions, marked someone as a good or bad animal rescuer, respectively. Furthermore, the use of emotions to garner respect or pull in donations was commonly criticized. Emotions were a continual topic of discussion – a theme that arose so often that I created Nvivo sub-nodes for every common emotion (e.g. sad, joy, fear) to keep a handle on the amount of data. Significantly, strong emotions were often framed as a disadvantage – something to keep private and controlled. There were clear divisions between where and when strong emotions could be released – such as after work hours, with drinks and cigarettes on hand.

Regardless of these facts, all leaders within these organizations were open about their emotional connection and downfalls to non-human animals. Indeed, this is how they ended up within an animal rescue NPO. Elizabeth, the director of ARK, shared a story with me regarding her own emotional management. From fieldnotes,

> In the early days of the animal shelter, she had a number of young men come help to build a fence. This was at the height of summer and it was the epitome of hot and humid in the jungle-like Japanese mountains. They were taking a short break when Elizabeth walked by to ask how things were going. One of the young men, with pride, asked her with a smirk "So, what's the toughest job at the shelter?" presuming she would validate that it is what they were suffering so much for. She looked into his eyes and without a hint of jest, said, "Answering the phone" (September 4th, 2014).

This topic of answering the phone is one I heard again in a variety of staff interviews. As these NPOs were often the only one in a large region – and thus are often filled to capacity with animals, when the phone rings they must be prepared for what will follow. Out of respect for those already in their care, they cannot surpass their capacity. Every shelter has a carrying capacity. Every shelter must be able to say "no." Those allowed to answer the phone are trained on how to offer advice to those in need and how to avoid making emotional or affect-driven

decisions. When an animal is turned down, or placed on a long wait list, they know that it is likely the animal will be abandoned or given to the local *hokensho* for of form of gassing or euthanasia. Making those decisions is hard. It is even more difficult if the animal is physically brought to the shelter, facing the decision-maker.

When I asked Elizabeth how often she answers the phone, she replied, "Never. I can't. I can't" while shaking her head and looking at the ground. Jake had shared that in the early days of ARK, the staff and volunteers threatened to quit if Elizabeth took in a batch of puppies who had come in. At the time, she was making in-take decisions and she could not say no (Interview, April 1st, 2015).

FIGURE 41 – Puppy at ARK awaiting adoption

To understand emotional management and the other forces at work here, I employ Haraway's (2008) concept of "becoming with," a response to her critique of Delueze and Guattari's concept of becoming-animal (1987). As Wright, of the Multispecies Salon, summarizes,

> Becomings are a form of worlding which open up the frames of what registers to us and so what matters to us (in part by recognizing what matters to others). For example, in becoming-dog one does not acquire fur or paws, but becomes attuned to a multiplicity of worlds through encounter with a new relational context – a doggish umwelt. In other words, we become-with lives, not bodies, and lives are always connected to worlds (Wright 2014).

Haraway's "becoming with" (2008) emphasizes that interactions with other agents in our multispecies world is part of our selves as humans. Similarly, the interactions experienced with humans are part of companion species. When we communicate with animal others, we develop knowledges, reflections, and further understand the world we share and reside in based on these daily interactions with others. An animal rescuer faced with a dog in the *hokensho* is not merely rescuing a victim in danger of gassing but is putting into practice understandings and experiences developed in her life in regard to other species. She chooses which dog to rescue based on her multispecies background, makes the connection with him or her on site, and acknowledges the "face" (Haraway 2008) of the animal before her. The dog's approach to her, or other nonverbal exchanges, leads as much to the dog's rescue as her own knowledge background. Rescuing is an interactive process involving both beings, sharing the knowledges and understandings built on their experiences among each other in a more-than-human world.

Becomings are closely related to affect. This concept of affect, as described by Deleuze and Guatarri, "is not understood as emotion, but as a prepersonal process of 'becoming,' change or variation caused by an encounter between bodies" (Cull 2012:189). Similarly, Barrios (2017) defines affect as, "a sensory experience that is felt by a body in relation to another, human or

otherwise" (5). Upon seeing a non-human animal, say a cow being slaughtered, the human experiences affective intensities that places herself in the position of the cow. The affective intensity of the suffering of the cow is transferred, affecting the human – something of one, passes into the other. Affect differs from emotion. According to Barrios, "affective experience…is narrativized by people, structured in a culturally particular way, and put into a political or social use – for example, what or whom to love, hate, fear, and how" (Barrios 2017:5).

Humans and non-human animals both experience pleasures and pains, and all in between, and thus, we have the potential to recognize these experiences via a myriad of perceptions at our disposal. As Goh (2009) argues, "becoming-animal...is then a question of being worthy of such affects, of opening oneself to the sensation of animal affects and responding to them affirmatively, rather than allowing any anthropomorphism or anthropocentrism to block those responses" (46). I agree with the understanding that humans and non-human animals have the agency to share sufferings, for an animal to become-human, perhaps, as a human may become-animal via intersubjective exchanges. Furthermore, that the understandings formed in these shared affective spaces can give rise to action by both human and non-human animal

Baker (2002) asks, though in the context of discussing art, what does becoming-animal do? He cites Deleuze and Guarttari's argument that becomings can occur from even the most unexpected, instantaneous, things, it can be "a little detail that starts to swell and carries you off" (Delueze and Guarttari 1987:292). Being swept up and carried on is what makes becoming-animal affective for art, but it is also what allows becoming to incite us to action.

This process of "being carried off" is what makes decision-making especially difficult within an animal rescue. This is especially the case as an animal rescuer in Japan. As discussed

in previous chapters, animal rescue organizations are few and far between. Many are hidden, purposely isolated – taking in only those animals who show up on their doorstep. To be an animal rescue with an advertised location and phone number is to be one forced to say "no" to hopeless situations on a regular basis. The need greatly outweighs the support for homeless animals in Japan.

FIGURE 42 – Shelly meeting a dog scheduled to be gassed at the *hokensho*

It is important to establish that these intense feelings that occur affectively or emotionally are not invalid, nor does it mark the body feeling them as irrational, overly-emotional, or non-

functional. This is especially the case during and following a disaster. The feelings, affects, becomings are not only valid, but a rational and sensible responses to myriad other social processes in which they are occurring, such as marginalization, exclusion, and vulnerability (Barrios 2017). Here, I focus on the consequences of these feelings, and how NPOs and individuals build resiliency by planning and accounting for the inevitability of these intensities.

As I traveled throughout Japan, I encountered shelters in various levels of functionality. In terms of financial stability, infrastructure, reliable and experienced staff, and overall care of the resident animals, the majority could only be said to be struggling. An exception to this was ARK, the focus of this chapter. A phrase that was repeated to me again and again by ARK's director, as sort of mantra, "You must be compassionate, not sentimental." This was a matter of emotional management, of avoiding the pull of affective intensities, even when a person or animal in need was literally pawing at your door.

The definition of sentimental here is a person excessively prone to feelings of tenderness sadness, or otherwise– this might be someone prone to irrationality when affected by something emotional, such as a cat in need. Compassion is defined as someone who feels or shows concern for someone who is sick, hurt, or otherwise in need, etc. In conversation with ARK staff, it was explained that those who are "sentimental" rather than "compassionate" would care about animals, but not be overcome with emotion to the point of making poor choices. More so, sentimentality was constructed as selfish, or self-involved. A person who is sentimental would not permit an animal to be euthanized, for instance, as it would hurt their feelings. This, of course, ignores the feelings of the animal in pain, or, at minimum, places the person's feelings as more significant.

FIGURE 43 – Puipui's gaze

I pull from literature regarding affect here because these decisions were often in the context of being placed in the physical or emotional space of the non-human animal via sight, touch, or storytelling. For example, to talk on the phone with a person emotionally distraught over needing to find a home for a beloved dog, in which the owner describes not only his love for this animal, but the animals' traits, personality, and need is to enter a vulnerable emotional space in which sentimentality can have no place. Further, the person on the phone often describes the few alternative options for the animal in need, which is often abandonment or death. The person handling the call will be affectively pulled to rescue the animal. A person who is compassionate about animals, but not sentimental, will consider the lives of the animals already in their care and acknowledge that taking in more will diminish this care for all. On the other hand, a person who is sentimental might take in this animal, leading to overcrowding and strained resources for both staff and resident animals.

I pull from the "becoming with" literature because the majority of cases I witnessed were a result of this process – primarily involving sight and touch of an animal other. To see them, to be with them in their suffering and have the power to change their situation is another vulnerable space. For example, my fieldnotes recorded the following interaction at Tokushuma Heart,

> In our last conversation, Shelly was adamant about not taking in anymore animals. She said she was done and needs to focus on the animals they have. There is no more space and finances are sparse…on our drive to the *hokensho* today, Shelly told me she would not go in. If she went in and saw the animals she would want to take them out and she just can't. Nonetheless, upon entering the *hokensho*, Shelly was soon by my side…I watched her as she interacted with the dogs. The dogs sat still, despondent in their bare communal cage. Even the puppies were without energy or hope. Shelly stuck her hand out for them to come up. A few young ones wagged their tails cautiously and approached. They would be gassed in a matter of days…we looked at the cats, who were placed in individual metallic boxes the size of a shoebox. Shelly closely approached them and attempted interaction… (a few days later) Shelly returned to the *hokensho* and pulled two of the puppies and a kitten we met at the *hokensho* (Fieldnotes, August 21st, 2014).

This was a pattern witnessed often, and one of the most telling traits of a struggling shelter. Shelly knew what she was doing. She would talk openly about the problem. However, when the dog or cat was there in front of her, and eyes were met, and the suffering and need felt, she experienced a "becoming with" the animal in front of her. Within minutes of meeting these animals, she expressed that she envisioned their potential – who could go to what kind of family, what their post-adoption smile would look like, and so on. No matter how many times it happened, the pull was just as strong with each new animal in need. Explaining it in conversation, another shelter director, Sarah, explained that it felt as though they were recuing themselves, "To leave them behind felt as strong as leaving a part of your heart behind" (Fieldnotes, February 22nd, 2015).

FIGURE 44 – Dogs at the *hokensho,* who will be gassed within a matter of days

This was a common and known problem. Of the four main sites I worked with, three began due to the inability to say no to an animal in need, despite the circumstances at home. Eventually, they had so many animals they registered as a non-profit. The size always grows, as the need is great. As mentioned above, Elizabeth at ARK was banned from answering the phone, and from decision-making regarding intake, as she, too, had trouble saying no. In Jake's words, "Liz wasn't able to say no, even Iron Woman wasn't able to say no" (Interview, April 1st, 2015). This makes her an excellent person to recognize this trait when she hires staff.

Emotional Management and Disaster

The ability to avoid sentimentality became especially significant when the triple disaster hit on March 11th, 2011. At this time, all shelters I worked with reported being nearly, if not already filled to capacity before the disaster. As the only animal shelter in their respective regions, the waiting lists were already excessive, their finances often strained, and their futures

uncertain. Yet, they knew they had to do something, not trusting the government or other institutions to aid the animal side of the disaster - so in they went.

In the disaster aftermath, to strengthen their impact, there were a number of organizational affiliations and resource collaborations that occurred as early as March 12th. JEARS, Japan Earthquake Animal Rescue and Support, for instance, was a coalition between three previously separate groups, formed with the mission of creating a unified entity that could compile resources, such as incoming donations and volunteers, and optimally help those in need. The organization collected plentiful donations in the months following the aftermath, but those in JEARS experienced with disaster knew the funds would not continue in such high amounts. There was inner conflict regarding when they should stop bringing in animals – when it was too much for them to handle. The three groups fared differently depending on how they handled their emotions and their exposure to affectively intense situations.

Animal Friends Niigata, led by Henrietta, was hit the hardest. This is because they were most often on the ground, with international and Japanese volunteers, coming face to face with those who needed rescue. When they were full to capacity, they kept rescuing. When others warned them, within the coalition, they kept rescuing. Whereas the arrangement was to share in providing resources for the animals rescued, the shear amount of companion animals being removed from the Tōhoku region was becoming difficult for the three to bear. At one point, there were as many as 600 animals in one shelter with a capacity for under 100. Dogs were placed in cages stacked two or three high. Cats were in increasingly overcrowded rooms. While animals were being sent to other shelters in the coalition, they would simply refill the cages with others during subsequent rescue efforts. Volunteers during this time explained in interviews that they knew that more abandoned animals remained out there, they could see their faces in their minds,

feel their suffering and their pain, and they were incited to help. When I visited this organization, they had managed to bring down the numbers of dogs and cats in the facility, but they were still struggling financially. Because of the small number of staff, and the large number of animals, dogs only received one or two short walks a day. The cats craved attention and their rooms were soiled. While the facility was filled with passion and care for the animals, their choices made the human and animals within stressed and with an uncertain future.

Tokushima Heart, headed by Shelly in Shikoku, was also in the coalition. They worked hard to acquire prefabricated temporary housing for the influx of animals from further up north. They acquired cheap land, far from ideal (described in Chapter 1). As Jake said repeatedly throughout his interview, "Why, oh why did they buy that land?" (Interview, April 1st, 2015). It would only be temporary, they thought. They accepted animals sent down from Tōhoku, despite their already full-time operations as a relatively new non-profit organization, a lack of staff and regular volunteers, and other concerns. Four years later and they are still on this land, still filled to capacity, still lacking in finances, staff, and regular reliable volunteers.

The third organization in JEARS, Japan Cat Network, worked primarily with cats. They built a shelter about an hour or so from the evacuation zone, the Fukushima Prefecture to handle the influx – miles and miles away from their original shelter near Lake Biwa in Shiga Prefecture. They set firm limits on the number of animals they would take in. Today, this shelter is financially strained, barely slinking by with basic bills to cover the forty or so cats and two dogs in their care. However, they have a steady stream of international volunteers due to taking part in a variety of internship programs, such as idealist.org. More so, they have developed a system for empowering others. When there are cats in need, they provide information and resources – teaching the community and encouraging them to further teach others. Instead of the emotional

matter merely turning away pets due to being filled to capacity, they cite walking away feeling positive. This was a clever trajectory to manage the affective response to daily phone calls.

