

CHAPTER-V

DYNAMICS OF GENDER ROLES

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Every culture assigns certain roles based on gender and people hold themselves and each other accountable for their presentations of gender and how they 'measure up' to the culturally ascribed roles. They also become aware that others may evaluate and characterize their behavior. This notion of accountability makes gender dynamic because what is considered appropriate behavior for men and women changes and is reproduced over time and is reproduced differently depending on context. A growing body of research shows that gender is complex and multidimensional, and that different facets of gender are not necessarily tightly related to one another (Ruble DN, Martin CL, Berenbaum S, 2006). Swain, M. B (1995) explains that gender relations over time inform or informed by the interconnected economic, political, social, cultural and environmental dimensions. Kinnaird et. Al (1994) discusses how gender relations are constructed; how they change over time; and how they inform issues of inequality and control. The present study looks in to the dynamics of gender roles from the perspective of fisherwomen and assesses the changes in the gendered roles. This work seeks to understand whether or not such alterations affect gender inequality and control of fisherwomen.

Although fishing communities are relatively isolated due to their coastal habitats both in rural and urban settings they are influenced by internal as well as external factors despite maintaining their specific cultural milieu. This chapter deals with perceptible changes that are noticed in their cultures over three decades. Visakhapatnam district has witnessed unprecedented growth in the last two decades owing to the increased industrialization and corresponding social and political ramifications. With the rapid globalization this city attracted a variety of new industries and along with them marine fish exports has been one of the significant enterprises. As such many export units have been established and influx of competitors in this sector resulted in the demand of catch especially those varieties of fish such as tunas and shrimp that can fetch good returns in the international markets.

Increased industrialization, being prompted by the state has led to the establishment of several industries on the costal line releasing their effluents into the sea. The

establishment of smaller ports and giving licenses to industries indiscriminately in violation of coastal regulations are creating impediments to the traditional fishermen. Environmental pollution and release of toxic wastes into the sea have affected the shrinkage of fishing areas and breeding grounds of certain varieties of fish nearer to the coasts. Establishments of ports and industries resulted in the displacement or restriction of fishing villages, thus depriving their unhindered access to the shore and cultural moorings' in their villages.

Industrialization has seen an advantage to some fishermen who could secure jobs in the industries like NTPC, Hinduja Power Plant, and Gangavaram Port etc. These employees, though relatively smaller in size attend to the new jobs became conduits to several changes in their way of life.

The maritime communities at the moment are frustrated for four major reasons: I. Fishermen settlements are sandwiched between the roaring and advancing sea from the east and private ownership of land from the west, II. The north-south compression due to acquisition of land for development activities under 'public utility' SEZs, Petro-Chemical and Pharmaceutical Corridors, Ports, Power Plants etc. III. Uncertainty or low fish harvest due to release of industrial, chemical and petro-chemical effluents into the sea, the main resource for fishing, and IV. Poor or lack of infrastructure facilities on one hand, invasion of science and technology loaded corporate fishing on the other forcing people to feel inferior to others.

The changes mentioned above have cumulatively acted on traditional fishermen. Such a context could not be utilized by traditional fishermen as they are with low-technology coupled with various inherent reasons like illiteracy, poverty, low aspirations, timidity etc. However, there is occupational mobility. Mobility is seen in three different directions: i. The elite of the fishermen have contextually utilized the opportunity in the wake of industrial development and got themselves trained in skill enhancement and joined the fishing and navigation related organizations such as Merchant Navy, Ports and Harbours, shipping etc. Such are very few, but their continued interaction with their parents, kith and kin are worth mentioning in terms of affluence among the fishers. ii. Those who are continuing the same economy have upgraded their fishing gear.

Traditional cotton nets are replaced by the nylon and synthetic nets, boats are fixed with diesel motors or replaced by the fibre boats. Only a few country boats are in operation. iii. People who could not cope with the changing scenario are rather forced to take up wage labour, tailoring, mechanic, driver, watch and ward of farms (cashew and coconut plantations) etc., and iv. Seasonal migration has become common. They migrate for few months in a year to freshwater bodies like Nagarjunasagar, Srsailam and other reservoirs within the state and to the coast of neighbouring state of Orissa.

5.1 Transport

Marked changes are observed in fish vending owing mostly to increased transportation and storage facilities. Transporting the fish from the beach to the market is an important requirement in the fishing economy. Especially in the sub-urban villages the supply of fish from villages to the urban markets assumed the shape of peasant economy. Apart from those who sell fish in the neighboring villages a major portion of the catch reaches the urban markets. The Government has introduced transportation from these villages by opening up state-owned buses connecting these villages. There used to be three to four bus services connecting fishing harbor in Visakhapatnam city with Mutyalammappalem, Gangavaram, Appikonda, Tikkavanipalem etc. The Villages initially enjoyed the benefit of these state-run buses for some time. Afterwards the increase of auto rickshaws owned by some fishermen has almost replaced the state-run city buses. The Auto rickshaws being more convenient as they connect on to the beach, the timings being more flexible, the fishing communities favored using the auto rickshaws. This has led to the discontinuation of city buses in some routes. The increased transportation has resulted in efficient communication from the beach to the market and also reduced the physical burden of the women.

5.2 Storage

Another important factor that helps fisherwomen is introduction of ice for storing the fish. As fish are non-durable product and freshness of the fish is an important aspect in getting better rate from the sale, the fisher women tend to dispose off their fish quickly and in most cases they had to sell for lesser profits. Use of ice for storing the fish has increased the sale of fish even the next day thus reducing the losses to the fisherwomen

with the establishment of many ice-making units, the supply of ice become regular and cheaper. Auto-rickshaws make ice available at the landing points on the beach and several ice-venders provide required quantity of ice right at the auction places and markets. Increased transport and availability of ice these two factors has substantially reduced street vending because fisher women find markets as better places for efficient sale of fish and also for the bulk storage. Those women who use to sell in designated streets nowadays fix their stall in fish markets. Earlier, the fisher women were using baskets for carrying fish. Being porous the baskets used to leak and the women use to feel inconvenient while selling. The repeated use of baskets also produce stink and do not present the fish neatly. The introductions of aluminum vessels namely *ketolu* have facilitated the fisher women to carry the fish easily and the buyers also find appear fresh. Fish vending has become a profitable activity with the increase of population and also escalated awareness among the educated about the benefits of eating fish. However just as the fishermen are facing competitions from the mechanized trawlers, the traditional fisherwomen are finding the fish export companies much tougher competitors to their occupation. The companies employ agents and buy up the fish at whole sale rates and then transport them to different destinations in freezer carriages. The fisherwomen are often bullied by these agents, in most of the cases the agents also belong to the fisher communities.

5.3 Harbour and Jetty as the vital locale

The traditional vending arrangement is that *berakattes* of a village buy fish at the landing place on the beach in their village and take the fish to markets or for street vending. Later on they started taking the bigger fish to harbour as they used to get potential buyers there. Auto rickshaws and other modes of transportation facilitated such movement. Likewise a bigger catch of fish reaches the harbour as they could get better prices. At present both the *marakattes* as well as *berakattes* at the traditional landing places on the beach in their villages are facing hard to continue their operations and to a large extent their activities have been shifted to the harbour. They find their monopoly of trading fish by women at the landing places in the villages has been taken over by men. The tradition of selling the catch at the landing place is no more being honoured by the fishermen. They are being contacted by the exporters, traders and local dealers directly at

the beach. Instead of selling fish to women, their men are selling to the non-fishermen buyers, who are all men and apportioning the returns on the beach itself. The crew started contacting the buyers even before they reach beach over mobile phones. The exporters buy big fish, the traders purchase specific varieties of fish and shrimp while the suppliers to hotels pick up their choice right on the arrival of the boats. Even if the women want to buy fish in the villages, they are unable to stand the competition as the outsiders pay more and instantly while the women depend on the customary arrangement of delayed payments and loans on good will. Their men now become independent in spending as they receive money directly. This situation has resulted in increased alcoholism and men give money to their women for the maintenance of the family at their will. As a result, the traditional marakattes are gradually becoming irrelevant in their own villages and are forced to move on to the harbour in order to maintain their families. So is the case with a majority of Berakattes as they find the prices of the frozen fish are available at lower rates as compared to the fresh fish at the village landing points and the barekattes can afford these rates, they also feel at ease at the availability and choice at the harbour.

5.4 Fishing wharf and Markets:

The Fishing Harbour at Visakhapatnam has three types of fishing vessels- *teppalu*, boats and trawlers. There are about 760 boats in the harbour and the *Vadabaliya* own 500 of them while the Jalari have 100 and other castes operate 100 boats. About 60 boats do not have proper registrations and it is difficult to know the ownership of these boats. Majority of these unregistered boats are being operated by the *Vadabaliya*. There are about 50 trawlers and 40 mini trawlers in the harbour and a majority of them are owned by non-fishing castes. Few *Vadabalijas* own the trawlers and not a single Jalari owns a trawler. A total of 174 teppas operate from Visakhapatnam fishing harbour of which 70 are *terachapa teppalu* (sail fitted small boats) and rest 104 are motor fitted ones. All 70 *terachapa teppalu* belong to the Jalaris. Of the motor fitted *teppas*, The Jalari owns 74 and the *Vadabaliya* have 30 *teppas*. It becomes evident that the Jalaris mostly engage in *gaalem veta* (fishing by hooks) which is their traditional method of fishing and *teppas* being suitable for that type of fishing, many Jalaris plan to buy a *teppa*. They set out for fishing at 3 am in the morning and return by 9... In most cases the owners of *teppas* go on

fishing along with another person as crew. *Teppas* are allowed to fish even during, April-June annually, which is banned for all other types of fishing vessels owing to breeding season. As such the Jalaris that go on *teppas* do not get Rs.4000 as compensation during fishing holiday. The economic factor is significant in the ownership of *Vadabalijas* boats who are relatively more enterprising.

