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研究課題「Disaster and the Role of the Anthropologist : Efforts in Asian Countries」

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# Research Papers of the Anthropological Institute Vol.5 (2017)

Disaster and the Role of the Anthropologist : Efforts in Asian Countries

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## Introduction

GOTO Akira<sup>1</sup>

This is a final report on the activities of the three-year Internationalization Promotion Project of Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan. The Anthropological Institute at Nanzan University obtained a subsidy from Nanzan University for this project from 2015 to 2017 (The Third Term Internationalization Promotion Project), which has prompted a follow-up project, “Establishing an Asian Anthropologists’ Network.”

This project originated from the idea that we should establish a network among indigenous Asian anthropologists for future collaboration and cooperation. Anthropology is a field originated in the western world and introduced to Asian countries. Today, Asian anthropologists in many countries are exploring ways to apply the discipline in indigenous contexts, and so, now is the time to exchange these indigenous efforts and share ideas.

Beginning just after the Great Disaster of Eastern Japan in 2011, awareness has continued to rise as many Asian countries face similar disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, typhoons, and man-made disasters. This collaborative work to establish a network of Asian anthropologists would be invaluable as we work with people who are currently suffering from such disasters and to develop more effective methodology and resources for the future.

The year 2015 was spent preparing for an international workshop in 2016. The responsible researcher, Chie Miyawaki, visited three countries, India, Indonesia, and the Philippines to discuss the plans for the work shop in 2016. Miyawaki also visited the Miyagi Prefecture, the center of the 2011 disaster Japan, to observe and investigate the present state of the reconstruction phase.

In 2016, the international workshop was held. Guests from India, Indonesia, and the Philippines were invited. Guests from these Asian countries talked about the consequences of recent disasters in their countries and discussed the roles of anthropologists in such events.

Gopalan Ravidran from India critically examined the role of journalism in the face of disasters, and his insight was useful to explicate good and bad aspects of mass communication during and after these occurrences.

Dedi Supriadi Adhuri from Indonesia provided information on the roles of local, national, and international communities in the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction. He gave a persuasive proposal for the future as his analysis is based on successive fieldwork in the area.

Cynthia Neri Zayas from the Philippines provided information about the Pinatubo

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Volcano disaster and the situation of the Agta indigenous group. She also discussed the roles of anthropologists during a series of typhoons and volcanic disasters in the Philippines.

Two guests were also invited from Japan to comment on the reports presented from other Asian countries. Tomoya Akimichi offered a historical review of disasters that have occurred in Japan and emphasized the need to incorporate socio-cultural considerations in rehabilitation projects. Shuichi Kawashima, himself a victim of the 2011 disaster, commented based on similar disasters in Japan, such as the eruption of Mt. Ugen-Fuzen and past tsunamis. He also provided examples of indigenous efforts for reconstruction of a fishing village in the Miyagi Prefecture.

After the workshop, we made an excursion to the Miyagi Prefecture with three guests to see the stricken areas and talk directly with the local people.

The year 2017 was a time of summing-up the previous years' products and publish a final report in English. We also agreed to invite two guests from the Miyagi Prefecture to the follow-up workshop to discuss what needs to happen after a disaster. Both have lived through disaster. One is a taxi driver, Keiya Sakurai, who has continued talking about the disaster he experienced and is now known as the "story-teller taxi driver." Another is Koichi Sakurai, who is a leader of reconstruction for the Yuriage Morning Market. Because of his efforts, Yuriage Morning Market has increased its level of revenue to exceed what it was before the disaster. The contents of their talks will be published (in Japanese) in an Anthropologist Institute's Booklet.

Although our three-year project finished in 2017, we could obtain a subsidy for the next three-years of projects, including developing our initial project into the next stage. I sincerely thank all of the participants in our project for their valuable contributions. Disasters and suffering are never-ending, which makes the formation of an Asian Anthropologists' network critical now and in the future.

## Disasters and rare life events among Filipinos: Pinatubo Ayta's ability to deal with natural disasters<sup>2</sup>

Cynthia Neri Zayas<sup>3</sup>

### Abstract

We Filipinos live with typhoons all our lives. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions happen but never as frequently as typhoons' seasonal visits to the islands. For the past four decades — from 1973 to 2013 — typhoons triggered the worst disasters in the Philippines. Recently, Typhoon Haiyan's fury lashed the Central Philippines, bringing havoc to 16 million people and leaving material losses costing US\$2 Billion. The high incidence of losses is due to the typhoon's path passing through cities and towns. Disaster studies in the Philippines rely on "worst disaster" indicators (casualties, damage costs, and number of people affected). Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, on the other hand, result in lower incidence of destruction as they are comparatively infrequent and occur in peripheries of urban areas with a lesser amount of infrastructure. Essentially, there are more studies and funding allocation for disasters with catastrophic consequences.

Keywords : Philippines, disaster, Ayta, Mt. Pinatubo, anthropology of disaster

Disasters are a fact of life in the Philippines: natural hazards such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, typhoons, floods, droughts, and landslides occur with such relentless intensity that they can be regarded as 'frequent life events' (Bankoff, 2007).

I work among traditional communities like the Ayta because they possess a remarkable knowledge of their environment, e.g. flora and fauna (Zayas, et. al. 2013a). With their forest almost gone as a result of lahar and pyroclastic flows, what is left of their knowledge? As an anthropologist quietly working among peripheral communities, my studies have focused on the Ayta peoples who have lived for centuries on Mt. Pinatubo (Zayas, 2016a, 2016b, 2015, 2014, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2012, 2010a, 2010b, 2007). Most of my work deals with post-disaster ethnography of traditional societies, focusing on reconstruction of people's cultural lives prior to the lahar devastation – their local survival strategy knowledge, their resilience,

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<sup>2</sup> The original version was read during the Nanzan University Institute of Anthropology's International Symposium and Workshop October 1-5, 2016 in Nagoya and Sendai.

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and their continuing struggle to possess their ancestral land, among others. Many scholars have addressed the capacity of industrial societies to deal with natural disasters. However, few have looked into how traditional societies deal with it, except for a few foreign ones who have done work on Pinatubo Negritos (Gaillard, 2015; Shimizu, 1989, 2001; Seitz, 1998, etc.). Mine is a contribution to this scarcity.

“Frequent life events” is how historian Bankoff, using data going back from the 18th century, describes disaster situations in the Philippines all the way from Spanish colonial times. To give an idea: in the four decades from 1973 to 2013, typhoons produced the worst disasters in the Philippines. The three biggest generators of casualties came from two typhoons (Haiyan in 2013 and Bopha in 2012), and one 7.9 magnitude earthquake in Mindanao, which triggered a tsunami. Typhoons (Haiyan, Bopha and Nina, 1995) too caused the three biggest damage to property and infrastructure.

Typhoons are the origins of the worst disaster in terms of the number of human population affected (Haiyan, Bopha, and Mike in 1990). Typhoon Haiyan is one of the world's strongest and deadliest typhoons ever recorded, prompting a rare Public Storm Signal No. 4 in the Visayas. It caused massive devastation that killed 6,300 people. Haiyan, the worst typhoon to hit the country, brought massive damage amounting to around US\$2 billion. Aside from the big number of casualties and the massive damage, some 16 million people were affected.

Anthropologists in the Philippines are not so keen in working on disasters. In 38 years of annual conferences, the Philippine Anthropological Association (also known as UGAT) only showcased the subject twice — in 1995, during its 17th Annual Conference (with the

**Table 1. Top three generators of disasters in the Philippines<sup>4</sup>**

Disaster/degree	1	2	3
Local name International name, date 1. Population affected	Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) 2013.11.08 16,106,807	Typhoon Pablo (Bopha) 2012.12.04 6,246,664	Typhoon Ruping (Mike) 1990.11.12 6,159,569
Local name International name, date 2. Cost of damage	Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) 2013.11.08 US\$ 2.05 B	Typhoon Pablo (Bopha) 2012.12.04 US\$ 1.7 B	Typhoon Sisang (Nina) 1995.09.04 US\$ 7 M
Local name International name, date 3. Casualties	Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) 2013.11.08 6,300	1976 Mindanao earthquake 1976.08.17 6,000	Typhoon Uring (Thelma) 1991.11.05 5,956

<sup>4</sup> Source: (NDRRMC), National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), Philippine Institute of Volcanology and Seismology (PHIVOLCS), <http://www.rappler.com/moveph/issues/disasters/64916-worst-natural-disasters-philippines>, Accessed: 2016.07.11

theme “Anthropology of Disaster”) held in Nueva Ecija, the site of a devastating earthquake in 1991; and in 2005, twenty years later, during the 27th Annual Conference in Iloilo (with the theme “The Anthropology of Crisis”).

Fortunately, the U.P. Diliman Department of Anthropology made available in 2011 the results of students-gathered data , (“Ethnographies of Disaster, 2009”) at the UP Anthropology Field School in Tiwi, Albay, a collaborative effort with the conference’s host university I shall return to their contribution as I cite cases on disaster-related work by anthropologists.

The regularity of disasters is a normal event in the islands. This regularity is punctuated by interest in the effects of natural and man-made disasters. Often, interest among anthropologists is prompted by various sources, like an invitation for joint research projects on disaster-related studies, however, there are some who would now and then respond to the challenge to get involved in disaster education, research on post-disaster recovery, and ethnographies of life experiences, among others. For example:

Case 1: Prof. Lilian dela Peña, a victim herself of the flooding in her city, Cagayan de Oro, in the wake of Typhoon Sendong (international codename: Washi), led her institution’s — Capitol University (CU) -campaign for disaster education. One major output is an illustrated children’s book containing narratives of flash flood survivors (dela Peña, 2012). Published in Cebuano in 2012, *Sa Kagabhion sa Sendong* (On the Night of Sendong: Narratives of Children Survivor), co-edited by dela Peña with Amor Q de Torres, now has a English translation. The book contains 14 stories from children survivors, aged 8-13 years old. Each narrative tells how they survived and how they helped family members and neighbors survive, and relates the struggle handling post-disaster trauma and the loss of parents, family members, or both.

CU appointed dela Peña as coordinator for several projects. One such endeavor was the *Building Disaster Preparedness*, a joint project of CU, Japan Foundation Manila Office (JFMO) and Plus Arts of Kobe, Japan, which provided trainer-consultants. Started in 2014, it trained 19 students and four faculty members how to develop fun games to teach disaster preparedness. The project developed four games and four others, developed by similar projects in Thailand and Japan, were adapted. The games were introduced to and played by elementary school children in Cagayan de Oro (Capitol University Basic Education Department and Gusa Elementary School), in Manila (at the Museo Pambata, and facilitated by the Girl Scouts of the Philippines), in Bicol (Bicol University, facilitated by Japan International Cooperation Agency, or JICA, and the provincial LGU of Bicol).

Dela Peña also coordinated CU’s Strengthening Capacity in Disaster Preparedness and Climate Resilience project in five provinces from 2013 to 2015. This initiative — funded by the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAid), now Australia’s Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade - was managed by Dr. Doracie Z. Nantes, then with the Australian National University. Five provincial LGUs — Bicol, Quezon, Bohol, Misamis

Oriental, and Lanao del Norte - two city governments, and six universities participated in the project. CU and the Mindanao University of Science and Technology co-managed the activities in Misamis Oriental.

As a member of the Secretariat of the Climate and Disaster Resilient Committee of Capitol University, dela Peña's group planned and implemented the university's disaster preparedness and resilience initiatives. Emergency drills for earthquake, fire, and gun shooting incidents are now organized in CU, and there are individuals in every building and floor responsible for ensuring the evacuation of students and employees to identified areas. Annually or during summer, the committee organizes holds *Abtik* (literally meaning active), an open-to-the-public event where government organizations and NGOs in the region showcase initiatives on disaster preparedness.

Case 2: Nota F. Magno, is assistant professor at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU)<sup>5</sup>. As part of the project to document the siege of Zamboanga in 2013 when the secessionist Moro National Liberation Front took control of the city proper and burned local communities, her group studied displacement situations - urban development, environmental causes/natural disasters, and armed conflict. The Zamboanga case represented the latter two situations. The project, done under the aegis of ADMU's Institute of Philippine Culture, focused on Internally Displaced Populations (IDP). The result of this study is being readied for publication.

Case 3: Soledad Dalisay and Carlos Tatel are both faculty members of the U.P. Diliman's Department of Anthropology. Dalisay works on food issues (2005, 2008). In 2009 both professors took their undergraduate students for several months of field work. The site, Tiwi, Albay coincidentally, is also where Mt. Mayon, the most active volcano in the Philippines, is. and Albay, a province in the Bicol region, is a major highway of typhoons coming from the Pacific Ocean, especially during the southwest monsoon. Data from the Anthropology Field School was compiled together with some articles from accompanying instructors. Essential it is composed of narratives of disaster local coping. Some of the titles, written mostly in Filipino, are:

Tatel, C. P. Jr.

Fieldwork and Fieldschool – anthropological reflections in a cultural setting  
(In English)

Dalisay, S. N. M. and Tatel, C. P. Jr

The Ravaging Storm: Providing an anthropological lens to the study of disaster in two Barangays in Tiwi, Albay (In English)

Diego, M. K., de Leon, S.G. and Manalili, M. M.

Faith and Danger – Narratives of rescue and adaptation after disaster (In Filipino)

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<sup>5</sup> Information were obtained through email.



Filoteo, J., Muyrong P. L. J. and Tan, D. M.

Mother of Salvation, save us – Devotion and disaster in the Hamlet of Joroan, Tiwi, Albay (In Filipino)

Ferras, M. R., Landicho, J. L. And Toledo, S. J.

Food, typhoon and Mother – A study on vulnerability during disaster (In Filipino)

Bautista, V. F., Calobong, R. J. and del Prado, C. J.

*Tabang* (aid or help) - the politics of aid in Jaroan

Catalan, A. M., Gato, N., and Regalia, M. L.

Pakikidagos (to shelter) – Action and power in times of disaster in Jaroan, Tiwi, Albay (In Filipino).

Ferreras, M. R., Lagman, K. H. and Marquez, M. L.

Pagbuwat (Rising up) – Microfinance and response to challenges during disaster in the hamlet of Joroan, Tiwi, Albay (In Filipino)

Case 4: Ponciano L. Bennagen is a retired professor of the U.P. Department of Anthropology. His major contribution to disaster study is his critique on government's non-participatory strategy when dealing with disaster victims. To quote him:

Based on our observations and experiences in the Ayta communities hit by the Mt. Pinatubo eruptions, it can be said that victims themselves have the organizational and cultural resources and capability to manage their situation. While victims do need immediate material support such as relief goods, they are able to rehabilitate themselves successfully, if they take control of the disaster management from the beginning (Bennagen, 1996).

Case 5: Jose Cunanan, a protestant pastor-anthropologist, has written about the effects of volcanic eruption on the Ayta in Pinatubo. Unfortunately, I have not come across his later works. But I know that he continues to undertake development projects with the Ayta in Zambales and Bataan provinces.

Apart from these five examples, and brief essays of anthropology students, typhoon-related anthropological work is almost absent. Why is this so, when anthropologists in the Philippines study indigenous peoples? Since majority of indigenous people do not live in populated areas, they are not included in government disaster statistics. Furthermore, the history of anthropology in the Philippines is conjoined with the fate of the *katutubo*/the indigenous 'other'. Like Jose Cunanan, I study indigenous peoples like the Ayta of Pinatubo who were displaced as a result of the 1991 eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in Luzon.

