論文 Article

Marginalisation, Communication, Everyday Lives and Empowerment of Coastal Subaltern Communities of South India

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Bronfenbrenner (1994) conceptualises *chrono* contexts as those referring to changes caused by the passing of the temporal dimensions in one's individual personality as well as in one's environment. The linkages between contexts of marginalization, communication, everyday life and empowerment of subaltern coastal communities in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu are explored and examined in this paper in terms of their chrono contexts. The coastal communities of *Pazhaverkadu, Marina Beach, Gulf of Mannar* and *Thuthukudi* provide the contexts for this paper. The paper further seeks to problematize the key terms such as marginalization, communication, everyday life, subaltern coastal communities and empowerment with a view to move towards a meaningful methodological framework.

Keywords

Marginalisation

Communication

Everyday Life

South Indian Coastal Communities
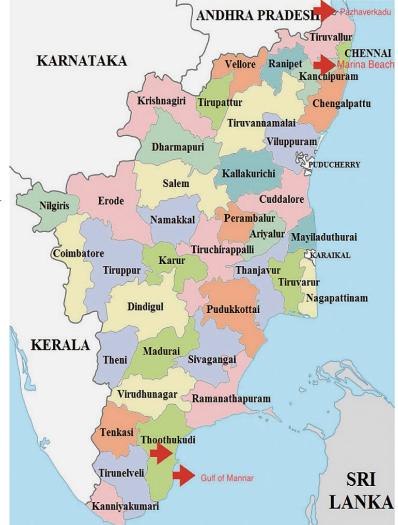
Empowerment

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Figure. Left map: Study Area - Tamil Nadu - South India
https://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/india/indianlanguages.htm.
Right map: Field Areas in Tamil Nadu - South Indi
Based on map in Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/

I Introduction

This paper explores and examines the interfaces of marginalization, communication and empowerment in the everyday lives of subaltern coastal communities in south India, with particular reference to Tamil Nadu, a southern state with one of the long coast lines in India. India is a peninsular geographical entity and has long coast lines on the west and east coast. The Arabian sea and Bay of Bengal intersect with Indian ocean at the southern tip of Tamil Nadu coast, Kanyakumari, which is also the southern tip of India. The following terms are conceptualized differently to fit the methodological framework of this paper.

● Marginalisation

● Communication

● Everyday Life

● Subaltern Coastal Communities

● Empowerment

This paper acknowledges the following inspiring words of Max Horkhiemer and Henri Lefebvre for its birth, contexts and meanings. In his monumental work, *Critique of Everyday Life,* Henri Lefebvre said: "Life is unique. Man must be everyday, or he will not be at all. …the critique of everyday life - critical and positive - must clear the way for a genuine humanism, for a humanism which believes

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in the human because it knows it. ...To see things properly, it is not enough simply to look. People who look at life - purely as witnesses, spectators - are not rare; and one of the strangest lessons to be learnt from our literature is that professional spectators, judges by vocation and witnesses by predestination, contemplate life with less understanding and grasp of its rich content than anyone else. There really is no substitute for participation!" This work was in the making for three decades during 1940-1960s. In an entirely different critical studies milieu, Max Horkheimer (of the Frankfurt School) said: "In the interest of a rationally organized future society", critical theory sheds "critical light on present-day society (⋯) under the hope of radically improving human existence" (Horkheimer, 1937/1972, pp.188-243). In these conceptions of Horkheimer and Lefebvre, what becomes unique is the sameness of their message. The sameness is defined by the change they wished to see in their domains of critical enquiries – Lefebvre in the contexts of every day life and Horkheimer in the context of critical theory. The next section provides the conceptual and methodological framework of this paper.

Ⅱ   Not Lost for Words

More often than not, the social and cultural world appears to exist on our terms, particularly if we belong to the socially and cultural privileged sections of the population. It appears so, but in reality the reverse is true. The reverse is more true of the majority in developing countries where the social and cultural world exists because of the prevailing social, cultural, economic and political inequalities. As long as the clarity of thoughts of the researcher and the persons whose frameworks the research wishes to use define our conceptualization of terms and their applications, one is not lost for words in one's exploration and examination of the topic in question. *Not Lost for Words* is also a reminder that the subjects of study are also the subjects which are *Not Lost for Words*.

This might sound complex and rather convoluted. But, if one introspects for a while the wise men's words, quoted in the first section, one becomes aware of the fact that this is not complex at all. If aspiring to change or inspiring to change other fellow human beings, with whatever advantages we have, is not complex enough, then we a s   a c a d e m i c s interested to work for the empowerment of the marginalized subaltern coastal communities are also *Not Lost for Words*.

Clarity defines communication as well as any sound methodology. Methodology should be delimited and distinguished from the methods of information gathering (which in the case of quantitative research refers to data collection). Methodology is the fountainhead of clarity of purpose in any research exploration and examination in its simplistic understanding. But it is about the clarity of the conceptual or rather the philosophical purpose of any exploration or examination. Philosophy is not used here as a term of either implausible this worldly or other worldly explorations, but is used to refer to an intellectually bounded territory of socially meaningful insights and guide posts. Change, as a word, is also about a philosophical insight as much as it is a guidepost for academics who wish to give back to their community/society something.

Change is not yet another word in English or any other language. As a verb, it becomes a philosophical site to introspect the linguistic and non-linguistic contexts of change. In fact, change becomes a cardinal guidepost of methodology on account of its philosophical and sociological/cultural interfaces and implications. In effect, we are not *Not Lost for Words*, as regards the methodology of the paper, if we are clear headed as regards the clarity of the purpose, *i.e* change. This paper's methodology is borne of the conception of the need, possibilities and challenges as regards social, cultural and other domains of change in the everyday lives of subaltern coastal communities of south India.

III Conceptualization of Key Terms

While there are literary and taken for granted conventional usages of the key terms used in this paper, this paper deems it as an opportunity to rethink these meanings and posit a different conceptual frameworks for *marginalisation, communication, everyday life, subalterneity, empowerment* and *coastal communities.* To begin with, there is a strong need to rethink the usage of the term, *marginalisation.* Its connotations have been growing wildly and negatively, according to members of "marginalized" sections of the society.

Subalternity and marginalization are terms of, what I would term as, *inherent otherness.* They are, like most academic terms, having noble intent, but flawed relationships between the interlocutors and the subjects of exploration and enquiry. Gayatri Spivak's famous intervention, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* is but another shade of intervention between and among the academic interlocutors of subaltern studies and not the subjects of their studies. In this context, I am also reminded of what the Brazilian ethnomusicologist and academic activist, Samuel Araujo(2020), mentioned with regard to the invisible dimensions of the supposedly politically and academically valid terms such as inclusion, empowerment, marginalization etc., He was referring to the rise of perverse inclusion which seeks to include the abominable social elements within the extended notion of the widely popular category, inclusion. The same is true of India as well, where the opponents of the social justice policy of reservation have in recent times succeeded in including themselves as a part of the social justice driven reservation system. This is what Samuel terms as perverse inclusion. The dangers of *inherent otherness* and *perverse manifestations* have to be factored in any exploration and examination which seek to use terms such as marginalization, empowerment and subalterneity.

The term marginalization is no different from the term subalterneity in causing the dangers of *inherent otherness* and *perverse manifestations*. A leading exponent of *Bharata Natyam*, a classical Indian dance, Narthagi Nataraj (2013), a transgender artist, who struggled to achieve new heights in her career, politely reminded me in a seminar I hosted. "To term some arts and artists as marginalized arts and artists is not fair as there is a systematic attempt in these to brand us as the other which we do not deserve". She seemed to say (these words are mine), "We are artists and our arts are arts. Leave us free of your academic language". That's how I read her poser in that seminar which had the terms marginalization and performing arts in active circulation.