Traditionally both Jalari and Vadabalija fishermen used *pola teppa* (catamaran), *terachapa teppa* (with a sail), *kuttu teppa* (stitched boat) in this region for quite a long time. Later on the small fiber boats and fiber wrapped stitched boats have been introduced. The machine boats of various sizes and varieties also joined the fishing vessels of the fishermen. Depending on their capacity, these machine boats are classified as *chinna boat* used for 3-5 days voyage, *boat* used for 5-8 days and *pedda boat* or *speed boat* used for 15 days. Trawlers also operate in this region but they are owned by others and traditional fishermen only work in these vessels.

5.5 Recruitment of Crew:

The introduction of new varieties of vessels brought in rearrangement in the organization of the crew, patterns of investment and sharing the catch. In the olden days, crew (*batch*) of the boats is invariably drawn from the close relatives, usually the brothers-in law go along with their *bava's* (sister's husband) boat. It is an arrangement based on the feeling that closer relationships result in increased cooperation and ensured safety of the members of the crew. Such considerations are no more observed at present owing to the larger size of hands required and intension to reduce costs in competitive hiring. As catamarans are no more in use, a small boat requires 5-6 members as crew. At the village level, the crews are drawn from any person from the village available with the experience and ability in fishing operations. The boat owner, as one of the members of the crew picks up the team. The person who goes on the boat as member of the team of other's boat is called as *ryotu* or *raitu*, a distorted usage of the Telugu word for farmer. The terms of payment also are changed from the share of the catch to share in the cash. In the past, one share is allotted to the boat and one share to net while each member of the crew gets one share of the catch including the boat owner. The share in the form of fish is given to the women for sale. These days, the catch is first sold on the beach. One person,

patagaadu, an auctioneer is being employed in the village to conduct auctions with the annual payment of Rs.20, 000/- including a *voyyam*. The crew is paid in cash from the total amount of the catch of the boat.

At the Fishing harbor in Visakhapatnam, the recruitment of the crew varies according to the type of the boat. The personnel in the boat are the driver and *kalaasis* (crew). At the jetty *watchmen boys* are recruited to guard the boat at anchor and cleaning the boat. The smaller boat *chinna boat* requires 5-6 *kalaasis* while the *boat* needs 6-8 *kalaasis* and *pedda boat* or *speed boat* has 8-10 as crew.

5.5.1 Driver: Driver is expected to be experienced and well versed in locating the areas where fishermen will start throwing the nets into the sea. He takes the help of GPS and echo system to propel the boat where they can get more catch. Driver will be held responsible for the amount of returns from the voyage and safe return of the boat. He keeps communication with other boats for steady course as well as in times of distress. A majority of Drivers at Visakhapatnam harbor are from fishing communities but the owners of the boats, especially the larger ones belong to other castes.

5.5.2 Crew (*kalaasis*): *kalaasis* undertake labor such as preparing for the voyage. On *speed boats* on which they have to stay for longer durations *kalaasis* attend to filling all amenities like ice, diesel, water, food grains and etc., On board, once driver stops the boat for fishing, the crew will throw the nets in to sea and wait until it reaches lower level. When the driver starts moving the boat after three hours, they pull the nets and collect the catch from net and again they throw the nets back in to sea. Then they separate and keep them in the ice box / freezer. Cleaning the boat is an arduous task that the *kalaasis* are always involved in.

5.5.3 Watchman Boys: These are attendants at the harbor and when boats reach jetty, the *kalaasis* tie up to capstan at the jetty. The owner will keep *watchmen boys* for guarding the boat and fish. It is essential to keep guard at the jetty as stealing fish from the freezers of the boats is common at the jetty.

The payments to Driver and *kalaasis* are drawn from the total amount accrued out of the sale of the catch in the boat at the jetty. The expenditure on the boat is deducted from the sale amount and 20% of the profit is shared equally among the Driver and the

kalaasis. Besides, the Driver receives an equal amount of the share from the owner of the boat.

The *kalaasis* get the crabs, squids, snakes and the small fish dried on the deck during the voyage. Some second grade *marakattes* who could make lower investments up to Rs.30, 000/- invest on the *kalaasis* to get these species. *Marakattes* that invest on crabs, squids and snakes are known as *kandavallu* and those that invest on dry fish are called *gundavallu*. The crew receives certain quantity of fish from the owner after the voyage.

The watchman boys are paid the owner of the boat a salary, approximately Rs.5000/- per month. The watchman boys also receive around one thousand rupees for cleaning and up keeping the boat when the boat returns from voyage.

There are 11 jetties in the harbour, 15 ice factories and 10 freezer points. The registered members of crew at the harbour are 4,412 which include 760 drivers, 3652 *kalaasis* and 800 *watchman boys*. The social compositions of the crew reveal the domination of Vadabaliyas. All drivers belong to Vadabaliya caste and of 3652 *kalaasis* just 10% of them are Jalaris. Among the 800 *watchman boys*, the Jalaris account for only 50 and the rest 750 are Vadabaliyas.

5.6 Changes in investments

With the addition of new range of boats and enhancement in the length of voyages, the investments in fishing escalated and the fishing communities of the study area exhibited corresponding adjustments. The traditional *marakattes* (money lending fisher women) are now required to make more amounts of investments. The range of investments grew from few thousand rupees to two lakhs in two decades.

Types of investments

All investments on the boats are made annually on the Dasara day at the jetty.

1. Marakatte invests Rs. 25,000- 30,000 on the Dasara day of a year on small boat and receives the profit on the auction for a year. The investment made is a *teerumaanam*, i.e non- returnable. She has to renew her investment in the next year. She claims *vayyam* from the *berakatte* at the auction.

2. Marakatte invests to the tune of Rs.50, 000- 2, 00,000 on the Dasara day of a year on pedda boat and gets the rights of auction of the catch on every voyage. She will receive her investment after one year with 20% reduction on the invested amount. The marakatte gets two types of vayyam in this type- one from the owner as 20% on the total amount of sale of the catch after auction; another from the berakatte in the form of two handfuls of fish.
3. The Marakattes invest on the kalaasis for receiving the fish that they get from the owner after the voyage for a year. These investments are smaller and are about Rs.10, 000.
4. The *marakattes* make lower investments up to Rs.30, 000/- on the *kalaasis* to get crabs, squids and snakes are known as *kandavallu* and those that invest on dry fish are called *gundavallu*.
5. Marakattes also invest on the *watchman boys* to the tune of Rs.4000-5000 each per annum on several boys. This investment is to get the stolen fish from the boats for a year. Interestingly, it is the watchman boys who indulge in the theft of fish from the freezers contrary to their duty of safe guarding the boats at the jetty.

Big fish such as tunas and other large varieties are exempted from the auction as they are sorted and sent for weighing. This catch is either sold to export agents or to the big hotels. Auction will be conducted by the marakatte who made investments on the boat for the medium range fish while the disfigured fish are kept aside for drying and are auctioned separately. Some suppliers to hotels and canteens buy fish basket-wise at the rate of Rs.420 from which Rs. 400 goes to the owner of the boat and Rs.20 to the marakatte. On an average these suppliers buy 200 baskets.

During the lean season, i.e April to June, the marakattes invest on teppalu which make single day trips and also make investments on fresh water aquaculture ponds that grow prawns and fish at places such as Kakinada and Dhavaleswaram, about 250 kilometers away. The pond managers approach these marakattes for investments and fisherwomen make Rs.50, 000 investments per pound.

Auction among the estimated 200 *marakattes* at the auction hall of the harbour, the Jalaris constitute 50% of them, i.e. 110, and there are 60 *marakattes* from Vadabaliya. The number of *marakattes* varies as they arrive at the jetty when the boats on which they auctioned the catch reach harbour.

It is significant to find that men, mostly from Vadabaliya and some Jalari, have taken up the role of auctioning which has been the exclusive domain of women as *marakattes* two decades back. At present among 110 Jalari auctioneers 10 are men while among 60 Vadabaliya auctioneers, as many as 50 are men. The women reported that the entry of men in the auction started with some men who work as crew started to take up labour work as coolies under the *marakattes* when the boats on which their *marakettes* auctioned arrive at the jetty. They also used to work as labour during the interval period when their boats are at rest at jetty.

5.7 Voyyam:

Voyyam is an amount that the *marakatte* gets from the auction of the fish from the boat. It is 20% of the total amount of the sale. *Voyyam* used to be around 8-12 percent of the sale amount two decades back. *Venaka voyyam* is the *marakatte's* share of two handfuls of fish from *berakathe* after the completion of auction. These fishes are sold to petty *berakattes* who sell them in turn for small profit. Fish are calculated on the measures called as *kaanlu*, *judeelu* and baskets. A *kaanu* amounts to 25 kilos, *judee* is 15 kilos and a basket weighs 8 kilograms. As auctioning take place in the morning time, some *marakattes* bring their grown up children who either go on fishing or engage in other jobs in order to assist them at the auction. Their children used to assist them when they fell sick or the *marakatte* goes out of town. Those *marakattes* who do not have the assistance of children engage the services of the crew for the job. Slowly the men found it profitable make investments in *venuka voyyam* to the tune of Rs.25-30 thousands. At present some men have settled down as auctioneers thus entering into activity which is the monopoly of women.