Lastly, as mentioned above, ARK chose not to join the JEARS coalition. After experiencing the stress and difficulties of the Kobe earthquake in 1995, they rescued animals on their own, and managed their own finances during the aftermath.

Within the disaster aftermath, as ARK predicted, the disaster coalition JEARS went down in drama-filled flames. Disagreement about the intake of animals, who receives which animals, expectations, and, primarily, the use of the donated funds, led to conflict. JEARS disbanded nearly a year after the 2011 disaster. These three organizations are barely on speaking terms, despite being major players in the small arena of animal rescue in Japan.

IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO JUST LOVE ANIMALS

Conflict between organizations was a constant during my fieldwork. There were strong opinions regarding each other – often of the negative variety. Gossip and criticism of others in the relatively small world of Japanese animal welfare was commonplace. The diverse opinions were significant and judgement of those who acted or spoke differently was common. Much of the conflict I experienced with my key sites is a direct result of the 2011 disaster, as three of the four organizations I worked with were a part of the fallen JEARS. The vitriol with which other groups spoke about those in almost identical situations was surprising. To avoid adding fuel to fire, I will not refer to any group names, or even pseudonyms, in this section where negative comments are made. For example, one Tokyo-based shelter was on the verge of becoming a hoarding case when the older director ended up in the hospital. When I asked a mutual acquaintance whether or not she was ok, the response was a cold, "I hope not."

A related theme repeated to me was, "It's not enough to just love animals." This was said in a variety of contexts. Primarily, it was spoken when discussing the reality that many animal shelter staff were fantastic with animals, and terrible with humans. Their networking and general interactions with humans left something to be desired, limiting their ability to work with others and invite donations and volunteers.

A second context in which this line was spoken was in regard to experience. Whereas the majority of these shelters began with an inexperienced person who saw animals in need and did not say "no", some came to the plate with more skills than others. As one staff commented on their shelter's success,

> ____ had certain abilities, knowledge…you know, it's not enough to just love animals. You have to have skills. You have to have animal management skills. You have to know about real estate, accounting…You see the thing about ___ and ____ is that they have a lot of love for animals, but…. (shakes head).

According this staff member, animal rescue takes far more than a passion and love for animals, but real-life skills that often do not come with the territory. These skills allow shelters to find proper facilities, funding, manage their resources and finances, and bring in experienced staff and volunteers. Rumors of other shelters' inability to manage these real-life skills were common place. As one director said, "People can say bad things about anything" (Fieldnotes, December 9th, 2014). Other shelters wanted to know if the other fared well, or poorly, and were quick to comment on why and what should be done. As an outsider who worked with all groups, I often found myself in the position of deflecting elicitations of gossip.

It is important to note that these shelter-shelter conflicts and disagreements were not limited to office gossip. There are countless social media and blog posts deriding other organizations publicly. These often-emotional statements are primarily written by passionate and

loyal volunteers and staff. They remain on the internet, appearing whenever someone Google searches the name any an organization.

Ethical Disagreements

Beyond the issue of experience and the ability to play nice with others is the disagreement on key animal welfare issues. The most common issues of disagreement are: euthanasia, spay/neuter and the standard of care. Euthanasia is a hot topic in Japanese animal welfare. Cavalier (2016) found that the majority of Japanese disagree with the use of euthanasia (more on this topic in Chapter 5). Similarly, the majority of animal rescue organizations are strictly no kill. According to Gato-san, an ARK office staff,

> There are some groups who do not understand about euthanasia. ARK is the only animal organization who publicly admits that we use euthanasia. Other shelters use it occasionally, but do not publicly comment on it. Regardless of the reason for why it is used, people just think it is killing animals (Interview, February 6th, 2015).

ARK uses euthanasia for animals who are terminally ill and in pain, as well as in situations where there is simply no future for the animal, such as aggressive or feral animals who cannot be rehomed and serve as a threat to the staff. For this reason, they are openly despised by some. I toured and interviewed staff at shelters where euthanasia is not used in any situation. I saw rooms of nearly-dead animals, suffering and in pain. Not only was this experience emotionally trying for staff, volunteers, and potential adopters, but the veterinary cost to the shelter is extreme.

Related to euthanasia is the treatment of animals who have died after a long fight. I was shown images of how animals are displayed post-death on social media. Like Victorian post-mortem photography, these animal shelters were taking photos of the deceased pet surrounded by fresh flowers and bedding. The image is then posted on social media alongside a discussion of

their long, painful battle – emphasizing that they are now at peace. Such posts, according to those who did not participate in this practice, were for garnering support, donations, and appreciation. For those organizations who did not do this common activity, it was considered grotesque, and a celebration of unnecessary pain and suffering.

The second key issue of disagreement was that of spaying and neutering. While common place in much of the modern world, spaying and neutering is not a given in Japan. Trap, Neuter, and Release programs are relatively new, and veterinarians and pet shops do not recommend or insist upon this practice. More so, the price (set by the Japanese Veterinary Association) of spaying and neutering is high, making it inaccessible to many. Thus, when an animal rescue does not spay/neuter, it is not surprising, but it is looked upon with high disapproval, especially by those who are foreign-run. Within the subject of spay/neuter, is another area of disagreement – does one spay a cat already pregnant with kittens? Again, whereas many of the foreign-run organizations do so, others do not and see it as a significant issue of contention.

Lastly, the issue of how to care for animals was key to conflict. The staff of one organization stated, "Well, usually you have standards and you just do not work with groups below those standards" (Fieldnotes, June 4th, 2014). More directly, as one key player said about another, "They always smell of hoarder" (Interview, March 23rd, 2015). Referring to another organization as a hoarder is one of the grandest insults one could give, though not always unwarranted. There can be a fine line between animal rescue and hoarding case. Within these standards are basic ideas of how to keep rescued animals. For example, the use of chains – which many were adamantly against, despite it being a common way to keep dogs in Japan, is looked down upon by organizations like ARK. There were also open concerns with keeping animals in small cages for the majority of the day, as well as overcrowding and lack of staff. Notably, most

of these comments were accompanied by the acknowledgment that these groups were doing the best they can. However, the judgement and disapproval were always clear, and these issues were often called upon as a form of gossip when discussing other organizations. It is important to note here that these comments did not only occur between groups who refused to speak, but among those on friendly terms, as well.

Voluntary Isolation

It is important to emphasize, again, that animal rescue – and animal welfare in general – in Japan is a small world. The organizations, while increasing, are few and far between. Furthermore, they often lack the resources to even begin to fill the need of the locale in which they reside. Thus, for the majority of these organizations to not speak to each other, to hold strong negative opinions against each other, is detrimental to the progress of animal welfare and animal rescue in Japan.

In addition to this issue, many organizations refuse to be public, existing in the shadows in fear of locals discovering their address. As the need in Japan is so high, once the location of a shelter is known, they will be the new dumping grounds for kittens, puppies, and so on. This is not inaccurate. When volunteering with Shelly in Shikoku, we were driving back to the shelter when she noticed a cardboard box in the bushes. I had not even taken notice. Suddenly, she was emotionally overwhelmed:

> Shelly stopped the car, and kept shaking her head, saying, "I just can't look. I can't look." After talking with her, I came to understand that she was certain the cardboard box held kittens or puppies, and considering how far back in the bushes, it was possible it had been there a while and they were already dead. I was naïve and thought that it was just a stray box that had fallen off a truck. Nonetheless, I volunteered to go look in the box. Wading through spider webs and vines, I got hold of the box, which was tipped on its side, and pulled it towards me. To my shock, there was a small kitten staring at me. Shelly was right. The kitten, thankfully, was alive. Scared, and weak, but alive. I picked up the little grey kitten, and she held tight to me. Shelly was by my side at this point, reporting the abandonment to the police and calling her husband to put out a cat

> trap, as kittens never come in the singular (the brother was caught that night) (Fieldnotes, August 23rd, 2014).

This scenario was so common for Shelly that she recognized what it was in an instant. Further, her extreme emotional response was testament to the stress this situation puts on the overcrowded, financially-strained shelter. It was all too common for dogs to be tied up on nearby trees, and other forms of dumping to occur. While the openness of the shelter allowed volunteers to find them, and the ability to directly impact their community, it also turned them into a target for illegal dumping.

FIGURE 45 – The kitten rescued from the cardboard box on the side of the road at Heart Tokushima

Jake explained to me that ARK tried to solve the isolation issue with a directory. While attending an international animal welfare conference in Reno in 2002, Liz and Jake learned about a directory of animal rescue organizations in America. Jake had asked the conference organizer, who began this directory, how she made it happen. The woman merely replied, "I was doing No

Kill [a goal to not euthanize animals – adopt out only] and I knew some other people, so I decided to make a directory. I made the list and sent it out to others and we talked to each other and sometimes we help each other with hoarders or puppy mills and we decided to have a conference." In recounting this story, Jake said his train of thought was, "Oh man, these *gaijin* are friendly fuckers, aren't they?" He continues,

> So Liz and I were driving, and I said, "Let's make a directory!" And I told her I know they will all freak and say animals will be dumped all over their place. And we'll tell them only the people in the network will have a copy, it won't be on the internet, we just need a directory for us. Let's get all the groups together! *Gaijin*, silly naïve *gaijin*, I was. Liz sent out letters, we put out the call and no one returned (Interview, April 1st, 2015).

The shelters all thought that the address and phone numbers would get out. They were scared that people would find out where they were – even other groups doing the same work. Jeff emphasizes why a lack of directory is a problem,

> And still, we get calls from people in Kyushu and Hokkaido and we're in Osaka, kinda of hard for us to help in any way. But if we had a directory, we could help them out, point them in the right direction. How are these hidden groups going to help animals? How do you grow as an organization? They're helping only the animals who come in front of their view (Interview, April 1st, 2015).

Without a directory, and with the inability to work with the few groups others do know of, animal welfare is stunted. More so, the lack of awareness that groups even exist in their region prevents the possibility of more people becoming involved as volunteers or potential adopters.

FIGURE 46 – Puppies abandoned at the *hokensho*

CONCLUSION

This chapter illustrates the inner obstacles of animal rescue NPOs and the tumultuous landscape of Japanese animal welfare. These issue of identity, of emotional management, and of conflict and isolation among groups were present before the 2011 disaster. However, this disaster threw fuel onto a robust fire.

The issue of identity within animal rescue NPOs is key to how the rest of Japanese society views the mission and position of these organizations. To be perceived as *gaijin* is both a privilege and an obstacle. A privilege in that is provides international connections and access to volunteers and donations that might otherwise be missed. The obstacles come regarding relations with their local context. To exist as a Japanese non-profit means to exist humbly and obedient to a set of rules, to be "otonashi" as Shelly puts it. Unfortunately, given current Japanese relationships with *gaikokujin*, they will likely always be outsiders. Furthermore, like the animals they rescue, the people within

these organizations tend to be strays of their own communities – either as ex-pats, "crazy cat ladies", or those fallen on hard times, such as battered wives. The prominence of women at the head, and as staffing these organizations also marks them as unique in the context of Japanese society.

In addition to the obstacle of identity, is that of emotional management. These organizations often began precisely due to the inability to manage their emotion, to not be carried off by affect. In observing and talking with the staff of these shelters, I hear story after story of "becoming with" animals in need. In sharing their suffering, they are driven to rescue, even beyond their means. Elizabeth's mantra, "You must be compassionate, not sentimental" and recognizing when you should have been given the power to make intake decisions was key to ARK's eventual success at managing population sizes. The majority of organizations who rescued during the 2011 disaster ended up with a mass influx of animals and without the means to properly support them, in part due to the inability of rescuers to manage their emotions during a chaotic time.

Lastly, the issue of conflict and isolation is ongoing in Japan. As Jake expressed with exasperation, "Why, oh why can't we just get along?!" (Interview, April 1st, 2015). These organizations are largely doing the same work. They differ in methods, in experience, in how animals should be kept, and – most significantly – the importance of spaying/neutering and euthanasia. For Jake, and a handful of other optimists I encountered in animal rescue, in the overall scheme of Japanese animal welfare and the dire need of hundreds of thousands of animals gassed each year in *hokensho* across the nation, these differences seem small.

Chapter Five: Earning their Trust: How Animal Rescue NPOs Retain Regular Volunteers

ABSTRACT
Volunteering as an independent activity has steadily risen in Japan, with statistics showing 9% of the population serve as regular volunteers (Taniguchi 2010). The past two major disasters, the Hanshin Earthquake of 1995 and then Tōhoku Disaster of 2011, celebrated large volunteer efforts, with the former starting the "volunteer renaissance", or what has been called "Year One of Volunteerism" by mass media (Tatsuki 2000). Compiling findings from 75 volunteer surveys, I delineate why volunteers within the animal rescue non-profit organizations studied have high numbers of dedicated, consistent volunteers. Specifically, I link this form of volunteering to current social phenomena, including anti-euthanasia sentiment and loneliness, to understand what brings volunteers back to these often distant, messy, loud, and smelly sites.

INTRODUCTION

During my twelve months in the field, my role at all research sites was the same—I was a volunteer. I worked among, befriended, and learned from both short-term and long-term volunteers I encountered throughout this period. We would see each other while walking dogs on the mountain trails, waving and offering greetings as we waited for the other to pass, dog tightly in hand for fear of aggressive or anxious responses. Fellow volunteers might encounter each other when having play-time" or cleaning out the cat areas. We would comment on favorite cats, point out an amusing antic they performed, or perhaps note a lonely cat who needs a little extra attention. All interactions were mediated by the companion animals awaiting adoption at these sites.

Volunteers would gather at lunch in the different forms of break rooms available at each site, from an indoor lunch room with a fridge, sink, and small dogs to entertain, to an open-air seating area shared with the foodstuffs and cacophonous barking of nearby dogs. At ARK, the lunchroom was a space for volunteers to chat, interact with the "indoor" dogs, and look through news and events occurring regarding the organization. There existed a multitude of binders filled with letters, photos, and stories of the animals who were adopted by families all around the

world. The updates are bittersweet for long-term volunteers. They see their favorite dog to walk, or cat to cuddle, existing happily in their forever home - happy for them, yet missing their presence. Tears are not uncommon. My fieldnotes capture these conflicting emotions:

> "She would always sit on my lap and purr and fall asleep. Now she has all these laps to sit on", Ai told me, pointing at images of a tiger-striped cat in a binder while holding a small dachshund like a baby. There was a letter with the picture, explaining the funny antics this adopted cat gets into in her new home. We all laughed, and the volunteers exchanged stories of their experience with this cat (Fieldnotes, November 15th, 2014).

