

FISHERWOMEN OF TADRI
A SOCIO - ECONOMIC SURVEY

VOLUME - I

Sponsored by
GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA
AND
DANISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES TRUST

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BANGALORE - 560 080

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1985

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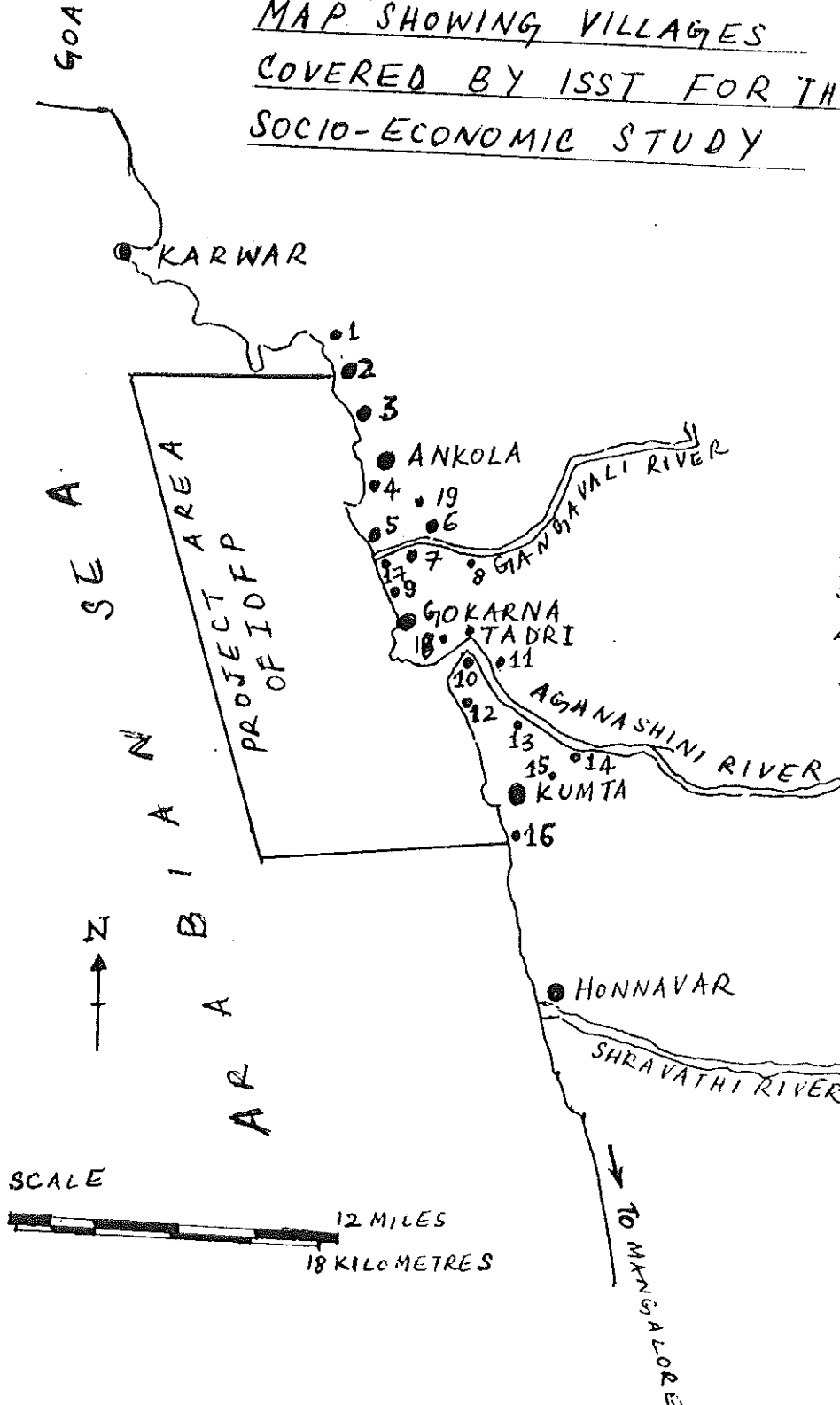
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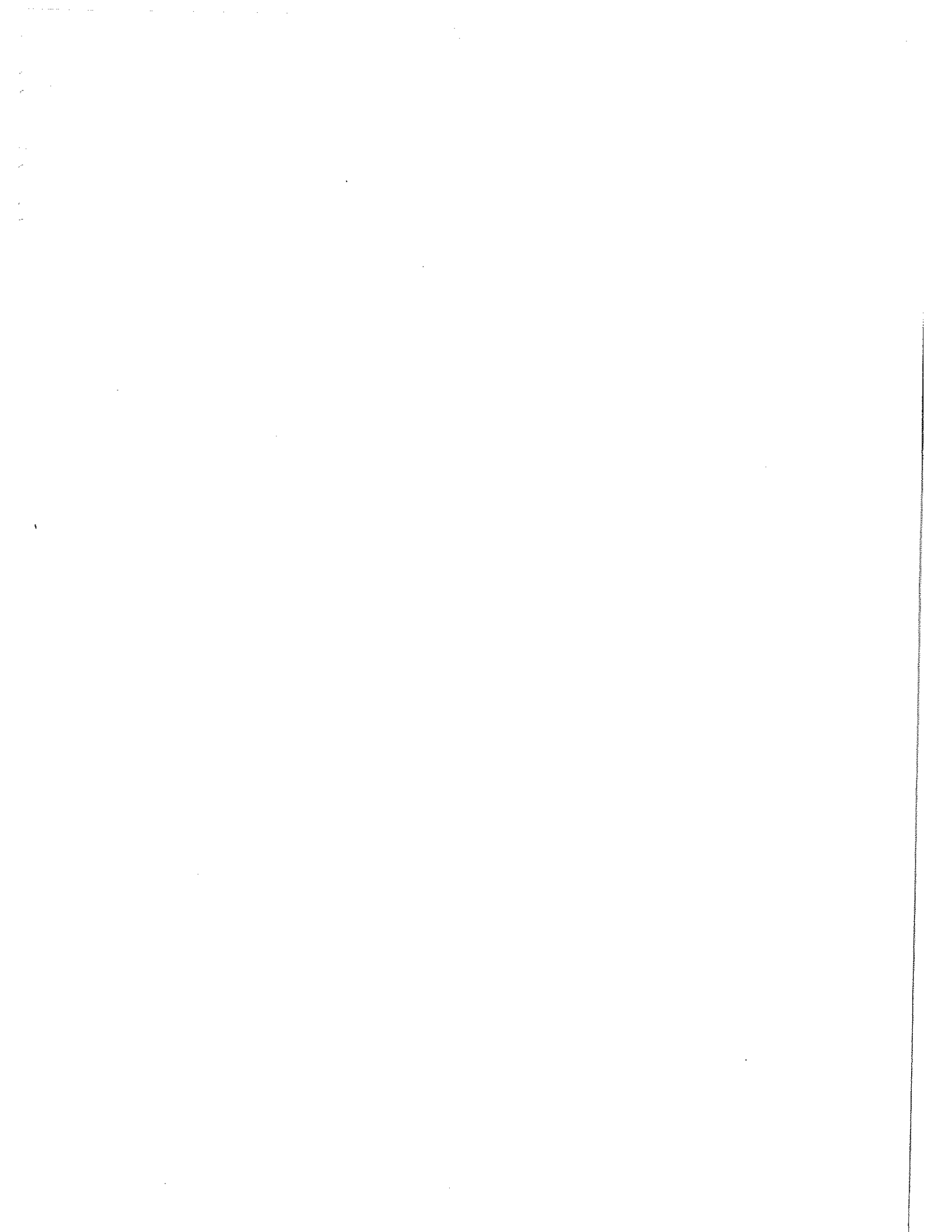
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POSITION OF ANKOLA AND KUMTA TALUKS IN UTTARA KANNADA DISTRICT.



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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

- 1.1 Marine fishing has long been an important economic activity in the two coastal districts of Dakshina Kannada and Uttara Kannada. These districts, with a 300 Km long coastline along the Arabian Sea and a network of rivers and water courses are ideally suited for fishing. The adjoining continental shelf of about 25,000 Sq.km is a rich source of pelagic fish, while the rivers provide off-season facilities for catching both marine and fresh water fishes. Numerous natural and protected harbours have excellent potential for the launching and landing of fishing craft.
- 1.2 There are 147 fishing villages of various sizes along the coastline, almost one village for every 2 Kms of coastline. The fishing population in the two districts is estimated at about 1,12,900 in 1980, with about 25,000 active fishermen. A larger number of men and women are engaged in the related land-based activities of fish processing, marketing of fish and the making and repairing of fishing gears and crafts. It is in these land-based activities that a large number of women, from both fishing and non-fishing households are engaged.
- 1.3 In both Dakshina and Uttara Kannada, the main species of fish caught are oil-sardines, mackerel, prawns, Seer fish and pomprets. While the landing of all these varieties has increased with the introduction of mechanised boats, the growth in the catch and export of prawns has

been particularly rapid. Between 1976 and 1979, the quantity of prawn exports rose from 3508 metric tons to 3860 metric tons. However, in terms of percentage, there was a decline from 5.6 percent to 2.31% , whereas in terms of value, it constituted 92%. Since 1979, the quantity of prawns exported from Karnataka has gradually declined. There has been a concurrent decrease in the number of processing units for prawns and other fish.

- 1.4 As in the neighbouring maritime states, raising the output and export of marine fishes has been part of the Karnataka state's development programme. This has been sought through an improvement in the technology of marine fishing as well as in the processing and transportation facilities on land. Mechanized fishing crafts like purse-seines, trawlers and motorised boats, gill nets and sophisticated fishing gear have been introduced in substantial numbers in the last two decades. Since 1960, the number of mechanized boats in these two districts has grown from 4 to 2844 in 1984. As much as 85 per cent^{*} of the total landing of fish in 1983-84 was from mechanized boats. Additional boat building yards, repair and service centres, loans by government and financial agencies for the purchase of fishing crafts, berthing facilities, etc., have helped this transformation. Karnataka's progress in this regard has been much faster than that of other fishing states.

- 1.5 Of the two maritime districts, fisheries development started earlier and has been faster in

* Source: Marine Fisheries Information Service, CMFRI No.52, August 1983, Cochin, India.

Dakshina Kannada. Of a total of 2844 mechanised crafts in 1984, 1572 are in Dakshina Kannada and 1272 in Uttara Kannada. Better port facilities exist at Mangalore in Dakshina Kannada than at Karwar, Ankola and Tadri in Uttara Kannada. Adequate fish landing wharves also exist in numerous coastal villages in both districts. In terms of transport, processing and marketing facilities, however, conditions in Dakshina Kannada are much better than in the northern district. Correspondingly, incomes and living standards in Dakshina Kannada are also higher.

1.6 The main impetus for the expansion and modernisation of the fishing industry in India has been the attraction of the export market, and the availability of Norwegian and Danish aid for such programmes. This has been true of Karnataka also, where the aid has come from the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), particularly for the supply of mechanized boats and processing facilities, such as at Karwar and Tadri in Uttara Kannada. Simultaneously with the growth of the export market for prawns, lobsters etc., there has been a growth in the domestic demand for fish, especially in the larger cities. The fish output of Dakshina and Uttara Kannada supplies not only the markets of Bangalore, Hubli, Belgaum and other cities in Karnataka but those of Bombay; Cochin and Tellichery of Kerala; Hyderabad and other urban centres in Andhra Pradesh.

1.7 This extensive market is served by a host of private traders and their agents, who operate their own transport and generally dominate the

whole-sale trade. In consequence, much of the larger part of the high price paid for fish by consumers in the urban centres is appropriated by middlemen and their sub-agents. However, the fishing community in the Uttara and Dakshina Kannada districts has also benefitted to some extent from the growth of the market - though these benefits have not trickled down to a large number of fishing and non-fishing households in coastal as well as interior villages. A network of Co-operative marketing societies would reduce the margin of middlemen and benefit the fisherfolk. While this has occurred noticeably in Dakshina Kannada, most of the existing Co-operative Societies in Uttara Kannada are concerned with provision of finance for the purchase of boats and other equipments; and only the Tadri Fishermen's Co-operative Society provides some assistance in the marketing of prawns.

1.8 \ Fish is a common article of consumption in these coastal districts, even amongst the low-income households. Fishing households have traditionally consumed part of their daily catch and this continues to be the practice. Non-fishing households and those in the interior villages are, however, supplied by fish vendors. This local market is traditionally supplied by women vendors, who go from house to house or sell at the village market. As will be explained later, the changes that have occurred in the technology of marine fishing has altered the character of male employment in that area, by increasing the number of men who are wage-labourers on boats owned by others. But the kinds of activities in which the women of the area are engaged - viz unloading, grading,

drying and salting of fish; peeling and grading of prawns; shell gathering; marketing of fresh and dry fish, net making and repairing - have not changed materially either in volume or in character. Nor has there been any apparent change in the food habits of men and women in the local community of fishing and non-fishing households.

- 1.9 It is against this background that the Indo-Danish Fisheries Project at Tadri in Uttara Kannada was conceived, with the objectives of (a) strengthening the ongoing process of fishing, fish processing and marketing in the project area and (b) to improve the socio-economic conditions of the traditional fisherfolk. The project also aims at increasing the supply of cheap protein to the coastal and inland areas through sale of fish at moderate prices.

THE PROJECT AND PROJECT AREA

- 1.10 The Indo-Danish Fisheries Project (IDFP) is an integrated project for the development of fishing and of the community of fishing and non-fishing households in the project area. The project's principal area of activity is Tadri, a natural harbour in Uttara Kannada, situated about 60 KM south of Karwar, the district headquarters. Karwar is also a coastal town with considerable fishing and fish processing facilities. As originally conceived, the IDFP consists of the following main elements:

- 1) construction of a modern fishing harbour with necessary shore facilities for unloading, grading, warehousing and transportation of all types of fish;

- ii) a fish processing factory with an annual capacity for frozen-storage of 300 tons and processing of 4 tons per day;
- iii) berthing and servicing facilities for modern fishing craft;
- iv) provision of purse-seines, gill netters and other varieties of mechanized fishing craft on concessional terms to local fishermen through Co-operatives;
- v) construction of a township of 500 residential units, to house workers employed by the processing unit and other related activities;
- vi) provision of technical and other assistance for productive utilisation of fish-waste and other by-products of the fishing industry;

AND

- vii) provision of technical and material assistance for improvement in the quality of life of the community inhabiting the project area.

1.11 The project, which is jointly operated by the Government of Karnataka and DANIDA is administered by two Directors, one from each agency, located in the project area. Major decisions on policy or design of the project are taken by a Steering Committee consisting of the Development Commissioner, Karnataka, who is the Chairman of the Committee, the Chief Project Adviser, DANIDA, The Project Director, Director of Fisheries, Karnataka, Representative from DANIDA, Representative from Ministry of Agriculture, Delhi.

Besides the Directors and other administrative staff, a variety of technical experts are also

attached to the project authority, to take care of the engineering, fisheries, oceanographic and financial aspects. In view of the socio-economic objectives written into the plan, the Danish authorities have also attached from time to time sociologists and social anthropologists to the project.

1.12 Work on the project started in May 1982 and so far, the following jobs have been completed;

1. provision of water supply
2. construction of Danish & Indian staff quarters.

Presently, 30 gill netters are under construction and will be ready by the year end. The jetty is also under construction.

Regarding modernisation of fishing craft, no boats have yet been distributed.

The project was to have been completed by 1989; but considering the work done so far, full implementation is likely to be delayed by at least a couple of years.

1.13 While the increase in the size and character of the fishing fleet operating off the coast of Uttara Kannada has changed the fishing industry considerably in the last two decades, the Tadri project area has been relatively less affected than the areas north of Karwar or south of Kumta. The project area covers 53 villages and hamlets, spread over Kumta taluk in the south and Ankola taluk in the north. Tadri itself is a hamlet at the mouth of the Aganashini river and lies close to the well-known pilgrim centre of Gokarna (see map A). A detailed house-listing for the

project villages, if it exists, has yet to be published for recent years. However, it would seem that there are about 13,300 households, (Census of India 1971)*. Hindus constitute the majority of the population, muslims and christians can be found in small numbers. Amongst the hindus, the major fishing castes are haricants, Konkan-karves, gabits and ambigas. Mayaks/naiks and halakki qowdas are mainly engaged in agriculture and related activities, as also those belonging to the scheduled castes. The muslims in the area are engaged predominantly in fishing and related activities.

1.14 There are four major landing centres in the project area - viz Keni, Belekeri, Kumta and Tadri. Tadri lies along the national highway from Bombay to Mangalore and is thus well connected by road with other fishing centres in Karnataka, Goa and Maharashtra. Particularly after the construction of major road bridges near Karwar and Panjim, transport of fish to Bombay has become much easier. There are good state highways from Tadri to Belgaum, Hubli-Dharwar and other important centres in Karnataka, including Bangalore. The nearest railway station is Hubli-Dharwar, access to which is again by road. Postal and telegraphic communications are reasonable, but not entirely adequate.

1.15 Of the other basic facilities, most villages have electric power and open wells for drinking water. However, water in those wells is generally brackish and hence the need for better and safer water supply continues. School and hospital facilities are fairly easily accessible to most villages in the project

* Though village-wise data according to the 1981 Census is available with the government of Karnataka, it has not been possible for ISST to obtain them. See para below.

area. Commercial banks and co-operative credit societies exist in sufficient number and provide credit to the fishing industry. There are ten Fishermen's Societies in the project area, of which only the Tadri Fishermen's Co-operative Society is engaged also in the marketing of prawns. The others are essentially credit societies, some of which also run fair price shops. Recently, a Fisherwomen's Co-operative Society was started in Tadri, but has not started functioning as yet.

ISST INVOLVEMENT IN STUDIES FOR IDFP

- 1.16 Since one of the stated objectives of the IDFP project is the improvement in the incomes and quality of life of the fishing community in the Tadri area, Government of Karnataka and DANIDA were both interested in a proper survey of the economic and social conditions of the local population, the existing structure of the market for fish (both locally and otherwise), the possible consequences of implementation of the programmes of modernisation of the industry, and identification of aspects which could potentially impede or affect adversely the social benefits expected to become available to the low-income households in the area.

- 1.17 As part of the project study, a report on socio-economic conditions of the Tadri area had been prepared for DANIDA by Prof. Heimann. This was presumably intended to be a bench mark study, which could be used for evaluating later the impact of the project on the economic standards and life style of the fishing and non-fishing households living in the project area.

1.18 There was no sociological input into the project since the appraisal report of 1979. Mr. Anders Jorgensen, Adviser to DANIDA who was sent out on a consultancy visit to the project area in 1983, recommended in his report that Indian consultants be recruited to undertake a comprehensive marketing survey as also a survey on aspects of particular concern to women in the project area. During informal discussions between ISST and DANIDA, it was suggested by DANIDA's Adviser that ISST may like to undertake the above mentioned studies. Subsequently, ISST had discussions with Government of Karnataka who welcomed the idea and invited ISST to undertake the two studies. However, the studies were formally assigned to ISST by the Government of Karnataka only in April 1984.

1.19 The period May - July was utilised to collect secondary data and other information relevant to the studies, work out the survey design and prepare a draft questionnaire. It was, however, not possible for ISST to start the field surveys in August (i.e., the peak season commencing mid August - Oct) given the short time.

The research team went out into the field in September - October 1984 for meeting project authorities and district officials. This opportunity was also utilised to pretest the draft questionnaire and review data available at district and village levels.

Canvassing of household schedules for the socio-economic study was done in November 1984, when it was easier to contact the fisherwomen and other members of fishing households. This was followed by a visit to the project area in January 1985 when a series of case studies were conducted.

- 1.20 Simultaneously, in January 1985, field work for the marketing study which included recording daily catches in the four major landing centres of Kumta, Tadri, Keni and Belekeri was undertaken. Due to a rapid decline in fish catch from February onwards, it was decided to discontinue maintenance of the daily record and renew data collection during the next peak fishing season, viz mid-August 1985 - October 1985.
- 1.21 This report is based essentially on the data collected for the socio-economic study and is supplemented wherever necessary, by observations of the marketing study. The final report of the marketing study will be presented by end of December 1985 after taking into account the seasonal data for August - October 1985. However, a preliminary report on the marketing aspect based on secondary data and some field observations is being presented separately.
- 1.22 The objectives of the socio-economic study and the methodology followed for the study are presented in the next chapter. This is followed by an analysis of the field data on house-hold characteristics and the economic activities of the fishing community in the project area in Chapter 3. Case studies of 14 fishing households with a focus on the female members are presented in Chapter 4 . The last chapter contains the conclusions and recommendations.
- 1.23 There is a second volume which consists of a few appendices. Appendix 1 contains the proposal submitted by ISST to DANIDA and the Government of Karnataka. Some extracts from the Project Document

are presented in Appendix 2. A complete list of villages and hamlets covered by the IDFP is given in Appendix 3. Appendix 4 and 5 have a set of tables derived from the primary data and the questionnaire used for the household survey respectively. Appendix 6 contains a short bibliography while a list of persons and institutions contacted by the research team is presented in Appendix 7.

Note: Figures mentioned in paragraphs 1.2 & 1.5 are derived from the Statistical Bulletin of Fisheries, 1982-83, issued by the Directorate of Fisheries, Government of Karnataka.

CHAPTER II

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

- 2.1 Development programmes in India, as everywhere else in the world, have long been either gender neutral, or more often explicitly concerned with the needs and interests of men. Women's interests are either ignored or passed over with the casual assumption that if men are helped to improve their economic and social status, women will naturally share in the benefits. This may (or may not) be true in a society where by custom or tradition women of the household have a decisive voice in the management of household income or affairs, or have equal property and civic rights with men. But these conditions are not fulfilled in India; and intercaste and economic inequities are often compounded by overt or covert gender discrimination.
- 2.2 Even when this obtains under conditions of complete non-participation of women in socially productive activity, it is repugnant to human dignity or social ethics. It is even more unacceptable when as in India, women are actively engaged in productive activities of various types, both at home and outside, and yet discriminated against. It is time that their contributions and capabilities are fully taken into account in any development project or programme which has the purpose of optimising social benefit.
- 2.3 As stated earlier, one of the stated objectives of the IDFP at Tadri is the improvement in the economic and social conditions of people in the

project area. For this purpose, it was necessary to assess not only the broader questions of production, employment and income of the local populace but also identify in detail the sections and groups in the community whose livelihood and life styles could be significantly, even drastically, affected by the new technology and organisation of catching, processing and marketing of fish.

2.4 Of the groups so to be considered, the women of the area are easily the most important, and yet least clearly provided for in the project. The substantial involvement of women in the Tadri area in many of the land-based activities related to fishing is traditional. There is almost a clear-cut division of labour between men and women in the fishing communities of Karnataka, as in those of other maritime states of Kerala, Goa, Maharashtra etc. Prof. Heimann's study of sample households in the Tadri area has further confirmed this. What is more, the activities in which women were engaged either wholly or partly - such as unloading, processing and marketing of fish - seem prima facie to be in serious danger of becoming redundant or unremunerative as a consequence of the implementation of the project. It is this socio-economic aspect of the project, with particular reference to the status and involvement of women in the area's economic activity, that constitutes the theme of this report.

2.5 As agreed with the government of Karnataka and DANIDA, the principal objectives of the ISST study were threefold:

i) to describe in detail the present position of fisherwomen regarding, in the main, the following:

- the economic conditions and resources of fishing families in the project area; and within such families, the economic and social position of women; } ✓
- specification of the remunerative activities in which women are engaged; } ✓
- a general description of the conditions of recruitment, salary, protection, and other working conditions of women employed as wage labourers; ✓
- how the labour power of women is allocated between their household responsibilities and income-earning activities in the fishing sector;

AND

- the social, political and legal status of women. ✓

ii) In the light of the above, assess the actual or potential impact of the Indo-Danish Fisheries Project on women of fishing and non-fishing households, and in particular;

- the impact of more centralised landings on fisherwomen living in smaller villages, and on those moving to Tadri;
- the possibility of increasing the marketing opportunities for women peddlars; ✓
- the prospect of organizing women peddlars and women workers; ✓
- other needs of women connected with the fishing sector, such as education and technical training;
- needs in terms of social amenities for childcare, health, water supply, domestic fuel, etc;

AND

- identification of local resources and institutions for the above.

iii) Finally, to make recommendations on the corrective, ameliorative or supplementary actions that could be taken by the government, project authorities or non-governmental organisations for benefitting the women and thereby the community living in the area.

2.6 Since the IDFP has the major purpose of enlarging the fish output of the region, and this is part of the national objective - modifications in the marketing arrangements are inevitable. These changes will obviously affect the role of women in diverse ways. However, marketing is a specialized and complex activity and merits separate study. As stated earlier, another report on the marketing of fish originating from the Tadri area is under preparation. While every effort has been made to identify areas of common interest between the two studies, and bring out the relevant socio-economic aspects in this report, some gaps may still remain. This is a matter to be reviewed later.- Meantime, it is only necessary to remember that in this report, the marketing structure, problems and prospects will not be dealt with in detail - though certain issues of relevance to the women's study will be noticed. It should also be stated that in fashioning the methodology described below, ISST's concurrent responsibility for both the studies has been borne in mind; and as much integration of design and effort as was possible has been secured.

METHODOLOGY

2.7 There are two main fishing seasons along the coast of Karnataka - mid August to end October and January to March. For the marketing survey, it was important to cover these two seasons fully. For the socio-economic survey, however, field

studies straddling the busy and lean fishing months were likely to provide more useful data on the level and style of living of both men and women over the year. The latter also involved, as will be described later, group discussions and case studies which were easier in the less busy periods. The study was cleared by the government of Karnataka in April 1984, which left too little time for instituting the marketing survey in the 1984 August-October season. This could only be organised for the next season, that is January-March 1985.

2.8 However, work for the socio-economic survey of women in the project area was taken up immediately. A visit to the project area was undertaken in May 1984, to obtain a general idea of the terrain, project scope, the fishing community and available facilities for organising field surveys. The opportunity was also utilised to visit the project authorities for an assessment of data that could be obtained from administrative records and any special studies of the fishing activity or social systems of the area. Simultaneously arrangements were made to put together all available secondary data from government and other sources, relating to the fishing industry in Karnataka and other states, economic and social conditions in Uttara Kannada, development programmes and projects relevant to the area etc.

2.9 On the basis of these studies a draft questionnaire was designed and pre-tested in the field in September 1984. After discussion with the project authorities two villages - Betkuli and Morba - were chosen for the reason that they had fishing and non-fishing households belonging to the main castes, and were close enough to Tadri and hence presumably

aware of the fisheries project. Twenty (20) households were randomly chosen by a local guide who had accompanied the research team. Based on the direct observations of investigators as well as the responses from men and women interviewed, a number of changes were made in the scope of some questions and in the approach to some areas of enquiry. Thus, for instance, the section on employment had to be modified to include details regarding the number of days of employment in each season. Regarding income of individuals or households, pre-testing revealed that the standard response was to say this depended on the size of the catch each day, which was very uncertain. It was therefore decided to ask households/individuals about the range of their income in the different seasons. It was also found necessary to add a section on indebtedness, and delete the section on the daily time utilisation pattern of women. The modified questionnaire as finally canvassed in the field is given in Appendix 5 .

2.10 Two initial steps normally taken in respect of such field studies of sample households by the ISST are (i) a district or taluk level conference with concerned government functionaries, local volunteer organisations and social workers; and (ii) a baseline survey of all households in the concerned area. ISST's attempts to organise these in September 1984 were unfortunately unsuccessful. The district conference, which would have generated information on the special programmes, customs, practices or problems in the area and which could have been taken into account in the sample design, could not be organised before starting the field work. The officers contacted

by the research team individually in their offices desired such a conference to be postponed to a later date, on the ground that after the long monsoon break, they could not be disturbed and the conference would not be a success.

- 2.11 As for the baseline survey of all households in the project area, which could be used as a benchmark for some purposes, the study proposal had assumed that household data collected in 1982 by Dr. James Heimann, the Danish Anthropologist, in the project area could be drawn upon. However, it was found that from the computer outputs, only the villages in the area constituting his sample could be marked out. Details related to individuals rather than households, and it was not possible to identify the households he had covered in the sample villages. Hence there was no way of instituting a longitudinal study, based on his set of households. However, nine of the villages ultimately included in the ISST sample - Moodangi, Dubanshashi, Gangavali, Betkuli, Kimani, Aganashini, Mirjan, Kagal Heni, and Agragone - were also covered by Dr. Heimann. Wherever appropriate, field data obtained in the survey have been crosschecked with his data.
- 2.12 Meantime, we were informed that besides the Census of 1981, the Backward Classes Commission of Karnataka had conducted a detailed household survey in 1983-84 and these sources could be utilised for bench-mark purposes. It was again not possible to use these bodies of information either for establishing the broad characteristics of the population to be covered by the sample, or to define the frame for working out the sample design or size, as access to basic data was denied by

the concerned officials. As the Backward Classes Commission's survey had only just been completed, the ISST did not also consider it rational to conduct another base-line survey at that stage. Consequently, ISST could relate its sample only to the village data available from the 1971 Census, with such modifications as seemed rational on the basis of the preliminary discussion with project authorities and other field observations.

- 2.13 SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS: The project area covers Kumta and Ankola taluks and is spread over 53 villages or hamlets. For purposes of this study, twenty (20) villages were listed on the basis of the following criteria: (i) size of population; (ii) accessibility to Tadri, the project centre, by road or water; and (iii) relative number of fishing households. As mentioned earlier, population and household data from the 1971 Census were utilised for the first criterion; information on approximate distance from Tadri was obtained through the Tadri Fishermen's Co-operative Society; and on relative number of fishing households in the villages from local enquiry. This list was discussed with the project authorities and in agreement with them, the final list of villages taken up for survey was the following:

TABLE 2.1 - LIST OF SAMPLE VILLAGES/
HAMLETS COVERED

Name	Total No. of Household 1971 Census	Classification (1971 Census)
I. <u>KUMTA TALUK</u>		
1. Aganashini	291	Village
2. Dhareswar	*	Hamlet
3. Kagal Heni	392	Village

Name	Total No. of Household 1971 Census	Classification (1971 Census)
4. Mirjan	298	Village
5. Dubanshashi	*	Hamlet
6. Moodangi	*	Hamlet
7. Gangavali	*	Hamlet
8. Betkuli	161	Village
9. Kimani	*	Hamlet
<u>II. ANKOLA TALUK</u>		
10. Belambar	456	Village
11. Belekeri	669	Village
12. Hichkad	194	Village
13. Keni	*	Hamlet
14. Manjuguni	161	Village
15. Joog	74	Village
16. Agragone	123	Village
17. Belangi	*	Hamlet

Note: * Not available

Divgi in Kumta taluk and Harwada and Keni - haricant-wada in Ankola taluk were also suggested by the project authorities. Since these villages were similar to other villages already studied, only group discussions were conducted in these three villages.

2.14 At the time this list was settled, categorisation according to distance from Tadri was on the basis of information obtained from the Tadri Co-operative Society sources. However, when the team visited the villages, it was found that the actual distances varied considerably from the information earlier secured; and in most cases, distance to Tadri by water was much less than by road. In

the event, the concepts of "close to Tadri" or "farther away from Tadri" became quite imprecise; and categorisation of the sample villages in terms of distance from Tadri remained somewhat approximate.

2.15 SELECTION OF HOUSEHOLDS: The number of households to be covered in each of the sample villages was derived in the first instance from the total of fishing and non-fishing households indicated in the 1971 census. It was decided to take 5 per cent of households in villages with more than 500 households and 10 per cent or more in villages with less than 500 households, subject to a maximum of 30 or minimum of 10 in each village. However, for the hamlets, data on total number of households were not available even at the village level; and in actuality, size-determination of villages could only be done as patwaris or "informed sources" do - that is, by "eye-estimate" or "hearsay". In consequence, it is not possible to fit the distribution of households among the sample villages into any rigid formula. For the same reason, sample households could not also be formally stratified according to type of activity or level of income. In the event, the selection of households has been based on identification, on a random basis, of fishing and non-fishing households in each village by the local guides as well as on the basis of group discussions conducted by the research team in each village prior to canvassing the household schedules.

2.16 In the villages selected, a total of 400 households were identified in this manner, and 311 of them canvassed in the first round of visits in October - November 1984. However, it became obvious during

this period that the actual size of many of the chosen villages/hamlets was much different from the 1971 census data or the eye-witness assessment of local officials. For instance, Keni in Ankola taluk which is classified as a hamlet of Bavikeri village, turned out to be a fair-sized settlement of fishing households. Similarly, Belekeri and Belambar in Ankola and Aganashini, Mirjan and Kagal Heni in Kumta taluk were also more populous than shown in the 1971 census. Further, some of the villages which were supposed to have more non-fishing than fishing households turned out to be other-wise. Consequently, the number of households to be surveyed in each village had to be further adjusted to make them conform as closely as possible to the criteria mentioned earlier. In the case of Keni, however, some weight was attached to the fact that it is even now a major landing centre for gill-netters; and fishing households in Keni do not use the Tadri facilities as intensively as those of, say, Aganashini or Betkuli. For this reason no new houses were added in Keni, though additional canvassing of households was undertaken in some of the other villages during the second round of field visits in January - March 1985.

2.17 The final list of villages and households so covered for the socio-economic survey is shown in the Table 2.2.

TABLE 2.2

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

1	2	3	4
Name of village	Total of households surveyed	Of which fishing households surveyed	Ratio of Col. 3 to 2
<u>ANKOLA TALUK</u>			
1. Agragone	14	9	64.30
2. Belangi	12	5	41.66
3. Belambar	29	20	68.96
4. Belekeri	29	28	96.55
5. Hichkad	19	11	57.90
6. Joog	9	4	44.44
7. Keni (Gabit)	26	25	96.15
8. Mānjuguni	22	17	77.27
9. Hār wada	*	-	-
10. Keni (Harikant)	*	-	-
<u>KUMTA TALUK</u>			
1. Aganashini	40	30	75.00
2. Betkuli	33	25	75.75
3. Dareshwar	8	8	100.00
4. Dubanshashi	21	21	100.00
5. Gangavali	12	10	83.33
6. Kagal Heni	26	19	73.07
7. Kimani	26	21	80.77
8. Mirjan	35	24	68.57
9. Moodangi	16	12	75.00
10. Divgi	*	-	-
TOTAL	<u>377</u> ===	<u>289</u> ===	-

- Note: (i) In Aganashini, Mirjan and Betkuli, the local guide identified households in excess of 30, and all these were canvassed to avoid further possible bias in selection.
- (ii) *Only group discussions were held in Divgi, Marwada and Keni (Harikantwada)
- (iii) Households with any adult member engaged in fishing or fish related activity for a major part of the year are regarded as fishing households & households with members engaged in activities other than fishing for a longer duration are regarded as non-fishing households.