Berakattes buy fish in the auction and take them to different markets in the city. Some supply fish to hotels and canteens while others sell at a specified place or go on street vending. Selling dry fish is another significant activity of fishing populations and women

invariably take up the task of drying the fish. It is observed that women belonging to Vadabalija caste are mostly engaged in drying fish and trading them. Of the 160 dry fish stalls in the Visakhapatnam harbour, only 10 stalls are owned by Jalaris and the rest belong to the Vadabalija. Some species of fish like ribbon fish and small fish are sold as dry fish. Even bigger fish such as seer fish that are mutilated and are hard to sell are dried. Earlier the *barekattes* belonging to both Jalari and Vadabalija, who could not sell all of their fish on a particular day, relocate the unsold fish to dry due to their inability to preserve the highly perishable fish. As such, the street vending *barekattes* used to carry the dry fish along with them whenever their customers ask for them. Whenever they go to their regular customers for collecting their dues, they take dry fish to sell. With the availability of ice, majority of *barekattes* that sell wet fish discontinued drying their fish.

It is pertinent to note that the Jalari women in more numbers engage in wet fish vending. Of the 200 wet fish stalls about 180 stalls belong to Jalari women while 20 stalls are owned by the Vadabalija women. All the 30 *kathipectala vallyu* (fish cutters) at the harbour are the Jalaris.

There are about 150 *kataa vallyu* (weighing stalls) in the harbour that assists 12 export companies. Of these, 30 stalls exclusively deal with weighing the prawn/shrimp. The Vadabaliyas own 80% of these stalls and the rest belong to the Jalaris.

The Vadabalija also engage in supplying water to the boats. They pay the requisite amount at the Municipal corporation office for the supply of potable water and hire a water tanker lorry or auto rickshaws to transport the water to the boats at the jetty. This job is entrusted to the Vadabalija women by the owners of the boats who are also Vadabaliyas. These women take up this job with the help of others whom they employ. Of the 53 water suppliers only one woman is a Jalari and the rest are Vadabaliyas.

5.8 Nehru Market:

This market has 42 stalls in which 39 stalls sell wet fish and the remaining 3 stalls sell dry fish. There are 3 stalls that sell fresh water fish which they get from the tanks around pinagadi area. The Jalari run 29 stalls and the *Vadabalija* have 10 stalls while the three dry fish stalls are run by non-fishing castes. The stall owners have to pay *aaseelu*

(daily tax) of Rs.20 to the market managers and a biannual tax of Rs. 30-100 to Municipal Corporation.

5.9 Kattipeetala vallu (fish cutters/processors)

Kattipeetala vallu get attached to certain fish vendor stalls and clean those stalls before and after the sale, assist in keeping ice in the fish baskets to preserve them overnight and arrange water to keep the fish wet at the stalls. Such chores ensure them the supply of fish for cutting from the stalls. They also receive few fish for their consumption and Rs.100 per week. Usually they charge Rs.20 for processing a kilogram of prawns and Rs.10 for fish. Saturdays are the lean days as many consider that it is a taboo to eat meat. On Sundays they get Rs.300-400 and on Mondays they get Rs.100-150 and on other week days they will earn around Rs.200-300 on an average. Kattipeetala vallu come to the market at 7 am in the morning and go home in the noon. They resume work in the evening and return by 9pm. This job continues on hereditary basis and new entrants find it difficult to adjust as the fish vendors and *Kattipeetala vallu* maintain their intimate relationship. Some *Kattipeetala vallu* complain that few *berakattes* have arranged their own kin as *Kattipeetala vallu* for their stalls thus dishonoring the customary ties. There are 15 *Kattipeetala vallu* in which the Jalari are 13 and two women are Vadabalijas.

5.10 Poorna Market: This market has a total 47 stalls in which 37 stalls sell wet fish, 7 stalls sell dry fish and 3 shops are fresh water fish stalls. Of the 37 wet fish stalls, the Jalari *berakattes* have 35 stalls and only 2 stalls belong to Vadabalijas. All 3 dry fish stalls belong to the Jalari and among the fresh water fish stalls 2 are Vadabalija *barekattes* and one stall is run by Jalari *barekatte*. There are 10 Kattipeetala vallu and all are Jalaris. Most of the *barekattes* in this market come from Relli veedhi Jalaripeta. They arrive at the market at 8am and go for lunch at 1:30 pm after putting ice in the fish baskets. They come back at 3pm and return homes by 8:30pm. They pay daily *aaseelu* (market tax) of Rs.12-22 depending on the sale of the stall and a biannual tax of Rs. 30-100 to Municipal Corporation. The *barekattes* have formed Sri Durgamma Fisherwomen cooperative society with 30 members in which 29 members are Jalaris. They contribute Rs.100 each as monthly savings.

Other castes consider the Vadabaliya women to be relatively aggressive and dominating in comparison to the Jalari women. Vadabaliya women are more mobile and enterprising when compared to the Jalari women. Vadabaliya women move to places wherever they get work and even migrate to other villages temporarily. It is common to observe that the Vadabaliya women migrating to other villages for picking nuts in cashew plantations and attending to other seasonal vocations. Conversely, the Jalari women confine themselves to fish vending. In Jalaripeta village near Vadacheepurupalli, some Jalari women used to make ropes out of coconut fiber and supply these ropes to the fishermen. It is common to find the younger generation of both the Vadabaliya and the Jalari taking up jobs other than fish vending but the Jalaris do not migrate to distant places like Vadabalijas.

5.11 Case studies of Marakattes

5.11.1 Case Study 1: Kasarapu Nookamma (48):

The researcher met the informant during January 2016 in the afternoon at Visakhapatnam harbor. Marakattes wait for the arrival of boats during 2pm to 4pm everyday. The researcher could interact with her about 90 minutes for two days. She belongs to Jalari community of Jalaripeta. Her husband Polayya, who was her MBS name, is expired. Her husband used to go for fishing as a member of crew. They begot two children- one girl and one boy. Both the children studied up to 10th standard and daughter got married while her son is working as sales boy in a garment shop. She recalls that they used live in sound financial position and believes that their close relatives got envious and applied *chillangi* (black magic) on her husband. According to Nookamma, she arranged for treatment in several hospitals thinking that her husband's problem as a health issue but her efforts went in vain. After death of her husband, she went to *Pathi* to find out the cause, where she came to know that it was due to *chillangi* (black magic). She was young age at that time of her husband's demise and her children were young. Five months later as she started the business as *matakattha*. She learnt this business from her *menattha*, FZD Polamma. She used to go along with her aunt and learnt business tips by observing her.

Initially, she started auctioning the fish that her aunt Polamma used to get as *venaka voyyam*. She gradually learnt the techniques of auctioning that takes place in the mornings and evenings. Over years she became one of the successful *marakattes* with the investment capacity to the tune of Rs. 5-7 lakhs. She borrows from the money lenders during Dasara, the annual investment time, about 2-3 lakh at the rate of 5% interest. The borrowed amount has to be repaid in *moodunella padi rojulu* (three months and ten days, i.e., 100 days). The repayment is done on daily basis and the money lender keeps a book of daily returns with the *marakatte*. Nookamma gets around 2000 to 5000 rupees in a day as her earnings from the auctions in which she repays to the money lender. This year, Nookamma invested Rs.80, 000 each on two boats and about Rs.5, 00,000 on one hundred *watchman boys*. Each *watchman boy* who is paid Rs.5000 per annum gives her the fish that he gets from the owner of the boat and also the fish that he manages to steal from the embarked boats at the jetty for that year. Investing on 100 *watchmen boys* reveals the extent of theft of fish and the scale of Nookamma's reliance on such business. She also makes investments on *kalaasis* about 15,000-20,000 rupees to get fish that they get as gift/ goodwill from the owner.

Though Nookamma got her daughter married, she now takes care of her as her husband is drunkard. Her daughter along with her baby girl stays with Nookamma. While Nookamma is planning her son's marriage, she is being pressurized by her brother to get his younger daughter married to her son. But her son is not interested in her and Nookamma is contemplating the problems that she expects from an alliance outside.

5.11.2 Case Study 2

Arisilli Satyavati (50) w/o Pentayya

On prior appointment taken from this informant at the harbor during May 2016, the researcher conducted interview at 11 am in her house at Jalaripeta for about 2 hours. She is from Jalaripeta and has *marakatte* for over 30 years. Her husband, now deceased was a fisherman and they owned a teppa and a net. Her husband used to hire 4 raitus (crew) in the batch and pay them 200-300 rupees. Her husband drank to death and died after prolonged illness almost 20 years back leaving 2 daughters and a son. Satyavati is a leading *marakatte* in the fishing harbour. She has investments on 11 boats including four

boats on which her investment is one lakh each. The rest are small boats that go for single day trips. She gets two voyyams (voyyam at 10% from the both owner and venuka voyyam) on these boats and Rs.200-400 income on as her share on single boats as *venaka voyyam*. On an average she gets about Rs.3000-5000 on venuka voyyams. Including dry fish voyyam she earns approximately 10,000 rupees per day. She manages the auctions of one or two boats on a day and if more boats reach the jetty on that same day she employs a woman on payment of 300-400 rupees based on voyyams, to conduct auctions on those boats. She also invests on 80 watchman boys. During lean seasons, Satyavati invests on the single day trip teppas and fresh water ponds. She auctions fresh water fish and prawns during lean season and earns Rs.2000-3000 per day. She took a loan of 2 lakh rupees from the financiers and repays Rs.2000 per day. She arrives at the harbor by 6 am and leaves by 6 pm after attending to the auctions of evening boats. Her daughter-in law sends her lunch at 11am and she takes snacks, tea, cigars at the harbor. On return she takes her supper after watching television soap opera serials.

