

**ICSF Questionnaire  
Migrant Fishers and Fishworkers during Covid-19, India**

***Responses from Andhra Pradesh***

A total of 14 respondents from three major locations, Srikakulam, BCV Palem and Visakhapatnam responded to the survey. They spoke both for themselves and for their groups. They migrate to Malpe (Karnataka), Paradeep (Odisha) and Veraval (Gujarat) working as crew in mechanised boats. Almost all have worked in all three locations. All the fishermen are from Andhra Pradesh. In general, they go because of better wages/income. The migration is largely fuelled by family/ kinship contacts.

**Place of Origin: Srikakulam:** One group from Srikakulam goes to Malpe while the other goes to Veraval.

Forty year old Dhoni Lakshmana Rao, fisherman from D Matsyalesam Village of Echherla Mandal, Srikakulam has been going to Malpe, Karnataka to do mechanised fishing for 20 years. From Srikakulam, four fishermen, Cheekati China Danayya (45) from Narasayyapeta, Komara Gurumurthy (40) from Mohfus Bandar, Ganagalla Korlayya (30) from China Ganagalla Peta, all three areas falling under Srikakulam Rural and Moogilkkayya (35) from D Matsyalesam of Eccherla Mandal, have returned from Veraval, Gujarat where they have been working over 9-16 years as crew in mechanised boats.

**Place of Origin: Boddu Chinna Venkataya (BCV) Palem:**

One fisherman in the set of respondents had returned from Malpe while three groups from BCV Palem go to Paradeep. Usually, each group of fishermen have their own arrangements with the boat owners through the intermediation of the 'tandels' or captains, so the migrant routes tend to be stable and unchanging year after year.

From BCV Palem, 35 year old Karri Annavaram (Suryanarayana), has been going to Malpe, Karnataka for the last 15 years as crew in a mechanised boat. Previously, he also had experience of migrating to Odisha (Paradeep) and Gujarat (Veraval) for fishing. While he was still living and working in BCV Palem, he had a wooden shoe-dhoni, and he and his father fished together, but the catches were meagre and hardly sufficient to meet the family needs. After marriage, with his father-in-law's support, Annavaram went first to Paradeep and later to Chennai and finally to Malpe. Once he found his feet in the new place, he arranged for around 15 people to find employment in Malpe's fisheries, which included his father, 10 youngsters from his family, and another four youth from the village. He says his condition improved since he started working on the boats. He and his father work on the same boat, and have the security of each other's support. If Covid 19 hadn't struck, they would have had two more months of good fishing before returning home for the monsoon break. Nowadays, Annavaram goes as a crew member on a Kakinada-based trawler.

Kopanati Peda Acchiraju (Bhairava Swamy), 46 and Karri China Suryanarayana (Peda Narayana), 56 are from BCV Palem, Korangi, Tallarevu Mandal, East Godavari District. They have been going to Paradeep for the last 10-12 years. Previously, both have experience of working on similar boats in Gujarat, Mangalore, Malpe, and Chennai. Prior to venturing into mechanised fishing, they were fishing with various kinds of estuarine gears in the creeks and backwaters near BCV Palem itself. Indebtedness forced them to migrate on a long-term basis to Paradeep. In case of Acchiraju, he was soon followed by his father's younger brother and his brother-in-law. In case of Suryanarayana, it was his son and the son's father-in-law who had already been working Paradeep so he found it easy to go there. Pinapothu Mahalakshmi aka Pentayya (Kamaraju), 50 is also from the same place. Until 15 years ago, Mahalakshmi used to fish from his native village (BCV Palem) in the nearby creeks with his wooden boat, using estuarine nets (both fixed and drag nets). Alongside, he would also engage in agricultural labour and net making/repair as secondary income generating options. Over time, Mahalakshmi's household needs increased with a consequent rise in family expenses, and this coincided with the decline of small fishing activities in the village (the wooden boats were replaced by the FRP boats and the fishing grounds shifted to the sea and the Kakinada Bay, where the estuarine gears had little use), depriving him of sufficient income. He chose to migrate to Paradeep, where mechanised trawling yields good returns, there was a need for fishing labour, and the payments were more consistent. He spends most of the year fishing on a trawler in Paradeep, visiting home for village festivals and for Sankranti. Living on the boat for extended periods of time has its disadvantages but Mahalakshmi avers that it keeps his expenses low and helps to save enough to pay off his old debts back in his native place. Sangani Gangadhara Rao (China Apparao), 57 is also from BCV Palem and has been working as a crew member on a mechanised boat in Paradeep, Odisha, for the last 10 years. Previously, he worked on a similar boat from Kakinada, but it was a difficult experience because he found that his expenses were higher than his returns, which was not helped by the fact that he always found excuses to avoid going to fish. As his daughters were growing up, he became aware of the need to earn well and consistently and the migration to Paradeep was a step in this direction.