The problem with the usage of the term, marginalization, is more in the contexts of one of the hard hit coastal subaltern communities, fishermen. On the one hand, they are located physically at the margins of the land - they belong to the coastal margins of the country or territory. They are at the economic, and consequently, social/cultural margins of the mainstream society that has its heart and mind in the land and its hinterlands. Once during a field work in a fishing village in *Pazhaverkadu*, one fisherman revealed another problematic of the academic terms such as marginalization, subalterneity and empowerment etc., When asked how does he relate to the attempts of the mainstream media in reporting fishermen's issues, particularly the long running issue of Tamil Nadu fishermen getting killed by Sri Lankan navy for their alleged trespass into the territorial waters of Sri Lanka, he responded: "These issues can neither be understood nor reported truthfully by you people with a land-based psyche. These can only be understood, reported and handled by us, the sea-based people."

What becomes apparent in the above mentioned remark of the supposedly illiterate fishermen is a

sound, politically correct reasoning that militates against the dangers of *inherent otherness* and *perverse manifestations*. Marginalisation, as a term, becomes useful, however, if we get critical about its irrelevance and relevance. It becomes irrelevant with the attendant dangers of *inherent otherness* and *perverse manifestations*. It becomes relevant with the attendant sensitivity and advantages of what Orlanda Fals Borda(1969) articulated as participatory action research, where the plans, methods evolve out of the encounters of the egalitarian kind between the academic interlocutors and the subjects of research and social change.

Marginalisation, in this paper, is also used in the context and spirit outlined by Orlanda Fals Borda. It is meant to draw attention to the dangers of *inherent otherness* and *perverse manifestations*. One dimension of the alternative approach is the political provocation and attention even the much discredited term, marginalization, provides to relate to the relative disparities between the divergent realities of the people of the land and the people of the seas and the resultant erosion or damage suffered by the people of the sea or the coast on account of the encroachment of the margins of the land by the people of the land. The margins of the land are, in effect, the margins of the sea as well. But this unique liminal space is the centre of livelihood for the fishermen on the coast. This is not like any other land outside the margins, the hinterlands or the downtown of the city. It is the heartland. Marginalisation, in this context, refers to the process of struggles for and against the coastal subaltern communities such as the fishermen, salt panners and seaweed harvesters, in their attempts to retain the margin as the centre of their livelihood. Marginalisation, in this context, is not an academic term to brand the processes which keep the subalterns as subalterns in a wayward and aimless sense. It is a specific and rooted process of the spatial struggle with economic, social and cultural implications. In this sense, it is not a process rooted in the sociology and economics of backwardness. It

is a process rooted in the spatial politics wherein the bone of contestation is the divergent views of the margin as the beautiful and exotic by the real estate logic driven city planning in the age of neo liberalism and as the lifeline of everyday life of fishermen, where beauty of life depends on the space provided by the margin to park boats, repair nets, sell fish etc.,

In the conventional logic, marginalisation refers to those who have been pushed to the margins of existence politically, economically, socially and culturally. Marginalisation occurs on account of what becomes dominant and hegemonic at the centre. What happens at the margins and peripheries are the effects of what happens at the centre. The centre is where the socio-economically/politically privileged classes have their hold. While the generalities of the conventional logic may be true, the particulars ought to be explored anew and mapped critically. If the wishes of Horkheimer and Lefebvre have a reason to come alive, it is because of their change heralding potential. If marginalisation has to be turned around gainfully, theoretically for its movement towards a new state, empowerment, where change becomes more than a bright hope and sure possibility, then both terms, empowerment and marginalisation, have to see the light of new conceptualizations. This paper makes a small initiative in this regard in the following paragraphs.

Re-conceptualization of any key term involves raising of critical questions. The critical questions posed by Mowat (2015) with regard to marginalisation are: I) What does it mean to be marginalized? and Marginalized from what?. While finding possible answers to these questions, Mowat (2015) argues the case of resilience as a parameter of conceptualization of marginalization. According to Mowat, resilience can be visualized both at the individual and social level. At both levels, it also translates as resistance to conditions of marginalization. Mowat (2015) bases the argument also on the work of Bronfenbrenner (1994), who argues the case of the ecological model of

human development wherein the contexts of *micro, meso, exo, chrono* and *macro* contexts play a key role in human development. *Micro* and *meso* contexts are about the relationships individuals have at the family and work place levels. The *exo* contexts are about relationships at the levels of two different social sites in one's environment. The *chrono* contexts refer to changes caused by the passing of the temporal dimensions in one's individual personality as well as in one's environment. The *macro* contexts are outside the ambit of *micro, meso, exo* and *chrono* contexts.

Bronfenbrenner (1994) is cited by Mowat (2015) for the potential of his model to reveal the roles of the interfaces of power and politics on the sites of the two questions raised earlier, *i.e* I) What does it mean to be marginalized? and Marginalized from what?. The answers to these questions depend on how well we re-conceptualize the key term, marginalization alongside the axes of power and politics and the *micro, meso, exo* and *chrono* contexts.

Along with such a re-conceptualization, we need to rethink and re-conceptualize another key term, *empowerment. Empowerment* is about imagining a new reality and working towards realizing it. Down several millennia since Buddha's famous saying, "An idea that is developed and put into action is more important than an idea that exists only as an idea," the radical conception of *empowerment* remains the same. The latest ones doing the rounds are only para-phrases of the statement of Buddha.

For instance, Eyben *et.al* (2008) said regarding their conception of *empowerment*: "We understand empowerment happens when individuals and organized groups are able to imagine their world differently and to realize that vision by changing the relations of power that have been keeping them in poverty. ...The implications of this understanding can be explored through the different facets of social, economic and political. These are conceptual tools for identifying complex and mutually dependent

processes that development actors can support and facilitate for achieving pro-poor growth". The only difference between Buddha's conception and the conception of Eyben (2008) et.al is the later's stress on the prerequisite of poverty.

Similarly, another key term used in this paper relates to *communication*. Communication, in its dominant version, is a routine context of transmission of information. This paper seeks to leverage the alternative conception of communication provided by James Carey (1989). Carey argued the case of ritual model of communication over the transmission model of communication. According to Carey (1989), "in a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as sharing, participation, association, fellowship, and the possession of a common faith." While relating to the transmission view of communication, Carey (1989) said: "Although it led to solid achievement it could no longer go forward without disastrous intellectual and social consequences." This key term's re-conceptualization is in tune with the re-conceptualization of the earlier terms as all three are seeking to work towards the possibilities of real change as wished by Lefebvre and Horkheimer.

Another key term which begs our attention is *subalterneity*. This term is a derivative of one of the coinages by Gramsci (1973) in his prison writings. The Gramscian term was appropriated for a new conceptualization of writing history by the *Subaltern Studies* Group led by Ranajit Guha during 1980s. Ranajit Guha (1998) said: "*Subaltern Studies* made its debut by questioning that assumption and arguing that there was no such unified and singular domain of politics and the latter was, to the contrary, structurally split between an elite and a subaltern part, each of which was autonomous in its own way. Much of what we have to say has indeed been concerned with documenting the existence of these two distinct, but interacting parts as well as with arguing why such a structural split between them was historically necessary." According to

Dutta and Basu (2018), "*Subalternity* refers to the condition of being erased from sites of articulation and representation. In what modes the re-conceptualizations of these terms are operationalized with regard to the coastal communities explored in this paper is taken up towards the later sections of this paper.