Satyavati performed the marriages to both daughters and her son in grand scale. She brought a house and got three floors constructed by spending 15 lakhs. She took a loan of 6 lakhs for this purpose and repaid the loan by saving in chit funds. In addition, she brought a house each for her daughters and she gifted her son two houses. She affirms that she could earn all these properties by her hard work despite being a widow.

5.11.3 Case Study 3

Kadiri Kondamma (57), leader for marakatte union.

Her mother was a successful marakatte and after his mother expired her elder sister, Rajashree continued her mother's business. As her sister is not adept in business, kondamma joined her sister and they continued as marakattes. Her sister expired recently and she has been continuing this business. She lives along with her two sisters and their families in same house. Her mother was doing their business with Rs.10000 and it is considered very high at that time. Now they have to spend Rs 20000 per boat to be able to participate in the auction. The researcher met this marakatte early morning around 6 am at the harbor. The researcher observed the auctioning process along with her and

continued talking to her till 11.30 am regarding the affairs of marakatte union at Visakhapatnam harbor.

5.12 Case studies of Berakattes:

5.12.1 Case Study 1.

Bondi Somulamma (48), w/o. Bondi Muthayalu.

She hails from Muthayalamma Palem and is a widow with five children- 3 sons 2 daughters. Her husband died ten years ago. Her eldest son, Durgalu is uneducated and got married. He goes for fishing and his wife is from Pudimadaka, is a home maker. Somulamma's second daughter, Kondamma is uneducated and is a daily wage labor. Her husband is from Tikkavanipalem. Her third son, Kondayya also is uneducated. He is unmarried and is working in NTPC as Daily wage labour. Fourth, Son, Mahesh is studied 10th class and unmarried. He is taking small works as contractor. Fifth, Daughter, Mutyalamma is uneducated and married, her husband is from same village Muthyalammampalem. She is also makes an earning from any daily labour works.

She has been berakatte since 30 years, which she learnt from her mother at the age of 12year. At that age she used go with her mother for selling dry fishes. On those days selling fishes was little difficult. They used to go by walk long distances. Those days few people used to buy fish for money, and used to exchange with millets, gantlu, Choollu, chillis Mirchi, and Pulses, Pesarlu (dal), Minumulu,etc,. They used to have our food like some rice with water at daily customers houses. After selling fishes we got some money with that we used bought some households and came back to home. These days we are having more autos, so where ever we need to go we will go by auto for any village and sell the fishes and come back to home. She is going for selling fishes to Dharmarayudupeta, Ravada and Atchutapuram. Entire week she will sell the fished except Saturday. She buys fishes sometimes at my village and sometime at Visakhapatnam Jetty and Pudimadaka. She is start early morning 4:30 at her home for selling fishes and came back to home at evening 4 PM. After came back to home she will take rest for some time and start working on any pending house hold works like washing clothes. My daughter-in-law is taking care of home making works. We don't have own boat or net. My children are going for daily labour works and go with my brother-in-

law's boat for fishing. He is having own boat. Her family used to stay in thatched house. Her house got completely burnt in fire accident two years back. Then immediately they built one single room with roof. She buys fishes for 3 to 4 thousands. They don't know how much profit will get on this. Some time they get some time will lose. Sometimes she has to pay her own money for loss. She gets 100 or 150 or 200 daily if she sells daily. It is sufficient for their daily home needs.

She only sell wet fishes only that any of wet fishes that what are available. After selling fishes sometimes few of fished won't sell out. At that time she prepares fish with salt and prepared as dry fish and sells it. But she won't do dry fish business, whatever left out fished those only she prepares as dry fish and sell. Her children are not interested in this business. Researcher met this informant at her village in the morning. She brought fish from Visakhapatnam jetty on the previous day and she preserved them in ice for sell on the next day, that is Sunday.

5.12.2 Case Study 2

Dagulupalli Yerramma (52).

The researcher met this dry fish seller at the harbor on an evening during March 2016 as case study. She informed that they owned a boat some time ago. Her husband also comes for daily works like packing the fishes, etc., at harbour. She has 3 sons and one daughter. Her daughter got married. Elder son also got married. He studied 10th class. He works at coal Jetties. Daughter-in-law is home maker. One son works as contractor and last son doing private job. Her daily routine job is buying wet fish at fishing harbour, apply salt for wet fish, make them as dry fish and sell those dry fish. In the harbour fresh wet fish is selling and buying by wet fish vendors. The owners sell for us unconditioned little smelly fishes for lowest price that means if fresh wet fish basket is 200, these fishes baskets sell for 100 or 120. She is doing this business since 30 years. She has 4 labour, all are her caste (Vadabalijs) they came from Chintapalli and staying here with their families. She is giving them 200 or 300 per head per day and she provides tea and tiffin also. She buys the material (wet fish) for 10000 to 50000 per day. Her labour separate with grading, apply the salt and will make those as dry fish. Once all fishes made as dry fish they should make ready with packs as baskets. These packs take to Nakkapalli,

Manapuram, Vizianagaram, Tadepalligudem and etc, open markets and they sell it. When she bought fishes the overall expenses shall be 1000 to 1500 including labour per day.

They got one van in her society, we will fill all of us material (Packs) in to that van and take those to open markets, in her families they made one person as driver and appointed for her van. They pay as salary for driver as per one small basket Rs.10/- and big basket Rs.20/-. Based on how many baskets will take by van he gets that much amount. Empty baskets buy from one of the tribes Yerukula by merchants. Baskets will bring who will buy the fishes and they will cut 1kg fishes for one basket. If they take to some other open markets they should buy the baskets and bags for these they have to invest. For loading, they pay to kalasi (Labour) Rs.20/- per basket. If they sent 10 tons to kovvur, the expenses will be Rs.10000/-, than fish cost will be Rs10/- per kg. If van go to Kovvur the expenses will Rs.30000/- and material will be 18 tons. Entire material sent by her group minimum 50 members' together. They earn Rs.15000/- to 20000/- per month. If they send material to long distance, they won't go. All dealing will be made by phone call like what type of material they want, if they say the quality, quantity and type of material, they will buy as per requirement. Mediator will check and send it to clients. They will send the money through Bank or Mediator.

5.12.3 Case Study 3

Pukkalla Kondamma (40)

She is staying at Relliveedhi near harbour. Her husband was expired 10 years ago because of illness he was expired. She has only one daughter and she got married. Her daughter and son-in-law are staying with me. She is doing this business since 14 years. Invest 100000, 200000 and etc., per boat. Those boats fish once they come to harbour she will auction on harbour. No interest for her investment they only gave back the principle amount at last. Some times that principle amount also not get complete amount. They will deduct some amount, sometimes they will not get not even one rupee if boat owners are in loss, like this situations we have to forget entire money.

In their harbour she has society for auction members. For her society she is the president, every month they get together as meeting and they discuss all topics about auctions and other. She is reach to harbour at 6AM. Once her boats reached to harbour

that which she has invested, she goes there and start auction. She will take some per cent from who bought fishes in auction it called as *Voyyam* in her local language. (*Voyyam* means if anybody buys one basket, they will take few fishes with their two hands). If those are small fish or big fish they won't bother they will take *voyyam*. Once they got fishes in *voyyam* they will sell those fishes for 200 or 300. These are only income for their investments. They will get 10% to 20% money from boat owners while selling fish in auction. With these *voyyam* fish, she will buy some fishes and will sell the fishes. Auction will be two times per day morning one time and evening one time.

She will sell wet fish in harbour only. Her daily transaction for buying and selling fishes is Rs.3000/- to Rs.4000/-. When boat came to harbour, labour will separate fishes with grading and fill into baskets. Then they will sell fish baskets separately, whoever wants they will buy separately. There is no auction for big fishes these are transfer and sell through large katas (for weight). Big fish like Konam, Onjaram, Sura and Pandugappa etc. Small fish will conduct auction. These day's auctioneers are more than previous days. In previous days only ladies will conduct the auction but now gents also are more for auctions. For that they are only the reason because when our boat reaches harbor she need to be there and should do auction, some time she unable to go sometimes sick, at that time they will take our known persons are relatives to complete the auction. They are also attracted to this business, they are finding that getting more money and they are starting this business. Like this way now-a-days more people are there in this business. With her society, they got Rs.10000/- per head for cyclone and also Ice boxes, plastic tarpons and basins has given to her society.