- 2.18 Given its derivation, this household sample cannot be assigned any of the standard labels familiar to researchers. Some characteristics of the region, and some specifications included in the ISST survey proposal have influenced the selection of villages. Likewise, the distinction between fishing and non-fishing households has also been kept in view in household identification. Hence the sample may look like a "purposive" or "stratified" sample. But these elements could not be rigorously worked into the design because of the paucity and unreliability of basic information at district and village levels. Since in each village, the houses were finally identified at random by the local guide, with the difference between fishing and non-fishing houses articulated but not weighted, it is possible to consider the sample as a "random" selection, with the bias, if any, of the selector (that is, the local guide) unknown.
- 2.19 Two important observations are warranted at this juncture. First of all, since there is no intention of using the household sample data to derive any level or change estimates for the district, no major problem of measurement is involved in interpretation. For the most part, such data are used for taxonomic purposes which are perfectly valid. Secondly, and of greater consequence, is the fact that in working out the sample design, the ISST was handicapped at each stage by the sad state of official statistics at the ground level; and by the pervasive habit of each agency or department to treat any available data as its "private property". As long as these conditions prevail, it seems quite unlikely that the standard procedures laid down

for sample selection and survey can at all be effectively utilised in such socio-economic micro-surveys. This question urgently merits consideration by the authorities concerned.

2.20 INFORMATION COLLECTION: Prior to canvassing the schedules at the household level, group discussions were held in each village with the help of local guides. Since it was not easy to gather in one meeting men and women belonging to different castes, separate meetings were held for each caste and occupation group, and for men and women separately. It was not easy to bring the women together, especially the muslim women. However, the women participated quite actively when their menfolk persuaded them to do so and the purpose of the team's visit was explained by the guide in the local dialect. It was however not difficult to collect the men for such meetings. Discussions with women's groups were conducted by the women members of the ISST's permanent staff.

2.21 These group discussions enabled the team to elicit information on a variety of items - the activities in which men and women were engaged, duration/seasonality of employment, wages and place of work; support facilities available and problems faced with regard to employment; average number of children amongst households, place of birth, attitudes to family planning, health condition in the village and health and child care facilities available; availability of other facilities like drinking water, fuel, ration shop, transport; attitudes to alcoholism; problems faced in the village; awareness of IDFP, and benefits expected from the project; attitudes to resettlement and

forming/becoming members of a women's co-operative society. These discussions also helped the team to establish rapport with the people and therefore canvassing the schedule at the household level was much easier. In fact, the investigators were invited by the people to visit all their houses and this in fact proved something of a problem to the investigators!

- 2.22 A team of two investigators, one ISST member and a local investigator, visited each household for canvassing the questionnaires. As the ISST members were not familiar with Konkani, the local investigators had to be used also as interpreters on some occasions. In each household, an adult female and an adult male were interviewed. The eldest woman of the house hold was considered as the principal respondent. If she was not available, or, if she was too old, then, the next eldest lady in the house was interviewed along with the adult male member. Sometimes, apart from these two members, other members of the household who were present during the discussion would also express their views.
- 2.23 The household visits aimed at obtaining information on the employment pattern of all members of the family, awareness and extent of knowledge of the IDFP, the assets and indebtedness of the household, demographic details and amenities available to the household and in the village. Environmental elements were also observed during these visits. During the interviews with women, matters pertaining to intra-family relationships, social conventions and attitudes, willingness to adopt new activities or locations were also discussed. Informal discussions were held among the teams of investigators to compare and sort out their day to day experience, with different households or in different villages.

- 2.24 In each village, discussions were also held with anganwadi teacher, village accountant, chairman of the fishermen's co-operative society, president/ chairman of the Mahila Mandal etc. An attempt was also made to identify potential women leaders who would take the responsibility of running a women's co-operative society and also persuade other women in forming a co-operative society. It was possible to identify a few in some villages though not in many. After the visits to villages in each of the two taluks were completed, discussions were held with the block officials to seek reactions and clarifications. The team also exchanged views with the project authorities regarding their findings in the field.
- 2.25 CASE STUDIES: As part of the socio-economic study, the ISST programme envisaged a number of indepth studies of households, especially of the women members, belonging to different categories, and on issues that had either been thrown up by the field enquiry or constituted a part of the objectives of IDFP. Since different categories of the fishing population are covered, these studies help a better understanding of the complex ~~of~~ relationships between castes and communities; owners, labourers, middlemen and vendors; men and women, and young and old; officials and non-officials and so on. They are also useful in estimating the annual income of households, and of men and women separately, from different occupations or in different circumstances. Altogether 14 case studies of fishermen and fisherwomen spread over some of the sample villages were prepared, and included some households which were part of the sample canvassed with the general questionnaire. They were conducted exclusively by ISST

staff members through multiple visits for detailed interview as well as participant observation. Since these were taken up in the second round of visits to the households, there was little difficulty in establishing close rapport with the respondents. Details on the scope and conduct of these case studies are given in the "guidelines to case studies" (see Appendix 5.)

2.26 TALUK CONFERENCE: It has generally been ISST's practice that after the analysis of survey data, preliminary results are presented at taluk level conference which are attended by government functionaries, voluntary organisations, social workers and the beneficiaries. It has not been possible to organise such a meeting in Tadri before this study report is presented, since, for the reasons mentioned earlier, the institute has not been able to complete the report on market structure in the project area and determine the marketing potential for the increased output of fish. The two studies are inter-related and it is only after the marketing study in the August-October 1985 season is well advanced that the taluk level conference could be useful. It will then be possible to present the results of both the studies in a consistent and meaningful fashion. Meantime, it is hoped that the findings and recommendations of this report may be discussed with project authorities and concerned government functionaries.

CHAPTER III

SURVEY FINDINGS

- 3.1 As has already been mentioned, the household survey was oriented towards a sample of households, selected randomly. Male and female adults in the selected households were canvassed for information on their economic and employment status, assets and income position and their awareness and reaction to the Indo-Danish Fisheries Project at Tadri.
- 3.2 Since it was not possible to get a complete picture of each fishing activity and the extent to which women were involved in it from the respondents in the household survey, in-depth case studies were undertaken in January 1985. One case of each activity, e.g. fish vending, drying, unloading, shell fish collection, partner of purse-seine, etc. has been studied in detail through repeated interviews and participant observation. Detailed notes on these cases have been presented in the next chapter. However, wherever possible, information from these cases have been used to interpret and illuminat the data collected from the household survey. The data on households are presented first, and subsequently, information on men and women.
- 3.3 Field investigation in Ankola and Kumta taluks covered 377 households, out of which 289 were fishing and 88 were non-fishing. Households were classified as fishing households when any adult member was engaged in fishing or fish related activity for a major part of the year. Those with

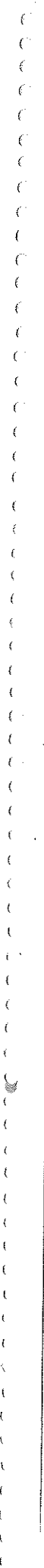


TABLE NO. 3.1DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING & NON-FISHING
HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE

Caste	Fishing Households	Non-fishing households	Total Households
1. Harikant	87	20	107 (28.4)
2. Gabit	47	01	48 (12.7)
3. Ambiga	47	05	52 (13.8)
4. Konkan Karve	64	03	67 (17.8)
5. Nayak	01	13	14 (3.7)
6. Naik	-	18	18 (4.8)
7. Muslims	42	06	48 (12.7)
8. Scheduled Caste	-	01	1 (0.3)
9. Others*	01	21	22 (5.8)
Total	289	88	377

Note: 1. * Others include halaki gowdas and christians.

2. Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total households.

3.6 The noticeable predominance of caste hindus amongst the fishing households in the sample is probably a reflection of the predominance of hindu fishing households in the two taluks.

3.7 Caste plays a significant role in the lives of the fishermen. The haricants are considered superior to all other fishing castes followed by konkan karves, gabits and lastly ambigas. While the haricants, karves and gabits are engaged in ocean fishing, the ambigas have traditionally been engaged in river fishing only. Each caste is also associated with particular types of craft used for fishing. While haricants, karves and muslims work on purse-seines and trawlers, the gabits have traditionally been working on gillnet boats and ambigas on non-mechanised traditional crafts. However, all castes own traditional boats. (see Table No.3.2)

3.8 The haricants and karves who operate with purse-seiners and trawlers fish during the day while the gabits who use gill net boats fish at night. The former castes hesitate to take to gillnet fishing because it involves going out into the sea at night. Similarly, the ambigas hesitate to take to mechanised fishing - partly because of the larger investment needed, but partly also because of tradition and superstition.

3.9 ASSET POSITION: An analysis of the sample reveals that about 50% of the fishing households do not own any other property (like land or livestock) besides boats. Fishermen from these households generally work as labourers or partners of mechanised boats. It will be seen from Table that a number of fishing households from this category however own traditional boats. The majority of fishermen owning different types of crafts are in fact partners and it is not common to find independent owners, especially for purse-seiners. These partner-ship relations often cut across castes. Those owning traditional boats

TABLE No.3.2

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND OWNERSHIP OF BOATS

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CASTE	Number of household's	Households not owning any boat	Household's owning Purse-siene boat only	Household's owning Trawler boat only	Household's owning Gill net boat only	Households owning Traditional boat only
Harikant	87	53 (42.74)	1	8 (53.33)	1	22 (29.33)
Gabit	47	15 (12.09)	-	3 (20.0)	17 (63.0)	7 (9.33)
Ambiga	47	11 (8.87)	1	-	-	28 (37.33)
Konkan Karve	64	20 (16.13)	12 (60.0)	1	5 (18.52)	16 (21.33)
Nayak	1	1	-	-	-	-
Muslims	42	23 (18.55)	6 (30.0)	3 (20.0)	4 (14.81)	2 (2.66)
Others	1	1	-	-	-	-
Total	289	124	20	15	27	75

NOTE:1) Except in column 7, no clear distinction is made between individual owners and partners, hence households actually owning boats may be less.

2) Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

TABLE No.3.2 (Continued)

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND OWNERSHIP OF BOATS

	8	9	10	11	12
CASTE	Household's owning Purse -siene and Traditional boat	Household's owning Traw -ler and Traditional boat	Household's owning gill net and Tra -ditional boat	Household's owning Purse -siene and Trawler boat	Household's owning Trawler and Gill net boat
Harikant	1	-	-	1	-
Gabit	-	-	4 (28.57)	-	1
Ambiga	6 (60.0)	-	1	-	-
Konkan Karve	2 (20.0)	-	7 (50.0)	1	-
Nayak	-	-	-	-	-
Muslims	1	1	2 (14.28)	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-
Total	10	1	14	2	1

NOTE:1) Except in column 7, no clear distinction is made between individual owners and partners, hence households actually owning boats may be less.

2) Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

generally work as labourers on mechanised boats during the busy season and fish on traditional boats during the monsoons. Ambigas who only use traditional boats, are mainly engaged in river fishing.

TABLE NO.3.3

DISTRIBUTION OF BOATS BY TYPE AND ASSET GROUPS AMONGST FISHING HOUSEHOLDS

Asset	Number and type of boat			
	Purse-seine boat	Trawl-let boat	Gill-net boat	Tradit-ional boat
Landless without animals	17	10	23	64
Landless with animals	-	-	2	4
Marginal farmer without animal	14	12	16	56
Marginal farmer with animals	2	-	-	4
Small farmer without animals	-	-	-	1
Big farmer without animals	-	-	1	1
Total	33	22	42	130

NOTE: M.F.- Upto 2.50 Acres S.F. 2.51 - 5.00 Acres
B.F.- 5.01 Acres and above.

- 3.10 About 43% of the fishing households are classified as marginal farmers (Table 3.4). However, these households own very small plots of land (less than half an acre). It is common among villages located on the river banks, for fisherfolk to pursue agriculture as a subsidiary occupation.

TABLE No.3.4

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING HOUSEHOLDS
BY ASSET (LAND & ANIMALS)

Asset Categories	Fishing households
Landless without animals	146 (50.52)
Landless with animals	4
Marginal farmers without animals	125 (43.25)
Marginal farmers with animals	10
Small farmers without animals	3
Big farmers without animals	1
Total	289

Note: Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

A majority of the fishing households do not own livestock. This is so because fodder is difficult to obtain. It was also reported that the extreme weather was not suitable for rearing livestock and that they were susceptible to water-borne diseases.

Besides boats, land and animals, fishing nets constitute an important part of the assets of households. Taking this also into account the distribution of total assets in the form of boats and nets, gives broad indication of the resource-status of fishing households.

TABLE NO. 3.5

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND OWNERSHIP OF BOATS & NETS.

CASTE	TOTAL NUMBER OF HH'S	HH'S NOT OWNING BOATS AND NETS	HH'S OWNING BOATS AND NETS	HH'S OWNING BOAT ONLY	HH'S OWNING NETS ONLY
HARIKANTH	87 (30.10)	25 (62.50)	62 (25.0)	3 (23.0)	27 (33.33)
GABIT	47 (16.26)	-	47 (18.87)	2 (15.40)	15 (18.52)
AMBIGA	47 (16.26)	4 (10.0)	43 (17.27)	4 (30.76)	7 (8.64)
KONKAN KARVE	64 (22.14)	3 (7.50)	61 (24.40)	3 (23.0)	15 (18.52)
NAYAK	1 (0.34)	1 (2.50)	-	-	-
MUSLIMS	42 (14.53)	7 (17.50)	35 (14.05)	1 (7.70)	16 (19.75)
OTHERS	1 (0.34)	-	1 (0.40)	-	1 (1.23)
TOTAL	289	40	249	13	81

NOTE : FIGURES IN BRACKETS INDICATE PROPORTION TO TOTAL.

3.11 It will be seen from the table 3.5 that haricants predominate both among those households owning boats and nets and those not owning any boat or net. This could be because 30% of the sample households are haricants and the high percentage may only be a consequence of this. However, in Hitchkad, a number of haricant households owning small plots of land and engaged in agriculture also worked as fishing labourers. It was thus not the case that as a group haricant families were, asset-wise, better equipped than others. Despite the fact that among households owning boats and nets only about 19% are gabits, it will be seen that all of the sample gabit households own boats and nets. Considering the fact that gabits generally own mechanised boats unlike the ambigas who own traditional boats, it would appear prima facie that these households are potentially stronger than others. We return to this later.

3.12 LITERACY LEVELS: Using the highest level of education attained by any adult as an index of household literacy, it was found that a majority of households have come up to primary education level (generally up to class IV) only a few households have members with higher education (Table No.3.6). The literacy level among fishing households is much lower than for non-fishing households.

TABLE NO.3.6

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING AND NON-FISHING HOUSE-
HOLDS BY HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF ADULTS (15+)

Education	Fishing households	Non-fishing households
Illiterate	75 (25.95)	18 (20.45)
Primary	149 (51.55)	38 (43.18)
Secondary	50 (17.30)	17 (19.32)
Above Secondary	15 (5.20)	15 (17.04)
Total	289	88

Note: Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

3.13 An analysis by highest education level of adult males and females (table 3.7) reveals that, especially among the fishing households, while males have had primary education, most females are illiterates. Women in the non-fishing households were, somewhat better educated, but not in comparison with the men of their household.

TABLE NO.3.7

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING AND NON-FISHING HOUSE-
HOLDS BY HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVELS OF ADULT
MALES & FEMALES

Educational level		Fishing households	Non-fishing Households
Illiterate	M	84	19
	F	181	32
Primary	M	143	37
	F	97	40
Secondary	M	48	16
	F	7	11
Above Secondary	M	14	16
	F	4	5

3.14 The fairly high percentage of illiteracy among females in the fishing households may be attributed to the following factors.

- (i) There is a well defined system of division of labour in the fishing households. The men go out for fishing and their women folk either sell or process fish. Since nobody is at home, the older female children remain at home to look after the younger ones, rather than attending school.
- (ii) Fisherwomen sometimes need help in selling fish and the older girls are asked to leave school and accompany their mothers.
- (iii) Majority of the girls in the age group 10 to 16 belonging to fishing community are engaged in either fish drying or shell fish collection to supplement the family's income and thus, give up school at an early age.
- (iv) Among the fishing community, it is a common belief that girls do not require education like boys as after marriage they are likely to continue the activities of selling or drying fish.

An analysis of education levels of women amongst the fishing castes (table 3.8) reveals that out of the 47 sample ambiga households, 87% of the women were illiterate. This compares with 58% per cent for haricants and 81 per cent for karves. This further confirms that the ambigas are worse off than the other fishing castes.

: 42 :

TABLE NO: 3.8

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING AND NON-FISHING HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE
AND HIGHEST EDUCATION OF ADULT FEMALES

EDUCATION CASTE	FISHING HOUSEHOLDS					NON-FISHING HOUSEHOLDS				
	Illi- terate	Primary	Sec- ondary	Above secon- dary	Total	Illi- terate	Primary	Sec- ondary	Above secon- dary	Total
1. HARIKANTH	50	32	3	2	87	10	9	1	-	20
2. GABIT	23	22	2	-	47	1	-	-	-	1
3. AMBIGA	41	6	-	-	47	1	3	1	-	5
4. KANKAN KARVE	52	11	-	1	64	-	2	-	1	3
5. NAYAK	-	1	-	-	1	5	3	3	2	13
6. NAIK	-	-	-	-	-	4	9	4	1	18
7. MUSLIM	15	24	2	1	42	-	5	1	-	6
8. Schedule Caste	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
9. Others	-	1	-	-	1	10	9	1	1	21
TOTAL	181	97	7	4	289	32	40	11	5	88

3.15 OTHER HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Head of the Household: In contrast to the fishing households of Dakshina Kannada District where women are true heads of households (in the sense that they are property owners, principal earners of the family and take major decisions) in Uttara Kannada District, male domination is very much in evidence.

TABLE NO. 3.9DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY HEAD OF HOUSEHOLDS - FISHING AND NON-FISHING HOUSEHOLDS

Head of the household	Fishing	Non-fishing
Male	253 (87.5%)	76 (88.6%)
Female	36 (12.4%)	12 (13.6%)
Total	289	88

Note: Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

Over 87% of the households among both fishing and non-fishing categories have males as the nominal heads of the family.

Unlike in Dakshina Kannada where women are heads of household because of the prevalence of the aliya santhana system, women in Uttara Kannada, are forced to take on the responsibility of managing the house, due to male out-migration. During the fishing season, it is common to find fishermen migrating to Goa and Karwar to work as labourers on mechanised boats. They return home during the off-season. Though women manage the day to day affairs, all major decisions are taken by the men. Another reason for female headedness may be widowhood or separation from husbands.

3.16 Size of the household: The average size of the sample households was 6.8. This is lower than the state average of 7.2. As between castes, family size was lowest for scheduled castes (5.0) and highest for ambigas (7.6), karves (7.5) and nayaks (7.5).

TABLE NO.3.10

DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING HOUSEHOLDS BY CASTE AND AVERAGE SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Caste	Average size of Household
Haricant	6.6
Gabit	5.9
Ambiga	7.6
Karve	7.5
Nayak	7.5
Naik	5.8
Muslims	7.2
Schedule Caste	5.0
Others	5.5
Total	6.8

There are very few joint families in the project area and most of them are amongst non-fishing households. The tendency amongst fishing households is to set up nuclear families. It would thus appear that the

family planning programme, introduced fairly recently in this district has not been very successful. Most couples have 3 to 4 children.

An analysis of the age distribution of the population amongst the households reveals that on an average, there are about 4 adults and 3 children (under 14 years) in every household. It is common to find husband and wife living with their children and parents.

3.17 GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT: However, not all the adults are gainfully employed. It is generally the case that the husband and wife go out for fishing and fish related activities. The older woman stays back at home to look after the children, since she is too old to carry heavy basket loads of fish and walk long distances. The older man also stays at home but may take the canoe and get some fish for daily household consumption.

TABLE NO.3.11

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED ADULTS AMONG FISHING AND NONFISHING HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX

No. of gainfully employed adult	Fishing households		Non-fishing households	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0	22 (7.61)	49 (16.95)	18 (20.45)	28 (31.81)
1	155 (53.63)	154 (53.28)	36 (40.90)	39 (44.31)
2	63 (21.80)	54 (18.68)	16 (18.18)	13 (14.77)
3	37 (12.80)	26 (19.00)	8 (9.09)	6 (6.81)
4 & above	12 (4.15)	6 (2.07)	10 (11.36)	2 (2.27)
Total	289	289	88	88

Note: Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

3.18 Census data show that in the rural areas of Karnataka, the work participation ratios in 1981 were 56.2 per cent for men and 22.6 per cent for women. The corresponding ratios for our sample population were 85.2% for men and 74.4% for women*. It is generally the case in India that work participation ratios among the fishing community are higher than in other occupational groups. In our sample also the work participation ratios among the fishing households seem to be higher than for non-fishing households.

TABLE NO.3.12

WORK PARTICIPATION RATIOS AMONG FISHING & NON-FISHING POPULATION

	Fishing Population		Non-fishing Population	
	M	F	M	F
Total Adults	512	470	154	144
Total gainfully employed adults	445 (86.9)	366 (77.8)	123 (79.8)	91 (63.1)

Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate proportion to total adults.

3.19 Non-fishing households in the Tañri area have a lower participation ratio because besides fishing and allied activities, the only other major activity in the area is agriculture. This does not provide enough employment opportunities to all those seeking employment, since only one crop is grown. Even so,

Note: * The ratios mentioned above are crude in the sense that they are based on a simple head-count. No distinction is made between full time work and part time work. Persons engaged in any kind of gainful activity are considered as workers.

the participation ratios among the non-fishing population is much higher than the state average. This is because during the agriculture season, it is difficult to hire labourers since the fishing activity also is at its highest. Hence all family members of households cultivating land tend to be engaged in agricultural work of one kind or another.

It will also be seen from table 3.12 that amongst both fishing and non-fishing households, male participation ratios are higher than female work participation ratios. However, two features may be noted. First, the female work participation ratio is much higher in fishing households than in the others. Secondly, the difference between male and female participation ratios is less in fishing than in non-fishing households. This could be a reflection partly of the greater employment opportunities that the fishing industry offers to women, and partly of the sheer necessity of women having to take-over the land based fish activities from men, after the latter carry out the heavy tasks of catching and landing the fish.

3.20 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF FISHERMEN: Men in the fishing households are engaged mainly in fishing, using either their own boat, or as partners or labourers on others boats. Purse-seines, trawlers and gillnets are the mechanised boats used for ocean fishing while the non-mechanised canoe is used for river fishing.

3.21 Purse-seines are too expensive to be owned by individuals and in the sample population, no one individual owned a purse-seiner by himself*. They were usually owned by a group of 20-25 partners, chosen in such a way that they belong either to the

Note: * Individual owners of purse-seiners may be found in Mangalore, Karwar and Goa. They hire labourers to fish on their boats.

same village or to the same caste. This is done in order to prevent intercaste or inter-village quarrels and also to instill a sense of solidarity amongst the partners.

Since a purse-seiner costs about Rs.6 lakhs, it is generally bought on credit obtained from a commercial bank. The bank, in order to have some hold on these fishermen, insists that they are members of the local fishermen's co-operative society. Among these 20 partners, one person is called the Chief Partner. About 25% of the total value has to be paid as deposit by the partners, and a major share of this is paid by the Chief Partner. He is also responsible for the maintenance of the boat and for meeting the expenses on diesel, food, etc.

- 3.22 A trawler costs about Rs.1.5 lakh and may be owned by one or more individuals. Trawlers are operated by about four people who may either be partners or an owner and labourers. Trawler partners also tend to belong either to the same village and/or same caste. Gillnets are almost always owned by gabits. It costs about Rs.35,000/- and is generally owned by 2 persons who are related to each other and are also from the same village. It is operated by 4-5 people. The labourers also are gabits generally from the same village.
- 3.23 Purse-seiners and trawlers fish during the day. They leave by about 5.30 or 6.00 in the morning and return by 4.30 PM. A purse-seiner needs only one net which is also owned by the partners. A trawler needs about 2 nets, each of which is about 800-1000 metres long. These nets are also owned by the individual partners owning the boat. Gillnet boats, on the other hand are taken out for fishing at night and need about 40 nets. The owner usually takes about 20 nets with him. Unlike in the case of purse-seiners and the trawlers, the labourers on a gillnet boat are allowed to take five nets each; and the catch is kept sep-

arately and is also sold separately by them.

- 3.24 For a purse-seiner, whose catches consist of mackerel and oil sardines, the peak fishing season is between August and December. On a 'good' day, a purse-seine is able to get about 3,500 Kgs of oil sardines and about 45,000 pieces of mackerel; and on a lean day, about 500 Kgs and less than 5,000 pieces of mackerel.
- 3.25 The peak fishing season for a trawler is between September and January. Prawns is the major catch together with pomphret and mixed small fish. The prawn catch varies from 200 Kgs on a 'good' day to 30 Kgs on a 'bad' day.
- 3.26 Gillnets mainly fetch seer fish, cat fish shark and pomphrets are also caught by these nets. The season for a gillnet starts from September and continues until December. January is not a very good month, but the yield again picks up in February and continues until April/May. The catch is as high as 200 Kgs (seer fish) on a good day and as low as 20 Kgs on a lean day.
- 3.27 During the fishing season, the purse-seiners and trawlers land at a centre where a good price is offered, be it Karwar or Tadri or Honnavar. However, during the lean season, they land in their own village or in the nearest landing centre since good price is available here. Also since the size of the catch is small, it would not be profitable to go to a distant landing centre which involves high diesel costs and so on. Most gillnets land during the season at Keni which is the biggest landing centre for gillnets in Karnataka. During the off season, they land at Keni, Kumta and Tadri landing centres.

3.28 During the monsoons, fishing in the sea is prohibited. Even those who migrate to other areas during the season, return home during the monsoons. Since, all most all households own at least one canoe, river fishing is undertaken during this period. It will be seen from Table 3.13 that about 71% of the fishermen are engaged in fishing on traditional boat. The high percentage can be attributed to fishing during monsoon and the fact that among the ambigas, it is the major occupation throughout the year. Apart from this, some men are also engaged in making or repairing nets. Since this is a home-bound activity, it can be taken up during the monsoons.

3.29 It will be seen from Table 3.13 that about 19.5% of the men work as agricultural labourers. Since no distinction is made between fishermen and others here, it may be mentioned that a majority of those engaged in this work would be from the non-fishing castes. However, some fishermen from the ambiga caste (especially those living in Mirjan village) and a few haricants work as agricultural labourers during the fishing off-season.

The duration of employment and income earned by fishermen from different sources will be discussed later.

TABLE - 3.13
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE POPULATION BY
ACTIVITY & SEX

ACTIVITY	MALE	FEMALE
Unloading fish	6	24 (5.25)
Loading fish to truck	6	20 (4.37)
Drying fish	27	215 (47.04)
Curing fish	1	90 (19.69)
Head Load Fish Vending (door to door)	2	197 (43.10)
Fish trade at market	2	220 (48.14)
Shell fish collection	36 (6.33)	101 (22.10)
Net making	233 (41.02)	121 (26.47)
Net repairing	213 (37.50)	128 (28.00)
Fishing on traditional boat	336 (59.15)	-
Fishing on mechanised boat	217 (38.20)	-
Cultivator	95 (16.72)	68 (14.87)
Agriculture labour	111 (19.54)	109 (23.85)
Agriculture Supervision	13	3
Fishing labourer	98 (17.25)	3
Total Gainfully employed	568	457

NOTE: 1) Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total gainfully employed adult male/female population.

2) The percentages do not add up to 100 because a single man/woman may be engaged in more than one activity and will figure in more than one row.

3.30 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF FISHER WOMEN: We now turn to the employment pattern of the fisher women. A large number of women are engaged in fish vending, either at the fish market or from door to door in the village (Table 3.13). They generally sell fresh fish, either brought by their husbands in their own boat or bought by them in auctions. As mentioned earlier, the type of fish caught depends on the type of craft used. The kind of fish that the women peddlars buy, the price at which they sell, and the place of selling are determined by many different factors like time of landing, transport facilities available to them and so on. Since different crafts land at different times, the pattern of disposal is also different. We shall therefore discuss separately the pattern of disposal of fish from different crafts.

3.31 Purse-seine and Trawler catch: The peak fishing season for purse-seines and trawlers is between the months of September and January. During this period, the place of landing is decided by the fishermen in consultation with fishermen from other villages. The governing consideration is usually the price offered for different varieties of fish at a given landing centre. Therefore, even if fishermen of a given village owned purse-seiners or trawlers, they would not land in the village, but elsewhere. Consequently, the women of the village who sell fish would have to go to the nearest landing centre or the wholesale market and buy fish from other boat owners in an auction. During a good fishing season, women fish vendors get their fish from either of the following sources.

- (a) partners on a purse-seine are entitled to a certain amount of fish from the daily catch; this is sold by their wives.
- (b) Wholesaler who purchases large quantities from boat owners sells in open auction, to the women peddlers.

3.32 A group of women, generally from the same village and caste, bid for a certain number of baskets of fish and buy it as a group from the wholesaler. Later, depending on the amount of money with each, the fish is distributed amongst members of the group. Each fisherwoman purchases about 10 - 20 Kgs of oil sardines per day, (the purchase price would be 75 paise per Kg) and about 80 pieces of mackerel costing about Rs.30/- - Rs.40/- per day.

Prawns, which are the main catch of a trawler, are sold only to processing companies, and women do not get to sell prawns at all. However, some women, find it lucrative during the peak prawn season to sell very small prawns which are used for local consumption. These prawns are caught by small nets in the river and are generally brought by young boys.

Apart from prawns, a trawler also gets mixed fish, both edible and non-edible like crab, banagu, dodi, pachu, sandalli, small pomphrets, silver fish and so on. These are separated and sold by the boat owners in auction to women vendors in small quantities.

During the lean season, purse-seiners are also used for trawling and a major portion of the catch is mixed fish. As mentioned earlier, these boats then land either in the same village (if landing facilities are available) or in the nearest landing centres, from where women pick up their lots in auction.

3.33. The fish that women vendors obtain are generally of good quality and cost more. Damaged fish may also be bought by them, but for a lower price; they are generally not sold fresh but salted/dried and sold as dried fish.

However, in the case of mixed fish there is no certainty that the women will get good fish at once. Even after reaching the landing centre, they often wait for 3-4 hours before they get their fish. They prefer the larger and undamaged fish, which may cost more but fetch a good price. The fish that the women peddlars purchase depends on the time of landing as well as the quality of fish. If the fish is landed between 3.30 and 5 PM, then they can take it to distant markets to sell. But, if the landing is late in the evening, i.e. after 6.30 PM or 7 PM, they would obviously not be able to go to distant market. Hence they would buy the fish only if it could be well preserved until next morning with ice.

The price (purchase of fish at the landing centre) depends on the size of fish, state of freshness and quantity landed. On days when large quantities are landed, fish is available at a lower price than on days when landings are meagre. When the landings are meagre and the price of fish is high (say over Rs.40/- for a basket of mackerels) then, the women do not buy fish at all from the wholesalers.

3.34 Peak season sales: The place where women sell fish depends to a large extent on the location of their residence, and the time and place of fish landing. As already mentioned, the place of landing varies during the peak and off seasons. During the peak season, if the boats land around 4 PM, then the women go to distant markets like Kumta and Ankola where they can get a good price. Women from village around Tadri come to Tadri by boat, buy fish, take it back on a boat to their village and then take a bus to Kumta.

In the villages in Ankola taluk that are closer to Karwar, the women go to Karwar by boat to buy fish and then take fish to Ankola, either by bus or in a tempo. It is not always possible for women to take fish in a bus since the conductor does not allow them

to take fish in the bus on the ground that it causes discomfort to other passengers. Apart from paying the fare, most of the time the women have to bribe both the driver and conductor before the fish basket is loaded on the bustop. When large quantities of fish are purchased by women, they usually hire a tempo and the expenses are shared by the women.

- 3.35 At Kumta and Ankola, the corporation has constructed a fish market which the women can use. However, in Kumta, no such facility is provided and women have to sit on the roadside to sell fish. After selling the fish, the women return home by boat or bus.

If the catch arrives late in the evening, then the women go to nearby markets, say 2 or 3 Kms within walking distance or may sell it in the village itself. The price offered in these markets will be much less than in the distant markets of Kumta or Ankola.

Sometimes, the women are not able to sell all the fish, especially when the catch arrives late. On such days, they are forced to bring it back home, dry it the next day and sell it later. There are no facilities for storing fish. The income she earns from selling this dried fish would be much less than what she would have earned from selling it as fresh fish.

- 3.36 Off Season: Since the boats land in the village itself or in the nearest landing centre, women do not have to go very far to buy fish. If members of a village own a purse-seiner and a trawler and land the boats in the same village, then their womenfolk sell the fish. However, if they land the boats in other villages, then the mixed fish is separated and sold in auctions. Where the women go to sell the fish is again determined by the time of landing.

It is possible that on a number of days, in the off season when the price of fish is high, women who have to buy fish from boat owners do not go to sell fish at all. They cannot afford to invest so much money when they are not sure of making good the amount. On such days, they prefer to stay back or take up some other activity.

3.37 Gillnet Catch: As earlier mentioned, Keni is one of the biggest landing centres for gillnetters and during the peak season it attracts a number of gillnetters. Gillnets, unlike purse-seiners, are owned by individuals and/or by two partners. The Karnataka Fish Marketing Federation has an office at Keni and arranges for marketing of all fish landed there, apart from providing diesel to boatowners. However, the Federation pays the boat owners only after it receives money from its clients and this generally takes at least one week. In order to meet the day to day expenses of food, diesel etc., the boat owners (and labourers who are entitled to take their nets and keep the share) keep a portion of the daily catch aside. This fish is taken by the women and generally sold in Ankola fish market. The quantity of fish taken by the women to sell in Ankola depends on the amount of money required by the household on a given day. It is also a fact that fish sold in the markets fetch a higher price than what is paid by the Federation. Fish caught by gillnets are expensive and also move very fast in the market.

The boats land in the morning between 8.30 and 10 AM. Women get together and leave for the market around 10 AM; they walk up to Ankola which is about 2 Kms. from Keni. In a matter of three hours they are able to sell about 10 Kgs of seer fish, pomphrets, shark, crabs or cat fish. When large quantities of fish have to be transported, auto-rickshaws are used.

Off Season: During the lean season, gillnetters land fish at Keni, Kumta and Tadri. It should also be mentioned that the Federation pulls out of Keni during the off season. Hence the supply of diesel at Keni is cut-off and boat owners have to procure diesel from Ankola. Since they do not always have enough money to purchase the required amount of diesel, they borrow or take an advance from the wholesalers at Ankola. Boat owners are then forced to sell their catch to these wholesalers at a price decided by the latter. Again, in order to meet other daily expenses, a part of the catch is retained for sale by the women. As regards the boats landing at Kumta and Tadri, if supplies are large, part is sold to wholesale merchants and the rest by the women at Kumta and Gokarna fish markets.