Another contentious term in the title of this paper relates to *coastal communities*. Once again the conventional logic of coastal community is given a go by in this paper on account of the following reasons. The size of India's coastal population is estimated to be 250 million. This measure is a skewed measure in the sense that it considers those living within 50 kms from the coast as members of coastal population. This paper seeks not to measure the size of the population that may be deemed as coastal communities in terms of kilo meters, but in terms of the dependence of certain sections of population whose source of livelihood is the sea and its immediate neighbourhood in the land area. These communities range from the widely known universal category of fishermen to the lesser known categories of seaweed harvesters and salt harvesters. In short, coastal communities are those who survive on the sources of livelihood provided by the sea and its neighbourhood. Coastal communities are inherently subaltern in nature as their sources of income are meagre enough to survive and not good enough to graduate to other class domains in society. This paper does not take into account the owners of mechanized fishing vessels who may live off the resources of the coast, but are rich enough to be non-subalterns within the fishing community.

The following sections deal with four subaltern coastal communities in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Before we proceed further, here are a few snippets of facts about the field area, Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu has the second longest coast line (1076 km) after Gujarat, a state on the Western coast (1600 km). Tamil Nadu's coast line borders the coastal state of Andhra Pradesh and Kerala in south India. Tamil Nadu is one of the leading states in India (total number of states 28 and union territories 9) in terms of economic (second highest GDP among Indian states at US 290 billion and 8.5% of India's GDP), social and human development indices (HDI of 0.708, compared to the national figure of 0.647 and Japan's 0.915) (*Wikipedia*, 2020). It has the highest percentage of urbanization in India (48.5% of population lives in urban areas against India's figure of 31%). There are 608 marine fishing villages in Tamil Nadu (2020).

The four subaltern communities chosen for the study are in *Pazhaverkadu* (Thiruvallur District), *Marina Beach* (Chennai District), *Mannar Gulf* (Ramanathapuram District) and *Thuthukudi* (Thuthukudi District). The former two are sites of marine fishing communities and the later two are into seaweed and salt harvesting.

Ⅳ *Pazhaverkadu* Subaltern Coastal Community

Pazhaverkadu is home to 30+ fishing villages and the region is home to India's second largest brackish water lake (the first is *Chilika* lake in Orissa). The area is in the border regions of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. The Buckingham canal and the tributaries of *Kosasthalyar* feed the lake. There are two fishing communities in the region. Those who subsist on fishing in the confluence of canal/rivers and lake and those who go out to the sea to fish. These communities are bound by the protocols fixed by the village bodies and their laws. The vessels which go out to the sea have to cross the estuary which links the lake with the sea. The estuary is also a problem spot as the dramatic recent change in the movement of sands along the coast have become the source of sand bars in the estuary. The fishermen lost close to 4 months of work last year as the government machinery could not act in time to clear the sand bars. The proliferation of sand bars

in the estuary area is blamed on the construction of ports and thermal plants between *Ennore* and *Pazhaverkadu*. The *Kattupalli* port, which is 20+ kms from *Pazhaverkadu* is due for massive expansion after its takeover by the Adani group, alleged to be close to the ruling party. Protests by the local fishermen started last year and are continuing. They fear that the fishing villages will be wiped out by the mega expansion of the port with attendant infrastructure developments such as mega express ways in the region. The unusual warming of water currents and the high level of pollution of sea water is blamed on the *Ennore* thermal plant. Fishermen of this region are, as a result, counting their chances of survival in the face of these mega projects and the indifference of the state and central governments to the fast changing threat scenarios that are haunting them.

Ethiraj (2019), who is a senior office bearer of the local fishermen's association, (*Thiruvallur District Traditional Fishermen's Association*) dealt with the problems faced by the subaltern coastal community at *Pazhaverkadu* in the following manner. "Unlike the past, *we are now struggling to fish*. The reasons are to be located in the following order: I) the rapid industrialization of the coast, in an unregulated manner by the government, in collusion with the corporates, unmindful of its effects on the livelihood of fisherfolk ii) the setting up of *Kattupalli* port in 2012 in the village of *Kattupalli, Ennore,* was ruinous for fisherfolk, in *Ennore* and *Pazhaverkadu* as the estuaries in both places could not cope with the rapid sand formations and lack of regular dredging, resulting in the destruction of the eco system. This eco system once provided best quality prawns and fish varieties in the country. iii) the recent acquisition of the *Kattupalli* port by the mega Indian corporation, Adani Group, which has been growing exponentially, thanks to its nexus with the present government at the centre and the group's plan to construct a super mega harbor iv) frequent rocket launches from the nearby space centre at *Sriharikota* snatches away

a few days every month without work (until 1980s, government used to provide compensation for all the fishermen on a daily basis and v) the chocking of the *Pazhaverkadu* estuary, due to a combination of factors ranging from the rapid accumulation of sand because of the strong currents caused by the construction of the port and lack maintenance. This meant that fishermen could not venture into sea for several days in the recent past as their boats had to cross from the lakeside through the estuary to get to the sea".

Mowat's (2015) two key questions with regard to marginalisation are: I) What does it mean to be marginalized? and Marginalized from what?. In the case of the fishermen of *Pazhaverkadu*, marginalisation is always about their alienation from their source of livelihood, the complex eco-system of *Pazhaverkadu* where the interface of the estuary becomes the lifeline for both sea faring and river-bound fishermen. Marginalisation at the hands of the forces of industrialisation, India's space programmes and infrastructure development to benefit the industries seems painful to the local fishermen, to say the least. From the perspective of the ecological model of human development proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1994), what is striking is the prevalence of the *chrono* context. According to Bronfenbrenner (1994), "A chrono system encompasses change or consistency over time not only in the characteristics of the person, but also of the environment in which that person lives (e.g., changes over the life course in family structure, socioeconomic status, employment, place of residence, or the degree of hecticness and ability in everyday life)." While the local fishermen's association led by elders like Ethiraj are working hard to express their resilience and resistance as a parameter of marginalization (Mowat,2015) through concerted campaigns to save their environment and themselves from the looming threats posed by the rapid industrialisation of their fragile coast, the emergence of the *chrono* contexts of their ecologies as well as themselves becomes apparent too. Elders

like Ethiraj have undergone transformations over the past decades temporally in the same modes their fragile eco-system underwent. Here, the temporality of transformations remains the same for both the individual fishermen like Ethiraj and the environment, *Pazhaverkadu*.

For the subaltern fisherfolk like Ethiraj, subalterneity is the other side of representation of their eco-system and their lives. Contrary to how academics define subalterneity, it is the reality of threats fishermen face rather than the representations of such threats in media, government meetings and public fora. Contrary to the notions of empowerment cited early on (Eyben (2008), fishermen like Ethiraj are unable to imagine their lives differently. They are born to fish in *Pazhaverkadu* and they hold the region's diversity and ecological beauty as dearly as their lives. They are unable to imagine a reality where their fishing villages disappear to give space for the mega port and express way. Empowerment to them resides in saving the *status quo* and saving the *status quo* means saving the fragile eco system. Their communication modes are transmission oriented as regards the campaigns against the threats to their livelihoods, but are ritual centric as regards their sense of belonging to their environment and fellow subaltern members.

