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Wisdom for Living with Natural Disasters
Edited by Miyako TAKAMURA

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Wisdom for Living with Natural Disasters

Edited by Miyako TAKAMURA

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『人類学研究所 研究論集』第10号 (2021)

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Greetings

Akira GOTO*

When I was the director of the Anthropological Institute of Nanzan University on 2015, I got a grant-in-aid of Internationalization Promotion Project for 3 years. Last 20 years in Asia, a lot of big natural disasters occurred, like tsunami, earthquake, volcanic eruption, typhoon, etc. Such occurrences of disasters are a big threat not only to people in Asia, but also the entire human race. Historically, the people of the world have been responding to such disasters. Humans have strengthened and improved life despite these disasters through innovative medical and transportation technology, but on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the vulnerabilities of society have become apparent due to modernization and globalization.

Each nation and International societies aim to build various policies and cooperation systems for large scale disasters. This is very important, but at the same time it is necessary to reconsider traditions and narratives about past disasters, review the wisdom on how humans cope and live with disasters in the past. Therefore, listening to the multi-voice from the field in local context would be what anthropologists are required to do.

The theme of the third term internationalization promotion project from 2015 to 2017 was "Establishing an Asian Anthropologist's Network". In this project, we created the base of network between anthropologists in Asia who immerse themselves in

disaster sites in different countries and exchange information. Within the third term, we invited guests from Asia and had the opportunity to take them to visit the site of the Great East Japan Earthquake.

The current project of the fourth term internationalization promotion project starting from 2018, we held a meeting in Manila Philippines the country which was hit by the Pinatubo volcano eruption and strong typhoon Yolanda in Visayas area. And also we invited guests from the country Japan to hold a public symposium at Nanzan University.

This journal is the final report and contribution to the development of the Institute as achievements of international transmission of Anthropological Institute of Nanzan University.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to all researchers, contributors and all who were active in the field inside and outside Japan with their cooperation in the past 6 years.

*Nanzan University

Concerning Editing and Publication

Miyako TAKAMURA*

I Introduction

This is a final report of the 4th Internationalization Promotion Project of Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University, “Wisdom for living with Natural Disasters” (2018-2020 academic year in Japan). This project is composed of Asian Anthropologists that focused on Natural Disaster in Asia.

The objective of this project is to seek the role of anthropology study on today’s human society problems by establishing anthropologists and folklorists network in Asia. Also, by this method, the Anthropological Institute of Nanzan University can be a hub of the anthropological study network in Asia, and the result of this project can be a big contribution internationally.

This project has 2 main features. The first feature is to discuss how Asian anthropologist can contribute in today’s social problems caused by Natural Disaster, in cooperation with all related researcher, institute, stakeholder and working on anthropological studies in Asia, despite of the fact that anthropology was established in Europe.

Another feature is to reconsider anthropological studies as practical arts studies. Since the Great East Japan Disaster occurred in 2011, the recovery and the prevention from disaster became the priority subject. But it is said that recovery measures using science and technology does not consider the social life of

residents. Therefore, this project focused on wisdom for living with natural disasters cope with Asian anthropologists to reconsider the traditional wisdom of local society in living with nature.

II Contents of the Project

The goal of this project is to create a network of Asian anthropologists to establish a hub of anthropological institute in Asia.

Most of all Anthropologists in Asia studied anthropology originated in Europe. Whenever they teach anthropology in their own country, the method of teaching should be adjusted according to the country’s philosophy, culture, economy, nature or technology situations etc. This project aims to discuss how the anthropological studies originated in Europe can affect the study of local society in Asia.

The local wisdom has been developed through living with natural disasters or calamities; on the other hand, we can say that those wisdoms were developed according to the place, time, type of calamity, type of social impact etc. When the concern is about natural disaster or any calamity, we should not consider only scientific method or new technology to reconstruct, it should concern also the interdisciplinary field of several academic subjects and practical immediate effects, because people

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who face destructive circumstance found that even natural science or technology can not cover to solve destructive circumstances problems. Therefore, it is necessary to make a recovery plan or rehabilitation by considering social life, culture and identity of the residents and focus to reconstruct and develop their new life after the calamity. In fact, after the Great East Japan Earthquake (2011) occurred, it is said that the rehabilitation plan focused only on science and technology and not considering the society's culture, which was expected by the residents. Therefore, the residents could not accept it and the rehabilitation were not executed as intended.

In response to the social impact as mentioned above, the project of the Anthropological Institute of Nanzan University has started. On the first project, it was concluded that the hidden and vulnerable problems on the affected area would come up gradually after the calamity occurred, although just after the calamity occurred, the science and technology which produced or planned by the government worked out well. For example, in Asia the calamity like earthquake, tsunami, typhoon, flood, volcanic eruptions and those calamities occurs anywhere several times in a year. But the cultures, works of residents and type of calamity are all different. Therefore, rehabilitation should be considered according to the place where it occurred. And also the disaster-strike area should be considered for a long period time, not only for few years.

With those previous results, this 4th project of anthropological Institute of Nanzan will focus on the theme of "Wisdom for living with Natural Disasters" and consider how local society had created those wisdoms with anthropological points of view.

III Accomplishment of Internationalization Promotion Project of Anthropological

Institute, Nanzan University

3-1 The 3rd Internationalization Promotion Project of Nanzan University (2015~2017)

- 2015(1) Visited Philippines, India, Miyagi area
- 2016(2) Public Symposium "Hand Work and Recovery from Disaster"
- (3) Group Discussion "Recovery from Disaster in East Asia and Anthropology"
- (4) Visited Indonesia
- (5) Workshop about Disaster Museum.
- (6) International Symposium at Nanzan University "Disaster and the Role of the Anthropologist : Efforts in Asian Countries"
- 2017(7) Public Symposium Construction of Anthropologist Network forwarding to Locality Anthropology"
- (8) Public Symposium "Continuing Discussion on the Great East Japan Earthquake: Report from the Miyagi Prefecture Disaster-Strike Area"
- (9) Visited Miyagi area

3-2 The 4th Internationalization Promotion Project of Nanzan University(2018~2020)

- 2018(1) Published Research Paper of the Anthropological Institute the No.4 and No.5.
- (2) Visited University of the Philippines and Disaster area in Philippines
- (3) Public Symposium "Wisdom for living with Natural Disaster: Recovery from Disaster and Occupation Changing"
- 2019(4) Publish Booklet 5 "Continuing Discussion on the Great East Japan Earthquake: Report from the Miyagi Prefecture Disaster Area"
- (5) Visited Miyagi area
- (6) International Public Symposium at University of the Philippines: Wisdom for living with Natural Disasters-Initiatives of Local

Residents in Response to Changes in their Society-
2020 (7) Published Research Paper of the Anthropological
Institute: Wisdom for living with Natural
Disasters

3-3 Details of the 4th Project of Nanzan University from 2018~2020

The 1st year 2018

(1) Conducted meeting at University of the Philippines as a preparation for 2019 International Symposium.

Date	2018 October 4-10
Visiting Place	University of the Philippines Diliman, Leyte Normal University
Visitor	The person in charge of this project
Visited disaster-stricken areas	Leyte island, Samar island, Tubabao island and Mt. Pinatubo area in Luzon island

[Details]

Visited Professor Cynthia Neri Zayas at University of the Philippines, Center of International studies and Professor Jude Duarte at Leyte Normal University for a meeting on the International Symposium on 2019. To understand the life of living with Natural Disaster in Philippines, we visited the Aeta residents hit by Mt. Pinatubo eruption and Leyte island, Samar island, Tubabao Island where were hit by Typhoon Yolanda in 2013.

Before the Pinatubo eruption, Aeta people used to live in the mountains. We studied how Aeta people try to go back to the mountains to continue their way of life. They have been trying to construct the new road on the mountains covered with volcanic ash. Aeta people needed to maintain their traditional life, but the government's strategy is not for them to live back to in the mountains. So, Aeta people prepared to go back home in the mountain by themselves. About

the visitation in Leyte, Samar and Tubabao Islands, we learned that Catholic Church accepted victims, healed and consoled bereaved families and people's mind. On the other hand, at Tubabao Island, people teach elementary school students about the natural disasters and how to protect themselves.

According to our inspection tour in the areas we visited, we can say that habitants at disaster-stricken area don't just depend on government support, but they make effort to protect their own area and create their own plan to reconstruct their life and educate people to live with natural disaster.

(2) The 3rd Public Symposium in Japan of Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University

Date	2018.12.23 Sunday 13:00~18:00
Theme	"Wisdom for living with Natural Disaster : Recovery from Disaster and Changes of Occupation"
Avenue	Nanzan University Q103
Host	Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University

[Program]

Greetings	Shinya WATANABE (Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University)
Introduction	Miyako TAKAMURA (Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University)
Presentation	"Present and History of strategy of <i>Waju</i> for Flood" ----- Etsuko SHIMOMOTO (Nihon Fukushi University)
	"Reconstruct town for new Tourism after the Earthquake in Nepal on 2015 -Case study of P area at Patan, Nepal " ----- Ai TAKEUCHI (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Research Fellow / Nanzan University)

	<p>“Disaster at Tsunami Occurring Area, Reconstruction of Local work and Area changes”</p> <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <p>Shigeru HAYAMA (National Museum of Japanese History)</p>
	<p>“Over heated Sea Cucumber Fishing –Expansion and Contraction of Diving space after the Tsunami in Indian Ocean on 2004–”</p> <hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/> <p>Yuki SUZUKI (Kokushikan University)</p>
Comments	Shuichi KAWASHIMA, International Research Institute of Disaster Science Tohoku University
	Akira GOTO (Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University)
Discussion	

[Object of symposium]

This symposium discusses the role of Anthropology focusing on initiatives of re-establishing jobs after the disaster, how support-organization will affect the disaster area, cases of flood in Gifu on *Waju* Kiso River in Japan, Tsunami in Kisenuma Japan, Earthquake in Nepal, Tsunami in Andaman area.