3.38 Traditional boats: These are operated throughout the year and the catch (which does not exceed 15Kgs per day) are sold by the women either in the same village or in other markets close to the village. Sometimes, wholesalers or commission agents come to the landing centres in the villages (especially Mirjan) and buy fish from the boat owners. If, however, the size of the catch is small, women go to the nearest fish market to buy fish from wholesalers. If large quantities of fish have to be transported, a group of women hire a metador to go to the market and the expenses are shared. While returning from the market, however, they walk or take a bus depending on the market they go to. If the women cannot sell all the fish on the same day, they bring it home, dry it and use it for their own consumption or for later sale.

3.39 Drying Fish: As shown in Table 3.13, some of the other activities that fisher women are engaged in are drying fish, net making/repairing and shell collection. About 47% of

the women were engaged in drying fish. Some women dry fish in front of their homes while some work for a wage in drying sheds. Women vendors who cannot sell fresh fish on a given day have no alternative other than bringing back the fish to be salted and dried around the house. Dried fish, when not consumed by the family is sold in the market on days when fresh fish are scarce and on during the off season.

There are some fisherwomen who work as labourers in drying sheds which are situated at the landing centres. Among the sample villages, very few apart from Tadri, had drying sheds. In Taāri, there were about 100 sheds at the landing centre, which were taken on rent or on lease by fishermen and/or commission agents. The owners buy trash and mixed fish from the boat owners, and this is dried and sold to other commission agents or wholesalers. Such fish is mainly used for chicken feed. Each shed employs about 8 people, five men and three women. They are required to work for about 10 hours a day, all the while in hot sun, turning and drying fish. They are paid a monthly wage of Rs.180/- excluding 2 cups of tea per day. The labourers are required to transport fish from the boat/landing centre to the shed, dry fish, put it into sacks, seal them and load them onto trucks. Apart from the salary, the labourers are not entitled to any other benefits. During the monsoons, the shed owner pays them an advance to meet their off season expenses. Therefore, the labourers are obligated to come back to the same employer.

3.40 Net making/repairing is taken up as a major activity by some women, mostly muslim women, and as a supplementary activity during the off season by many others. Since this is a home bound activity many muslim women

have started weaving nets, mainly trawler nets. They get the orders from boat owners, who give the required nylon thread (26 Kgs) and pay an advance of Rs.25/-. It usually takes three months for an individual to weave a trawl net. A net which is about 370 webs breadth - wise and 200 webs lengthwise, is woven and 10-12 such pieces are joined to make one trawl net. The wages paid for making one trawl net is Rs.400/- to Rs.450/-.

Net making is a very tedious, strenuous job involving about 8 hours of work everyday. During the monsoons, fisherwomen repair nets which their husbands take out for fishing during the season. This activity is generally not done for a wage.

3.41 Shell collection: Shell fish collection is one of the major occupations of fisherwomen residing near the Aganashini and Gangavali rivers. Women generally collect shells in the late afternoon, and evenings, when the tide is at its lowest. Sometimes, there is hardly any water and the women are able to pick up shells very easily. However, at other times, the water may be about waist high, they have to dip their head into the water to collect the shells. A group of women go in a boat, get off the boat to collect shells, and after the day's work get back by boat to the village. The women generally sell these shellfish either in the same village or in Kumta or Ankola markets. Occasionally when large quantities of shell fish are available, commission agents may take a truck to the village, collect the fish for sale in Sirsi.

If the women collect small quantities, they go by foot to nearby markets, but if they get large quantities,

they take a tempo and go to either of the two main markets at Kumta, and Ankola. If women go to fetch shells again in the evening, they are not able to go to distant markets. They either sell it locally or keep it until the next day. When they leave early, go to distant markets and sell them. Some women, who do not go to collect shells, buy from other women and go to Kumta or Ankola to sell them.

Each woman is able to collect about 8-10 Kolagas or a little more than a kilo. There are two varieties of shell fish - the white and the black. Normally, the meat is removed from the shell, placed in water and sold. While the superior variety of white shells fetches Rs.2/- per 100 (roughly 1 Kilo), the black variety fetches 50 - 75 paise per 100.

Unlike other fish, shell fish is not bought by everybody. Therefore, women going to sell shell fish spend atleast 5-6 hours to sell about 5 kilos.

Till about four or five years ago, this was a good source of income to fisherwomen. But since then, contractors supplying lime factories with the shells have found this a lucrative business and have taken to shell collection a large scale, thus depriving many fishing households their employment and income.

3.42 Agriculture: About 24% of the women in the sample were working as agricultural labourers. Amongst the fishing castes, only the ambigas and a few haricants were in this occupation. Agricultural employment is available between June and August when women do the sowing and transplanting. They get employment for about 2 months and are paid Rs.7/- per day.

3.43 Duration of work: Fishing is a seasonal activity which is taken up during the months of September - May. Within this period there are certain peak periods for certain types of crafts and certain varieties of fish. A normal fishing season lasts for 8-9 months. In the peak fishing months of the season, fishermen may go out to sea on all days, whereas in other months, fishing may be undertaken for 15-20 days only.

As mentioned earlier, most fisherwomen are engaged in selling, drying fish and other fish allied activities. Since their employment depends on the fishing activity of the men, women are also engaged for about 8-9 months in a year and about 15-20 days in a month.

TABLE NO. 3.14

DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED ADULTS BY
NUMBER OF MONTHS AND DAYS EMPLOYED

No. of months employed	Number of days employed							
	Upto 10 days		11 - 20 days		21 - 30 days		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Upto 3 months	01 (20)	5 (13)	2 (40)	15 (41)	2 (40)	16 (44)	5	36
3.1 - 6 months	-	7 (7)	35 (48)	46 (16)	38 (52)	37 (24)	73	90
6.1 - 9 months	-	6 (2)	180 (60)	176 (61)	119 (40)	70 (46)	299	252
9.1 - 12 months	-	-	87 (45)	50 (17)	104 (54)	29 (19)	191	79

Note: Figures in paranthesis indicate percentage to total.

3.44 Income Levels: It is difficult to estimate the income of the fishing population since this depends vitally on the fish catch. However, an attempt has been made to arrive at the approximate range of income for each of the activities (Table 3.15) based on information obtained

from respondents and also from observation.

These calculations are based on data provided by households and others on duration of work, the range of daily catch for different types of craft, types of fish caught and prices at auctions or local markets. Additional data likely to become available from the daily record of landings currently being done for the marketing survey could be of use later for referring these estimates. Income estimates given below are "net" of daily operational expenses involved as well as loan repayments by boat owners or partners; but not net of food expenses paid on boat by labourers on purse-seines or trawlers. Further, these income calculations do not include the value of fish retained by fishing households for own consumption, or of coconuts etc., retained by fishing and non-fishing households.

TABLE NO.3.15

RANGE OF INCOME (NET) FOR DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES

Activity	period	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
1. Chief partner on Purse-seine	per season	Rs.15,000 to Rs.25,000	
2. *(a) Labourer on purse-seine	per month	Rs. 450 to Rs. 500	
** (b) Labourer on purse-seine	per day	Rs. 50 to Rs. 100	
3. Individual Trawler owner	per season	Rs.12,000 to Rs.15,000	

Activity	period	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
4. Partner on Trawler	Per season	Rs. 8,000 to Rs.10,000	
5. * (a) Labourer on trawler	per month	Rs. 450 to Rs. 500	
** (b) Labourer on trawler	per day	Rs. 60 to Rs. 80	
6. Individual gillnet owner	per season	Rs.10,000 to Rs.15,000	
7. Partner on Gill net	per season	Rs. 7,000 to Rs. 10,000	
8. Traditional boat owner	per s season	Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 6,000	
9. Net making for one net	per season	Rs. 350 to Rs. 500	Rs.350/ to Rs.500 per net
10. Unloading fish	per day	Rs. 20 to Rs. 30	Rs. 10 to Rs. 15
11. Labourer in drying yard	per day	Rs. 15 + Tea	Rs. 6 + Tea
12. Shell fish collection	per day		Rs. 6 to Rs. 10
13. Fresh fish vending			
a) Own catch-25 kgs	per day		Rs. 40 to Rs. 80
b) Other boats-25 kgs	per day		Rs. 20 to Rs. 30
14. Dry fish vending			
a) Own catch-25 kgs	per day		Rs. 35 to Rs. 70
b) Other boats-25 kgs	per day		Rs. 20 to Rs. 30

Activity	period	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
15) Salted dry fish vending			
a) Own catch-25 kgs	per day		Rs. 45 to Rs. 90
b) Other boats-25 kgs	per day		Rs. 35 to Rs. 70
16) Agricultural labourers	per day		Rs. 6 to Rs. 8

NOTE: * Labourer earning monthly wage.

** Labourer earning a share of the total value of catch

3.45 Despite the long hours and strenuous work put in by the fisherwomen, nearly 85% of them earn only Rs.4000/- and below per annum (table no.3.16). The income of fishermen, however, is much higher than that of the women.

TABLE No.3.16

(See also Table A - 26)

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE POPULATION BY SEX
AND ANNUAL INCOME FROM FISHING

Annual Income (Rs)	Male	Female	Total
Upto 500	15	43	58
501 to 1000	17	40	57
1001 to 2000	72	80	152
2001 to 3000	106	102	208
3001 to 4000	81	93	174
4001 to 5000	95	40	135
5001 and above	151	27	178
Total	537	425	962

I 3.46 INDEBTEDNESS: A breakdown of households according to indebtedness, is given in Table 3.17. Over 50 per cent of the households did not repay any debt; of the remaining, the majority owed less than Rs.5,000. Fishing households having debts in excess of Rs.10,000 were mainly those owning mechanized boats. In order to obtain loans from commercial banks for the purchase of such boats, boat owners have to make an initial deposit of 25% of the total value of the boat. Quite frequently, they borrow this amount from commission agents or processing companies, against commitments of delivery of fish at a later date on agreed terms.

TABLE NO. 3.17
DISTRIBUTION OF FISHING AND NON-FISHING
HOUSEHOLDS BY INDEBTEDNESS

INDEBTEDNESS	FISHING	NON-FISHING	TOTAL
Not reported	19	02	21
No debt	125	58	183
Upto Rs.500/-	19	08	27
501 - 1000	14	01	15
1001 - 3000	23	15	38
3001 - 5000	21	01	22
5001 - 7000	02		02
7001 - 10000	11	-	11
10000 & above	47	02	49
Not applicable	08	01	09
Total	289	88	377

3.47 About 8 per cent of fishing households have debts between Rs.1,000 and Rs.3,000. These consist mainly of labourers on mechanized boats, who are indebted to the

boat owners from whom they borrow small amounts to meet their daily expenses, both on the boat during the fishing season and on land in the off-season. Here also, such indebtedness implies a commitment to work for the concerned boat owner at pre-determined wages.

- 3.48 In general, non-fishing households had borrowed less than the fishing households. This was partly because of the very limited investment that these households made on land improvement, acquisition of drought animals or farm implements. As already observed, agriculture is not practiced intensively in this area; nor were there any other occupations outside of fishing that called for substantial investment.
- 3.49 Even though some of the non-fishing households owned sizeable areas of land (5 to 10 acres), income from agriculture is limited in this area because only one crop of paddy and pulses is grown. These households supplement their income either through leasing their land out for prawn - culture in the slack season, or through partnership in a mechanised boat. Save for a few young men, male members of these households are not engaged in any fishing or fish-related activity. However, cultivation and leasing of land together yield enough income for them to avoid getting deeply into debt.
- 3.50 A few women in the project area have borrowed under the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). But this is not very considerable and makes only a marginal difference to household indebtedness. It was also reported that these women had found it difficult to repay the loans as the average fish catch has been diminishing over the years.

3.51 The main reason for fishing households being in debt even during a good season is that (a) the concept of saving is lacking among them and (b) a large portion of the men's income is spent on liquor. As will be discussed later, male alcoholism is a major problem in fishing households, both in this area and elsewhere in Karnataka. Their attitude is to spend money when they have enough and be content with even one meal a day when there is not enough.

3.52 CONSUMPTION OF FISH BY HOUSEHOLDS IN THE PROJECT AREA:

Except brahmins who are not fish eaters all other castes consume almost any fish that is available. Muslims, however, prefer quality fish like seer and pomphret. Fishing and non-fishing households residing in villages have easy access to fish. Usually fresh fish, kept aside by the women before sale, or brought by other family members from the river using small nets or by the fishermen from the daily catch, is consumed by the family. Non-fishing castes, also get their daily requirement of fish from the local fish vendors - either for money (at a low price) or in exchange for other goods. Some non-fishing households also use small nets to catch fish from the river. When fresh fish is not available, dried fish is consumed.

3.53 Some households in the villages responded that fish consumption would not vary with an increase in fish availability. A few mentioned that they would sell all the fish caught or purchased if a good price was offered, without keeping anything aside for household consumption. Conversely, when the quantity of fish caught or purchased for sale is very low, then, household consumption would increase as it would not be worthwhile to carry a small headload for sale. The

point to be noted is the consumption of fish by both fishing and non-fishing households in the villages is usually not affected by a change in the availability and consequently the price of fish. These variations would only affect those residing in towns and cities.

- 3.54 HOUSING CONDITION: Fisherfolk who live close to the seashore or river for reasons of convenience tend to have dwellings which are less well-built, are always at disadvantage in having a good house than those of non-fishing households. It is common to find fishing households belonging to a particular community in groups. Majority of fishing households are kutcha constructions with thatched or tiled roof and walls constructed with locally available bricks with mud. Mudflooring is more common than cement flooring. In villages like Aganashini, Mirjan, Betkuli, Gangavali, Hichkad etc; fishing households living close to river shore were afraid of flooding in the monsoon season, which sometimes compelled them to shift to a safer place temporarily.
- 3.55 The janatha housing scheme has benefitted mainly those who are influential or well related in the majority of the villages. Most of the poor households felt that the amount given for construction under the scheme was not sufficient, as there was no money left for wooden reapers, doors or windows. There were also instances of misuse of funds sanctioned for janatha housing by some fishermen, thus depriving the needy ones.
- 3.56 The non-fishing households engaged mainly in agriculture activities had better houses with pucca tiled roof with cement floor and walls with bricks. These households were adjacent to their land or much inside the village, and generally unaffected by floods.

- 3.57 Bathroom and Toilet: For the majority of fishing households a temporary thatched area in the backyard serves as a bathroom, and most of the fishing households had not constructed toilets as they did not find the necessity for it. Fishing households who are exposed to the threat of floods during monsoon season, could not afford to construct toilet as they were not sure of retaining it when they moved to safer places.
- 3.58 Drinking water: Most of the households surveyed complained that no proper facilities for drinking water were available to them during summer or rainy season. Water in wells existing near their houses was salty and not fit for use, except for washing purposes. To avoid the problem of saline water, borewells had to be dug quite far from fishing households and it was not uncommon for fisherwomen and their children working to spend considerable time in fetching drinking water.
- 3.59 Electricity: Even though the majority of the villages had electricity it was uncommon to find electricity in most of the fishing households. The common reasons given for this was that they were unable to pay the deposit for getting power or that they could not afford the monthly recurring expenditure. Many fishermen felt the programme of Bhagyajyothi single-lamp scheme should be introduced by the Government.
- 3.60 CHILD CARE CENTRES: Both Kumta and Ankola taluks are covered by the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) and almost all the villages have anganwadis. Each centre has enrolled 60 to 80 children in the 3-6 age group, from both fishing and non-fishing households. The anganwadis are doing a fairly good job and are able to instil a sense of hygiene among the mothers. When questioned women from both fishing and non-fishing households responded that they have

benefitted from the anganwadi centres as the children are looked after when they go out for work and are provided immunisation.

- 3.61 However, there were also complaints that food is not provided to children daily, and about long absence of anganwadi workers as well as discrimination against lower caste children. Food provided in these anganwadi centres consisted mainly of beaten rice, rice, ground nuts, pulses and other preparations of rice. Energy food which was supposed to be administered at the anganwadi centres to severely malmourished children are not given at all. Consequently, malmourished children do not receive the additional nutrition that they require.
- 3.62 Availability of the services of lady health visitor (LHV) and auxiliary nurse midwife (ANM) was reported to be regular. A majority of fisherwomen felt that LHV/ANM should be provided with more medicines for treatment of minor sickness, so that they need not have to spend money on transportation and consultation charges.
- 3.63 CHILDREN'S EDUCATION: In general fishing households had a very low literacy rate and parents did not think that giving more education to children means better employment opportunities. Very few villages had schools upto 7th standard and most of these schools had a single teacher looking after all the classes. In some villages children had to walk 2 to 3 kms to attend school and parents are not ready to incur the extra expenditure on transport and food. Most of the boys and girls drop out of school to help their parents in fishing activities and also to earn extra income for the family. Boys who are trained in skills of fishing go with their fathers for fishing on river and sometimes on their own. Girls accompany their mothers for marketing

of fish, shell fish collection, firewood collection or look after younger children at home when parents go out for work. Children have to go to taluk headquarters to study for high school and college, and this also comes in the way of their continuing for higher studies.

3.64 HEALTH: The general health standard of fishing households is good, perhaps for the reason that they are able to consume fish for both meals. There does not seem to be any serious ailment among the fishing community connected fishing and allied activities. In most of the villages it was reported that water borne diseases like cholera are prevalent during the monsoon season.

3.65 The PHU/PHCs are situated far away from most of these villages and the fisherwomen felt that service in government hospitals is not good. They complain that doctors are not available so that repeat visits became necessary, and that doctors at these hospitals take money instead giving free medicines. These hospitals are situated quite far from their villages and during a good fishing season they are unable to find the time to travel long distances for this purpose.

3.66 Many felt that instead of spending on transport for going to the government hospital they can as well spend the same amount by going to a private clinic situated closer to their homes.

3.67 Family Planning: It was common to find fisherwomen who had undergone tubectomy after the birth of 5 to 6 children. Fisherwomen felt that it was good to have many children as their work benefits from help from children. The concept of a small family is not yet widely accepted eventhough they are aware of the benefits of it. It was also common, to find women delivering at home as it is their traditional practice. Aged local mid wives within

or outside the village deliver the child and also look after the pregnant women well ; hence they felt that it is easy to deliver at home than go to the hospital, which is expensive.

3.68 ALCOHOLISM: It was common to find "arrack" shop inside or outside the village within 1 or 2 kms distance. Goa fenny smuggled into this coastal area is the most sought after liquor among fishermen.

3.69 Fishermen did not hesitate to say that they drink liquor daily but the amount they spend on liquor is not revealed. They argue that fishing is a tiresome and strenuous work and they have to drink liquor to overcome the physical strain. This may be true to some extent but the amount they spend on liquor was always far in excess than required, thus depriving their family of good food and other facilities.

3.70 It was revealed by an arrack shop owner that ambigas and harikants drink more of country liquor, konkan karve and gabit more of goa fenny and other liquor. The owner said that during good fishing season he sells more liquor and gets maximum commission.

3.71 Ambigas who go fishing on the river in their traditional boats also drink when they go out for work. If they get a good fish catch, then they come back and drink more liquor. Many fishermen said that they consume more fenny since it is cheaper than local liquor which costs Rs.3.40 per 100 mls.

3.72 AWARENESS OF THE PROJECT: Questions relating to the IDFP were addressed to male and female members of both the fishing and non-fishing households. Information sought from the respondents related to their awareness of the project and of the likely benefits that will accrue to them.

TABLE NO. 3.18

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN FISHING AND NON-FISHING
HOUSEHOLDS ABOUT AWARENESS OF INDO-DANISH FISHERIES
PROJECT

	SEX	ARE YOU AWARE OF I.D.F.P		
		Yes	No	Total
Fishing Households	M	144 (49.82)	145 (50.18)	289
	F	63 (21.80)	226 (78.20)	289
Non-fishing Households	M	22 (25.0)	66 (75.0)	88
	F	9 (10.22)	79 (89.78)	88

NOTE: Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

3.73 As will be seen from Table 3.18 that awareness about the project is naturally greater among the fishing households and within households, among males more than the females. Even so, only 50% of the men and 22% of the women in the fishing households in the project area knew anything about the project. The level of awareness was greater among men for the reason that they visit the landing centre at Tadri more often than the women. Likewise women residing in Tadri, Moodangi, Aganashini and other villages and hamlets around Tadri knew about the project because they visit the Tadri landing centre either to purchase fish or to work as labourers. Since the construction of the harbour is in progress and the offices of the project is situated in Tadri, those coming to Tadri became aware of the IDFP, because it was visible. In many households male members of the family who were aware of the project

did not think it necessary to inform the women in the house about the project, since they thought it would not help them in any way.

3.74 In most of the villages, it was therefore necessary for the ISST team during its group discussions to explain the project in detail to the fishing community. This has doubtless enlarged the extent of popular knowledge of the project in the area!

3.75 However, awareness of the project, did not necessarily mean a detailed knowledge of the entire scheme (Table 3.19). Many of these respondents were aware of the construction of the harbour ; and also that boats would be distributed. But the requirement that all applications for boats had to be submitted to the local co-operative society was not generally known. Nor was it fully appreciated that the project aimed at introducing improved methods of fishing. Very few people knew about the resettlement programme or for whom it was intended. It was very difficult to find, in the sample villages fishermen or women who were knowledgeable about the entire project.

TABLE NO. 3.19

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN FISHING AND NON-FISHING HOUSEHOLDS ABOUT WHAT THEY KNOW OF THE OF THE INDO-DANISH FISHERIES PROJECT.

	SEX	WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE IDFP					ALL
		Distribution of boats	Construction of harbour at Tadri	Resettlement	Farming co-operatives	Improved methods of fishing	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Fishing Households	M	82	44	53	4	22	3
	F	34	20	30	1	11	6
Non-Fishing households	M	3	6	1	1	1	1
	F	1	5	2	-	1	-

3.76 An analysis of Table 3.20 given below indicates that among those who were aware of the project, about 25% come to know about it through the local co-operative society. However, considering that the societies were entrusted with the responsibility of creating awareness among the people, this is very disappointing. It was found that they had made no special effort in this regard but only mentioned it to members who were interested enough to check with the officials. About 17% of the households reported that came to know about the project through others that is through fellow fishermen who went to Tadri to purchase fish.

TABLE NO. 3.20

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN FISHING AND NON-FISHING HOUSEHOLDS BY SOURCE OF INFORMATION

	SEX	SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT IDFP						TOTAL
		Co-op. Society	Relatives	Self	Local people	Project officials	Not-Applicable	
Fishing Households	M	71 (24.56)	5 (1.73)	7 (2.42)	49 (16.95)	8 (2.76)	149 (51.55)	289
	F	32 (11.07)	2	2	24 (8.30)	6 (2.07)	223 (77.16)	289
Non-fishing Households	M	5 (5.68)	1	2	13 (14.77)	-	67 (76.13)	88
	F	2	2	2 (2.27)	4 (4.54)	4	77 (87.50)	88

NOTE: Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

3.77 Astonishingly either the project authorities have made no special effort in this regard or, if they have, such effort has been singularly ineffective. Both

during the household survey and during group discussions, it was mentioned that the project authorities had not held any meetings nor made any other arrangements to spread information about the objectives of the IDFP.

3.78 The resettlement programme was given some special attention in the interviews. Even during group discussions it was found that this was delicate issue and had to be handled carefully. It will be seen from Table 3.21 that about 80% of the fishing households hesitated to leave their village and be resettled in Tadri.

TABLE NO. 3.21
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN FISHING AND NON-FISHING HOUSEHOLDS WITH REGARD TO 'THEIR WILLINGNESS TO MOVE TO TADRI'

	SEX	Are you willing to move to Tadri for resettlement		
		YES	NO	TOTAL
Fishing households	M	58 (20.0)	231 (80)	289
	F	55 (19.0)	234 (81)	289
Non-fishing households	M	8 (9.1)	80 (90.9)	88
	F	7 (8.0)	81 (92.0)	88

NOTE: Figures in brackets indicate proportion to total.

3.79 Fishing households are hesitant to move to Tadri for the following reasons:

- (a) most of them own a house and would not like to give it up.

- (b) for those residing near the Aganashini or Gangavali rivers, employment is assured throughout the year and they are not sure whether similar facilities will be available at Tadri.
- (c) since most of them have been residing in these villages for a number of years, they have established good rapport with their neighbours and friends, from whom they can seek help during times of crises.
- (d) women residing in other villages feel Tadri is not safe for women since fishermen and other businessmen from other districts also come to Tadri
- (e) they feel that there will be clashes between the old and the new residents in Tadri.

3.80 FISHERMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES: In spite of the fact that there are ten fishermen's co-operative societies in the project area, only about 57% of the sample fishing households were members of these societies. Apart from providing loans for purchasing boats and nets, they offer no other facilities to the fishing households. Therefore, many of them do not find the need to become members of these societies. Some of the very poor fishing households are not even aware of their existence. (Tables derived from primary data on these issues are given in Appendix 4 of volume 2.)

3.81 Issues relating to women's employment and intra household relationships will become more clear from the case studies which are presented in the following chapter. Observations from an analysis of primary data and the case studies have been summarised in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER IV
CASE STUDIES

- 4.1 As part of the socio-economic study, the ISST programme envisaged a number of indepth studies of households, especially of the women members, belonging to different categories, and on issues that had either been thrown up by the field enquiry or constituted a part of the objectives of IDFP. Since different categories of the fishing population are covered, these studies help a better understanding of the complex of relationships between castes and communities ; owners, labourers, middlemen and vendors ; men and women, and young and old ; officials and non-officials and so on. They are also useful in estimating the annual income of households, and of men and women separately, from different occupations or in different circumstances. Altogether, 14 case studies of fishermen and women spread over some of the sample villages were prepared, and included some households which were part of the sample canvassed with the general questionnaire.
- 4.2 The cases have been arranged in the following order:
- (i) Chief partner of purse-siene and individual owners of trawlers, gillnets and traditional boats ;
 - (ii) Partners of purse-sienes and gillnets ;
 - (iii) Labourers on trawlers ;
 - (iv) Women engaged in unloading, drying fish, net making and a housewife from a non-fishing household.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.1

RUKMINI - WIFE OF A PURSE-SEINE CHIEF PARTNER

1. Village	:	Belambar
2. Name	:	Rukmini
3. Age	:	28 years
4. Caste	:	Konkan Karve
5. Education	:	Primary
6. Age at marriage	:	16 years
7. No. of pregnancies	:	4
8. No. of living children	:	4
9. Family Planning status	:	Not sterilized
10. Size of household	:	12
11. Annual income of the household (estimated)	:	Rs.25,300/-
12. Annual Expenditure of the household (reported)	:	Rs.26,200/-

Tilap Mukund, Rukmini's husband, was born and brought up in Belambar, a village in Ankola Taluk. He lives in a joint family. Tilap, his wife Rukmini and his four children, Tilap's parents and his brother Narayana, wife Sumithra and his two children - all live together. Tilap's parents are aged and are not engaged in any gainful activity.

Tilap, aged 35 years, is the head of the household. He is the oldest of the three children. He has a brother, Narayana, and two sisters, all of whom are married. Tilap got married at the age of 23. He has three sons and one daughter. His wife Rukmini aged 28 years, hails from Ankola. All his children go to school. His eldest son Maruthi (10 years) is studying in class 5, Vijay aged 8 years is in class 3 and his daughter Krishna Bai, aged 6, is attending Balawadi classes. The youngest boy Ramdas, aged 4 years, stays at home with his grandmother.

Tilap Mukund is the chief partner of a purse-seine boat. He is called as chief partner because he has paid a major share of the deposit which the group has to pay before a loan is sanctioned. Apart from Tilap, there are 20 other partners who jointly own the purse-seine boat. While Tilap has paid Rs.10,000/- towards the deposit, the others have paid only Rs.1,000/- each. Tilap also takes the responsibility of maintaining the boat, of meeting diesel, food and other costs.

Housing: The family lives in a house owned by Tilap. The house is close to the main road of the village and has 4 guntas of land in the front where eight coconut trees are grown. It has three rooms and a big hall with cement plastered walls, tiled roof and a red-oxide flooring. The house is well ventilated, electrified, and has an open well. There is no toilet in the house, but has a place behind the house to bathe and wash clothes. Pictures of Lord Maruthi and Goddess Kathyayani are put up on the walls. In front of the house there is a Kathyayani temple where they workship everyday.

They also own a radio which Tilap bought about 8 years ago. They have one purse-seine net, one gill net and 10 other small nets. They also own a canoe which is used in rainy season to catch fish for household consumption. They use stainless steel and aluminium vessels. Since they are fairly well off, all the members of the household wear good, clean clothes. The men wear cotton dhotis and terricot shirts and women wear cotton sarees.

Employment: Tilap, as mentioned earlier, is the chief partner of a purse-seine boat. Apart from him, there are 20 others who jointly own the boat. All these persons belong to the same caste, even though they are from different villages. This boat was bought three years ago. Tilap and others took a loan of Rs.4.20 lakhs from the

Syndicate Bank, Karwar, to purchase this boat. Tilap and his partners are all members of fishermen's co-operative society at Karwar and the loan was sanctioned to them because they were members of the society and so it was the responsibility of the society to recover the loan amount.

Tilap, as a chief partner, has paid Rs.10,000/- towards the deposit, while the others have paid Rs.1,000/- each. The peak fishing season for a purse-seine boat is between August and December. Tilap and his workers set out for fishing at 5 AM. The number of workers on a purse-seine boat ranges between 20 and 25. Amongst them is the Captain, the cook and a fish finding expert. The fish finder gets on top of the mast to spot fish and whenever he spots fish, he calls out and the net is cast by about 5 or 6 persons. The net is about 1,000 metres long and so to haul the fish, all 25 persons are required. The whole operation, i.e. casting the net to hauling it, takes approximately 45 minutes. Until the net is hauled again, the fishermen are free. During this time, they separate the fish according to species. The fish, however, is not put in ice, nor treated in any way.

Soon after the first haul of fish, a few crabs are cooked and served to all the members. Around 12.30 PM or 1 PM, lunch consisting of rice and fish curry is served. At about 2.30 PM a cup of tea is served.

The crew return by about 4 PM. On a 'good' day, a purse-seine may have a catch of 45000 pices of mackeral and on a lean day, less then 5000 pices of mackeral. They usually unload fish at Karwar. Once the boat lands, the fish is taken to the co-operative society weighing centre, and is then sold to commission agents representing either whole-sale merchants or processing companies. The society takes a commission of 4% towards its services. The value of the

day's catch is shared by all the members in the ratio 50:30:20 - i.e., 50% of the share goes to the chief partner because

- (a) he bears diesel, food and maintenance expenses;
- (b) he has invested more than the others.

30% of the share is divided amongst the other partners, and 20% goes to the co-operative society which in turn pays this amount to the commercial bank towards repayment of the loan.

Tilap mentioned that about Rs.500/- worth of diesel was required everyday and Rs.50/- towards food expenses. He is able to earn on an average a profit of Rs.200/- every day (during the fishing season) and his workers Rs.100/-. The group has repaid Rs.2 lakhs of the loan amount and has yet to pay Rs.3 lakhs (which includes the interest amount).

Tilap's brother Narayan, is one of the partners of the purse-seine boat and goes fishing along with Tilap.

During the lean season for purse-seine (i.e. March to May) Narayana goes fishing on a rented gillnet boat along with three others from the same village. They pay a rent of Rs.50/- per day. Narayans earns about Rs.100/- per day. The boat is landed at Belambar and a part of the catch is sold by their wives at Ankola market. The average catch per boat per day during this season would be about 150 Kgs.

Tilap and Narayana own a canoe, as mentioned earlier. This is used during the rainy season for fishing and fish thus caught is used for consumption by the family.

Apart from being a member of the fishermen's co-operative society at Karwar, he is a member of the co-operative societies at Tadri and Ankola.

Women's employment: Earlier, Tilap's mother used to sell fish, but now she is old and cannot walk or carry heavy basket loads of fish. Tilap's wife Rukmini, and Narayan's wife Sumitra are the two women in the family who are engaged in fish vending. There are only 2 purse-seines in Belambar and both of them land at Karwar, because there are no facilities to land at Belambar. Therefore, there is no fish for the women to sell. They go to Karwar by bus around 2 PM, buy fish either in auctions from the boat owners or take fish brought by their husbands; take it in a tempo to Ankola by paying a fare of Rs.5/-, sell their fish at the fish market in Ankola (where they have to pay 25 paise as the corporation fee) and then walk back home. The women take a short route to Belambar from Ankola (approximately 3 Kms) and reach home by 7 PM.

During the lean season, the local fishermen hire about 8-10 gillnets from Belekeri and land the fish at Belambar. On such days Rukmini and Sumitra leave home by 8 AM, walk upto Ankola, sell the fish (brought by their husbands) and return home by 12 noon. On the way back, they buy provisions for the house depending on the amount of money they have. Rukmini and Sumitra are able to earn Rs.50/- to Rs.60/- (net) each per day if fish is bought from other boat owners; if they go to sell fish brought by their husbands, then, they earn about Rs.100/- to 150/-each per day. Every day before setting out, they keep a portion of fish for household consumption

Economics of the purse-seine boat operated by Tilap Mukund

INCOME

1. Number of days of fishing : 20 days
2. Number of months of fishing : 7 months
3. Average annual income from fishing : 1,50,000/-

Expenditure

1. Diesel expenses for 7 months of fishing	:	92,000/-
2. Maintenance of boat per fishing season (painting of boat, repair of engine, new nets, etc)	: X	35,000/- X
3. Food for crew	:	9,000/-

		1,36,000/-
		=====

Net income .. Rs.14,000/-

Economics of the Gill-net boat operated by Tilap MukundINCOME

1. Number of days of fishing	:	20 days
2. Number of months of fishing	:	3 months
3. Average catch per day (seer fish, crabs, pompret, etc)	:	35 Kgs
4. Average price per Kg	:	Rs.4/-
5. average income for 3 months	:	Rs.8400/-

Expenditure

1. Rent for gillnet boat at Rs.25/- per day for 3 months of fishing	:	Rs.1,500/-
2. Diesel & maintenance expenses	:	Rs.2,400/-

		Rs.3,900/-
		=====

Net income .. Rs.6,300/-

Annual income (estimated) of the household:

Income from purse-seine(net)	..	14,000
Income from Gillnet (net)	..	6,300
Income from fish vending	..	5,000

	..	25,300
		=====

The total annual income of the household amounts to Rs.25,300/-.