Case studies of Fisherwomen in other avocations

Case study 1:

Chintakayala Korlamma from Mutyalammappalem

The researcher met her in her village in the afternoon of Sunday during November 2016. As she is an employee of apparel factory, Brandex, Sunday is her weekly holiday. Her mother name is Masenamma and father name is Pedamutyalu. She has two siblings, elder sister Devi was got married, and her husband is from Pudimadaka. And elder Brother Mutyalu was studied 10th class. He is working in NTPC as contract labour. Her

mother is going for work in gully and her father is going for fishing. Their house is slab house (daba house). She has completed B.Com, she studied up to 10th at her village, and intermediate completed at Paravada Govt. Jr. College and degree at AVK College Gajuwaka. After completed of degree at 2014 she has joined in Brandix Company. She is working in this company since 2 years. She is working in Robbest it is one of the branches in Brandix. There her work is preparing flowers with ribbons. They are having target per hour to complete some number of flowers or else they will serious on us. Her salary depends on her prepared flowers. Per hour they should prepare 90 to 80 flowers as target. As she has some experience now she is able to preparing flowers more than target. This work entire should be do with hands and have to sit in one place so that they will get some back pains, hands and leg pains. When they are starting for lunch from her work place they will notice that their legs and hands are swelling. After preparing the flowers they have burn edges of flowers with candles. While burning with candle sometime their hands also burnt.

At starting her salary is 4500 to 5000. Now she is preparing more flowers so, she getting salary 8000 to 850. Work is very hard to her. Her parents are searching for marriage proposals for her. If she got settled marriage she will leave the job. By this time couple of times she thought of leaving this job because if flowers not prepared more torture will be more. They are having shift duties so she felt little difficulty. Because they are total 10 are working with same company herself and one more are for one shift remaining all are one shift. So, for two members the pickup bus not coming to her village. For catching the bus they are going to next village that 5 km far from her village. Apart from 10 members one was married and her husband expired remaining all are unmarried girls and maximum 10th and intermediate educated are there. She doesn't have time to work on home making works. Brandix Company won't allow taking more leaves. Here this company is only like us. That is the reason they are going to that company.

5.12.4 Case Study 2

Kambala Lakshmi (36) W/o.KMutyalu (38)

She is a construction worker on daily wages and the researcher met her during her fieldwork and shught for her appointment. During November 2016 on a day off the

researcher met her at home. Her mother name is Kadiri Mutyalamma and father name is Kadiri Bhuloka (expired in her childhood days). She was born in Jalaripeta, Parawada Mandal. She got married at the age of 14 years with her mother's brother's son (brother-in-law). Her Aunt's house is also same village (Jalaripeta). Her aunty expired because she was having some health problem. She was the (bakhthuralamma) for our village. That means while doing any festivals or marriages she was starts with her hands. My uncle is poojari and dasudu that means he is only will do all marriages and festivals.

She has six sister-in-laws and her husband is only son for my aunty and uncle. With her mother's help (money) they built on daba house as one portion after they got children and they are staying in that house. Her sister-in-laws and uncle is staying in second portion out of six sister-in-laws, three got married, one is dumb, two are about to marry. Dumb sister-in-law's age is 30 years, she is working in hotel. Remain two, one is going for construction works and another one is working in some one's house and they will do the marriage for her, she is coming to home openly. Uncle was going for fishing but now he is not going for fishing as his health condition is not good. So, they have to do their marriage. She has 6 daughters and their names are 1. Maheshwari, 2. Devi, 3. Aruna, 4. Mutyalamma, 5. Bhoomika, 6. Shyamala.

Maheshwari's age is 14 years, and discontinued her studies when she was in 7th std. she is taking care of remaining children and home making works. She got engaged for marriage with my relatives. Dowry is 50000/-, 36 grams gold and one bike. 2nd daughter Devi is working in some others house at cheepurupalli and staying with them. They are taking care of her studies and marriage also they agreed. Aruna-10yrs Mutyalamma-8yrs studying 5th and 4th class. Bhoomika-5yrs she is going to anganwadi. Shyamala is 2 and half years old. Her husband is going for fishing. Once he got money after selling the fishes he spends half of the money for drinking (alcohol). He didn't give money to her if she asks him he quarrel daily and some time he beats also. Daily she is going for construction work she will get 6000 if she go for entire month Daily wage 200. But daily they don't have work. After 1 year of marriage she started going for these types of works. When she got pregnancy she used go for works for 6months later she won't go until delivered and kid got 6 months. After kid got completed of 6 months she starts working daily. Sometimes if she doesn't have work she will go for selling fishes with her

mother those which my husband brought from fishing. Still she is looking young so feeling shy because of his is going for other works.

As the catch of fish is low these days she asked her husband to go for other works. But he doesn't go any work and he eats food and sleep in home. Once he went 4 days for cement work after that he left and saying that I can't work. Once her husband asked me to take hand load 15000/- from your sister, but they didn't give. So he went into their home and he beat them, they gave police complaint. Police arrested her husband and put him into jail. Again she borrowed 18000/- and paid at police station to release him. Her aunty and uncle have son after 6 daughters, her uncle saying that for you also same as like us, don't go for operation. That is why she didn't take family planning operation after having 6 children also. She tried to go for operation with her mother but they didn't agree.

5.13 Case Study 3

Vasupalli Nookalamma (38)

She ekes out her living as a servant maid in two houses. The researcher could meet her during lunch time for about an hour. Her husband name is Vasupalli Swami. He is going for centering work. She has 4 children. 1. Ashok 21 years and he is studying Degree. 2. Hyma studied 7th class age 19 years, she got married. Her husband is from Gangavaram. 3. Ramya studied 10th class age 18 years. She is coming with me for Servant Maid works. 4. Lakshmi studied 10th class. She is working in kirana general store shop. Regularly she woke up at 5am than goes to appughar for one of her boss's house to maid service. After completes goes for another house. Total she has agreed to work on two houses. Salary for One house 1500 per month and another house 2000 per month. Her daughter is working as maid servant in one more house and her salary is 3000 per month. Her daughter completes his work at that home early and will come to her place and helping to complete her work as well.

After completed of their work, they reach home at 11.30 or 12 pm. Morning tiffin they had at owner's house. At her home lunch prepared by Lakshmi and pack the lunch boxes for her father and brother. After that she packs her lunch box and go to shop for work at 10 am, she comes back at 10 pm. After they reach home, she and her daughter would complete her house hold works, later they take some rest. Again will go for work

at 3 pm, complete their work and come back to home at 6 pm or 7 pm. then will cook for dinner and have dinner together and sleep. These are their daily routine jobs. Their profession is selling fishes, she don't know form past. That too they should roam around on roads and streets for selling fishes. For that they should have some investment and some tension. They have to bother about selling fish. That is the reason she was not able to do. House hold works means they feel like our home making works. In this works no need of investing money and no need of roaming around streets. In this work salary is less but work good not tensions and all. She has been working like this since 8 years.

Table 5.1: Economic Activities and Income Sources of the Study Area Women

Educational status	Fishing	Labour	Maid servants	House wife	Job	Others	Pension brandix	Pvt job	Self employment	Students	Agriculture	Vegetables	Tiffin shop
Primary	12	8	11	16	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Secondary	23	11	24	33	0	2	0	2	5	10	0	2	0
Inter	4	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0
Degree	1	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
Above Deg	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Un Educated	101	44	24	27	0	0	2	0	2	7	1	0	1
Technical	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

From the above table it is clearly seen that the fisher women pursuing fishing related activities most are uneducated. More than 35% of the total fishing community is still in fishing related activities. Out of the 35% women, who are in fishing related activities, the percent of the uneducated women is much higher which is above 71%. It clearly indicates that, only uneducated fishing community women are mostly engaged in fishing related activities. The percentage of women who goes in labour works as well as maid servants occupies next place with nearly 15%. The women who had their secondary education prefer to take up activities other rather than fishing. They prefer to be

housewives or to work as maid servants or as daily labours and also showing interest in self employment.