Case 6: Since 1991, I have devoted myself to the study of the Ayta. Anthropologists consider the Ayta of Mt. Pinatubo as environmentally-resilient people. Twenty-five years ago, Mt. Pinatubo erupted in the main Philippine island of Luzon. The native peoples living on the

slopes, the Ayta, were temporarily housed in evacuation camps located below the slopes of the volcano.

Being seasonally slash-and-burn cultivators as well as hunters and gatherers, most of the Ayta planned to return immediately to their land despite the danger of lahar flows. One keen Ayta observed, “If the indigenous people simply eat and sleep without doing anything, they will soon die”. This Ayta learned that his father did not wait for the government to declare their area safe, but immediately looked for a suitable land and began raising goats and planting sweet potato and taro -food most suitable instead of canned sardines, instant noodles, or other packed foods distributed in the evacuation camps. The Ayta thought: time lost doing nothing during the waiting period could have been allotted for the tending of animals and cultivation of plants. This is the mentality of the dwellers of the volcano. They did not only plant, but took to the river, caught fish and shrimps, and gathered shells.

Another victim, the medicine man, left the evacuation area and returned to his devastated home to plant vegetables and rejuvenate the medicinal trees in his backyard. In short, the victims of the volcanic eruption were active actors who wanted to restore “normalcy” in their lives through various strategies. This is what common people think of the Ayta, as hardy people who are used to difficult situations in their lives. However, the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo did not really register much on the top 10 worst disasters in the Philippines in terms of casualties, in cost of damage ( it was number 5), and terms of people affected because the Ayta did not figure in government statistics.

**Table 2. How Mt. Pinatubo eruption fared in worst disaster category**

I. Worst disasters in PH in terms of casualties: Mt. Pinatubo did not figure in the top 10
II. Worst disasters in PH in terms of cost of damage: No. 5 Mt. Pinatubo eruption, 1991.06.15 US\$443,000,000
III. Worst disasters in PH in terms of number of people affected: Mt. Pinatubo eruption did not figure in the top 10

My work with the Ayta involves bringing students for first-hand observation of the effects of the volcanic eruption, and organizing symposia, undertaking collaborative research with botanists, sociologists, organizing disaster mitigation workshops, among others. All these activities resulted in the creation of a course entitled Global Studies 197 (Special Topics

of Global Concern – Cultures of Disasters), an elective course offered once a year to undergraduate students.<sup>6</sup> My class has produced a monograph from results in the field.

### C. N. ZAYAS

Papers read and published on cultures of disaster studies

- 2016a. “Memoires of the UPCIS Out of classroom Learning Activities – Pagsabog ng Bulkang Pinatubo, Ayta sa Sitio Target Sapang Bato, Angeles, Pampanga.” In *Beyond Diliman* No. 1 University of the Philippines Center for International Studies, Diliman.
- 2016b. “Land is Life and Life is Land: Development, Resilience, Family and Knowledge for the Ayta of Mt. Pinatubo. ” In *The Consequences of Disasters: Demographic, Planning, and Policy Implementations*. Ed. Helen James and Douglas Patton. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas.
2015. “Ayta Pinatubo’s Post-Disaster transformations & indigenous sustainability- ‘the Sitio Target experience.’” Paper presented during the Asia-Pacific Research University’s 11th Research Symposium on Multi-Hazards around the Pacific Rim. Microtel by Wyndham, Techno hub, UP Diliman, Quezon City, October 7-10, 2015.
2014. “Ayta strategies to repossess ancestral land after the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo, Philippines.” Paper presented to the ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC RIM UNIVERSITIES (APRU) X MULTI-HAZARDS INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM: “Discovering, Researching and learning in time of disasters in the Pacific Rim: bridging the gap through academic work”. Campus Andrés Bello, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile, November 18-20, 2014.
- 2013a. “Useful Plants of Selected Ayta Communities from Porac, Pampanga, Twenty Years after the Eruption of Mt. Pinatubo.” *Philippine Journal of Science*, 142 (0):161-189. Co-authored with Elena M. Ragragio and Jasper John A. Obico.
- 2013b. “Disaster experiences in place names and memories from Japan and the Philippines.” Paper read on the occasion of the UGNAYANG PANG-AGHAMTAO, INC. (UGAT) - ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PHILIPPINES 35th ANNUAL CONFERENCE: Rethinking and Remaking Forms of Knowledge: The Critical Work of Anthropology. Ateneo de Davao University, Davao City, 24-26 October 2013.
- 2013c. “Anthropologizing tao, lupa, hangin at tubig and tumao - Understanding the sources of Filipino responses to natural disasters.” Module written for *Integrating Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction*. Project funded by the AusAid Public Sector Linkages Program - Capacity Strengthening Program on Integration of Climate Change Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction in Five Provinces in the Philippines. December 3, 2013, Cagayan de Oro City and December 6, 2013, ITTC MSU Iligan City.

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<sup>6</sup> This course is popular among Mass Communication majors, Psychology students, and Business Administration and Economics majors as well.

2012. *Tagging vulnerabilities to natural disasters through local knowledge: the founder's cult, landscapes and place names.* Paper read during the KAPWA 3: Indigenous knowledge in the academe, bridging local and global paradigms. An International Conference with Symposium for Schools of Living Traditions (SLT), June 25- July 1, 2012 Baguio City, Philippines.
2010. *Overcoming Disasters – lessons from post-disaster interventions in Japan and Southeast Asia.* Ed. Cynthia N. Zayas et al. Diliman: UPCIS Publications.
2010. “Aeta Lessons from Mt. Pinatubo- Restore the forest, revive heritage.” Co-written with V.V. Hernandez, E. M. Ragragio and R. Alejandro. In *Overcoming disasters –lessons from post-disaster interventions in Japan and Southeast Asia.* Zayas, C.N., V. V. Hernandez and A. C. Fajardo (editors). Diliman: UPCIS Publications.
2007. “*The wrath of the Deity Koujin and the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in Awaji Island, Japan*” (淡路島における災害と記憶の文化—荒神信仰を中心に)。第204回日文研フォーラム。国際日本文化研究センター、International Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto. In Japanese.(booklet)

Conferences and field work related to disaster studies  
Education & documentation

2015. Out-of-classroom organizer. “Studies and reports on the Ayta of Clark at Camias, Porac, Pampanga: Out-of-classroom learning activities, Global Studies 197 (Special Topics on Cultures of Disaster),” in *Beyond Diliman*, No. 1, Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines, Diliman. Note: In 2015 I led a multi-disciplinal class field work for the course Global Studies 197 – Cultures of Disaster, in Sitio Target, Bgy. Sapang Bato, Angeles, Pampanga. This monograph is the output from that field work.
2011. Convener and paper reader: International Symposium Eco-cultural adaptations in Volcanic Environments. Commemorative meeting of the 20th year of Mt. Pinatubo Eruption. University of the Philippines, Diliman and Pampanga. February 25-28, 2011.
2011. Organizer of the Field study in Bgy. Inararo, Porac Pampanga among the Aytas of Pinatubo during the UPCIS - Osaka University GLOCOL Seminar “Natural Disaster and Global Collaboration – Responses to the Great Japan Earthquake, 3.11 and Study Tour.” September 17-19.
2010. Convener and paper reader: International Symposium and Study Tour: Towards a Culture of Prevention: the Best Educational Practices on Disaster Risk Reduction in Japan and Southeast Asia. UP Diliman. February 15-17, 2010.

**Final words**

The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo was a rare event, as volcanologists and geologists believed that the volcano had not erupted in the preceding 500 years or so. The displacement of indigenous people who claim the volcano as their homeland was unprecedented. An Ayta

leader thanks the volcano for informing the government that they do exist and there are many of them. The slope dwellers on the volcano are not used to living with their lowland neighbors. They in fact flee whenever a lowlander would come close to their hamlets. My interest in the study of these people could have been influenced by their rarity as well as the uncommon eruption of an unknown volcano. In the study of such an event, the victims provided a rare glimpse of how native peoples showed their resilience despite the enormous destruction of their environment. In 2015, I wrote that

Human dispersal due to volcanic eruption has aggravated the quest for land tenure among the indigenous peoples of Mt. Pinatubo – the Aytas. Being semi-nomadic people, the Aytas have established village communities in a vast territorial land at the same time [they] seasonally camp in forests for slash-and-burn agriculture and hunting and gathering activities. As a result, they are often targets of land-grabbing miners, ranchers and cultivators from the lowland. The long struggle to regain their homeland began during the Spanish colonization of the Philippines (mid-1600s to late 1800s) and “ended” when Mt. Pinatubo erupted, triggering America to leave its air and naval bases on the slopes of the volcano. The only remaining land Aytas had prior to the volcanic eruption unfortunately was covered with lahar and other debris. Land is life and life is land as a native concept connects with the issues of ancestral domain and the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997. Examining these relations will provide the opportunity for a sharper view of the effects of natural disaster on human population. By further examining traditional social organization and village formation as a response to volcanic eruption, future policy on development and resilience may be guided by the native ways of doing things and thus, avoid costly human development engineering.

Anthropologists wear many hats. They can be academics or they can work directly with NGOs for the benefit of people. In the Philippines, the academe provides a prestigious position but does not give good economic returns. Besides, there are a limited number of posts in universities. The advent of NGOs has paved the way for the employment of anthropology graduates in the Philippines.

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## **Social Issues in the Aceh Post Tsunami Rehabilitation: Some Notes from Project Experience<sup>7</sup>**

Dedi Supriadi Adhuri<sup>8</sup>

### **Abstract**

In the morning of the 2004 boxing day, Aceh was struck by a very strong earthquake (in its center, the magnitude of the earthquake was 9.2 Richter) followed a devastating tsunami. Around 176,000 people were killed or disappeared, all coastal cities in the province, particularly in the West coast, were leveled to the ground. The response to this tragedy was a global wide. Within days, international aid communities reached Aceh and started to save injured people, cleaned the debris and tried to make Aceh re-habitable. Within a year and lasted for a decade or so, local, national and international communities involved in rehabilitating and reconstructing Aceh in all sectors. Although we might still see some problems, these works have re-established proper life for most of the Aceh people and its environment.

Reflecting from my own experiences for four and half years working in post-tsunami rehabilitation in Aceh, this paper will highlight some socio-cultural issues in the projects and see how Anthropological perspectives can help to identify these issues. This understanding, I will argue, is very important not only for identifying the problems but also for creating solutions and, in fact, for mobilizing people's support to optimize the outcome and sustainability of the rehabilitation projects. In so doing, this paper will look at the importance of local knowledge and practices, social structure and participation/collaboration in post tsunami rehabilitation efforts.

Keywords : Disaster, Post tsunami rehabilitation, social issues, Anthropology

### **A. INTRODUCTION**

Indonesia is one of the biggest archipelagic countries in the world. Geographically it covers about 5,193,250 km<sup>2</sup>, 1,919,440 km<sup>2</sup> of which is land of more than 17,000 islands and their surrounding waters. This huge area which is rich in its natural resources offers great

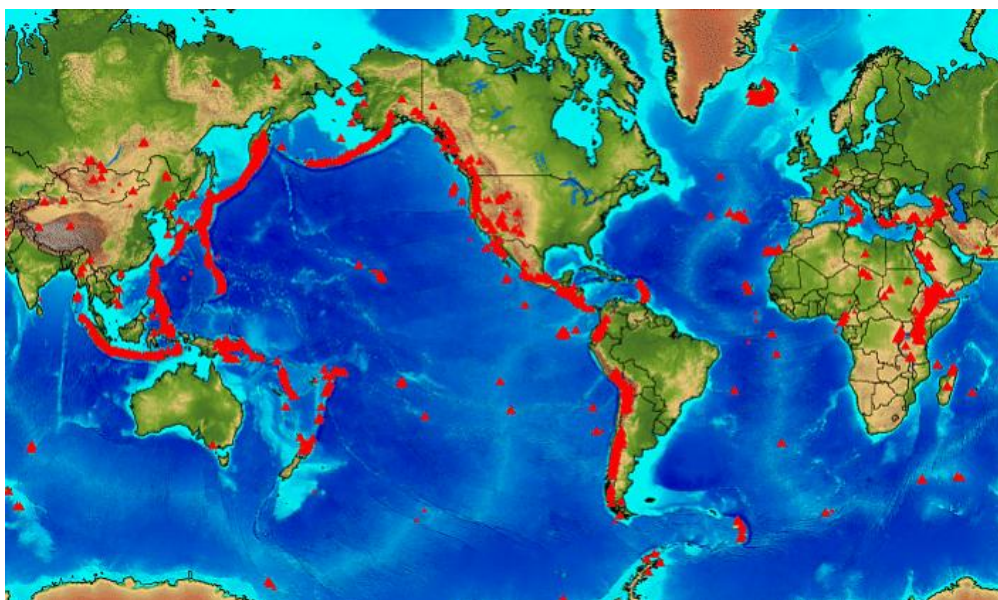
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opportunities for the people and government to live in good living condition. Nonetheless, the challenges to reach the status of a welfare nation are also great. One of the challenges is the fact that Indonesia is a hot spot of natural disaster. Indonesia, particularly the southern arch of the archipelago is part of the Asia Pacific Ring of Fire (Figure 1). That is the network of volcanoes around the Pacific Ocean that result from subduction of oceanic plates beneath higher continental plates. This network is a source of earth quake and volcanoes eruption. The fact that Indonesia archipelago is surrounded by two oceans—The Indian and Pacific oceans- adds the hazard from earth quake as it can create tsunami. In addition, climate change and mis-or lack of natural resource management have added the types of disaster such as flood, drought and land slide as well as number of incidences in Indonesia

**Figure 1. The Pacific Ring of Fire**



Source:<https://ecsforum5.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/ring-of-fire-and-globalvolcanoes1.jpg>  
(downloaded 28th August 2017)

The record of natural disaster in Indonesia (1907-2004) found that there were 235 incidents of various natural disasters (cyclone, drought, earthquake, flood and volcano) which killed 55,418 people and totally impacted 12,688,833 (Table 1). If we put in Aceh tsunami that taken place in December 2004, we could add around 176,000 people killed and millions

**Table 1. The Incident of Natural disaster in Indonesia (1907-2004)**

<i>Disaster</i>	<i># of Events</i>	<i>Total Killed</i>	<i>Avg. # Killed</i>	<i>Total Affected</i>	<i>Avg. # Affected</i>
<i>Cyclone</i>	10	1,992	199	19,698	1,872
<i>Drought</i>	11	9,329	848	4,894,220	444,929
<i>Earthquake</i>	78	21,856	280	1,723,756	18,180
<i>Flood</i>	93	4,296	46	5,069,306	49,643
<i>Volcano</i>	43	17,945	417	981,853	22,351

Source: [https://www.ldeo.columbia.edu/chrr/research/profiles/pdfs/indonesia\\_profile1.pdf](https://www.ldeo.columbia.edu/chrr/research/profiles/pdfs/indonesia_profile1.pdf)

more impacted<sup>9</sup>. These are huge number of people, and we should also remember that these disasters can produce long term impacts to the environment and the people.