> At lunch, a middle-aged Japanese volunteer found out his favorite dog, a Shiba Inu I had not met yet, had been adopted. He smiled, painfully and nodded when the staff member informed him. I gently asked about the dog, and he shared, "we always walked together." He ate the rest of his lunch in silence (Fieldnotes September 12th, 2014).

These notes echo sentiment captured by in interviews with both staff and volunteers. One of the questions I asked was, "How do you feel when an animal is adopted out?" The answers all share a common theme:

> "Happy, but also sad. Happy they'll be happy. But even if a dog is here forever, you know he won't live a happy life" (Oka, staff member, Interview, February 7th, 2015).

> "I'm glad she's going to a new home, but I'm going to miss her so much. I think she'll miss us, too. I hope she visits" (Ikeda, Volunteer, Interview, February 8th, 2015).

> "Joyful. But very worried because I've taken care of this dog and the home might not be a right fit. Although ARK has strict guidelines, some people bring back the dog because they have an allergy problem or end up moving, or don't tell you how the dog is doing, and you wonder what happened to him. And it's not always the case will be one hundred percent happy (Taki, Staff, Interview, February 9th, 2015).

> "I wish I could have taken him home. His new family is so lucky to have him" a regular volunteer, Nao, said in regard to the adoption of Ku-chan, the quirky little dog in the break room. We chatted about his derpy face and how he was charming in every picture. She said over and over, "Good for him" while nodding, as if trying to convince herself his absence is joyful to her (Fieldnotes, March 7th,

2015).

Many a conversation is started by a volunteer finding a new letter from a recent adoption, and everyone expressing the mixed emotions that is adoption. There exists a small sense of ownership on the part of the regular volunteers and some of the adoptees. This emotional connection can be developed because companion animals can reside in these sites for years, sometimes their entire lives. This is especially the case for mutts, older animals, and those who are mentally or physically ill, or not socialized for a home, prior to arriving at the site. Thus, regular volunteers can develop long-term relationships with these animals, perhaps considering them friends. In spaces such as the lunchroom, whether organized or random, emotions were freely expressed and shared among volunteers new and old.

Similarly, the companion animals at these rescue sites develop relationships with the regular volunteers. The difference in how an animal responds to a regular versus a new volunteer can be profound – especially amongst those animals who are anxious or scared. A familiar face sparks a wagging tail, a friendly bark, and an excited and playful stance. The same dog might react by hiding in their kennel or barking out of fear with a new volunteer. My fieldnotes reflect these emerging relationships – noting that the volunteer's "favorite" dogs appear to be the dog's "favorite" volunteer, as well. The emotional enthusiasm was often mutual. For example, one middle-aged male volunteer adored Hakuho, a large, somewhat aloof, Akita. Hakuho was adored by many, as he was huge, gentle, and beautiful. However, he was distant and not directly cuddly or playful with most – including me – despite much attention. After talking about Hakuho with this volunteer and noting his enthusiasm, I observed their interactions.

> Rin was assigned to walk Hakuho – resulting in a huge smile on his face. He walked quickly to Hakuho's kennel and greeted him. Hakuho came over to the door, tail wagging, and face smiling. Once the kennel was open, Hakuho approached Rin and looked up at him happily. His feet did a slight dance as Rin

> knelt down to his level and patted his head. After Hakuho's harness was placed on, they both bounded out of the kennel for their walk with gusto. I've walked Hakuho countless times and that same energy was certainly lacking between us (Fieldnotes, April 16th, 2015).

The background of their interactions is not known to me – did Hakuho take to Rin, first, and Rin respond, or vice versa? Or perhaps it was a mutual connection that developed during Rin's time volunteering. What was it about each of them that resulted in this relationship? This interaction was noted towards the end of my fieldwork and I did not have the chance to speak directly to Rin following this observation. Regardless of how the connection developed, it was clear to be one valued by both parties.

FIGURE 47 – Stoic Hakuho

A fleet of passionate volunteers, such as Rin, is considered here as a resiliency building aspect of Japanese society. The aspects of the relationships within these spaces pulls volunteers back to these out-of-the-way, loud, messy, smelly spaces. Nearly all volunteers asked reported not volunteering anywhere else. Following an introduction to the literature on Japanese civil

society and community volunteering, I delineate my questionnaire methods and discuss key findings regarding why volunteers are pulled towards dedicating a significant amount of time at these sites.

STORIES

At least twice a week I would be asked to complete thirty minutes of "play time" with Gobo, a dog so frightened of humans he would merely huddle in the far corner of his kennel, unmoving. Gobo was found as a puppy abandoned at a shrine in the mountains, nearly feral. He came to ARK on my first day. Together, we navigated the humans and animals of the shelter, gaining confidence and the ability to communicate our needs as each week passed.

FIGURE 48 – Gobo, adoption photo from ARK's website

Playtime with Gobo meant sitting near him, letting him know that he is safe with you nearby. After a few sessions of talking to him from a distance, I began to reach out to him. He would jump if I made contact, and perhaps run away or back into a corner as if trying to

disappear. Remembering my days of socializing feral kittens, I began to gently force the contact. His anxiety was relentless, regardless of my actions.

I knew I was one of many volunteers. Gobo had to deal with a wide range of humans, the loud barking of nearby and passing dogs out for a walk, and visitors to the shelter looking for a new companion to take home. He was placed in the kennel near the staff coordination area, where he can be close to those he knew and farthest from the main trails filled with animals and humans heading for walks and other business. The placement of Gobo was purposeful. As a staff member, Taki, notes,

> There's a lot of reasons as to why dogs go to different kennels. The main reason is that by putting two dogs in one kennel, if the personalities allow for it, the two more dogs can come to the facility. Some dogs don't like human interaction, so you put them in the back of the shelter. You want to put the energetic dogs and friendly dogs in the front. You are constantly strategizing which dogs go where. For an outsider, it's easy to think all the kennels are the same, and will give the same results, but working at ARK you see the kennel really matters. By changing from dirt to concrete kennels, dogs with sensitive skin will become much healthier and cleaner on concrete. The size or placement of the kennel will make a dog become skinny and not eat, but then when you put them back or find a good kennel for them, they might get fat. It really matters where you place these dogs (Interview, February 9th, 2015).

As this excerpt illustrates, the dogs and cats within the shelter work with staff, via non-verbal communication or other forms of agency (e.g. refusing to eat), to hopefully eventually make it to a space that is comfortable enough for them to reside. This is how Gobo ended up in his space. Nonetheless, this shelter was a stressful space for him. Even with this knowledge, I admit being frustrated by being assigned to Gobo so often, considering it a waste of time as I just sat there, often catching up on fieldnotes.

About seven months into volunteering at ARK, I sat in Gobo's kennel as usual. I faced the outdoors, recording the happenings of the shelter while Gobo lay behind me in his wooden doghouse, as usual. This day, however, I felt a lick on my hand from behind. Startled, I jumped

and turned around to see Gobo rushing back into his shelter. I found myself overcome with unexpected emotion. This time was not for nothing - this was what Gobo needed. Consistency and comfort. Slowly, over the months of silent, distant interaction, he had gained trust.

It was not long before he approached me again, licking my hand from the side and backing up, anxiously. After this, the relationship changed at an accelerated rate. While still anxious and distant, Gobo would seem to recognize and respond to me whenever I visited. He would perhaps chew on a toy or allow me to pat him gently during our time together.

When I left ARK, at the end of my fieldwork, I was again overwhelmed with emotion when saying my goodbyes to Gobo. After twelve months I had gained his trust, him among many other anxious dogs and cats, and now I was leaving. I was not sure when, or if, I would return. It felt like I was abandoning him. Gobo was not among my favorites at this shelter, far from it - our relationship seemed held on by thin strings of attachment, and yet my pull towards him continues today, three years on.

The relationship I developed with Gobo, and the emotions that defined this relationship, helped me understand my fellow volunteers, and the companion animals with whom they worked. My findings saw similar relationships blossom and end with other regular volunteers. I observed volunteers' joy at seeing recognition in the face of their favorite cat when they entered the room, and disappointment at dogs who once knew them but seemed to be afraid, once again, "I need to come back more often", they might conclude.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Civil society in Japan is considered in comparative pieces with terms such as "undeveloped" and "emergent", with literature on the subject discussing the gradual, incremental change occurring in the third sector. However, such comparisons hide Japan's distinct cultural

history and development of its present civil society. An active service sector existed in Japan long before the Great Hanshin Earthquake, but in other forms and by other names (Haddad 2007; Tsujinaka 2010; Fukao 2016). According to Haddad (2007), rates of participation in neighborhood associations, volunteer fire departments, parent-teacher associations and other local and government-related activities are high in Japan. What differs, and is ignored in comparative studies, is that while Japan comparatively lacks advocacy and lobbying groups, they are rich in other forms of civil engagement - often embedded with local bureaucracy. Furthermore, the activities that are prevalent involve a good deal of socializing, "…which helps build social capital among neighbors, and may involve more doing with rather than doing for other people" (4).

Those organizations that emerged as a form of citizen protest and "authentic Japanese democracy" (Kersten 1996:200) began in full force during the resistance to the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance of 1960, which paved the road for further grassroots activism organizations in Japan (Sasaki-Uemura 2001; Turner 1999; Stevens 1997). Following this catalyst, citizen protest occurred in the midst of Japan's industrialization in response to the effects of environmental pollution, though the citizen activism died down following a compromise or other form of conclusion to the direct issue at hand (Broadbent 1999; McKean 1981; Apter and Sawa 1986; Gresser, Fujikura, and Morishima 1981). In these early protests, the political process focused on localism, tangibility and maintained an anti-ideological quality—citizens protested not due to a connecting ideology but to save their own regions' beaches and local public health (Broadbent 1999). Important national environmental changes, such as 1971's Environmental Agency Establishment Law, were a result of international pressure rather than citizen concerns (Gresser, Fujikura, and Morishima 1981).

In a historical overview of Japanese civil society, Vosse (1999) notes that while the first wave of activity was a result of major crises, such as the environmental concerns, the activity was fairly minimal and not near the level that might be considered as balancing power between citizens and the state. He notes that NPOs have gradually gained traction, aided by the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities in 1998, but perhaps remains hindered by political concern of enabling obstacles to governmental policies.

Prior to the NPO Law passage, restrictions made it difficult for associational volunteer activities to grow, such as the inability for NPOs to hold their own bank accounts or be recognized as credible organizations due to a lack of certification. The passage of the NPO Law in 1998 officially recognized and certified volunteer organizations. Prior to this passage, it was the government who officially served the public (Hirata 2002). It was the distrust of the government's role in this regard that led to the increased recognition and popularity of volunteering during the 1995 earthquake. As discussed in Chapter 2, the government did not handle the disaster aftermath sufficiently, and citizen volunteers came to the rescue. The community volunteer movement increased largely due to natural disasters, especially the 1995 Hanshin Earthquake in Kobe. In this earthquake, the government was largely criticized for failure to bring resources and aid to citizens in need following the major catastrophe. Instead, volunteers and even the local yakuza, or gangsters, arrived to help before the government could organize resources. The mistrust and disgruntlement with the inefficacy of the government drove the continuation of the volunteer movement, though it tapered off significantly following the aftermath.

The earthquake maneuvered a new focus on volunteerism and brought the term NPO into everyday use – tapping a resource already present, but now highlighted in the media. Hasegawa,

Shinohara, and Broadbent (2007) report NPO leaders were working to construct the NPO Law prior to the 1995 earthquake, aiming to support and promote volunteer activities. Thus, while the 1995 earthquake is attributed as starting the volunteer renaissance, the pattern of *borantia shakai* (volunteer-oriented civil society) began to take hold in the 1980s—the earthquake merely cemented it into the Japanese consciousness (Hasegawa, Shinohara, and Broadbent 2007).

Recent ethnographies have found that the valuing of volunteers and NPOs were not only inspired by the 1995 disaster, but because of the uncertainty nurtured by the Lost Decade—nearly two decades of economic stagnation following the asset price "bubble" burst in 1991. The public demanded a more transparent political system, openly critiquing those in positions of authority and participating in NPOs and other forms of volunteerism and activism (Kingston 2004; Turner 1999).

FIGURE 49 – Volunteers of JCN just outside the evacuation zone

According to a Ministry of Internal Affairs survey, by March 2011 the number of registered volunteer NPOs had reached 42,387. A Multi-country comparative perspective by Imagine Canada found Japan's volunteer rate within the overall workforce to be 4.2% (Imagine Canada 2005). Taniguchi (2010) states that regular volunteering in Japan is as low as 9% of the adult population, and the time committed in this 9% varies greatly. As participation in other civil engagement activities are so common, such as PTA meetings and neighborhood associations, the lines between these activities and others are unclear, there are few reliable studies documenting the number of regular volunteers in Japan. Those statistics that do exist show vague or limited information.

Two determinants have been found in past research -- social capital and socioeconomic status are determinants for volunteering. Nihei (2003) found that most neighborhood association volunteers in the 1980s were middle class, as did Nakano's study of local volunteers in Yokohama (2000). However, these volunteers may also be perceived to be outsiders due to an intersectional identity, such as sexual orientation, marital status, and so on (Taniguchi 2010). While wealthier people may be pressured to volunteer more to help those less fortunate, Taniguchi (2010) found no clear evidence that employment status determined volunteering participating. It is social capital that results in higher volunteer efforts, according to Taniguchi (2010), including pressure from family, friends, and religious institutions. Nakano's (2000; 2004) research revealed awareness on the part of volunteers regarding the time volunteering took away from their primary responsibilities to their job and their family. However, for some, it is has become part of their identity.