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE (REPORTED) OF THE HOUSEHOLD: Expenses on daily food is however met partly by the women and partly by men. About 3 Kgs of rice, 1/2 Kgs of rava soji, one rupee worth of milk, one rupee worth of sugar, Rs.3 for beedi, spices, coconut etc., are required every day. Fish is

consumed on all days except Saturdays. The fish is brought by the men from their daily catch or the women keep aside a portion of fish before they leave for selling fish. Altogether about Rs.30/- is required everyday for food, and this would amount to Rs.11,000/- per annum.

Apart from these, there are other expenses - house repair-Rs.1500/-, clothing-Rs.3000/-. medicines-Rs.1,000/-, transport-Rs.500/-. Tilap and Narayana normally consume Goa Feny and other imported liquor which is rather expensive. Since this is not available locally, it has to be smuggled into the village and so pay a bribe to the customs officials to let them in free. The bribe they pay amount to Rs.1200/- per annum and between Tilap and Narayana, about Rs.8000/- is spent on liquor. Therefore, the annual expenditure of the household amounts to Rs.26,200/-.

INDEBTEDNESS: At present the household has no debts. But in 1983 Tilap had borrowed Rs.10,000/- from his friend to repair a purse-seine net which was torn by Jelly fish. He has already repaid it.

SAVINGS: Tilap has a savings of Rs.20,000/-. He would like to save more to meet his children's education and marriage expenses.

HEALTH: Only for minor problems they go to the PHC or Govt. hospital at Kumta or Ankola. They do not have faith in the Government doctors - they feel government doctors are very careless and do not give good medicines. For all other sickness, they consult a private doctor/hospital. Rukmini's children were born in a private hospital - she was also sterilised in a private hospital at Ankola.

GENERAL AWARENESS: All the adults in the household are politically aware. All of them cast their votes during the recent elections. The women had no say in the matter - they were advised by their husbands as to whom they should be voting for.

Tilap was aware of most government schemes, but had not availed of any benefits. Tilap and his friends tried to start a fishermen's co-operative society at Belambar, but failed because of difference of opinion amongst the fishermen. He felt that, as far as possible, while distributing boats which needed few partners, e.g. gill net boat, persons, belonging to the same family should be chosen. In his opinion, this would reduce misunderstanding and fights that are so common amongst fishermen and would also ensure prompt repayment of loans. He also expressed that gillnets should be given to two persons, (and not to four as at present) preferably relatives.

IDFP: Tilap and Narayana are aware of the project, but Rukmini and Sumitra are not aware of the project at all. The men knew that a harbour was being constructed at Tadri, gillnetters would be distributed and also about the resettlement programme. The women were not willing to move to Tadri, but the men felt that if good houses and all other facilities like drinking water, school etc., were provided, then they would move to Tadri.

Tilap felt that introducing more gillnet boats would not help the fishermen since there were enough mechanised boats already. Also, fish catch was decreasing. He felt that the old rempani system which was more labour intensive, involved less costs, and yielded more profits, must be encouraged.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD : Tilap is not eligible for a gillnet boat under the IDFP. He is the chief partner of a purse-siene which lands at Karwar due to lack of landing facilities at Belambar. Even after the construction of the harbour at Tadri, his boat will continue to land at Karwar since Belambar is closer to Karwar than to Tadri. Rukmini therefore, will continue to have the same problem of having to go to Karwar to purchase fish.

The nutritional status of the household is not likely to be affected. It may be recalled that the women keep a portion of the catch behind everyday for consumption by the family. Even during the monsoons, the men go fishing on the traditional boat and use the fish for household consumption.

Therefore, the IDFP is not likely to affect the household in any manner.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.2

SULOCHANA - HOUSEWIFE AND WIFE OF A
TRAWLER OWNER

1. Village	:	Belekeri
2. Name	:	Sulochana
3. Age	:	24
4. Caste	:	Konkan Karve
5. Education	:	7th std.
6. Age at marriage	:	19
7. No. of pregnancies	:	2
8. No. of living children	:	2
9. Family Planning Status	:	Not sterilised
10. Size of the household	:	4
11. Annual income of the household (estimated)	:	Rs.14,400/-
12. Annual Expenditure of the Household (reported)	:	Rs.10,360/-

Sulochana, though the wife of a trawler owner, is not engaged in any gainful work. She hails from Karwar. She lost her parents when she was very young and was brought up by her uncle and aunt in Belekeri village. As they had no children, Sulochana was very well looked after by them.

Narayana's parents and his ancestors are from Belekeri village. Narayana is the eldest son. He has 2 younger brothers and one sister who is married and living in Belekeri. His sister's husband is a lorry driver and earning Rs.600/- per month. His 2 younger brothers work with him and look after the trawler owned by him and his mother-in-law. Sulochana lives with her husband and children in a pucca house. They have rented this house and pay a rent of Rs.30/- per month. There is one room and a kitchen. They are fairly well off. They have a

table fan, a radio, a wall clock, mirror, cot etc. The house is electrified. Water had to be fetched from a well next door. Firewood was bought locally.

Sulochana's Marriage: Sulochana got married to Narayana when she was 19 years. No dowry was paid. The practice does not exist among the Konkani Karves. Now-a-days one gold ring and chain is given to the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Usually the marriage is a one day function at home or temple. All relatives and friends attend the marriage, sweets are prepared for lunch. The expenditure is shared equally by both sides. Inter caste marriages are very few and usually not encouraged by the community.

Sulochana's Children: Sulochana gave birth to 2 children at home, one daughter Savitha and one son Raghavendra aged 7 and 5 years. Savitha is studying in 1st standard and Raghavendra is too young and stays at home. The experienced midwives of the village came to deliver the baby as she delivered before she could be taken to a hospital. Now she is pregnant again. If there is a need, then she goes to a private doctor at Ankola as she feels that the doctors in government hospital do not take proper care. Since they have to pay the government doctor also, they feel they might as well go to a private doctor where good treatment is ensured.

Sulochana's work: Sulochana is not actively engaged in any fish related activity as she is pregnant. Occasionally, she is engaged in salting and drying fish at the landing centre with her aunt. For the past 3 years she is confined to only household work and caring children. Sometimes she goes out to bring provisions etc.,

Narayana's Work: Narayana purchased a second hand trawler boat 2 years ago. Earlier to this, for 8 years, he worked as a pygmy collector for Indian Overseas Bank. Narayana purchased the trawler boat paying the previous owner Rs.95,000/-. For the past 2 years, during the peak seasons i.e. September, October and November the catch was not satisfactory. Hence he has undergone considerable loss.

(a) Labourers: The labourers of his boat are different from those working for the previous owner. There are now 5 labourers from Karwar and one from Belekeri. Usually only friends or relatives are chosen as labourers so that they will have an interest to earn profits. Every year during monsoon season the labourers are paid an advance of Rs.300/- to meet their off-season expenses and they are obliged to come and work for the same owner. This is how usually all the trawler boats operate.

(b) Landing and Sale of Prawns: Depending on the day's catch, the trawler is landed either at Karwar, Tadri, Belekeri or Keni and the trucks of freezing companies (with ice) goes to all these landing centres during the fishing season. Usually the labourers inform Narayana which direction they are going out for fishing on the previous day itself and so at the time of landing, Narayana goes to the landing centre. His brother who works on the same trawler keeps a check on the labourers' activities so that no fraud takes place. Narayana mentioned that generally the labourers do not cheat because they are known to each other, but partnerships may break due to rivalries or excess drinking among labourers.

(c) Maintenance of boat, labourers: The labourers' earnings depends on the day's catch. Each labourer gets not less than Rs.400/- per month excluding 2 tiffin, one meal, 2 tea and Rs.2/- bonus daily. 50% of the earning is spent on diesel and maintenance, 20% for meals etc., remaining 30% is divided equally between owner and labourers

i.e. owner gets 15% and labourers get 15%. If Narayana feels that he has got a good profit then he pays each of his labourers Rs.300/- as bonus at the end of the fishing season.

The previous owner of Narayana's trawler had taken an advance of Rs.11,000/- from Mr. P.M.Tandel of Binaga Ice Factory, Karwar. Since this amount has not been paid. Narayana is obliged to sell his catch to Binaga Ice Factory.

Narayana mentioned that during the last fishing season, he made a profit of Rs.15,000/- and his average income per day during that season was Rs.600/-. Following is the income and expenditure pattern of Narayana's trawler, as reported by him.

Income:

No. of months of fishing in a year	:	8 months
No. of days of fishing in a month	:	20 days
Average income per day	:	Rs.600/-
Average income for one month	:	Rs.12,000/-
Average income for 8 months	:	Rs.96,000/-

Expenditure:

1.	a) 40 litres of diesel per fishing day at Rs.4/- per litre	:	Rs.160/- per day
	b) -do- per month	:	Rs.3,200/-
	c) -do- for 8 months	:	Rs.25,600/-
2.	To paint the outside of the boat 2 times in a year	:	Rs.1,600/-
3.	Cashewnut oil/fish oil painting to wooden reapers of inside of the boat once a year	:	Rs.1,000/-
4.	Shalimar paint for the outside of the boat once a year	:	Rs.1,000/-

5.	Meals, 2 tiffins, 2 tea per fishing day - for 20 days in a month/ 8 months at Rs.20/- per day.	: Rs. 32,000/-
6.	Bonus at the rate of Rs.2/- per day to each labourer - 5 labourers - 160 days	: Rs. 1,600/-
	Total	<u>Rs. 34,000/-</u>
	Balance	Rs. 62,000/-

7. Out of Rs.62,000/-, Narayana gets 50% and the remaining 50% is shared equally by five labourers.

a) Narayana gets for 8 months of fishing : Rs. 31,000/-

b) Each labourer for 8 months work: Rs. 6,200/-

8. Narayana repays Rs.1,500/- per month to the bank towards loan - 8 months : 12,000/-

9. Narayana's Income-net : 14,400/-

Mother-In-law's Trawler Boat: Narayana's mother-in-law also owns a trawler boat but Narayana is incharge of it and he looks after it as his own. Narayana mentioned that his mother-in-law also has taken an advance of Rs.15,000/- from Mr. P.M.Tandel, of Binaga Ice Factory, Karwar. Therefore, the prawns are given to the company. This year his mother-in-law's boat had made a of profit of Rs.15,000/-. His two younger brothers are working on his mother-in-law's boat and they also get equal share as other labourers. Narayana mentioned his mother-in-law's boat also had 5 labourers, 2 were from Karwar and 3 from Belekери, all belonging to Konkan Karve community. When his mother-in-law's boat was seized by the Bank for not having repaid the loan, he had to take a personal loan from his friends upto Rs.15,000/- to pay the bank.

The Economics of Narayana's mother-in-law's trawler boat is the same as Narayana's trawler. Narayana does not get any share from the profit of mother-in-law's boat.

Narayana informed that each trawler net costs Rs.1,500/-, usually the labourers of the trawler at the end of season make 2 new nets for the owner, for which they are paid reasonable amount.

Trash fish is auctioned at Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- per basket (weighing 15 to 20 kg) to dry fish agents/or merchants who go to landing centres. Small quantities of edible fish is also auctioned.

Annual Income and Expenditure of the Household: Narayana, the trawler owner is the only earning member of the family. The household income is from fishing on trawler boat. Thus Narayana's annual income during a fishing season is Rs.14,400/-.

The household spends Rs.500/- per month on provisions and vegetables. The household annual expenditure can be classified as follows:-

1. Food (rice, ragi, pulges, oil vegetables, etc.)	Rs. 6,000-00
2. Clothing	Rs. 1,500-00
3. Rent	Rs. 360-00
4. Transport	Rs. 750-00
5. Medical	Rs. 1,000-00
6. Education	Rs. 250-00
7. Liquor	Rs. 500-00
	<hr/>
	Rs.10,360-00
	<hr/>

Alcoholism: There is an arrack shop in Belekeri, and usually Goa Fenny and other foreign liquor is sold here. Many fishermen drink liquor in Belekeri and that is why the families are poor said Narayana. Narayana takes liquor occasionally when all the friends meet, but he is not in the habit of drinking regularly.

Food Habits and Festivals: Except on Mondays and Thursdays which are considered as religious days, they

eat fish on all other days. Narayana gets a small quantity of fish from his boat everyday. They consume rice/ragi/wheat mainly. In a month Rs.500/- is spent on provisions and vegetables by the family.

Shankranthi, Suggi, Maruthi Jathra, Ugadi and Depavali are some of the festivals celebrated by the family. Kathyayani Devi at Aversa village is the family Goddess. All the family members visit the temple during festival days and offer prayers and pooja.

Children's future : Narayana wants to educate his children as much as possible and he is not interested in children continuing in the fishing occupation. The labourers leave without informing the owner, if another trawler owner has assured them more money or advance. If there is good catch for one day, there is no catch for another 2 days. Since every year number of mechanised boats are increasing, catch per boat may decrease. Hence, he would like to see that his children are not put into all this trouble.

Family Planning and Health: Regarding sterilisation Narayana would like to have a small family as he knows that more children means less facilities. But he is not sure if his wife should get sterilised since she may end up with complications due to over work or post-operation problems. Sulochana has no say in the matter.

The family visits a private doctor at Keni or Ankola and take medicines for any sickness. She feels services at the government hospital are not good.

General: Sulochana keeps good relationship with her neighbours. Majority of the neighbours belong to the same caste and some of them are Narayana's relatives. Since he is more experienced and has travelled widely than Sulochana, Narayana takes all decisions on important matters.

Discussing about the proposed naval base project, he informed he was not sure as to whether or not Keni and Belekeri villages would be submerged. However, he is not worried as he expects rehabilitation from the Government. He would like to go towards Goa-Majali-or Mangalore/Bhatkal, as in Karwar there is less scope for fishing due to frequent floods.

Awareness about IDFP project: Narayana is a member of the Belekeri fishermen's Co-operative Society and he is aware of the IDFP. He came to know through the President that gillnets would be distributed through the society to needy fishermen and also that houses would be provided at Tadri. He feels when more boats are distributed through this project, catch per boat may decrease. Sulochana is not aware of the project at all.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Except Narayana no other member of this household is actively engaged in fishing or related activities. Narayana who is already a trawler boat owner is unlikely to get a gill net boat under this project and the question of the household moving to Tadri does not arise.

Narayana will continue to work on trawler boat and give a helping hand to his mother-in-law. Narayana's wife Sulochana is not actively engaged in fishing and she will continue to be a housewife.

Since all the co-operative societies in the project area will be asked to undertake marketing, Belekeri society will also undertake marketing. Therefore, Narayana will infact benefit from this arrangement. He may have to continue to sell prawns to Benaga factory but will be able to sell fish through the co-operative society. This way, he will be assured of a buyer for his fish and will also be assured of a reasonable price.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.3

LAKSHMI - MOTHER OF A GILLNET OWNER

1. Village	: Keni
2. Name	: Lakshmi
3. Age	: 55 years
4. Caste	: Gabit
5. Education	: Illiterate
6. Age at marriage	: 12 years
7. No. of pregnancies	: 8
8. No. of living children	: 7
9. Family Planning status	: Not sterilised
10. Size of the household	: 7
11. Annual income of the household (estimated)	: 31,000/-
12. Annual expenditure of the household (reported)	: 18,300/-

Lakshmi Bapu is 55 years old and has a fairly large family. Narayana Bapu, her 60 year old husband, owns a gill-net in his name, which is operated by his son Babu, while he himself works as a Commission Agent for fish landed at Keni. Lakshmi runs a hotel at home. She was married probably when she was about 12 years and gave birth to 8 children. While she delivered five children at home, she went to the hospital the other three times. The first child, a girl, died when she was 5, due to some heart ailment, and allopathic or ayurvedic treatment was to no avail. Another son has been adopted by Lakshmi's brother.

At 55, Lakshmi has been one daughter Lolika (now 30) married and Lolika has 3 sons. Her husband works as a fishing labourer at Tadri. One of Lakshmi's sons has been adopted by her cousin brother. This is quite common among fishing households. Four other children are living at home with Lakshmi and Narayana.

18 year old Mangala is studying in the 10th Standard in the village school. Chandra-bhagi is 17 years old and has dropped out after 8th standard. She does not show any interest in studies and does all the household work. The youngest daughter Milan who is now 16 years old, also went to school but gave up after she failed in class 5. She is the only one who goes to sell fish. Babu is 25 years old and has completed class 7. He was married three years ago. He and his wife Sangeetha (20) who is from Karwar, are living in Lakshmi's house. They have no children yet.

Though Lakshmi's family is a large one, she herself comes from a small family. Three children, all girls, were born to her parents and two of them are now married and are staying in Karwar. Later the family had to face the death of the father and one sister's husband - so now Lakshmi is looking after this sister's son. The other sister has two sons and three daughters. All the men are engaged in fishing and the women are in fish vending and shell collection.

When Lakshmi and her sisters got married, they did not have to pay dowry. Of late, atleast 6 tolas of gold in the form of a chain, ring, etc has to be given.

Narayana has one brother who lives next door. He has 5 sons and 2 girls, and is engaged in fishing. Generally, family relationship seems to be cordial, with people helping each other in times of hardship.

The house and other amenities: Narayana owns the house and the main structure was extended by Bapu by adding a kitchen and one room. Being situated close to the village main road, it is an advantageous location for the hotel. It is a pucca house with tiled roof, brick walls and red oxide flooring. There are four rooms and a big hall which is used

for the hotel. The whole house is well ventilated and neatly kept and has been electrified. They have two tube lights in the hall and one in every room. There is also a ceiling fan in the hotel.

Use of space by family: There are 16 guntas of land surrounding the house in Narayana's name and some persons from the village were permitted to build houses on this land. Now these people claim it for their own and have refused to move out, leading to serious quarrels. In fact though the matter has been taken up in court, the case has been continuing since the last 12 years with no solution in sight. This has badly affected the relations of Narayana and his family with their neighbours. There is a Government well in the compound, so drinking water is no problem. There is also space near the well for washing clothes and bathing. However, there is no toilet and everyone goes to the seashore early in the morning.

Provisions are purchased in Ankola. Lakshmi usually walks upto Ankola as buses do not come to Keni. Now, autorickshaws have become popular especially among women transporting fish.

Good medical facilities are available at the Christian Mission Hospital and other private doctors at Ankola and almost everyone from nearby villages go there for any medical treatment. Besides, the LHV/ANM it was reported, also make regular visits to the village, which is especially helpful to pregnant women. The need for frequent medical care does not arise, since Lakshmi's family is quite healthy.

Narayana's work: Narayana used to fish on a traditional craft but gave up because he could not cope with the strenuous work. Later he started the hotel business and has also bought a gill netter and has now taken up dry fish marketing on commission basis. Narayana buys salted

dry fish from individual fishermen from his own village and also from fishermen from the neighbouring village. He gets a commission of 5%. During a good season he is able to send about 10 tons of fish. He has to take the fish from Keni to Ankola in a tempo. From Ankola, the wholesaler's lorry transports the fish and Narayana's responsibility ends here. In fishing season he earns about Rs.12,000/-.

Lakshmi's sons: While one son has been adopted by Lakshmi's brother in Karwar, Ramesh has taken up a job in Goa, with the electricity department on a salary of Rs.700/-, per month. He was able to get this job as he was trained at the Industrial Training Institute at Karwar. Lakshmi is happy with this as she has always wanted her children to have government jobs, fishing being labourious and risky.

Only one son, Babu, has kept to the traditional occupation of fishing and operates a gill net. The boat was sanctioned to Narayana under the IRDP scheme 4 years ago, and he has taken a loan of Rs.35,000/- of which Rs.18,000/- is the subsidy. He has also bought a gill net machine for Rs.12,000/- and 10 nets for Rs.10,000/-. Each day the boat is taken out to sea by 2 PM and on very warm days, by 10 AM. Apart from Babu, who takes 25 nets at a time there are 3 other men on the boat and each of them takes about 5 nets, which are their own. The diesel operated boat is taken about 40 kms of shore, where the boat is anchored and all the nets are cast simultaneously. While one man is needed to attend to the engine, the others cast the nets and pull it in.

They are able to return to shore early the next morning, the boat then has to be pulled up on the beach. This is an extremely tedious process, when wooden logs are placed under the boat, to serve as rollers; when about 20 men are needed to haul the boat up with the help of thick coir ropes. The whole process takes about half an

hour, after which the men remove the fish from the nets and then separate the good ones from the damaged ones. While the later is bought locally, good fish is sold through the Karnataka State Fish Marketing Federation, to the processing plants at Mangalore and Karwar. It is processed and sold at Bombay where it is very popular.

The system followed here is that the Federation, which has an office at Keni, sends its representative to weigh the fish at the landing centre. The buyer normally hires local women to carry headloads of fish from the boats to the weighing scales and then on to the trucks.

The Federation representative is also present at the time of fixing prices, along with the boat owner and the buyer. The main consideration here is the freshness and size of fish, quantity landed and prices at other markets. Prices are decided once in 2 weeks and on an average a kilo of seer fish would fetch Rs.4/- to Rs.4.50.

The Federation clerk makes out a bill with the following particulars:

- Name of the boat owner
- date of sale
- quantity of fish
- variety of fish
- price
- total amount

One bill each is presented to the boat owner and the buyer, and a copy is retained by the clerk, and the dues are settled every week.

About 50 to 100 kgs of fish a day which is Babu's share of the catch, is considered a good catch and the average daily catch is 25 kg. Each person on the boat keeps his catch separately and it is also sold individually through the Federation. Thus, though a fisherman does not own a

boat he can still take his own nets and go for fishing with a gillnet owner.

While the owner allows others to use his boat and keep the fish caught in their own nets, they repay him by providing their labour in casting his nets, hauling fish, besides drawing the boat to the beach and separating the catch.

All expenses towards the boat are met by Babu. Ten litres of diesel worth about Rs.40.00 are required each day. During the fishing season, the federation supplies diesel to the boat owners on credit. At the end of the week, when the Federation pays the boat owners, this amount is deducted. During the slack season, Babu goes to Ankola by cycle, and brings the daily requirement of diesel from wholesalers at Ankola. About 5 litres is always kept in stock at home.

Economics of a Gillnet Boat:

Income:-

1. Number of days of fishing	20 days
2. Number of months of fishing	9 months
3. Average catch per day (seer fish, crabs, pomphret etc)	25 kgs
4. Average price per kg of fish	Rs.4/-
5. Total average income per fishing season	Rs.18,000/-

Expenditure:-

1. Diesel expenses for a fishing season (Rs.40x20x9)	Rs.7,200/-
2. Repayment of loans	Rs.1,000/-
3. Painting & repair of boat	Rs.1,000/-
Total	<u>Rs.9,200/-</u>
Net Income	<u><u>Rs.8,800/-</u></u>

Milan's day at Ankola: Since the Federation pays the boat owners only after a week i.e., whenever the buyer pays them, some fish is kept aside and sold at the Ankola market

directly. This provides the household with some ready cash to meet the daily expenses. Usually, it is Milan who goes to Ankola with a basket of fish; the quantity depends on how much cash is required at home on a given day and also the catch landed.

Milan leaves home by about 10 AM and walks upto Ankola, along with other girls from her village. In a matter of 2 hours she is able to earn a profit of Rs.40/- to Rs.50/-, as she sells a kilo of fresh seer fish for as much as Rs.6.00. But there are days when they may get less than that. In general Babu is happy that the Federation has taken over fish marketing as it ensures a good market for any quantity of fish caught.

By 1 PM Milan would have sold all the fish. On the way home, she buys whatever provisions are required for the house. About Rs.35/- to Rs.40/- are required for provisions like rice, ragi, sugar, Kerosene, tea, coconut, etc. The remaining money is handed over to her mother.

Though Milan is fairly young she is very shrewd and is able to cope in the market, where women from so many other villages come to sell. There is very brisk business, but there is also a congenial atmosphere both among the fisherwomen and with the customers.

Annual Income of the Household: With so many people working, the family is quite prosperous; in a good season of 9 months Babu alone earns about Rs.9,000/- after deducting all the expenditure. The hotel business yields, another Rs.4,000/- approx. If Narayana's business is good, then he earns Rs.12,000/- but in the last year he has incurred a loss. Milan's income from selling fish would be about Rs.6,000/- in a good season. Therefore, the total family income would amount to at least Rs.31,100/- a year.

Managing the House: Lakshmi is in charge of running the house and all major decisions regarding the family are made by her. Whatever income she earns from the hotel, along with Milan's earnings are used for running the

household. Babu's and Narayana's income is used for repaying loans and a part of it is saved.

Along with the daily expenses, other requirements like the children's school fees, books, and uniforms should also be provided for.

Annual Household Expenditure:

The main items of expenditure are as follows:

Food (including the requirement of the hotel)	:	15,000.00
Paan, etc.	:	1,000.00
Medical	:	100.00
Clothing	:	1,500.00
Education	:	200.00
Transport	:	500.00

		18,300.00
		=====

Indebtedness: Four years ago, Narayana was sanctioned a loan of Rs.35,000/- to purchase a gill netter, of which Rs.18,000/- was the subsidy. Out of this money Rs.12,000/- went towards the boat engine and Rs.10,000/- towards 10 nets. He has been able to repay Rs.13,000/- and now every month he repays the bank in instalments of Rs.500/-, though the stipulated amount is Rs.1,000/- per month.

He has also borrowed about Rs.2,000/- from the money lender towards meeting household expenses and this has to be repaid - Narayana himself has been transacting his business on credit basis to other fish merchants, who owe him Rs.35,000/-.

Saving: While Narayana mentioned that he had saved Rs.3,000/- or Rs.4,000/- Babu has Rs.1000/- in a commercial bank. There must definitely be more savings than this, as they have to get four daughters married and there is so much dowry to be given. Even now the women do wear gold ornaments.

Social And Religious Life: Having to look after the hotel and also having to sell fish in some days, Lakshmi and her daughters have little time for anything else. But in the hotel itself they are able to meet people and exchange views, listen to the radio. Even the fish market is a place where women can freely mix. However, their relations with the immediate neighbours are rather tense because of the problem over property.

Festivals like "Bandi Habba" are celebrated on a grand scale, and the whole village participates. There are also other festivals like shatha durga which are sacrificial days when hens are offered to Goddess Durga.

During Dasara there is a fair and a procession of the temple idols, and again the whole village is involved. Altogether these festivals are good occasions for people to visit each other and a break in their routine.

Since the daughters have all had some education, they are able to read the newspaper and thus have access to the daily news. They also listen to the radio news.

Political awareness: Through these media and through daily contact with other people, the whole family is well aware of the political situation and able to make their own decisions at the time of voting.

Lakshmi and other women like her in this district, associate all development activities with the Congress rule, and are staunchly in favour of that party.

Awareness of Development Programmes: Narayana has several contacts because of his hotel as well as his work as a commission agent. As such he has come to know about the various programmes undertaken by the Government for the development of rural areas. In fact he has also availed of a loan under IRDP to purchase a boat. Lakshmi though, does not really know the details of the development activities.

I.D.F.P: Narayana and Babu are members of the Keni Fisheries' Co-operative Society and have thus come to know of the IDFP and its aims. They mentioned that the society has not taken any steps to inform the villagers about the new project except to those who go to the society regularly and make enquiries. Narayana has told his wife about the IDFP and she has also come to hear of it from other people also.

Since the project has stipulated that two members of the same family or relatives should apply for gillnets, Babu and Ramesh have applied for a gillnet. Ramesh who is an electrician has no intention of getting back to fishing, but has applied only so that his brother can operate it.

The Future: The major task ahead for Lakshmi and Narayana is to find suitable alliances for the three daughters and a son and get them married. Since the sons are well settled in their work there is not much to worry about the children.

However, since Narayana has not been doing well in the business, his main concern is the recovery of his dues and to make up the loss. Since the hotel provides a steady income, and the sons and daughters also bring in a good income, the household is able to run fairly smoothly in spite of Narayana's loss in the business. They hope that things will improve in the future.

Likely Consequences of IDFP to the Household: If Babu and Ramesh are able to get a gillnet boat under the IDFP (for which they have applied) then, definitely the income of the household will increase. Though Babu will not be able to go fishing on two boats, he can rent one boat and go fishing on the other.

Since more fish will be available, there will be increased employment for the women of the household too. Two things may be possible.

- (a) Milan who is already engaged in fish vending, may take more fish for sale.

or

- (b) another lady who is presently not engaged in fish vending, may have to sell fish.

Narayana's income may also increase - The IDFP proposes to introduce about 500 gillnetters - even if all of them do not land at Keni, a majority of them might land at Keni as Keni is one of the biggest landing centres for gillnetters in Karnataka. In that case, more fish would be landed at Keni and Narayana as a commission agent would benefit.

Even if a gillnet is not sanctioned to Babu, Narayana will still benefit from the project.

CASE STUDY NO.4.4

GOWRI - THE FISH VENDOR AND WIFE OF A
TRADITIONAL BOAT OWNER

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Village | : Mirjan |
| 2. Name | : Gowri |
| 3. Age | : 55 years |
| 4. Caste | : Ambiga |
| 5. Education | : Illiterate |
| 6. Age at marriage | : 12 years |
| 7. Number of Pregnancies | : 14 |
| 8. Number of living children | : 10 |
| 9. Family Planning Status | : Not Sterilised |
| 10. Size of the household | : 16 |
| 11. Annual income of the household (estimated) | : Rs. 11,500 |
| 12. Annual expenditure of the household (reported) | : Rs. 24,100 |

The Village: Mirjan village is situated on the Bombay - Calicut National Highway No. 17, about 20 Km from Tadri harbour. The village has a fisheries Co-operative Society, an Anganwadi run by Social Welfare Department, a higher primary school, a post office and a fair price shop. The taluk headquarters, Kumta, is situated about 10 km from Mirjan and has a PHC. The people living here belong to the ambiga, harikant and muslim caste. There are a few christian families also living in this village, but ambigas and muslims constitute the majority group.

The House: Earlier the family was living in a small hut. Two years back they bought the present house from a muslim paying Rs.15,000/-. Gowri's husband borrowed from a money lender in the village to purchase this house. The house is situated on 14 guntas of land. It has tiled roof with walls made out of mud. In the entrance there is a big open place which is used as resting place. Next to the portico, there are two rooms. One is the bed room and the other is the

pooja room where photos of Lord Manjunatha, Raghavendra and Goddess Laxmi are kept, and behind the pooja room is the kitchen. In the back yard they have constructed a small thatched room which is used as a bathroom. There is no toilet in the house. In front of the house they have a small place with stone slabs to wash clothes. Gowri has kept the house and surroundings very neat and clean.

Household Assets: Gowri's husband Dasu owns 16 guntas of land in which 14 coconut trees are grown and of this 6 trees are yielding coconuts. He gets 200 coconuts per year. However, it is not sufficient for their consumption throughout the year. He also owns 20 nylon nets of 25 feet each, two traditional boats made out of wood. Gowri owns 10 grams of gold which she bought 6 years back from her savings. She uses aluminium vessels for cooking.

Family History: Gowri was born in Divgi village which is about 8 KM from Mirjan. She got married to Dasu at the age of 12 years and since then she has been living with Dasu in Mirjan village. Gowri lost both her parents about 10 years back. Gowri's parents had three children - Gowri, her elder sister, who is living with her husband in Divgi village and an elder brother. Dasu, her husband, has got two younger brothers who live separately with their families in the same village. Dasu's father died three years back. Gowri's 4 daughters are married, two of them are living in Divgi and the other two in Ankola.

Gowri's Occupation: Earlier Gowri was selling fish caught by her husband. Now that she has become old cannot go for selling fish and collecting shells. Her children have taken over this work. However, at times she goes for shell fish collection and fish vending. Her husband and two sons go for fishing on the traditional boat. Two of her sons are married and both the daughters-in-law and their two grown up daughters go for shell fish collection and selling fish. Gowri looks after the household duties. She prepares breakfast for her husband and two sons who go for fishing

early in the morning. She also cooks lunch early so that they can take it along with them. Sometimes, if they get a good catch early, they return soon.

Shell fish collection: Shell fish collection is the main occupation of women in Gowri's house. Both her daughters and daughters-in-law go for shell fish collection. A group of 5-6 women take a hired boat and go for shell collection. They do not keep a fixed time for shell collection. Whenever there is a low tide they go out to collect the shell fish. For one trip they pay 50 paise to the boat owner and daily they go 2-3 trips and each of them collect 10-15 kg shell fish which is sold to the local merchants at the rate of Rs.0.50 - 0.75 per kg. In a month they collect shell fish only for 15-20 days.

Selling Fish: The women of household sell fresh fish brought by their husbands in Kumta or Mirjan fish market. They go to Kumta by Matador van paying Rs.3/- towards the charges and come back by bus paying one rupee. Sometimes, when the men do not catch enough fish to sell, they go to Kumta and buy the fish from wholesaler. They pay Rs.50/- to Rs.60/- per basket of good quality fish like seer, mackerel, sardine weighing approximately 20-25 kgs and after selling at local market at Kumta make a profit of Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- per day. If the women sell the fish caught by their men, they can expect a profit of Rs.30/- to Rs.50/- per day. They try to sell all the fish on the same day and if any fish remains unsold they bring it home and dry it with salt for their own consumption. Shell fish is sold in their own village at Rs.1/- to Rs.1.50 per Kolaga. If they cannot sell all the shell fish they preserve it for next day to sell. They earn about Rs.10/- to Rs.15/- per day from collecting and selling shell fish.

Gowri's Family: Ganapathi and Venkatesh the married sons of Gowri work with their father Dasu and they are engaged in traditional fishing in river water for 9 months in a year. Daily they go out for fishing at 6 A.M. in the traditional boat and return around 2-3 PM if the catch

is good. They bring 8 to 10 Kgs of river fish and they sell the same to a local Ambiga fish merchant at Rs.5/- per kg. Sometimes, the fish is sold by the woman in the household at the local market. Since, they have taken loan from the local merchant, they are bound to sell the fish to them.

Venkatesh and his uhcle's son have applied for gill net boat through Mirjan Co-operative Society. But they do not know whether it is under IDFP or through bank. Venkatesh felt that only influential and rich people can get sanctions easily. Manjunath and Sumanth, the uhmarried sons of Gowri are studying in high school, and they read news-papers and magazines. Gowri said that she wants to give good education to these two sons and wants them to take up a regular salaried job. She felt that their position has not improved over the years and expects a bright future for her sons and grand children through education.

Income and Expenditure of the Household: Three men and four women of the household are employed. However, the income is not fixed. Approximately, the daily income of the family varies from Rs.40/- to Rs.50/-. In a month they work only for 20 to 25 days. The other source of income other than fishing is from coconuts, which is approximately Rs.800/- per year. They do not calculate the income individually. All the working members hand over the money to the head of the household and he looks after the expenses of the household.