Since Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 occurred, rehabilitation support systems have been organized by the government, volunteer group and mass media etc. The method of rehabilitation is to cope with the government, volunteer with considering the local people, local work, local culture, local tradition and modern science. On the other hand, it has been criticized that the rehabilitation with science had been facilitated which residents were not expected. But people have been struggling with natural disasters from long time ago, so local residents must have the knowledge on how to cope or live with natural disaster.

Therefore, this symposium will discuss how the organization like government, NPO, NGO can affect the disaster area with the practical supports, the local knowledge and the modern science on anthropological viewpoints.

[Details]

Etsuko SHIMOMOTO described the history of *Waju* circulated by embankment that protects from flood disaster in flood prone area of Kiso River in Japan.

Ai TAKEUCHI reported the case study in Nepal about trying to reconstruct the earthquake damage on April 2015. Before this calamity occurred, there was a women’s organization called Misa Putsa, this organization accepted the strategy of creating New Traditional Town for tourism, they had dance trainings on it. Therefore, local women voluntarily committed themselves on it to recover the town and promote tourism on the town.

Shigeru HAYAMA analyzed some postcard letters found at the historical house talking about the changes of Sanriku area in Tohoku Japan where used to be attacked by tsunami. According to the analyzation, the area where tsunami occurred many times historically, the local work had been reorganized every 30 to 50 years.

Yuuki SUZUKI presented the living strategy of Morken people in Indonesia who are fisherman and change the fishing cost area in response to the environmental changes.

At discussion time, we had questions and comments from attendants, especially the scientific knowledge, the existence of community, the reference material, the changes of local resident’s works, the consideration due to the government strategy response to environment changes.

It was found that there are differences in “quality” and “quantity” due to the type of disaster, therefore, it is necessary to analyze each disaster cases, but not analyze all disaster as same calamity.

On the other hand, referring to the role of anthropology, it was discussed that anthropologist need to continue to study for long period with anthropological approach, but not only temporary research for rehabilitation. Because, the life styles have not been changed in response to disaster only, it would be changed even before the disaster. Therefore, it was declared that anthropologist needed to do long period of research not only after the disaster occurred.

The 2nd year 2019

(3)Published “Jinruiken Booklet” 5 in Japanese and English

Public symposium of “Continuing Discussion on the Great East Japan Earthquake: Report from the Miyagi Prefecture Disaster Area” held on 1st October 2017 at Nanzan University- .

Lecturers	“Talking about Disaster as a Taxi Driver”

	Keiya Sakurai (Sendai Central Taxi, Driver)
	“What We Learned from the Disaster and How to Protect Our Lives”

	Kōichi Sakurai (Tourism Bureau Association of Natori City, Board of Director of Harbor Marketing Cooperative Association of Yuriage)

(4)Visited disaster area in Miyagi

Date	2019 March 10-12
Visited Place	Sendai city and Natori city in Miyagi Prefecture
Visitor	The person in charge of this project

[Details]

We provided “Jinruiken Booklet 5” to who co-operated our project and attended “Memorial Event of Yuriage 3.11 on 2019”. The event was held on at Primary and Junior High School of Yuriage that was attacked by tsunami on 2011.

(5)International Public Symposium at University of the Philippines

Theme	Wisdom for Living with Natural Disasters. -Initiatives of Local Residents in Response to Changes in their Society-
Date	5-6, October 2019 (Saturday-Sunday)
Venue	The University Hotel seminar room “Patio Annex”, University of the Philippines Diliman

Host	Hosted and organized by the Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University with the kind cooperation and support of the center for International Studies, University of the Philippines Diliman.
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[Program]
2019/10/5

Greetings	Akira GOTO (Nanzan University),
	Cynthia Neri ZAYAS (Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines)
Introduction	Miyako TAKAMURA (Nanzan University)
〈Session 1: “Learning from Disaster”〉	“Folk Beliefs as Resource Management”

	Sarah RAYMUNDO (Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines)
	“In kinship There is Security: Aeta Resilience in Times of Disasters”

	Cynthia Neri ZAYAS (Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines)
“LANAB: Beneficial, Dangerous, and Destructive Flooding”	

	Norman KING (Pampanga Agricultural State College)
“Struggling to Fish : Marginalization and Communication in the Fishing Villages of North Tamil Nadu in the Post-Tsunami Period”	

	Gopalan RAVINDRAN (University of Madras)
Comments for session 1	Akira GOTO (Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University)
Discussion	

2019/10/6

〈Session 2: Initiative for Rehabilitation by Local Residents or Community〉	“Disaster Culture on ‘ <i>Waju</i> ” ----- Etsuko SHIMOMOTO (Nihon Fukushi University)	
	“Catastrophic Disaster Causing Separation of Culture and Loss of History : Museum Activities by University Students for “Build Back Better” of Local Culture” ----- Koji KATO (Musashino Art University)	
	“The Roles of Women's Self-Help Organizations in the Process of Civil Reconstruction after the April 2015 Nepal Earthquake” ----- Ai TAKEUCHI (Research Fellowship for Young Scientists of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science/Nanzan University)	
	“Community Responses to Climate Change and Land Subsidence : The Cases from Probolinggo, East Jawa and Tambak Lorok, Semarang, Central Jawa, Indonesia ----- Dedi ADHURI (Indonesian Institute of Sciences)	
	“Disaster, Discipline, Drugs and Duterte : Transformation of Moral Subjectivities in Coconut Communities, Leyte” ----- Wataru KUSAKA (Nagoya University)	
	Comments for session 2	Cynthia Neri ZAYAS (Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines)
	Discussion	

2019/10/7

Field Trip on Pampanga in Northern Luzon Island,
Philippines

[Details]

The symposium discussed how the disaster victims

cooperates with the organizations especially the local people on affected areas through some cases in Philippines, Indonesia, India, Nepal and Japan.

For the cases of the Philippines, Cynthia Neri ZAYAS, Sarah RAYMUNDO, Norman KING and Wataru KUSAKA did the presentations. Cynthia Neri ZAYAS, Sarah RAYMUNDO, Norman KING discussed the conflict between the government and local resident who lives in the affected areas of Mt. Pinatubo Eruption in 1991. Wataru KUSAKA discussed how the life of the residence in Leyte island changes in response to discontinuing the coconut tree farming affected their lives after the tsunami in 2004.

Gopalan RAVINDRAN pointed the distress of fishermen after the 2004 tsunami disaster which is said to be a man-made disaster.

Etsuko SHIMOMOTO discussed the culture of *Waju* surrounding the embankment on Kiso rivers where flood used to occur and the local knowledge against flood, and how residents and government used to cope up together.

Koji KATO argued on how tsunami affected residents caused by the Great East Japan Earthquake in Tohoku area Japan 2011 are working on to re-establish their life by themselves.

Ai TAKEUCHI mentioned how the established financial support activities for women on lower position in the society affects the re-construction and re-establishing the lives of the 2015 Nepal earthquake victims.

Dedi ADHURI discussed about how residents accept the new technique against the changes of weather and ground subsidence in Indonesia.

In short, this symposium discussed the conflicts between the government and local organization, introduced concrete initiatives of residents in attacked area how they cooperate or negotiate for rehabilitation from natural disaster.

**(6) Closed Lecture as Internationalization Project
“Wisdom living with Natural Disaster” of
Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University**

Theme	Marginalization, Communication, Everyday Lives and Empowerment of Coastal Subaltern
Presenter	Gopalan Ravindran (Madras University)
Date	8. March 2020
Venue	Q5 room Nanzan University
Time	14:00~16:00
Host	Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University
Co-sponsor	Faculty of Humanity, Nanzan University

[Object]

Humans have been living with nature, so the knowledge of living with nature has been created. On the other hand, due to the development of science, the native knowledge has been marginalized, and science has been prioritized. This fact can be considered as the relationship of man-made disaster. Today's closed lecture will reconsider local knowledge living with nature, due to the fact of destruction of the environment by the project of "Development" in Subaltern South India.

[Abstract]

Coastal subaltern communities which kept the meeting of people and cultures from afar for several centuries during the earlier phases of globalization are faced with major and minor threats to their livelihoods, cultural and social practices for the past four decades (1980-2020). In this period, interestingly covers both the pre-globalization and globalization eras of the contemporary kind.

The intervention of a major natural disaster Tsunami of 2004 on a massive negative scale has both accelerated the pace of marginalization of the coastal communities (which in the context of the workshop refer to both traditional and non-traditional fishermen) and provided new modes of engagements in their everyday lives. This workshop focuses on the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

The construction of mega ports, industrial plants,

"smart city" projects (which seek to "beautify" beaches) coastal roads and unsustainable development projects are doing far more greater damage to the coastal communities livelihoods and everyday life contexts than what the natural disaster such as Tsunami did during 2004.

This closed lecture would enlighten the participants about the relative characteristics and impact of "man-made disasters" such as the projects mentioned above and the natural disasters like Tsunami. The centuries old rights and relationships coastal communities with their land and sea are being snatched away or subverted by several mega projects in the name of development. There are strong and well articulated campaigns by the coastal communities to either stop or minimize the social, cultural and livelihood damages these projects entail. Communication is one key parameter of both marginalization and its counter site of empowerment. This workshop would focus on the communication contexts of marginalization and empowerment to provide a unique perspective. This unique perspective is strengthened by the use of the "everyday lives" frame works that are native to both classical and contemporary research studies in anthropology, sociology and communication.

In short, the lecture leverages the information gathered through field works since 2016 by the author to engage with the issues of marginalization and the attendant modes of communication and empowerment strategies employed by fishermen and their community leaders to bring about a change in the everyday lives of members of coastal subaltern communities.

IV Conclusion

Etsuko SHIMOMOTO (Nihon Fukushi University) mentioned how *Waju* system works to prevent flood disaster and is still important although *Waju* culture became nostalgic as old wisdom and discussed that this system should be reconsidered when thinking about the future of the people living in *Waju* who don't know the culture of *Waju*.

Ai TAKEUCHI (JSPS Researcher PD) mentioned the

role of women's self-help organization in reconstruction in Nepal. The organization was established to help women, but it is developed and devoted to reconstruct the life of the earthquake victim in 2015 through creating new tourism business. On the other hand, it can be said that there were self-help organization for women, that is why the re-construction organization was organized just after the earthquake, and it is a very helpful organization because all members knew each other.