V *Marina Beach* Subaltern Coastal Community

In the case of the Marina beach (Chennai) subaltern community, the threats are not from ports and expressways, but from the articulations and attempts of the local corporation, judiciary and the media to read the meaning of the sea and beach from the perspective of the "blue flag beaches" in other parts of the world. To them, the beauty of the one of the longest urban beaches in the world is marred by the presence of the fishing boats, fish stalls and fishermen's nets. To them, fishermen are the encroachers who should be evicted.

Marina beach area is the home of 11 fishing villages for several centuries and are probably the only fishing villages inside a metropolitan area in India. The fishermen of the villagers are exhibiting both resilience and resistance, as in the case of the *Pazhaverkadu* fishermen, in facing the threats of a different kind. As in other contexts where the subaltern coastal communities are facing the threats from neo-liberalism inspired policies and decisions of the local government and judiciary, the fisherfolk at *Marina beach* are also at the receiving end because of such policies. But, in contrast to other contexts of marginalization and threats to livelihood, what is at work in *Marina beach* area is the "aesthetics" of "blue flag beach" as the role model for *Marina beach* to emulate. They are, as usual, enamoured of the surface level and very subjective class centric beauty of the beach without the fishing boats, nets and the ill clothed dark skinned fishermen. They are, as usual, not worried about the damage done to the beautiful coast by the huge inflows of urban sewerage into coastal waters, the estuaries that are encroached by the high rises, ports and mega oil spills of ships on the coast. The words of Bharathi (2019), President of the *South Indian Fishermen Welfare Association*, who has been the subject of the *chrono* contexts of the changes his environment and himself experienced ever since he was a young boy, stand testimony to the tragedies of the *chrono* context. Bharathi (2019) said, "Our ancestors took for granted their traditional rights over their homes, fish stalls and work spaces on land/sea. They did not register their properties on land. Moreover, they were more than willing to concede their lands for government buildings on the Kamarajar Salai, whenever requests from government came. All the fishing villages in Marina area had given their lands to government, both during British and post-independent periods. We are now at a great loss, realizing the folly of our ancestors and their misplaced trust in governments. For instance, now we do not have space to build a community/marriage

hall for the benefit of families in the seven fishermen villages on the Marina. The government built a police station here several years ago, despite our opposition. Even though, the police station was shifted recently to the police headquarters building on the western side of Kamarajar Salai, we are shocked to learn that they have registered four grounds of our land, where there was police station".

Bharathi, is now at the forefront of struggle against the attempts of the local corporation to expand the "loop road" as a major thoroughfare, shift the fish market, deny right of space for mending their nets and parking their boats and eventually evict the fishermen from the area. These attempts have been defeated in the past, according to Bharathi (2019), by their resilience and its transformation as a resistance. A case in point he narrates relates to the opposition they mounted against similar moves during 1980s. The protests drew the condemnation (of the government action to remove the fishing boats from the beach area) from the Supreme Court of India. The protests also drew police firing in which many fishermen died. Such protests provided the *chrono* contexts of Bronfenbrenner (1994) as well as the inspiration for new leaders of subaltern coastal communities to emerge.

In fact, in one of the conversations, Bharathi (2019) said: "As a young boy, I was witness to the violence let loose against our community. This motivated me to enter public life for the cause of my people." As mentioned in the case of the subaltern community at *Pazhaverkadu*, members of the 11 fishing villages are rallying behind leaders like Bharathi to save their sources of livelihood in a metropolis that seeks to erase the margins and the people who called them their home for several centuries.

As in the case of the fishermen of *Pazhaverkadu*, the impossibility of imagining a different reality stares at them and they are determined not to "empower" themselves by co-imagining a beautiful beach without

their boats, nets, women folk selling fishes and their customers who are thronging the "loop road" fish market every day for fresh and affordable fish. They are, as in the case of the fishermen of *Pazhaverkadu*, communicating well both in the transmission modes and ritual modes. The ritual mode inspires them to remain as a tight knit community that does not want to surrender to the logic of "blue flag beach" development of their neighborhood, whereas the transmission mode helps them to cultivate solidarity with the like minded communities, NGOs, social media and conventional media. In fact, Bharathi has been successful in managing his campaigns on social media through *facebook* and *whatsapp.* His FB page, *Kadolara Seithigal* (*News of the Coast*) is the transformation of the journal with the same name he had to discontinue due to financial reasons.

VI Women Seaweed Harvesters of *Gulf of Mannar*

Compared to the coastal subaltern communities which are into marine fishing, there is a strong community of women divers from 21 villages in Ramanathapuram district. These women, like their fisherfolk counterparts of *Pazhaverkadu* and *Marina beach*, are also organised under the banner of *Women Seaweed Harvesters' Association*. In India, seaweed is used in both food non-food sectors such as food processing, textile and dye industries. The harvesting of seaweed started, along with pearl fishery, in the region during the colonial period, when the prisoners were employed for diving to gather seaweed, conches and oysters. What was once an occupation of menfolk is now the domain of women divers. They row their boats at sunrise to nearby islands and spent several hours diving under water in depths ranging from 15 ft -70 feet to collect seaweed and sea conches. Sea conches are the property of the state and the women can only sell to the local government dept., The seaweed is sold to private buyers. While Indian media have ran stories on these women several

times, such stories try to pitch the unusual angle – wonderment at women diving in a country like India with their sarees on. There is an unintended dose of unrealistic representations of empowerment these stories have come to attach to the daily routines of these women. But, as the president of the *Women Seaweed Harvesters' Association*, remarked bluntly in one of the newspaper interviews, it is not about empowerment. It is about surviving to beat poverty and earn money for the running of family. "Ours isn't a tale of empowerment. We are just trying to make ends meet," said Rakkamma.

Compared to the subaltern communities of fisherfolk, where women do not venture to sea to fish and are only doing onshore support work such as drying the unsold fish, selling fish and cleaning/cutting fish for customers, in the case of these women divers, they are venturing into sea on their own and diving into depths of 15-70 feet without any proper gear, solely banking on their lung power and diving skills. The highlight of their work is the implementation of what Buddha said with regard to empowerment. "An idea that is developed and put into action is more important than an idea that exists only as an idea," They are also sporting the resilience mentioned by (Mowat,2015), but here it does not translate into resistance, as in the case of the subaltern coastal communities of Marina beach (Chennai) and *Pazhaverkadu*. There is a looming possibility of young women in the families of these 2000 women not taking to the diving routines of their mothers as they are getting their school and college education to move on to less arduous and non-risky job sectors. This may be read as an instance of a *chrono* system that will not see any change in the environment where harvesting of seaweed and conch takes place, but will see the gradual disappearance of the women divers of the present, who may or may not be replaced by men.

Ⅶ　Salt Pan Workers of *Thuthukudi*

In comparison with the three subaltern coastal communities mentioned above, the case of the salt panners/workers of *Thuthukudi* district provides a different narrative. It is a narrative which underscores the tragedy of economic deprivation at the heart of other tragedies that have befallen this community. Is it a community? This question opens many windows of introspection for any academic interested in working with people of the subaltern kind with the key terms this paper employs. Here the issues of marginalization and subalterneity ought to be read differently as many of the salt pan workers are also subsisting on agricultural work during off season (when the salt pans are closed due to inclement weather). Salt harvesting in India is controlled by the laws of the Union government and the state/local government have no role to play to address the issues even when there are crises. This sector is not faced with the threats of neo-liberalism, as in the case of the fishing sector, but is faced with the threats of monsoon rains, cyclones and other vagaries of weather. In 2018, the *Gaja* cyclone devastated the entire production area in another salt producing region of Tamil Nadu, *Vedaranyam*. Women and men are found in almost equal number in this sector, unlike the coastal fishing communities where women do not take to seas and the seaweed harvesting sector where the men do not take to diving. Among the tragedies these workers face, the health related tragedies such as renal and retina failure are very high. There is a high incidence of victims with renal and retina failure. As in the case of the seaweed harvesters, these workers are also reluctant to let their children take to salt panning. The *chrono* system in the case of this community will also go the way of seaweed harvesters of *Mannar Gulf*.