5.1: Economic Activities and Income Sources of the Study Area Women

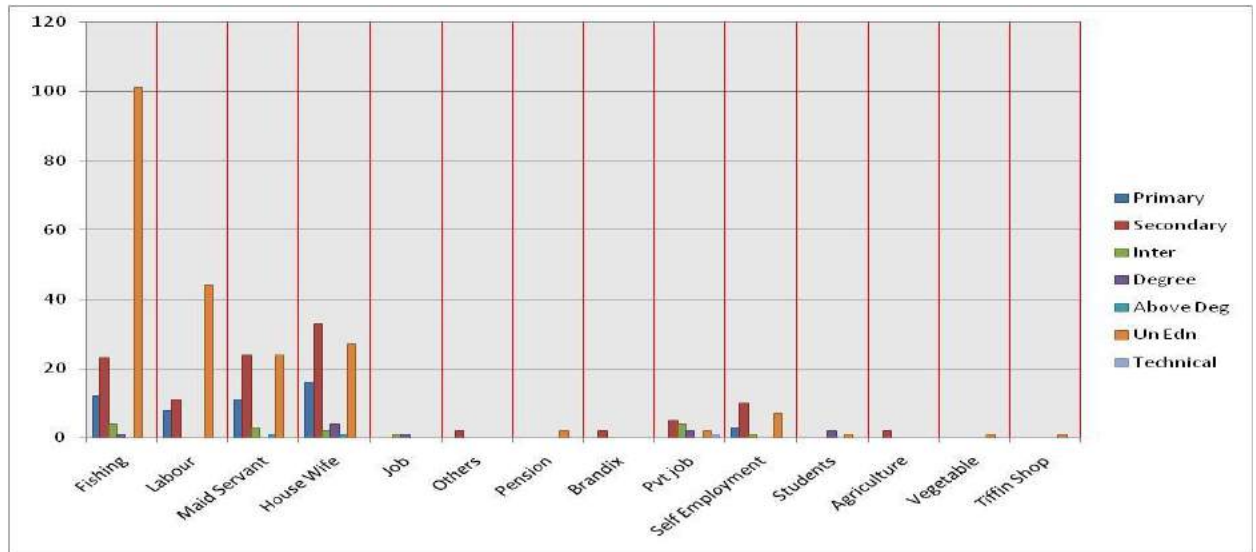


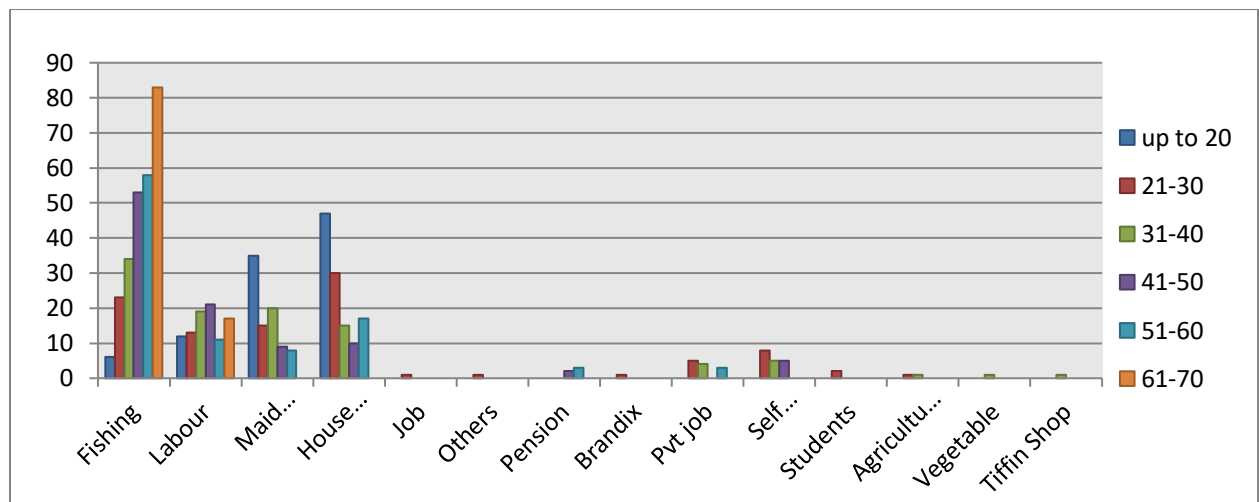
Table 5.2: Age Wise distribution of Occupation of fisher women in study area

Age	Fishing	Labour	Maid Servant	House Wife	Job	Others	Pension	Brandix	Pvt job	Self Employment	Students	Agriculture	Vegetable	Tiffin Shop	Total
up to 20	1	2	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
21-30	35	18	23	44	2	2	0	2	8	12	3	1	0	0	150
31-40	40	23	24	18	0	0	0	0	5	6	0	1	1	1	119
41-50	35	14	6	7	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	66
51-60	21	4	3	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	36
61-70	11	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
	143	63	62	83	2	2	2	2	14	21	3	2	1	1	401

From the above table and below chart, we can observe that the number of women in fish vending is increasing with their age. At the early ages, they are mostly attending to domestic chores or pursuing education, then after marriage they take care of their husbands and children. When the children are grown up and start going to school, the fisher women enter into the fishing activities directly. Out of the 143 women who are in

fishing related activities, more than 70% women are in the 30-60 age group, which clearly indicates that the women after entering middle age are showing interest in fish vending activities. Out of the 63 women who are going for labour work, more than 70% are in the age group of 20-40 and out of 62 women who are working as maid servants, more than 70% are also in the age group of 20-40, which indicates that younger generation are showing interest to work in other fields while their proceeding generation involve in economic activity at a later age.

5.2 The Age Wise distribution of Occupation of fisher women in study area:



5.14 Inter-generational changes among women Change in Appearance

Fish related activities are considered to be unattractive due to the characteristic odor associated with it. Other communities express that they get repulsed by the stench and do not go to fishing villages unless warranted. Though people need fish as food at their door step but fish vending women are immediately disposed off after purchase. Fish vending necessities carrying the fish baskets as head loads and sale usually accompanies cleaning the fish at the household sales. The palm leaf baskets that they carry fish cannot stop leakage of water used to prevent fish from dehydrating. As such, the fisher women get wet when they carry fish baskets as head loads thus carrying the stench. As a result fish vending it become compulsive and unattractive avocation. Discontinuation of palm leaf baskets and replacing with *ketolu* (aluminum vessel) or plastic vessels has reduced

the seepage of water thereby allowing the women to wear better sarees while going on fish vending. Men used to wear just a loin cloth regularly and a shirt on it occasionally. They are now wearing jeans, knickers, sweat suits, shirts and sandals. The youth are trendier spending quite an amount to look fashionable.

The younger generation that took up occupations other than their traditional ones appears neat and is better dressed. It is informed that substantial amount of their earnings is spent on buying saris, other dresses, ornaments and cosmetics. Following the trend, change in attire also entitles other considerations such as matching dresses, expenditure on earning and the urge to wear the latest fashions. The younger generation express that this change has brought them out of the stereo type of identifying a fish vendor from her appearance, indistinguishable from other women and more acceptable compared to their older generations. We find distinct changes in the attire of girls. In the olden days girls used to wear the skirt and jacket and half sari which are replaced by Punjabi dresses and middies. Interestingly wearing the traditional half saris has been limited to special occasions.

5.15 Inter-generational adjustments:

As to the intergenerational aspects it is worth noting that, although parents' gendered practices and beliefs constitute part of the larger family context that shapes youth development, youths also play an active role in constructing their environments. Chun Bun Lam, Susan M. McHale, and Kimberly, Updegraff, A (2012) in their study on gender dynamics in Mexican American Families find that mothers engage their daughters in household responsibilities while daughters also challenged their mothers to change family gender norms. Studies noted that gender atypical youths introduced new gender dynamics to their parents. Among fishing societies choices of younger generations especially girls increasingly deviate from the culturally designated roles.

5.15.1 Choice in Education

Literacy rate used to be significantly low on the earlier generations. After the establishment of straight run primary and secondary schools there is change positively among the boys. A high school has been established in Mutyalammappalem and since then there has been significant improvement in female literacy, but for the initial three years

where the boys use to attain better grades in relation to the girls, right now the girls surpass the boys in education. Even those few girls who continued up to graduation and polytechnic courses also do well in their studies. The girls who use to heist to move away from their villages for pursuing technical courses now-a-days are going out with any hesitation.

5.15.2 Choice of Occupation

Across the generations, the younger generation is more attune to indulging occupation other than their traditional fish vending. This has resulted in their external appearances, accompanied by certain attitudinal changes. The fish vendors of older generations generally give more preference to the faster sail of their fish rather than their physical appearances.

Some informants observe that the present generation is more educated compare to the older generations, attending schools and colleges also opened up other extracurricular activities and also increase contacts through which these girls fetch some jobs in private firms. Girls from those families who cannot afford their education in beyond secondary level often work as sales girls, in other petty jobs such as assistants, hands in beauty parlors.

Unmarried girls usually do not take up fish vending or street vending or market vending. They used to take care of the domestic works such as collecting fire wood, drawing water, cooking for the family, and drying the fish after due process. Usually women take up fish vending, after marriage and after begetting children. Spinsters invariably take up fish vending. One finds that the majority of fish vendors are middle aged. When they become old, they induct their daughters-in law to help them in carrying the heavy baskets and slowly train them in the techniques of fish vending. Some younger women start their initiation by processing the fish at the fish markets. In the older generation as there is no option for them to receive education the readily available avocation is their traditional occupation. Improvement in education has influenced the preference in choosing a mate.

In olden days it is the middle aged and old women who use to engage in economic activities such as fish vending and the unmarried girls and younger women use to stay at

home taking care of the domestic chores. As a reversal of responsibilities we find these days that it is the younger girls who are going out and working in several varieties of occupation other than their traditional one and we find the older women taking up the domestic works. Although fishing as an activity is profitable, many for reasons of social status are not showing inclination towards it. There used to be a clear demarcation among the gender that the males catch fish and women involve in selling them. We find such gendered roles being blurred and it is common to find men involving in fish vending mostly at the fish markets. Fishing as an activity is considered to be unattractive and involves unhygienic conditions which resulted in a kind of stigma among the other communities. Other castes do not readily visit fishing villages being repulsive about the pungent odor which is characteristic are common to these villages (Odor due to the nets, dry fish and unhygienic). The fishing communities often withdrawn to mingle freely with other communities however, education and occupation other than fishing have allowed them to work along with the other communities thus creating a feeling of overcoming those earlier inhibitions.

Discontinuation of fish vending by the younger generation also have resulted in snapping off of the guidance by the older generation to the young who used to impart training with their experience and draw respect. The older generation often complains that defiance of the young because of their disregard for the traditional occupation. Joint and extended families used to be common among the older generations. Now nuclear families became the order of the day among the fishing communities.

These families hold positive opinion about industrialization which increases their income. Women from these families also have found alternatives in their activities. Whenever their men catch fish they involve in fish vending and engage in other occupations simultaneously. Decline in fishing by the traditional fishing communities indicate a shift from the labour-intensive cooperative fishing activities to more individualistic modern occupations. Several operations involved in fishing such as formation of crew, repair of nets, repair of boats etc involve many hands and cooperation from their kin. Newer occupations do not require such cooperative coordination and deal with the individual. So industrialization seen from this angle has brought changes in the social organization of fishing and the traditional ties among the fishermen. As a result the

crew formation now-a-days is more like involving labour rather than an activity involving obligatory kin. The gradual disintegration of joint families and formation of nuclear families have seen relaxation of cultural norms and reduction of domestic roles among the women. Many informants felt that there has been increase in educating the children, in English medium as the spouses now have to concentrate more on their children free from obligatory responsibilities that were there in joint families.