As our earth is getting old and our pressure on her intensified, some are carried out badly, it should be no surprise to see the increasing trend of disaster. This is happening in many places including Indonesia. A week before my travel to this seminar (1 November 2016), a day long heavy rain had caused serious flood and land slide in Garut, West Jawa. This incident had killed 20 people, 14 people were missing, possibly dead. Similar incident also took place in many other parts of the country and this happens almost every rainy season.

With the above challenges, Indonesia needs to improve her efforts in disaster management which includes disaster mitigation, preparedness, emergency handling and post disaster reconstruction. This paper is an attempt to share some experiences in post disaster rehabilitation. Reflecting from my own experiences for four and half years working in Aceh, this paper will highlight some socio-cultural issues in the projects and see how Anthropological perspectives can help to identify these issues. This understanding, I will argue, is very important not only for identifying the problems but also for creating solutions and, in fact, for mobilizing people's support to optimize the outcome and sustainability of the rehabilitation projects. In so doing, this paper will look at the importance of local knowledge and practices, social structure and participation/collaboration in post tsunami rehabilitation efforts.

## **B. THE PROJECTS**

### **The Framework**

The projects that this paper referred to were a series of projects that aimed at establishing a sustainable community-based integrated coastal management through a balance activities between habitat restoration/conservation and livelihoods development. We developed our implementation activities by adapting a conceptual framework designed for the diagnosis and management of small scale fisheries (SSF) (Andrew et al. 2007). The framework of Andrew et al. (2007) consists of (1) identification of the elements external to the coastal environment, (2) diagnosis of the internal elements to identify increased benefits and potential constraints, (3) recognition of the management constituencies, (4) development of a management process and indicators of the status of elements benefiting the community, and (5) generation of community benefits (i.e. outcomes) that flow from the SSF system. Feedback loops at each stage provide opportunities for adaptive management as internal and external conditions change throughout the development cycle.

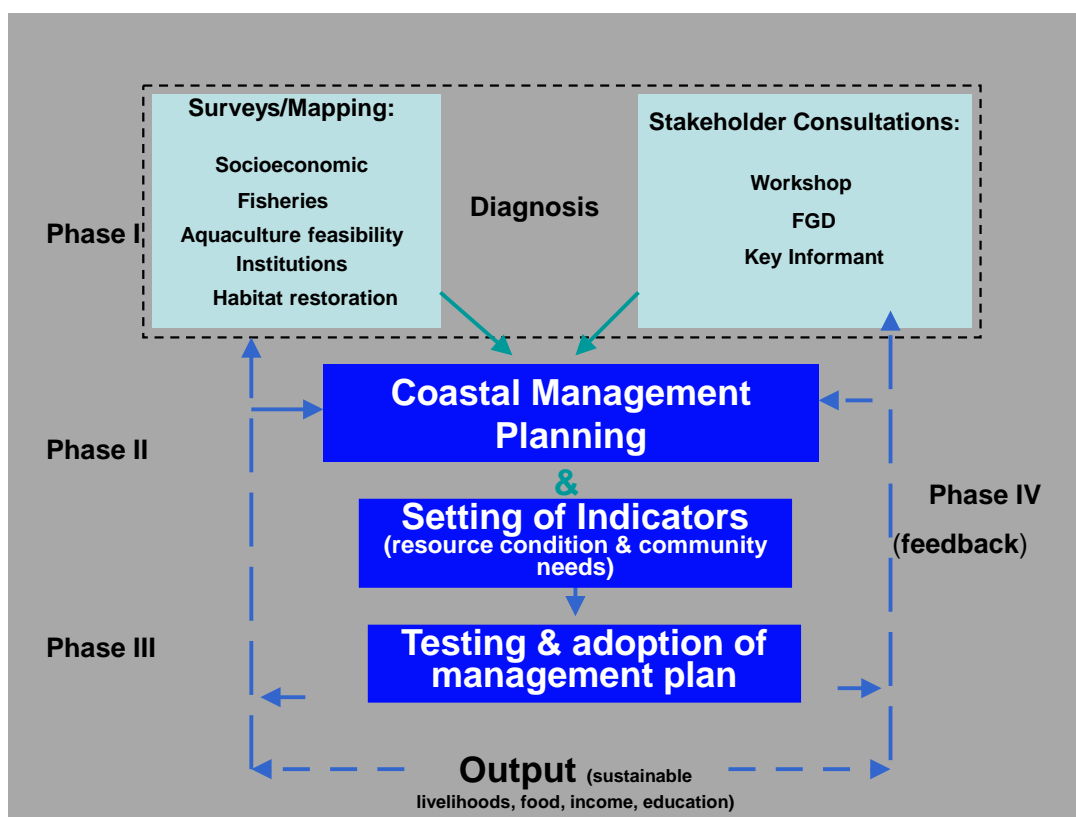
At a practical, level we translated this conceptual framework into four distinct phases of activities (Figure 2). The first phase was conducting a detailed diagnosis of challenges,

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<sup>9</sup> The exact number of people killed in the Aceh tsunami could not be established until now. Various estimations point to a range between 176,000 and 280,000 people.

opportunities and management options in the context of post-tsunami rehabilitation. In this regard, we conducted several survey and participatory analysis of the dynamics of the socio-ecological systems (SES) before and after the tsunami. The information collected in the first phase was used to feed the work of the second phase that was establishing the management plan. The management planning process addressed outcomes desired (SES configuration), actions needed (tested responses or management options) to achieve the outcomes and indicators to evaluate success of the actions. Phase three was testing the management options/intervention which covered habitat restoration, livelihood rehabilitation and management arrangement that were environmentally sustainable and socio-economically viable. It should be noted that we carried out all these phases with participatory method involving relevant stakeholders (community, local government offices and various NGOs working in the site). Community participations were increased as the phases moved along. We developed this strategy as part of the exit strategy with the expectation that as the project ended, the community could carry on the management activities independently.

**Figure 2. Project Implementation Activities/Strategy**

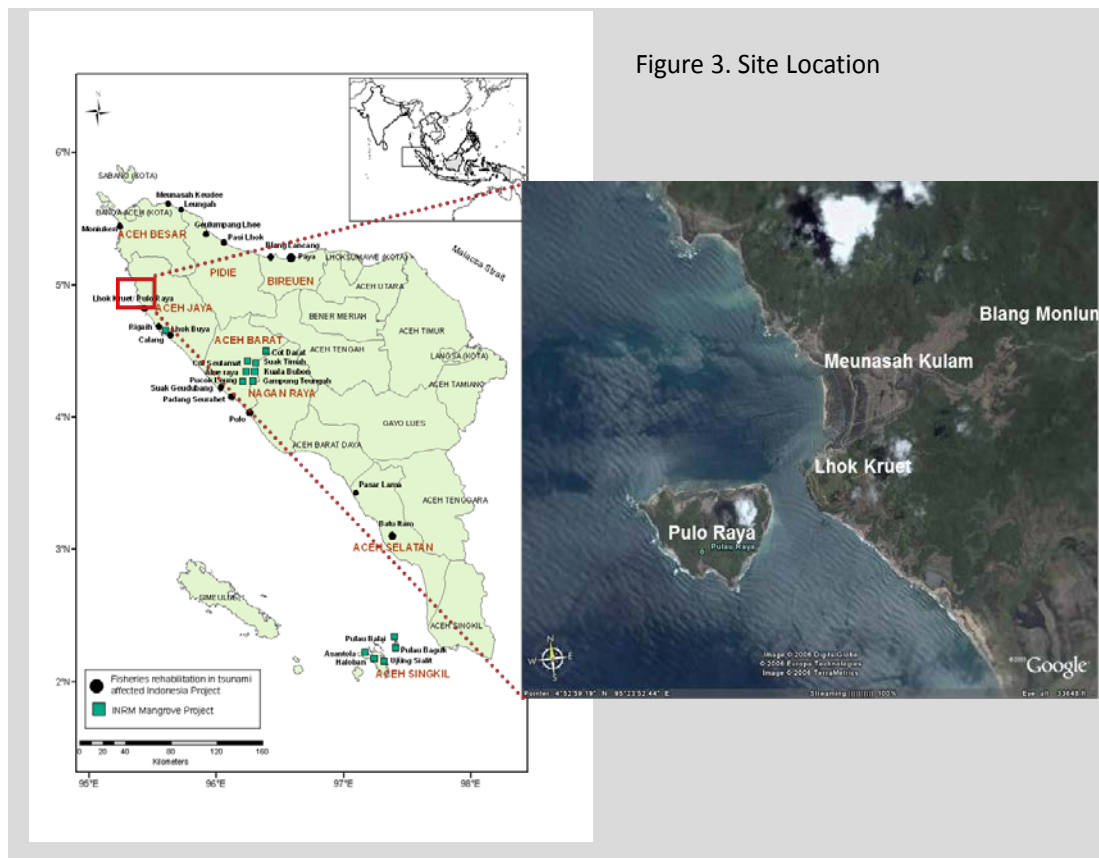


Source: Fieldwork

## The Site

These projects were implemented in four coastal villages of Sampointet sub-district, Aceh Jaya. These villages were Pulau Raya, Lhok Kruet, Menasah Kulam and Blang Monlung villages. These villages located about 80-90 km to the East of Banda Aceh, the capital city of the province (Figure 3). During the project implementation period (2006-2010) it took about four to five hours driving, about half of the route, the condition of road was still damaged or being repaired.

Geographically, three villages are located close between each other (Figure 3). Lhok Kruet and Meunasah Kulam are situated in the Lhok Kruet embayment. Blang Monlung located further inland but connected by a road and a river to Meunasah Kulam and Lhok Kruet. Pulo Raya is a village on the island that bears the same name. The island of Pulo Raya is located around 500 meter to the west off Lhok Kruet village. The total area of these villages is around 4699 Ha, consisting of settlement and other buildings (264 Ha), agricultural land (845 Ha), plantation (215 Ha), forest (700 Ha), and others (including inter tidal and swamp area) 2676 (Ha). (Table 2)



Source: Fieldwork and Google-earth

The population characteristics of these villages are as follows. Total population was 1,304 people. They were distributed in 401 households. The main livelihoods of villagers were fishing, farming, plantation, petty trade, construction, government employee, etc. In terms of fishing, Pulo Raya was the most sea oriented village. Around 70% of its adult population involved in fisheries related work as their primary occupation. Additional 5% work as part time fishers. Other villages had less people work for fishing as their primary job; only 20%, 32%, and 10% for Lkok Kruet, Meunasah Kulam and Blang Monlung respectively. But, 90% of Meunasah Kulam villages involved in river fishing as their secondary job. We also found that coastal area did not only provide fishery resources but also many others such as agro forestry resources. These were sources of livelihood for some of the community members. For example, some women had exploited Nypa leaf for making traditional hat and cigarette cover. These products were for sale. Coconut and short-lived agricultural cash crop and vegetables also provided jobs for some more people.

## **Challenges and Opportunities**

### **The Environmental Lost and Livelihoods Devastation**

Before tsunami, the coastal areas of Pulo Raya, Lhok Kruet and Meunasah Kulam (Figure 3) are relatively green and productive. Similar condition could also be observed along the river that connects the coastal area of Meunasah Kulam and Lhok Kruet with Blang Monlung villages (Figure 3). From the google earth satellite image, we could observe that Cemara (*Casuarina* sp.), Pandan (*Pandanus* sp), Ketapang (*Terminalia catappa*), Nypa (*Nypa* sp.), Bakau (Mangrove), Kranji (*Dalium* sp.), Nibung Palm (*Oncosperma tigillarum*), Siron/Waru (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) and Beringin (*Ficus benjamina*) grew along the coast and river of these villages. Other than their biology and ecological functions --such as the function as wind breaker for pine trees that protected paddy from falling down before the rice was ready for harvesting and fish spawning area for mangrove along the river -- these coastal forest and agricultural land were source of people's livelihoods. For examples, they used ketapang (*Terminalia catappa*), Siron/Waru (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), and Kranji (*Dalium* sp.) for making the beam of their boats. For the last, people also constructed fish aggregating device with its branches and leaf. Additionally, there was about 25 Ha paddy field in Pulo Raya that supplied rice --the main staple of the villagers-- sufficiently.

Besides the use of these trees for people's own consumptions, some of them were exploited for selling. *Rhizophora* spp and Nypa leaf, for instances, were exploited for charcoal and cigarette cover (also hat) respectively. It was also the case with coconut which was sold in the form of copra or cooking oil. We should also add that swamp and river supported the availability of some exploitable resources such as fish, shrimp, shells and crabs. People made and still make use of these resources both for subsistence needs and commercial purposes. Tambak (brackish pond) was also constructed in Pulo Raya, Meunasah Kulam and Lhok Kruet villages. Although the scale was still small with traditional and semi-intensive operation,

these *tambak* provided some additional income to the community.

Tsunami on the boxing day of 2004 destructed almost all of the ecosystem and the coastal resources. The coast along the settlement of Pulo Raya village was washed away and so all the trees, *tambak*, and even village settlements (Figure 4). One settlements in Lhok Kruet has become part of the sea of 0-2 meters deep as the coast line moved inland for about 50-80 meter (FAO, Forestry Consultant report). The coast line of Meunasah Kulam village as well as the area along Blang Monlung river suffered of the same destruction (Figure 5). All *Cemara* (*Casuarina* sp.), *Ketapang* (*Terminalia catappa*), *Pandan* (*Pandanus* sp), *Nypa* (*Nypa* sp.) *Bakau* (*Rhizophora* spp.), *Kranji* (*Dalium* sp.), Nibung Palm (*Oncosperma tigillarum*), *Siron/Waru* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), *Beringin* (*Ficus benjamina*) and *tambak* on the coast of Lhok Kruet and Meunasah Kulam were destroyed. Most of the trees along the river toward Blang Monlung village faced similar devastation. In fact, tsunami has changed the course of the river flow. A new river mouth was created in the middle of the coastal line of Lhok Kruet village. The original mouth of the rivers was in Meunasah Kulam on its border with Lhok Kruet. The tsunami also converted some dry land, including paddy field into a swamp or an inter tidal zone. Like in Pulo Raya village, all the settlements of these villages were also wiped out.

On capture fishery, we did not get any convincing information on how tsunami had impacted marine resources, but the destruction of people's livelihood was obviously severe. Actually, for the former, we acquired some information on the catch trend in the last five years. However, except for inter tidal zone and river-based resources, there was no consensus on the condition of marine resources. For example, Pulo Raya villagers thought that the catch of lift net was the same for the last five years except within a year after tsunami. Lhok Kruet villagers considered the harvest of lift-net decreased. Pulo Raya and Blang Monlung villagers also suggested that the harvest of the net operated with outboard engine boat was mostly the same. In fact, it increased for line fishing. For Lhok Kruet and Meunasah Kulam villagers, the catches of net and line operated by the same type of boat declined. The catch of line operated with small inboard boat was considered the same by both Pulo Raya and Lkok Kruet villagers but Meunasah Kulam villagers argued it shrank. On the catch of net using small inboard boat, Lhok Kruet and Meunasah Kulam villagers shared the same perception that it declined. Pulo Raya villagers thought differently. They believed that the catch of net, operated by small boat was the same. Again, for the catch of gear operated by bigger inboard boats (3-5 GrossTonnes), Pulo Raya villagers had different opinion with Blang Monlung. The former observed that the catch increased, while the latter suggest it was the same. It was only for river fishing that all three villages agreed that the catches increased. They observed that both in terms of quantity and quality, river resources raised, particularly after the tsunami.