Annual income of the household:

1) Fishing	-	Rs.8,000-00
2) Shell fish collection and selling	-	Rs. 2,000-00
3) Selling fish other than own	-	Rs. 1,500-00
		<hr/>
		Rs.11,500-00
		<hr/>

The major expenditure of the household is on food. They require 4-5 kgs of rice per day and other expenses like spices, transport, medicine, and expenses on education. Gowri felt that they could not save any money from their income. The household annual expenditure can be classified as follows:-

1. Food	-	Rs.	10,800 - 00
2. Transport	-	Rs.	800 - 00
3. Medicine	-	Rs.	500 - 00
4. Education	-	Rs.	300 - 00
5. Clothing	-	Rs.	3,000 - 00
6. Repayment of loan(APP)	-	Rs.	1,500 - 00
7. Liquor	-	Rs.	7,200 - 00
Total		Rs.	<u>24,100 - 00</u>

Apart from the above expenditure, they have to repay the loan which they have taken to purchase the house. She said that they did not spend much money on medicines as nobody in the house fell sick seriously, and usually native medicine is given at home for ailments like cold, cough and fever.

The Family's Food Habits: The daily consumption of food consist of Ragi, Rice, Fish and vegetables. She eats fish every day except on Mondays as she perform special pooja to Lord Manjunatha on Monday. Part of the daily catch is used everyday.

Family Indebtedness: Dasu had taken Rs.4,000/- loan under IRDP scheme to buy the traditional boat in 1980. He repaid the loan after two years. Dasu had borrowed Rs.15,000/- loan from a money lender (fish merchant) of the village to purchase the house. She knows that her husband is repaying the loan every month. She said that the loan would be repaid after 4 or 5 years. The annual rate of interest is 10 percent. Besides this the family has no other debt. They purchase provisions on cash basis.

Gowri's responsibility as a house wife: When her husband and two sons go for fishing and the daughters and daughters-in-law are busy with their routine work of shell fish collection and selling fish, Gowri looks after the daily household duties. She cooks the food, washes clothes, sweeps the house and surrounding place, sends the grand children to school and goes to Mirjan market to buy provisions. She said that though her husband takes all the decisions, she manages the daily household activities.

Health: Gowri and other members of the house go to the private doctor in Kumta for major ailments and for minor ailments they get medicines from local allopathic doctor, who charges Rs.5/- per day. Since, they cannot afford to buy alopahic medicines which is expensive, they take natice ayurvedic medicine. They do not have faith in Government hospital as good medicine is not available and the doctors do not diagonise properly.

Gowri's Social and Political Activity: Gowri's social activity is restricted only to village festival and the celebration of Sankranti, Ugadi and Deepavali. She worships Lord Manjunatha every day. She attends all the marriages that take place in Mirjan village, but does not go to see movies. Sometimes her children go to see movies in Kumta town.

Her marriage was celebrated for 5 days. No dowry was given or taken in her house. She felt that dowry is more among the economically well to do family and is not very popular among the economically backward families. Gowri seemed to be politically aware. Last time she voted for Congress (I) Government because they helped her to get rice at subsidised rate and she believes that Congress Government gives land and house to poor people. She takes her own decision while voting. Gowri said neighbours are good, but there is no

unity in the community. Therefore there is less scope for the entire community participating in social and economic programmes.

Gowri is aware of the family planning programme from other women of the village, but she does not want to force her daughters-in-law to get operated, as it is their wish to have children. She feels that children are always an asset, whether it is a boy or a girl, and there is nothing wrong in having a big family.

Alcoholism: Dasu and his other sons consume liquor almost daily. If the catch is more they drink anywhere between Rs.5 to Rs.50/- informed the arrack shop owner. 100 ml of arrack (country liquor) costs Rs.3.40. Ambigas of the village drink liquor even when they go out for fishing and in the evening they consume more liquor. Some Ambigas of this village go to Karwar to drink Goa fenny. The owner of the shop, a christian, who has five more outlets in nearby villages gets Rs.2/- commission for selling every litre of arrack, and he makes more money during fishing season.

Awareness Regarding Tadri Project: Gowri has heard of the Indo Danish Fisheries Project being constructed in Tadri. But, she is not fully aware of the benefit offered to the fishermen community through this project. She is against shifting the entire family to Tadri. She felt that one of her married sons and his family could shift to Tadri and work there.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

The women of the household are not likely to be affected in any way. Shell collection will continue and since traditional boats can and will continue to land at Mirjan, the women will continue to sell fish. The employment of the male members also will not be affected.

They have not applied for a gillnet boat and since they are ambigas, they may hesitate to take to gillnet fishing. The nutrition status as in other households, will also not be affected.

CASE STUDY NO.4.5

SANNAMMA - THE FRESH FISH VENDOR AND WIFE OF A
PURSE-SEINE PARTNER

1.	Village	: GANGAVALI
2.	Name	: SANNAMMA
3.	Age	: 25 years
4.	Caste	: Ambiga
5.	Education	: Illiterate
6.	Age at marriage	: 12 years
7.	No. of pregnancies	: 6
8.	No. of living children	: 2
9.	Family Planning Status	: Not sterilised
10.	Size of the household	: 7
11.	Annual income of the household (estimated)	: Rs.18,600/-
12.	Annual expenditure of the household (reported)	: Rs.17,100/-

Background: Sannamma, a fresh fish Vendor, was born in Gangavali and has been living there ever since. Her house is located between the main road and the river Gangavali and is in her mother Gangi's name. This is a very convenient location as it is close to the main road from where she gets a bus to Ankola where she goes to sell fish.

Sannamma's house: The house is situated in fairly clean surroundings and is neatly maintained. It appears fairly sturdy, with tiled roof, brick walls and cement floor. The front yard is smeared with cowdung and the Tulasi temple is just across the house. There is one medium sized room where the personal belongings (good clothes, transistor, etc.) of the family are kept. Sannamma, her husband and children also sleep there. The kitchen is fairly large, with a mud chula on one side, and utensils

(aluminium for cooking and steel for eating) stored on wooden racks on another side. This is where the family has its meals. The front verandah is made up by extending the tiled roof upto a wooden lattice in front and is the only ventilated area in the house. It is here that pictures of God are put up on the wall and beside it some family photographs. There is also a clothes-line strung across, with everybody's working clothes hung on it. The fishing nets are hung on another side in a similar fashion.

Adjacent to the kitchen is another small bathing room which has a chula and a large earthen pot for heating water. However, there is no toilet.

There is no well in Sannamma's house. They use a neighbour's well and water has to be fetched from there for all household purposes. Electricity has not been provided yet, and Sannamma is not particular about it, as then she would have the additional expense of paying the bills.

Household assets: The house where they live is in Gangi's name and all her children contributed towards its construction. Narayana, Sannamma's husband, also owns a traditional boat and 6 prawn nets. Apart from that, he is a partner on a purse-seine and hopes to acquire a trawler soon. Besides this, the family owns some gold, and Sannamma alone wears large gold ear-rings, chain, bangles, etc.,. Gangi and the other girls wear gold ear-rings and for Bhagi's marriage Gangi plans to give her ornaments and a watch. Though she did not admit to any savings in cash, there must be savings in the form of gold at least for her daughters' dowry.

The family: Sannamma is one of six children born to her parents and is 25 years old. Sannamma's mother Gangi used to live in Kumta before her marriage and later moved to Gangavali. Though Gangi had several brothers and sisters and they in turn had sons and daughters, she herself had only six daughters and no sons at all. She is rather unhappy about this fact as she would have liked to have at least one son. Gangi delivered all her children at home.

Much as Gangi wanted to educate the daughters, she was unable to do so, as her husband died in a boat accident when the children were still young. She had to work at selling fish in order to bring up the family. Meanwhile, two of her youngest daughters died. She managed to arrange Sannamma's marriage with Narayana, a partner on a purse-seine. Narayana has since been living in Gangavali with his wife and mother-in-law in Gangi's house, as he himself has no parents or any other relatives. Sannamma also has her two younger sisters Bhagi and Gulabi living with her and one sister has been adopted by her grandmother.

Gangi, being particular that at least one child should be educated, sent Bhagi to School. She has now completed her secondary education and hopes to learn typewriting and take up some job. Bhagi who is 18 years old, has no wish to marry just now and her mother too is in favour of her finding a job.

Gulabi, the youngest daughter in the house is 16 years old and not educated. When she was 12 years old, another family (known to Gangi) had taken her to Goa, where she worked for some months, loading and unloading fish. However, she was forced to return to Gangavali as she had taken ill in Goa and could not do much work. Narayana wants her now to marry

his own brother, though Gangi is not very keen about it. Even the girl feels the same, as dowry has to be given at the time of marriage - either cash or gold and they don't know how their mother can meet all these expenses, from the income she gets.

Sannamma herself has had a difficult life ever since she was married at the age of 12. Though she gave birth to six children, at a private hospital in Kumta, four of them died within a year of birth. Sannamma is not aware of the specific cause of death. She is very upset that doctors could not do anything to save their lives. She herself feels physically weak and unable to exert herself much. She desired to undergo sterilization but the doctor had advised her that this is not possible just now as she is anaemic and has to wait till she is normal.

In spite of all these hardships, Sannamma has to suffer her husband's wrath when he is intoxicated and indulges in violence. Though Narayana is good to outsiders he illtreats his own family members, and no one interferes in his affairs as he is very dominating.

Sannamma's daily routine: Sannamma started work at an early age, helping her mother in selling fish. She has been working all along, except for short periods during childbirth. Her's is a busy day, starting early in the morning, when she has to do some household chores like fetching water, tending to her children. Tiffin is prepared for the morning meal and then she is ready to leave for the fish market by 9 a.m.

She sells fish which Gangi purchases from the landing centre. It is very difficult to reach the landing centre, which is 3 Kms away from her home, across the

river and marshy land. The water sometimes rises to waist level and Gangi who is short finds it very difficult to wade across with a heavy headload of fish. Often, it is dark by the time she purchases fish and on such days she rides back on the trawler.

Trawlers from different villages land at Gangavali and start coming in at 1 P.M. Gangi and Bhagi have their afternoon meal consisting of fish curry and rice, sometimes vegetables, then get dressed in old but clean clothes, oil and comb their hair and leave for the landing centre with their baskets. It takes a good 40 to 45 minutes to reach, even with Gangi's brisk pace. The landing centre is a place where women can get together and exchange the local news and gossip. Though outwardly friendly, women from different castes prefer to keep to themselves. Once there, there is no certainty that she will get good fish at once and often waits for 3 to 4 hours before she can get fish of her liking. She normally purchases Jabbu, Banagu, Pachu, Samdali, Dodi crab, Pomphret, silver fish and prefers the larger and undamaged fish - though they may cost her a little more, she can get a good price for it. The fish she buys for selling depend (a) on the time of landing and (b) on the quality of fish.

If the fish is landed late in the evening - say after 6.30 pm or 7 pm she would only buy the fish if it can be preserved until next morning with ice. If it is of poor quality and cannot withstand ice, she will not buy it since it is too late to sell it the same day. The usual system is that when the boats land, the fresh and trash fish are separated, then brought to shore in small canoes, and heaped onto the sand. There is a small scale auction where women

bid for each pile of fish, which may cost about Rs.15.00. Gangi usually buys about 10 kgs of fish costing Rs.50/- and ice worth approx Rs.10/- is purchased locally. Fish price would vary depending on the size of fish, state of freshness, and the quantity landed. *

Once Gangi brings the fish home, it is put in ice. If it is still early afternoon, Sannamma takes it on the bus, or by tempo, paying Rs.2/- to Rs.5/- to Ankola, to sell in the Corporation fish market. She goes there with other women from the village and returns home around 9 p.m., by which time she is able to make a profit of about Rs.25/- to Rs.40/- depending on the quantity of fish brought into the market. Narayana objects to his wife going to the market in the evenings as it is late when she returns home. But she has to go in order to make some money.

However, if the boat lands late in the evening, Sannamma keeps the fish in ice and takes it to the market the next morning by 9 a.m. Such fish is not very fast moving, as it is not very fresh, and this is usually sold at lower rates. This is also the case with damaged fish - for instance while she can sell good crabs at 4 pieces a rupee, she sells damaged or small ones at 6 pieces a rupee. While there is scope here for bargaining, this is not so in the case of fresh fish, which is normally sold at the same price by all fisherwomen. Pomphrets and Seer fish are sold at twice the rate of purchase - say Rs.20/- per Kilo and are the most popular fish. This is followed by river fish; shell fish is the least popular and takes longest to sell, though it costs less than other fish.

* She keeps some fish at home for family consumption before Sannamma takes the fish for sale.

All women sell fish at the same price and there is no scope for bargaining, especially in the case of fresh fish. By 8 am several fisherwomen would have arrived at the fish market. At this time the chief customers are Halakki Gowdas, women belonging to the poorer sections. They often come to buy fish for their employers. Later in the day, the number of fish peddlers would have increased and new ones replacing those who had come earlier. At this time housewives from middle class families come to the market.

While Sannamma sells fish at the Ankola market, her sister Bhagi keeps aside a small basket of fish to sell within the village, and she has brisk business, with people coming to her house to purchase fish. Her profit in a single afternoon would be atleast Rs.10/-; thus between the two of them, Sannamma and Bhagi are able to make a profit of atleast Rs.50/- in a day and more when there is less fish in the market.

There are days when boats arrive late in the evening and ice is not available. Or sometimes all the fish taken to the market cannot be sold. At such times Sannamma takes all the fish home, dries it the next day, when there is a substantial quantity, sells it at Ankola on days when the catch is poor.

Husband's work: Narayana's working day centres around the purse-seine on which he is a partner, along with thirty other persons. This boat was purchased under the IRDP scheme, with a loan of Rs.5/- lakhs, from the Urban Co-operative Bank. He has bought a traditional craft and net, on a Rs.4,000/- loan through IRDP and also applied for a partnership loan of Rs.1,50,000/- for a trawler along with five other

persons from his own village. Being a scheme loan, he was not required to pay any guarantee money to the bank.

The usual practice is to fish near Karwar during the season and Narayana along with the other partners lives there and returns home in the lean season. He feels that for a purse-seine to be profitable, the daily income should be atleast Rs.5,000/- - as the daily diesel requirement amounts to Rs.1,000. Rs.2,000/- would be repaid to the bank (the monthly interest alone is Rs.5,000/-) and the remaining amount would cover other expenses like food, maintenance, and payment to partners. However, this is not possible except during a very good season and thus they are unable to repay bank loans on time. There are some months when the fish catch is so low that it is difficult to even meet the diesel costs, in which case the boats are not taken out to sea at all.

Most other men in the village also work on mechanized boats, during the season. They have, besides, evolved a system of ferry service in the village, where a large canoe has been purchased, pooling in the local resources. One man from every household takes a turn of five days each to man the service, on a purely voluntary basis.

Narayana remains at home during monsoons, using his country craft to catch fish which is again sold by his wife at Bankikondla, a nearby village and also at Gangavali. This fish usually fetches a good price as fish is scarce in the monsoons.

Annual income of the household: Narayana, who is a purse-siene partner earns between Rs.50/- and Rs.60/- per day during the season. The fishing season lasts for 9 months from September to May. Within the

fishing season, there are some peak months - they are September, December and January. Employment during these peak months may be throughout the month and for about 15 days during other months.

Assuming Narayana works for only 20 days a month during the entire season and he earns Rs.50/- a day, his annual income would be Rs.9,000/-.

Sannamma and Bhagi also sell fish 20 days a month for 9 months and earn Rs.50/- a day.

During monsoon, they go to sell fish brought by Narayana and between June and August, might have employment for about 30 days. During this period, they earn a profit of Rs.20/- to 25/- per day.

Therefore the annual income of both Sannamma and Bhagi, would be as follows:-

During fishing season	-	Rs. 9,000
During monsoon	-	Rs. 600

The total annual income of the household would therefore be around Rs.18,600/-.

Managing the household: Narayana dominates over the family members and makes all the major decisions, though in his absence, Sannamma and her mother manage the house. Sannamma and Narayana are two persons in the household who have a full working day. This leaves them with little time to attend to household work. Gangi is also rather concerned about Sannamma's health and does not let her do much work at home. So between her younger daughter and herself, Gangi has to manage the house. The morning, noon and night meals have to be cooked fresh as they all like to eat hot food. Sannamma's young children are

really not much trouble, since the boy-Aruna-is sent to the Anganwadi, Mangala the older one, is happy playing with other children. She has not been enrolled in school as yet.

Before Sannamma leaves for Ankola, she keeps aside about 2 kilos of fish for the day's meal. She buys the other provisions at the local shop on her way home from the market. Her daily earnings are used for this, and she requires at least Rs.20/- to purchase 3 to 4 kilos of rice, one or two coconuts, vegetables, chillies, kerosene, etc. Gangi alone needs a rupee a day for betel leaves, tobacco and arecanut. The remaining money is used to purchase fish at the landing centre. She also has to repay any loans she has made from the boat owner for buying fish. There are also petty loans at the local shop which she must repay when the income is good. There is no question of saving any money, as all household expenses must be met with her income. Some of her gold jewellery has been pawned off to meet household expenses. Narayana may at least give her Rs.5/- a day, but keeps all his income for his personal expenses. Gangi's complaint is that he spends lavishly on buying good clothes for himself, and on liquor. She is angry that he does not look after the children's needs or think of the future. Neither she nor her daughter can ask him for money or what he does with it, as at the slightest provocation he picks a fight and even beats his wife.

Sannamma's medical expenses are fairly high, as she had to be in hospital for long periods during childbirth. Even now she has to make weekly visits to the doctor at Kumta, as he is treating her for anaemia - that means

on every visit she spends about Rs.30/- on transport and medicines.

Then there are other expenses like on 3 to 4 sets of clothes for the family every year. They prefer synthetic clothes which last longer than cotton ones. Bhagi, who is especially fond of jewellery, has been asking her mother for a new pair of gold ear-rings and a wrist watch. Gangi is keen that Bhagi should take up a job, as she would be able to fulfil her needs then.

Household expenditure: The annual household expenditure can be classified as follows:-

1. Food (Rice, Coconuts, Vegetables, Chillies, Kerosine, etc.,)	: Rs.6,000/-
2. Tobacco, betel leaves & arecanut	: Rs. 400/-
3. Clothing	: Rs.3,000/-
4. House repair	: Rs. 500/-
5. Medicines	: Rs.1,200/-
6. Repayment of loans	: Rs.2,000/-
7. Liquor (Narayana)	: Rs.4,000/-

	Rs.17,100/-

Indebtedness:

Most households are in debt to a greater or lesser extent, and Sannamma's is not exception to it. Narayana has made bank loans for purchasing boats and nets, amounting to about Rs.50,000/-. He has repaid about Rs.40,000/- and again applied for a fresh loan of Rs.4,000/- to purchase a traditional boat and net. The debts are usually never cleared, rather it is a continuous process of borrowing and repaying, when the income is good.

Gangi too often buys fish on credit from the boatowner - this is to be paid up the following day after the fish is sold. Now Sannamma wants to apply for an IRDP loan for fish marketing.

Besides loans for economic activities, there are also petty loans as Sannamma sometimes buys provisions from the local shop on credit. This she repays whenever the profit from selling fish is good, and some money is left over after meeting other expenses.

The family's health: Only Sannamma has been in need of constant medical treatment because of her problems during childbirth. She usually goes to a private doctor in Kumta, as she feels she gets better treatment here. Even when others in the family are in need of medical treatment, they go to Kumta itself, and not to the PHU in Bankikondla, a nearby village.

Social and Religious life: Sannamma is an Ambiga by caste, and being a Hindu, observes some important religious festivals, like Pongal. The local festival, known as 'Bandi Habba' is celebrated by the entire village. There is also an annual sacrifice to the mother Goddess and to Lord Shiva, besides various religious occasions when processions are taken out.

There is a Tulasi temple near Sannamma's house where all the neighbouring families offer prayers everyday. Mondays are of special significance as they worship Lord Shiva on that day, and do not eat fish.

There is a good relationship among all the families in the area and many a time they all come to Sannamma's

aid when Narayana ill-treats her. Some of the younger women even get together and go to Ankola to see a film, two or three times in a year.

Political awareness: Sannamma seems to be quite conscious politically and is able to gather various opinions at the market where she goes almost everyday. Even while casting their votes, both she and Gangi are able to make their own decisions. Their main consideration is that they should vote for the party that has been most stable and well known.

General awareness: Sannamma is aware that some schemes have been introduced by the Government for the benefit of rural areas. In fact her husband has availed of some benefits under the IRD Project, and she herself would like to avail of loans for fish marketing. However, her enthusiasm is not always reflected by other persons, who feel either that all benefits go only to the richer households, or that it is more a burden than a help to accept such benefits. The main reasons quoted for this are that the rate of interest is too high; fish catch has gradually been decreasing; it is no longer a profitable venture.

IDFP: Sannamma has not heard about the Indo-Danish Fisheries Project or the harbour at Padri as it is locally referred to. Narayana too has not heard of the Project, and even though he is a member and attends all the meetings of the local fisheries' Co-operative Society there are no discussions on the IDFP. However, it is through the Co-operative Society that he was able to secure a partnership loan for the purse-seine on which he works.

Sannamma knows nothing about the working of the Co-operative or that a similar society for fisherwomen has been started at Tadri.

The future: Sannamma does not think that she and her family could be resettled at Tadri under the Project as it would mean that they would have to leave the homestead and move to unfamiliar surroundings. She is not sure that there would be enough work for all of them there. Instead, she, and other women like her, prefer that some sort of additional employment be provided within the village. Apart from this, she does not see any change in her lifestyle in the future. In fact she is worried that her husband does not look after the family and wonders how she can manage to educate her children. She prefers that they should study well and not be uneducated like her.

Regarding her sisters, Sannamma is hopeful that Bhagi can get a job - may be in the local drying shed and would like to see her sisters married soon.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Trawlers owned by fishermen of Gangavali, Manjuguni and other villages closer to Gangavali land at Gangavali. Sannamma and her sister sell fish brought from these trawlers. However, after the harbour at Tadri is completed, these trawlers may land at Tadri since they would be able to get a better price at Tadri which is a bigger landing centre than Gangavali. In which case, the women would have no fish to sell. They would have to go to Tadri to buy fish for later sale.

The co-operative societies in the project area will be asked to undertake marketing of fish landed by the IDFP boats. If Gangavali society distributes some boats, then some fish would be available for local sale. This, however, may not be enough for all the women vendors from Gangavali. They will have to go to other landing centres to purchase fish. Their expenses on transport, and ice would increase. Since at the moment transport facilities are not adequate, it would take longer time for them to reach the market. Consequently, the quality of fish will deteriorate and will mean reduced income to the fisherwomen.

Narayana, is already a partner on a purse-siene and is not likely to get an additional boat under the IFDP.

Therefore, unless infrastructural facilities like transport, storage facilities, and so on are provided Sannamma is likely to be affected adversely. Since it is Sannamma's income that goes towards maintaining the family - the standard of living of the family may deteriorate.

CASE STUDY NO.4.6

BEERAMMA - A FRESH FISH VENDOR (OWN CATCH)
AND WIFE OF A PURSE SIENE PARTNER.

1. Village : GANGAVALLI
2. Name : Beeramma
3. Age : 38
4. Caste : Ambiga
5. Education : Illiterate
6. Age at marriage : 15
7. Number of pregnancies : 13
8. Number of living children : 2
9. Family Planning Status : Not sterilised
10. Size of the household : 3
11. Annual income of the household (Estimated) : Rs.9,500/-
12. Annual expenditure of the household (Reported) : Rs.13,600/-

Family Background:- Beeramma is an Ambiga by caste and has been living in Gangavalli since her birth 38 years ago. Even her parents have always lived here, and everyone has been working in fishing and marketing of fresh and dry fish. Beeramma has seven sisters and one brother; the sisters are all married and settled in different villages. Her brother works as a partner on a purse-seine. Apart from these children, Beeramma's mother lost 5 children when they were very young and she does not remember the cause of their death.

Beeramma's House and other Assets:- Beeramma's house was constructed 25 years ago by the Government, when her hut was destroyed in the floods. It is located close to the main road and is in clean surroundings.

The house has tiled roof, mud walls and cement floor. Clothes are hung on a rope running across the front room, and on the wall pictures of Lord Mahabaleshwar and Goddess Mahakali are hung. A photo of Narayana, Beeramma's husband (taken when the purse-siene on which he works was bought) also hangs beside it. There is also a place to hang calenders and a basket. There is a second room behind the front room and this is used as the kitchen. Beside these rooms there is a passage where the nets are hung on ropes.

Adjacent to the house, a small area covered with thatch on all sides serves as the bathing room and water is heated in an earthen pot. There is no furniture, transistor, etc., in the house.

The house is the only major asset of the family; they do not own any land. Apart from this they own a traditional boat of 9 feet length in which one person can sit. Narayana is also a partner of a purse seine.

Beeramma's Marriage:- Beeramma was married at the age of 15; since then she has had to undergo the burden of 13 pregnancies, and as there were no hospitals, all the children were born at home. However, only two children - Ganapathi and his older sister - survived. While Beeramma had one miscarriage, a 2 year old daughter died of polio, and one girl died of convulsions. The other children, all boys died due to some illness or the other and Beeramma is not aware of the exact cause of death.

Daughter's Wedding:- The daughter was married, 4 years ago, to a boy from Karwar of whom they came to know through some relatives. He works as a labourer on a

trawler and earns an income of Rs.800/- to Rs.1000/- per month. The two day wedding was performed in Beeramma's house and while the bride's family spent about Rs.6000/- the groom spent Rs.3000/-. No dowry was given at the time of marriage and both parties shared the expenses. The daughter now has two children and she too gave birth at home. Neither of the children are educated, since her income is very uncertain and she has never had enough money to send them to school.

Beeramma's Daily Routine: Beeramma being the only woman in the house, the burden of all the household work falls on her. She gets up early in the morning and after having a wash she prepares tea for everyone. Then it is time to sweep the yard and the house, fetch drinking water. Then she cooks breakfast, and after that, lunch. She is able to rest for a while after lunch.

Ganapathi's Work: Since, Ganapathi is too young to work on a mechanized boat, he goes for fishing in the Gangavali river, in their small country craft. He usually leaves house by 6 or 8 A.M. and returns any time between 3 P.M. and 5 P.M. The usual varieties of fish caught are river fish like Lady fish, Madle & Kagalasi. The daily catch ranges from 2 kilos to 15 kilos, the fish is sold by Beeramma.

Selling Fish: By 3 pm or so, Ganapathi brings in the fish which he has caught. Beeramma goes to sell this either at the local market or at other markets, depending on the time when Ganapathi returns. If he comes early, say at 3 pm, she goes to a distant market like Bankikoodla or Gokarna or even Ankola, where she can get a good price for the fish. If the catch arrives late in the evening, she selects a nearby market - say 2 or 3 km away within walking distance or may sell it in the village itself.

What she first does when the catch is landed, is to separate the quality fish and the lesser variety of fish. This she arranges in separate baskets and on the day the research team visited she had two baskets of fish, totalling 15 kilos. She keeps aside about 6 good fish for the day's meal.

If there is more than one basket of fish, Beeramma takes the help of a neighbour to carry the fish to the market. Beeramma pays Rs.2/- or Rs.3/- to the neighbour for having carried the fish basket to market.

Other women from her village too can be found selling fish and the main customers are from the non-fishing castes - naiks and halakki gowdas. Each vendor has her regular customers and everyone is assured of some income.

While large sized quality fish are sold at Rs.1/- per piece smaller fish are given at 20 pieces per rupee. Beeramma sometimes gives fish in exchange for other items like arecanut leaves, which she can use for covering the basket and exhibiting the varieties of fish at market.

As other women bring in more fresh fish, however, she is forced to sell her fish (especially the small varieties) at lower prices, say 25 pieces per rupee. In a matter of less than 2 hours, Beeramma is able to sell the entire catch and earn a net income of Rs.15/-. Assuming that she sells fish for 20 days in a month for 8 months in a year her annual income would amount to Rs.2,400/-.

Depending on the market she chooses to sell at she spends about Rs.7/- for transport. That is, on a day when she goes to Ankola about 5 miles away from Gangavali, she first has to cross the river by ferry, and the charge is 10 paise. Then she takes a bus paying 60 paise and a rupee for luggage. On such days she also has food and tea at some hotel in Ankola, which would cost approximately Rs.5/-.

But Beeramma stresses that though her income may be good on one day, she may not earn anything for the next 3 days. Only if Ganapathi brings in a good catch she will be able to sell and make some profit.

Husband's work: Before the purse-seine was sanctioned to Gangavali village, Narayana was engaged in fishing in traditional boat. When the purse-seine boat was sanctioned to Gangavali village, he joined as a partner. The Syndicate Bank at Gokarna has provided a loan of Rs.6/- lakh and Narayana has the loan of Rs.50,000/- in his name.

Narayana and his colleagues go for fishing everyday. Only there is any mechanical breakdown they stay back. They go about 25-40 kms distance for fishing. Most of the time they sell their catch at the Karwar landing centre, because they get a good price for fish at this centre than in any of the other landing centres and also because they can bring the fish to the landing centre soon, since they do fishing close to Karwar.

The average daily income of each partner after deducting the loan instalment and a commission of 3% to federation and other daily expenses including diesel is about Rs.25-30/-. Last season, i.e. from September 1983 - March 1984 they worked only for 6 months. So, Narayana's net average income was Rs.800/- per month and Rs.5,600/- per season. After February, since there was no work on the purse-seine, Narayana joined as a trawler labourer for a wage of Rs.20/- per day. He worked till the end of May and earned an average monthly income of Rs.500/-. Narayana's income as a labourer was Rs.1,500/.

Annual Income and Expenditure of the Household: Beeramma's income from sale of fish amounts to roughly Rs.2,400/- a year. In addition to this there is Narayana's income, amounting about Rs.7,100/- per fishing season. In all, with three people working, the annual income of the household ranges from Rs.9,500/- in a good year, to Rs.7,000/- in a year with poor fish catch.

Annual Expenditure: Total annual expenditure is approximately Rs.13,600/-. The main items of expenditure in Beeramma's house is as follows:-

1. Food	-	Rs. 4,500.00
2. Clothing	-	Rs. 800.00
3. Medicine	-	Rs. 100.00
4. House repair	-	Rs. 200.00
5. Repayment of loans	-	Rs. 2,000.00
6. Liquor	-	Rs. 6,000.00
Total		<u>Rs.13,600.00</u>

Indebtedness: It is two years since Narayana took the loan of Rs.50,000/- for purse seine partnership. Now this is the major amount to be repaid, and he can do so only in a good fishing season. He is required to repay this loan over a period of five years, in instalments of Rs.12,000/- a year. However, he has been able to repay only a nominal amount in the last 2 years. Moreover, since fishing has not been very good, it is unlikely that he will repay the loan on time.

Apart from this, Beeramma also is in debt. She usually borrows from the local shop and from her neighbours. When Narayana is away at work, she purchases provisions on credit from the local shop. This is repaid on Narayana's return.

Managing the Household: Since Narayana is away at work most of the time and Ganapathi is still young, it is upto Beeramma to manage the household. She has to make all the day to day decisions and try to satisfy the needs of the family with whatever income she and Narayana earn. Whatever money she earns, she keeps with her and utilizes it to purchase provisions. Besides this Narayana's money is used to pay off shop loans and money borrowed from neighbours. Though she buys rice, oil and vegetables for Rs.12/- on a given day, she may have to stretch this over 3-4 days when she has no income. This is why she has not been able to educate her son. Besides, only if Ganapathi catches fish does she have anything to sell. So if Ganapathi was sent

to school or to work elsewhere, Beeramma would have no income at all.

She is unhappy with their lifestyle which has remained unchanged, for the last 25 years and that the fishing community is cursed with the uncertainty of their occupation. She feels that it is only the big merchants who are growing rich at the expense of the fishermen.

Alcoholism: Since he is also given to drinking liquor everyday, even when there is no income, Narayana demands money from his wife. Therefore, she borrows money from neighbours to give Narayana money for his liquor. Asked whether she is not encouraging him to drink, she can only say that it is the wife's duty to look after the husband well and take care of his needs.

Health: At present Beeramma, her husband and Ganapathi are keeping well. If they are sick they usually go to Gokarna or to Ankola, where there is a government hospital. Sometimes they also take medicines from the local doctor at Bankikodla. They may have to spend Rs.6/- to Rs.10/- at one time as doctor's fees and medicines and Rs.2/- on transport if they go to Ankola.

Beeramma informed that they occasionally go to hospital. Usually they take native medicines for minor sickness, like cold, cough, fever. If the sickness cannot be cured by native medicines only then, they go to a doctor.

Social and Religious life: Since Beeramma and her husband are from the same village and have spent all their lives here, they have no difficulty in getting on with the neighbours. Many of them are in fact related to them, and they are ready to help out in times of need. No one in the house reads newspapers and there is no radio in the

house. It is only through the neighbours that they come to know of the news, and Ganapathi likes to listen to the radio and goes to the neighbour's house to listen.

Marriages and festivals are also occasions for people to visit each other. In spite of all the hardships, these events are celebrated on a large scale. The most important festivals are Shankaranthi, celebrated as a thanks giving during the harvest and Ugadi, the commencing of the new year. There are fairs in the village to celebrate other festivals, and there are night-long activities like street plays, processions of idols etc.

Political Awareness: Both Beeramma and Narayana are politically disinterested and in fact felt that which ever government may be in power, the condition of poor people would remain unchanged. Once people come to power they are not interested in helping others. Though people exercise their vote, there is no independent thinking. Everyone votes for the person whom their leader decides and they are not concerned about who comes to power.

General Development Programmes: Narayana has availed of the partnership loan under the IRDP scheme, and has also got a loan through the flood relief funds. Now Beeramma has been told of the bank loan for fish marketing. But she does not wish to avail of this scheme, as she feels that the rate of interest is too high. With so much uncertainty in fish catch and prices, she says if she earns a good profit one day, there may be other days when she incurs loss. Therefore, it would be impossible to repay loans on time.

Awareness of IDFP: Beeramma has no knowledge about the IDFP and has no desire to settle in Tadri. She is very emphatic about this, saying that they cannot leave the birth place, where all their relatives also stay; would stay in the village itself. However, Narayan was aware that a harbour was being constructed at Tadri, and that boats would be distributed. He is not interested in

applying for a boat since he is a partner of a purse-siene boat.

The Future: There appears to be no indication that life for Beeramma and Narayana would change much in the future. As Narayana gets older, things would become more difficult. So Beeramma hopes that her son Ganapathi will continue his father's work and look after both of them.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Narayana is a partner on a purse-siene and is therefore not eligible for a gillnet boat from the IDFP. He will continue to land his boat at Karwar since they generally go fishing near Karwar.

Beeramma only sells fish brought by her son Ganapathi on the traditional boat. Ganapathi is not likely to face any problems and he will continue to land at Gangavali and Beeramma will also continue to sell fish brought by Ganapathi.

The nutrition status of the household, as in other households will not change.

Therefore, this household is not likely to be affected by the IDFP in any significant way.