Koji KATO (Musashino Art University) mentioned that "Build Back Better" project established after the Great East Japan Earthquake encourage the local residents to remain in the affected area and can contribute in rescuing cultural property and ensuring local cultural rescue.

Gopalan RAVINDRAN (University of Madras) described the Marginalization, Communication, how especially women make everyday lives and empowerment through seaweed harvest and salt panning in coastal subaltern communities of south India.

Through all this symposium and article in this Internationalization project of Anthropological Institute, Nanzan University, "Wisdom for living with Natural Disasters", we learned wisdoms were created through the natural disaster in response to the type of disaster, time and place when it occurred. And according to those local wisdoms, reconstruction should consider it and make a plan for rehabilitation. Without the local wisdom, the rehabilitation plans will not satisfy the residents. Therefore, the local's initiatives should be considered and respected by the government, NGO, NPO etc., those stakeholders.

We can say that what affects people's life is not just natural disasters, but also illness disaster like covid-19, AIDS, malaria, Ebola etc., and also economic disaster, political problems. Each disaster we face, we needed to find away on how to recover from such disasters. On that time, we can say it is necessary to consider the local wisdoms used by the people to recover and organized, what is the most important on each place, not just follow those stakeholder's suggestions.

This project shall continue to focus on the local

initiatives and stakeholders and their relationship on each place where disaster occurred.

Thanks

We would like to give thanks to the presenter, commentators, all concerned people who did cooperated with this project, especially professors and staff of the University of the Philippines who accepted and organized the holding of the international symposium.

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

Gopalan RAVINDRAN *

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

Keywords

Marginalisation
Communication
Everyday Life
South Indian Coastal Communities
Empowerment

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- VI Women Seaweed Harvesters of *Gulf of Mannar*
- VII Salt Pan Workers of *Thuthukudi*



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

I Introduction

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

paper.

- Marginalisation
- Communication
- Everyday Life
- Subaltern Coastal Communities
- Empowerment

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

*Central University of Tamil Nadu

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

II Not Lost for Words

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

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

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

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

III Conceptualization of Key Terms

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

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

subalterneity.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following sections deal with four subaltern coastal communities in the south Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Before we proceed further, here are a few snippets of facts about the field area, Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu has the second longest coast line (1076 km) after Gujarat, a state on the Western coast (1600 km). Tamil Nadu’s coast line borders the

coastal state of Andhra Pradesh and Kerala in south India. Tamil Nadu is one of the leading states in India (total number of states 28 and union territories 9) in terms of economic (second highest GDP among Indian states at US 290 billion and 8.5% of India’s GDP), social and human development indices (HDI of 0.708, compared to the national figure of 0.647 and Japan’s 0.915) (*Wikipedia*, 2020). It has the highest percentage of urbanization in India (48.5% of population lives in urban areas against India’s figure of 31%). There are 608 marine fishing villages in Tamil Nadu (2020).

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

IV *Pazhaverkadu* Subaltern Coastal Community

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

V *Marina Beach* Subaltern Coastal Community

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

encroachers who should be evicted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

VI Women Seaweed Harvesters of *Gulf of Mannar*

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

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

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

VII Salt Pan Workers of *Thuthukudi*

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

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

Ai TAKEUCHI *

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

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

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

Keywords

The April 2015 Nepal Earthquake

Newar People

The Farmer Caste *Jyapu*

Civil Reconstruction

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

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I Introduction

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

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

Part 1 of this paper gives an overview of the study areas. Such as Patan, and the Newar ethnic groups that are living there. Part 2 of this paper is going to explain the public help given by Lalitpur Metropolitan City. In part 3, I am going to discuss the history and activities of women's self-help organization in Patan and the impact of these

activities on women as well as the changes brought by the post-earthquake of the Newar society. And in part 4, the reconstruction activities of the *Jyapu* caste after the 2015 earthquake will be discussed. Two citizen-led reconstruction projects, such as "Diversified management" and "New town planning utilizing Newar tradition" will be highlighted. Finally, the role of women's S.H.O.s in these two projects will be further analyzed in detail.

II Overview of study area

2-1 Patan (Lalitpur Metropolitan City)

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

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



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

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

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

2-2 Newar people

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

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

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

III Public help of Lalitpur Metropolitan City

3-1 Public assistance by Lalitpur Metropolitan City Office

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



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

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

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

3-2 Public assistance by the Ward office ²

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

¹ According to the conversion rate of 1 NPR = 0.95 JPY (as of September 25, 2019).

² The data in this section is based on interviews with officials in Ward 8 and Ward 4 (August 2019).

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

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

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

4-1 What does mean the

women's self-help organization (S.H.O.)?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

homes and doing various outside activities, including group meetings and events.

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

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

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

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

reconstruction activities.

5-1 Reconstruction project : “Diversified management” based on women’s ideas in N Tole

a. Overview of N Tole

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

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

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

N Tole has a women’s self-help organization that was established in 1999. As of November 2017, N’s women’s S.H.O. had 92 members. This S.H.O. was established to conduct three main activities: vocational training, literacy training, and microfinance. Every member pays a small amount every month and the money thus collected is put into a large fund. Members can borrow money from this fund and can take loan to open small businesses

on their own. In addition to the original development activities, the S.H.O. is currently carrying out various activities based on women’s problems and community needs.

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

c. After the 2015 Earthquake

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

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

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

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

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

d.Launching the project “Diversified management”

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

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

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

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

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



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

The elderly day care service plan was aimed to

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

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

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

a. Overview of P Tole

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

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

The biggest problem in the post-disaster community was that there were many poor people living in houses that had collapsed so badly due to the earthquake, they could not afford to rebuild their homes once again. Some inhabitants have given up in rebuilding their homes and gone back hometown

to live with their relatives, while others have rented apartments. Even now, four years after the disaster, some people are still living in the evacuation shelters because they cannot even afford to pay monthly rent of an apartment.

b. Launching the project “New town planning utilizing Newar tradition”

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

d. Project Issues

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

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

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



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

VI Conclusion : Examination

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Waju :

Ethos for Water Use and Flood Control

Etsuko SHIMOMOTO *

This paper describes Waju as a specific Disaster Prevention Method by local residents. Waju is a society surrounded by a ring-shape embankment that protects the village or fields at Nobi plain from the floods of the 3 rivers, Kiso river, Nagara river, and Ibi river.

Traditionally, residents have been using rich water for transportation and fishing, but at the same time the rich water causes floods. The knowledge of living in Waju is the wisdom needed to enjoy the rich waters and be safe from floods.

One good example is the Juroku Waju case in Ogaki city Gifu. It is a community where residents use water together, share a sense of danger of flood risk, and feel the World of Water. The technologies of water usage are directly related to the flood-prevention, and the technology of controlling water is connected to the God of Water and its ritual.

Disaster prevention is not only a special technology for the resident of Waju, but also it is related to their daily life. This local disaster prevention will show us the method of living with natural disasters in our daily life.

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Keywords

Waju
Water Use
Flood Prevention
God of water
Local Technology

I Introduction

1-1 Challenges of preventing disasters in modern Japan

What are the necessary things in order to live with natural disasters? Mechanism knowledge of the occurring disasters, education to convey the experience, technology to reduce the damage, community collaborations, and disaster prevention plans, etc. Perhaps, the essentials of all these elements, and most importantly, these elements are connected, and it is what is being practiced in one's individuals' life.

The Japanese archipelago is a natural-disaster prone area all over the world. Every year, earthquakes, typhoons, heavy rains occur anywhere in Japan. From time to time, we get disaster information through media. Evacuation drills are conducted in schools every year. Disaster research groups are also doing their best. Advanced civil engineering techniques are also developed. The administration encouraged the formation of a "voluntary disaster prevention organization" in local residents. Various elements to overcome the disaster seem to be fully aligned.

However, disaster prevention measures in Japan cannot be said to be satisfactory. Katada who is an excellent disaster prevention educator pointed out that: since the people depend only on the government when it comes to disaster prevention, they have lost their own initiatives in preventing disasters. One example is flood control; in Japan, river embankments have been developed to withstand the heavy rain that occurs once every 100 years. As a result, floods have been reduced and minor floods are no longer an issue. This is a great achievement, but at the same time, we have become vulnerable to disasters by leaving personal security to the government and managing disaster prevention. Advances in disaster preparedness have increased social and human vulnerability. Those who lost their initiatives just

consider following government hazard maps and evacuation advisories as disaster prevention. [Katada 2012:38-52] Such situations may lead to delayed evacuations and more damages.

In other words, providing knowledge and services about natural disasters is not enough to realize truly proactive disaster prevention. So we cannot say that we are living with natural disasters. The important thing is that each element becomes meaningful and systematic wisdom is applied in our daily life. What kind of life is that? In this paper, I am going to report a case study about Waju, which has historically created a mechanism for living with natural disasters.

1-2 What is Waju?

"Wa" means a "circle, ring, surround", "and Ju" means "inside, community". The word Waju is a conventional term with multiple meanings. Waju is defined as mental equipment and social aspects.

1. It is a ring-shape embankment surrounding the houses and cultivated land in the floodplain
2. It is a community that protects properties from flood damages in a ring-shape embankment

[Ando 1988:10-12] [Ito 1979:19].

Examples similar to Waju can be seen in the Ganges Brahmaputra Plains and Polder in Netherlands. In Japan, such society was formed in the lower tone river basin of Kanto plain and lower Kiso River basin in Nobi plain. This paper focuses on people living in a society called Waju, which was formed in the lower Kiso river basin of the Nobi plain.

The people in Waju have created a deep connection with the waters during the repeated floods in history. They have sought ways to use water and prevent floods at the same time. We can learn the wisdom of living with natural disasters according to their lifestyle.