Figure 4. Pulau Raya Before and after Tsunami



Before

After

Figure 5. Lhok Kruet, Meunasah Kkulam and Blang Monlung before and after Tsunami



Source: Google earth

Before

After

People's different opinions on understanding the resources was not only about the catch rate but also their explanation on why and consequences of the changes. For example, Pulo Raya villagers believed that the natural changes, in this regard it referred to the logs that were brought by the tsunami to the bottom of the sea had added new shelters to fish which, then, increased the catch of line fishing. To the contrary, for Lhok Kruet villagers, it was the natural change that caused the decline of the catch of the same fishing technology.

The destruction of the fishing vessels was very obvious. People reported that the lost of all type of boats were more than 80%. In fact, Meunasah Kulam and Blang Monlung lost their entire fishing boats. Pulo Raya also suffered the same for most type of their boats. Only lift net that 17% was still intact, other type of boats were destroyed or missing.

Similar level of devastation of fishing gear was apparent. The destruction of *jermal*, that is the net used in lift net operation, was obviously the same as the destruction level of the fishing vessel since the nets were attached to the gear. Various nets (gill net, trammel net,



cast net, etc.) fishing line, crab-trap, etc would be similar, since most, if not all, of them were stored on the boats, coastal areas or home which all were totally or, at least heavily damaged.

The damage to the fisheries infrastructure was also serious. A dock, fish auction place and some constructions used for post-harvest processing were totally destroyed. Adding to this was the breakdown of road which was very important for the distribution of ice to fishers and the marketing of the catch out of the village.

For the people, these destructions were not only a lost of natural resources and environment but also the lost of associated livelihoods. More than hundreds households whose their economy depended on capture fishing; whether they were fishers, post-harvest processors, or fish traders, were in peril. For fishers, having no fishing vessel or gear meant no fishing. Then, there would be no fish to sell or to process for fish seller and post-harvest worker. Traditional hat, roof and cigarette cover productions, the activities that provided additional income for women, had gone since *Nypa* was cleared by the tsunami. *Tambak* farmers were, of course, had nothing to work for as their *tambak* was totally destroyed. Additionally, agricultural activities associated with cash crops ceased as paddy field, and other dry lands were converted into inter tidal zone or swamp.

Nonetheless, the conversion of dry land into aquatic zone had opened the possibility for aquaculture development. Thus, if before tsunami the most possible *tambak* construction was only along the river, more area was now suitable for aqua-culture development. The development of aquaculture would yield at least two benefits. First, it would generate new sources of income and protein. Second, it might reduce the pressure on marine resources. This was because the development of aquaculture might prevent the involvement of more people in capture fisheries in which the resources were indicated to have been in the status of heavily exploited if not over exploited already. The development of aquaculture might even attract capture fishers to leave their fishing activities.

In this regard, the challenge for creating the management plan was how to accommodate the needs of environmental and livelihood rehabilitations. This challenge was huge not only because the devastation of both environment and people's livelihood were serious but it was also due to the fact that the environmental rehabilitation was not always in line with livelihoods development. In fact, they could be contradictory because environmental rehabilitation was strongly associated with conservation or environmental protection, while livelihood development concerned more on making use of or exploiting the environment. This was particularly true in reference to Aceh. The development of brackish fish pond (*tambak*) was considered as a main cause of mangrove deforestation (Meldrilzam et al. 2005; Kanagaratnam et al. 2006; Griffin C, D. Ellis, S. Beavis, D. Zoleta-Nantes 2013).

In this circumstance, it was impossible to develop any plan that could maximize its value to the environmental protection as well as livelihood development. There should be some negotiations that facilitate the compromise of the achievement of environmental and livelihood development goals. On the conceptual level, this could be calculated. The implementation on the ground, however, was not easy. There was segregation between

agencies or departments that worked for environmental issues and livelihood developments. With this, there was a tendency that a particular institution created and implemented development program that did not really take into account the interest of other sector. This created problem with other institution that had different plan in the same location. The problem became more complicated if community had different interest and priorities. The following section will, among others, discuss an example of this complication.

### **C. THE SOCIAL ISSUES**

#### **Rehabilitation: ‘Competitive Humanitarianism’ or Coordinative Support?**

The site of our project, the four villages in Sampoinet, received support from several institutions. Government agencies such as Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency (BRR) for Aceh and Nias, UN organizations, international, national and local NGOs and local communities have involved in various rehabilitation programs in the four villages. These programs ranging from distributing basic needs up until the construction of houses, sanitation and other infrastructures. While the former were part of emergency relief programs, the latter were more for long term development goals. In coastal and fisheries sectors, these includes greenbelt project, aqua culture (brackish fish pond and fish cage), boat and fishing gear distributions, post harvest related aid, and the construction of a new fish auction place. Looking at the variety of these programs, they clearly covered most aspects of coastal and fisheries rehabilitation. With these, it should have been logical if we expected that recovery of coastal and fishery sector would be fast. Nonetheless, there was a ‘competitive humanitarianism’ (Stirrat, 2006) that had constrained coordination between institutions involved in rehabilitation programs. In fact, conflicts broke out as the product of conflicting interest and implementations of these projects. The following was a rather detailed account of these conflicts.

In early 2006, FAO Forestry Division developed an Integrated Coastal Management Programme, focused more on the plan of establishing coastal greenbelt. In March-April of the same year, they sent a mangrove expert to assess the condition of the coastal area and to calculate the need for coastal replanting. Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) training and field appraisal assistance were also conducted in Lhok Kruet around the same time. Representatives from Pulo Raya, Lhok Kruet, Meunasah Kulam, Crak Mong and Krueng No participated in the PRA since the establishment of the greenbelt covered the coastal area of these villages. The objectives of the PRA were two. The first was for socialization of FAO forestry programme to the potential beneficiaries and local stakeholders, second was for initial activities in selecting potential local trainer and facilitator for village appraisal and start building local potential leaders for implementing future programme and activities and a follow up planning after the village appraisal.

Although there were some concerns from PRA participants that the communities were

actually more interested in livelihood related program rather than conservation focused activities, there was not strong resistance from the community toward the FAO's plan.<sup>10</sup> FAO forestry division pursued the plan by bringing the seeds of various trees (coconut, mangrove, etc.) to the temporary nursery area closer to these villages.

FAO was almost ready to implement their plan when BRR came to these villages implementing a *tambak* (re-)construction project. A backhoe was brought and started digging the land for fish pond on the same area where FAO had planned to establish the greenbelt. Conflict was inevitable. FAO protested BRR. Some negotiations took place, but all were dead lock. One unresolved problem was that, the work of FAO should always in accordance with formal regulation, one of which stipulated that 200 meter from coast line should be allocated for greenbelt. The area of *tambak* construction was within the limit of greenbelt allocated zone. Thus, for FAO, unless there were some changes in the regulation, they could not do any support for non greenbelt related activities in the area. For BRR, there was no point of return, the proposal was approved and the money was granted. Cancellation of the work, by the Indonesian government standard, would be considered as the fail of executing the granted work. This would influence the flow of future grant. Additionally, abortive termination of *tambak* project would also upset community 'tambak group' who were the beneficiaries of BRR project. Finding no possible compromise, FAO put off the plan, except in a village where BRR *tambak* project did not cover. BRR *tambak* construction was pursued.<sup>11</sup>

The syndrome of 'competitive humanitarian' was also apparent in the rehabilitation of capture fishing. In the early stage of rehabilitation process, there was a rush of aid distribution. This was basically because donors were very keen to help local community to rebuilt their livelihood. NGOs and other institutions involved in 'competitive humanitarian' raced for showing off that they were among the first agencies helping local people. In Stirrat's words, it is said:

'From the beginning the pressure was on the agencies not only to be effective but to be *seen* to be effective. They had to try to justify the vast investment that millions of stakeholders had made in the relief effort. And they had to intervene in ways which these 'stakeholders' would recognize as being 'relief.' So from the beginning there was a certain bias in the sorts of interventions favored by the relief agencies towards those which were highly visible, photogenic, and focus on the

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<sup>10</sup> One of the reasons, as it is stated in the appraisal report, was that the community would consider the project from the short term gain that was taking the labour money from the planting activities (cash for work) (Ibid. 12).

<sup>11</sup> Ironically, there were some technical and managerial problems in the implementation of the BRR project. The field coordinator of the project was one of local village head who had limited experience on *tambak*. This, among other, resulted the physical construction of *tambak* was not done properly. Only one or two plots, around 2-3 Ha, out of 45 Ha of construction, was ready for operation when the time limit of the project ended.

poor ....' (2006, 12. italic is in the original)

This tendency creates so many problems. In fishery, these include 'improper construction and the distribution of unsuitable boat type, un-even distribution, wrong target group, etc. (Janssen 2005). In the short run, this ineffectiveness resulted the waste of a huge amount of money and the delay of fisheries rehabilitation since many of distributed aid were unusable or incomplete. It also created conflicts between actors at various levels. In the long run, even those useable boats and gear might create problems to the community and fisheries resources since they were mostly small size vessels operating on limited inshore area (Tewfik, A et. al 2010).

Nonetheless, at the later stage of the rehabilitation some coordination efforts were initiated. Facilitated by a UN agency, sub-district government office took charge as coordination point at local level. Monthly meeting was organized to evaluate the development of all the programs in the districts. Problems were identified and solutions were discussed. Some agencies were also aware that they could not work alone, so they looked for partner or welcome the invitation for collaboration. For example, the Australian Indonesia Partnership for Reconstruction and Development (AIPRD) which run a project on Local Governance and Infrastructure for Communities in Aceh (LOGICA) project, was happy when we approached them for a collaboration. This was because their project prepared a general village development plan; they believed that our project aiming at creating an integrated coastal management plan would complement their work. Caritas Czech, an International NGO who run some fishery livelihood development projects out side our village sites, would also support us by bringing their resources to the villages to involve in the implementation of, at least, partly our management plan.

These examples showed that at a particular time the presence of so many supporting agencies could create so many problems since they have different interest, priorities, culture, etc. But, their presence could open new options for a better result of the programs. Certainly, these agencies brought funds, expertise and other sources that would be complementary. The challenge was how to create a good coordination and collaboration. It was difficult but possible.

## **Community Strengths and Weakness**

### **Community-base management: The Panglima Laot**

Although there was a fear that even before tsunami, marine resources in Aceh had been heavily or even over exploited (Abu Thalib, Isa, Ismail, & Yusof 2004), from the beginning of the rehabilitation process up until currently, the focus of fisheries projects were on livelihood development with little, for not saying not at all, attention given to the management aspect. Additionally, although rural appraisals were carried out, the projects were mostly took the form of top down; the intervention programs were decided on the project plan. As noted

earlier, this often created problems.

Since our project was implemented as a collaborative work, by which community was an important element, the project could identify the presence of a traditional marine resource management practice, locally called The Panglima Laot (lit. The Sea commander). The following is the general characteristics of the Panglima Laot in Lhok Kluet:

(1) Institutional arrangement. *Panglima laot* is the organization as well as the name of its leader that manages the sea territory and fishing activities, and coastal management in general. The organization consists of some advisors, the *Panglima laot* and vice *Panglima laot*, Secretary, Treasurer and Panglima Teupin (Figure 6). Advisors function as the supervisors for the *Panglima laot*. Normatively, supervisors monitor and evaluate as well as support *Panglima laot* in his works. Advisors consist of sub-district head and traditional leaders in the communities. *Panglima laot* and vice *Panglima laot* are in charge for the daily management of the fisheries and the coast, supported by other functionaries such as a Secretary and a Treasurer. In communication with fishers, *Panglima laot* is also assisted by a fishers's leader in each village, called *Panglima Teupin*.

According to some informants, before tsunami one of the main characteristics of this institution was the spirit of togetherness. This was not only indicated by the appointment of all functionaries through an election, but also by the decision making process in the daily management practice. They said that the decision of all important matters usually made through a meeting of all the functionaries of the *Panglima laot* and some other relevant parties. For example, if there was a serious conflict between outside and local fishers, a meeting would be organized to solve the problem attended by all *Panglima laot* functionaries and the conflicting parties.

(2) The territory and its tenure. The sea territory under the *Panglima laot* Lhok Kluet management covers an area from the boundary of Sampoinet with Jaya sub-districts on the North end to a point called Aloe Lhok to the South (Figure 7) and the water surrounding Pulo Raya village. Toward the sea, it goes up to two miles<sup>12</sup> from the coastline. The whole management area of Panglima Laut Lhok Kluet covers the waters of five villages (Pulo raya, Lhok Kluet, Meunasah Kulam, Crak Mong and Krueng No).

Within the management territory, people identify and name main fishing spots. The naming seems to follow the association of a particular spot with a land mark on the inland area, the association between the spot with the 'founder,' and resources, or the special function of the spot. There are some regulations on the allocation of these fishing spots to particular fishing gear (Figure 7).

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<sup>12</sup> The two miles is calculated as the length of two traditional nets (*jaring darat*)

People do not claim ownership to the territory under the *Panglima laot* management. They believe that the sea and associated resources belong to nobody. Thus, everyone can access and exploit the resources. However, *Panglima laot* holds the management right over the territory and resources. Meaning that all parties and activities within the territory should be in accordance with all regulations set by the *Panglima laot*.

(3) General regulations and the reasoning

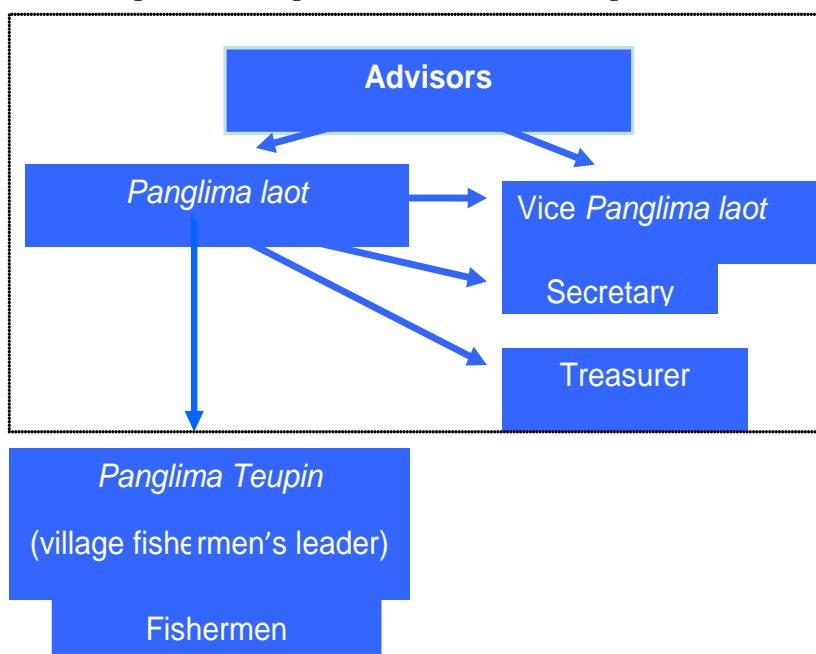
- a. It is forbidden to use destructive fishing technologies or techniques such as bomb (explosive), cyanide, and trawl in all management territory of *Panglima laot*.
- b. It is forbidden to dive using compressor for lobster and other resources in all management area.
- c. Fishers should observe the regulation on fishing spot allocation
- d. Out-side fishers, particularly those who use more advance technology, should ask permission to *Panglima laot* before they involve in any fishing activities.
- e. It is forbidden to go fishing on Friday
- f. It is forbidden to disturbed coastal forest

The reasons behind these regulations are as follows:

- a. People believe that destructive fishing will cause the damage to the environment and resources, which at the end will threatened the dependent livelihoods
- b. Fishing with compressor is strongly associated with cyanide use. Thus, to prevent cyanide use they prevent the use of technology associated with it. Additionally, they believe that the use of compressor for lobster fishing is too effective. This means that if it were allowed, lobster would be mainly caught by the compressor users. Fishers using other gear, such as trammel net, would get very little or nothing. Thus to insure a fair distribution of the resource, compressor diving is totally prohibited.
- c. One of the reasons for fishing spot allocation is to avoid conflict between fishers using different gear, particularly between net and line operators. It is believed that particular spots are good for line fishing and line fishing is less effective rather than line fishing. Thus to accommodate the need of line fishers to particular fishing spots, they are given priorities to use the spots.