Kito (2017), provides insight on community dedication in discussing Japanese societal obligation to one's own group, be it family or a broader community. Singer visited Japan in

preparation of his 1997 work, *How Are We to Live?* Within this work, Singer asserts, "Japanese ethics is still deeply influenced by the idea that one's obligations to one's own group override those toward strangers and to the public at large" (Singer, 1997:149). Kito notes that in the past decade, this dedication to one's community has been challenged by the destabilization of traditional employment by neoliberalism and the increasing presence of broken families (Kito 2017). As traditional boundaries constructed by employments and families break down, as does one's obligation to these groups – perhaps freeing space and inciting a need to find and contribute to a community elsewhere. This recalls the discussion on "postfamilial" Japan in Chapter 3, in which new family dynamics have made space for companion animals to enter the home and family life.

QUESTIONNAIRE

During lunch breaks, I administered a short volunteer survey at three key sites of my research (details outlined in Chapter 1). Results of the questionnaire were helpful in understanding why volunteers came to these sites and contributed to understandings of volunteer incentives and human-animal relationships.

In total, I received 75 questionnaires throughout the course of the fieldwork. The questionnaires were given during lunch breaks at three sites: ARK, Heart, and AFN. JCN was not set up in a way that allowed for questionnaires to be distributed and so I only conducted interviews in this location. These questionnaires were provided in either Japanese language or English. I initiated discussion following these questionnaires, which is recorded in fieldnotes, regarding their responses. For example, as the questionnaires asked about their pets, I often first asked if they had photos on the phone to share. This often opened discussion to their experiences with companion animals within and outside of volunteering. Furthermore, some of the answers

in the questionnaires aided in asking questions during interviewing. Given the busy and precarious volunteer schedules at these sites, interviewing volunteers was rarely possible. Where possible, the relevant responses are included below.

TABLE 2 – Demographics of volunteers who filled out questionnaire

VOLUNTEERS	
Nationality	
Japanese	63
Other	12
Residence	
Japan	70
Other	5
Volunteering	
Volunteer Elsewhere	14
Volunteer only at Animal Rescue	61
Gender	
Female	57
Male	18
Companion Animal Status	**Purchased/Adopted?**
46 had pets:	19 purchased
29 had no pets	17 adopted

FINDINGS

Questionnaire Responses

The volunteers who took the questionnaire included 63 Japanese citizens and 12 non-Japanese. Among the twelve foreigners, 7 are long-term residents of Japan, whereas 5 were short-term (six months or less), visitors. Of the 75, 57 were female, 18 male, and the age range was primarily young people (20-30) and older generations (50-70).

Only 14 animal rescue volunteers have volunteered elsewhere. Of these 14, only 7 were Japanese citizens. About 60% have companion animals in their homes, though, naturally, all expressed an affinity for these animals.

The most common employment positions listed were company employee and college student. Following this, "housewife", "unemployed", "retired" and other forms of non- or home-based employment was the second most common status listed. The majority who listed this form of employment were older, "empty nest" women and men. Socioeconomic status was not asked in the questionnaire. However, considering the time and cost of coming out to a rural place to spend time with animals, and observations of clothing and vehicles, the majority of regular volunteers at ARK could be considered middle class. In other sites, such as Heart Tokushima, the regular volunteers, the class was not as clear, perhaps ranging from lower to middle class. While also not listed in the questionnaires, it was noted that a small percentage of volunteers were mentally disabled to some degree, though it was not always clear in what sense. For instance, there was a man who was non-verbal but who had been given a "job" of walking dogs, and a woman who was warned by others to be highly unstable but, "good with the cats." Discussing mental health in Japan is taboo, so I did not inquire further.

Whereas Taniguchi (2010) lists social pressure, or otherwise being asked via a social network to volunteer, as a common incentive, the majority of volunteers at these shelters found their way there on their own. They saw an ad, read a news article online, or found the site for the animal rescue via social media.

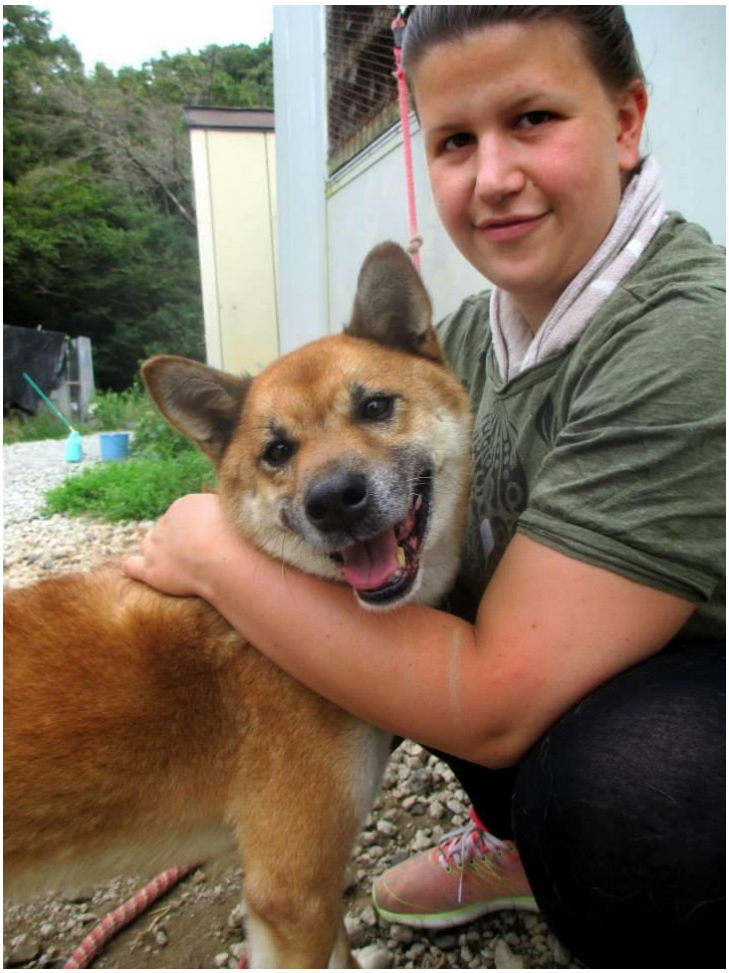

FIGURE 50 – A volunteer from Germany poses with a dog at Heart **Tokushima**

The incentives listed for volunteering were primarily interested in being near dogs and cats. However, the following most common reasons for the Japanese volunteers are linked as having an emotional need to be near these animals, including, "my dog/cat passed away" (noted 11 times in questionnaires). Further, loneliness was discussed as a reason in accompanying informal interviews,

> "After my dog passed, she was a poodle, my house was empty" (Fieldnotes, September 12th, 2014).
>
> "Because it is lonely in my home. I think I was to become a foster parent" (Questionnaire response, September 14th, 2014).

> After discussing his family life, with children married and moved away, "they [pointing to older dogs in the room adjacent to the ARK break room] keep me company" (Fieldnotes December 7th, 2014).
> "This is the only place that I can spend time with dogs" (Questionnaire response, November 29th, 2014).

Finally, a small percentage of primarily foreign volunteers cited interest in animal welfare – helping animals in Japan during their stay. A Japanese volunteer explains, "A volunteer from Australia, Rita, explained she volunteered at Heart, "Because of the overwhelming need, and because I love animals, especially cats" (Interview, January 12th, 2015). Similarly, an international volunteer from Germany stated, "I worked in Hakone for a year and now I want to give back before I head home" (Interview, January 27th, 2015).

These incentives are not surprising given current cultural phenomena. Firstly, Japanese citizens are largely against or unsure about euthanasia. According to Cavalier (2016), The Japan Veterinary Medical Association (JVMA) published guidelines permitting vets to perform euthanasia if the welfare of the animal is greatly compromised when there is no hope for recovery. During my research, it was communicated to me by multiple NPO directors that it is difficult to find a vet who will perform euthanasia. Often, they must drive quite out of the way to a vet who will euthanize. Cavalier found that while vets may largely agree that fatally ill pets should be euthanized, they defer to the owners. When asked if the owners accept euthanasia, only 16% replied that the public accepts euthanasia (Cavalier 2016: 28). Killing is considered a form of cruelty, and thus euthanasia is considered cruel to the animal. This is similar to the phenomena of Japanese choosing to abandon their pet instead of relinquishing him to animal control (Cavalier 2016).

Due to this common stance, a companion animal with a fatal illness will instead, die of natural causes. This is an expensive and emotionally trying process. One of the most common

conversations I had with volunteers was in regard to the inability to, "go through that again." These conversations were often brief, but to the point:

> After asking a volunteer about why he came to ARK, he explained, "I lost my dog 9 months ago, he was 15 years old - a labrodoodle" (Fieldnotes, September 13th, 2014).
>
> "I just can't get another…it was so hard" (Fieldnotes, October 23rd, 2014).
>
> "I lost my dog 10 years ago and decided to come to help dogs at ARK, instead of having another dog myself" (Questionnaire response, September 23rd, 2014).
>
> "It was so hard. I am lonely without her. I like the old dogs here. This one [points to Gotcha, an older mutt who slowly approaches her] reminds me of her" (Fieldnotes, February 9th, 2015).
>
> "I want dogs in my life. I cannot have another at home" explained an older male volunteer whose Shiba Inu recently passed (Fieldnotes, April 7th, 2015).

The process of watching an animal slowly die, in pain, was difficult for these volunteers. This process unfortunately led to the decision to not adopt another dog or cat, for many. However, because they enjoyed being close to dogs and/cats, volunteering was viewed as an excellent space for this interaction.

Loneliness is noted as a common issue in Japan, especially for the elderly. As discussed in Chapter 3, as the population declines, there is an abundance of older generations and a lack of younger to support them (Cabinet Office 2015). This is not only a financial concern, but one of socialization. Thus, it is not surprising to have found the many of the older (50-70) volunteers listed a form of loneliness as a reason for volunteering.

Similar to this response, a number of respondents listed the inability to have a pet in their housing situation:

> "I can't have a dog now, as I can't have a dog in my current apartment" (Questionnaire response, September 14th, 2014).

> I am affected by animals, when I gain the ability, I will adopt a dog or a cat. [Volunteer later explained she cannot due to housing] (Questionnaire response and fieldnotes, September 10th, 2014).

It is common for apartments to not permit pets, though this is gradually changing. As pets become more common, apartments are increasingly permitting them in their complexes. Due to these limitations, visiting a shelter may be the only option for furry companionship.

Interviews and Fieldnotes

In interviews and daily conversations, the experiences of volunteering came out strongly. As I was a volunteer, yet also a researcher, I was asked by a coordinator to ask why volunteers return to ARK. From March 20th, 2015, "He explained to me that that volunteering is still not a widespread activity in Japan, though it is booming. Explaining why he wanted to understand what brings a volunteer back, he said, 'A person might come to ARK for their first volunteer activity and if they have a good experience, then they might return.'"

However, not all considered volunteers a positive. There were mixed perceptions of volunteers by the staff, which counteract the perceptions by the volunteers. Whereas many of the volunteers state their desire and satisfaction with helping, staff at one site note that volunteers simply create more work for them, and confuses the animals. This is again linked to the fact that for most, it is their first volunteer activity, and sometimes their first experience with dogs and cats outside of a pet shop. As one staff member notes:

> "Volunteer" was not even part of the vocabulary until the 1995 earthquake and now it is a fad. In Japan, volunteers come with zero, even less than zero, knowledge about what to do. This can be bad for everyone – the dogs, staff, and dangerous for the volunteer. As a result of the ignorance, many staff at ARK dread having volunteers. Volunteers are a hindrance to their daily activities, not an advantage (Fieldnotes, April 1st, 2015).

These negative interactions are noted throughout my fieldworks via observations. For example, write about a new, young woman volunteer who attempted to walk Therapy, a beautiful, energetic husky:

> Therapy did not get along with her volunteer today, I had to take over. The young woman could barely handle Therapy, not knowing how to work with a "pulling" energetic dog. Therapy saw right through the volunteer's inexperience and went a bit wild chasing one of the resident outdoor cats. The volunteer ended up confused and nearly letting go of Therapy's leash as Therapy pulled her up the side of the mountain. I came over and grabbed the leash for her, and called Therapy back. The entire time this happened, the volunteer never attempted to communicate with Therapy, verbally or otherwise, just staying silent and letting it all happen (Fieldnotes, October 23rd, 2014).

A similar example was observed in regard to TanTan, a larger stubborn dog who kenneled with PuiPui. Out on a walk with a volunteer who kept pulling him away from sniffing trees and otherwise enjoying his walk, TanTan made his feelings known by lifting his leg and peeing on the pant leg and shoe of the male volunteer. I had to muffle my laughter as I walked nearby with Josie-chan. Such encounters were bound to happen when you place two beings together who have not quite become acquainted yet – kinks much be worked out between human and animal just as between humans and humans.

At other NPOs, volunteers are desperately needed - especially regulars. The difference seems to be the amount of staff available. For some organizations, they may only have 1 or 2 full-time or even part-time staff. Volunteers do the majority of the work. A director of one of these sites explained to me with exasperation that while she appreciates and needs volunteers desperately, relying on them makes the site chaotic. Unlike staff, she cannot count on them to come, and every day can be different. There were certainly days when it was simply one staff member caring for the 120+ dogs and cats who need to be fed, watered, walked and their kennels cleaned. Despite the perceptions, it is clear to all that it is important to make the volunteers feel

appreciated, respected, and needed. Even at the site with a large staff, it is volunteering on site that brings in potential adopters and donors to the site.

Another common thread is more difficult to discuss, and that is that many of the volunteers, and sometimes staff, are known to be outsiders in some form (see further discussion about associations with "strays" in Chapter 4). This may be because of their foreignness, but also because of their association with being a "cat" person, or openly preferring companion animals over human interactions. Volunteering regularly at a smelly animal rescue site is not a common activity. Thus, those who choose to spend a large amount of time in these spaces may hold an outsider status for any number of reasons. This status might be noted by them, by the staff, or simply observed. These sites, among companion animals, may be a place where they feel they belong, or are accepted - by the animals, if not also by the humans. There were many jokes and comments regarding this "outsider" status,

> "We like to spend our time with the dogs, not with them [other women in the community]" a volunteer said to the group during lunch break, followed by laughter (Fieldnotes, February 7th, 2015).
>
> "The cats here, they are my real friends [laughter]" (Fieldnotes, March 27th, 2015).