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論文 Article

The Role of Women's Self-Help Organizations in the Process of Civil Reconstruction after the April 2015 Nepal Earthquake

Ai TAKEUCHI *

In the former royal capital city of Patan in Nepal, NGO and Nepal local government established women's Self-Help Organizations (S.H.O.s) to support the Newar women who are inferior to their families to start a small business and improve their status in their home in the 1990s. The members of women's S.H.O. took literacy, business, and skill training. After the project of NGO and local government, the local women in Patan had been establishing their own organization one after another. Since then, they have been doing not only the activities of the main purpose of social development but also various activities' in response to local needs according to the actual situation.

The 2015 Nepal earthquake caused serious damage to Patan. Immediately after the earthquake occurred, the main people who rebuilt the town were only men, and the women had been staying at home taking care of their family. But 1 year after the earthquake, women's S.H.O.s have been starting to reconstruct their communities. Along with them, the farmer caste *Jyapu*'s S.H.O.s has been successfully leading the reconstruction of the community uniquely. In a case of N Tole (community), S.H.O. members focus on multiple businesses and started new businesses. For example, they effectively started using the vacant room of the local disaster prevention centers and manage an exercise class for local people and daycare centers for old people. And also they are going to manage a traditional Newar dance show for tourists. In another case of P Tole, a lot of houses were partially or completely destroyed, local people decided that all destroyed houses shall be rebuilt with guest rooms on each house to aim tourism. Women's S.H.O. members are working at the construction sites as same as men. After building all the houses, S.H.O. members plan to show the traditional Newar dance and foods to tourists in P Tole.

Most of the previous disaster studies emphasizes only the vulnerable aspects of the women, but this paper illustrates that the women members of S.H.O.s in Patan can manage the reconstruction in their community utilizing their experiences and abilities though the activities of S.H.O. for long years.

Keywords

The April 2015 Nepal Earthquake

Newar People

The Farmer Caste *Jyapu*

Civil Reconstruction

Women's Self-Help Organization(S.H.O.)

目次 Contents

I   Introduction

At 11:56 am Nepal Standard Time on April 25, 2015, a large earthquake of magnitude 7.8 occurred in the central and western parts of Nepal. Severe damage was observed in Nepal, China, Bhutan, Northern India, and Bangladesh. The earthquake caused buildings to collapse, avalanches, and landslides, killing 8,891 people, destroying 605,254 houses, and damaging 288,255 houses. About 188,900 people were temporarily evacuated. In the Kathmandu Valley, many buildings and temples registered as World Cultural Heritage sites, including the Durbar Square, Swayambhunath, Boudhanath and Dharahara Tower, were also damaged by this devastating earthquake. According to a United Nations announcement, about 8 million people were affected, equivalent to about 30% of Nepal's population.

From 2003 to 2015, I conducted fieldwork on the various activities of women's groups in the old royal city of Patan (Lalitpur Metropolitan City) and their impact on women as well as social changes. After the 2015 Nepal earthquake, houses collapsed and people were injured in Patan, and community restoration and reconstruction activities are still underway in the present day. In particular, among the *Jyapu* (farmer caste) communities, "creative reconstruction activities" have been seen and women's self-help organizations (S.H.O.s) are actively involved (Takeuchi 2012,2018). My research focuses on the role of women's S.H.O.s in rehabilitating the *Jyapu* communities. I conducted fieldwork nine times in between November 2015 to December 2019 focusing on post-earthquake reconstruction activities.

Part 1 of this paper gives an overview of the study areas. Such as Patan, and the Newar ethnic groups that are living there. Part 2 of this paper is going to explain the public help given by Lalitpur Metropolitan City. In part 3, I am going to discuss the history and activities of women's self-help organization in Patan and the impact of these activities on women as well as the changes brought by the post-earthquake of the Newar society. And in part 4, the reconstruction activities of the *Jyapu* caste after the 2015 earthquake will be discussed. Two citizen-led reconstruction projects, such as "Diversified management" and "New town planning utilizing Newar tradition" will be highlighted. Finally, the role of women's S.H.O.s in these two projects will be further analyzed in detail.

II   Overview of study area

2-1 Patan (Lalitpur Metropolitan City)

Patan flourished in the late Malla dynasty (1476-1768) in the 15th century, after the Malla dynasty was divided into the three kingdoms of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Patan. It is located 5 kilometers south of Kathmandu, the capital city, on a plateau on the south bank of the Bagmati River, inside of a circular road called Ring Road. Patan has an overwhelming number of Buddhist temples in comparison with the other two old Malla cities, Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, in the Kathmandu Valley. These old cities, former royal capitals, are still mostly occupied by Newar people. In Newar society, the concept of purity or impurity of the object or person is perceived by whether one can touch or interact with things and people. And this kind of perceived purity or impurity exist both in the daily code and in the hierarchy of the social classes (the caste system).

There are Newar people, who practice Hinduism and Buddhism. It is to be noted that both religions are intertwined and some festivals are mixed based on these religious concepts. Buddhism originally had no caste system, but in the Kathmandu Valley, Buddhists observe caste system based on Hindu philosophies. The royal palace and temples are located in the center of the city, are surrounded by four and five-story brick and timbered multi-family
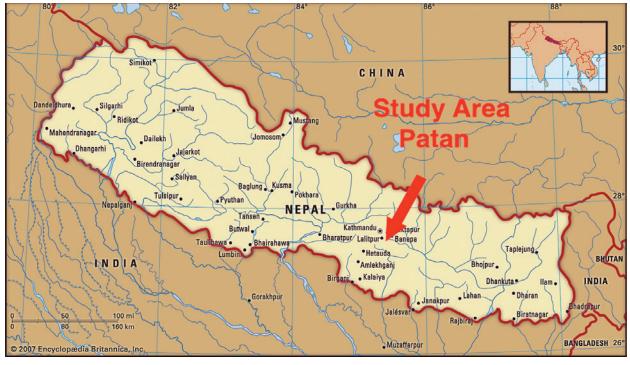
*Nanzan University

Figure 1. Patan (Lalitpur Metropolitan City)
Source: 2007 Encyclopedia Britannica. Inc

dwellings. Upper caste people live in the center of the city and lower caste people live on the outer edge of the city. Each caste lives their life based on the rigid caste system.

As I stated above, the city has a basic urban structure based on a religious view, and this structure is formed according to the caste structure, the mandala worldview and the concept of "pure and impure". The urban structure is linked to traditional culture of Newar.