CASE STUDY NO.4,7

LAKSHMI - MOTHER OF GILL NET PARTNER

1. Village	: Keni (Gabitwada)
2. Name	: Lakshmi
3. Age	: 48
4. Caste	: Gabit
5. Education	: Illiterate
6. Age at marriage	: 15
7. No. of pregnancies	: 6
8. No. of living children	: 4
9. Family Planning status	: Not operated
10. Size of the household	: 3
11. Annual income of the Household (estimated)	: Rs.11,800/-
12. Annual expenditure of the household (reported)	: Rs.11,300/-

Family Background: Lakshmi is the only daughter. She got married at the age of 15 years. Her husband too is from the same village. Both her parents and her parents-in-laws are not alive. Lakshmi has 2 daughters and 2 sons. Both her daughters are married, one is living in Medholi and the other is Gangavali. Her sons are not married yet and they are living with her. The house they are living at present was constructed by Lakshmi's husband 25 years back. Her husband died in 1966 due to heart attack and excessive smoking of Bangi (tobacco).

Lakshmi's Marriage: Lakshmi got married in the same village and in the same house in which she stays at present. At that time this house was a small hut with thatched roof and mud wall. In those days the bridegroom had to pay the bride's side some money for the marriage expenses. She received Rs.150/-, gold bangles and ear rings during the marriage. Marriages are celebrated with festive foods and sweets. About 200-300 guests are invited and gifts are exchanged.

Lakshmi went to Mission Hospital at Ankola for her first delivery as she was afraid of delivering at home. In spite of this the first child, a male, was a still birth. Later on she gave birth to other children at home. After Suryakanth was born she delivered one more child at the Mission Hospital which was a girl, again it was a still birth. She lost 2 children and the other 4 are keeping fine.

Household Assets and Amenities: Lakshmi's son owns 20 gill nets, and a gill net boat. They have $1\frac{1}{2}$ Gunte (40 Gunte = 1 Acres) of garden around the house, in which they have grown 6 coconut trees and some plantain trees. Other than this they have no other assets.

Drinking water is available close to the house from a community well. There is no electricity in the house, though the village has been electrified. In the backyard there is a room for heating water and bathing. There is no toilet in the house, they usually go near the sea shore.

Lakshmi's Work: Lakshmi was working as an agricultural labourer, engaged in net making and repairing and marketing of fish. From 1981 onwards she stopped working outside as her son grew up and started working on a gillnet boat. Now she takes care of the household work, and if her health permits she goes to the market to sell fish brought by her sons. These days she is not keeping good health, She has high blood pressure due to which she often has headaches and giddiness.

When the study team was talking to her, she received news from her brother-in-law that her son's gillnet boat had arrived. She immediately left for the sea shore. The study team members followed her to her work spot. Her son sold the fishcatch for approximately Rs.80/- to a wholesale merchant, Mr. Nayak, of Ankola. The wholesale merchant did not pay him any money but he wrote down in a small account book the amount due to her son. Other than the fish sold to him, she collected some odd varieties of fish brought by her son to sell it in Ankola market. After coming home she separated the good ones and spoiled

ones, kept some good fish for household consumption and gave the remaining fish to her brother-in-law's daughter Rekha - (18 years) staying adjacent to her house to sell it at Ankola market. Lakshmi informed that she gives Rekha one or two rupees and tea expenses for marketing the fish, the remaining amount, Rs.6 to 8/- brought by Rekha is kept by her for daily household expenses.

Lakshmi's sons and their work: Jayaram is Lakshmi's elder son; he has passed SSLC in 1974 and he knows about the worldly affairs. He takes decisions on all important matters after consulting his mother Lakshmi. In 1982, Jayaram took a loan of Rs.35,000/- from Syndicate Bank of Ankola and constructed the mechanised gill net boat. Last year the nets were all damaged so he could not make good profit. This year the Kirloskar Engine was under repair for some days hence he has incurred loss. He has informed the Syndicate Bank officials and sought further loan of Rs.10,000/- for making new nets. But the bank officials refused to give further loan, hence he has taken Rs.10,000/- personal loan from relatives and friends for preparing a new net.

Jayaram informed that when he was working as a labourer on other boats he was able to save at least some money, but after owning a gill net boat he has been unable to save or repay the bank instalments promptly as he is undergoing loss at every stage.

Jayaram works for 9 months in a year and in a month he goes out fishing on gill net boat about 20 to 25 days. During the monsoon season, along with his brother and mother he makes new nets and repairs old nets. During September to December if the catch is good and prices are high they need not work the rest of the year as the income during these months is enough to cover the whole years expense. But for the last few years neither the catch has been good nor the market prices. The fish market is controlled by merchants (who control the market prices) and therefore the fishermen have no alternative. The federation operates

during the fishing season. During the lean season, the federation is not there to buy the fish from the fishermen and therefore alternative buyers have to be sought out which further decreases their income which is already very small during such periods.

Jayaram is ambitious of doing something on his own, namely purchasing an auto or opening a provision shop. 2 years back he tried to get some job in KSRTC, through a General Manager by paying a bribe of Rs.2,000/-, but for his ill luck the General Manager died and he lost Rs.2,000/-, after that he lost interest in seeking a job.

Suryakanth, Lakshmi's second son went fishing the previous evening at 3 p.m. and had returned with fish catch when we were interviewing his mother at 11 a.m. The day's catch was sold at Rs.80/- (approximately 20 kgs of seer fish) He informed that they had spent Rs.40/- (approximately 10 liters of diesel and they had just managed to get diesel cost + Rs.10/- per head). Since the catch had decreased Suryakanth had gone out fishing with other partners, without his elder brother Jayaram. Instead of Jayaram another net owning partner who is a relative of Lakshmi went out fishing. For a gill net, a minimum of 4 persons is required. The other partners are from the same village and caste.

Unlike his elder brother, Suryakanth is shy and does not know much about what is happening around him. He also works for 9 months in a year and in a month, 15 to 20 days he goes out fishing. During monsoon season he makes new nets and repairs the old nets.

Economics of Gillnet Operated by Jayaram and Suryakanth:

INCOME:

No. of months of fishing	: 9 months
No. of days of fishing in a month	: 20 days
Average income per day	: Rs.200/-
Average income for one month	: Rs.4,000/-
Average income for 9 months	: Rs.36,000/-

EXPENDITURE:

1. (a) 10 Litres of diesel per fishing day at Rs.4/- per litre	:	Rs.40/- day
(b) for 20 days	:	Rs.800/-
(c) for 9 months	:	Rs.7,200/-
2. To paint the boat outside, 2 times in a year	:	Rs.300/-
3. Cashewnet oil/fish oil, painting to wooden reapers of inside boat	:	Rs.600/-
4. Repair and maintenance of boat	:	Rs.600/-
5. Repayment to bank towards gill net boat loan	:	Rs.5,000/-
		<hr/>
Total expenditure		Rs.13,700/-
		<hr/>
6. Net income		Rs.22,300/-
7. All the partners get equal share So each partner gets approximately	:	Rs.5,600/-
8. Since Jayaram and Suryakanth are individual partners, each one gets	:	Rs.5,600/-
9. Total annual income of the household is Rs.11,200/- from fishing and Rs.600/- from coconut trees.		

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF THE HOUSEHOLD: The household expenditure can be classified as follows:-

1. Food	-	Rs. 6,400-00
2. Clothing	-	Rs. 2,500-00
3. Medicines/fees	-	Rs. 800-00
4. Transport	-	Rs. 600-00
5. Entertainment	-	Rs. 500-00
6. House repair	-	Rs. 500-00
		<hr/>
		Rs. 11,300-00
		<hr/>

Alcoholism: Jayaram and Suryakanth do not consume liquor, in this village there is no arrack shop, There is an arrack shop, 1 km from Keni where they buy Goa Fenny and country liquor. Majority of the men from this village go there to drink Goa Fenny which is available at a cheaper rate than arrack.

Lakshmi's Health: Lakshmi has not been keeping good health. She goes to Dr. Patil's clinic at Keni for treatment. She has been taking allopathic medicines. She may have to spend Rs.30/- to Rs.40/- in a month on doctor's fees and medicines. She do not like to eat fish, and so she eats more vegetables. Her sons usually bring vegetables from the market. The day we went, Jayaram had returned home with vegetables from Ankola market.

Son's Future:Lakshmi informed that she has given full freedom to her sons to choose their wives as they are the one who will live with them. She does not expect any dowry for her sons eventhough she has given dowry to her daughters. Jayaram informed that he will select a girl who is equal in status to them and does not like to take dowry. Lakshmi expects a good future for her sons as they know a lot more than their father. Jayaram also wants to improve his mechanised fishing.

Awareness about IDFP: Jayaram and Suryakanth know about the Tadri Project and they also know that through Co-operative Society boats will be distributed. He does not like the idea of moving to Tadri as they lose contact with this village, where his ancestors, were born and lived. He is a member of the Keni Fishermen's Co-operative Society.

General Awareness: Jayaram is aware that a naval base is coming up at Karwar and Keni will be submerged. He expects a government job, close to the sea shore under the resettlement programme. There is no radio in the house, but both of them read Kannada newspaper when they go to Ankola market.

Social and Political Activities: The neighbours are good to them relatives living near to the house help Suryakanth to pull the boat to shore. Lakshmi informed that because of her husband's relatives she was able to bring up her children. Lakshmi manages the house, money is given

to her by sons to bring provisions and other items to run the family. Jayaram and Suryakanth go to Ankola town to see movies and attend important functions, if any.

Jayaram and Suryakanth are aware of the political parties and their policies. Last time they voted for Congress, this time to Janatha Party.

Likely Consequences of the IDFP to Household: Jayaram and Suryakanth are partners of a gill net boat. If they can get a new boat under IDFP, they want to sell the present gill net boat which is continuously under repairs. Lakshmi's work remains unaltered as she is not keeping well and occasionally she goes for marketing of fish. The members of family are totally against moving to Tadri. The household nutrition status is good and would remain the same. Since Tadri is quite far from Keni the impact of the project would hardly be felt. Jayaram and Suryakanth expect the Federation to play an active role and freezing and ice plant to Keni under IDFP, so that it will help fishermen to get good price for their catch.

CASE STUDY NO, 4.8

SUKRI - MOTHER OF A TRAWLER LABOURER

1. Village	: Aganashini
2. Name	: Sukri
3. Age	: 45
4. Caste	: Harikanth
5. Education	: Illiterate
6. Age at marriage	: 12
7. No. of Pregnancies	: 8
8. No. of living children	: 5
9. Family Planning Status	: Not sterilised
10. Size of the household	: 7
11. Annual income of the household (estimated)	: Rs.5,680/-
12. Annual Expenditure of the household (reported)	: Rs.7,089/-

The Home: The house is just by the side of river Aganashini. On entering the house, there is an open verandah, covered by coconut thatch and gunny bags on both sides. In this verandah there are several ropes to hang clothes, nets and so on. Apart from the Verandah, there is a room and a kitchen. Pictures of Gods and Goddesses are put up in the room. The kitchen is kept tidy with brass and stainless steel utensils. The room and kitchen are ventilated and have a common electric lamp. There is a small place at the back which is used for bathing.

The front of the house is smeared with cowdung. This area is used to dry fish and paddy. Fish was covered with a torn net, so as to prevent crows from lifting fish. Paddy was also dried. On one side there was a raised platform and a roof decorated with flowers and mango leaves. On this the family God, Lord Venkateshwara was kept. On religious/important days all the family members pray to this God.

Sukri, is the mother of a trawler labourer, Parameswar. She is also engaged in selling fish

What follows is a description of her case, as reported by Sukri.

My Family Background: My parents are from Haldipur village, which is 18 miles from Honnavar. My mother died 3 years back and my father is living with me at present as he has no sons. I have two younger sisters, who are also married and at present staying at Haldipur with their husband and children. My father stays with them sometimes. Recently he came to my house to spend time with me. As I am tied up here with my children and an aged, diseased husband, I am unable to visit my native place. Hence, I asked my father to come and stay with me.

My husband Mabulu is from this village, his parents and ancestors are also from this village. Mabulu is not keeping good health for the last 4 or 5 years. He feels very tired if he works for a long time and occasionally he gets convulsions. Then he becomes very weak and needs 3 to 4 days rest. Mabulu is unable to undertake tough work like going out fishing on a mechanised boat, so he is engaged in odd jobs like helping me in my household work, looking after children and occasionally less strenuous agriculture work. Mabulu has a younger brother, but no sisters. The brother is a partner of a purse-siener given by Tadri Fishermen Co-operative Society for people from Aganashini village. He has 4 children, 3 sons and a daughter. Earlier my husband was also a partner, as he is not keeping well he had to resign from partnership.

My marriage: I got married to Mabulu, when I was 14 years old. My father and Mabulu's father were friends and that is how we got married. During those days the bridegroom used to give money to the brides party to meet the marriage expenses, so I also got Rs.100/- from my husband, unfortunately, it is no longer so. Many parents prefer a salaried/well

off son-in-law for their daughters, and so pay a dowry to the son-in-law. My marriage was performed in my village Haldipur and it was a 2 days affair. These days we cannot afford to spend so much and so marriages are over in a day and all the relatives return to their home the same day. I gave birth to 8 children at home out of which only 5 are living today. The other 3 children, 2 boys and one girl died before attaining one year. I do not know the cause of death. As I was out of house on work most of the time, children used to eat uncooked food and spoiled the health and died.

My Husband's Occupation: My husband Mabulu is a traditional fisherman like his father. Mabulu was also engaged in fishing on traditional boat. During those days many people in our village were afraid of going out fishing on a mechanised boat. Slowly men in our community are also taken to fishing on mechanised boats. Whatever you may say, those were the good days because catch was less and price was good and we used to get quality fish. Nowadays, especially after mechanisation, even though the fish catch is good, it is not of the same quality as the fish caught is put on the boat for several hours without ice and several fishes get damaged due to rough handling of net.

Assets: Mabulu got 15 cents of land from the land lord of Bargi village who belongs to nayak caste. On this piece of land we grow paddy and pulses. Whatever we grow, infact, is not sufficient for us. We buy rice from outside. The land reform act came and helped people like us from land lords who were getting unnecessary share due to our hard work. Now no more of it, thanks to Congress Government for implementing it.

This house is in Mabulu's name. However, there is no drinking water facility. We have to walk three furlongs to fetch water. The village provides most of the other facilities. There is a fair price shop from where I buy sugar, rice and oil. There is a primary school in the village, but, there is

no hospital or clinic. We have to go to Gokarna or Bada to get medical help. There is a government hospital in Kumta. We usually go there, pay the doctors fees. Since there is a pucca tar road and a regular bus service to the village, travelling to Kumta is no problem. My husband is a member of the Tadri fishermen's co-operative society, from where he got a quintal of rice as flood relief. Otherwise, he has not utilised any other benefit.

My Work: I am an illiterate, and right from my childhood I am engaged in fishing activities. I go to the Tadri landing centre whenever fishing boats start arriving, along with other women of my village to unload the fish from the boats. One lady from the group deals with the boat owners to decide on the wages. Usually I take the passenger boat from Aganashini to Tadri and back. I have to pay Rs.1/- for to and fro journey without fish. If we take fish then another 50 paise has to be paid.

8 months in a year, I am engaged in marketing of fish/unloading of fish. During rainy season I work in the agriculture fields. I am unable to say how many days in a month I sell fish as the fishing activity is so uncertain. If fishing is done then only we have work otherwise we have to engage ourselves in all types of odd jobs. For the loading work at Tadri I earn from Rs.5/- to Rs.10/- depending on how many baskets I have loaded on to the truck. I can earn a maximum of Rs.10/- per day and a minimum of Rs.5/- per day. While returning from Tadri I also buy 10 to 20 kgs fresh fish from local merchants paying Rs.45/- to Rs.60/- for retail trade at Kumta market, which is about 14 kms from Aganashini. I go to Kumta market by bus around 5 or 6 pm and return home by around 8 or 9 pm. I have to spend Rs.2/- to Rs.3/- towards bus fare and tea and I make a profit of Rs.10/- to Rs.15/-. Occasionally I sell dry fish at Kumta market. If the quantity of dry fish is not much then it is utilised for home or given to neighbours in exchange for some other food items.

My Children: My eldest son Mahabaleshwar is mentally retarded since birth. He stays at home and occasionally helps me in my household work. During his childhood days he was very mischevious and stole from neighbours. Hence he was sent to Central Jail in Bangalore by the police and was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment. My husband went to Bangalore and requested the jail authorities and assured them that he will take care of the son. Then the sentence was reduced to 6 months and Mahabaleswar was brought back. Both of us are worried about his future as he has become useless.

My second son Parameshwar has studied upto 6th standard and he reads Kannada newspaper and is fond of listening to the radio. He wants to buy a radio but there is no money. At present he cannot afford to buy one. Parameshwar started working on a trawler boat from this season (Trawler No.82 FMF, Landing at Tadri). He has to work continuously for 8 months and earns Rs.1000/-. His work in the trawler is to separate the prawns, clean the boat, grind masala for curry and other petty jobs. Daily he leaves home at 6 a.m. and comes back home with small quantities of fish around 5 or 6 p.m.

My first daughter Gowri is illiterate, we did not find the necessity of sending her to school as she had to take care of my younger children Kamala and Budyantha, when I went out on work. Now she also helps me in all my household work and gainful work. At present she is also engaged in drying trash fish for a wage at Tadri harbour. She earns Rs.5/- to Rs.6/- per day for this work and works from September to May. She goes to Tadri with lunch around 8 a.m. and works upto 6 p.m. and returns home by boat. The employer sometimes give tea and except that no other facilities are provided. She has to carry heavy loads of trash fish weighing 25 to 30 kgs from landing centre to the drying shed and spread it on sand for drying. She has

to work in the hot sun from morning to evening, spreading and turning dry trash fish. Every year she need not have to go to same drying shed for work, but during off season we take advance from the dry fish merchant hence she is obliged to work for the same owner.

My second daughter Kamala and my third son Budyantha are studying in 3rd and 1st standard respectively in Kannada medium school in Aganashini. I want atleast these two children to study well and take up some salaried job, so that they need not toil like us for their livelihood.

Our Food: We consume fish daily. Only on religious days and on Saturdays we do not consume fish. For a meal I cook about $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 kg of fish brought by me or my son who is working on a trawler boat. We eat all kinds of fish, and whatever is easily available in the area. Our diet includes rice and ragi daily. Sugar, tea, pulses, oil, are brought from shop after the sale of fish, depending on the profit I get.

Managing the house: As my husband Mabulu is not keeping well,, I am managing the house and spend money on household expenses. My children give me their earnings and keep very little for their expenses. My husband takes money from me whenever he needs it. I also give him money to drink liquor. Mabulu does not consume liquor like other men in this village. Once in a week he drinks 100 ml of liquor, for which he has to pay Rs.3.40. We celebrate Ugadi, Holi, Diwali, Chowli and other festivals in our house. We prepare sweets and pray to God. We also visit our relatives houses in the village or in neighbouring villages. Occasionally we stitch new clothes for festivals, as we cannot afford to buy new clothes for every festival.

Awareness of the Project: Mabulu says the Congress Government has done a few good things namely land reforms act, Janatha housing, Bhagyajothi single electric lamp scheme. He is also aware of the Indo-Danish Fisheries Project coming up at Tadri. Infact he wants Parameshwar to take.

up gill net partnership, after a year or two as he is too young for it just now. I know Tadri is getting a harbour but I do not know what other benefits we can get through this project. During the monsoons flood water enters the house and we are unable to stay. If the present project can do something to improve the housing condition of Aganashini village then we will be very grateful to the project officers. I would like to take a loan from the bank for marketing of fresh fish so that I can repay the old debts. We are not interested in moving to Tadri.

Decision making and treatment by neighbour: Any decision in the house is taken jointly by Mabulu and me. Regarding education of children, marriage and their work the decision is taken by Mabulu. The neighbours are good to us. Majority of the people living around us are also harikants and our relationship is good. The treatment at the landing centre by men folk is good, they also belong to same caste or village

Family Planning and Health: Mabulu feels that he will not have any more children hence family planning operation for him or me is not necessary. Mabulu gets convulsions once in 15 days. At that time he is unable to go to the clinic or hospital immediately. After a few hours he goes to the clinic at Kumta for treatment. He may have to spend Rs.20/- to Rs.25/- at a time for medicines and doctors fees other than transport charges.

Indebtedness: Mabulu has taken a loan of Rs.650/- from relatives and friends. As he does not go out for work regularly, the present income is not sufficient to run the family. Therefore he had to borrow money to buy provisions and other items. Once my son starts earning regularly then I can repay these loans.

Annual Income (estimated) and Expenditure (reported) of the Household: The household gets Rs.1,600/- from agriculture and coconuts. Parameshwar who works on a trawler boat for 8 months gets Rs.1000/-. Gowri working at Tadri drying shed works for 8 months and earns Rs.1,080/-. Sukri when engaged in loading and unloading fish at Tadri and retail marketing of fresh and dry fish earns Rs.2000/-. The total annual income of the household is Rs.5,680/-

The main item of annual expenditure for the household is on food. The annual expenditure can be classified as follows:-

Food	:	Rs.	4,434.00
Tobacco & Liquor	:	Rs.	905.00
Medicines	:	Rs.	350.00
Clothing	:	Rs.	900.00
Transport	:	Rs.	250.00
Entertainments	:	Rs.	150.00
House Repair	:	Rs.	100.00
			Rs. 7,089.00

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Mabulu is a sick person and does not engage in fishing as a full time activity. His son Parameswar, Mabulu feels, is too young to take up gillnet fishing and will therefore continue to work as a trawler labourer.

Gowri's work as a labourer at the drying yard is also likely to continue. Only Sukri who works as a un-loader is likely to be affected - As in Gowri's case (Case study No.11) women unloaders may be forced to look for other jobs and women vendors are also likely to be affected. (Refer Gowri - Case No.11)

Therefore, Sukri's household will be affected adversely. Sukri's income, which forms a major part of the household income, will be reduced.

CASE STUDY NO.4.9

MARKALI - A SHELL COLLECTOR & WIFE OF A TRAWLER

LABOURER

1. Village : Mirjan
2. Name : MARKALI
3. Age : 25 years
4. Caste : Ambiga
5. Education : Illiterate
6. Age at Marriage : 11 years
7. No. of Pregnancies : 6
8. No. of Living Children: 4
9. Family Planning Status: Sterilised
10. Size of the household : 6
11. Annual Income of the Household (Estimated) : Rs.10,660/-
12. Annual Expenditure of the household (reported) : Rs.12,150/-

Village Background: Mirjan, situated on the banks of the Aganashini river is close to Tadri by boat. The predominant castes in the village are Ambigas (who live in a colony separated from the main village by paddy fields) harikants, and non-fishing castes like Naiks, Nayaks; and a few Muslims and Christians.

The major activities of the fishing castes are river and ocean fishing, shell collection, and marketing of dry and fresh fish. The off season occupation is agriculture, agricultural labour and net making and net repairing.

Markali's Background: Markali, aged 25 is an Ambiga by caste. She got married to Rama aged 35, at the age of 11. She has 2 sons and two daughters. The

two daughters are very young - Chandrakala aged 6 and Sulochana aged 4. The two sons are older - Ganeshha aged 12 and Manja aged 10 years. She went through six pregnancies but suffered 2 abortions as she feels this was due to her work of gathering shells during her pregnancy. Both Rama and Markali are from the same village and at present her two brothers and sisters live in Mirjan. She lost one of her sisters in an accident as she drowned in the sea while collecting shells. The other sister is married and is also living in Mirjan.

Markali's House: The house in which she lives now is very small and cramped and is a kutchha house, with thatched roof and walls and mud floor smeared with cowdung. There is only one poorly ventilated room, which serves as the living space for the entire family. Clothes and fishing nets are hung on ropes across the room. There are no amenities like toilets, bathing place and drinking water which is a major problem in summer, as all the wells dry up. Since this house, the only asset of her husband Rama, was damaged during the floods, he was given a plot of land and funds to construct a house under the flood relief scheme. The foundation has been prepared for the new house but the construction is yet to begin.

Markali's daily routine: Markali has a long and tiring day. She wakes up at 6.30 a.m., has to fetch water from the well which is about 3 minutes' walk from her house. She then has to prepare the morning meal which consists of ragi porridge and has to wash the vessels. After completing these household chores, Markali leaves her home by about 10 A.M. for shell collection. This job can be done during summer and begins in December,

January. A group of women go together to Tadri by boat, and from 11 A.M. onwards when there is low tide, they are able to collect shells. The procedure here is that women stand in water sometimes waist-high, with small nets hung around their necks. They then plunge head down into the water and as they come up the shells are caught in the nets. Occasionally, when there is no water, they are able to pick the shells without any effort. This is a very strenuous occupation leading to several health problems like backache, headache as the water gets into her mouth, eyes and ears. Because Markali has to wade into the water over rough sand, pebbles and broken shells, her feet are cut severely and damaged due to the saline water. However, she is forced to do this work as it provides some income to supplement the family income.

In a day, Markali is able to collect about 8 Kolagas or little more than a kilo of shell fish. This she sells door to door in nearby villages like Hegde and sometimes in the village Mirjan itself. Normally the meat is removed from the shell, placed in water and sold. While the superior variety of white shells fetches Rs.2/- per 100 (roughly one kilo) the black variety fetches 50 paise - 75 paise per 100. The outer shell is stored and sold to the lime factories from where vans come for collection.

Earlier Markali used to collect shells almost everyday, at times working till late evening. However since her sister's death 2 years ago, she goes only occasionally as her husband objects to it.

Besides shell collection, Markali also sells fresh fish like cat fish, lady fish and Sajuk, which her husband brings. This is mainly in the rainy season, when Rama

uses his canoe for river fishing. Some fish is always kept aside for the day's meal. If Rama gets more than a kilo of fish, it is sold through the commission agent. If there is a very small quantity, then she takes a headload to sell at Hegde, Santegadde, Kumta, etc. On such days, she is able to earn a profit of Rs.8/- to Rs.10/- a day. When there is a surplus of fish, Markali dries it in the yard in front of her house, and sells dry fish at the rate of six fishes per rupee and on an average earns Rs.15/- a day. She also makes nets whenever there is spare time, as this work can be done within the house itself.

In the agricultural season, Markali works as a labourer in the field in nearby villages like Santhegadde and Nuggakana. The main tasks that Markali performs are sowing, transplanting and harvesting. Some of the activities like threshing of paddy is done only by Gowdas or Nayaks and fishing castes are not employed for this.

Payment is made in terms of rice or paddy, or money if preferred by the labourer. Markali gets about a kilo of rice for a day's transplanting and half a kilo of paddy for sowing and harvesting. In all, she has work for about 3 months in the season and about 15 days in a month. Therefore, considering that she is employed for 15 days over three months, her income would roughly amount to Rs.360/- in the agricultural season.

Considering that Markali is engaged in different activities, she is able to find work almost in all months in a year, and earns at least Rs.5/- per day. Her annual income from all these sources amounts to approx. Rs.3360/-.

Rama's Work: Being a trawler labourer, Rama works for 9 months in a year. The boat is owned by a person from Kimani, and Rama has to be on the boat for several days together. Thus he is away from home for long stretches of time. He only comes back on days when there is no work to be done on the boat.

In Rama's case he and the other workers are paid on a share basis and not a monthly salary. Therefore his earnings are entirely dependent on the fish catch. The value of the fish landed on a given day is the basis for calculating each person's income. Of the total income, the owner deducts cost of diesel and maintenance, then 50 per cent of the remaining amount goes to the owner and the other 50% is shared equally among the labourers. In a season Rama earns Rs.5000/-.

In the rainy season, when mechanized boats don't go out to sea, Rama stays in Mirjan and goes out in his canoe to catch river fish which fetches some income in the off season (about Rs.15/- a day). Apart from this Rama makes trawler nets during off season. He also goes for shell collection whenever he is in the village during the season. It is easier for him to wade deeper into the water as he is a tall man, and thus he collects more shells - about 8 Kolagas (1½ Kilo) in a day. White shells which fetch Rs.2/- per hundred are sent to Honnavar and Sirsi and black shells are sold by Markali locally.

There are commission agents in the village who buy fish and shells locally and sell them to merchants in Sirsi and Honnavar. River fish which costs about Rs.12/- to Rs.15/- in the village is sold for Rs.20/- or more in the towns and the commission agent Parameshwar charges a

commission of Re.1/- for every kilo of fish sold. The agent has given a loan to Rama to meet the off-season expenses and thus has a commitment from Rama to sell fish only to the agent. If these varieties of fish are sold directly in the market, it would fetch Rs.3/- to Rs.4/- or more than what is paid by the traders. But Markali feels the present system is good in a way since it saves women the trouble of walking long distances to find good market for their catch.

Children's Work: Since children are still young, Markali does not have any help in doing house work and has to manage on her own. Her husband and sons go out to work almost every day.

While Manja, the younger son, just catches fish with a rod, the elder son Ganesha, is working on a trawler from Kimani. He works as a cook for 9 months during the season and earns Rs.100/- per month. The remaining months he goes to collect shells and is able to collect about 4 kolagas in a day.

Annual Income of the Household: The total annual income of the household is approximately Rs.10,660/-. The head of the household who works as trawler labour, and engages in river fishing earns Rs.6500/- per annum. Markali who markets fish, collects shells and works as agricultural labour earns Rs.3360/- per annum. Son Ganesh who is working as a cook in trawler boat at Mirjan contributes Rs.800/- per annum to the house hold income.

Expenditure Pattern: Markali says that even though three of them in the household are working, there are days when there is not enough money for even one meal. She requires atleast Rs.25/- per day to buy rice, oil,

chilies and other provisions. This amounts to Rs.9000/- a year. Besides, there are other other expenses:

House repair	:	Rs.100/-	per annum
Medicines	:	Rs.500/-	-do-
Liquor	:	Rs.2000/-	-do-
Clothing	:	Rs.500/-	-do-
Transport	:	Rs.50/-	-do-

All these expenses together amounts to about Rs.12150/- a year, and in order to make ends meet, Markali usually buys provisions on credit, and repays whenever she has more money.

Household Debts: Besides petty loans from the local shop, Rama also borrows money from the Commission Agent Parameshwar, to tide over the expenses when his income is poor. This debt is usually never cleared off, as there is always some fresh borrowing.

Recently Rama was also sanctioned a loan of Rs.1500/- from the Fisheries Co-operative Society, to purchase nets. He has to repay this within 4 years with an interest of 10 per cent.

Managing the House: Though Markali manages the day to day affairs, she cannot take any decisions without her husband's opinion. She not only has to cope with all the housework and go out to work, but also has to stand her husband's abuses. He has no love or respect for her, and she has had to pawn all her jewellery just to provide Rama with money for his liquor.

Birth Control: After four children, Markali decided to undergo sterilization and a year ago, with the help of the local nurse she was able to do so. The family

planning Association gave her an incentive of Rs.120/-. However, she has not been keeping good health since then, and her husband is very angry because she was sterilized against his wishes.

Ill-Treatment by her husband: Markali's life with Rama has been full of problems. He is addicted to liquor, as it is very common among all the ambiga men in the village. He spends a large part of his money on liquor and ill-treats her when he is intoxicated. She feels sorry that she has had to spend all her life with such a person. In fact her parents are not even on talking terms with Rama. Markali complains that he is lazy and beats her and when others try to intervene, he even quarrels with them.

Health: Working on shell fish collection affects Markali's health, leading to headache, eye problems, etc. Even sterilisation seems to have adversely affected her. But Markali does not go to hospital, or avail of any medical treatment. She says she cannot afford to pay for it, and in Mirjan there is only a private doctor who charges high fees. She would have to go all the way to Kumta for government medical centres. Her daughter Chandrakala was suffering from cold and cough, even Markali had fever, but could not go to hospital because, she had no money to meet the transport and other medical expenses.

Religious practices/customs: Markali does not take part in the village festivals, or any get together because she does not have good clothes and jewellery. She would like to take part in these functions since it would give her a chance to get to know people, but, feels very sad she cannot go. She cannot afford to

celebrate festivals.

On Mondays, thursdays and saturdays, fish is not consumed.

Awareness of IDFP: Markali and Rama are not aware of the Indo-Danish Project. Markali says that she does not like to move to Tadri since they have a plot of land to construct a house. Staying in Mirjan is beneficial to them since the river provides employment to them during monsoons.

Rama is not interested in applying for a boat. He does not want a gillnet because he cannot go out fishing at night. Gillnet fishing is usually done at night and ambigas and haricant fishermen do not fish at night.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

As mentioned in case 4.13 Rama is also a trawler labourer and his job is not likely to be much affected by the project. The nutritional status of this household also will not be affected. The presence of the river also helps the family to collect fish from the river and the small quantities that are available would be enough for a meal.

As regards employment, Markali's employment pattern will not change. She would continue to collect shells and sell fish locally.

Rama too will continue to work as a trawler labourer and as in Esub's case, there will not be any change in his employment. A point to be noted here is the reluctance of ambigas to accept gillnets.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.10

AMEENA - WIFE OF A TRAWLER LABOURER

1. Village	:	BETKULI
2. Name	:	AMEENA
3. Age	:	40 years
4. Caste	:	Muslim
5. Education	:	4th Standard
6. Age at marriage	:	13 years
7. Number of Pregnancies	:	9
8. Number of living children	:	7
9. Family Planning Status	:	Not sterilised
10. Size of the household	:	8
11. Annual income of the household (estimated)	:	Rs.5600/-
12. Annual expenditure of the household (Reported)	:	Rs.9000/-

Family background: Ameena, her husband Adam Hussain and their parents are from Betkuli village. She has 3 brothers and 2 sisters. The brothers are staying with the parents, and her sisters are in Gudkagal and Kimani villages respectively. The first sister who lives in Gudkagal has 6 children - 5 girls and 1 boy. The boy is working on a traditional boat. The second sister who is living in Kimani has 2 children - one son and a daughter. Her husband is working as a trawler labourer. Ameena's first brother goes out fishing on a purse-seine boat, the second brother goes out fishing on traditional boat, and the third brother is at present not engaged in any gainful activity.

Adam Hussain's first sister is in Betkuli and the other is in Kimani. His brother is a trawler owner at Tadri, and Adam works as a labourer in his brother's trawler boat.

Household Assets: Adam Hussain has 5 Guntas of land (40 Guntas = 1 Acre) on which he grows paddy and pulses. Whatever is grown is not sufficient for the family, hence there is no question of selling it for a profit. Infact they buy from outside when stocks of paddy and pulses are over.