- d. The requirement of permission for outsider fishers using more advance technology is meant to protect the interest of local fishers. The bottom line of this regulation is the same as regulation c, that is the fairness of resource distribution. And, it is also a means to avoid conflict between outsider and local fishers.
- e. Prohibition to fish on Friday is more associated with religion. All Muslim should perform Friday mid-day prayer. This prohibition is to stimulate people go praying on the day.
- f. Coastal forest was considered as the wind barrier for paddy field located inland. Thus, to protect the paddy, particularly when they are ready for having the rice, the coastal forest should be protected.

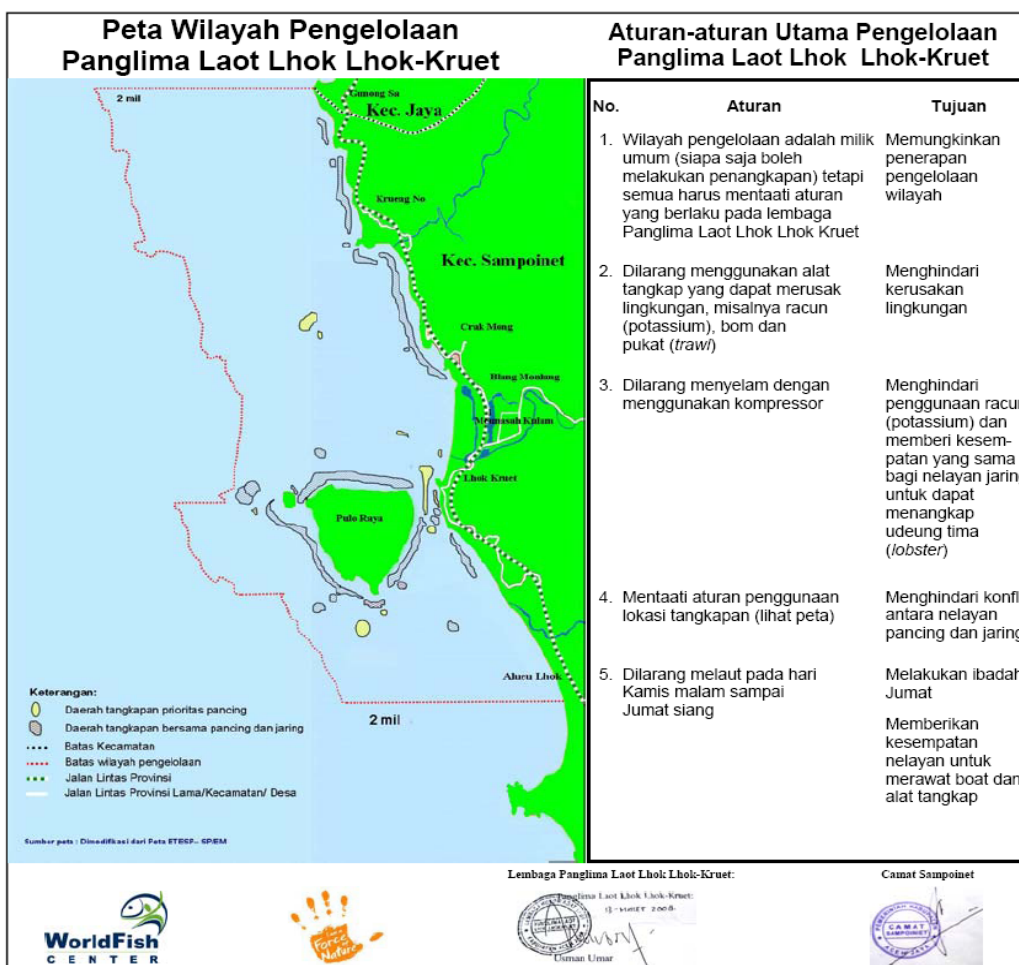
Figure 6. The Organizational Structure of Panglima Laot



Source: Fieldwork

The finding of the presence of community-based fisheries/coastal management had helped us to identify proper channel to discuss about fisheries and coastal rehabilitation/management and also a potential institutional agency that could continue our project activities.

Figure 7. The Panglima Laot Management Area and Regulations (In Indonesian Language)



Source: Fieldwork

### Elite capture and the decal of community cohesion

The criticism directed to the early stage of aid distribution was responded by, among others, more community consultation and involvement in project planning and implementation. In fishery sectors, these included the creation of farmer groups for *tambak* program and the involvement of *Panglima laot*. Interestingly, this had also generated new problems. One serious problem was community resentment which, at the end, eroded community cohesion. The community resentment was caused by, at least, the accusation of elite capture. In *tambak* project for example, BRR staff appointed a village leader as the project field coordinator. *Tambak* group members complained on this not only because the village head had limited, for not saying not at all, knowledge and experience on *tambak*, but also the fact that he run the project with ‘closed’ management practice. No one from the group knew how much money was or would be spent for the *tambak* construction and fish culture operation. Added to this, he could not finish the construction on time. People accused



him and his BRR superior had corrupted the money. Other reported problem was that the project only benefited a limited number of people. This was due to the fact that the recruitment of *tambak* group member was decided by a limited people (leaders) who only selected their relatives or close friends. In fact, according to some villages, one or two *tambak* group members had more than one plot of *tambak*. This caused resentment from those who thought that their land was suitable for *tambak* but were excluded from the aquaculture rehabilitation project.

Similar case happened in the distribution of boats and fishing gear. Aid agencies approached *panglima laot* and asked his assistance for the construction of boats and distributing gear. Fishers were happy with this since *panglima laot* turn himself to be a boat builder who, because his deep local knowledge, knew well the proper boat type and good material for the construction. However, they were also upset because they observed that *panglima laot*, took it as a ‘personal’ matter rather than institutional. If it were institutional, he should have consulted all important matter to the advisers of the institution as well as discussed with fishers under his management authority. None of them were consulted. People accused his as playing a ‘favor game’ meaning that the boats and gear were only given to those he liked which mostly his owned family and relatives or associates. Again, this also fabricated resentment within the community. At one point, some fishers tried to mobilize other fishers to arrange a ‘coup’ so *panglima laot* would be replaced by their own preferred man. A fundamental issue that the two cases show was the development of community mistrust to their leader due to the accusation of elite capture. It was also a reflection of the decay of community cohesion. As Thorburn (2008) has shown in his article on ‘Drivers of Recovery: Tsunami Reconstruction in Aceh, Indonesia, Three Years On,’ leadership is a key factor for the success or fail of post tsunami rehabilitation. I believe it applies to any community development, included in Sampoinet.

### **Community Compromises**

Our discussion with community representatives revealed that, if community’s opinions were heard, they should have been compromise solutions for every problem in the coastal and fisheries rehabilitations. Explaining the greenbelt vs *tambak* conflict, they told us that they actually accepted both programs. For them, although livelihood related project was preferred, coastal and riparian replanting were also important. However, they did not agree if the whole area were allocated for greenbelt. The area should be shared between greenbelt and *tambak* activities. They would agree to involve in coastal replanting for the coastal line, the area along the river in their villages as well as on the dike of their *tambak*. So, for them combination of re-greening and *tambak* development was the best solution. This was the compromise they offered.

On issues regarding the accusation of elite capture and project mismanagement, they asked for a better coordination between aid agencies, with a larger community representatives and a more transparent management of aid distribution. The former was to avoid a further

accusation of elite capture and a better aid distribution. The involvement of more people in the implementation of the project might also stimulate a better and more transparent project management.<sup>13</sup> In essence, this was a request of the community for a better understanding of their social structure and the alignment of the project implementation to this.

At the end, these compromises brought about a set of management plans with a balance of activities between habitat rehabilitation and livelihoods development. These included coastal and riparian re-greening, aqua culture development, post-harvest women group activities, and the revitalization of traditional marine/coastal resource management that is the Panglima Laot. Adding to this was the establishment of collaboration among local communities, government agencies and several NGOs. These agreed arrangements were more or less a collaborative management with an angle of ecosystem based approach (EBM) or integrated coastal management/livelihoods.

#### **D. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

Post natural disaster rehabilitation should be a multidisciplinary work this is because it commonly involves the rehabilitation of both socio and ecological systems. So what is the role of Anthropology(ist) in that interdisciplinary work or initiative? From my experience getting involved in the post-tsunami rehabilitation discussed above, I noted several roles. First, the concepts of 'emic and ethic' in Anthropology equipped us with an awareness of the presence of multiple rationales or logics. With this, when we met different groups of people, particularly in the disaster context, we were aware for the possibilities that each group had its own understanding on things, different interest, priorities and norms. This awareness put us in a better position to understand the differences and similarities or even conflicting situation of different stakeholders. In turn, this knowledge could be used to facilitate connections, collaboration, and negotiation of the different groups of people or stakeholders. Second, I believed that these concept—emic and ethic— stimulated empathy to the marginalized group. This was because we understood more about their way of thinking, their experiences and circumstances. In the post disaster circumstance, this feeling stimulated us to support the empowerment of the marginalized group, usually local people and to echo their voice to be heard by other group, particularly government and NGOs.

Third, the work of post disaster rehabilitation as reflected in the case in Aceh, should deal with resource management and livelihoods development. Anthropology played an important role in the theoretical and practical development of these two approaches. Looking at the common pool resource management for example, it was anthropological studies on communal resource tenure (see Johannes 1981, A Ruddle, K. and T. Akimichi 1984 on

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<sup>13</sup> This suggestion was accommodated in one of our stakeholder workshops by inviting BRR tambak program manager and panglima laot to explain their project and reporting the development of aid distribution. Although not all problems were discussed this has opened a better communication between various actors involve in the projects. Community members were also happy, at least part of their wishes were fulfilled.

traditional marine tenure) that had corrected the mistakes of the Hardinian's notion of the tragedy of the commons (Hardin 1968). At the practical level, these anthropological studies had also promoted the practice of community-based resource management as an alternative to the centralized resource management supported by Hardin theory of the commons. Although the latest discourse on resource management argues that collaborative management was the most desired form of resource management, the role of tradition, local knowledge and communities in resource management were still considered as important element of co-management. In fact, marine tenure and local community are the most important element of the co-management (McCay and Jentoft 1996; Jentof et al. 1998).

Another important approach to resource management is ecosystem-based and livelihood approaches (Aswani et al. 2012; Allison, E.H. and F. Ellis, 2001). The basic assumptions of the Ecosystem-based approach are that elements of ecosystem are connected to each other and human being is an integral part of the ecosystem. Resource management should take into consideration about these connections. Anthropology has comparable concept to this assumption that is the concept of holistic or holism. This concept, as I experienced it in Aceh post tsunami rehabilitation, helped us to work better with colleagues from other disciplines. The integration of human into the ecosystem in the ecosystem-based approach highlight the important of community in the resource management. In this regard, Anthropology is also in the best position to contribute.

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## Indian Ocean Tsunami in Indian Media

Gopalan Ravindran<sup>14</sup>

### Abstract

*Tsunami* entered the public sphere in India as a word that evokes unprecedented calamity after December 26 2004 when the Indian Ocean *Tsunami* caused massive devastation in the coastal districts of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. Tamil Nadu was the worst affected state with more than 7000 deaths. Even though, *Tsunamis* of higher magnitudes washed away large chunks of ancient Tamil Nadu, according to references in *Sangam literature*<sup>15</sup> the 2004 *Tsunami's* social, cultural and economic implications warrant a closer and critical study. In particular, the characteristics and implications of the manner in which the Indian media dealt with the disaster require a critical examination. This paper examines the same with a view to uncover the merits and demerits of the approaches adopted by Indian media towards the 2004 Indian Ocean *Tsunami*.

Keywords : Indian Ocean Tsunami, Indian Media, Tamil Nadu, Rational and Fictionalised Narratives, Violations of Privacy, Benevolence

### Introduction

The Indian Ocean *Tsunami* hit the Eastern and Western coasts of India on the morning of December 26 2004. The worst affected state was Tamil Nadu and its worst affected district was Nagapatinam. According to official reports in January 2005, 7,707 people died in Tamil Nadu and 5,819 people died in the district of Nagapatinam. One of the worst affected cities was Chennai. Chennai has the world's second longest beach. On that fateful day, many children were playing cricket and other games and they became victims when giant waves struck the Marina beach. 206 people died in Chennai alone. According to Bharathi, the President of *South Indian Fishermen's Welfare Association*, the government, media and NGOs were unprepared for the disaster and were responding slowly in the immediate aftermath of the disaster. Said Bharathi (2016), "Tsunami was unexpected and when it hit the fishing communities, it was a disaster. Piles of bodies were waiting to be buried. Govt did not act for three days. Media did report the magnitude of disaster. But it was disrespectful to the privacy of the dead persons by showing women and children's bodies in close up, some time hanging

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<sup>15</sup> *Sangam literature* refers to the earliest available ancient Tamil literature (2381 poems on the domains of love and heroism by 473 poets) that belongs to the last of the three *Sangams* (Academies). The third *Sangam* period covers 300 BC – 300 AD. The works made possible by the first two academies were lost during the earlier periods when unprecedented deluge washed away large parts of the Tamil country.

down from trees. They were reporting the disaster, but in violation of ethical limits of reporting.”

### **The Indian Ocean *Tsunami* and the Indian Media Disaster: News without “Objective Criteria”**

According to Walter Lippmann (1922/1927), the “objective criteria” is an important arbiter of news. Walter Lippmann wanted the “objective criteria” to succeed for the wellbeing of the citizens and their relationship with institutions in society. This was not to be in his times and this is not to be in our times, particularly in countries like India and during times of disasters like the 2004 *Tsunami*. According to Lippmann, another important parameter of news is it must “signalise the event”. In the case of the coverage of the Indian Ocean *Tsunami*, this happened, but happened badly, to say the least, in terms of the parameters of the coverage given by Indian media, particularly the vernacular newspapers in the worst affect state of Tamil Nadu.

Indian media includes, besides television, films and radio, its dominant category, Indian press. At last count, there are hundreds of FM radio stations, Public Service Broadcaster, *All India Radio's* stations and nearly 900 television channels, besides the Indian film industry which produces more than 1000 films every year. Indian Press is the familiar tag for relating to India's newspapers, magazines and other periodicals. *The Registrar of Newspapers for India* (RNI) reports in its 2015-16 report that there are 16,136 newspapers in the total list of publications of 110,851. The growth percentage was 5.13% over the previous year ([www.rni.nic.in](http://www.rni.nic.in)).