2-2 Newar people

Newar people experience all phenomena through the lens of whether something is pure or impure. Pure and impure views are derived from the world creation myth taught in Hinduism, and also from the caste system, which defines people's occupation and ritual role. A person's caste level, occupation and conducting of ritual roles are predetermined by ones ancestral caste level. For an example, God has the attribute of "purity", and members of the priest caste group (Hindu priest *Deyobalm*, Buddhist priest *Gubaju*), who are believed close to God, regarded as upper caste, while in contrast, a butcher who handles meat is considered "impure". The butcher

caste group (*Kasai*) and cleaning caste group (*Pode*) are considered to be the lower caste of society. On the other hand, despite the caste ranking, each caste group has its own deity and customs, and each has its own caste identity for its caste group (Gellner 1996: 63-68). The order of caste and the degree of purity or impurity are determined at birth of the individual and are generally considered to be fixed. In Patan alone, there are more than 50 *tals* (family names, or caste groups) (Maharajan 2002: 35). the *Jyapu* (farmer caste group) has the largest number of households of any caste group, followed by *Bale* (gold and silver Buddhist statue crafters caste), then the *Gubaju* (Buddhist monk caste), and the *Sessyo* (government job caste group). The number of households in other caste groups is not very large. Different caste people keep a distance from other caste groups, except for certain ceremonial Occasions. For an example, it is not customary for a upper caste family to allow a lower caste group or person into their house. In addition, there are restrictions against inter-caste marriage, and on "food transfer" between the different castes. Such as, the inability to receive water and food (especially rice) from people of lower caste family or group and the inability to eat with

lower caste people (Yamagami 2001). In particular, cooked rice is seen as a likely conduit for impureness because it is eaten on a daily basis. It is said that one must not share a meal place with anyone other than family members. (Yamagami 2008: 60). Today, traditional values, especially among young people with modern education, are waning and caste norms are changing. However, many elderly people live according to the traditional caste norms.

Ⅲ Public help of Lalitpur Metropolitan City

3-1 Public assistance by Lalitpur Metropolitan City Office

According to the government officer in charge of earthquake reconstruction work in Lalitpur Metropolitan City Office, the damage to Lalitpur was 49 fatalities, 128 injured people, 2,300 collapsed houses, 5,000 partially damaged houses, and 75,000 affected people. The role of the city office is to provide grants to all the applicants, who are seriously injured or have damaged houses based on standards set by the Nepalese government. The damaged buildings are assessed and placed in one of three groups (red: no entry, green: safe, yellow: living will be possible after repairs), and a disaster certificate ID card is issued for the affected applicant. The Nepalese government has instructed municipalities to provide 300,000 rupees [1] (approximately 300,000 yen) for the rebuilding of houses. If home rebuilding criteria are met, applicants can receive financial support to begin rebuilding their homes. First time applicants receive 50,000 rupees if they pass the ground check; the second time they receive 150,000 rupees, if their work satisfies the DPC seismic standard; and the third time they receive 100,000 rupees, if their first floor

Figure 2. Damaged temples
in Patan Durbar Square
(November 14th, 2017 photographed by the author)

meets all the standards set by the government and is completed.

As of December 2019, 6,300 victims in Lalitpur have received first-time grants. Second grants have been awarded to 25% of the initial recipients, and third grants to 20% of the first recipients. In all, 7,373 people have received support from the City Office between 2015 and August 2019. After the earthquake, the regional development bureau under the City Office had distributed shelters and tents, as well as baby clothes and diapers to pregnant women and mothers with babies. One week after the earthquake, large tents provided by UNICEF were set up in the gardens of the City Office and in the fields of Ward 8. About one month after the earthquake, children gathered, painted, and danced. At that time, children were given notebooks, pens, and erasers, as well as snacks by the local government officials.

3-2 Public assistance by the Ward office [2]

After the earthquake, ward offices received relief supplies for the residents from City Offices, International organizations, NGOs, and others. Ward 8 [3], The most damaged area of Patan, received more relief supplies than any other ward. The City Office

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1   According to the conversion rate of 1 NPR = 0.95 JPY (as of September 25, 2019).
2   The data in this section is based on interviews with officials in Ward 8 and Ward 4 (August 2019).

sent 100,000 rupees (approximately 100,000 yen) as donation, medicines, and other food supplies to the ward office. Besides that, several items were donated. Such as, daily necessary items, food from the Central District Administrative Office (CDO), tents from the Red Cross, and acetaminophen from the several NGOs ENPHO and YUM, which are actively involved in the public health sector. According to many of the ward offices, a few days after the earthquake, ward office staff formed a rescue team and they began to work again. At that time, the role of the ward office was mainly to distribute relief supplies, received from each organization. In addition, although not a ward, the *Jyapu Samaj* [4] donated 10,000 rupees (approximately 10,000 yen) for each injured *Jyapu* member as a measure of public assistance.

The Ward 4 office stood out by its effective response. International NGOs sent donation, rescue supplies (gloves, helmets, boots, picks, and masks) and tents to each ward office, and their first task was to distribute them to the residents. Seven days after the earthquake, the Ward 4 office had provided the plaza as a public shelter, built tents, and provided food to residents. They were able to operate smoothly because they had providentially received earthquake disaster training from an International NGO, the day before the disaster took place. As a result, they were able to anticipate the disaster more effectively than other ward offices in this area.

Ⅳ Formation and development of women's self-help organizations

4-1 What does mean the women's self-help organization (S.H.O.)?

Women's S.H.O. was first established in the year 1991, by a local NGO that targeted Newar *Jyapu* (farmer caste) women in Patan. CDS (Community Development Section) [5] in Patan had formed seven women's S.H.O.s between 1996 and 1999. Although, there have been no other projects since 2000, the CDS has been supporting S.H.O.s and conducting a number of operational trainings. Women with knowledge of the women's S.H.O.s have begun to establish other new S.H.O.s by them in the community of Patan, where they live. They have been playing an important role to empower the women social as well as economically. In addition, they have been working based on the needs of their communities and caste groups.

There are also some other groups that choose not to register their establishment with the CDS because they prefer to work for their own interests rather than for the government. There are several requirements for registering women's S.H.O.s with the CDS. For an example, there must be more than 30 members, there must be one week of training in the establishment, the CDS can dictate how the S.H.O. will be managed, annual visits to the CDS must be made, meetings must be attended and reports of the organization must be submitted, and leader of the organization must be changed every three years alternatively. To register with CDS scheme has so many benefits for women. Such as they can get training in arithmetic, reading and writing, vocational training such as courses in using sewing machine and hairdressing, aptitude training, public speaking, and guidance in hygiene and nutrition from a health center.

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3   Ward 8 consists of 12 *toles* (communities), with about 2,200 houses and a population of about 12,000. In Ward 8, the number of collapsed houses exceeded 400, and the region was the most affected by the earthquake in Lalitpur. The first quake, followed by several aftershocks, left between 50 and 60 people injured. In Ward 8, there were no deaths, but a resident of Ward 8 was walking on a street in another ward and died of a heart attack after seeing the university wall collapse in front of him.

4   *Jyapu Samaj* is a large farmer caste group self-help organization that comprises 40 communities of farmer caste groups living in Patan.

5   CDS (Community Development Section) is an administrative organization under the umbrella of City Office.

Women's S.H.O.s go against the traditional Newar values of keeping to one's own caste group, as they serve all women in the community regardless of which caste group they belong to. However, women have established S.H.O.s in each tole (small community), so in Patan, where traditionally people are segregated by caste group, members of the same S.H.O. are allowed to interact with others of different caste groups.

As of November 2018, there are 300 S.H.O.s in Patan. Some groups have more than 20 years of experience. Until the year 2000, many women were unable to join as a member to a group because their families opposed them from going out of their homes. However, women's S.H.O.s had been established in every tole by the year 2010.

At meeting, women can get various kinds of information from the government and they get an opportunity to learn about sanitation, garbage separation and recycling methods, which they can practice at home. Women's S.H.O.s are serving the tole and bringing so many benefits, therefore, S.H.O. member's husbands and other members of the family can allow the women to participate in the training. At the time of the national election, administrative officials taught S.H.O. members about what is the meaning of a political party, what is the meaning of citizens vote and how to cast one's own vote. During Election time, candidates frequently campaigned in each tole and invited not only tole leaders but also the women's S.H.O. leaders to campaign events.