The sense of commonality in this adoration for rescue animals as opposed to what is considered the norm, was a trait that connected the regular volunteers (and often the staff as well). This perception of "others" as not as animal "crazy" as them sometimes bled into the adoption process. My fieldnotes note the following adoption interaction:

> Sueo was adopted today, the favorite dog of Tony [long-term volunteer]. Sueo had been at Heart for three years. He is a beautiful shaggy dog and always happy. Because he lives in one of the few outdoor kennels, he is the first dog you see when getting to Heart. The adopter appeared to be a man who was clearly as in love with Sueo as we all were. However, there was a disinterested woman with him who patted him on the head once, and filled out the paperwork. After they left with the dog, we were all shocked to learn it is the woman who adopted him

> and the man does not even live close to her. The other volunteers were concerned because she did not greet us or ask us about the dog, and showed little interest in our beloved Sueo. They became even more concerned because Shelly explained the woman would be building a kennel outside and Sueo would be outside only, and they worried he would be left alone and forgotten. At least at Heart, he is outside but protected and loved all day. Shelly assured us that the man would likely check on him often and let them know if there is a problem, as he clearly loves Sueo.

Here, the sense of ownership of the animals and comradery between volunteers is illustrated. Everyone cared deeply about Sueo, and judged harshly the adopter due to this sense of love and ownership.

Other drivers for volunteering that arose in interactions was a common connection regarding animal rescue. As discussed in Chapter 3, most companion animals in Japan are purchased in pet stores and bred by breeders. Animal rescues are rare and often unknown by the general public. Thus, there was a certain passion communicated by the regulars, who connect over their knowledge and dedication to adoption. This excerpt from April 18th, 2015 fieldnotes includes the topics of conversation during a volunteer lunch:

> The conversation turned into pet shops and breeders. The outspoken regular said, "Pet shops, breeders, what can we do?" while holding her head in her hands with frustration. The discussion started out about *hokensho* [animal control], saying either that people do not know what happens when they give up an animal there, or they themselves do not know why people would give up an animal there.

This connection to a meaningful, esoteric cause was most common among the older women volunteers. Whereas two of the sites researched provided rather leisurely volunteering activities (rain, shine, or snow), the other two were difficult. Hard labor with few resources. It was a lot of dirty, messy, and sometimes dangerous work (e.g. aggressive dogs), so there must be a strong pull for volunteers to regularly return to these sites. Indeed, it was these sites in which the regulars noted the purpose behind this work, and the knowledge that if they don't do it, who will?

This question also contributed to bringing in volunteers following the 2011 disaster. In accordance with past literature on volunteering and disaster, it was mistrust and anger with the government's poor response to the disaster - particularly in regard to animals - that drove volunteers to these sites. The following is an excerpt from an interview with a foreigner who came to Japan following the 2011 Tōhoku disaster, via Kinship Circle:

> It has been 4 years since the triple disaster in Japan: earthquake, tsunami, nuclear crisis. Parts of Tōhoku remain uninhabited while others are still suffering economic devastation. Not only was there a massive loss of life, but a massive loss of livelihood with 250,000 people still displaced from their homes. Most people think of it as a 3-pronged disaster, but there were really 4 tragedies. The government's ill-conceived responses to the disaster: failure to prepare for catastrophic events, evacuating citizens with little notice and no timeline, and obfuscation of information about the dangers posed by radiation, created the fourth disaster (Interview, March 12th, 2015).

The dissatisfaction with the government was a common theme in daily conversations among volunteers. They felt they had to do something to help the animals who had nowhere else to turn. It was meaningful, emotional work.

Another aspect of volunteering may serve as a pull - the unspoken increase in responsibilities. This is something brought up in daily conversations and experienced my both myself and my partner. The more a volunteer visits a site, the more freedom, respect, and tasks they will be trusted with during their time. For instance, fieldnotes from August 21st, 2014:

> Lyon mentioned that his first week here, he was only allowed one dog at a time. He said after a week he was proud to be allowed two dogs. The volunteers brag about graduating to new duties, even if it means more work.

This unspoken hierarchy can come in the form of walking more than one dog at a time, walking one of the more "difficult" dogs, or even having the freedom to choose which animals to take on next. While no one outwardly states the graduation from one status to another, it is known and recognized by both the staff and the volunteer and taken as a point of pride.

This desire to support non-human others is a backdrop to the above listed incentives as well. A potential volunteer could find many causes to support, but the choice to volunteer at an animal rescue is a purposeful one. It can mean picking up dog poo in the middle of a snow storm, while trying to avoid startling the anxious nearly-feral dog you are walking. It can mean walking up and down a steep mountain with untrained dogs for hours in direct Japanese summer sun. It can mean getting bit, scratched, or ignored. One example from Heart Tokushima is telling:

> Ball is an unkempt Golden Retriever rescued from the disaster. Despite his breed's reputation for friendliness, he is known to be unpredictably aggressive. Ball has bitten volunteers, and one staff member – all times it occurred without warning. Perhaps it is this quality, this broken quality that makes Leigh Ann so eager to befriend him. She continues to gently attempt to play fetch with him as he waits for his dinner. I and the other volunteers are watching with amazement and a bit of concern, knowing his reputation. Ball is responding with a slight smile, seeming to enjoy the attention. He does slowly bounces around to grab the toy she throws, and allows her to take it from him after fetching it in the small length allowed by his leash (Fieldnotes, October 30th, 2015).

Over the course of the next week, I witness Ball become gradually friendlier with Leigh Ann. Shelly, the head of Heart, warns Leigh Ann to be careful, as do other volunteers. Leigh Ann is set on ensuring he is included and attention is given. Other volunteers call her "brave." Ball seems to appreciate the attention, responding increasingly with slight tail wags.

The choice to regularly volunteer at these sites is not one made without a deep desire to be with these animals and to help in some form, either out of pity or because of a companionship that has developed between the volunteer and an individual, or multiple, animals. This is reflected in statements by volunteers:

> "I came today because it was raining, and I was worried they [pointing to the dogs] would be all alone" (Fieldnotes, September 30th, 2014).

> "I want to make their life better" an older male volunteer told me when I asked him why he comes to ARK (Fieldnotes, March 20th, 2015).

Observed interactions show the feeling is mutual. When regulars approach the breakroom every morning at ARK to drop off their lunch and bags, the "inside dogs" flock to each of them, wagging their tails and barking in a friendly manner. Their friend has arrived, after all.

CONCLUSION

In accordance with past research, the findings here correspond with other findings regarding volunteering. As indicated in the findings, the regular volunteers are largely those who do not have a 9-5 job, including college students and those who are retired, or older housewives. However, there were many more findings that go against past research. Whereas some came to volunteer due to a friend asking them along, the majority searched and found this volunteer opportunity on their own. In fact, they may volunteer because of a lack of social capital outside of the research site. With companion animals, they can find relationships and intimate connections they might otherwise not experience. They can build responsibility within the context of the shelter, gaining confidence in themselves and earning respect of the other volunteers, the staff, and the resident animals. Finally, they can feel as though they are contributing work and effort to these spaces, especially in those that are struggling and noticeably need the help.

Overall, the need and desire to interact with animals is the strongest pull for these volunteers. The connection formed between human and individual animals is emotional and fulfilling. The dog or cat responds to their regular appearance, trusting more and more as time goes on, as I experienced with Gobo and countless others. They develop a bond, build a rapport, and perhaps take the same route every time they visit. For long-term volunteers, they develop a

responsibility towards the organization and the animals within. They feel a bit of ownership over what happens, who is adopted by whom, and openly critique new happenings.

While this chapter presents a small research sample, it brings to light a number of potential pulls for regular volunteers in animal rescues. Who the volunteers are, including loneliness and/or an outsider status, connect many of the regulars encountered. Why they do the often difficult and messy work is also telling. It is considered highly meaningful for some, political for others, and as a form of personal pride as they come to belong and be given increased responsibilities. These incentives tie the staff, volunteers, and animals together in a purposeful drive to turn a sometimes chaotic situation into one that is functional and capable of improving the lives of the fuzzy friends within.

Chapter Six: Who makes it on the ARK? A Sociozoologic Scale for Japan

ABSTRACT
This chapter lays a small piece of the foundation for constructing a sociozoologic scale for non-human animals in Japan. The sociozoologic scale was first developed by Arluke and Sanders (1996) for ranking non-human animals according to their value to humans. Whereas non-human animals are ranked in myriad ways, from the Great Chain of Being to food pyramids, this scale is a hierarchy that determines the management and care of a species within a given society based on their significance to the humans with whom they interact. Those at the top of the sociozoologic scale receive more societal privileges than those below. Irvine (2009) utilized this scale to understand our response to animals in disaster situations, specifically in Hurricane Katrina, finding that the response to animals in the midst of a disaster reflected how and why we value one species over another. While this scale may be common knowledge within one's own culture, as major disasters receive international assistance the value of non-human animals to local populations is important to delineate for resource allocation. In formulating a sociozoologic scale for Japan, this chapter's goals are twofold. First, building on Irvine, to illustrate what disasters reveal about Japanese society's complex relationships with the animals in their lives. Second, this chapter illustrates the intraspecies vulnerabilities that exist within a culture's categorization of non-human others. While anthropologists are increasingly exploring the variance and complexity of human-animal relationships, questioning the definition of "animal" is not enough. As this chapter uncovers, within the category of companion animal, or even within "dog" or "cat" are sub-categories that prove significant in terms of human and animal vulnerabilities.

INTRODUCTION

As discussed in Chapter 2, animals who live within, around, or even in the minds of humans have value. This value may be high, such as a treasured pampered cat, or low, such as a cockroach family avoiding the various forms of "pest" control set out for them. These values are linked deeply to the local culture, sometimes associated with realistic traits of the species, sometimes only symbolic or imaginary, sometimes there are exceptions, and sometimes blanket hatred. How do we determine the value of animals? How and why is one placed over another, and on what basis? Who decides and what becomes of these decisions? The answers to these questions determine how an individual animal or species is treated in a culture. Every society has at least a loose hierarchy of worth and power that constitutes how people interact with local species, their positionality and perception in society, and the positionality and perception of

those who care for them. More so, this hierarchy can be uncovered via qualitative methods, such as multispecies or posthuman ethnographic research (see Chapter 1).

My interest here is in the practical application of these hierarchies. Specifically, we need to know which animals (by species and within species) are more valued, culturally, within a given society to most appropriately plan for, and react to disasters. Disasters will continue to be more and more frequent and more intense as the planet warms. More so, international intervention and aid is a common presence throughout the short and long-term aftermath of major disasters. Without documented understanding of the on-site sociozoologic scales, decision-making will be misinformed, resources may not be distributed well, and the disaster will be exacerbated. This is what I observed and documented during my fieldwork. Cultural misunderstandings were common, and merely increased the vulnerability of the animals and their people in an already difficult time (see Chapter 2). This paper provides an example of what compiling a sociozoologic scale might look like based on ethnographic data.

STORIES

The following excerpt from an interview with a staff member at Animal Friends Niigata illustrates the diverse actions and attitudes taken by the non-human animals in the midst of the Fukushima evacuation:

> …the first reason I went was because this woman contacted me, I got a phone call and she said they family lived in Okuma, which is basically one of the nearest areas to the power plant. The mother and father had of course been forced to evacuate after the earthquake, but they were told, like most people, that they would be able to go back after a few days, so they could leave the animal and come back soon. And that's what they did. They went to a primary school in the area for I think one night, and then the next day they [the officials] said actually, you're going to the evacuation center in Nagasaki. So, now you can't go back and pick your dog up, you're not allowed back in the area. So that's what the situation was, this woman had no choice but to do that, so they were shipped off to Nagasaki. The daughter said her mother had been crying herself to sleep every

> single night without the dog. And this was about a week after the disaster, and she said to me, if you get any chance to go into the exclusion zone, please could you do something about our dog, and I said yes ok, of course I will, give me your address, your parents' house address, which she did.
> …we got up to the house, and the dog was there. Despite the fact he hadn't had any food for about a week, he was surprisingly *genki*, actually. He was quite an aggressive dog. So we get there and of course he's chained up outside, and the volunteer and I were thinking, now what do you do? Luckily, we had a pole, that's what saved our lives. She was able to get that onto him and then I just threw treats at him to distract him and then we got the chain off him and then we got him into the crate.
> …there were other dogs around and we did try to catch them, but we couldn't. There was one poor little panic struck Dachshund running through a tunnel, and I tried desperately to catch him, but he just disappeared into the undergrowth and what can you do then? There's absolutely no way we could've gotten through it, big bulky human being, so that broke my heart because he was absolutely terrified, you could see it. And there were other dogs running around so where we could we left food and water for them (Interview, March 9th, 2015).

The variety of dogs, cats, and other animals left behind following the evacuation complicated the rescue efforts. These animals were individuals experiencing an unprecedented event in their lives. Whether feral, abandoned, chained, or otherwise, their relationship to humans, individual personalities and experiences, and physical health all impacted their resiliency in the difficult days to come.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Pets have lived with humans for thousands of years. Grier (2006) defines pets as those animals who have been singled out for special treatment. Evidence of their domestication extends to, at minimum, 30,000 - 32,000 years, with burial of their bodies being a ritualistic practice as early as the Neolithic period (Pregowski 2016). Domestication and the process in which certain animals have become companions, hold affective power with the humans in their lives not given to all domesticated species. This is especially the case with those animals who are chosen as pets, such as cats and dogs in Japanese culture.

Beyond domestication, humans have held close, intimate relationships in various forms with other species from day one. We make meaning from them, we interpret the world from them, we understand ourselves based on what they are not, and so on (Kalof 2011). Their lives are thoroughly entangled in our own, as, for example, food, friends, symbols, scientific objects, or kin. Throughout our relationships with them, we have held a cultural hierarchy of their worth in our societies.