But these wide spectrum of Indian media have the propensity for violating the dictum of Walter Lippmann's “objective criteria” not because they glamour for it, but because of their cultural legacies. One important cultural attribute of public communication through media is the dominance of orality *vis a vis* print-based literacy. The second important attribute is the power of epic narratives in their fictionalised and non-fictionalised versions in Indian media. We can see their power and influence in the popularity of Indian films and the popularity of television serials as well as in the success of newspapers which have institutionalised them *vis a vis* newspapers which want to follow Western modes of news narratives. *Dina Thanthi*, the popular newspaper in Tamil has institutionalised both the attributes as news gathering and news reporting practices and remains *numero uno* because of the same.

Ravindran (2015) argued that the local cultural norms are the primary definers of the characteristics of the different sections of the Indian press. He remarked: “the characteristics of the different constituents of Indian press underscore the primacy of the local cultural norms as the primary definers of their characteristics even as the tendencies to follow the universal norms of journalism are in place, *albeit* ephemerally. Undoubtedly, this makes the individual entities in the canvas of the Indian press more local and less-pan Indian; more discursive and less homogenous. In the process, the canvas itself turns out to be a misnomer.”

This paper takes as its theoretical framework Walter Lippmann's conceptions of news, news event and the objective criteria. According to Walter Lippmann, as mentioned earlier, news is news because of its “objective criteria”. News is news because of its potential to signalise the event as the news event. In his frameworks, contained in his three famous works on journalism and public opinion (*Public Opinion, Liberty and News and Phantom Public*), he clearly argues the cause of a democratic and eventful relationship between media, citizens and the modern society. Said Lippmann: “The hypothesis, which seems to me the most fertile, is that news and truth are not the same thing, and must be clearly distinguished. The function of news is to signalise an event, the function of truth is to bring to light the hidden facts, to set them into relation with each other, and make a picture of reality on which men can act. Only at those points, where social conditions take recognisable and measurable shape, do the body of truth and the body of news coincide. ...Therefore on the whole, the quality of the news about modern society is an index of its social organisation. The better the institutions, the more all interests concerned are represented, the more issues are disentangled, the more objective criteria are introduced, the more perfectly an affair can be reported as news.”

This paper seeks to see the coverage of the Indian Ocean *Tsunami* by the Indian media as a relationship that is an index of social organisation where, as Lippmann says “all interests concerned are represented, more issues are disentangled, more objective criteria are introduced, more perfectly an affair can be reported as news. With is in perspective, this paper locates and co-locates the following as the salient characteristics of the Indian media's relationship with the Indian ocean *Tsunami*.

- I) Fictionalising Disaster Narratives
- II) Violations of Privacy - Insensitive Photojournalism
- III) Memorialising Indian Ocean *Tsunami* through epic/emotional narratives and rational/false narratives
- IV) Constructing acts of *Benevolence* by the State and NGOs as News.
- V) Media Coverage in the Pre-Social Media and Pre-24 Hour News Channels Age

### **Fictionalising Disaster Narratives**

One of the dominant tendencies of the Indian media, particularly its vernacular wing is the propensity to fictionalise news or cultivate partisan news narratives. As per the tenets of journalism of the Western kind, fictionalising narratives is an act that is seen as antithetical to the tenets of journalism. Journalism is a derivative of the more than 400 year old print culture in India and it is still struggling to compete with the tenets of the strong oral culture. Epic narratives are the hall mark of Indian oral culture and they have permeated the domains of journalism with ease. Epic narratives also militate against the rational narratives and “objective criteria” which seek to convey news as news without invoking the tools of

emotions laden storytelling for news presentation.

The Indian Ocean *Tsunami* was not a natural disaster for many of the Tamil newspapers. They sought to portray it as a monster with a human personae. The relationship between the disaster as a news event and the newspapers was subverted in the process through the deployment of stories that were anchored by headlines such as "The waves that were sleeping silently became very angry that day and rose higher" (*Dinamalar*). Another Tamil daily, *Dina Thanthi* headlined on 26 Dec.2014, "People Came to Realise that there was a cruel monster, Tsunami, when it gathered and swallowed hundreds and thousands of people".

### **Violations of Privacy - Insensitive Photojournalism**

The photos of the victims of 9/11 did not appear either in the media of USA or other countries. But the close up shots of the victims of *Tsunami* 2004 appeared in a gruesome manner in Indian media, particularly the vernacular newspapers. Such a senseless coverage killed the victims and their living ones many a time. Some photojournalists even prided themselves for winning award for their photographs. The absence of a media regulator in India is one of the fundamental reasons for the insensitive practices of photojournalism during times of disaster. Mr Sheikh Thawood, a local fishermen was aghast when he said: "*Tsunami* was covered not in the manner befitting the ethical standards of journalism. There were not many television channels as they are now. But the media were violating the victims' privacy in a shocking manner. These violations could have been avoided. *Tsunami* was a natural disaster that was also a media disaster in this respect" (2016).

### **Memorialising Tsunami : Emotional/Epic Narratives and Rational/False Narratives**

#### **Emotional/Epic Narratives**

There is an interesting theoretical take on memorialising rhetoric as a material marker in the growing body of literature on material rhetorics. The work of Dickinson (2010) is of particular relevance in this paper which seeks to see the manner in which the public sites of Indian media sought to memorialise a natural disaster, the Indian Ocean *Tsunami*. Majority of Indian newspapers have been engaging in memorialising the Indian Ocean 2004 *Tsunami* and its victims almost every year. The vernacular newspapers, particularly Tamil newspapers are known for churning out emotional narratives and fictionalised headlines on the eve of *Tsunami* anniversaries. *Dinamalar*, for instance, had this headline, on 25 Dec.2016. "Tsunami that Gathered and Gobbled Up in its Mouth". On 26 Dec.2014, the same paper had this headline: "The *Tsunami* That Swallowed the Lives of 228,000 Lives..." Another leading Tamil daily, *Dina Thanthi*'s words were no different. It headlined on 26 Dec.2014, "People came to realise that there was a cruel monster, *Tsunami*, when it gathered and swallowed hundreds and thousands of people." It had the classical epic narrative form. This story is about the Tenth anniversary of *Tsunami* tragedy. But this story adopts the epic narrative form in that



it does not talk about the anniversary to begin with, rather it recapitulates the tragic events that befell people when *Tsunami* struck Tamil Nadu. It seeks to attribute a monstrous personae to the natural disaster when it said: "The waves that rose up in Chennai's marina beach gobbled up people, shops and things and dragged them inside the sea."

On the other hand, the English mainstream dailies such as *Times of India* had a different approach when it sought to memorialise the tragedy. For instance, on 26 Dec.2018, *Times of India* had a plain headline, "*Tsunami* Fourth Anniversary." for its photo essay on women offering prayers to sand replicas of victims on the city's marina beach, where many perished on that day, particularly children playing cricket and other games.

### **Rational/False Narratives**

*Dinamani*, a Tamil daily had this story on 04 09 2016: "04 09 1596: The Date when *Tsunami* Struck Japan for the first time." The headline seems false, compared to the content which says that it was the date when the first recorded *Tsunami* hit *Kyushu* coast in Japan. This proves the carelessness in the journalistic practice, editing, when it comes to disaster reporting by Indian media.

As is their wont, Indian newspapers also capitalised on the event by bringing out special books and contacting the celebrities to launch them or promote them. A well known case in this respect was the special *Tsunami* book brought out by *Times of India* to mark the first anniversary. Its edition on 25 Dec. 2005 had this headline: "Tsunami Anniversary: President APJ Abdul Kalam Speaks." It said : We didn't want to revisit the death and destruction; we wanted to look at the positives emerging from this *tandava* — death and birth form the continuum of life, don't they?. It quoted the man who is regarded as the People's President of India, Dr APJ Abdul Kalam.

"You see, the media has covered the *tsunami* quite exhaustively. But it has focused on the devastation, on death and destruction. I have followed the aftermath of the tsunami very closely. I have seen how people are rebuilding their lives. I am from Tamil Nadu and I am familiar with these people. One thing that has struck me is the response of people a few kilometres away from the shore, who were not affected by the monster wave. Do you know what was their first reaction? They rushed to the affected areas with food, clothes and medicines. This is in sharp contrast to what happened recently when riots broke out (in another part of the world) in the wake of a natural calamity. Perhaps not everything is right with India, but it has some positive civilisational values. I think this is one of them — our ability to come to the help of those afflicted."

### **Media Coverage in the Pre-Social Media and Pre-24 Hour News Channels Age**

Looking back on the coverage from the vantage point of social media and 24 hour news channels, it is apparent that the absence of the social media probably was a handicap in

disaster communication during the last *Tsunami* days. Going by the recent experience of Dec 2015 Chennai floods, when youth of the city were mobilised and inspired by the messages on social media in their historical work in saving lives, providing relief to people, the presence of social media during the last *Tsunami* could have provided better communication means and relief efforts. The absence of 24 hour news channels can be read as a positive as the same did not provide what the social media provided. Moreover, the sensationalising tendency of the 24 hour Indian Television channels would have created a havoc of violations of privacy of the dead individuals.

### **Constructing Acts of *Benevolence* by the State and NGOs as News**

This paper examines the acts of benevolence that emanated from the sides of the State, NGOs and media from a critical theory perspective. The notions of benevolence and benevolent subjectivity have been serving as important theoretical constructs in relating to the conditions of *subalterneity* in diverse cultural contexts. Gayatri Spivak's theoretical addresses (Landry and MacLean, 1996) concerning the above have elevated the purportedly centuries-old feudal marker of benevolence into a post colonial marker *par excellence*. This seems not only a theoretically sound mode of understanding the conditions of *subalterneity* and their sources, but a pragmatic one as well, particularly in the post colonial contexts of countries like India. The markers of post coloniality in such contexts are as widely populated as the subaltern groups and their detractors. The public spheres in which these divergent markers of post coloniality are made visible and influential are structured by the subaltern groups and their detractors in an intensely collaborative mode. One such public sphere is Tamil cinema. This is the plane where celebrity colonialism finds its subaltern subjects, the Tamil film fans. This is the plane where the formation of *subalterneity* hinges more upon the formation of benevolent subjectivities of the stars and super stars of Tamil cinema than the real world conditions in which subalterns find themselves.

The rhetoric of benevolence, kindness and solidarity was in the air in the days after *Tsunami* for a few years. It was the first major disaster in the post-Independent India on the east coast of India, particularly in states like Tamil Nadu. It was the first disaster in the age of modern globalisation. This particular nature of *Tsunami* 2004 had the three salient markers of benevolence, kindness and solidarity in the rhetoric of the media agenda, state agenda and the NGO's agenda. But how these translated into real benevolence, kindness and solidarity is a moot question. According to Shiekh, a fisherman from Pazhaverkadu fishing region, the NGOs contributed in both positive and negative terms. He said, "A few aid agencies did good work, in providing relief to the affected people. But many profited. For example, one agency approached our village for setting up a relief camp on long term basis and they wanted 3 cents land. Now they are owning 30 cents in our village. They did nothing. We are unable to get back the land. Women, who were inside their homes, could come out in the open, thanks to aid agencies who provided them means of empowerment. The arrival of fibre boats with the

aid agencies changed the practices we were used to and our relationship with the sole means of fishing for several decades and centuries, the wooden boat. Now the landscape is filled with fibre boats. They are not good in the tropical environment and bodies become hot in the hot weather sailing these fibre boats. They also remain wet throughout. Wooden boats are different, they are not hot, they do not topple and they are not wet always. School children have grown in number, thanks to the Govt. initiatives after *Tsunami*.”

There were three kinds of acts of benevolence as exhibited by the State and NGOs. The State agencies wanted to be the sole players in reaching out to the families affected with aid. In one instance, *Dinakaran* reported on 01 Jan.2005 the ban by the Tamil Nadu government on NGOs distributing aid directly. The second kind of benevolence is when the party leader who presides over the government as Chief Minister wants to be the only person who can be benevolent and guarantor for the bright future lives of the victims' families. On 22 Dec.2004, *Dinakaran* reported the benevolent message of the Chief Minister, Ms Jayalalitha: “Do Not Worry About Your Future.”

She was repeating this again, according to another Tamil daily, *Malai Malar* (31 Dec.2004), “No One Should Worry About Anything”. The third kind of benevolence was exhibited by those who were insiders in media trade. The most notable of the insiders were film and television stars. They often exhibit their love for helping out the needy and those who are affected by disasters. But, they ironically take recourse to collecting money from people rather than putting their wealth for public good. Their act of benevolence is the most dubious. *Dinamalar* had this headline on 01 Jan.2004, “Film Actors and Actresses Collect Donation”.

## Conclusion

This paper argued that Indian media failed the test of Walter Lippmann's “objective criteria” and his call for relating to the relationship between news media and events as a site of a positive social organisation. The paper located and co-located the five characteristics of Indian media in their relationship with the Indian Ocean *Tsunami*. This paper acknowledges the need for divergent theoretical frameworks to engage with disaster communication.

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## Comment I

KAWASHIMA Shuichi <sup>16</sup>

Thank you for the kind introduction. My name is Kawashima. Before I begin, as I do not understand English well, please forgive me for probably only being able to provide half the amount of information compared to other, preceding teachers' lectures.

The presentations of all three teachers have been truly stimulating, and I would like to express my thoughts on each presentation.

I would like to begin with Professor ZAYAS's presentation, from this morning. The presentation was very informative, touching mainly on both the blessings and misfortunes associated with nature in Ayata that surrounds the volcano, Mount Pinatubo.

The volcano of Mount Unzen in Shimabara in Nagasaki Prefecture, Japan, generally erupts once every 200 years, but the land of Shimabara at the foot of the volcano is, all the same, a town blessed with hot springs and spring water. Meanwhile, even in the fisheries near Sakurajima in Kagoshima Prefecture, there are places where sea urchins named *Diadema*, found only in the volcanic rock in the sea bed, can be captured.

Although practical goals such as disaster prevention, for example with the use of picture books, are found in teaching, I think it is the perspective that comes with being a cultural anthropologist that enables one to see the blessings and misfortunes associated with nature.

This is also associated with observations of the daily life in the settlement. That is to say, the professor is able to consider the both life of before and after the disaster simultaneously, and this is the perspective that enables one to see what constitutes a happy life for the people.

I would like to vehemently thank Professor ADHURI from Indonesia, who spoke in the afternoon. We have learnt a lot from Professor Adhuri about the restoration of fisheries over the course of 12 years, from 2004 till now. This is especially so with respect to the disaster-affected area of the Sanriku fishing village, struck by the Great East Japan Earthquake, about which we learnt a lot from the Professor regarding the theme of post-disaster restoration including practical involvement.

There is a saying in Japan that a natural disaster is followed by a man-made disaster. Efforts are underway now, to rapidly restore through reconstruction, especially through government-led infrastructure development. I think it is necessary to relate this to the "modern restoration" from the Meiji era, and seawalls are also "modern disaster prevention."

Professor Adhuri has made us rethink about the process from competitive humanitarianism to the need for meetings. As a cultural anthropologist, it has made me think

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about how one can maintain distance from the government and NGOs.

The third presentation, by Professor GOPARAN, discussed the tsunami in India in the same year of 2004. The presentation dwelt upon the changes after the tsunami, especially those at the level of daily living, with the second half focusing on the problems associated with disaster reporting.