1-3 Research history of Waju

There is some research conducted about Waju

in 1930. We can read the actual history of the Waju region from this research. Research on Waju began due to society's interest in flood issues. [Nakazawa 1936, Matsuo 1939] In 1929, a conflict between the upstream and downstream inhabitants over the river improvement led to the dispatch of troops ("Saikawa Jiken"). The Academic attention was turned into Waju, the special society that caused the conflict, rural economists and local influential people wrote books about Waju.

Since WW2, research papers on Waju have increased. The main approach was geography and agriculture. Many Waju studies at that time included keywords such as "land improvements" [Sirai 1964, Kawamoto 1967, Oomot 1975]. The background of the problem, you can see that there is an interest on how to modernize the Waju area. The Waju area, which has a lot of floods but rich in water, has the potential for a granary. As part of the postwar increasing production policy, Waju got the attention. Since then, flood damage was reduced, and land improvement has progressed rapidly.

While the Waju area has been changing in this way, social sciences became interested in Waju's unique society increased. Ando and Ito systematically clarified the characteristics of Waju's history and life culture from a vast amount of data and fieldwork [Ando1975, Ando 1988, Ito 1979]. This valuable research conducted while Waju was changing is still the basic literature for learning Waju.

And as Japan's economy progresses, so does Waju in Ito's "Transforming Waju" published in 1996, it is reported that the elucidated characteristics of Waju have been transformed and lost. It is a complete transformation, not only its infrastructures, such as landscapes and river flows but also from residents' awareness.

The decreased in Waju's research since then may not be unrelated to the loss of Waju properties. Mr. Ito points out that the flood damage in 1976 raised awareness of flood control again, but 50 years have passed since then. More people in the Waju area have not experienced floods. Will this Waju be the legacy

of the past?

1-4 The uniqueness of Juroku Waju

In these circumstances, Juroku Waju is in a unique position. Juroku Waju is located in Juroku town, Ogaki city, Gifu prefecture, and still maintains the Waju embankment.

In the 1980s, Gifu College of Economics conducted joint research on Juroku Waju, reporting on history, changes in land use and living spheres, flood control, agricultural ritual, etc. [Gifu College of Economics Regional Economic Research 1983]. The report notes that the land improvement and economic development have changed the livelihoods and land usage, but flood control activities and rituals have been maintained.

In "Transforming Waju" 1996, Yasuda, a local historian, introduced a case study of Juroku Waju. He introduces the activities of flood control and religion of water god, and points out that the high awareness of flood control is maintained.

In 2008, the Sociology Laboratory of Nagoya University reported "Reconstruction of Water Environment: Case of Ogaki City". In this report, Juroku Waju is positioned as an area to maintain the community of Waju compared to the urban area of Ogaki City.

These studies emphasizes that while the entire Waju region is developing, traditional mechanisms are maintained in Juroku Waju. Juroku Waju is "the Waju" that exists in modern times.

I have been doing fieldwork around the Juroku Waju since 2009 to explore the relationship of the peoples in the waters of Waju. I wanted to see not only the flood but also their whole relationship with the water. There are three perspectives: (1) how they have been using the water, (2) how it is associated with flood control, and (3) how spiritual values for water are expressed. The content of this report is based on my doctoral article published in 2015.

In the following, after describing the history of the entire Waju area (Chapter 2), we will examine

the actual conditions of water use and flood control in the Juroku area (Chapter 3) and discuss its characteristics. Perform an analysis (Chapter 4). From here, I would like to discover a concrete image of living with natural disasters.

II The History of Waju

2-1 The Birth of Waju

First, let's discuss the history and background of Waju in Nobi Plain. The Nobi Plain is located in the central part of Japan. The Kiso River, Nagara River, and Ibi River flow. These three rivers are collectively known as "Kiso-sansen". The Waju is located in the downstream area of Kiso-sansen. Its range is approximately 1800 square kilometers (Figure 1).

At present, Kiso-sansen is divided into three rivers, but it was man-made only. On the left side of Figure 2 is the Kiso-sansen drawn in 1754. It is shown that sansen is connected by a tributary and flows like a mesh. Many sandbanks were created like an island.

These lands were not developed until the 17th century due to floods during heavy rain.

Ando speculates that the first Waju was formed in Nobi Plain in the early 17th century [Ando 1988 : 320]. Since then, development has progressed in the 19th century. There are two reasons why the development of Waju has progressed in the 17th century.

1. The civil engineering technology was developed.
2. It is necessary to develop newly cultivated lands.

Figure 3, right side, is a model of a developmental process in Waju. The Waju was formed during the process of "partial embankment" to "ring embankment" development. A partial embankment is an embankment to prevent water from flowing to the upstream. The direct hit of the flood can be avoided, but the water can still slowly enter from the downstream.

The next step was to construct a ring-shape embankment to prevent water from entering the downstream side. This will allow all the lands within the embankment to be developed as paddy fields and