#### [Place of origin: Visakhapatnam](#)

The fishers from Vizag go to work as fishing crew in Gujarat, Karnataka, Goa, Maharashtra, Odisha, and Tamil Nadu; in this case they seemed to have returned from Veraval, Gujarat. Koviri Mahesh (Nookaraju), aged 46, Perla Apparao (Danayya), 48, Perla Dasu (Danayya), 35 and Garikina Mandulodu (Peddayya), 32 are from Gangavaram, Pedagantyada Mandal, Visakhapatnam district.

[The fishermen were interviewed about the reasons for migration and their experiences during the recent Covid-19 crisis when these migrants had to stop fishing and find their way back to their place of origin. Most of the following responses are common for the place to which the fishers migrate \(Malpe, Veraval, Paradeep\) and only in some cases are they common for their place of origin.](#)

The state of origin of the migrant fishers is Andhra Pradesh. All of them work as crew in mechanised fishing boats. Two groups of fisher migrants among the respondents – from Srikakulam and BCV Palem go to Malpe, Karnataka. Two groups of migrants - from Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam go to Veraval, Gujarat while three groups of migrants from BCV Palem go to Paradeep and work in mechanised trawlers.

The mode of payment to the crew also varies, depending on the place to which the fishers migrate. In Veraval, the fishing crew are paid monthly wages. In Malpe and Paradeep, it is a percentage shared among the crew. They have no written contracts of employment.

According to the Srikakulam fishermen, in Veraval, they get monthly wages which range from Rs 10000/- to Rs 12000/- while the fishermen originating from Visakhapatnam said the wages ranged between Rs 8000/- and Rs 10,000/-. They do not have any share from the catch returns. The boat owners have very little role either in the recruitment, with payment of wages, or addressing the crews' concerns while working for them – all such responsibilities are handed over to the tandels (Captains), who hail from Andhra Pradesh too and have a separate agreement with the owners to cover all these expenses and earn monthly salaries of Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 30,000.

In the case of Malpe and Paradeep, the payment is based on share of catch. Slight variation was reported by the two groups who go to Malpe. The crew's share in the income is 21 percent which must be shared by the 8-member crew, with one share going to each crewmember while two shares are taken by the driver (captain) said Mr Dhoni Lakshmana Rao of Srikakulam. The BCV Palem fishers said that after deducting all operational expenses from the gross income, 22% of the income is shared equally among the crew.

17-18% of the income is shared among the crew members after deducting all operational costs from the gross income, said the fishers from BCV Palem going to Paradeep. There is no direct contact between boat owners and crew; their recruitment and all subsequent dealings being entirely with the driver who is also a migrant from the same area as the crew, but has longer experience and arrangements with the boat owners to manage their fishing operations.

When the migrant fishers were asked about how many migrant fishers and fishworkers were from their state, whether there were both men and women migrant fishers and fishworkers, their age groups and availability of land-based accommodation facilities, the responses indicated that migration is dominated by males. There were a few Telugu women involved in shore based activities like supply of ice, water but they were from other areas (not Srikakulam or BCV Palem). In Malpe, it was estimated that 700 fishers were from AP of who 280 from Srikakulam and 40 from BCV Palem. Fishers from Ichhapuram, Nellore and Kakinada also migrated to Malpe. They ranged in age from 16-55 years. Migrant fishers said that, in general (in Malpe and Veraval), since no accommodation was provided on land, taking families was both impractical and unsafe.

Respondents who migrate to Veraval said that there were probably 12-15000 fishers who migrate to other states exclusively for fishing. The migrants are not accompanied by families – they are not provided accommodation on land as they spend 29 days in a month at sea, continuously fishing. None of the migrants has a place to stay on land.