4-2 The life changes of women who belong to S.H.O.s

The gender structure of Newar society has changed since Patan's Newar women began to join S.H.O.s. As mentioned earlier, traditionally, Newar women were restricted to the private area of their husband's house and parents' house, and they could not go out freely without the permission given by their family. Once they started participating in S.H.O.s, women became more accustomed to leaving their homes and doing various outside activities, including group meetings and events.

One of the characteristics of S.H.O.s for the Newar women, is to conduct "small entrepreneurship activities" (such as microcredit, vocational training, literacy training). Such activities aim to develop women's financial independence, which is the original purpose of development. In addition, S.H.O.s organize many community activities, such as participating in festivals, cleaning up communities, establishing community clinics according to the needs of the tole. Each tole is active, with its S.H.O. performing a variety of new community activities to meet its needs.

While initially many men strongly opposed the women from joining S.H.O.s and working outside the home. However, now they have come to know and recognize that S.H.O.'s community work has a positive impact on the tole. Since the establishment of S.H.O.s in Patan, women have gained a social role in the tole, expanding women's freedom and raising women's social status like never before. In this way, S.H.O.s have unintentionally changed the traditional gender structure.

V The community reconstruction process and the role of women's self-help organizations

The community reconstruction process and the role of women's S.H.O.s were selected for research because of their high level of women's involvement in the community reconstruction process. In this study, I will focus mainly on two toles in Patan, referred to as N Tole and P Tole in order to preserve anonymity, which after the earthquake started new urban development projects in which women's S.H.O.s are active in the process of reconstruction. In doing so, I will discuss how women's S.H.O.s are involved in the project and their role in the community

reconstruction activities.

5-1 Reconstruction project : "Diversified management" based on women's ideas in N Tole

a. Overview of N Tole

Talking about N Tole is located at Ward 20 in Lalitpur City and it has about 150 houses and a population of about 400. Most caste groups that live in the community have the last name "Maharjan". The N community is known for its historic *Quina Gane Dyo* (the god Ganesh) temple, which holds the festival of *Jal Binayak Jatra.* The festival starts on the evening of the full moon in November. On that day, in the evening around 6 pm, *mankaa guthi* [6] , a men's band performing during ceremonies, begins to play. In recent years, women have been allowed to participate. Men carry a portable shrine with *Quina Gane dyo* inside, and women dance and play musical instruments while parading through the town of Patan.

In N Tole, the damage from the earthquake was minimal. Four houses were nearly collapsed, but most houses were just cracked. There were no fatalities. For two months after the earthquake, community members stayed in tents in a large parking area run by N Tole.

b. Activities of women's S.H.O. in N Tole before the 2015 earthquake

N Tole has a women's self-help organization that was established in 1999. As of November 2017, N's women's S.H.O. had 92 members. This S.H.O. was established to conduct three main activities: vocational training, literacy training, and microfinance. Every member pays a small amount every month and the money thus collected is put into a large fund. Members can borrow money from this fund and can take loan to open small businesses on their own. In addition to the original development activities, the S.H.O. is currently carrying out various activities based on women's problems and community needs.

For an example, members of this women's S.H.O. perform community activities, such as blood pressure measurement, routine health checkup, cleaning roads and temples for residents in the Tole. Last year, they repaired houses damaged by the earthquake. (All the damaged houses in N Tole have now been almost repaired.) Also, leisure activities, such as excursions and banquets are organized for members. In one notably successful venture, of this women's S.H.O. was to convince the city office to clean a previously unused garbage area and turn it into a parking lot. The S.H.O. members operate the parking lot. They have hired security guards from security companies because it is dangerous at night. Since there is almost no parking space in Patan, therefore this parking management venture is successful and also profitable. The profits from the parking operation are deposited into the community's Sakhakari (financial union), but when the community needs a large amount of money for events like community festivals and banquets and the donations are often made to the community from this fund.

c. After the 2015 Earthquake

In N Tole, before the disaster, the women's S.H.O.s had cleaned up a garbage dump in the community and used the space as parking lot, with the help of men. For two months immediately after the disaster, the space was provided for free of charge to establish evacuation tent camp for Tole members.

Although the women's S.H.O. has been active in women's activities and for the Tole for some time now, members said that they had little time to work for the women's S.H.O. immediately after the earthquake. According to interviews with women living in Patan, after the earthquake, children's

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6　*Guthis* are social organizations that are used to maintain the socio-economic order of Newar society. *Mankaa Guthi* is one type of *Guthis*. The members of *Mankaa Guthi* play traditional music instruments on the ritual occasions

schools were closed for a long time, and many working men had to take a long time off from their office work. Even when they returned back to their work, the men were afraid that the earthquake might reoccur, and they continued to leave the office voluntarily and many of them used to return back home as early as possible for a while. Women were often busy and had to take care of their family members. In other words, many women were not able to leave their homes immediately after the disaster.

On the other hand, immediately after the earthquake, men were able to work toward recovery. Men already had a network outside the home, which they relied a lot to get financial and technical support for N Tole and successfully they were able to build a community disaster prevention center in N Tole.

d.Launching the project "Diversified management"

One year after the earthquake, women's self-help organizations finally started working for reconstruction [7] . At that time, the women's S.H.O. in N Tole had three projects to help people in order to rebuild their lives once again, after the earthquake through diversified management.

The first project focused on tourism. The first component of this plan was to hold a show once in a month and sell tickets to tourists. The show would include Newar dance and live music and a traditional Newar style banquets prepared by local residents. In order to serve this purpose, women's S.H.O. members started to conduct banquet cooking training sessions to give training to its residents Also, three years ago, they created a *macha pucha* (children's group), and they asked the children (both boys and girls) of their community between the ages of 8 and 16 to learn dancing and playing instruments like flute, drum from the members of *mankaa guthi* (men's traditional band). The second component of the tourism plan was to organize a program like homestay program for

tourists. Therefore, several vacant houses in the Tole were cleaned and renovated in order to accommodate around 10 people at one time. Homestay hosts used to serve Newar dishes. Therefore, the S.H.O. women had undergone cooking and cleaning trainings.

The second project was to use an empty or vacant house in the Tole, in order to manage boutique stores. Women's S.H.O. members used to keep the store open and tailor kurta (punjabi dresses) and sari. According to interviews, in November 2017, the location of boutique stores had already been finalized in the Tole and were in the process to open soon. The S.H.O. hopes to create employment for women through such boutique management.

Third, they planned to use the empty space in the community disaster prevention center, in order to create a community day care facility for the elderly people. This would be made available to about 100 elderly people in the community. At present, the S.H.O. members are currently applying to open the facility with the ward office. When there were no such events to take place, this community disaster prevention center was closed most of the time. Therefore, they wanted to use this center for such good reason.as much as possible. The plan was to open from 9:00 am to 6:00 pm as day care for the elderly people. Activities would include communal play, dance, and also for exercise class. A doctor used to visit once a month, in order to check the health condition of the elderly people.