What particularly fascinated me was the post-disaster replacement of a wooden ship that was swept away in the tsunami with an FRT (reinforced plastic boat).

In an example that is opposite of this, a week ago at a place called Yuriage (perhaps tomorrow the teachers and all of you will visit this place) a launching ceremony for a Japanese boat (made of wood), the lowering of the boat, was conducted. I was told it has been 50 years since the last time, but as everything got swept away in the tsunami, it was made on the request of a fisherman who wanted by all means, to ride a wooden boat that gave a sense of stability.

However, as carpenters who make boats are on the decline, the boat was made at a far-away place within the prefecture, and its construction was extremely difficult, as wooden pegs used to build ships are being currently made only in Tomonoura, in Hiroshima prefecture. I felt that such a revival of traditional technologies can occur due to a disaster.

Next, we take up the issue of disaster reporting. We especially learnt a lot about the sensational reporting of photojournalism. In Japan too, at the time of the Sanriku tsunami in Meiji 29 (1896), using not photographs but drawings, we had *fuzoku gaho*, a kind of journalism that appealed to the visual. This was also an extremely sensational and topical writing.

We then have the concept of the tsunami depicted as a monster, and earlier, in Japan, tsunami was thought to be sent by a dragon. I felt that ultimately, even cultural anthropologists have to make efforts to understand disasters objectively, including the legends associated with disasters.

In conclusion, in the torrential rains in Kanto and Tohoku in September last year, the city of Osaki in Miyagi prefecture suffered damage. At the time, the administration only considered the amount of rainfall to be the problem, but actually it was as much a problem of what was happening in the sky above as what was happening on the ground. In earlier times, people did things such as mowing the grass on the bank as fodder for horses and they had a connection with rivers, but now it is the responsibility of the prefectures to manage them. The fact is that the prefectures did not even conduct dredging.

Disasters are not just issues associated with the field of natural sciences. Studies targeting folklore and history are also important, and it can be said that it is important for cultural anthropologists and folklorists to be involved in a significant way.

Today, given the vast expanse of Asia, we are able to learn about the commonalities and differences among the victims of disasters and for this I would like to express my profound gratitude to our three instructors. That is all for now. Thank you very much for listening.

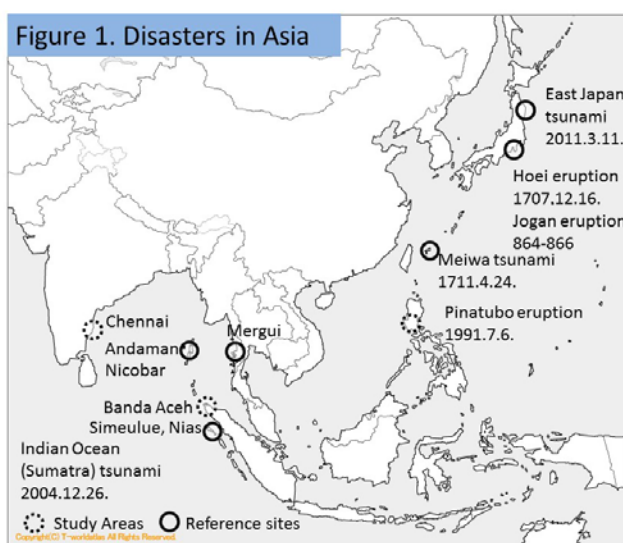
## Comment II

AKIMICHI Tomoya<sup>17</sup>

### Study Areas

First of all, I would like to express my appreciation for the excellent presentations by our speakers from the Philippines, Indonesia, and India in the preceding session today. I have learned a lot about post-tsunami resilience activities and ideas from different perspectives in anthropology. Now, I would like to present some remarks relative to the presentations using some slides before entering into a general discussion. In Figure 1, the dotted round marks show the locations that were addressed in three papers, namely the Pinatubo Eruption in the Philippines on July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1991, and Chennai, southern India, and Banda Aceh in Indonesia that were destroyed by the Indian Ocean (Sumatra) Tsunami on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 2004. The round marks are locations relevant to my discussion. In our time, in the north, the Tohoku area was destroyed by the East Japan Tsunami on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011. In the distant past, we know of the Hoei Eruption of Mt. Fuji, on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1707 and the Jogan Earthquake and subsequent tsunami which covered an extensive area of the Japanese mainland between 864 and 866. In the Ryukyu Islands, the Meiwa Tsunami occurred on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1771.

These are case study areas of Japanese disasters. Looking at parts of southern Asia, several areas are indicated as references to the Indian Ocean (Sumatra) Tsunami such as the Andaman Islands in India, the Mergui Islands in Myanmar, and the Simeulue and Nias Islands in Indonesia.



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### **Three Stages of a Disaster**

First, I suggest that it is important to consider disasters from an anthropological standpoint based on three stages: pre-disaster, disaster, and post-disaster. An earthquake is often an omen of an impending disaster. In the pre-disaster stage, investigation of past events that have been recorded both as oral tradition and in historical documents about the events can explain how people recognized disasters in the past.

In the middle of a volcanic eruption and the subsequent tsunami, a large number of human and animal lives and an indescribable amount of resources and property are instantly lost, and the existing environment changes drastically and instantly. Such a combination of disasters shows how incredibly fragile human civilization is.

In the post-disaster stage, participatory aid and rescue start immediately to save as many survivors as possible. The first 72 hours after a disaster are considered critical to rescue lives. Provisions of food and water, medical care, and safe sanitation for refugees are ongoing for some time, and as time passes, people's attitudes toward external aid and support gradually changes. After the shock passes, refugees begin their own resilient activities such as searching for lost property from their houses. Often, the houses themselves have been completely destroyed. Next, their concerns may be directed to generating self-subsistence and finding work to earn their own living. Researchers and governmental officials arrive at the scene to begin investigations of the losses and destruction of cultural traditions and heritage that hold communities together. During these processes, it is essential to acknowledge that a drastic transformation happens to people's ideas and their decisions in order to provide the best post-disaster rehabilitation programs for their physical, economic, and mental conditions. Throughout these three stages, it is essential to recognize the greatly influential role of the media as Dr. Gopalan has pointed out in his case study in Chennai, India. I am reminded of my experiences, as there was a lot of false information supposedly "leaked" by the media concerning the earthquake in June this year. How much of the false information is actually misinformation due to the media failing to seek to report what is actually happening in a disaster setting?

When I was staying at the Mt. Fuji World Heritage Center in Yamanashi Prefecture, an emergency warning suddenly rang out around five o'clock in the evening. When the warning sounded, everybody ran out of the building, but it seemed as if nothing had happened. Had the Mt. Fuji volcano erupted? In this case, it was a false alarm from the information center in Tokyo. They said that an earthquake had happened, and that the magnitude was 7.0. Later, it was revealed that the warning was based on false media information. I am very pleased for Dr. Gopalan's remarks about the role and influence of media reporting around the issues of disasters.

Historically, before a disaster strikes, (pre-disaster stage), oral and documented records provide useful information and important lessons from traditions of the past. For example, in the Sandai-Jitsuroku, a national historical text completed in 901, there are 15 volumes that



describe events surrounding disasters such as this excerpt, “The port roared like thunder. Big waves ascended the river rapidly and reached the Taka castle. Waves covered an area of a few hundred square kilometers wide. All the fields and roads sank under the water and changed to the sea, and thousands of people became victims. All the houses and agricultural fields, and crops were totally lost, and nothing was left behind.” These words reflect what I refer to as discrete stages surrounding disasters like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tsunamis.

### **Perceptions of Disasters from Ancient Japan**

It should be noted that in ancient Japan, such disasters as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions were thought to be caused by anthropogenic agencies and not by natural causes. For instance, in the case of Mt. Fuji’s eruption during the ninth century, the shaman in the Court of Kyoto, the capital of Japan, addressed an oracle and pronounced that the eruption of Mt. Fuji was the result of the Mountain God’s anger because local priests in charge of the Mt. Fuji area had ignored the god. In other words, the reason for the eruption was the laziness and incompetence of shrine staff at the Sengen shrine who had not performed the rituals properly and the result was the prevalence of sickness and death of local people. In 864, the Court ordered a new shrine to be constructed to honor the Sengen God in the Kai country for worshipping the God of Mt. Fuji, as they perceived that the Kawaguchi Sengen Shrine and the Ichinomiya Sengen Shrine had been successful in their protection of the people.

### **Local Legends and Lessons about Tsunamis**

On April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1771 (Meiwa 8, March 3<sup>rd</sup>), there was a huge earthquake and subsequent tsunami that affected the island of Ishigaki and nearby islands in the southern area of Ryukyu, Okinawa. Due to the tsunami, a vast number of people who had dwelled along coastal zones were lost. A landslide of big coral stones was driven toward the beach and lowland areas. This slide shows the tsunami rocks found at Ohama, which is 9m above sea level. Initially, the rock was thought to be deposited there by a big wave from the Meiwa Tsunami, but later, it was determined that it had been driven ashore over 2,000 years before, far earlier than the Meiwa Tsunami.

After the Meiwa Tsunami, a local legend gradually spread in the Ishigaki Island. It was a lesson on how to avoid the tragedy caused by tsunamis by observing nature for a particular message from nature. In the legend, a captured dugong informed local fishermen of an oncoming attack by a tsunami. One version says that three local fishermen from the Shiraho village in the Ishigaki Island happened to catch a dugong in a net and tried to bring it back to the village as food. The dugong appealed to the fishermen to save its life in human language, “If you let me go free, I can tell you an important message.” The fishermen consulted carefully on the dugong’s request, and finally decided to release it. The dugong told the fishermen that a huge tsunami would come on the following day. Then the animal escaped into the sea. The

fishermen reported that a tsunami was coming to local officials, but they did not believe in the forecast. The three fishermen and their family members evacuated to safety. When the tsunami did arrive the following day, many people perished in the Shiraho village.

There are not only narratives to warn people to evacuate before a tsunami arrives, but also messages about tsunami incidences, such as how far inland a tsunami will reach, and how to evacuate from tsunamis engraved on stone monuments that have been left from the past. For instance, after a tsunami in 1933 in the Tohoku area, various kinds of stone monuments or Kaisho-hi, were constructed and engraved with warnings and instructions as follows; (1) In case of an earthquake, be aware of a tsunami to follow. (2) Don't go to the coast. (3) Don't live at lower elevations.

In Aneyoshi village located on the Omoe peninsula near Miyako city, the people have suffered through two tsunamis in 1896 and 1933. The height of the waves of the tsunamis reached 18.3m in 1896, 75 people died and only two survived, and in 1933, the wave rose to 12.4m killing 96 people and leaving only four alive. The lesson taken by the people of Aneyoshi from these two tsunamis were to never to live at lower elevations. This lesson was then engraved on a stone monument constructed at a site that is at least 60 m above sea level, indicating that houses for future generations should be built at much higher elevations than in the past. Their legacy is, "Don't forget the tsunami disaster and never build houses below this monument." By following this local knowledge, all of the residents of Aneyoshi were able to escape the tsunami of 2011 (Figure 2).



**Figure 2. Tsunami Monuments at Otsuchi Town (left), Aneyoshi area (Right).**

In the Otsuchi monument, the engraved message is, "(1) in case of an earthquake, please be aware of the tsunami to follow. (2) Don't go to the coast. (3) Don't live at lower elevations." The Aneyoshi monument warns, "Don't forget the tsunami disaster and never

build houses below this monument.”

Despite the wise warnings engraved on these stone monuments, several people ignore the instructions and move to lower elevations and live close to the coast. This is partly because of increases in population and limited residential space higher up along coastal areas, and inaccessibility to coastal water, particularly for fishermen. Another issue is social enforcement for second and third sons to live independently outside of the eldest son's residence, a common traditional practice in the Tohoku area known as the *maki* custom (Akimichi 2016a).

### **Indian Ocean Tsunami Relief**

In Japan, coastal villages suffer from these disasters, but in the Indian Ocean tsunami of 2004, coastal resort areas in southern Thailand, where gorgeous hotels and mansions were densely distributed, suffered terrible destruction. Areas like this have been converted to world-famous tourist destinations developed by western capitalism, depriving local inhabitants of living space, as Bandana Shiba pointed out. Areas prone to such disasters all suffer from these types of development programs and resorts built and promoted by development capitalism as biopiracy (Shiba 1999, 2005).

In other areas around the Andaman Sea and Sumatra Island, local inhabitants experienced different types of responses to the destruction. For instance, in the Andaman Islands, where the dwellings of the Andamanese people had been totally destroyed, the government wanted to relocate them to Port Blair, a main city in the Andaman Islands. However, the islanders refused to accept external governmental aid and decided to move to another site in their own way.

In the Aceh, located at the northwestern-most part of Sumatra Island, it is known that political struggles have continued between the Aceh Kingdom and colonial Dutch government since the nineteenth century. After the establishment of the independence of Indonesia in 1945, the Aceh continued to confront the Indonesian government. Since then, GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) has controlled the area. Even though a Peace Treaty was forged in 2002, it was denounced in 2003, and martial law was proclaimed. The 2004 tsunami put a temporary stop to the fighting, but GAM moved to a higher place and the fighting resumed. The governmental aid did not reach the Aceh people as their priority was confrontation against the government, rather than focusing on becoming resilient after the tsunami. The islanders on Nias, one of a chain of islands located offshore of Sumatra Island, took a different approach as they chose to continue to live in the same houses after they were repaired and reformed or built on a pile of rubble, as many houses were only partly damaged by the tsunami.

For the Moken or Sea Gypsies, a tsunami is called a laboon or man-eating waves, and is believed to become aroused by sea spirits. Once the ancestral spirit burns with anger, he instantly sends waves. The Moken also believe that when a tsunami has been aroused, the

cicadas stop singing. Tsunamis are thought of as supernatural powers of these spirits, rather than as a natural phenomenon.

On the island of Simeulue, an offshore island of Sumatra Island, it is noteworthy that most of the islanders were safely evacuated from the tsunami. These people connected the pending disaster to a previous tsunami on Jan. 4<sup>th</sup>, 1907. As the lesson learned from the 1907 tragedy, the Simeulue islanders invented a “quatrain” stanza, a complete poem consisting of four lines. Versions have been handed down orally as cradlesongs. At the time of the earthquake and tsunami in 2004, inhabitants sought refuge on hillsides. They were following the orally transmitted strategy. On Simeulue Island, a tsunami is called a *smong*.

### **Holistic Approaches after Disasters**

As we have seen, volcanic eruptions and tsunami disasters can be analyzed from various approaches like the three stages mentioned here: pre-disaster, in the middle of a disaster, and post-disaster. In the pre-disaster stage, documents, oral traditions, and monuments bearing messages and lessons on how to avoid injury or death from a disaster can come from the past or the present. Yet, there are few cases that demonstrate that many of these lessons were actually functional as evacuation measures, except in the case of Simeulue in Indonesia.