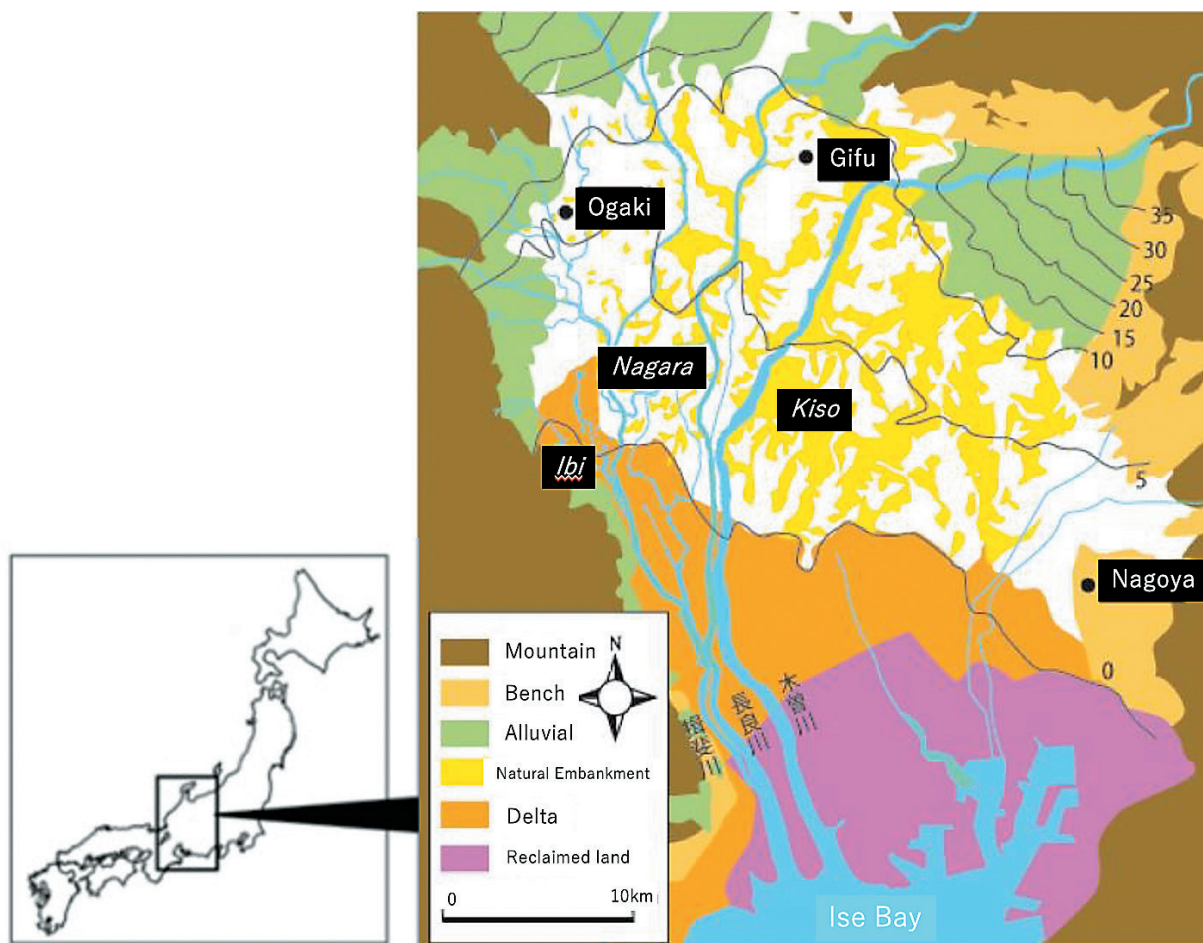


Figure 1. Kiso-sansen in Nobi plain

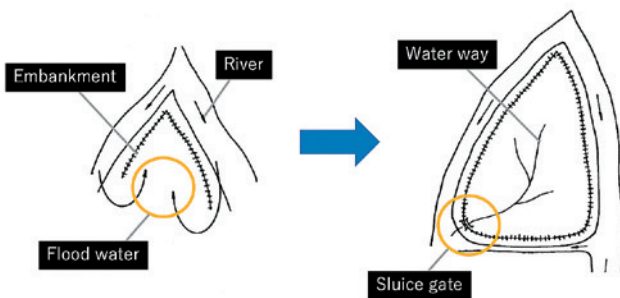
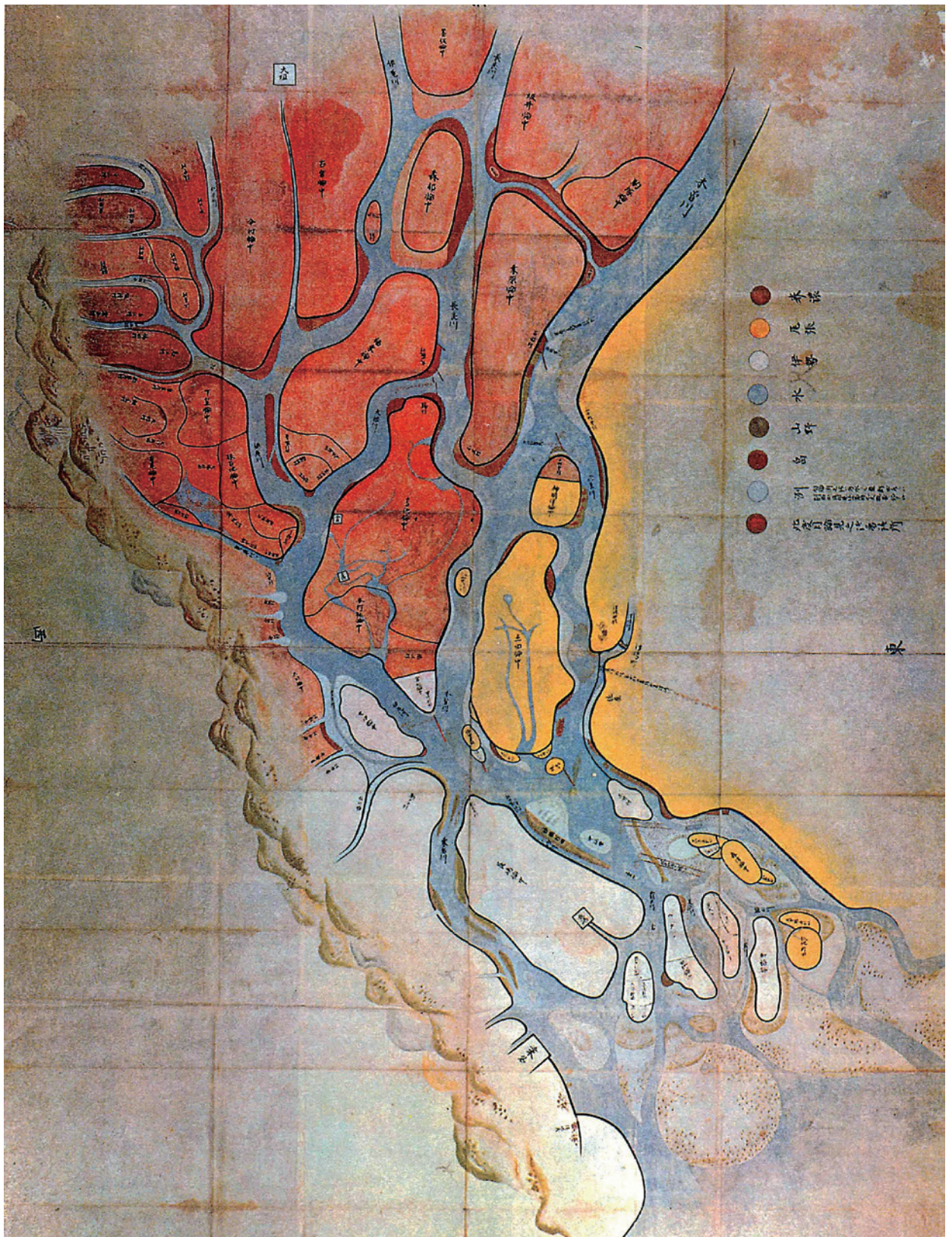


Figure 2.
 『Satsumahan-Otetsudai-Bushin-Mokuromi- Ezu』
 [Yoshioka 1986:13]

Figure 3.
 The Stages of Waju's development
 [Based on Ando1988 : 19]

formed from the small remaining lands.

However, thorough Waju development has brought more negative aspects than the benefits of water. The development of Waju without gaps eliminated the flood control basins where floods could freely enter. In addition, sedimentation had progressed due to the fixed river channels, and the riverbed had a higher elevation than the land, and the river had become a ceiling river.

Due to these effects, it is difficult to drain out the water inside the Waju and flood always stays inside. This situation accelerates as the number of Waju increases. As a result, floods occur frequently and caused bigger damage. Rice harvest has been reduced due to floods. Waju was supposed to be created to increase rice fields but instead, it was reduced. This was the contradiction in the circle.

2-3 The Declining of Waju

In the late 19th century, flood damage in the lower Kiso-sansen was severe. Therefore, it was necessary to stabilize the flow of the whole river at the national level, instead of small-scale renovation work for each area as before. It is a project to make the water flow to the sea promptly by separating Kiso-sansen and straightening the river. However, it is not easy to divert the huge Kiso-sansen. Civil engineering technology brought from the West during the Meiji era made it possible. As a result of the construction work from 1887 to 1911, the Kiso, Nagara, and Ibi rivers became independent rivers and transformed into straight-running rivers (Figure 5). This drastically improved water stagnation in the lower Kiso Mikawa basin.

Kiso-sansen diversion also means no use for Waju anymore. When the river itself became straight, the ring-shaped embankment was cut off.

Furthermore, river renovation started in 1927 to strengthen the river embankment in the Kiso-sansen. The introduction of an electric drainage machine reduced the flood damage in the Waju area.

The need for Waju embankment has diminished, and the remaining Waju embankment has been

demolished for land development and road maintenance.

Residents have lost the environment surrounded by a ring-shaped embankment. It is no wonder that as flood damage decreases, industrial structures and motorization changes, the social significance of a community that lives and protects property from flood damage in a ring-shaped embankment has also been lost.



Figure 5. 『Santaiga-SuiribunryuKaisyukeiryaku-Zenzu』 [Yoshioka 1986:23]

In such situation, the complete ring-shaped embankment in Juroku Waju is maintained up to the present. Why is that so? How are they balancing water use with flood control? In the next chapter, we will focus on the Juroku Waju.

III Water use and flood control in Juroku Waju

3-1 The Declining of Waju

The reason why Juroku Waju maintains its Waju embankments according to the water environment

Juroku Waju is a small Waju located at the end of the Alluvial fan. It is known for its self-injecting groundwater springs below the end of the Alluvial in the Nobi Plain. In recent years, the area has shrunk, but Ogaki City is still famous for its self-injecting groundwater. Juroku Waju is not exempted. The quantity is small, but some people come to fetch quality water from a distance.

Focus on the water environment of Juroku Waju. Juroku Waju is located at the junction of the Otani River and Ai River tributaries of the Ibi river (Fig. 6). Otani River has a “weir”. Weir reduces the risk of the embankment to collapse by making a part of the embankment lower than the surrounding area so that the river overflows when the amount of water in the river exceeds a certain amount. In other words, the western part of the Otani River is a basin for water to escape when the Otani River rises.

There was a historical background to the fact that the weir was built here. The Otani River was originally a river without an embankment, and at the time, the area was flooded with water. In the 17th century, Waju embankment was built along the river in the eastern part of the Otani River to prevent floodwater intrusion. In other words, there was an embankment only on the left bank of the Otani River.

Since then, the Otani River flood has only flooded the western basin. The situation did not change even if Juroku Waju built the Waju embankment

in the 19th century. However, a land improvement project that began in 1954 included a plan to build an embankment on the right bank of the Otani River to develop the western part of the Otani River into farmland. At that time, there was the opposition who is eliminating the flood control basin would create a flood risk. In order to respond to that opinion, a weir was built on the right bank of the Otani River [Gifu Prefecture 2004: 5].

Ai River and Otani River are at risk of causing floods in Juroku Waju. In the Ai River and Otani River, the water volume tends to rise rapidly because the distance from the water source to the junction is short. Because it is a small tributary, it cannot flow smoothly under the influence of the Ibi River, which has a large flow. There is no place for the water to go, causing flood damage.

The worst damage to the Waju is the broken embankment of the Ai River. Historically, Ai River embankment has been broken many times. According to the records, it has been broken 14 times between 138 years from 1815 to 1953, and it has been broken once every 10 years. After it was damaged in 1953, Ai River embankment was reinforced and repaired between 1959 and 1964. Since then, Ai River embankment has not been broken. Flood damage has been reduced by river improvements as in other Waju areas.

However, the eastern part of Juroku Waju is still a flood control basin and the risk of flooding continues. Sixteen overflows have occurred since the weir was created in 1959 [Gifu Prefecture 2004: 5]. Photo 1 shows the most recent flood that overflowed from Otani river weir in 2004. A large area of 178ha was flooded in the Arasaki area of Ogaki city. However, there was no major damage during Juroku Waju because the water was prevented from flowing in by the Waju embankment. It

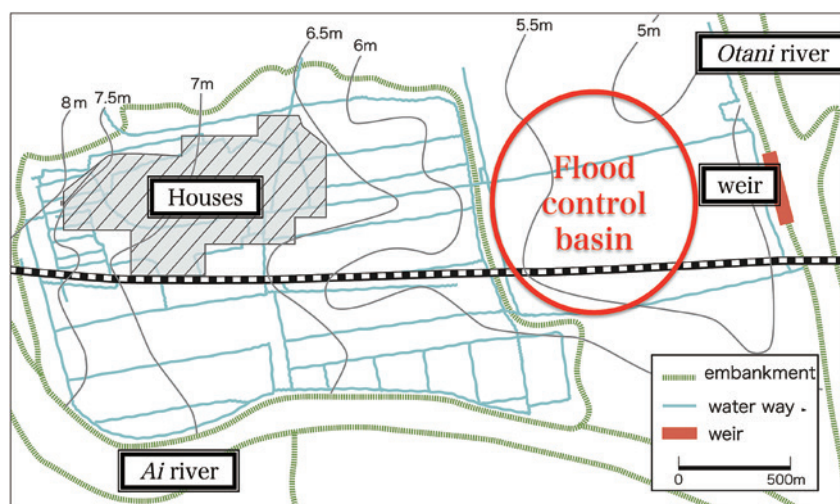


Figure 6. Water environment in Juroku Waju



Figure 7. Overflowed from Otani River in 2004[Asia Air Survey Co.,Ltd.]

means that Waju embankment worked completely.

After that, the weir was raised by 1.05 meters by renovation work in 2007. After this construction, no overflow has occurred from the weir to date. However, as long as there is a weir, the risk continues. Waju embankments are still needed to prevent flood damage.

3-2 History and Society

The village of Juroku Waju has a long history. However, Waju embankment was built in the latter half of the 19th century. The reason for the construction of Waju embankment is probably due to the development of the downstream area, which increased the impact of flood damage. It is recorded that it was difficult to negotiate with the surrounding villages when constructing a new embankment because the risk of flooding the surrounding villages increases when a new embankment is constructed.