Except for a group that goes to Malpe, most migrant fishers from BCV Palem go to Paradeep and the numbers according to the respondents ranged from 160 to 1000. The men lived on the boat for 25 days at a stretch. They fell in the 25-60 age group, with those between 40 and 55 dominating. A few fishers had taken their families as the women also speak Odiya and make a living on their own while the men are fishing.

The fishers were asked about incidences of Covid19 among the fishermen. All of them said that there were no Covid19 positive fishers though there was worry among the fishers about it. When in harbour quarantine for 45 days, the fishermen who had migrated to Malpe were given two masks and twice daily medical checks were carried out on them. In Veraval, doctors tested fishers but the tests always came out negative. Both in Paradeep and in BCV Palem, the migrants received good medical attention. They were quarantined for 8 days after return to AP, and allowed to go only when they were Covid free. One group from BCV Palem said that they visited the local Community Health Centre upon return to BCV Palem from Paradeep, and were sent to Kakinada for quarantine. Once the period was over, they were tested thoroughly for any symptoms of infection and allowed to go home. Doctors and other medical professionals looked after the fishers well.

Boat owners called their boats and asked them to stop fishing after 18<sup>th</sup> March. The fishers in all three locations returned to their harbour base between 19<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March and had to stay within the harbour area till they left for their respective home towns. The Malpe fishers left for their hometown on 17<sup>th</sup> May while the Veraval fishers left on 30<sup>th</sup> April.

The next question is whether migrant fishers and fishworkers under lockdown are entitled to food rations, good hygienic accommodation, medical facilities and counselling as well as Communication with their families. It is essential to provide timely and accurate information on Covid-19 preventive measures in a language fishers can understand as they are migrants from other states.

Fishermen who were based at Malpe said that initially, food was ok but went down in quality later. Their inability to move out of the harbour area meant eating poor quality food or going hungry. BCV Palem respondents said that the rice they received initially was undercooked and when they complained, they got overcooked rice. In general, the accommodation in the harbour was unhygienic. While drinking water was supplied, a single well within the harbour premises was the only source of water for all non-drinking purposes for all fishers stranded in the harbour.

Good health services were provided to all but no counselling. Covid 19 information available, had to be translated into Telugu from Kannada in the case of Malpe. While cell phones helped in communication with their families, it only made them feel more lonely

and homesick. They also said that supervisors did not respond adequately or appropriately (BCV Palem respondents). Covid 19 information was provided in Kannada which was understood by very few migrants. Yet, everybody took care to follow the suggested practices.

Fishers in Veraval said that they were fed during lockdown and quarantine but the accommodation in the harbour was poor. Health services were good but there was no counselling. While information on Covid 19 was available, it needed to be translated by some of them who knew Gujarati. Communication with families was through cell phones.

In Paradeep, responses varied. Kopanati Peda Acchiraju and Karri China Suryanarayana said that while they remained stuck at Paradeep harbour, each fisherman received 5 kg of rice, lentils, and other groceries to cook their food. The owners paid Rs. 1000 as advance and that was the sum total of the help they offered. They spent 45 days in the jetty, and during the period, they received a health check-up twice a day. The health workers also provided them with face masks. The owner sent drinking water, but there was no water provision for bathing and other purposes. The sole well in the jetty was the source of water for all non-drinking purposes, including bathing. Pinapothu Mahalakshmi said that in Odisha, several officers from the police, fisheries and other departments visited the jetty regularly to explain about the virus and how they must take care of themselves. Although the owners supported with rations, it became difficult to stay in the harbour indefinitely, especially as there was no knowing how long that condition might continue and also because of the constant worry about our families back home. Odisha government also supplied rice, lentils, and oil for subsistence. The boat owner booked train tickets for to get back home, but when the trains were cancelled again, he handed each of the crewmembers Rs. 1000 to make their own way back. Sangani Gangadhara Rao reported a similar experience in Paradeep.

The return journey for all from Paradeep was a nightmare of sorts as there were no trains. They walked to Cuttack where they had heard that a Telugu-owned transport company was helping migrants back home. During quarantine at Iccchapuram on the border, they received good food and tea. There were hygienic kitchens and good medical facilities; the fishers were able to charge their phones, talk to their families and keep up-to-date with everything. However, no promised cash Rs 2000 from AP government was forthcoming.