5.15.3 Choice in Marriage

Educated girls do not prefer to marry boys who continue to do traditional occupation i.e., fishing. They prefer to marry educated and working men who work other than fishing. In the similar way educated boys do not prefer uneducated girls or those who work as construction level. They either prefer educated girls from affluent families who generally want to be housewife. The younger generation is very particular in their preferences with regard to marriage and does not here to the parental advices. Many informants have expressed their apprehension that it becomes difficult for both the girls and boys who engage in fishing in finding their partners in marriages.

Incidences of love marriages also are on the raise as working outside gives little freedom for them to get in touch with friends. Villagers recall some failures and also point out some successful love marriages. Older women often complain that even though those girls, who married on their own, generally do not complain their domestic differences because they have taken a choice on their own. Economic independence also reflects in assertiveness among the young girls and sometimes they threaten to commit suicide by consuming pesticides when their choice is either rejected or disregarded by the family members. There has been a substantial decline in cross cousin marriages which always has been a traditional arrangement concerning their social economic and psychological aspects of the women. Women of the older generation feel that marrying cross cousin either MBD or FZE. As a best adoption for a sensitive occupation like fishing, As it is an important criteria on to take ones wife's brother or ones sister's husband as a member of the crew that goes on fishing in order to increase the affinal ties ensuring mutual cooperation at times of distress on sea. The economical compulsion that a man should sell his catch to his sister on beach, while his wife gets the catch from her

brother also been an adoption in continuing and reinforcing sibling relations among the fishing communities is also on the way. The changes of finding mates disregarding cross cousin relationships also discontinue the traditional assurances in their occupation.

5.15.4 Changes in Family relations

We find several viewpoints expressed on the issue of changing types of families. Generally the old and also some young women express rather confused versions about the nuclear families. The older women often attribute disruptions or misunderstanding in the families as a result of unsecured alliances. Marrying a cross cousin in their opinion not just results in a stronger family, with increase care but also ensures their union at the times of disputes. A cross cousin marriage is a marriage between two families and lineages where as a love marriage relates only the individuals. However the younger women feel that a nuclear family lesser their burden and also their traditional baggage such as the daughter in law always been an apprentice and a subservient, both in domestic as well as economic affairs. A daughter in law in her affinal family has to take care of cooking and should eat only after all the members of the family complete their meals. She takes care of the young and has to complete their daily course before setting out for fish vending. Although the women take care of the monitory affairs of the family she is doubly burdened and always takes help from her mother in law or her grown up daughters. The younger generation feels that they have been exempted from these cultural impositions and have liberty to prepare food of their choice and eat at will. They also feel that they are able to take care of their children's education and spent on buying modern gadgets as both the partners earn and spend on their own. The younger women no more feel answerable whenever they go out and enjoy freedom. Some informants reveal that they buy food outside with the consent of her husband which is not allowed in joint family. These days one find the members of the family keep separate keys, as the husband returns from his own job wife goes on her job and children also maintains their own separate keys or find the key at designated places. This arrangement is much resented by the older generation as they feel that the house should never be locked which attracts their goddess to occupy. The old now take turns in living for few months at their children's place and see that the house is not locked.

5.15.5 Changes in Daily Routine Chores

Table 5.3: Changes in Daily Routine Chores

Gender roles among fishing societies – present		
	Fishermen	Fisherwomen
4.00- 4.30 am		Wakes up at 4 am; Cleaning vessels and sweeping floors; Wash and mop floors on weekends;
5.00 to 5.30 am	Gets up from bed, attends to ablutions at karavaaka (beach). Brushes teeth at home; have Tea at stall; Packs food and takes along the Diesel Can;	Takes bath and offers prayers to the goddess at the corner of the house;
5.30 to 6 am	Place the Nets and other equipment's in the boats; Carrying the boats into the waters ; Starts the engine and sets sail;	
6-7 am	Cover a distance of 20-25 <i>baralu distance</i> and throw their nets. Complete brushing teeth. Wait for Two hours and check for the catch. Change places and throw nets.	Draw 4-5 pots of water from the well; Helps children in getting ready and serve them breakfast. Wash Clothes; Takes bath; Eats breakfast (Left over food of the night);
7.00-9.00 am	Takes food at 8am; While away the waiting time by smoking cigars. As the crew consists of both the old and the young, the older generations discuss the disputes of the village; The young generally share information about movies, political parties and girls; They also carry brandy or toddy and consume it while waiting.	Sends boys to beach for informing her about the arrival of boats / carries fish basin and reaches the bus stop to catch bus to fishing harbor;
9-9.30 am	Check for the catch and change place for more catch; folding the nets is mechanized and therefore throwing the nets and changing places became easier; Gather the catch and make arrangements for return if they feel satisfied with the catch.	Goes round the auction spots and selects a place where she gets suitable fish. Auctions fish for about 8-10 thousand rupees and also purchases ice. Hire an auto shared by other five fisherwomen and reaches her market place.

9.30 – 10.40 am	Reaching the village became hassle free as they use GPS guidance; Using cellular phones the crew informs their women about the catch; they also inquire the rates at Visakhapatnam harbor for the variety of catch that they are bringing.	
10.40 -11.30 am	<p>The fishermen inform to buyers from hotels, canteens and other potential buyers over phone if their catch consists of the size and variety that suits these parties.</p> <p>The catch is auctioned at the beach itself and the crew shares the money. They even take the catch to Visakhapatnam city and to other places in auto rickshaws where they have prior information about the rates.</p>	Buys her snack at nearby stall along with the soft drink and resumes fish vending
11.30-12.30 Noon	Arrange for drying nets; go home and take bath; the fathers generation take care of preparing fish curry on a gas stove; the young go for a ride on motor cycle to the nearest junction and recharge their cell phone balance and buy some edibles for children;	
12.30-1.00 pm	Lunch with fish curry watching television;	
1.00 to 3.00 pm	Takes nap; they gather at the beach engage themselves playing cards / <i>ashtachamma</i> game	Arranges her stall at the market place and place the fish for sale.
3.00- 5 pm	Takes a pot of toddy, usually on loan; By the time his wife returns from market; Repair nets;	Takes her Evening Snack and Tea at 4 pm.
5.00- 6.00 pm	Packs food after his wife cooks rice; Make enquiries about the availability of fish and the directions in which the previous party could get good catch; sets sails and go for <i>Veta (fishing)</i>	<p>Sells fish at the rate at her terms.</p> <p>Unsold fish are kept in ice for sail on the next day.</p>
6-00-9.30 pm	Reach beach and sets sail for <i>Veta (fishing)</i> Throw nets after covering 25-30 <i>baralu (distance)</i> draw nets and	<p>7-8pm: Closes her stall and buys provisions for home.</p> <p>8-8.15pm: Waits for the Bus;</p>

	check for the catch; change place; Have their supper; Draw nets and Collect the catch;	Buys groundnuts or other small snack for munching during travel;
9.30-11.00 pm	Return to their village, share the catch and handover fish to women; arrange nets for drying; take bath and warm them at the fire. Go to sleep;	Reaches her home; Takes bath; have her supper prepared by her children; watches TV; goes to sleep; The timings to take bus at her village to harbor are varied – sometimes at 6am in the morning / 10am / 2pm / 3pm in the afternoon

The school going children of 5-10years age often cajole their grandparents for money in the morning to buy breakfast, chocolates and biscuits before going to school. By the time they might not find their parents as they already must have gone for job. In a marked contrast from the older generations where the children accompany their parents or grandparents on to the beach in the morning and while away their time playing we find a majority of children go to schools in the morning. The pupils who attend the government schools get mid-day meal and those who attend private English medium schools take their lunch boxes.

Grown-up children assist their families by drawing water and also fetching fire wood during weekends and holidays. Some children also help their mothers by washing clothes and take up lighter works like sweeping floors and washing utensils. Some children work in cashew nut plantations during summer holidays. As it is common to find cashew nut plantations on the beaches nearer to the fishing villages the fisher women during summers either take these plantations on contract as it is the season of fishing holiday.

It is quite common to find girls discontinuing their studies at the secondary level. In very few cases some girls have completed graduation and technical diplomas. The villagers expressed the following reasons for not educating their girls beyond 10th standard. The most common reason is lack of funds as undergraduate and graduate programmes need monetary support and many families cannot afford such large sums from their savings. The general preference of spending money on boy's education and discouraging girls is observed. They also feel that if they educate their girl children more

they need to find a match by offering more as dowry. The boys receive higher education and mostly in cases, when the family does not have a boy the girls get the opportunity to receive higher education. Girls who discontinue education work as maids, construction workers and sales girls and apparel firms like Brandix Apparel Company. It is quite significant to find a majority of these girls who work outside save a major portion of earnings for meeting the expenses of their marriages. It is also encouraged by their parents. So many girls buying golden ornaments and save money by taking of such jobs till the time they get married. It is observed that the majority discontinue working outside after marriage.