Whereas non-human animals are ranked in myriad ways, from the Great Chain of Being to food pyramids, this scale, first developed by Arluke and Sanders (1996), serves as a hierarchical organizational tool that determines the management and care of a species within a given society based on their significance to the humans with whom they interact. Those at the top of the scale receive more societal privileges than those below. This scale considers how our treatment and perceptions of animals is often inconsistent and dualistic. There are good animals, those who we love, need, and want, and bad animals – vermin, demonized animals, etc. As Arluke and Sanders state, "…the sociozoological scale is a type of story that humans—with the help of animals—tell themselves and each other about the meaning of 'place' in modern societies" (186). The "bad" animals (e.g. urban rats) are those who do not have a place within a given society. Such a scale varies over time and culture and is essential in understanding the human-animal relationships within a given society and the decisions made regarding non-human animal lives.

A scale based on value within a culture is important not only because of the great variation and arbitrariness of a culture's value system, but because it is useful in understanding the decisions we make regarding them. How we value animals decides the social, political, institutional, and legal rules that govern their bodies. These rules are dynamic and may not

always correspond to the current social value of an animal--often institutional changes are slower than social changes in perceived worth.

A scale based on value also serves to expose the variations within species. Derrida has stated that it is fairly absurd to group all non-human animals under one category as though they have similarities that justify this grouping (Derrida 2008). Similarly, as Mitchell (2016) notes, it is perhaps equally absurd to assume all dogs, cats, or all of any given species be grouped together as though they are on an equal basis. This assumption, which ignores individuality of the animal in question, hides the reality of human-pet relationships.

Irvine (2009) utilized this scale to understand our response to animals in disaster situations, specifically in Hurricane Katrina, finding that the response to animals in the midst of a disaster reflected how and why we value one species over another. During a disaster, decisions are made in regard to the current social value non-human animals, which changes over time and by context. A rabbit, for instance, can currently range in value from a beloved family member to a meat or fur product, or even embodied scientific data. The context a rabbit finds herself in will determine what occurs to her value, and thus, what occurs to her during a disaster.

Institutions and individuals must be aware of the current value system in their society (or any society to which they send disaster resources) to properly allocate resources and plan. For instance, a resource such as evacuation space is allocated to the most valued animals, such as companion animals in America. If this resource was not provided, it could trigger a disaster within a disaster – as we saw in Hurricane Katrina.

METHODOLOGY

The collected documents used here include a published work by the Elizabeth Oliver, the director of Animal Refuge Kansai, in which she described the different types of dogs who are

found in Japan. Further, I provide quotes and statements from newsletters and non-profit reports on the Tōhoku disaster. Additionally, I made it a habit to inquire about dogs' histories and circumstances throughout the shelters I volunteered. I could not interview animals, or even ask basic questions, but I could compile data here and there to better understand who they were and how they came to be adoptable at an animal rescue organization. Lastly, I lightly reference the imagery and portrayal of pets on pet shop advertisements and their products. All documents were collected during my fieldwork, but the newsletters and published works extend back to the 1970s. Additional findings are a result of fieldnotes, interviews, and general observations.

Organizing Companion Species

One of the distinctions I learned right away is that of the *uchi*, or "inside" dogs and the *soto*, or "outside" dogs (Hanazono 2013). Soto means outside the home and is associated with *kegare*, or dirtiness. *Uchi* means inside the home. Companion animals are considered *uchi* beings, and they are welcomed within the home. However, there is a distinction here between companion animals and *nora* animals. *Nora* are associated with *soto*. Thus, "Despite the fact that stray dogs and stray cats have the same nature as companion animals, Japanese society does not regard them with an ethical awareness" (Kito 2018). Kito further notes this spatial division determines which animals are to be treated ethically.

This was not only a conceptual distinction, but a physical one employed at my research sites. In ARK's lunch room, which also served as a meeting place for new volunteers, small dogs would often join for socialization during our mid-day break. However, it was not only their size that found them in this space, but their breed and background. These were Miniature Poodles, Shih Tzus, Chihuahuas, Papillions, and Dachshunds. They were purebred animals who had, until arriving, lived an indoor life. It was not until I encountered small dog breeds outside of this room, in regular outdoor kennels, that I realized it was their *uchi* background that determined

their placement. It just so happened that the majority of these *uchi* dogs were miniature. Sometimes, these dogs would only know to use the bathroom on puppy pads - 3 x 2-foot diaper-like pads that stuck to the floor. It was this practice that led me to understand some urban pets simply use these pads, or diapers, rather than defecating outdoors. The dogs who ended up at the rescue did so for a wide range of reasons, but primarily due to behavioral issues (barking, biting, or bathroom-related) or a change in the home (divorce, death, etc.).

In contrast, the *soto* dogs range in size, breed, and demeanor, but many were not pure bred. There were smaller purebred dogs, such as Jack Russells and Dachshunds in the outdoor arenas, as well. These dogs ranged from semi-feral to well-trained family dogs. Their existence at the rescue could be anything from their beloved owner passing away to their rescue from a hoarding case. They were more commonly referred to as *"genki*" or energetic, than "*kawaii*."

In addition to this rather fuzzy binary, there was also an overlapping hierarchy in perception regarding the regionality of human-animal relationships in Japan, especially between urban and rural settings, and the multiple categories of dogs and cats within these two species. Whereas my research is focused on a disaster that took place in the northeast, in Tōhoku prefecture, my informants and their non-profit organizations were based in a wide variety of prefectures. They often compared the view of a given species from their location, Tōhoku, and in Tokyo (or other large-scale urban settings, such as Yokohama or Osaka). The key difference delineated by my informants was, by far, the difference between rural and urban settings. However, this was not the only difference. In Shikoku, for instance, the animal welfare issues and concerns were decidedly different from those in the rural area in Osaka prefecture, namely, the existence of stray dogs and the handling of animal control matters. These regional differences are not surprising, according to the director of ARK, given the traditional autonomy of local

governance and community in rural settings. Decisions and culture in one locale regarding animal control or the proper treatment and care of animals may differ greatly from another due to the historical-cultural decision-making process within the given community.

These categories were relevant during the 3-11 disaster. Whereas the majority of post-disaster media and international attention covered companion animals, this category was found to include multiple sub-categories of "inside" pets, such as a pure bred or beloved "fuzzy fictive kin" (Hansen 2013 – discussed further in Chapter 3), and "outside" pets, such a guard dogs or stray cats. The fate of a *banken,* or guard dog, may be far different than that of a pet-store-bought Chihuahua, or that of a *yaken,* or feral dog. Similarly, the needs, desires, and outcome of a *nora neko,* or stray cat, differs significantly from a chubby Scottish Fold. To merely refer to all of them as "companion animals" hides the significant nuance that increases or decreases their vulnerabilities and agency.

Within these categories is another important hierarchy, affecting vulnerabilities during a disaster situation and how humans relate to these individuals. Following the distinctions of the director of the oldest animal rescue NPO in Japan, I delineate these categories of dogs and cats into the following categories: *Norainu* (feral dogs); *Suteinu* (abandoned dogs); Chained dogs, Everyone's dog, Mutts, and Pampered lap dogs. Similarly, there are three categories of cats: *Noraneko* (feral cats), *Suteneko* (abandoned cats), Everyday Cats, and Pure Bred Cats. These categories are overlapping. A feral dog may be called *nora inu* or *yaken,* with the latter often differentiating only feral – though sometimes also used for stray dogs. Similarly, *yaneko* and *noraneko* can both be used for stray or feral cats, though *yaneko* is more used for truly feral cats. Further, Everybody's Dog/Cat may also be considered a stray. Despite these overlaps and fuzzy nature of these categories, there are clear distinctions that can be discussed within each. Most

significantly, the category these animals fall into makes a tremendous difference in their fate before, during, and after a disaster.

Norainu and the Hokensho

Norainu, or *yaken,* are discussed here as feral dogs, with recognition these terms can also be used to describe stray/abandoned dogs. We will discuss the former as *suteinu* below. *Norainu* are those who are not under the immediate care of a human, though not indigenous to their environment. They roam their locale either with other *norainu*, or on their own.

There is a distinction to be made, as well, of the generation of *norainu* at hand. A first generation *nora* may still have tendencies to be near humans. They are likely the ones most easily caught by the *hokensho*'s traps. *Nora* past the first generation will not fall for the poison or live traps placed for them. For example, a newsletter from the 1990s notes that the *hokensho* places chicken with strychnine in locations in which *nora* are common. If they consume this meat, they will die a painful death. If a wild animal consumes the same meat, a similar fate will befall him. If a *nora* falls into a live trap, death also awaits him. This death will also be long and painful but include the horror of being trapped among the very people he knows to avoid. According to Oliver (2003), "Because of the inhumane treatment and handling of these dogs, many die of shock or suffer such trauma that their minds are destroyed. No amount of rehabilitation can ever restore a *hokensho*-trapped dog to normal."

FIGURE 51 – Dogs at the *hokensho*

The true *nora*, however, will often allude such traps and will be a master of his own locale. They can be responsible for the impregnation (or the result of) of chained outdoor dogs. He does not pose a threat to local people, but he may frighten or concern those who do not realize he is more scared of humans than humans should be of him. Hence, the *hokensho* responds with traps and poison when alerted to their presence.

During a disaster such as occurred in 2011, *norainu* may fair the best. With no action taken to account for companion animals on the part of the government, the *nora* were the only ones prepared to survive on their own. Even now, dog populations roam the abandoned evacuation zone. They may eat from the feeding stations left out by kind-hearted rescue groups, but they will not fall into their traps to attempt to rehabilitate them. In fact, the evacuation zone has merely increased the number of *nora* dogs in this prefecture.

FIGURE 52 –Puppies awaiting adoption at an event hosted by Heart Tokushima

Suteinu

These dogs, the *suteinu*, are the abandoned dogs. They were at some point under the care of a human and have had their needs (at least minimally) met by humans, but have since found themselves on their own via abandonment or other circumstances Thus, they can be lost, confused, and struggling mentally and physically. Not surprisingly, these dogs are a much easier target for the *hokensho*. They will fall for the traps of the left-out meat or food placed in live traps. Since already abandoned, their people will likely not come for them.

These dogs are often amenable to humans, and thus have a chance at being adopted again by in the human population near their abandonment. Some residents will merely shoo them

away. The dumping of dogs in spaces such as shrines or mountainous, rural areas is common, and some dog owners even see it as a less cruel fate than the *hokensho*. As a staff member from ARK notes, these people want to avoid the painful death of their dog, but instead simply expand the pain and suffering he or she will experience (Interview, February 9th, 2015).

Chained Dogs

It is a common practice in some regions of Japan to keep a dog on a chain. These dogs are kept outside of the home, chained at all hours of the day. Sometimes they are let out for walks or other events. The prevalence of Chained dogs is regional - with those dogs in the Kanto region being largely kept indoors and those in the north kept outdoors at the end of a chain. Part of this is a result of these dogs still serving a utilitarian purpose, either directly or symbolically. They act as the guard dog of the home, the *banken*, ready to bark upon approaching visitors. As one Israeli volunteer, though long-time resident of Japan, expressed to me during an interview:

> Towards the end of our interview, when I asked about the most significant animal welfare issues Japan needs to work on, he mentioned that he lives out in the country and he still sees dogs who live their entire lives at the end of a chain "like a doorbell that doesn't require any electricity." He continues, "But I have met these people, and they are nice people, so…" He ties this into Japan being a changed country, as this is how it was for all of Japan before, not just in the country (Fieldnotes, April 16th, 2015).

Chained dogs are not accepted in many parts of the world – seen as a form of cruelty, and international volunteers bring that bias with them to these sites. However, my research revealed that a dog kept chained outside did not always mean they had less value than one kept indoors. The value of the dog, whether or not she was considered family, or kin, did not always correspond to their spatial placement. This caused confusion and judgement during animal rescue post-disaster in the evacuated area surrounding the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. Foreigners would look down upon those owners who kept their dogs chained—a common

practice where the disaster took place, sometimes even stealing the animals. This was perhaps a cultural misunderstanding. However, Japanese informants expressed a similar sentiment. During an interview with Kara, a Japanese woman who fosters for several organizations, she explained the disaster arrangements following the 2011 evacuation:

> …it's a difference between rural and the city. In the city, people live with their pets in the home, and so if this happened in Tokyo, it would not work. But in Tōhoku, they buy their pets as though they aren't part of the family, but more of a guard dog. Thus, the consciousness of them is much lower than it would be in Tokyo.
> In Japan, dogs have always been guard dogs who live outside – not inside the home – and not as part of the family. So, it is easier for them to leave them behind and not see them as another life or another family member (Interview, March 16th, 2015).

During a disaster, as well, these dogs have limited agency. Not only do they rely on their people for food, water, and hygiene, but they have no freedom of movement. If a predator approached, such as the many wild boar or *nora* dogs that stalked the evacuation zone in the long-term disaster aftermath, they could not run. Many dogs met their end in this fashion.

FIGURE 53 – Kenshin begging for treats – an experienced Everyone's dog

Everyone's Dog

Everyone's dog is one I encountered many times within rescues, and observed in cities, shrines, and villages alike. While not nearly as common as they once were, they are loved where they are found. The Everyone's dog is similar to a *nora* dog in that he belongs to no one. However, rather than avoid humans and live on the sidelines, he lives in the center of attention. Instead of begging or stealing, as a *suteinu* might do out of desperation and hunger, he has learned the tricks of the trade. He will calmly and sweetly sit near a local restaurant, perhaps

lifting his paw in a casual begging pose to entice the passersby. He will be fed, and pet and he will move on to do the same in his usual spots.

These dogs only have the *hokensho* to fear. The ones I have found in shelters are often brought there because the *hokensho* was a threat and they wanted a good life for their friend. They are not necessarily obedient pets, or fit for an urban space, as they are prone to wander and not be confined to a given home. More so, they lack bathroom, leash, and other forms of training common for friendly dogs of their age. Thus, many enjoy their life within a shelter - free food, shelter, and often adoration and cuddles from the staff and volunteers.

I noted in my fieldnotes, again and again, those dogs who I suspected to be prime examples of these Everybody's dogs. My suspicions were often confirmed. One common trait was a perfected face that one could not say no to, combined with a begging paw that lightly, unobtrusively grazes your arm if you dare to turn away (see image of Kenshin above). You want to give them everything and make them happy, make that face of sweet, innocent need be alleviated. They are masters.