There are approximately 160 households and 500 people living in Juroku town. Ogaki city's population increased significantly during the economic growth period of the 1970s and 1980s. However, in Juroku town, there was an influx of population from outside, such as the construction of two apartment houses, but the number is small. It can be seen that the traditional settlement size is maintained. However, at present, the number of people per household is decreasing. They are facing a declining birth rate

and an aging population as is the case in Japan as a whole. They belong to a community sharing on common destiny for floods.

In Juroku town, there are six groups called "Seko", which divides the settlements into parcels. Representatives from each Seko gather to form the Juroku town residents' association. Residents' association and Seko are the basic structure of self-governing in Juroku town. Each Seko has a designated person in charge of accounting, "Nengyoji", "Suibo (flood control officer)", "Bosai (disaster prevention officer)", and "Kairyokumiai (improvement cooperatives officer)". Nengyoji is a leader who is responsible for information transmission and shrine rituals. Suibo corresponds to flood and Bosai corresponds to earthquake and fire. Kairyokumiai is responsible for agricultural production. In this way, the autonomous organizations in Juroku town are united in autonomy, security, religion, and livelihood.

96% of the arable land area in Juroku Waju are rice fields. Historically, rice cultivation has been their main livelihood. It's one of their satisfactions to produce lots of rice. In order to keep the residents in line with the use of water agriculture, the Kairyokumiai will set the date for starting the irrigation, pest control, and rice planting. Rice farmers must adhere to these common rules.

In the past, everyone goes to the rice field before dawn to plant rice earlier than anyone.

However, even in Juroku Waju, the changes in the industrial structure has encouraged the residents to move away from rice cultivation. Making rice in small rice fields like Juroku Waju does not make enough money. By walking through Juroku Waju, you can see the whole rice field scenery. However, it is kept by only a few inhabitants entrusted with the rice fields.

3-3 Water use

Some water resources have been used in Juroku Waju. The water of Ai River (Figure 8-1), groundwater (Figure 8-2), flowing from the village upstream called Otare(Figure 8-3), and the waterworks that come through water pipes(Figure 8-4). Each has its own water properties or characteristics.

For example, Ai River's water was taken by

making a hole in the Waju embankment, which weakens the embankment and causes a high risk of flood damage. However, the water flowing from the mountains are rich in nutrients and suitable for agriculture. In addition, the amount of water is larger than other water sources.

The underground water is a convenient water source that keeps on springing when you dig, but it has a low temperature, so it needs to be heated to be used for agriculture. Also, once you dig, water will spring continuously, and the soil will be loose, therefore, caution is needed when using underground water. In addition, groundwater that springs in Juroku Waju has different water quality depending on the area. There are areas where clear water springs and areas where red "Sob-mizu" containing iron is springing. Both can be used for agricultural water, but Sob-mizu is not suitable for domestic



Figure 8. Water resources
1. River water, 2. Underground water,
3. Otare, 4. Water works.

water.

Otare is the least flooding water. However, the amount of water is not strong because it flows from the neighboring village.

Modern technology gave benefits to waterworks and public agricultural water resources. One example of this is that water can now be controlled only by a faucet. The amount of water is abundant.

Different water resources in Juroku Waju have changed overtimes. Figure 9 is a chart that sorts the water types used in Juroku Waju by time-based on interviews and pictures.

In the past, it seems that the water resources used for agriculture came from Otare, Ai River, and wells. Since digging well techniques were introduced in the 18th century, the number of wells increases. Afterward, the amount of groundwater decreased; therefore the electricity was applied to wells. The waters from Ai River has not been used since 1953 after the embankment was destroyed by the flood. Instead, since the year 2000, public agricultural water was introduced.

For domestic water use, flowing well has been useful for a long time, later on, waterworks was introduced in 1950. Until today, they are using both.

In this way, water usage is directly linked to technological evolution. For example, the technique of drawing water from the river over the embankment, and the technique of digging well was special. In addition, the introduction of electric pumps used for gathering more water from the well, waterworks, public agricultural water resources is all major changes. So it is said that water is more comfortable and easier to control. Although comfortable water resources are available, they are still using multiple water sources. The reason behind this is not clear, but it seems that using many options could help lower the risk of flood and control water away.

Even if the form of water usage was changed, there are parts that cannot be changed. One is the joint management of irrigation water. Unlike irrigation water that can be used for each house, irrigation water is directly linked to the flow of water. It is performed as follows.

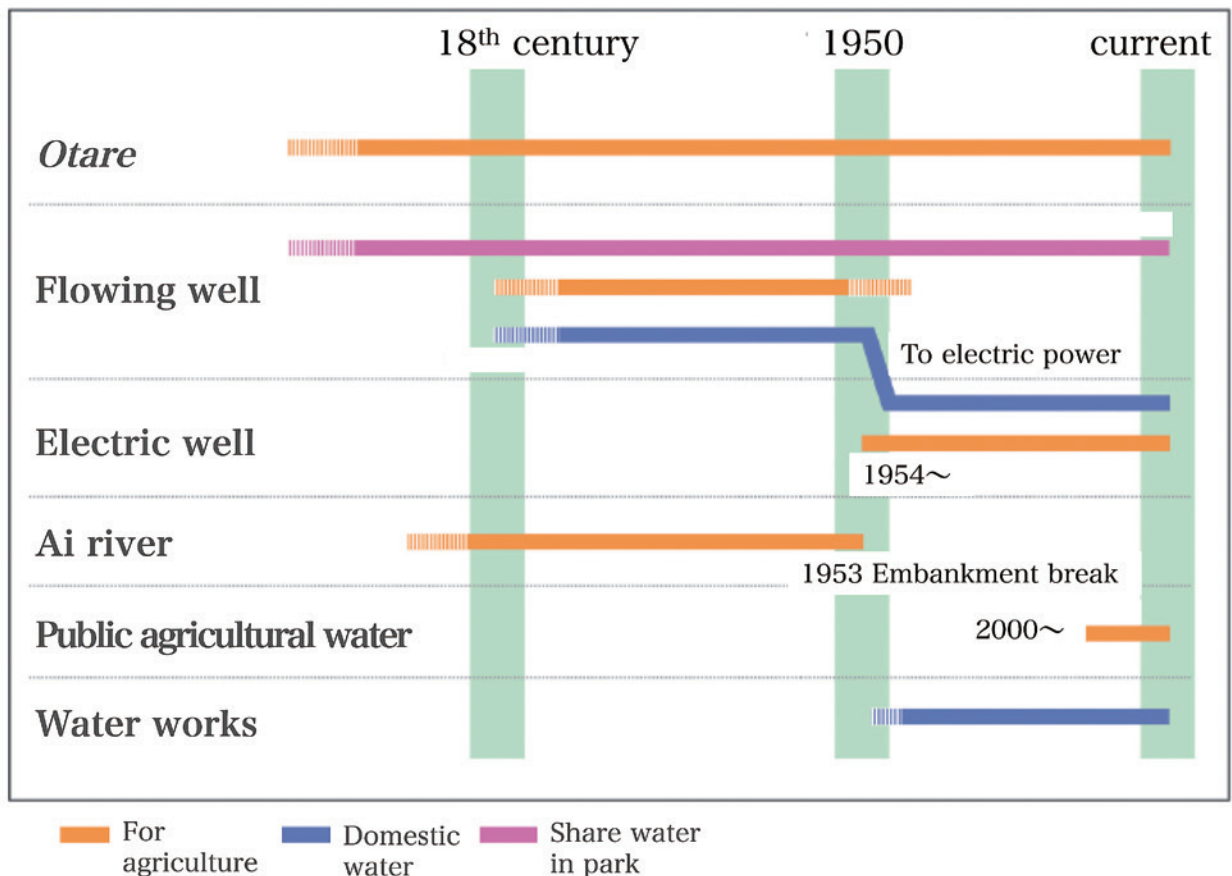


Figure 9. Changes of water use

At present, the common water irrigation system in Juroku Waju used for agriculture is the water from Otare, electric well and public agricultural water. These intakes are located on the high northwest side of Waju. After opening the intake, close the waterway gate and open the rice field intake and fill the rice field with water. After enough water was accumulated, fill up the next rice field. In this way, water is passed from the high lands to the low lands in Juroku Waju. During the rice planting season, the whole Juroku Waju is filled with water. Thus, the irrigation system is implemented with the cooperation of the residents.

3-4 Flood control

Next, I will discuss the resident's initiatives during floods. What are the preparations of each household for flood risk?

Daily preparation is as follows: In order to prevent submerging into water, houses are built in a stone basement. In wealthy houses, shelters are built on higher land with stone walls. It is called "Mizuya". (Figure 10) The evacuation boats lifted under the eaves are called "Agebune"(Figure 11).



Figure 10. Mizuya



Figure 11. Agebune

When the flood is rising, do the following: Bring up the home appliances and assets to the second floor. This action is called "Mizukatazuke". And preparation for black-out or if the gas supply has stopped, people keep emergency food, cook rice.

What are the preparations for flood in a Waju unit?

First of all, there is an annual event as a preparation for flood control. Disaster prevention

drills for flood damages(Figure 12-1). Mowing of the embankments(Figure 12-2). Cleaning waterways in Waju (Figure 12-3). It is a duty of all households.

When the flood risk increases, do the following: The flood season is the season for rice cultivation, so the water in Waju is drained. Judging from the water level of the river and the amount of rainfall, residents are dispatched. The first dispatch will be the residents' association member and "Nengyoji" of each Seko, the second dispatch will be a Suibo (flood control officer) of each Seko, and the third dispatch will be one man from every house. They go to the embankment place assigned for each team, check and look around and pile up sandbags on dangerous places and keep monitoring the place. This vigilance is prioritized over work regardless of occupation.

In this way, the residents are using water and controlling floods in Juroku Waju. By knowing the characteristics, nature of water and cooperation of the residents, the effectiveness of water control technology will increase. Although the burden on the residents is large, it is a rational mechanism.