Marriage: Ameena got married to Adam Hussain at the age of 13. Since both the parents were living in the same village the marriage was fixed without any problem. When she got married no dowry was paid. Now also there is no dowry system amongst the muslims, said Ameena. Ameena gave birth to 9 children at home, out of which only 7 are living at present. Her eldest daughter got married to a boy from Bombay, who is working as a tempo driver and earning a salary of Rs.600/- per month. The daughter's marriage was fixed at Tadri by her Husband's relatives. She has given birth to a baby girl recently. Ameena said due to a meagre salary, the son-in-law is unable to make frequent visits, she also cannot go to Bombay as she has to look after her children and husband. The daughter's marriage took place at home, it was a one day affair, attended by relatives and villagers. Usually, sweets are prepared for lunch on the day of marriage. The second day of the wedding is only for close relatives, and on that day meat is prepared for lunch.

Ameena's work: Ameena's work is very uncertain these days as her husband had to withdraw from purse-seine partnership due to poor catch. Usually in peak season she goes to Tadri to collect the fish caught by her husband and sells it in Ankola or Kumta markets. At present, good catch is not assured so she selects some local markets and sells fish caught by her husband on traditional boat, to regular

customers in the village. Between September & January she also dries prawns brought from Tadri landing centre by her husband and sells it during off season. During the peak season of September & October she sells 15 to 20 kgs of fresh fish brought from Kumta market and makes a profit of Rs.10/- to 15/- per day. She works 10 to 15 days in these months. During the off season, her main work is, to repair nets and making new nets at home for their own boat or for others on wage basis. These days she is only engaged in repairing their own nets. Her husband also helps her in this task. During June, July she is also engaged as a agriculture labour and also in work in their own plot. As an agriculture labourer, she works for 15 days in a month and is paid a wage of Rs.4/- per day. Usually such work is available with in the village or in the neighbouring villages.

Adam Hussain's work: Adam Hussain works both on traditional boat and mechanised boat. Till recently he was the partner of a purse-seine boat. He has withdrawn his partnership this year as the season was not good for purse-seines and he had to stay at home without work. At present he is engaged as labourer in a trawler boat owned by his brother and he gets a share amount from the total catch. He earns about Rs.20/- per day as wages. He works for 6 months in a year and in a month he has work for 20 days. During other months he goes out fishing on a traditional boat with neighbours and brings his share of fish home. His wife Ameena goes to the market to sell the fish. Occassionally, he borrows money from his wife for his experses, otherwise he looks after all the needs of the family.

During off season he is also engaged in net making

and repairing, usually for their own use. Occassionally he also weaves net for a wage. The weaving of net is a difficult job, needs a lot of parience and skill. Even then it is not a paying job. When no work is available this work provides the income needed to feed the family. The wages are paid based on number of metres weaved or for the whole net measuring 5 to 6 metres. He earns Rs.500/- for making a new net. In 3 months Adam and Ameena can make 2 nets.

Ameena's children: Ameena's daughters Julekhabi and Faridabi aged 17 and 12 have studied upto 7th and 5th standard respectively. At present both are engaged in firewood collection for their own use. Julekhabi and Faridabi help their mother in household work and in carring for the younger ones. Both of them go to the forest at 6 A.M. daily along with other women of the village and each of them collect 15 to 20 kgs of firewood and return home in the afternoon. During summer months they go the forest daily and bring firewood. Firewood is stored during summer, as they cannot go out of the house during rainy season. These two daughters also help their mother in salting fish and drying at home. Sometimes they also go to the market to sell the fish. The unmarried muslim girls are not sent to market to sell fish as there is community restriction. But with a big family like this Ameena felt that it is not always possible to keep the girls confined to house, they should also give a helping hand to the family.

Haneefabi, Hussain and Jameelabi are other children of Ameena, who are studying in 3rd and 1st standard respectively in Urdu school within the village.

Zubedabi is the youngest daughter of Ameena, who is 4 years old now. Occassionally she goes to Balwadi classes in the village.

Annual Income and Expenditure of the household: The household earns an annual income of Rs.5,600/- both from fishing and agriculture. Adam Hussain who works as a trawler labourer earns Rs.2,400/- annually. In his 5 kunta of land he cultivates paddy and pulses and earns Rs.750/- yearly. Ameena from marketing fish contributes Rs.1,040/- to the household income. During agriculture season she works as an agricultural labourer and gets an additional income of Rs.400/-. Adam Hussain and Ameena weave 2 nets and earn approximately Rs.1000/-.

The total annual household expenditure is Rs.9,000/- and can be classified as follows:-

1. Food (Rice, Vegetables, Spices, etc.,)	-	Rs.6,000
2. Medicines	-	Rs. 300
3. Clothing	-	Rs.1,000
4. Transport	-	Rs. 300
5. Education	-	Rs. 500
6. Entertainment	-	Rs. 400
7. Tobacco/Pan	-	Rs. 500

		Rs.9,000

Managing the house: Ameena mentioned that she spends the money as her husband is out of the house on work. Adam Hussain comes home once in 8 days and gives her money to buy provisions and other household needs. Since Adam is out most of the time, she takes some decisions but not the major ones. She feels since Adam is the only earning member and has so many dependants, their income is less than expenditure. Sometimes she may have to borrow money from neighbours or bring provisions on credit. She felt it was not alright to ask the neighbours for help all the time.

Festivals: Adam is very religious. He visits the mosque every Friday. They have a strong belief in God and they celebrate festivals like Ramzan, Bakrid with devotion. Usually elders observe fasting during Ramzan month, but not the younger ones.

Decisions and relationship: Regarding marriage and education of children the decision is taken by Ameena and her husband. But sometimes whatever Adam decides is final, there is no question of disobeying him, informed Ameena. Ameena said that her relationship is good with neighbours, all of them are very cordial. She also felt that since Adam is the only bread earner, she cannot afford to send children to school after 7th standard. Sending children to school outside the village means additional expenses on travel and food.

Health: Ameena informed that with the present income she is unable to go to hospital when her children or she is sick, as it requires money for transport, medicines and doctors fees. She tries to cure the disease with whatever nature medicine she knows.

Food: Ameena said that she daily cooks $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 kg of fish with rice and ragi, sometimes wheat products are also consumed. Dhal is used once a week, meat is cooked once a month or so. She also informed that since children eat enough fish, they are all keeping well without any disease. She doesn't know how much she spends on food items daily, approximately Rs.20/-.

Awareness about IDFP: Ameena knows about the IDFP, but she does not know what are the benefits they are eligible for. Since she goes over to Tadri to collect fish for marketing, the women assembled at the landing centre talk about the project and that is how

she came to know about the project. When informed about the benefits - she agreed to move to Tadri provided some amount of land, house and other facilities like drinking water, provision shop, school are given. She felt the ultimate decision regarding moving to Tadri rests with her husband as he is more experienced and knows about worldly affairs.

Children's future: Ameena does not expect any major change for her children from the present occupation of fishing and marketing of fish. But she wants her son to study well and take up some salaried job.

Family planning: Ameena knows about the advantages of family planning and wishes to get sterilised as she knows that she cannot afford to have any more children. But according to Islam rules, a muslim woman who gets operated is looked down by the community and are not allowed to perform religious duties. Hence she really does not know what to do. She knows that if they have less children then they can afford more facilities and good education.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Adam works as a trawler labourer and may continue to be one unless sanctioned a gillnet under the IDFP. He has not even applied for the boat and considering that he is a muslim, may not even apply for one.

The trawler in which he works lands elsewhere and will continue to land there during the fishing season unless landing facilities are provided at

Betkuli, even during the off season, they will land elsewhere (as at present). Providing landing facilities at Betkuli will help Ameena since then she will not have to go to Tadri to buy fish. She will be able to buy fish at Betkuli, and get a better price.

Therefore, unless landing facilities are provided at Betkuli, the household is not likely to be affected.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.11

GOWRI - THE FISH UNLOADER

1. Village	:	Aganashini
2. Name	:	Gowri
3. Age	:	34
4. Caste	:	Harikant
5. Education	:	Primary
6. Age at Marriage	:	17 years
7. No. of pregnancies	:	3
8. No. of Living Children	:	3
9. Family Planning Status	:	Not sterilised
10. Size of the household	:	4
11. Annual income of the household (estimated)	:	4,000/-
12. Annual expenditure of the household (reported)	:	2,975/-

Gowri - The Fish Unloader: Gowri, a harikant woman from Aganashini village, is well known in her community and popular because of her leadership ability. She has spent all her childhood here, as she was adopted by her aunt, living in the village.

Thirty four years old, she is separated from her husband Ganapaiah, since the last seven years and now lives with her two younger children and her mother's sister, Ponnu who has lost her husband. The eldest son is with Ganapaiah, who has remarried and lives in Moodangi.

Aganashini is a picturesque village, where the river Aganashini joins the sea. Just across the mouth of the river, 10 minutes by boat, lies Tadri.

The harikant colony where Gowri lives is away from the main road and the bus stop - several huts are clustered

together and edging this are paddy fields belonging to the non-fishing households. On one side the huts are so close to the shore that during the monsoons, water enters the huts, destroying or damaging property. Setting this right means heavy expenses for the owners.

The house where Gowri and her aunt live belongs to Ponnu and is a hut with tiled roof and mud walls. The front portico is made up of thatch supported by a brick pillar. There is one room used by the family and a kitchen where pictures of god are also kept. There is some space at the back to store fuel and for bathing. The absence of a latrine is acutely felt by her. As in most houses, ventilation is very poor and only the kitchen has a window. A coir rope running across the portico serves as a clothes stand.

Household Assets: Gowri does not have much to call her own. The house in which she lives belongs to her aunt. She has very few aluminium vessels, no transistor, no nets, no boats. She does not have any jewellery either. Even her clothes are torn. She has two nylon sarées and 2 sets of ordinary clothes for her son.

Gowri's early life and marriage: Gowri's early life too was spent in Aganashini, with her aunt Ponnu by whom she was adopted. Her parents lived at Kimani and were also engaged in fishing and fish marketing. Her mother died when she was expecting another child and nobody knows the cause of death. Her father now lives in Kimani with relatives.

Ponnu sent Gowri to school, but only upto Class IV, after which she began to help her aunt with her work. It was Ponnu who fixed up her marriage to Ganapaiah a boy from Moodangi, when she was 17 years old. The marriage ran into difficulties even in the early days when Ganapaiah

would abuse her under the influence of alcohol. Later he began to live with another woman and it was then that Gowri decided to move out. She left her eldest son behind and came back to Aganashini to live with her aunt and 2 younger children and has been here since the last 7 or 8 years in the same house where she spent her childhood. There is a good understanding among the neighbours, most of whom are related to Gowri and have seen her as a child and through her marriage and separation. She is held in high regard by these people, who are very unhappy with Ganapaiah and come to Gowri's help whenever necessary.

Ever since then, Gowri has been supporting the family working as an unloader, and also collects and sells shell fish and other fish. She has managed to educate all her children and while the eldest is now in the final year of school, Yeshwanth (11) and Sankara (8) are both in primary school. She plans that Yeshwanth should continue to study till class 7 and then take up some fishing activity. However, she hopes that she will be able to educate Shankara and enable him to take up a regular job.

Gowri's work: The mornings are fully devoted to household work as Gowri is the only person who is able to do any work. Ponnu is too old to work and only minds the children in Gowri's absence.

Gowri's day starts at daybreak, when she sweeps the front yard and sprinkles water. She has to go to a neighbour's house, about 10 minutes away from her own, to fetch water for the house. She then prepares the breakfast, usually dosas and tea, and gets the children ready for school. Once they are off, she has to wash clothes near the well (which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ Km from her house) come back and clean the house. The afternoon meal, consisting usually of rice and fish curry, has to be prepared fresh and the

remaining used for the night. She then takes bath, wears an old but clean nylon sari and has her meals with Ponnu. The children come later during the school break. She then sets out on work. If she goes to Tadri for unloading fish, she leaves around 11 AM along with another 20 women from her village. She returns to her village late in the evening, around 7 - 730 PM after all the boats have landed.

If she goes to sell fish, she leaves in the morning by 11.30 AM, goes to Tadri to buy fish, returns to Aganashini with fish by boat, keeps some fish at home for the day's meal, takes a bus from Aganashini to Kumta which is 12 Kms from her village. She sells her fish at the fish market in Kumta. If she has made a good profit that day, she buys some provisions on the way, takes a bus and returns home by 3.30 PM. On days when she is not very tired, she again goes to Tadri around 4.30 PM to buy fish and sell it locally. If she does not go to work in the afternoon, she dries fish for others. This is also the time when she does some odd jobs like sewing/mending clothes, shopping, etc.

When there is low tide, which is generally late afternoon/evening, she collects shells in Aganashini river and takes it to Kumta the next day for sale.

Unloading fish: For most part of the year, Gowri's work is to unload fish from mechanised boats which land at Tadri harbour. Since Aganashini is just across Tadri, the number of boats that come to land in Tadri is clearly visible from Aganashini. If there are several boats to land in Tadri, then the women go to Tadri to unload the boat. A group of 25 to 30 women from the village go by boat to Tadri harbour by 11 or 12 AM. Women from other nearby villages like Moodangi, and Hoskatta and Tadri, also work on this job at Tadri. Trawlers and purse seiners begin landing around noon, and the Chairman of the Tadri Fisheries Co-operative Society has devised an arrangement to regulate

the work. Thus the first boat to land is unloaded by women from one village, the next boat another and so on. This way, clashes among women from different villages, which was very common earlier, has now been avoided.

The actual work involved is that, as each boat comes in, the fish is separated on board. Women go up to the boat wading through knee-deep water, to get their baskets filled. This is then passed on down the line of women, up to the trucks/lorries waiting near the jetty. However, they do not load fish into these vehicles and only men do this work.

On an average, each group is able to unload two boats a day, the payment for each boat being Rs.120/- to Rs.150/-, to be divided among the number of women engaged in unloading. Thus Gowri can earn Rs.15/- to Rs.25/- a day, which is more than what she could earn from other activities.

Shell collection: However, besides unloading fish, she does take up other activities at different times of the year. During the low tides from December through April, shell collection is a major activity. Several women can be seen at the river mouth, with nets hung about their necks, diving into the water to catch the shells. Gowri usually collects shells in the late afternoon and evenings, when the tide is at its lowest. She also buys shell fish from other women on credit and repays them the next day after selling everything. If she has a large quantity, she sells at the Kumta fish market, where she goes by bus or tempo, paying a fare of Rs.2/-. If she has small quantities she goes by foot to the nearby villages like Chittargi and Nellikeri. Gowri leaves home by 6 AM on such days and is able to return by 1 or 2 O' clock. She then cooks the afternoon meals and goes to the harbour if she is not too tired. Gowri sells a maximum of 10 Kg of shell fish and with the price being Rs.1.50 a kolaga during monsoons and Re.1/- in other seasons, she is able to earn Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- in a day. She would have to spend Rs.4/- for transport and

and may be tea in some hotel. On such days she also buys the household provisions at Kumta for a part of the money and the rest is paid to other women from whom she has purchased oysters. Till about four or five years ago, this was a very good source of income, but since then contracts supplying lime factories with the shells, have found this a very lucrative occupation and have taken it up on a large scale. Thus shell collection has become a subsidiary occupation among fisherwomen.

Selling fish: During the peak prawn season in the months of September and October and January, Gowri finds it lucrative to sell prawn (very small prawns used only for local consumption) She buys it from the boats at the rate of Rs.6/- per kilo and sell at Rs.7/- a kilo. The main markets are Ankola, Kumta and Karwar. Apart from prawns, Gowri also purchases 10-20 Kgs of sardines and mackerel worth approx. Rs.30/- to Rs.40/- and sells at Kumta. If it costs more than Rs.40/-, then she does not buy fish that day. The usual mode of transport, when there are large quantities of fish, is a hired tempo shared by several women. She needs to pay Rs.5/- towards this, besides tips of Rs.2/- to the driver and tea which she has at Kumta. All these expenses apart, Gowri is able to make a profit of Rs.10/- to Rs.15/- in a day. Whenever she is unable to sell all the fish, she brings it back to dry and sell later. She also dries fish for other households, for which she is paid a wage - normally a kilo of paddy for a day's work. On days when fresh fish is not available she takes dry fish to sell at Karwar.

Altogether, Gowri manages to have work almost every day, with an average income of Rs.10/- to Rs.15/-. She is engaged in different types of work in the different seasons.

Gowri's efforts to organise workers: Earlier, Gowri used to be paid Rs.3/- for working from 8 AM to 5 PM at the drying sheds at Tadri. She and other women thought this was very poor reimbursement for the hard work involved.

Therefore she asked the women to abstain from work and bargained with the boat owners (who rent the drying yards and employ workers) and was able to get the wage raised to Rs.5/-. However, she herself has given up this work, to concentrate on other activities. She had also organised the women unloaders to demand higher wages from the merchants/processing companies. The merchants refused to comply with their demands and the women were forced to go back to work for the same wage. One boat owner has not yet paid Gowri and the other workers for work done some months earlier. Now all these women are depending on Gowri to meet the boat owner and see that their money is given soon. Though Gowri is willing to fight for the workers, she is unhappy that no one really stands by her.

Annual Income of the household: Gowri is the sole contributor to the household income. She goes to unload fish during the months of September, December, and January and during this period, manages to find work for about 26 days a month, and can make upto Rs.25/- per day. Her income from this activity would therefore be about Rs.1900/-.

During October, November, February to May, she is engaged in all three activities - viz unloading, marketing and shell collection. On days when she cannot find unloading work, she buys small quantities of fish to be sold in Kumta, etc., and on days where there is low tide she collects shell fish and sells them at Kumta and other markets. Since it is difficult to mention precisely the days or months she is engaged in these activities and also since all of these activities generally fetch Rs.10/- to Rs.20/- a day, we can assume that on an average she earns Rs.15/- per day and that she finds employment for about 20 days a month will amount to Rs.1800/-.

During the monsoons, i.e., between June and August, she might find employment for about 20 days in all. If small prawns are available, she sells them in some nearby villages and makes, on an average, Rs.10/- per day. Her income from this source would be Rs.200/-.

Gowri's annual income therefore would be around Rs.4000/-.

Managing the House: Gowri has to keep at her work as the entire family depends on her for everything. With the income that she earns, she must meet all the expenses of purchasing provisions. Their daily diet consists of rice, ragi, fish, vegetables, coconut. Occasionally wheat and broken wheat are also used to prepare some special tiffin. Gowri normally keeps aside about a kilo of fish before taking it to the market, and eats whatever is available on that day. There are a few coconut trees around the house, which is sufficient to meet their daily requirements. The other provisions she buys at Kumta whenever she is there, and has enough money. Books and clothes are an additional expenses.

She prefers to buy nylon sarees since though they may be more expensive than cotton, they are easier to maintain and more durable too. Thus the long term expenses on clothes are reduced. She feels that just as SC students are given free uniform at school, other poor students should also be given this benefit.

Repairing the house: Every year the 'Gari' or thatch over the front portico of Gowri's house has to be replaced and this costs her about Rs.50/-. This thatch is used to protect the boats during monsoons and has to be brought from Kagal. The heavy rains every year cause a lot of damage to the house and require expensive repairs..

Annual Expenditure: The main items of expenditure are on food, clothing, transport, repayment of loan, repairing the house. The amount spent would be as follows:

Food	:	1800.00
Clothing	:	300.00
Transport	:	300.00
Repayment of loan	:	350.00
House repair	:	70.00
Education	:	30.00
Medicine	:	100.00
Miscellaneous	:	25.00

		2,975.00
		=====

Indebtedness: Gowri has recently been sanctioned an IRDP loan of Rs.1000/- for fish marketing and she has already been able to repay Rs.200/- to the bank. But she has utilised Rs.400/- out of the loan amount to buy medicines for her aunt and for buying rations during the monsoons.

Though she is required to repay the loan amount in monthly instalments of Rs.30/-, she finds it more convenient to pay up larger amounts whenever the income is good.

Apart from that, if there is any urgent need for money or provisions, the neighbours help each other out, as there is a good understanding amongst them. Gowri usually avoids buying provisions on credit.

Savings: Gowri has saved Rs.600/- with the Syndicate Bank at Gokarna. None of her friends or relatives know because if they did, then they would be asking her for a loan. Gowri has saved this money to meet any contingencies.

Health: There has been no serious illness in the family except recently when Ponnu was down with diarrhoea and vomiting. She did not see any doctor and was treated at home with tender coconut and buttermilk. Later, she went to a private doctor in Kumta.

As far as possible, they try not to go to a doctor and if it is absolutely necessary, then they see a private doctor in Kumta. They do not visit government hospitals because the doctor is generally not in the hospital and even there they have to pay money for treatment. They would rather go to a private doctor and get prompt treatment. The lady health visitor also, it was reported, did not visit the village regularly.

Social and Religious activities: Gowri usually celebrates the most important festivals, shankaranathi being one of them. This is the time of harvest and the festival is a kind of thanks giving for the bounties of the land. At this time Gowri has many relatives visiting her, and for her it means added expenditure, as everyone has to be fed well. There is also the local fair to attend.

Apart from this there is not much by way of socializing and only 2 or 3 times a year, Gowri and some other women go to Ankola or Kumta to watch a film. Local and other news is gathered from others during her visits to Tadri, as she has no radio at home and does not read the papers. While waiting at Tadri harbour for boats to arrive, there is enough time for women to exchange news and gossip.

Other development activities: There is no Mahila Mandal in the village and she feels that there should be some organisation to help fisherwomen in marketing fish. With this in mind, Gowri and twenty other women from Aganashini paid up Rs.11/- each for shares in the Tadri fisherwomen's Co-operative Society. But till now the society has not been able to do anything for them and Gowri is worried about that. She is willing to take the lead to start a cooperative society in her own village and is confident of mobilizing the support of other women. She is aware of the activities of the Fishermen's Co-operative Society at Tadri and says it has been doing well only in the last 4 years and not earlier.

The Indo-Danish Project: Being in Tadri almost every day has given a chance for Gowri to learn about the Project through the Co-operative Society officials. She does not know the various aims of the project, only that a harbour is being built at Tadri. But she is as yet unable to say what effect it may have on fisherwomen like herself and hopes that they will be able to find some stable employment.

She hoped that this project would construct a bund to prevent the flood waters from entering their huts. If this is done, one of their main problems would be solved.

Consequences of IDFP to the household: With the construction of the harbour, more boats will be able to land at Tadri. However, there will be no need for women to unload the boats, since the lorries and trucks will be able to come right up to the harbour, and loading fish on to the trucks is the men's job. Therefore, it is felt, that the fisherwomen from the four villages of Tadri, Moodangi, Aganashini and Hosakatta who are engaged presently in unloading fish from the boats may become jobless. (Unloading of fish during the peak season was not observed by the research team; and will be looked into during the forthcoming season. This observation thus is liable to change). Therefore, Gowri's activities may be limited to shell fish collection and fish vending which means a loss of one of her sources of income.

As regards the women fish vendors, it is rather difficult to visualise the changes that may occur. With the increased number of boats landing at Tadri and a consequent increase in the size of fish landed, it is possible that a major portion of it will be taken away for outside markets by wholesalers or processing units leaving very little fish,

probably of poorer quality, for local sale by women vendors. Since the quantity of fish available for sale will be less, the price of fish will go up. It may be recalled that on days when the price of fish is high, Gowri does not go to sell fish. If the price of fish is beyond Gowri's means, then she will be forced to give up selling fish - thus leaving her to depend entirely on shell fish collection and sale of dry fish and shell fish. Since shell fish collection can be taken up only when there is low tide, Gowri's income from this source will be very low.

Thus, Gowri's employment and income may be considerably reduced. Since she is the only breadwinner of the family, the standard of living of the household will also deteriorate.

The nutritional status, may also be affected because,

- (a) reduced income and
- (b) fish for daily consumption was brought by Gowri i.e. before going to sell fish, she would keep some fish at home. But if as mentioned above, she is not able to sell fish, then they will have to consume only shell fish, which as we know, is not available always.

Therefore the IDFP, will not, in any way, benefit Gowri and her family.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.12

SANNAMMA - THE DRY FISH SELLER

1.	Village	:	Moodangi
2.	Name	:	SANNAMMA
3.	Age	:	35 years
4.	Caste	:	Harikanth
5.	Education	:	Illiterate
6.	Age at marriage	:	14 years
7.	Number of Pregnancies	:	14
8.	Number of living children	:	8
9.	Family Planning Status	:	Not sterilised.
10.	Size of the household	:	9
11.	Annual income of the household (Estimated)	:	Rs.12,400/-
12.	Annual expenditure of the household (Reported)	:	Rs.16,940/-

The village:- Moodangi is just a kilometre away from Tadri and is a hamlet of Gokarna. Drinking water is available from a community well near the house. But a backyard serves as toilet and bathroom for all the family members. The fair price shop is at Tadri. The Government hospital is at Gokarna, 3 kms from Moodangi village. A primary School is within the village, there is a good tar Road and the government bus service from Gokarna to Tadri stops at Moodangi village. The nearest post office and bank is at Tadri. The flour mill is at Gokarna, which is at a distance of 3 kms. There is no mahila mandal, but there is a balwadi where food is not served always and teacher is not really interested in running it. There is no fishing co-operative society within the

village, but Moodangi is serviced by the Tadri fishermen's Co-operative Society.

Homestead:- The house is situated by the shore of river Aganashini. It looks new with new tiles and white washed walls. The house is constructed on an elevated foundation so that during rainy season river water does not flood the house. The verandah is furnished with a table, chair and radio. This place is used as a sit out and during summer male members of family sleep here at night. This room gives way to 2 inner rooms partitioned at middle. One room serves as the store room, another room is for Sannamma's married son to keep his belongings. All the trunks with important papers are kept in this room. There is one more big inner room where all the female family members usually rest. A room with thatched roof and walls serves as the kitchen. It was mentioned that the big inner room will be converted into a kitchen in the near future. In the verandah photos of family members, Gods & Goddesses are put up. Adjacent to the building is a small bathroom with a chulah and a big earthen pot to heat water. In front of the house an erected platform with tiled roof serves as the temple of Lord Venkateshwara for the family members. There are 14 coconut trees around the house. The floor is cemented and walls are built with bricks and mud.

Family background:- Sannamma is from Devarbail village which is slightly far from Moodangi. She lost her parents at an early age and was married to Ajappa Narayan at the age of 14 years. Sannamma has one

younger sister who is married. Her husband is engaged in petty business in Moodanji village.

Ajappa Narayan and his forefathers are from Moodanji village. Ajappa has spent his childhood in Tadri and is a very interesting person to talk to as he seems to know a lot about the development of Tadri. He lost his parents recently and his only brother is engaged as a labourer in purse-seine or a trawler whenever he gets work. Otherwise he is engaged in shell fish collection in river Aganashini. Ajappa's brother has 2 sons and a daughter and they are living separately.

Ajappa Narayan's eldest daughter is married and is now settled in Binaga, near Karwar. Ajappa Narayana came to know of his son-in-law through his son Ramesh, who was working as a trawler labourer. The son-in-law lost his parents, during floods that swept the village. Ajappa Narayan spent Rs.3,000/- on his daughter's marriage. After getting the wedding registered at the Registrar's office he hosted a small party for his friends and relatives in the village on the same day. It was a simple marriage informed Ajappa Narayan. His son-in-law now works as a purse-seine labourer in Karwar and gets a monthly wage of Rs.500/-.

Sannamma's Marriage:- At the time of marriage the present house was not in a good condition. Ajappa Narayan rebuilt the house 3 years back as

wooden reapers and tiles were broken and due to continuous river water seepage during monsoon, the walls were also damaged. When he got married he had to bear the marriage expenditure. Now he said, customs and practices have changed and there are more unmarried daughters at home, not married at the proper age due to dowry system.

Sannamma gave birth to 10 children - 6 sons and 4 daughters - out of which she lost one son and one daughter. The eldest daughter is married and settled at Karwar. Her eldest son lives with her along with his wife. Thus 5 sons 2 daughters are living with her.

She delivered all the children at home as there was no hospital nearby or transport facilities. The midwives of the village were experienced in delivering children, and took care of her even after the delivery.

Ajappa Narayan's work:- Ajappa Narayan is an owner of a traditional boat, which he got through the Tadri Fishermen's Co-operative Society from a bank loan of Rs.4,000/- (Rs.2,500/- for boat and Rs.1,500/- for the net). Earlier, he was a purse-seine labourer on a purse-seine that was owned by the Tadri Fishermen's Co-operative Society. The purse-seine was withdrawn from this group and was given to a new group of partners by the Tadri Society. Ajappa Narayan mentioned that the first group had made good profit on the same purse-seine and he saw no reason why the Tadri

society withdrew their partnership. They were all termed as defaulters and each of them had to pay Rs.500/- to the bank. Ajappa Narayan also mentioned that Mr.Moodangi (Mr. Moodangi, Chairman of the Tadri Fishermen Co-operative Society) had not helped the ambiga or the harikant castes and that he could have done much better work to help the people in his village. Ajappa Narayan works for 9 months in a year - 15 to 20 days in a month he is engaged in fishing on his traditional boat. Whatever fish he catches is brought home and his wife sells it in the fish market at Gokarna.

Sannamma's work:- Right from her childhood days she has been working on some activity or the other. However, after marriage her work load has increased as besides working at home, she has to take care of children and also go out to earn a wage. After marriage she was engaged in drying fish for a wage and also in shell fish collection. Now she has stopped going to the drying yard as her sons shoulder the family responsibility.

Fresh fish vending:- Sannamma sells fresh fish brought by her husband and sons through traditional boat. She sells fresh fish for 4 days in a month at Gokarna market. She goes to Gokarna market at 8 A.M. by walk and returns at 12 or 1 P.M. by bus. At a time she takes 15 to 20 kgs of fish and she makes a profit of Rs.150/- per month.

Dry fish vending:- Presently Sannamma is engaged in salting and drying the edible fish and prawns. She gets more river fish and special varieties of small

fish brought by husband and sons during lean season. 6 days in a month she goes to Gokarna market by walk or bus and sells 10 kgs of dry fish. She sells one kolaga of small variety of river fish at Rs.5/- and makes a profit of Rs.10/- to Rs.15/- per day.

Shell fish collection:- Sannamma and her daughter-in-law are also engaged in shell fish collection in river aganashini. Each of them collect about 5 kgs of shell fish and the meat is used for home consumption.

Sannamma's Children:- Sannamma's eldest son Ramesh works as a trawler labourer at Tadri. He goes out fishing 20 days in a month and works 8 to 9 months in a year. He gets a monthly salary of Rs.600/- and has been working as a labourer for the last 5 years. Ramesh's wife Janabai works at the Tadri fish drying yard. She leaves home at eight in the morning and walks up to the drying yard. In the evening she comes home at 6-30 P.M. after unloading the trash fish into drying yard. She takes lunch with her. Only tea is provided to her at the work spot by the employer. She gets a monthly wage of Rs.180/- for drying the trash fish got from trawler boat. Janabai helps her mother-in-law in household work, selling fish and shell fish collection. She has a lunch break of one hour. Occassionally she comes home. Work at the drying yard is very tiresome and difficult as most of the time they have to work in hot sun. She works 8 to 9 months in a year viz September to May. Sometimes a bonus of Rs.100-200 is given to the workers. She goes to same employer every

year because she takes advance from him during off-season.

Occasionally, she goes to Gokarna and Kumta fish markets with her mother-in-law to sell the fish. Her earnings was spent on transport and other expenses. Profit from fish selling is meagre compared to 8 to 10 hours of labour they put into it.

Shell fish collection is another work she does along with other women of her village. For 6 hours of labour, say morning 6 to 12 or 2 to 8 P.M., the profit is not at all good. Hence the shell fish is consumed by the household. Shell fish collection work is done mostly during the monsoon season and when there is a low tide.

Sannamma's second and third son Venkataraman and Nagesha respectively are engaged in traditional boat fishing in Aganashini river with their father, and also in making and repairing nets. They get training from their father in all aspects of fishing and sometimes they are allowed to go independently. They have fishing work for 9 months in a year - 20 days in a month. Both of them get 35 to 40 kgs of river fish, out of which 10 to 15 kgs is fish sold by Sannamma or Janabai at Gokarna market. They are able to make a profit of Rs.25 to 30/- per day. Daily they leave home by 8 A.M. for fishing in the Aganashini river and return to home with fish by 3 or 4 P.M. They take lunch with them when they go out fishing. Ajappa Narayan feels that day by day he is growing old and he can't continue in the same occupation and would like his

sons take over from him. Venkataraman and Nagesha are also full time earners for the family. Occassionally they are engaged in shell fish collection along with their father Ajappa Narayana in Aghanashini river.

Sannamma's 4th son Vinayaka is studying in 6th standard. School is within the village, but they have to walk to the other end, nearly one KM. Mohana and Rohini are the youngest son and daughter of Sannamma who are aged 5 and 3 respectively. Most of the time they remain at home. They are looked after by daughter-in-law Janabai, or mother sannamma.

Income and Expenditure of the household: Ajappa Narayan, Venkataramana and Nagesha are working on their own traditional boat for 9 months in a year. Their combined annual income is approximately Rs.4,000/-. Ramesh is working as a trawler labourer for 8 months in a year, getting a wage of Rs.600/- per month and his annual income is approximately Rs.4,800/-. The daughter-in-law Janabai gets Rs.200/- per month as wages for having worked at drying sheds her annual income is approximately Rs.1,800/-. Through drying fish and fresh fish selling Sannamma earns Rs.1,800/- per annum. The total annual income of the household is approximately Rs.12,400/-.

The main item of household expenditure is on food. The household annual expenditure can be classified as follows:-

1. Food (Rice, Ragi, Spices, Pulses, Vegetables, etc.,)	: Rs	9,240/-
2. Clothing	: Rs	2,500/-
3. Festivals	: Rs	500/-
4. House-Repair	: Rs	250/-

5. Health	:	Rs	500/-
6. Transport	:	Rs	300/-
7. Education	:	Rs	200/-
8. Nets (thread & Net)	:	Rs	500/-

			Rs 13,940/-

9. Liquor	:	Rs	3,000/-

			Rs 16,940/-

Alcoholism: Many harikants remain backward inspite of working hard for the past several years because they squander money on liquor consumption, felt Ajappa. Fishing is a very tiring and labourious work and takes away lot of energy and to recover from exhaustion and tiredness many fishermen consume liquor, informed Ajappa Narayan. He also drinks liquor daily upto a maximum of Rs.5/- per day. During fishing season all the fishermen who go out fishing consume liquor daily. Some old women who go to market with head load of fish also consume liquor as they start shivering if they carry basket load of fish - informed Ajappa Narayan.

Food habits:- Sannamma cooks 5 kgs of rice and 1 kg of Ragi along with 2 kg of fish for all the members of the household at a time. They consume vegetables which are locally grown and available at a cheaper rate, as they cannot afford enough money on it. Ajappa Narayan informed all the children are fed with fish daily (fish kept aside from own catch) and they are all healthy. He also said fish contains a lot of proteins and minerals. All the provisions are

brought by Sannamma or Janabai and sometimes by sons when they return from work. On religious days like Saturdays and Thursdays the household does not consume fish.