Figure 3. Members of women's S.H.O. in N tole (April 25th, 2018 photographed by the author)

The elderly day care service plan was aimed to

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7   The border blockade between Nepal and India was in turmoil from September 24, 2015 to February 2016. With logistics stagnating, supplies of daily necessities, which had relied on imports from India, fell sharply in Nepal and fuel and drug shortages became severe.

create employment for women's S.H.O. members. And the day care service for the elderly allowed to give free space for women who have elderly family members to leave and find work outside of their homes. In addition, even if a disaster strikes, they can feel reassured that elderly people are in a safe place like disaster prevention enter. If a disaster occurs during use, there is no need to move elderly people out of their homes in terms of disaster prevention. It is believed that it will also reduce the burden on everyday families and will be beneficial for all residents of the community.

5-2 Reconstruction project: "New town planning utilizing Newar tradition" in P Tole of Patan

a.Overview of P Tole

P Tole is located in Ward 3 of Lalitpur City, with a population of about 700 and there are around 115 homes. All inhabitants belong to the peasant caste (family name: Maharjan). Maharjan have traditionally worked in agriculture, but now they have no dedicated farmers and have sold most of their land or built new houses there, leaving little land for farming. Usually, most of the people in this area farm only for their own consumption. At present, the most common profession in P Tole is making hand crafted Buddha statues and to work in offices. In recent years, the number of young people studying abroad and working abroad have increased a lot.

P Tole was the worst affected area of Patan in the Great Nepal Earthquake, with 60% of homes were collapsed and inhabitants were unable to live in their houses. However, no one was died directly from the earthquake, but two people were died due to the shock of such a traumatic event.

The biggest problem in the post-disaster community was that there were many poor people living in houses that had collapsed so badly due to the earthquake, they could not afford to rebuild their homes once again. Some inhabitants have given up in rebuilding their homes and gone back hometown to live with their relatives, while others have rented apartments. Even now, four years after the disaster, some people are still living in the evacuation shelters because they cannot even afford to pay monthly rent of an apartment.

b.Launching the project "New town planning utilizing Newar tradition"

After the earthquake, P Tole discussed how residents could restore and rebuild the community. It was thought that economic disparities would be a major problem if the community was rebuilt individually.

A leader in P Tole, Mr. R.M, chairman of the NGO Maya Foundation and president of a diamond company, suggested the idea of "New town planning utilizing Newar tradition" to residents. The purpose of this project was to invite tourists to their community, in order to revitalize the town, preserve tradition, generate income for the local people, and also to raise the standard of living in the tole. The Maya Foundation (NGO) was trying to create a new town by paying for a portion of the reconstruction costs and attempting to attract tourists to P Tole. The first floor of each house is a craft shop or café; the second floor is a space for guest rooms for tourists; and the third and fourth floors are the owner's living quarters. Room reservations are handled by a central office that arrange an accommodation for guests to a guest house. This is to ensure that every guest house has an equal chance to have guests. The aim is to give all residents equal work opportunity. Initially, the plan was to build 82 project houses (7 chokes), but the number of houses increased to 87 because the large number of applications were submitted. This project was set to be completed within three years.

c. Activities of the women's S.H.O. in P Tole

The women's S.H.O. in P Tole has 110 members, who pay 220 rupees a month (200 rupees are a deposit, 20 rupees are a donation to the Tole). When the earthquake occurred, they cleaned the rubble off the road so that people could pass through. Every

day since the start of the project, from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., they helped with the manual labor of reconstruction and provided food and drinks to the people working on the site. At first, there were many volunteers, but after a year and a half, the men gradually stopped coming to the site because they were busy with work. The women's labor has thus become invaluable because Tole leaders are worried that the labor force would be reduced and as a result the construction period would be extended further.

According to my fieldwork, I have conducted in November 2018, S.H.O. members have been training for three months in Newar dance and traditional instruments for tourism shows. These dances are to be performed for guests in restaurants and stages in P Tole guest houses. In the fall of 2019, the women performed dances, which they had mastered.

Figure 4. Members of women's S.H.O. in P Tole
(November 18th, 2018 photographed by the author)

d. Project Issues

What is currently a problem is the financial difficulties of residents engaged solely in agricultural activities. These residents can borrow funds, but their ability to repay the loan is in question.

There is a consensus that division of property will be a major problem in the near future. In Newar culture, when it comes to the division of property, a wall is built to divide the house equally amongst sons, so it becomes a narrow house. Houses are being rebuilt the same size as before the earthquake, so the sizes of rooms vary depending on the house. In the future, when it comes to divide the property, there will be an issue like who will get the guest room. As guest houses are a new concept, Newar people have

yet to establish cultural norms for dividing a guest house. Some families have decided that one sibling will become the owner of the guest house while the other siblings will receive a portion of the house's original value or future earnings from the guest house.

Figure 5. Scenery during a break
in construction work in P Tole
(April 27th, 2018 photographed by the author)

Ⅵ Conclusion：Examination

This paper, through fieldwork, has shown how the civil reconstruction process in Patan has been carried out since the Great Nepal earthquake and how women's self-help organizations have been involved in the reconstruction process. The Nepalese government mainly focused on the more severely damaged suburbs of Kathmandu. Therefore, in the Patan, public assistance was insufficient. For an example, the government did not create enough temporary housing for victims in Patan. For this reason, the residents independently took the lead role for the community reconstruction activities. In this paper, the *Jyapu* settlements were examined, along with the role of women's S.H.O.s in the N Tole's "Diversified management" project and the P Tole's "New town planning utilizing Newar tradition" project. The farmer caste was chosen because women in this area have so far been the most active in women's S.H.O.s and they are also active in reconstruction.

Both the N and P communities started tourism venture after the disaster. These reconstruction efforts are aimed at creating jobs for all community

members and reshaping life in the N and P communities. It is noteworthy that women's points of view are included in reconstruction. For an example, in N Tole, women supported the idea of a senior day care service because they want to work in order to earn money. Care for elderly family members usually falls to the women in the family, but it is very tiring and time-consuming work. Having a day care service helps the women to take care of their elderly family members while freeing them to work outside the home. The equality of all community members is here emphasized.

As the "Disaster and Gender" (Enarson 2000, Tsunozaki 2007) study pointed out, during natural disaster, women are likely to be vulnerable and be unable to access to relief supplies because of their lack of education and social rights. Even in Patan, the family responsibilities and roles in the home that women had before the disaster were amplified and expanded by the occurrence of disasters and emergencies, thus confining them to their homes. The women's S.H.O. was able to do almost nothing for roughly a year. However, over a year later, finally women were able to begin their work outside the home as S.H.O. members. In N Tole, the women's S.H.O. had played a central role in reconstruction, using buildings, human resources, and unique cultures in the community to plan for sustainable tourism, and gradually rebuild. The project is underway.

In addition, in P Tole, using the empty space of the Disaster Prevention Center as day care for the elderly on a daily basis is a unique idea from the perspective of women at home. Men who work outside during the day cannot run a day care, and women are often engaged in the area of care at home. As women already possess the knowledge and ability to take care of elderly people. Therefore, it was very easy for them to gain the required very little training.

In Patan, women's S.H.O.s, established in the 1990s and 2000s, have gained organizational management skills through the experience of women's activities and have expanded their social roles in communities.

One of the reasons women were able to participate in recovery is that women's S.H.O.s have improved their organizational management skills and other abilities through various activities over many years.

In this paper, the role of women's self-help organizations in reconstruction was discussed. Reconstruction aimed at tourism has provoked instances of what can be termed "remaking and creating culture". For an example, guest rooms for foreigners feature different ceiling heights, Western-style toilets, curtains and beds, in order to fulfill the need and requirement of the foreign customers. There are also several unsolved issues, such as how to divide the guest rooms into property in terms of legal condition. In the future, I would like to address and analyze those unsolved issues from the viewpoint of tourist anthropology.

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