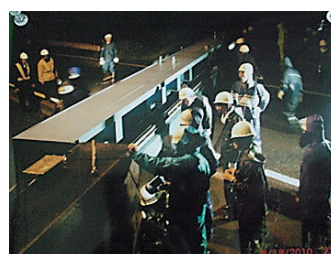


Figure 12. Preparations for flood in a Waju unit
1. Disaster prevention drill,
2. Mowing, 3. Cleaning waterways

3-5 Oral traditions and rituals related to the waters

In addition, there are many oral traditions and rituals related to the waters of Juroku Waju. Each ritual and oral tradition accurately represents the characteristics and natures of water and it is an

annual event for the residents.

Looking at the Figure 13-1 drawn in the Edo period, we can see the water is close to the shrine. This is similar to the current “Otare”. This shrine is the most important among the Juroku Waju. So, we can say that the shrine was built at the location of the oldest water source. From this, we can understand the importance of this water source.

Ai River has another name called “Arakure-gawa (Rough river)”, an uncontrollable river. It’s because the water here suddenly increases and the embankment breaks down. There is a water god shrine on the embankment of Ai River (Figure 13-2). The location of the shrine tells the point that have a big risk, and also a ritual is held every year during the flood season. In this way, residents can remember the risk on Ai River and recognize the dangerous places.

Juroku Waju has many flowing wells, among which is a legendary well-known to have been dug by a famous monk with magical power (Figure 13-3). This well was so famous that it was written in the Edo period local magazine as a “well that never dries”. It is not just this special well that has an oral tradition associated with it. It is said that there is a water god in the flowing well. Because of this, the well shouldn’t be filled up with water to keep space for God’s blessings. In fact, if you fill up a well that has been dug, there is a possibility that the land might collapse.

Although it is different from the direct water source, rituals are also held on Waju embankment. It is a monumental ritual that recorded the name of the predecessor who built an embankment by struggling with conflicts with the surrounding villages (Figure 13-4). After the ritual, they clean the waterway. The residents confirm the importance of the embankment and collaborating on water control.

As mentioned above, each oral traditions and rituals teach the nature of water that has different characteristics, and its importance.



Figure 13. Ritual and oral tradition
 1. Oldest water source,
 2. Water god shrine,
 3. Living a water god well



Figure 13. Ritual and oral tradition
4. Monumental ritual

IV Vernacular technology and Ethos of the community

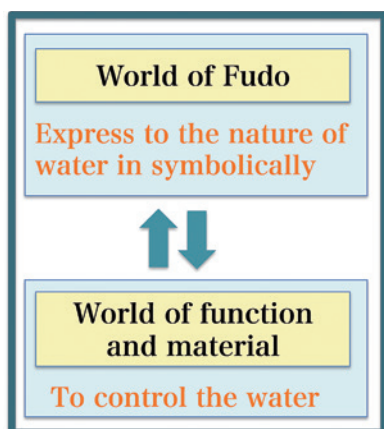


Figure 14. Vernacular technology

These oral traditions and rituals are based on their water control experience.

In other words, they discover the nature and characteristics of water, understand it, and express it symbolically. In particular, it seems the part that cannot be controlled by human technology is expressed as “God”.

The philosophers Tetsuro Watsuji and Berque called it “Fudo” to see the world as “something”

through active involvement. A Fudo is a word that expresses “the relationship of society to the earth.” In the Fudo world, the environment is not just material.

Everything has a meaning and every place has been given a human value.

In Juroku Waju there are two aspects, the world of Fudo and the world of function and material. The two complement each other without contradictions. In this way, the technology used for water and flood damage prevention in Juroku Waju, is unique and local.

To emphasize these non-generalized technologies rooted in the locality, Rudolfsky and Illich used the concept of “vernacular”. It is born under the “human life that is self-supporting, non-marketable, reciprocal and embedded in life”. It is to be distinguished from “human life derived from a uniform and standardized services and exchanges provided by specialists”.

The Juroku Waju residents are a community that uses and controls water base on this vernacular world. And they have the intent to maintain the structure of such a community. The obligation to “attend all households” to prevent flood and rituals is a matter of course as a member of Waju. Here you can read the internalized ethical orientation, or ethos, that is shared by the inhabitants of Waju as a member of the community. This ethos is not an abstract idea, but it is a practice through actual flood control, water use, rituals, and accumulated empirically. In addition, it has been inherited historically, and the people who live today are positioned as an extension of the history of the community.

V Conclusions

So far, we have seen how the Juroku Waju people made their living with water. The two major characteristics of their lives are: First, using water every day is connected to flood control. Second, technology and worldviews are connected.

Waju is a community that shares “rich water use”, “flood control risk”, and the “worldview of the divine water”. Actual use of water and flood

control technologies are linked to the world of water including its divinity, also water control technologies and water divinity are fused. This is the unique composition of Waju, which has both the risk and fear of flooding and abundant water resources.

Water, a natural thing, is beyond human control. You can get benefits from it, and you may suffer a disaster. You need to know the nature of water to continually derive benefits and minimize disaster. And also water does not exist as an objective H₂O, it varies from source to source, from location to location, and from time to time. They are expressed in oral traditions or rituals, and indigenous technologies tailored to their characteristics are created.

The Waju case is a rare example of a connection between everyday life and disaster prevention. This disaster prevention is different from the objective information in one's mind. We can conclude that the Waju system is not easy to maintain in today's modern society. The Waju system is run by the people who work together in the same livelihood and also prevents the flood. Nevertheless, we should be able to learn this Waju knowledge for the future rather than considering it as "old wisdom."

In short, what they do is simply: to identify the nature of something that cannot be controlled completely, to give significance and express it. Challenge and bring out the benefits. To avoid disaster as much as possible. And, to check all the things by their actual practices that are repeated every day. In this paper, we called it a vernacular technology.

Could such a system become unnecessary as science technology develop furthermore in the future? Probably, it is NOT. It's because we cannot completely control nature such as water disasters, earthquakes, eruptions, etc., and since we perform our daily life in these places, without any of our participation, our disaster prevention methods will become fragile.

Of course, science technologies are not denied. Rather, the introduction of ICT technology should be welcomed. However, when talking about disaster

prevention, thorough "vernacularism" and "everyday practice" will be an absolute basis. How to design technology created from universal laws as vernacular technology? And, how do you apply it to your everyday practice? This wisdom will be needed by the local residents when considering disaster prevention in the future.

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Catastrophic Disaster Causing Separation of Culture and Loss of History: Museum Activities by University Students for “Build Back Better” of Local Culture

Koji KATO *

In the Great East Japan Earthquake, the tsunami triggered by the earthquake caused serious damage in the coastal area of Tohoku. The disaster caused damage not only to humans, but also to many collections of historical, cultural and natural value stored by museums. Under the Cultural Assets Rescue Program, restoration efforts were made at more than 50 sites in Miyagi Prefecture alone. As a curator of the Tohoku Gakuin University Museum, I have been engaged in rescue, treatment, and classification of archaeological, ethnographical and geographical artifacts, old documents, and historic research data together with our university students.

Today, residents of the tsunami-hit region are clearly expressing their longing for the image of their past daily lives. This is because these residents cannot feel the sense of time of the past, present and future about their hometown in the process of restoration through which their community landscape is changing drastically. In addition, construction works to raise the ground level are underway to establish a safer community, but there is a delay in construction. In such situation, the residents are beginning to lose even their memories of the past scenery of their hometown.

For people who have decided to continue living in the tsunami-hit area, the separation of their culture and the loss of their history as a result of the catastrophic disaster are serious problems. It is of course the issue of local residents, and it is also the issue of ethnographer. People are trying to find meaning in the past, find connection to the present, and draw a near-future vision of their community. I believe that it is important for cultural property rescue and museum activities efforts to contribute to ensuring that many more local cultural resources are utilized than had been before the disaster, and to serve as opportunities to identify and discover new cultural resources. I call this approach “Build Back Better” of culture.

Keywords

Great East Japan Earthquake
Museum Activities
Folklore Research
Local History and Culture
Build Back Better

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I Introduction

The role of contemporary museums have changed from representing the history and culture in a traditional academic context to creating public space for social practice by diverse actors. Conceptualizing the exhibition of culture is closely connected by our understanding of how our society sees itself. It is not our job to represent them. We should rather give them the space to represent themselves. Today, the museum is no longer a place to present curatorial research results, because more active involvement in social practice by curators, is one of the social demands of museums.

In the Great East Japan Earthquake (2011), the tsunami was triggered by the earthquake that caused serious damage in the coastal area of Tohoku Region. At that time, I engaged myself in the rescue activities of cultural property. Talking about these activities in brief, such as protecting the collections of history, culture and natural sciences documents owned by museums. Many cultural assets and valuable museum collections were damaged by the Great East Japan Earthquake. The Committee for Cultural Assets Rescue program had worked to rescue a wide variety of cultural properties owned by the disaster affected museums. More than 50 museums and repositories were damaged at a time. Immediately, after the earthquake took place, Tohoku Gakuin University came forward to involve themselves in the project to rescue all the collections of disaster affected museums. Then the University had accepted an archaeological and folklore collection of the Ayukawa Repository in Ishinomaki City, located on the Oshika Peninsula. From the repository center, eight truckloads of artifacts were carried into the University campus.

A large amount of severely damaged artifacts had cleaned by the university students for two years. Since tsunami-affected cultural assets had been exposed to the weather for three months until they were rescued by the University, These properties

were deteriorated and damaged so severely that many of them no longer retained in their complete form. To improve this condition, I conducted desalinization and pest control using carbon dioxide, under the guidance of the National Museum of Ethnology. The aim of the primary cleaning, is to remove the dirt. I took the lead role in providing information on the condition of each material and to instructing others how to clean those artifacts. There were forty students, engaged in the cleaning process at a time.

During the period of disaster reconstruction, I carefully thought what meaning could be found in these objects that would be valuable for communicating local history and culture. Besides that, I also thought about the things that disaster survivors most want to cherish, and how curators can make these things, while encouraging an interactive dialogue.