Festivals:- The household celebrates all the Hindu festivals like Deepavali, Ugadi, Shankranthi etc. The day the research team visited the household, it was Shankranthi festival day and were given sweets prepared out of sweet milk and bathas (kind of sugar usually distributed during this festival). The raised platform of Lord Venkateshwara was decorated with mango leaves and flowers and all the members of the family had prayed before the family God.

General awareness:- Ajappa Narayan can not read and write, but is aware of worldly affairs and political parties. He feels that Indira Gandhi has helped them through Janatha Housing Scheme, land reforms, loan for boat etc. Hence he voted for her party. Sannamma informed that whichever party comes to power their standard of living remained the same - some people in this village had voted for Janatha Party also.

Ramesh bought a transistor 2 months ago as he is fond of music - he reads newspaper and magazines and tells the others about all the events around the world and nation. His other sons Venkataramana & Vinayaka also read newspapers and magazines.

Awareness about IDFP:- None of the women or men in this family were aware of the project and the benefits - no body informed them about Gillnet boat distribution or construction of houses at

Tadri for fishermen. They came to know about the project from the study team. They said they would apply for a gillnet boat through the Tadri Fishermen's Co-operative Society. In this village there are some educated people but they do not tell the people about benefits provided by Government because they do not like poor people coming up in life - they want them to remain backward always - informed Ajappa Narayan. Ajappa's married son and his family and Venkataramana are willing to move to Tadri during fishing season if the gillnet boat is sanctioned; but they are not ready to leave the present village and homestead.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

If the menfolk decide to apply for a gillnet and are sanctioned one, then, their employment and income may improve. While Venkataramana and Nagesh may work on the gillnet, Ajappa might continue fishing on his canoe which will, if not anything else, provide some fish for daily consumption for the family.

The employment potential for the women of the house also will improve - if a gillnet is given, then the women can sell some of the catch and fishes caught by these nets fetch a good price. If Ajappa also continues to fish on his traditional boat, there will be enough fish for the women to sell. If fish selling proves profitable, then Janabai might decide to stop working in the drying yard.

Even if a boat is not sanctioned to this household, the women will continue to work as at present and no major change is foreseen in their employment. Janabai will continue to work at the drying yard and if Ajappa continues working on his traditional boat, and since these fish fetch a good price, Sannamma will continue to sell the fish.

Once the harbour is built, and if more trawlers and purse-sieners land at Tadri, Venkataramana and Nagesh may manage to find employment as labourers on these crafts. It would mean an increase in the family income.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.13

AJEETHA ESUB - A FISHING NET MAKER

1. Village	:	Betkuli
2. Name	:	Ajeetha Esub
3. Age	:	23 years
4. Religion	:	Muslim
5. Education	:	Illiterate
6. Age at marriage	:	20 years
7. No. of pregnancies	:	Nil
8. Family Planning Status	:	Not sterilised
9. Size of the household	:	3
10. Annual income of the household (estimated)	:	Rs.7,500/-
11. Annual expenditure of the household (reported)	:	Rs.8,000/-

Ajeetha Esub, as her name indicates, is a muslim and lives in Betkuli village with her husband. Betkuli is situated in Kumta Taluk. It is 13 miles from Kumta and 11 miles from Tadri (by road). Her husband Esub Ibrahim, who is the head of the household, works as a labourer on a trawler at Kimani - a village which is 3 kms from Betkuli. He cannot afford to own even a traditional canoe or a 'paati' as it is locally called. Since his work requires him to be away from home all day, Ajeetha has requested her friend Meherunnisa to stay with her.

As is customary among the muslims, the women, if they can afford to, do not take up gainful activities outside the home. So also, Ajeetha and Meherunnisa have taken to weaving nets which does not require them to get out of their home.

The House: The house they are living in is owned by Esub. It is situated at the end of the second road which is parallel to the main road of the village. The house consists of one room, a kitchen and a varandah and has a fairly big compound where they have a vegetable garden, two coconut saplings and two banana

trees. Ajeetha also dries small quantities of fish in the compound. The two rooms have tiled roof and brick walls while the verandah has thatched roof and wall. The flooring in all the rooms is of mud. The family makes use of the thatched verandah to make nets. In one corner of the verandah a hand grinder and grain crusher are kept.

The house and its surroundings are clean. Only the streets in the village are electrified, the houses are not. There are about 4 open wells in the village, and one of them is right in front of Ajeetha's house. She collects water from this well. In summer, however, she has a problem, since there is not enough water in the well. There is no fair price shop in the village and the provisions have to be got from Bargi. Since, it means getting out of the house, Ajeetha does not go to purchase provisions - her husband buys on his way back.

Employment: Esub Ibrahim, as mentioned earlier, works as a labourer on a trawler at Kimani. The trawler is owned by a muslim. He leaves his house by 3 A.M., walks upto Kimani which is about 3 kms from Betkuli and then goes fishing in a trawler. The trawler lands at Kimani and Ibrahim returns home by around 7 p.m. Ibrahim is away at work for about 16 hours. Sometimes, during a busy season he does not come home every day, but returns once a week or so. Esub is engaged in fishing for about 8-9 months in a year. He is not paid a monthly wage but is paid a share of the daily catch. Therefore, his daily income would depend on the day's catch. There are days when inspite of putting in the long 16 hours of work, he returns without any income. It is highly uncertain and risky. While on boat, food is served to all the labourers. At about 6.30 a.m., breakfast which consists of beaten rice mixed with jaggery and coconut or Idly or uppuma is served along with a cup of tea. Soon after the first haul of fish, some crabs are cooked

and served to everybody. Lunch consisting of rice, prawns and fish is served at around 1 p.m. After a cup of tea, another meal is served about an hour prior to landing. An amount of Rs.150 is deducted from his salary every month towards his food. On an average, he earns Rs.5,000/- per year excluding the cost of food mentioned above.

During the monsoons, occasionally, he helps his wife in making nets.

Ajeetha's Routine: Ajeetha has to wake up early in the morning to see her husband off. She then goes back to bed and starts her day by 6.30 a.m. She has to fetch water from the well, clean the house, finish her cooking, wash her clothes and she then sits down to weave nets by about 9 a.m. She gets the orders to make trawler nets from the boat owners at Kimani. They give her the 26 kgs of Nylon that is required for making a trawl net and an advance of Rs.25. It takes Ajeetha 3 months to complete one net. She weaves about 370 webs breadth - wise, and a length of 200 webs and 10 to 12 such pieces are joined together to make one trawl net. For each piece of net she earns Rs.40/-. She works for about 6-8 hours a day in net making and is able to weave about 5 to 6 nets in a year. Ajeetha is able to earn about Rs.2,500/- per year. The net is delivered to the boat owners by her husband Esub.

Meherunnisa, who is much older (55 years) than Ajeetha, is not able to work as fast as Ajeetha. She makes only 2 to 3 trawl nets in a year and earns Rs.1,300/- per year. She works from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. and after lunch between 3.30 p.m. and 5 p.m.

Net making involves a lot of concentration and patience. It is a very tedious and time consuming job. Since one has to sit straight; pull the nylon thread to tighten the knot, it gives them back ache, fingers get cut and is a strain on the eye.

Expenditure: Since Esub is away from home all day, decisions regarding day to day affairs are taken by Ajeetha. However, all purchases are made by Esub since Ajeetha does not get out of her house. They are not able to buy their monthly requirements of provisions at one time. He buys them, on his way back, in small quantities, depending on the amount of money he has with him.

Their diet consists of rice, dhal and occasionally vegetables. Esub takes home a very small quantity of fish every day. This fish is not of very good quality but is not of a very poor quality either. Before giving away the day's catch, the crew keep a small quantity for themselves.

The household expenditure on food, health, clothing etc., per annum works up to Rs.8,000, while their annual income is only Rs.7,500/-.

Ajeetha finds it very difficult to manage the house. She has no support even from her parents. Esub had to borrow Rs.900 from his friend to meet the household expenses.

They do not spend too much on festivals, etc. They observe all the muslim festivals but even then, Ajeetha does not go and visit her friends and relatives. She only participates in the local village festivals. She is not aware of cinemas and other forms of entertainment. She leads a very protected life.

Ajeetha got married when she was 20 years old. She does not have any children as yet.

Awareness of Programmes: Esub meets a number of people and is generally aware of most things. He and Ajeetha are politically aware and have cast their votes during the recent elections.

While Ajeetha is not aware of any of the government schemes, Esub is aware of most of them. He has, however, not availed of any of the schemes because the rate of

interest on such loans is high and he feels he cannot repay in time.

As regards the IDFP, while Ajeetha is totally ignorant about it, Esub knows that a harbour is being built in Tadri. He is not aware of boat distribution or resettlement.

Esub is not very keen on getting a boat because he feels he will be unable to repay the loan. Both Esub and Ajeetha would not like to be resettled at Tadri since they have friends in this village and Ajeetha can approach them for help even when Esub is not around.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

No major changes can be foreseen in the life of Esub and Ajeetha after the implementation of the IDFP. Esub works as a trawler labourer. The project will distribute gillnets only and since he has not even applied for a boat, he will not benefit from it. Therefore, Esub will continue to work as a labourer and his lifestyle would improve only if his income increases. His income is dependant on fish catch. Under the project it is proposed to introduce deep sea fishing vessels which can go deep into the sea, get larger catches of fish and retain the quality of fish, so that it would fetch a good price. However, this is likely to benefit a small group of fishermen only.

As regards net making also, there may not be a change in demand since the number of trawlers will remain the same. If gillnets are introduced and these women start weaving gillnets also, then there may be a slight increase in their wages. However, it must be remembered that a person cannot make more than 6 or 7 nets in a year.

Their nutritional status will not be affected because Esub and other crew members will continue to keep aside some fish for their own consumption even if the selling price of fish is very high.

CASE STUDY NO. 4.14BALI - A HOUSEWIFE FROM NON-FISHING HOUSEHOLD

1. Village	:	Aragona
2. Name	:	Bali
3. Age	:	55 years
4. Caste	:	Harikanth
5. Education	:	Illiterate
6. Age at Marriage	:	14 years
7. Number of Pregnancies	:	7
8. Number of living children	:	6
9. Family Planning Status	:	Not sterilised
10. Size of the Household	:	5
11. Annual income of the Household (estimated)	:	Rs.4,750/-
12. Annual expenditure of the household (reported)	:	Rs.6,300/-

The Village: The village Agragona is situated on the bank of river Gangavali which is about 10 km from Tadri. The houses are scattered, muslims and harikants are the predominant groups living in this village. The harikants are engaged in fishing in the Gangavali river on their traditional wooden boat. Some fishermen go to Karwar, Goa and Mangalore to work on mechanised boats and return to the village after the fishing season. The muslims are engaged in mechanised fishing and marketing of fish. All the harikant families own small plots of agricultural land, which is the main source of their income. They do not depend on fishing alone.

The House: About fifteen years back the whole village was washed away by flood. They stayed in a small thatched building for one year and then they constructed the present house where they live now. The house has a tiled roof and cemented floor. The wall is made out of mud. The house is situated in a high place and the flood waters cannot reach the house. The windows are made out of wood.

In the east there is a big stone image of God Beerappa, their family God. Bali has kept the house and surroundings very clean. There is a small cell which is used as the resting place for children during night.

Family History: Bali's parents lived in Agragona village. She got married at the age of fourteen to Jetti, of the same village. They were six brothers and sisters all together but four male children died due to illness. Since they could not afford to take them to the hospital, they could not save her brothers. Jetti is the only son of his parents. Jetti's forefathers were priests in the Beer temple, which is situated in Agragona village. The agricultural land and place around the house which they have now was given by the temple authorities as a gift to Bali's father-in-law. Jetti is continuing as the priest in the Beer temple.

Assets: They own 35 guntas of land, of which 20 guntas are agricultural land and the remaining 15 guntas include the house site and few coconut trees. Her third son owns a sewing machine which he got from the IRD scheme. Jetti owns two bullocks which are used to plough the land. Bali owns about 25 gms of gold which she would like to use for her daughter's marriage. Bali's son who is a graduate owns a two band transistor which he bought about 2 years back.

Bali's Family: She has four sons and two daughters. Two of her sons and one daughter are married. Two married sons are working as police constables, one in Dandeli and the other one in Jog falls. Both have two children each and they stay with their families. Her third son is a B.A. graduate and is unemployed now. He has learnt tailoring and has bought a tailoring machine. He stitches only shirts and blouses on order from village people. Her second daughter has studied upto fourth standard and is helping her mother in the household duties. Her last son has studied upto SSLC and is unemployed. Some times he goes to Gangavali river to get some fish for household consumption.

Bali's Daily Routine: Bali is not engaged in any gainful activity but is busy with household work. She prepares the food and looks after the day to day affairs of the household. During agriculture season, she is engaged in sowing and transplantation of paddy seedlings in their own land. She goes to the local market for small purchases and once a week she goes to Gokarna town for shopping. Everyday she gets up at 6 O' clock in the morning and prepares breakfast for the family. Then she rests for a while and cooks lunch. Her daughter also helps her in cooking and cleaning. She then goes to the nearby river to wash clothes. After lunch, everyday she rests for one hour. In the evening she goes to the paddy fields to see that everything is in order. She comes back, has a wash and prepares dinner. This is her usual daily routine.

Jetti's Occupation: Jetti's primary occupation is performing pooja in Beerappa temple in the village. Every morning he takes bath before going to the temple to perform pooja. He comes back at 10 O' clock and goes to the paddy field to plough and clean the land. Whenever he is free, he goes to the adjacent Gangavali river to catch fish for their own consumption. Since he is engaged in agriculture and performs pooja in temple, he cannot take up fishing as a full time activity. He feels that fishing is very profitable and regrets that he cannot take up fishing. He felt that he could have bought a mechanised boat and earned more rather than being engaged as a priest and in agriculture. His children also cannot take up fishing as they are educated and would like to take up a white collared job.

Annual Income & expenditure of the household: The main source of income is agriculture. Paddy and pulses are grown. Since the saline river water enters the agricultural plots, only one crop can be grown. The

family income and expenditure may be classified as follows:

From Agriculture	:	Rs.2,000/-
Remittance from Children	:	1,500/-
From the temple	:	250/-

		4,750/-
		=====

Expenditure

Bali's family does not consume fish on Saturdays and Mondays. They consume more vegetables than fish, she grows the vegetables which is sufficient for about four months. Otherwise, they bring the vegetables from Gokarna market.

Food (Rice, vegetables spices, etc.,)	:	Rs.3,500/-
Clothes	:	1,000/-
Medicine	:	500/-
Transport	:	300/-
Other Misc. Exp (House repair, tobacco education)	:	1,000/-

		6,300/-
		=====

Bali was of the opinion that the expenditure was always more than the income, but she managed the house within the limited income they had.

Indebtedness: They have not taken any loan. They are self sufficient and do not want to commit themselves to the burden of indebtedness.

Health: Bali mentioned that the ANM visits the house regularly and asks her to keep the house and surroundings clean. She had kept the house and surroundings very neat using cowdung. Nobody in the house was seriously sick

for the last 10 years. For minor problems they go to Ankola which is about 7 km from Agragona. They regularly go to the private hospital for medicine as they believe that the private doctors give good medicine. She believes in small family norm. Her two daughters-in-law have undergone tubectomy operation after delivering two children.

Bali's Social & Political Activity: Bali attends all the social functions in her villages. She attends the muslim marriages also, and felt that muslim and other caste people were very co-operative and lived together in harmony. She celebrates all the hindu festivals namely Divali, Ugadi, Ganesha Chathurthi etc. She attends the annual festivals of Lord Beerappa every year. During Mahasivarathri, she goes to Gokarna Temple to attend the festival. She is fully aware of the political situation in the country. She mentioned that some political party members offered them money to vote their party but she did not accept the money from any political party. She cast her vote to the ruling party.

Awareness of the I.D.F.P: Bali is not aware of the Indo Danish Fisheries Project. However, her husband and children are aware of the project. Bali has never visited Tadri in her life time, as there was no need. She felt that since the family was occupied with non-fishing activity, the Indo-Danish Fisheries project would not help them. But she felt that her unemployed graduate son could work as clerk if the project authorities give him an opportunity.

LIKELY CONSEQUENCES OF IDFP TO THE HOUSEHOLD

Since the household is mainly engaged in agriculture and members of family are in no way interested in taking up fishing or marketing of fish as main

activity, the household would continue in the present occupation and the impact of Indo-Danish Fisheries Project on the household would be minimal.

Nutritional Status: Jetti, as mentioned earlier, goes fishing on a traditional boat. The fish is used for household consumption. Jetti will continue to do and the IDFP will not affect this household in any way.

IDENTIFICATION OF RESOURCE PERSONS

An attempt was made to identify potential women leaders who would take the responsibility of running a women's co-operative society, persuade other women to form a co-operative society and to act as resource persons to the project authorities. It was found that there are no active voluntary organisations in the project area. A few mahila mandals exist but conduct only tailoring classes, and did not have a single fisherwoman as its member. Neither were they interested to enrol them as members.

Persons contacted to identify leaders include President of Mahila Mandals, members of some Yuvathi Mandal, anganwadi workers, social workers, mukyasevikas and gramasevikas.

After meeting all the above mentioned women, ISST was able to identify only three women who have the potential and the interest to work with fisherwomen. They are -

- 1) Ms. Shashikala,
Social Worker,
C/o The Mukya Sevika,
B.D.O'S Office,
Ankola.
- 2) Ms. Venkamma Nayak,
School Teacher (Stipendary Graduate)
Tadri.
- 3) Ms. Gowri,
Fish Vendor,
Aganashini village.

CHAPTER

Conclusions and

- 5.1 Using the variations on generated by the sample surveys studies, we may now summarise the findings of the fishing community in the Tadri project area, paying special attention to the position and problems of women. It is necessary to remember that the findings of the sample data have often to be qualified before they become applicable to the community as a whole. We have avoided additions of such reservations as much as possible, with a view to making the narrative simple, straightforward and, indeed, provocative.
- 5.2 Economic and Social conditions: The major impression one gets of the fishing community in the Tadri area is that it is hard working, adequately employed, and reasonably well-off in terms of income levels. This is more apparent along the coastal villages, and among the muslims, haricants, konkan karves and gabits - who have taken to mechanized boats, and are owners or part-owners of such craft. Those living in interior pockets like Mirjan, such as ambigas and scheduled castes, continue to be relatively less well-off. Households depending on agriculture or other non-fishing occupations, have also done less well than the principal fishing castes - because of natural limitations to multiple cropping and to the practice of animal husbandry. These

economic factors are causing a gradual incursion of men from such households also into fishing and fish-related activities. Some young men from non-fishing villages like Belangi and Joog have taken up jobs as labourers on purse-seines or trawlers. Similarly, agriculturists in Kagalheni, Betkuli, Kimani and Mirjan have begun to lease their lands in the off-season for prawn farming. But these trends are still not pronounced enough to breakdown the close links between castes and preferred occupations.

- 5.3 The average family-size is fairly high amongst all the castes, though families tend to be nuclear rather than joint. It is common in fishing households for aged parents to live with their working sons or daughters. This is mainly due to the work-pattern of menfolk. Men working as partners or labourers on fishing craft often remain away from home for days during the busy season, and women feel more secure when they have some elderly persons living with them. While this inevitably adds to family expenditure, it has also the advantage of enabling adult women to engage in gainful employment outside the home for longer period.
- 5.4 Caste relations are pretty strong, not only in social and religious matters but in the economic area as well. The most common expression this finds is in the partnerships

for owning mechanised boats. However, inter-caste relations are fairly harmonious, and conflicts, if any, are usually for other reasons, such as personal or political rivalries.

- 5.5 Ownership of different kinds of boats also breaks down along caste lines - with muslims, and haricants being chief partners of purse-seines; i.e., haricants, konkan karves and muslims being owners or partners of trawlers; and gabits dominant among gillnet owners. Consequently income levels among these castes are also higher than those of other castes, like ambigas or scheduled castes. It is possible that this pattern will change in the future; but there are as yet no clear signs of this in the Tadri area.
- 5.6 With the introduction of mechanised boats, fish output in the area has increased, and a number of landing centres and processing facilities have been developed in Kumta, Keni, Ankola and Karwar. There has also been an increase in the number of agents and middlemen operating in the area. In the event, a good part of benefits of larger catch and higher prices have accrued to these agents and middlemen, rather than to fisherfolk. Even so, incomes of boat owners and of labourers on fishing craft seem to have gone up in the last decade.
- 5.7 A matter that came up frequently during the

investigations is the extent of alcoholism prevalent among fishermen. Virtually all respondents from all castes confirmed that a large part of the income of fishermen was spent on drinking, and liquor shops in the area are amongst the most flourishing. Much of household expenditure in fishing households is therefore being met from the earnings of the women of the household. This has inevitably limited the extent to which higher earnings from fishing is reflected in household standards of living or consumption.

- 5.8 For the purchase of boats, as also for their operation, fishermen have borrowed from commercial or co-operative banks. A substantial part of their gross receipts from the sale of fish is devoted to meeting these debt obligations. Here again, their addiction to drink and easy spending habits have led to the accumulation of considerable overdues to banks and other creditors. However, to the extent that loan repayments have been made, the fishing community has been able to add to its savings, and to capital formation in the fishing industry. But investments in Uttara Kannada in transport equipment or processing units have largely been made by traders and exporters from outside; this is particularly true of the Tadri area, which is relatively under developed in respect of processing units.

5.9 The promotion of co-operative societies in the area has not benefited the fisherfolk as much as was hoped at the outset. These societies have not succeeded in reducing the middle-men's cut in the final price, since they have generally not been engaged in marketing operations. Many of them have in fact financed agents and middle-men. There is a clear need for more co-operative marketing societies of fisher-men and fisherwomen (this matter is examined in greater detail in the report on marketing).

5.10 Fishing households alongside the Gangavali and Aghanashini rivers are generally employed for longer periods than those along the sea-coast. During the fishing season, they participate in ocean fishing either as partners or labourers and in the monsoon season, they are engaged in river fishing. Consequently, many of them own traditional boats, and one way or another, have annual income of Rs.5000 or more. Even so, they are on the whole less well-off than the owners or part-owners of mechanised craft operating in the sea.

5.11 WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES AND STATUS: As has been pointed out in Chapter III, work participation ratios for women in fishing and non-fishing households in the project area are quite high. This is a reflection partly of the availability of a range of work opportunities for women and partly of the sheer economic

necessity in most cases to augment family income. Women's activities range from fish vending from house to house at one end to net-making at home at the other. These occupations vary with caste and location, as well as with the asset status of the household. In all cases the skills are passed on from mothers to their daughters or daughters-in-law rather than acquired through any formal training.

5.12 As everywhere else, women workers earn less than their male counterparts - either because the tasks they can take up are less strenuous or less skilled, or because (as in loading and unloading of fish) it is traditional to pay less for female labour. Amongst women, work opportunities for those of haricants and konkan karve castes - which were participating more actively in fisheries development and mechanisation programmes - were more remunerative than those for ambiga or scheduled caste women. These work opportunities have not yet been significantly affected by the Tadri or other development projects in the area. Nor have many new types of jobs for women come into being in the wake of mechanization - except perhaps for prawn shelling and nylon net-making.

5.13 Together with the household chores that have to be taken care of, working hours for women who take to gainful employment away from home

are extremely long - their day generally starts around 4 AM and goes on until late at night. However, this burden is often shared with other women or girls of the household. Girls under 12 generally remain at home to look after the children or help in other household work, while the older girls often go along with their mothers to help them in other activities. One way or another, this means their having to stay away from school.

- 5.14 Very little has so far been done to provide facilities which can help reduce the workload of women. Few of the landing centres provide any creche, rest room or canteen facilities for the women who come to unload fish or collect them for sale in the local markets. Transport facilities for women vendors are inadequate, or unduly expensive. They are often refused accommodation on buses and are obliged to walk long distances. Very few villages have market places or ice-factories or sheds for drying fish which women peddlars can use. Nor has any programme of training women in modern techniques of drying or preservation of fish been organised.
- 5.15 Much the same is true of other facilities which could lighten the burden of women's household work. Both Kumtā and Ankola are ICDS taluks, and most villages in the project area have anganwadi centres. These are

fairly well utilised ; but women labourers and vendors who have also to work in the afternoons have to arrange for the care of their children after the anganwadi closes. Drinking water and fuel are difficult to obtain in many villages ; primary health centres and primary health units are located only in towns and taluk head quarters, and auxiliary nurse-midwives (ANMS) are able to visit the villages only once a week. All of these are areas in which more and better facilities can be of immense benefit to the women, especially the working women.

- 5.16 Despite the important contribution that the women of Tadri make to family income and consumption, they are totally dominated by men. There is no tradition of matrileny or matriarchy in this area, and few are heads of household or property owners. All major decisions for the household are taken by the male adults and heads of the household. In both fishing and non-fishing households, women are mostly illiterate, and generally uninformed about their civic rights and privileges. There is only one fisherwomen's co-operative society (at Tadri), of which some women vendors of Tadri, Aganashini and Moodangi are members. However, the members are not even aware of the aims and objectives of the society and have made little use of it. No other organisation of or for women exists in the area.

5.17 However, the responsibility for providing the family needs of food, clothing, health and education expenses as well as the day to day management of the household rests with the women. Part of the income earned by the men does flow into the family kitty, in the form of cash as well as of fish from their share of the daily catch. And major items of expenditure for the household are often financed from out of the husband's income or borrowings. But it is usually the women's income that provides the daily requirement of grain, pulses, oil or sugar. The visual picture one gets from a visit to the households is that, in general, these daily needs of the family are being adequately managed by the women. Except in a few families in which the number of dependents far exceeded the number of earners, there was little evidence of serious malnutrition or morbidity. Any augmentation of the women's ability to earn more will probably contribute to a further improvement in the consumption and nutritional standards of fisherfolk. From this view point, it seems exceedingly important that every attempt is made to promote additional work opportunities for women and generally improve their work environment.

5.18 Project Awareness and Related Problems: A majority of the fishing population in the project area are not aware of the IDFP. Fishermen residing close to Tadri are familiar with the project but others residing further away from it are not. They only knew that a harbour is being built at Tadri, and a few of men also knew that gillnet boats will be distributed. Those who are aware of these are generally members of the Fisheries Co-operative Society.

Awareness of the project among the fisherwomen is very much less than among the men. Again, women residing close to Tadri, who go there to purchase fish, are aware of the harbour, but nothing else. Women residing away from Tadri have visually no knowledge of the project. Infact, fishing households and others in Ankola taluk are more aware of the naval base that is likely to come up in Karwar, than of the IDFP.

5.19 Under the project, it is intended to distribute gillnetters. Since the government of Karnataka has already taken the decision not to add further purse-seines and trawlers operating in the state, only gillnetters of improved versions of traditional boats can be distributed in the area. However, as was pointed out earlier, gillnetters operate at night and not all the fishing castes are

willing to take to night fishing. Only gabits and a few konkan karves are engaged in this activity. And unless some special effort is made to induce others, it is likely that the new gillnetters distributed under the IDFP will accrue largely to the members of this caste. Ambigas, a number of whom reside in Mirjan, are the most backward of the fishing castes. They hesitate to accept mechanised fishing boats and use traditional boats for the reason that investment on such boats is minimum and they can be used throughout the year. Hence, they do not benefit from the project's scheme of distributing gillnet boats or from any other part of the programme. There is no necessary reason why this should sharpen caste conflicts ; but there is also no harm in keeping this in mind and avoiding actions that are apt to cause un-necessary friction between different classes of fishermen.

5.20 The project authorities have also decided that after the boats have been distributed the catch from these boats can be marketed by any of the 10 fisheries co-operative societies, in the project area. However, this may not be possible since landing facilities are not provided in most of these villages. The 10 co-operative societies are situated in the following villages:-

- | | |
|--------------|----------------|
| 1) Tadri | 2) Gangavali |
| 3) Belekeri | 4) Keni |
| 5) Manjuguni | 6) Dubanshashi |
| 7) Kagalheni | 8) Mirjan |
| 9) Betkuli | 10) Kumta |

Manjuguni, Kagalheni and Betkuli villages do not have landing facilities and additional work may have to be undertaken to facilitate boats to land in these centres. Therefore, after gillnet boats are distributed, it does not follow that fishermen from these villages will land fish at these centres.

Further, even if landing facilities are available in these villages, it is quite likely that during the fishing season, fishermen will prefer to land in some of the major landing centres like Karwar and Tadri and use these landing centres only during the not - so - busy season. However, this advantage should not be dismissed lightly, in view of its importance to women fish vendors.

If Gangavali Co-operative society has to undertake marketing, then proper roads will have to be provided as the landing centre is not at present accessible by road. Fish are brought in smaller boats to the society, taken in a small van upto the main road and later loaded onto a lorry/truck.

- 5.21 Providing landing facilities will help the women of these and surrounding villages. During the busy season they go in any case to the major landing centres and buy from wholesalers or take a part of fish landed by their menfolk. In the lean season, however,

since boats are not able to land in these villages, women are obliged to go to neighbouring villages to buy fish. This can be avoided.

- 5.22 Women residing in Tadri, Moodangi, Agana-shini and Hosakatta villages are at present engaged in unloading fish from boats. However, after the construction of the harbour, it is likely that they will be adversely affected because then, the trucks will be able to come right up to the harbour. Loading of fish into vans is generally done by men and not women.
- 5.23 The project proposes to set up a processing plant in Tadri, which is expected to provide employment to about 500 women in prawn processing which involves peeling and grading of prawns. However, it is well known that women from Kerala are skilled at these jobs and often migrate to other coastal states. Private prawn processing units in and around Karwar also have in their employ women from Kerala for this task. Therefore, unless special efforts are made to train local women for these jobs, it is possible that Kerala women will be preferred and employment of local women will not increase much.
- 5.24 At present, there are about 20 purse-seines and 200 trawlers in the project area. Those from Kumta taluk use Tadri, while those in Ankola

taluk which are closer to Karwar use the landing facilities there. Even after the construction of the new harbour, the same pattern is likely to continue. As for gillnetters, whose number will increase with the implementation of the project, the present dominance of Keni is likely to continue - unless some special advantage is conferred on boats landing their fish at Tadri, or the price of fish at Tadri goes up and attracts the boats. Should there be increased landings at Tadri, they would have to be absorbed by wholesalers and processing units who can afford to pay prices high enough to attract the boat owners. However, this could affect the women peddlars adversely as they have to pay more to buy fish from boat owners or wholesalers. If the price is high - e.g., if a basket of seer fish weighing approx. 20 kgs exceeds Rs.40/- per basket, - then, women will have difficulty in finding the money to purchase fish. Some arrangement to assist the women vendors in this regard is required.

5.25 If landings are centralised, it would also affect women peddlars in villages away from Tadri. Since the boats will not land in their villages or in the neighbouring villages even during the not - so - busy months, the women fish vendors will have

to come all the way to Tadri or go to other wholesale markets at Kumta or Ankola to purchase fish for later sale. This will mean -

- a) their expenses on transport will increase
- b) since proper transport facilities are not available, carrying fish to the market from Tadri will be a major problem
- c) if they have to go to distant markets, the quality of fish will deteriorate (they will not use ice since iced fish fetch lower prices) and hence will not get a remunerative price.
- d) purse-seine and trawler boats land in the evening - around 4.30 PM. If transport facilities are not provided to the women, they will reach distant markets late in the evening and if they are not able to sell all the fish that day, (because there are no facilities to store fish), they will be forced to take fish home, dry them and later sell them at a much lower price.

5.26 However, the construction of the harbour in Tadri will not affect fishermen and women in keni since keni is the biggest landing centre for gillnets in Karnataka and will continue to be so. The traditional fishermen will also not be affected by the project since they can continue to land in their own villages. River fish which fetch a good price in the market are sold by the women, and they may not be much affected.

- 5.27 Employment potential for muslim women who are engaged in net making is also not likely to increase unless other boats decide to land in Tadri continuously. If this happens, then it could provide employment to women who are not presently engaged in net making, since those who are already engaged in this activity are able to weave only 6 - 7 nets in a year.
- 5.28 Shell collection is a good source of income to both fishermen and women, especially to the women. It offers employment not only during the season, but even during the monsoons. Oflate, contractors who supply shells to lime factories have invaded the area, denying employment to these fisherfolk. This matter was brought up in the Karnataka State Assembly, but nothing has been done as yet.
- 5.29 One of the main components of the IFDP is the construction of a colony of 500 houses to settle workers in the Tadri harbour and processing plant. The response of most households interviewed by the ISST team to this aspect of the project was negative. Households which have lived in their own houses for many years are totally unwilling to be resettled in Tadri. They do not wish to move away from their own habitats ; and they are afraid that living in Tadri is less secure for women and more open to conflicts with immigrants from other areas. Those living along the rivers are also concerned

that if they migrate to Tadri, they may not obtain employment throughout the year as they now have. So far, no special effort has been made by project authorities or others to evaluate these apprehensions, or to allay the fears of fisherwomen and fishermen.

5.30 At present, the Fish Marketing Federation of Kumta and Ankola operates at Keni only during the busy season. It withdraws in the lean season on the argument that it is not worth while to continue. With more gillnetters operating in the area, this argument may not be so valid. In any event, fisherfolk want the Federation to operate throughout the year at Keni. They also feel that if this is not possible, at least a small freezer plant should be set up there. This is a matter that merits consideration by the project authorities, as a means of facilitating not only boat-owners but fisherwomen as well.

5.31 Some of the general problems faced by women vendors relate to transport and market facilities. The precise nature and extent of these problems, and the manner in which further changes in the marketing pattern are likely to affect them will become clearer after the marketing report is finalised later this year. Meantime, the main ones thrown up by the household survey

are these : transport facilities presently available to the women vendors are quite inadequate. As mentioned earlier, they are often denied accommodation on buses, unless they bribe the concerned people. Tempos or autorickshaws are not available at all landing centres, nor are they worthwhile except when local fish prices are sufficiently remunerative. Consequently they have to spend much time reaching the consuming areas, and in the process the quality of fish deteriorates. This cannot be remedied by using ice, since iced fish are considered inferior to fresh fish by the local consumers.

5.32 Except in Ankola, there is no proper market for women to sell fish. Nor are any storage facilities available in the local markets, where unsold fish can be stored for disposal the next day. This will also mean additional expenditure for financing which, as for financing the purchase of fish at the landing centres, no special facilities are available under the IFDP.

5.33 Finally, there is no provision under the project for training women to take any of the skilled jobs that the project is likely to create in the wake of adding to the fishing and fish-processing potential of Tadri. Nor are there other programmes planned by IFDP or the state authorities to

resettle women in other occupations in their own villages or traditional areas. There are no voluntary or non-governmental organisations which are active in the project area. Altogether, there is an urgent need for a wide-ranging and imaginative approach to ensure that the women of Tadri are not left high and dry in the name of modernising the fishing industry or enhancing the country's export potential.