During a disaster situation, they are also highly vulnerable. No one person has them as a responsibility, thus no plans will be made for their food, their veterinary needs, or their evacuation and safety. They are reliant entirely on multiple people's notice and attention. Unless he or she is claimed and cared for, or rescued by an organization, his charms will be left without resources. In the 2011 disaster, it was often these dogs who were rescued as they would approach people and willingly go with them to a better life.

FIGURE 54 – Prior to a swift adoption, this purebred dog spent a lot of time being held and coddled by volunteers during lunch breaks

Purebred Dogs

Oliver (2003) refers to the purebred dogs as "pampered lap dogs." This is an accurate description of what their life often entails. These are *shitsunai ken,* or "dogs who live in the house." These dogs are often purchased for a large sum from either a pet shop or a breeder. They are referred to by Oliver as "bonsai" dogs, as well. They are bred, altered, and clothed in ways that "extinguished their original purpose in life (2003:59) (see Chapter 3 for discussion on bonsai and urban pets). They are entirely dependent on their humans, more so even than a chained dog. Despite being spoiled and getting what they want when they want, they do so within the tight confines of their human's space. They can sleep on the couch and eat as many treats as they

desire, but not necessarily go for walks or do normal activities dogs enjoy doing. They are made to resemble their people in style and fashion and must adapt to their owner's lifestyle. Currently, it is common to dress them and push them around in baby stroller-like entrapments. Instead of going outside to defecate and urinate, they are sometimes given puppy pads indoors so as to not "need" to become dirty outdoors.

Dogs of this variety who come to shelters often have mild to severe behavioral problems. For example, they bark too much, are not housebroken, or are aggressive with other dogs or people. These dogs are at a risk of becoming a *suteinu* or given to the *hokensho*. Animal rescues see many cases of such issues. Despite these issues, purebred dogs are nonetheless more easily adopted than mutts. They are valued both as expensive possessions as well as family members.

Due to this value, they are at less risk of harm during a disaster. Their people often have the resources to find a space for them if evacuation is needed, or they may take the time to find a rescue or relative who can take them in. They might be too expensive to be considered disposal, or even valued as a family member. However, this also can pose a problem. During my fieldwork, I met dogs who still "belonged" to families who cannot take them back (see story of Yoshi in Chapter 2, for example), but also would not be permitted to be adopted out.

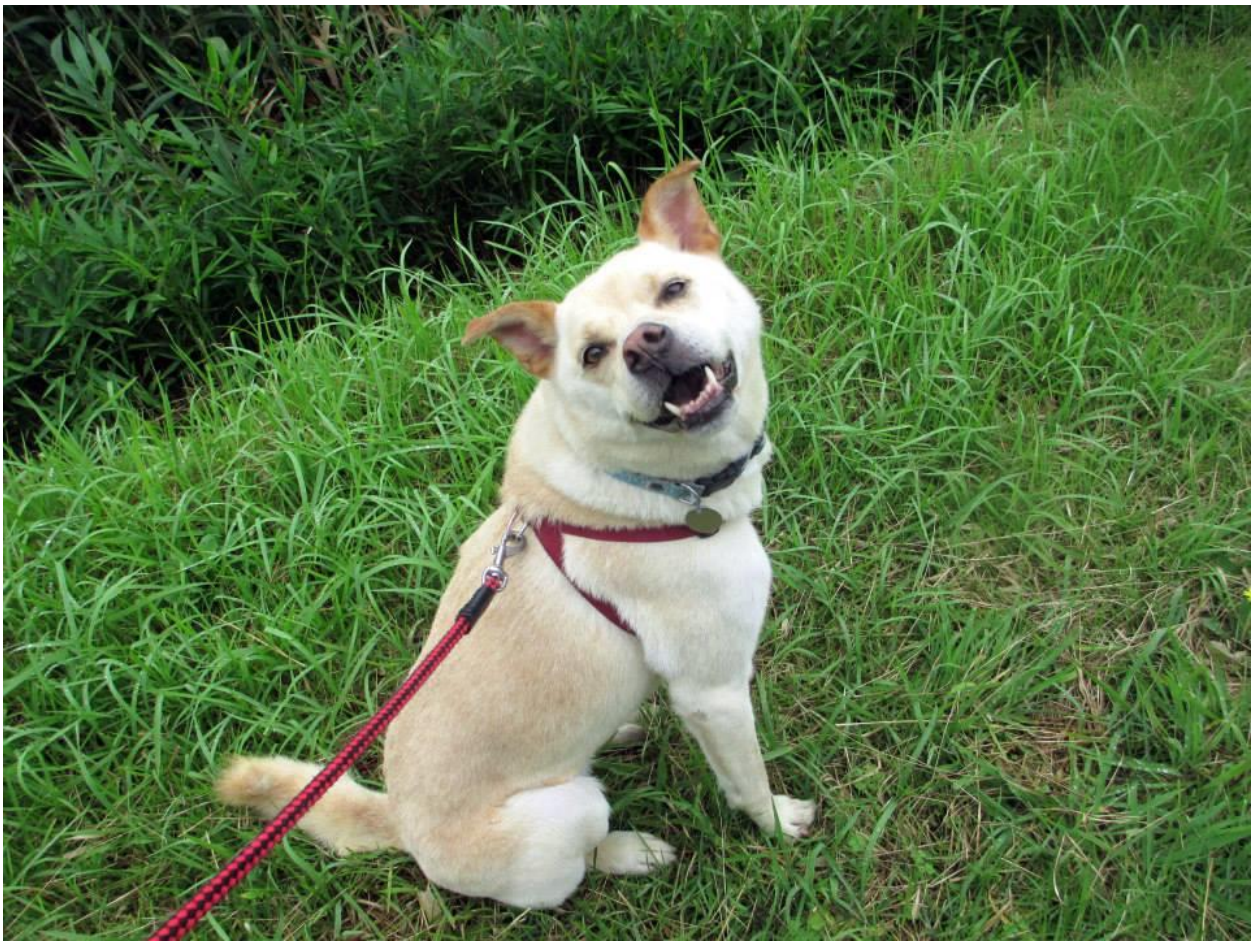

FIGURE 55 – Gohan, a beautiful, friendly mutt at ARK

Mutts

At the opposite end of purebred dogs are mutts. Mutts are the result of *nora* dogs, *suteinu*, Chained dogs, Everyone's dog, or even mixed purebred dogs having litters. While many of these resultant puppies may remain *nora*, find their way to the *hokensho* (especially the case if they are born unexpectedly of a purebred dog), or even "returned to nature" or drowned by the owner of the mother dog, others will be adopted by a local family. Not always as prized and possessed in the same way as the purebred, pampered dogs discussed above, they nonetheless may be a beloved member of the family.

Their worth is in the eyes of those who come to love them. They are not as readily adopted in rescues and are likely to not be put out for adoption by a *hokensho*. Their worth is not apparent in their outward form, as they are materially without value. Thus, in disaster situations, it is not as easy to distinguish them from those dogs without a home, such as an Everyone's dog or a *suteinu*.

FIGURE 56 – Kittens at ARK

Noraneko and Suteneko

These two categories of cats parallel that of the dogs above. *Noraneko* can mean either stray or actually feral cats, alongside *yaneko* – which typically is used for truly feral. Suteneko

are those who were abandoned by humans, which requires they were once under the care of one. Here, we will discuss *noraneko* as the clever, feral cats who often avoid human contact. Here, *suteneko* are those who were abandoned, but still might rely on humans for food or other needs/interests. All are at risk of the *hokensho*, though the *nora* are most likely to avoid their trap. More so, unless *suteinu*, *suteneko* are common and the *hokensho* is not necessarily called on to entrap them when they appear in a neighborhood. These abandoned cats, or stray cats, might live near and around humans, in a city, a village, or otherwise within a human society, eating scraps and food left out for them. It is becoming gradually, though slowly, more common to trap, neuter, and release these animals, which is helping their number and health. The *nora neko* are harder to catch for such programs, but not impossible.

Unless dogs, cats at the *hokensho* are kept in small, shoe-box size metal boxes with holes for air. They are kept for a few days before being destroyed in the "dream machine." These conditions are horrendous, and they are likely not let out during this time for food, water, or cleaning. As it is difficult to rescue dogs from the trauma of the *hokensho*, it is equally difficult to rescue cats. If left in these boxes for longer than a few days, they can swiftly develop life-long deformations. I met several cats who were partially crippled or otherwise disabled due to these boxes.

FIGURE 57 – The metal boxes here are filled with cats – they will be held here for several days at the *hokensho* until gassing occurs

Purebred Cats

On the other end of the spectrum are purebred cats. These cats are purchased at a pet store or a breeder. They are often popular breeds, such as Persians or Maine coons. Like purebred dogs, they can cost hundreds to thousands of dollars. While exploring the pet shops of Japan, which often have windows facing outward to show off their baby kittens and puppies, I was always shocked as I saw the prices and then looked at the *suteinu* nearby, who could be scooped up for free. Like the purebred dogs, their value and worth come from their breed and the money spent on them.

The purebred cats are likely kept indoors. They are also the animals who make up the popular Cat Cafes and Animal Meeting Spaces (*doubutsu Ai*), where you pay money to interact

with both domestic and exotic species. Like the purebred dogs, as well, if they show behavioral issues they can end up in a *hokensho* or given to an animal rescue.

Agricultural Animals

Lastly, agricultural animals come with their own hierarchy, dependent on the breed, region, and worth to the person they belong to. This worth can be determined by their value economically, or something more. While further research would be necessary to gain more delineation and details of these animals, what I did gather is that the significance of agricultural animal to some of their owners transformed following the 2011 disaster.

The majority of agricultural animals perished in the evacuation area following the 2011 disaster (more details in Chapter 2). For one farmer, for example, the surviving cattle who were once meant for future meat production were now held on as treasured beings, granted sanctuary from their previous destiny. One woman I traveled to Fukushima with had become vegan following the disaster, a rare lifestyle in Japan - especially in the Northeast. She was traveling to bring hay to her last remaining cows, who would never be slaughtered.

Media reported the deaths of other farmers who chose suicide following the loss of their livestock, many of whom could trace the lineage of the animals back generations. While I have significantly less data on agricultural animals, their significance matters greatly to those who relied on them for a livelihood (The Japan Times 2013).

CONCLUSION

Human-animal relationships were showcased in the Tōhoku disaster, illuminating a small picture of the value-system present in this region. Combined with expertise of those who work with the vulnerable and valued populations of companion animals alike, this paper begins a small portion of a sociozoologic scale of Japanese human-animal relationships. As noted, this scale is

regional. The Kanto region may find the animals in different spatial settings than those in the Tōhoku region, for instance, with purebred animals being more common and adored in urban areas than in rural.

The Tōhoku disaster, above all, illustrated the need to consider the value of non-human animals in disaster planning, for both human and animal well-being. More so, to do so from an informed standpoint. While a value scale may be common knowledge within one's own culture, as major disasters receive international assistance the value of non-human animals to local populations is important to delineate for resource allocation. Recognizing the local sociozoologic scale can aid in disaster planning, as well as answer questions regarding who is left behind, and who is not, in disaster situations.

Chapter Seven: Building Multispecies Resiliency

I write this conclusion on March 11th, 2018. It is the seventh anniversary of the 2011 Tōhoku disaster. In the modern era of ethnography, we never truly leave the field. Social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, keeps us connected to our informants, updated on key events, struggles, and accomplishments. I follow not only the people and non-profit organizations with whom I worked, but numerous novice rescue groups who continue to arise throughout Japan. Today, my electronic feed is filled with memories of the trauma from 3-11. Angry statements about the Japanese government. Open letters of thanks to volunteers, home and abroad. Images of the destruction from the tsunami. Statistics of the suicide rates within the temporary housing – especially among the elderly. Photographs of the animals rescued, smiling with their new families. Photographs of those left behind, presumed dead. A face of a cat hiding behind a bush, never able to be caught. A thin, fearful dog who likely did not last a week longer. The carcasses of countless agricultural animals left to starve. These are the images and stories that moved me to pursue this project. Like my informants, I was carried off by affect, becoming dog, cat, cow, wild boar as I encountered their images and stories.

This disaster was felt all around the world and forever changed the face of nuclear power. It inspired strong emotions: the fear of a nuclear fallout, the anxiety of knowing a tsunami can swallow entire communities, and fascination over a 9.0 earthquake that trembled so extremely that the earth's axis was slightly altered. The coast of northern Japan would never be the same, nor would the lives of thousands of humans and non-humans who were affected by the ongoing aftermath.

This dissertation focuses on the multispecies nature of disaster. Pulling from key trajectories in human-animal studies literature, this project sought to expand the literature on

vulnerabilities to include the reality of our more-than-human worlds. More so, the goal of this work is to expand the potential for building resiliency with non-human animals and the humans entangled in their lives. Within this focus, and within the context of the non-profits with whom I worked, the goals of this dissertation were threefold. First, to develop an understanding of human-animal relationships and animal welfare in post-3-11 Japan. Second, to locate the positionality and obstacles of animal-focused non-profit organizations in Japan's third sector. These focuses detail key vulnerabilities that were co-produced, exposed, exacerbated, and deterministic during the 3-11 aftermath. Lastly, this dissertation aimed to understand how to build resiliency with non-human animals.

Throughout these chapters, I aimed to give space to the voices of key players in Japanese animal welfare. While recognizing the limitations of this aim, I sought to illustrate and make real the lives of the animals I encountered in my fieldwork. Through storytelling, imagery, and the passion for their well-being expressed on behalf of my informants, I strive to be inclusive to their complexity, agency, and voice.

DISASTER AND HUMAN-ANIMAL STUDIES

In the Anthropocene, or as Haraway more recently called the current era, the Cthulucene, (2016) we are multispecies. We are all refugees in the age of climate change and the Sixth Great Extinction, regardless of species membership. Interdisciplinary studies are necessary to understand the cultural, social, and physical phenomena changing our worlds – from endlings to therapy animals for PTSD. Human-animal studies answers the call for these interdisciplinary, multispecies foci. This project employs the recent literature in this area to disaster studies, highlighting both the human-animal relations therein, and applicable actions for disaster preparedness.