I thought that rescued artifacts should not be returned directly to storage room, but rather should be shown and displayed to local residents, in order to understand and discuss social practices through a dialogue involving both citizens and the researchers. Along with university students, I designed exhibition for people to make a conversation on these displayed artifacts and express their true feelings about “what they want to tell” about these rescued artifacts. Then, by using the qualitative data gathered from the interviews, we held discussion with the local residents and finally we found the theme of our next exhibition. It was an attempt to seek “What do they want to talk about next”. We conducted more interviews. The exhibition held in the autumn of 2020, it is the 24th exhibition since the disaster took place and our rescue activities are still ongoing.

I think that sharing one’s disaster experience in words was not an easy task for many survivors. I was invited to visit Houston and New Orleans as the hurricane Katrina affected areas to witness various survivor’s practices. I think people in the United States, spoken expression seems to be more

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powerful healing tool rather than material expression. However, comparatively in Japan, positive power of substance and sound seems to be reversed more. I think we can potentially understand the local culture of disaster affected areas from material cultural resources in a more effective way.

II Museum Activities and Folklore Research for the Reconstruction of the Affected Areas

Ayukawa, in Ishinomaki City, is located near the tip of the Oshika Peninsula on the Sanriku Coast of the Tohoku Region in Japan. It is to be noted that Ayukawa was the nearest land area to the epicenter of the Great East Japan Earthquake (2011). This place was suffered a devastating damage from the tsunami. Today, ten years since the Earthquake, residents of

the tsunami-hit region are clearly expressing their longing for the image of their past daily lives. This is because these local residents cannot feel the sense of time of the past, present and future about their hometown in the process of recovery through, which their community landscape is changing drastically.

For people who have decided to continue living in the tsunami-hit area, as a result of catastrophic disaster, the separation of their culture and the loss of their history are the serious problems for these people. People are trying to find meaning in the past, find connection to the present, and draw a near-future vision of their community.

We exhibited old pictures, old documents, maps and art works related to local culture and *Mingu*. In Japanese folklore study, the tools of folkways are called *Mingu*, which means materials of common people's day to day life. At an exhibition, our students conducted interview to the visitors about their life/ For an example, food, clothing, shelter situations, fishing and farming skills, social relationships, families,



Figure 1. Ayukawa Port (2019)

kinship and the local community, local folkloristics beliefs, annual events as well as many other issues. The accumulation of narrative records from local residents, helped a lot to reveal how they used to live in their local community before the tsunami disaster affected their lives.

Ishinomaki/Sanriku-Kinkasan is considered to be one of the world's three best fishing fields. It is to be noted that this area attracts many whales. Since it is being used to hunt a wide variety of whales, a large number of whaling companies were allowed to establish their offices about 100 years ago. In addition, local land owners also jointly started to invest in coastal whaling and began to hunt minke whales. On the Oshika Peninsula, a rich fishery culture was formed, whaling, deep-sea fishing (ocean fishing), large-scale set-net fishing, aquaculture of oysters, wakame seaweeds, ascidians etc.

According to the collective memory of the local residents, the "golden age" of Ayukawa was from around 1955 to 1960, which was the heyday of commercial whaling and deep-sea fishing. Located at the tip of the peninsula, the town attracted many young aspiring people to find jobs there. They dreamed that they could gain an opportunity to make big profit, but in reality it was not so easy. In those days, people were competing with each other to make a fortune through the network, they had established while working.

The end of the "golden age" was brought by the adoption of a commercial whaling moratorium by the International Whaling Commission (IWC) from the perspective of international resource management (1982) and the establishment of a 200-mile fishing zone (1977). As a result, the main fishery industry of the Oshika Peninsula was replaced by the tourism and aquaculture. Later on, the industrial structure of the Oshika Peninsula was characterized by settlement and stability. Like many other areas of Japan, the peninsula began to face such social problems. Such as population outflow, a declining birthrate and an aging population, the sluggish performance of primary industries. Their culture was enriched through

mobility. But, in the process of restoration from the Great East Japan Earthquake, life spaces are being separated from the seashore, due to the relocation of their settlements to higher ground areas and aquaculture is being recommended.

III Exhibition with Local Residents to Rediscover Local History and Culture

I have introduced some of the exhibitions organized by University students and local residents. Our partner includes temporary shopping street, fishing and whaling companies, community councils for revitalizing the town, women's associations, folk performing art groups, local hotel owners, schools, welfare facilities for elderly and a working environment for people with disabilities.

3-1 Topic: People Connected through Labor

One of the world's top three fishing fields, the Ishinomaki/Sanriku-Kinkasan is rich in abundant resources. At this forefront location of modern fishery, residents were brimming with enterprise and eager to accept advanced techniques. Many people came to the peninsula to make a good fortune. Priority was placed on the co-worker relationships even over their family relationships.

Fishery managers and ship owners accept young men who came to work from outside through a fiction parenthood. It's called EBISU-OYA. When accepting family migrants, wealthy families sometime become relatives. It's called WARAJI-NUGI. People called the relationship SHINSEKI (relatives) even though there was no blood connection.

Today, fishery trainees invited from Indonesia are in charge of fishery labor. Fishery companies treat Indonesian people, like their children and now trainees became an important actor for local shrine festivals.



Figure 2. Students interviewing local residents

3-2 Topic: Kinkasan, Holy Place for Fishermen

As an isolated island located in the Oshika Peninsula, Kinkasan is a sacred place of faith for the fishermen. In the Edo Period, this island was a training place for followers of mountaineering asceticism. Therefore, women were not allowed to this place. In modern times, tourism has developed, with the number of visitors to the shrine. Many people come to visit this shrine, to pray for long-life and the happiness of their family members.



Figure 3. Kinkasan Island

3-3 Topic: Whaling Companies and Sports Culture

During the period of the Japanese restoration from the Second World War, Japanese people depended on whales for their intake of animal protein. This was the background to the prosperity of Ayukawa, which attracted many young aspiring people to find jobs through their connections with whaling companies from across the country. In those days, baseball players were hero. Baseball teams were organized

according to whaling companies and public offices. The baseball competition was so common at that time. We exhibited about the connection between the whaling industry and baseball culture.



Figure 4. Booklet on sports and whaling

3-4 Topic: Entertainment Provided by Companies

In the middle of the 20th century, the heyday of commercial whaling, large-scale set-net fishing, and deep-sea fishing, fishing companies served as a provider of entertainment for the local community. These companies served as an important sponsor for the Oshika Whale Festival, an annual grand festival featuring the passage of a portable shrine to celebrate the local deity of the Kumano Shrine. Not only this, many other local festivals and events were often sponsored by these companies. Many shops lined the streets, including general stores, hardware shops, bicycle shops, movie theaters, cabarets, and many restaurants serving Japanese dishes, Western dishes and Chinese dishes.



Figure 5. Oshika Whale Festival in 2019

3-5 Material Culture and Narrative

University students interviewed local residents about their memories and stories of their daily lives, which is reminded through the exhibited materials. Some stories were selected for developing illustration works. The exhibits made visitors feel at home, encouraging them to share their own narratives. Resonating with such narratives, other visitors remembered their own daily lives and discussed with each other.



Figure 6. Exhibition of illustrations based on interviews

3-6 Souvenirs for whalers

In Ayukawa, many men have experience for working in the Antarctic Ocean. They brought back some interesting souvenirs from the Antarctic Ocean and many people cherish them as family treasures. Sush souvenirs are Antarctic ice, creatures, exotic shells, animal specimens and whale bone art etc. In addition, whalers worships and dedications for hunting big size whales at Ayukawa/s several shrines and temples are also valuable materials that help us to understand and represent the life of past communities.



Figure 7. Flyer for an exhibition of souvenirs brought back by whalers

3-7 Workshop with elementary school students

Activities with elementary school students are also one of our important projects. such as elementary school students and University students engage themselves in conducting several interviews with the elderly people and to conduct workshops and exhibitions. For those children were raised in the affected areas, this is a valuable opportunity for them, to relink their past memories of the region with the current life. We created a Ming battle card game. We also wrote a drama based on a folktale of a fishing village and performed this drama.



Figure 8. Workshop with elementary school students

IV Conclusion

I believe that it is important for cultural property rescue and museum activities, to contribute and to ensure that many more local cultural resources are utilized than had been before the disaster and to provide several opportunities to identify and discover new cultural resources. I call this approach “Build Back Better” in the field of culture. To this end, local museums can play an important role by demonstrating their ideas and techniques developed after the end of the war in the fields of collection, classification, preservation, and use of historical materials, which serve as local cultural resources.

History and culture are not fields that should be addressed only by specialized researchers. To draw a future vision of local culture and history, collaboration is essential among the public sector involved in cultural administration, social education, NPOs, NGOs, companies, citizens, and others.

Even after the completion of the restoration work, we should continue to collaborate with a wide variety of local people. We will organize an exhibition on a theme based on local residents interest and we will continue to discuss a theme for the next exhibition at the venue. The main purpose of these exhibitions is to create an active environment, where we can easily identify what people would like to cherish, discuss and share their viewpoints through something specific topic.

Human-size and community-size issue are also the

important, to think about survivor’s wisdom for living with natural disaster. Recovery and reconstruction policy from natural disaster and development policy of affected areas are going side by side. We have to pay attention both human-size and community-size issue as well as economic and politic-size issues.

The purpose of my research is to bridge people’s separated history by using ethnographical and museum skills. I believe that it is important for cultural property rescue and museum activities efforts to contribute and to ensure that many more local cultural resources are utilized than had been before the disaster and to provide an opportunity to identify and discover new cultural resources. I call this approach “Build Back Better” in the field of culture.

Finally, I would like to conclude that local museums can play an important role. We will organize an exhibition with a theme selected based on local residents’ interest and discuss a theme for the next exhibition at the venue.

In the year of 2019, October a new town was opened in Ayukawa, named Whale Town Oshika. This town includes a new permanent shopping street, a memorial museum, a national park visitor center and a whale museum. In these museums, I would like to show the process of rediscovery of history and culture in which students and local residents have continued after the disaster.

I will continue my research to write ethnography as a folklorist and continue to share cultural resources with local residents as a curator. I want



Figure 9. Sanriku National Park visitor center



Figure 10. Oshika Whale Museum

to make a bridge between the past and present, separated by the tsunami disaster of local residents who have decided to remain in the affected areas.

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