Traditionally the age at marriage among the Jalari girls is among the 15 years and the parents find it appropriate to marry their daughters by this age and it is quite common in the older generation that the average number of issues is around 5 to 6 children. There is a mark difference in this generation that the age at marriage is around 20 years and the number of children in a family also is limited to 3-4 issues. It is common that old women comment the younger girls who cross 20, 21 years about their marriage. Women in most cases resume working outside after 4-5 years after their marriage. By this period they adjust to the conditions of their affinal family, begat children and take up earning to meet the expenses of their family. The nature of jobs also ranges from construction work, private companies fetching wood and working in cashew plantations.

5.15.6 Food and medicine:

The regular diet consists of gruel made of Millets made of *Jonnalu*, *Sajjalu*, *Ragulu*, and *Bajra*. They used to take *Ganteannam*, boiled Gantelu millets mixed with rice both in the supper and as breakfast. In the supper they take *Ganteannam* along with vegetable curries of fish and in the morning they mix the broth of boiled Gantelu. For lunch they eat boiled rice with curries. They eat fish, chicken, mutton regularly and pork occasionally. Festive foods such as *Vamu Pulusu*, *Taalukulu* made of wheat flour, *Pongadaalu*, *Sinni Paakundalu*, *Ariselu* made out of rice flour, *Chodi Pindi Rotte*, *Taalukulu*, *Pitti with Chollu* are their delicacies. There is a considerable change in their diet in the present days. *Ganteannam* is replaced by *Idly*, *Upma*, *Minapa Rotti*, *Poori*,

Chapathi, Semiya, and Vada as general breakfasts now-a-days. Several varieties of junk food such as noodles, hot chats, paani poori etc, became popular.

The fishing communities use to depend more on the kitchen medicine in the older days for treatment. Turmeric, Ginger, *Karakkayalu*, Bishops weed (*Vaamu*) are used for treatment of many ailments. Scabies, eczema are treated with neem leaf, turmeric, *Gangirevu PuvuKaada*, General Cold and cough are treated with a decoction made out of ginger and turmeric kept overnight in open air and given in small doses to the children.

5.15.7 Leisure

With the introduction of LPG, cooking has become easier and saved some time as they need not walk long distances for fetching fire wood. Bore wells are dug in the habitations and in also in some houses, motors and taps for water required for domestic consumption. This also has reduced the dependence on wells and water holes dug in the sand dunes. The thatched houses are almost replaced by concrete roof houses and as such the maintenance of such houses are also become relatively easier. Earlier they use to change the thatch and have to smear cow dung on the floors at regular intervals to keep the houses tiny. Many informants express that their time spent in the domestic work has been drastically reduced encouraging them to go out and work, thereby enhancing their income. These villages are also well connected by roads and there is an increase in public and private transport. Every house has a motor cycle and many villages own auto rickshaws. Villagers feel it convenient to travel from one place to another place as compared to earlier times.

5.15.8 Habits

There used to be a cultural acceptance for women to smoke cigars, reverse smoking, consuming alcohol and other oral narcotics like *khaini*. Now-a-days we find only old women continuing these habits and some middle aged women are used to take *khaini*. The young girls completely abstain from these habits.

5.15.9 Modern Gadgets

This increase in individualism also has its negative effects as felt by some girls. There are some reports that use of cellular phones have of course increase

communication but also resulted in some extra marital affairs. As a consequence there are increased skirmishes that lead to separation in younger couples. Maintaining cellular phones also involved taking help from the children to get service cards for which children get used to receive fivers.

Use of Cellular phones is perceived by the fishing societies in different ways. While the men feel that the cellular phones a boon as they can communicate with their families back home any time and they are in touch with the day to day affairs in the village. They also are in a position to attend to funerals and other emergencies if they can, during a voyage. However the women of older generation consider cellular phones as a curse and as the prime factor in the disintegration of inter-generational traditions. They feel that the young are becoming more independent and informed. They also attribute the increase in pre-marital and extra-marital relations to the usage of cellular phones.

Television as become the biggest pastime in lives of the fishing villages. Women devote their time to watch serials and movies. A television set has become an essential gadget in every house hold. Cellular Phones are more popular among the youth serving multiple functions like games, to watch movies, listening songs as a watch, torch and calculator etc besides as a communication device. Owning a cellular phone has become a status symbol. Viewing televisions and cellular phones have almost reduced the social interactions and customary visits with in the village as well as outside. Weekly Markets still remain as important arms of economic social, political activities.

5.15.10 Women in Political Roles

The traditional village panchayat consists of all male members representing their prominent clans. The panchayat resolves issues concerning familiar, inter as well as intra village disputes organizing village festivals and issues of economic at the village level. While most of the financial transactions are held by women at the family level, the overall supervision at the village level are controlled by the men. With the advent of modern democratic elected village panchayats, statutory reservation for women in the local bodies brought in some women assuming represented to positions like members of ward, village Sarpanches and Regional Councils/MPTCs. Some economically affluent women have entered politics. In many cases it is their men who attend to their duties on

their behalf. In vada balija village Mutylammapalem, there are more women as ward members, and this village has a women surpunch, Bondi Dhanalakshmi and MPTC representative from this village is also a women, Chintakayala Sujata. Although we find women representatives assuming offices, it is their men who actually operate their responsibilities using women as facade.

5.15.11 Fishing Techniques

Technological additions and disruptions in the traditional social economic relations have resulted in the loosening interdependence among the members of the community. The changes of finding mates disregarding cross cousin relationships also discontinue the traditional assurances in their occupation. Many of such considerations are being discontinued because of technological changes, such as using motors, GPS to the boats.

- Overall changes in the fishing villages have shown adverse effect mostly in the fisherwomen. There has been serious disrespect to the traditional arrangement of selling and buying the catch at beaches. The kin obligations of selling and buying fish have been loosening.
- They find stiff competition from the fish trader's right on the beaches who buy the catch outside. This has created non availability of fish to the villagers. While a portion of the catch use to be distributed apportioned for their consumption. The fish traders do not leave any catch for their consumption. The villagers had to buy fish from fishing harbors being deprived from consuming fresh fish to satisfy themselves from the frozen ones.

It is significant to find that men, mostly from Vadabalija and some Jalari, have taken up the role of auctioning which has been the exclusive domain of women as marakattes two decades back. At present among 110 Jalari auctioneers 10 are men while among 60 Vadabalija auctioneers, as many as 50 are men. The women reported that the entry of men in the auction started with some men who work as crew started to take up labour work as coolies under the *marakattes* when the boats on which their *marakettes* auctioned arrive at the jetty. They also used to work as labour during the interval period when their boats are at rest at jetty.

Table 5.4: Present Economic activities among fishing communities in sample villages:

Muttylapalem		Vasavanipalem		Jalaripeta rural		Pedajalari peta	
Male	female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Fishing	Wet fish vending big business	Fishing	Fish vending	Fishing	Fish vending	Fishing	Fish vending
NTPC daily labour	Wet fish small business	Auto	Maid servants	Construction works	Fish cutting and processing	Carpenter	Maid servants
Hinduja plant	Dry fish venders	Centering works	Workers in shopping malls	Pharmacy company	Shrimp pond	Painters	Shopping malls
Pudimadaka plant	Wet & dry fish venders	Painting works	Tailoring	NTPC	NTPC house works	Centering works	Beauty parlors
Pharma city company	Brandix company	Constructions works			Hotel works	Auto drivers	Petty shops
Country liquor making and selling	Salt panes (Gally work)				Shops like kirana and fancy		
Educated villagers are doing private jobs	NTPC (Construction and cement works)				Construction works		
	Labour works				Kalyanamandam works		
	Hinduja plant						
	Petty shops						

5.16 Literacy and society

Low levels of literacy are recorded in spite of establishment of a number of elementary schools at village level during the last three-four decades. A few villages have high schools, but no Junior college or Degree College in any of the fishermen villages. However, a very limited number of fishermen community people could be educated overcoming several hardships of poverty, inaccessibility of institutions and proper guidance. The following are the few observations encountered among the fishermen community people in our study:

- i) Gender level differentials levels of education are noticed.
- ii) Girls outnumber boys below 5th standard of education. Female child education is preferred if there is a school in the village. If there is no high school in the village girls are discouraged to go to high school in another village. Moreover, boys are more attracted to playing and surfing than education.
- iii) Boys outnumber girls below 10th standard. Reason seems to be that boys are permitted to go to nearby village for high school or to be stayed in hostels.
- iv) Among those boys and girls who reached Intermediate education the success is towards girls than boys, leaving an opportunity of further studies by girls than boys.
- v) Successful girl students are enhancing their abilities by getting further training in health (health worker, Nurse, ANM etc.) and education (Vidya volunteer, Teacher training etc.) sectors to occupy village level employment opportunities.

It is painful to note that the more number of educated girls are employed at village level are facing difficulty in getting compatible matrimonial alliance. The dropout boys at various stages of education are neither successful in their traditional economy nor getting any employment suitable to their education, and they are a liability not only to their parents but also to the community or society. Such boys who are found in the village do not opt for the employed girls to marry nor are the girls extending any preference to such boys, leading to more number of unmarried youth and adolescents in maritime communities. Though a large number of people are educated among maritime communities of the region under study only a few could succeed in getting employment

(1996) against their qualifications. Those who could not get employment either in public sector or private sectors have preferred to take up financial and technical support from the public and private agencies and started their carrier. Diesel motors, motorized and fibre boats, autos (three wheelers), cars, sewing machines etc are procured and put them in operation to lead a livelihood. A few of the fishermen are working in the ports located in Mumbai, Chennai, Paradeep and several smaller ports and jetties. Those who are working elsewhere are maintaining affinal and consanguineous relations with their maritime communities.

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