Relationship is defined here broadly. Relationships can be symbolic, material, material semiotic. They can exist currently, or in the past, real or imagined. The relationships we have with non-human others can be volatile, or harmful, or they can be joyful and filled with care and companionship. The position of humans within these relationships, their perceptions, social constructions, and representation of the non-human are all topics of consideration in this area of study. Further, the stories we tell about these entities, the technology that surrounds their lives within our society, the food we feed them, the songs we sing about them. As Sax (2001) states, "For us, animals are all the strange, beautiful, pitiable, and frightening things that they have ever been: gods, slaves, totems, sages, tricksters, devils, clowns, companions, lovers, and far more" (xx).

More recently, this area of inquiry has sought to look beyond the human-animal relationship, and to the animals themselves – perceiving and representing them as subjects and understanding the consequences of our social constructions of them. The lab rat is not only significant because of how he affects humans, but also because of how humans affect him. The name for this shift in focus is the "animal turn". Where animals were included, the focus previously was on the human. Now, the focus is shared, if not dominated by, the animal. As Kenneth Shapiro stated in his lecture at the Animals and Society Institute (2017),

> While the field is defined by its subject matter rather than method of inquiry, human-animal studies is a critical stance or hermeneutic (form of interpretation), that can be applied to our understanding of any situation, institution, interaction or text. It is a way of looking at the world.

This way of looking at the world is not only applicable to disaster research, but urgent. Animals were previously left out of works on disaster. Where they were noted, it was as economic losses, obstacles, and so on. As both disasters and pet-keeping are on the rise, and as our societies is more multispecies than ever (of all the mammals on earth, 60% are livestock) (Yinon, Philips,

and Milo 2018), addressing non-human others as complex, as agents, and as significant is crucial.

The study of human-animal relationships within and across cultures has added depth to cultural anthropology and can do the same for the study of multispecies disaster studies. We have come far since Noske's contribution to Volume 1, Issue 2 of Society & Animals,

> …animals tend to be portrayed as passive objects that are dealt with and thought and felt about. Far from being considered agents or subjects in their own right, the animals themselves are virtually overlooked by anthropologists. They and their relations with humans tend to be considered unworthy of anthropological interest. Most anthropologists would think it perfectly natural to pay little or no attention to the way things look, smell, feel, taste or sound to the animals involved. Consequently, questions pertaining to animal welfare in the West or in the Third World rarely figure in anthropological thought (19).

There are now increasingly more panels, special issues, multispecies ethnographies and edited volumes dedicated to the anthropology of human-animal relationships each year. As Hurn (212) states, the "animal question" has become more pressing and more popular following the reflexive turn, in which anthropology has turned to introspection, critiquing what the discipline has taken for granted. To understand what it means to be human, for instance, means asking what it means to be an animal (e.g. Ingold 1994), and where, and how, those lines are drawn cross-culturally. Further, to ask ourselves this question opened the field to asking this of cultures around the world, past and present. The definition of, relationships within, and understandings of non-human others vary greatly around the world. More so, the way we think and interact with non-human other is often inconsistent (Hurn 2012). For instance, why Americans might have a pet duck, but also eat a duck, or why the Guajá Foragers of Eastern Amazonia might breastfeed a monkey and treat him as kin, and then kill and eat him in adulthood (Cormier 2003). Anthropology has turned its eye to the more-than-human entanglements humans have with non-humans, and the possibilities and question within are endless (Haraway 2008). This project

combines the anthropological perspective of disasters to a multispecies dimension, accentuating animal agency in co-producing vulnerabilities and resiliencies in myriad forms.

In examining key areas of vulnerabilities, this work contributes to the understanding of Japanese human-animal relationships within the context of animal rescue NPOs, expanding an expanding area of inquiry regarding how people perceive and interact with non-human others in Japanese culture (Pflugfelder and Walker 2005). Openly differentiating themselves from the perceived majority of their culture, my participants held a unique standpoint regarding human-pet relations. They acted as the dumping grounds for the social problems these contemporary relationships constructed. The primary issue they worked with was animal abandonment. Thus, my focus on understanding human-animal relationships in Japan was through this keyhole perspective. In understanding animal abandonment in contemporary, and primarily urban Japan, I found a number of key insights. Most significantly, the link between popular *kawaii* culture and the increase in pet adoption was closely linked. More so, the advertising and consumer goods constructed to support these adoptions blurred the lines between imaginary, cartoon *kawaii* characters and that of the real, living breathing biological being. These blurred lines meant that people may purchase a "*kawaii*" puppy, and then abandon the dog when he does not conform the *kawaii* ideal.

Pet shops were regarded as the number one issue of concern for animal welfare in Japan by my informants primarily because of how their tactics and policies result in irresponsible, and adoption. For example, they spoke of the selling of kittens and puppies to the elderly, to families who live in no-pets-allowed apartment complexes, or to young couples who just saw a cute dog in the window and spontaneously decided to add a 15+ year responsibility to their lives. The encouragement to adopt young, cute animals, combined with other social phenomena – such as

anti-euthanasia sentiment and poor spay/neuter statistics – has led to major animal welfare problems.

Another key finding was that relationships with companion animals was clearly regional and noticeably changing throughout, though at varying speeds. This was especially apparent when examining the difference in how pets were treated post-Great Hanshin Earthquake in '95 and then in the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake. Whereas in 1995, abandonment and euthanasia were considered popular options, this was not the case in 2011. The pet had become a clear member of the family for far more of the populace during this time. My informants linked this change to several factors. First, the simple act in living with pets. The pet boom spans the past few decades; many Japanese families have purchased a companion animal for the first time in this time span – or, lived with an "inside" pet for the first time, whereas previously only owning a *banken*, or guard dog. The act of living amongst animals profoundly changes one's perception as to the value and the potential in terms of companionship. Secondly, the internet has been largely influential. Exposure to animal welfare concepts around the world has altered traditional perceptions of pets and our responsibilities to them. Finally, the problematic *kawaii* culture has resulted in animals previously viewed as perhaps dangerous or wild are now constructed as cute, gentle, and harmless. We see this in the trends that follow popular cartoons and movies (e.g. the husky trend following the popular Japanese film *Antarctica*), or in the prevalence of owl and other "exotic" animal cafes.

ANIMAL RESCUE IN JAPAN'S THIRD SECTOR

Following the Great Hanshin Earthquake in 1995, volunteer culture and non-profit organizations were supported socially and politically, giving a new name and face to community service. Volunteer culture and non-profits arose out of the ashes of Kobe, contributing not only

to post-disaster efforts, but working towards other social causes, as well. A similar phenomenon occurred following the 2011 Tōhoku disaster – volunteers arrived in droves to help the post-disaster efforts, and dozens of non-profits were registered throughout the Tōhoku region.

In both major disasters a similar occurrence occurred for animal rescue non-profits. Animal rescue NPOs were formed in the Tōhoku region to rescue and otherwise aid the animals left behind in the Fukushima evacuation zone. Animal rescue and welfare NPOs throughout Japan sent up volunteers and staff to contribute to rescue efforts and bring abandoned animals into their care. These organizations often worked on the sidelines of the other disaster efforts, rather than in accordance. Many animal rescue organizations are unlisted, limiting their ability to network with other entries within the third sector due to the large-scale issues that are held at bay by their isolation. Those who are public, are perceived as sometimes outside the norm for a variety of intersecting identities. For example, their association with stray animals, foreignness, and care work. This outsider status limits their agency within the third sector. During the Fukushima rescue operations, for instance, animal rescuers were blocked from entering the evacuation zone. Their efforts were not appreciated, they were seen as "foreign" efforts, despite rescuing Japanese companion animals. In the same vein, the rescue animals are also commonly marginalized in the world of pets – either because they are strays (or perceived as such), mutts, or simply for being "second-hand" animals. The companion animals and the rescuers have developed a number of tactics for navigating these power structures for survival.

Adding to these obstacles is the inner conflict that exists within the small realm of animal rescue and animal welfare in Japan. Conflict over key issues such as animal care standards, euthanasia, and spay/neuter is rampant. The 2011 disaster added fuel to the fire of drama between these groups – especially those who participated in JEARS, the Japan Earthquake

Animal Rescue and Support team. The conflict between groups and isolation of many more serves as a large obstacle in the path of the development of animal rescue and welfare in Japan.

In analyzing the vulnerabilities and socialities within these non-profits, this work expands the literature regarding Japan's third sector to include this diverse, multispecies force for animal welfare. In addition, it illuminates deficiencies in resource allocation, volunteer organization, and awareness by the greater public. Addressing these issues is a form of resiliency building for both the humans and non-humans within.

MULTISPECIES RESILIENCY

This project illustrates the physical, emotional, and symbolic entanglement we have with non-human animals. We live multispecies existences. Our world is dependent upon myriad other beings, from the bacteria in our gut to the cat on our lap. Adding to scholarship conducted by Irvine (2009) and Potts (2014), this project highlights and expands our awareness of the pitfalls of ignoring the significance of non-human others when planning for disasters.

Disasters are a result of vulnerabilities, and here I argue that vulnerabilities are co-produced with the species in our lives. A tornado is only a disaster, for instance, if a household lacks proper shelter. An earthquake is only a disaster when infrastructure is not capable of withstanding the blow, and when planning does not account for the consequences for all valued subjects in its path – human and non-human. Thus, with informed planning and preparations, disasters can be lessened significantly.

This dissertation takes the position that domesticated animals are the most vulnerable marginalized population in Japan, and thus, so is those who are bonded with them and/or reliant upon them – socially, emotionally, economically, or otherwise. A weak animal welfare safety net combined with exclusion from disaster planning marked them as extremely vulnerable during the

2011 Tōhoku disaster. These vulnerabilities can be lessened by building resiliency. To build resiliency for the domestic animals within a society is to build resiliency for the humans entangled in their lives – resiliency, too, is co-produced. Given our reliance and affective attachment with non-human others, our vulnerabilities and resiliencies are deeply intertwined.

This project found that there are clear and applicable methods for building resiliency for companion animals in a disaster, most of which can be applied in any cultural context. For example, reducing the stray populations via trap, neuter and release programs, microchipping and neutering your companion animals, and building pet-friendly evacuation shelters. Most importantly, it is key to have a plan in place for the hazards that exist in one's environment. This is especially true for agricultural animals, who often require their living arrangements to be prepared for potential hazards as evacuation is often not possible.

Lastly, this dissertation found the category of "companion animals" is far more nuanced than a general term can encapsulate. In every culture, there are categories of animals made meaningful by our interactions with them. A duck, for instance, can be considered wild, a companion, or as poultry. Understanding the complicated nature of our relationship with the countless non-humans in our lives is a necessary foundation to building resiliency. We must not plan to save animals. We must, instead, plan to save the individual subjects with whom we share our society.

LIMITATIONS

While this study was a comprehensive ethnographic account of animal rescue in post-disaster Japan, it worked within many limitations. Namely, the sites and participants, understanding animal behavior, and the timing of the study.

Sites and Participants

This project was limited to 12 months of fieldwork. Due to the brief period of time, I worked primarily with four non-profit organizations – spending the majority of my time at one, Animal Refuge Kansai. As these organizations were chosen prior to arriving in Japan, the more hidden, isolated NPOs were not chosen as field sites. The sites chosen were those who were publicly advertised with contact information and addresses provided online. I was able to contact them before my arrival, making arrangements for my research. Using the internet to locate these organizations meant that my research was limited to four foreign-run, public organizations. While I was able to tour and interview other, less public, Japanese-run organizations, my findings may have differed if I had had more time with these communities.

Related to this limitation is that my interviewees were found via networking with my key organizations. The majority of my interviewees were staff or volunteers associated with these four sites. While I was able to locate, contact, and interview staff and volunteers from the lesser-known unaffiliated groups (often via their Facebook pages), these were few and far between. Few returned my call, and others did not wish to be interviewed. The conflict between organizations discussed above, and at length in Chapter 4, limited who would meet with me, or be interviewed. This problem was only made apparent twice, when my associations with one of my four sites was an openly stated reason for not wishing to speak to me, but I am unsure how often this was a reason for not receiving a reply back.

As my focus was on non-profit organizations, I did not interact with human companions to the pets present outside of a shelter environment. Thus, the majority of animals I came to know were without a forever home. This context did not only limit who I spoke to about human-animal relationships, but also the subject matter. While there are endless examples of positive and ideal homes and relationships experienced by animals in Japanese society, an animal rescue

is focused on exactly that – rescue. They work with the animals who fall through the cracks, the hoarding cases, the mass abandonment, the abuse, and so on. These circumstances were the context of many conversations. Future research will examine the other, more positive side of the issues covered in this work.

Animal Behavior

Another key limitation is my lack of background in ethology, or animal behavior. While the social sciences are placed to research the human and cultural aspects of the human-animal interactions, such as kinship and social constructionism, fields such as cognitive ethology and behavioral neuroscience are in a better position to fully understand the non-human animal side of the equation (Shapiro 2017). Whereas it is useful in multispecies posthuman ethnography, does an anthropologist have the skills to undergo this type of research? Using popular ethology and multispecies ethnographies as examples, I recorded human-animal and animal-animal interactions, communications, and so on. However, as I am a novice in this area, I am certain there are countless occurrences and key aspects of these interactions that I missed. Ideally, the future of human-animal studies will involve collaborations between the hard and soft sciences, opening the door to more in-depth insights.

Timing

I arrived at my fieldwork site in 2014, which was three years after the 2011 disaster. The aftermath will last for many more years, and I was present to witness these processes. However, I missed the key rescue efforts that took place in 2011-2012. While rescue efforts continue today, it is on a far lesser scale than it was in the immediate months following the evacuation order. Thus, I replied upon the memories and stories of my informants to paint a picture of the happenings, and the emotions felt during this trying time.

FUTURE PURSUITS

In the Anthropocene, there is no shortage of disasters. I intend to continue pursuing projects within and outside of Japan to build resiliency for agricultural and companion animals in the most vulnerable areas. Strengthening relationships and collaborating with a wide variety of governmental and non-profit organizations will be essential in enacting positive change for domesticated animals and their rescuers.

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