Behaviors of resilience vary according to the attitudes toward disaster, which are associated with particular areas and are differentiated due to ecology, culture, society, and politics. For instance, fisheries sectors have been seriously affected by tsunamis, both in the past and in the present. Yet, in the course of rehabilitating their communities, different types of policies and investments have been implemented. As I have clarified in my book, the fishing center for tuna and skipjack moved from Phuket to Sri Lanka. Owing to foreign aid, the number of fishing vessels were largely increased in India and Thailand fishery sectors that brought about over-fishing. Also, due to a high density of cage culture fishing in the Andaman Sea in Thailand applied as a relief measure for small-scale fishermen, fingerlings of grouper were overfished, which eventually caused resource depletion. For appropriate marine resource management, the role of fishery leaders in Indonesia, i.e., Pangrima Laut, was evaluated rather than the government making decisions to manage the resources. Overall, it became evident that flexible policy-making is definitely important depending on the degree of risk and local conditions (Akimichi 2016b).

Cultural perceptions toward volcanic eruptions and tsunamis are not uniform and religious and ritual observances regarding disasters must be taken into account for community recovery. As demonstrated by the stories recounted here, indigenous people do not always regard the cause of a disaster as a natural phenomenon; some still believe in an anthropogenic cause. This was verified in cases related to the eruption of Mt. Fuji in ancient Japan, and the Moken’s perception toward Indian Ocean tsunamis.

In the post-disaster stage, we should carefully examine local perceptions and reactions

if they must relocate residential areas or move to higher or safer places. Transmigration in the post-disaster stage needs a time-series observation. Socio-cultural factors may decide if the locals move to a higher elevation, remain in the same place due to a lack of land and inconvenience for fishermen, or other enforcements derived from social structures. Job opportunities, lack of funds, family, and children's education are also variables that affect people's decision-making.

Also of importance is the impact on ecosystems, which must be carefully examined in the recovery process. Changes in an ecosystem are not like human-oriented programs as the speed and content of ecosystem change are distinct. Factors relevant to ecosystem degradation and change in land and coastal areas such as acidification in mud-flats, sedimentation of debris on the sea bottom, and volcanic ash covering mountain slopes are complex in nature. Therefore, a long-term program with possibly high costs and labor intensiveness such as building anti-wave banks or mangrove transplanting need to be carefully implemented so as to integrate both ecological and socio-cultural resilience as a set. Finally, discussion and consideration must be given if a full retreat from areas that are vulnerable to recurring disasters become serious possible solutions.

I would like to congratulate all of the speakers for their thoughtful presentations, and I hope my comments serve as a useful source for future work to develop more anthropologically holistic approaches, which I believe will be indispensable for the analysis of ecological and social issues such as disasters.

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## Discussion

**[Dr. Goto]** I would like to start the discussion of this symposium by first saying that I appreciate our three guests from three Asian countries and our two commentators from Japan. I am a director of the Anthropological Institute. The reason we started this kind of project is, that anthropology is originally a western discipline, introduced to many countries in the colonized context. But innocent researchers share a kind of second or third generation with each country. However, when we talk about anthropology, we realize that there are some similarities to sympathize with each other within Asian anthropologists. I don't claim that we have a complete understanding of Asian countries' people, but I hope to share some things so that we have a mutual understanding – a better understanding of each other than western anthropologists do.

We would like to discuss a very practical aspect of anthropology for each country. I was doing field work in the Philippines for an internship. Filipino anthropologists have a very strong motivation to conduct anthropological research to help the people. That's one of the reasons why we start this kind of internationalization, promoting programs of this institute.

I would like to ask all three guests to speak again. I know that you are very specialized in tiny fishing communities. To talk about the revival or recovery of fishing communities, the recovery and subsistence of fishing are very important. In fishing and agriculture, and other subsistent communities, an individual cannot do anything. Usually, corporates cannot help either. So, what sort of anthropological study, what kind of association or organization is appropriate to revise? Like a fisherman's organization or company or any – what? Is there any idea of what to do in each case? We Japanese also need advice from each of your countries.

**[Dr. Zayas]** This is a day of so much learning and I am so happy to professor Goto and professor Kawashima, people I have read a lot and quoted a lot in my papers. I think we should also put into context professor Goto's idea of work on anthropology. The bigger concepts of anthropology are the crisis of the discipline. Is the system of policies of globalization, social sciences, and particularly anthropology being removed in the universities? We listened to professor Kawashima. We listened to professor Akimichi. How important anthropologists are in our disaster investigation! Who will find the story? Who will find the story and narratives? It is we, in the archives, listening to people. We, who have the patience to listen and collect. This is our big draw.

And I think we in Southeast Asia, especially maritime Asia, are connected because of sharing common disasters like earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, cyclones, and what have you. I mean, these are the bigger concepts of having a network, our discipline, and of course, human wellbeing among our nations. Now, I think, specifically if you want a complete example, professor Kawashima mentioned fiberglass boats versus wooden boats. Of course, our traditional fishermen would like wooden boats, because plastic can never replace real wood. In the Philippines, we still have traditional boat builders, but it is an effort to find them there. You can still find them in Borneo.

Perhaps anthropologists can act as a link so people can relate. The carpenters, of course, our technology, our designs are different, but carpenters can learn from each other. And so, it's not just anthropologists, but also those people who have taught us about their lives. Thus, somehow, we are the connectors for these kinds of relationships. With regard to professor Akimichi and being an activist, of course we cannot refuse because we know the problem. And we can understand more or less the problem when we are in the field, and that is why we are forced to act on behalf of the people that are teaching us anthropology. We learn so much of the discipline this way.

So, anthropology is not only collecting data, but also taking action. Doing some difficult things. Through that, we are able to say to governments and international organizations that we know a lot, so you have to listen to us. We are never consulted in policies. It's always others - the engineers who are there - but never us. Maybe sociologists or psychologists, but never us. So, I think if we are together, you know, as a network, we can be stronger. Thank you.

**[Dr. Adhuri]** I would like to also thank the wisdom of the Nanzan University for our chances for collaborations - better networking between Asian anthropologists and a couple of you anthropologists. I think they mentioned that once we are collaborators, we can combine our different perspectives into a new reality, and with that information, we can come up not only with better knowledge, different knowledge, but also better implementation of concentration for the betterment of most of the people of pre- and post-disaster targets and implementation of relief.

We also learned that we have experienced similar cases, disaster cases, where we can also see lessons learned from each of them. Again, this is also an implementation that we can benefit from as a collaboration - a networking.

The second point is what the roles of anthropology are. Again, I would like to reflect on my own experience. Since my work on a tsunami simulator in my country that was founded in 2006, my work has been more directed toward inland populations. Therefore, it is more thinking of taking an approach from applied anthropology which is like fitting a soup pot into the activities.

Usually, there is community involvement as well as cost assessment management. Thus, it is important to apply to work not only with other anthropologists, but to also work with other disciplines as well, such as NGOs working on similar issues for basic implementation on the ground. For example, if you look at the approach for unprotected areas, we have been witnessing that up close. The approach to unprotected areas has been dominated by western scientific approaches. Where implemented with a direct community of people, it is considered X amount and we call it access to resources and there can be a threat to the system of resources. So, using only calculations, communities can be excluded from accessing the resources.

In the last ten years, I have been involved in a movement to include the community in the management design. I have worked in affected areas. For example, last year, we worked with governments, thus affecting government policies. I worked with NGOs who try and have started thinking of how to actually get into the communities in the protected areas and establish what we call a guideline for post-affected areas. Where the community has a right to accept and develop their own management, preserve management in my pointed area, others are acknowledged by government entities who are in charge of taking care of people living in the affected areas.

In Italy and in other areas, we are also trying to push for and influence the government to revise laws by acknowledging traditional wisdom and practices. Of course, there is risk management which is basically acknowledging the accounting for the problems in rural environments. There are also other accounts from other parts of Indonesia, things that we said that are practical, such as in Maluku. In this example, the places where we are losing, we are trying to make the government aware of a need to form a kind of business association, just like in Japan. We are trying to gain the government's sympathy to maintain this business association. Then, the petitioners usually hold protests because that used to be the mechanism used as a resistance to restricting fishing space. Such things can allow us to learn. I mean not only from Japan, but also from others. It is very important to solve our anthropological contribution for the betterment of the coastal association as well as the coastal communities. Thank you very much.

**[Dr. Gopalan]** Thank you. I have three observations. One is that through these presentations, we have been witnessing some universal ideas. In the case of the presentation by Dr. Zayas from the Philippines, she was always stressing one point: that we are missing out, that we are no longer in touch with traditional knowledge systems.

This is also true in the case of my experiences in India. In our times, fishermen are no longer aware of their ancestors' knowledge. In one interview last year in my city, Chennai, when I was recording the folksongs of the fishermen, one fisherman



was talking about at least 16 directions which could be grasped by fishermen of the past generations. The present day fisherman have no understanding of this traditional knowledge system that was known to their ancestors. Their ancestors were fishing without GPS navigation and other modern gadgets. They navigated according to natural proofs. This must be true of Japanese fishermen also, only some 60 or 70 years ago.

One area of interest for me personally is that we need to go for requesting the government agencies to help in the documentation of traditional knowledge systems, which are no longer in place as far as these communities are concerned. One way is to bring them in contact with how grandfathers and grandmothers were doing things and their ability to react to natural forces.

There is another aspect of anthropology that examines danger. Danger is a site of many of our academic enquiries and this site becomes an ally of another fascinating site of anthropologists and communication scholars, modernity. For instance, we tend to highlight the “danger potential” of natural disasters like Tsunamis. But the common man, particularly, the fisher folk go about their routine without trying to exaggerate the “danger potential”, even though they are the victims and very likely to be the future victims of Tsunamis.

Secondly, Professor Goto wanted to know from us suggestions regarding how we can improve the lot of fishermen. There are some universal facts. The problems of Indian fishermen may not be exactly the same as the problems of Japanese fishermen, but there are probably similarities. We need to study the universal problems of fishermen and the problems unique to a particular region.

In my state, Tamil Nadu, I find that fishing communities get into conflicts over their right to fish in “Others” territories. Every 100 kilometers on the coast, their conflicts, cultures and practices present a different picture. The disputes are traditional and age old, but are also caused by the laws of the modern state and its instruments of law and order such as the coast guard.

The third point I have written about is selling off of imported fish in other communities’ markets. Recently, in the city of Madras, the local corporation authority opened a very big fish market; a modern market which is supposed to sell only fish from other states. This was the cause for a huge outcry among local fishermen, because they think that the government is doing this against them making this a multilateral conflict. Yes, fishermen go to fish, live difficult lives, come back with their catch, but in spite of making lots of money, they are unable to live peacefully. Many of the respondents said that they have lost their peace of mind.

Professor Goto wanted to know how we can improve the lot of fishermen. It is not an economic improvement. It is something else, since they no longer have the means to live peacefully, at least in India. They have associations which have political affiliations, but this is another problem because these associations have their own

agenda. Political agendas, not the agenda of the fishermen. So, the higher the number of political associations, the higher the problems of the fishermen in the case of Tamil Nadu. I think, as everyone has argued, we need to get into collaboration mode about disciplinary practices so we can learn from each other about the disciplinary practices we encounter in different countries in Asia. We must come to, if not a consensus, at least an understanding about the practices of others, and explore possibilities of assimilating the best practices of fishermen of other parts of Asia and fuse them with our practices. In all three cases, the Philippines, Indonesia, and India, there are similar contexts. By establishing a larger context of collaboration, we may invite the attention of anthropologists and researchers in each of these cases to the possibilities mentioned above. Professor Zayas also mentioned after my presentation that the Philippine media are no different in their reporting on marginalized companies. Thus, marginalization is the same, be it in India, the Philippines, or Indonesia.

The state of the media, the state of government, and the household morals are present everywhere. We need to engage in collaborating more, so that we can better understand the qualities of life that are universal. Universal qualities come from the kind of multi-national qualities of some organizations which are not present only in Asia. Something like the European Union may have something to offer our fishermen. Pan Asian fishing rights for Asian fishermen in Asia, for instance.

In the Indian case, it is because of the gap in minds of the policy makers of the fishermen. There is a landlocked city and the people living in the city cannot understand the issues of the fisherman in peninsular India because there is no possibility to bridge the divide in the mindsets of people/policy makers living in landlocked cities and the coastal cities, which I mentioned yesterday. Many of my respondents from the coastal areas said openly that land-based people cannot understand fishermen's issues.

So, as an academic, I need to address this. How I can address this? I will close with this: at least in India, last year, I started this experimental project, because we academics need to facilitate change. We should not only publish papers and attend conferences. We should help our fellow people, in this case, fishermen, to improve their lot. At the end of the day, I won't be satisfied with just presenting a paper at a conference. I will be happier when I see actual change in the field that I work in. So, how do we bring about real change? What I am doing is: I take my students and faculty to the fishing community and try to tell them, "Yes, I think, you said land-based people cannot understand you. So, we will train your children to be journalists. We will train your children to be advisors. We will train your children to be government policy makers." I think this is the best to bring about change.

**[Dr. Akimichi]** In Indonesia, there is a local governor's association. In the northern part of Japan, in Miyagi, the governor of Miyagi Prefecture claimed we should make a new

organization.

The Miyagi governor proposed the new idea of a fishing cooperative after a tsunami that has co-sharing. A public organization, a cooperative, but the boss and most of the fishermen's association, the FCL (official cooperative solution) were against the project. But finally, last year, one oyster culture group successfully launched such a program. So, maybe, this is the first case. Maybe professor Kawashima will explain later. I think this is a very powerful message from Japan to Indonesian companies which also suffer from tsunamis. New ideas were already being implemented in parallel with Japanese law. Everyone wins with that. Maybe in the future, several years from now, maybe you should study about Japan's transformation process.

**[Dr.Kawashima]** Dr. Akimichi told of an example of beginning to run a certain company in the fishing village by establishing a special fishery zone in the Miyagi Prefecture. First of all, the fishery has an aspect of group work, but in case of a disaster like a tsunami, if people gather and work on rehabilitation together, recovery can be faster and successful, like the OMOE-Fishery Cooperative Association in Miyagi city. According to the association's activities, people fished as a group for a while. But basically, fishing for abalone or spearing fishing depend on each person's technique, so some fishermen who could not accept the way of fishing with a group left the association. Similarly, when wholesalers of skipjack tuna or feed fish sardines for skipjack tuna were told to work cooperatively, they could not maintain good relationships, therefore, those two wholesalers could not compromise. We have to be aware of those sensitive incidents and watch those areas as special fishery zones.

Aid ships came soon after the rehabilitation began, but those ships came from the Japanese seaside and were not ideal for those areas. This incident made people study the features of those ships and improve them. The Sanriku coastal area shows the features of the occurrence of disasters like tsunamis. Seeing that stirs people, creates movements and culture, and changes them dramatically.

**[Dr. Goto]** Thank you very much. I think there are still some questions from the audience, but we have another scheduled event after this conference. I would like to wind up while we continue discussions.

This symposium is the biggest event of the Promoting Globalization Project, but we have finished only half of it. As Dr. Akimichi mentioned, we will go to the Miyagi Prefecture for research tomorrow. We would like for the presenters from Asia who are facing natural disasters to see the current situation in Japan where a catastrophic natural disaster occurred. The area is my hometown, so I will drive to show them areas like Yuriage and Arahama and Higashi Matsushima, Ishinomaki, etc. Just after the disaster, there was a lot of debris. It was collected and now, we can see a lot of

pyramid-like mounds of soil. Between those pyramids, there are memorials and monuments. Anyway, I would like them to see those areas and give us their impressions.

Today's symposium will be published next year as an English thesis paper from the Institute of Anthropology.

Many thanks to our three presenters and two commentators for today's International Symposium.

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