When asked if migrant fishers and fishworkers were receiving compensation for loss of employment equivalent to the compensation paid to local fishers and fishworkers, the fishers returning from Malpe said that not even Rs 2000 promised for quarantine needs had been given. They said that on earlier occasions, boat owners were more supportive; this time they were not. Fishers returning from Veraval to Srikakulam said that 30% of Srikakulam fishers in Veraval have received Rs 2000 compensation. According to fishers returning to Visakhapatnam from Veraval, until now, no government officer has shown interest to know about their situation and to offer any kind of assistance. When the fishers approach them, they reply that they have no information or orders to support the fishers.

In Paradeep, boat owners initially provided advance of Rs 1000, after first few days they would not take calls from fishers. The fishers are not sure if that is a handout or an advance. One group received essential food items from volunteers on return to the village; the state government provided ration four times and gave a one-time cash allowance of Rs 1000. No compensation was provided for the loss of fishing days and opportunities.

The migrant fishers and fishworkers were asked if they were repatriated to their state of origin by government-sponsored arrangements and if not, who had borne the costs of repatriation. Again here, the responses varied depending on the place of migration. Migrant fishermen from Srikakulam in Malpe said that they each had raised Rs. 4400/- from boat owners to pay for the buses for the return trip. It took them two days to go from Malpe to Srikakulam where they were quarantined for two weeks and again for six days in villages before going to their families. They said that their travel expenses and Rs. 2000/- relief promised to help them tide over the period of quarantine had not yet been paid. BCV Palem migrants in Malpe said that they raised Rs 4000/- each to find their way back to their villages.

From Veraval to Srikakulam/ Visakhapatnam cost the fishers Rs 3000 which they raised from boat owners. They set out on 30<sup>th</sup> April and reached Srikakulam/ Visakhapatnam on 3<sup>rd</sup> May, quarantined for two weeks in Srikakulam/ Visakhapatnam and then for six days in their villages before being allowed home. There has been no reimbursement of travel charges and Rs 2000 for tiding over quarantine has reached only 30% of the fishers. The group from Visakhapatnam said that the state governments of Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat had discussed the issue of their repatriation several times. The fishers had tried their best to pressurise them into taking some early and quick measures to get them back home. At various times, they toyed with the idea of sending the fishers back home by sea route (ship) or by train, but finally decided upon bus transport by road.

For the Paradeep fishers, the journey back to the home villages was a terrible experience. The uncertainty about when life would get back to normal – if at all – remained a major preoccupation with the fishers stuck in the harbour for extended periods, and eventually led to their finding some way out of the place. Two groups in Paradeep from BCV Palem walked ~100 km to Cuttack where they had been told of a transport company run by Telugus which helped the fishers find place in trucks. They were not charged by the transport company. Only food and additional travel expenses amounting to Rs 4000 were borne by the fishers. This transport company played a critical role in ensuring that all the stranded fishers in their vicinity could somehow be accommodated in the passing trucks on their way to AP. Neither the company, nor most of the truck drivers who brought the fishers as far as they could towards their destination, charged them for the services, and even aided them to pass themselves off as truck cleaners in order to pass muster with the police check posts along the way, said Gangadhara Rao. Pinapothu Mahalakshmi from BCV Palem said that they received an advance from the boat owner to cover the expenses of their return. Acchiraju said that once reached his village, he contacted the local health workers who arranged to have

him tested at a nearby Primary Health Centre before shifting them to a quarantine in the neighbouring Kakinada city. During the quarantine period, he was treated and fed well, and could communicate with his family by cell phone.

The migrants were asked if they had been receiving help from other quarters such as charities, CSOs/NGOs and if so, what the nature of assistance was.

The Srikakulam group from Malpe said that they had not received any support from anyone and the group from Veraval said the same. However, they said that while they were in Veraval, the AP government had arranged to distribute to each of the migrant fishers 10 kg rice, blanket, groceries for cooking, soaps, mosquito nets, and masks. The Veraval group from Visakhapatnam said that aside from a dry ration kit provided by DFYWA, which covered a very little part of their need, they had not received any support from any other source, government, NGOs or otherwise.

The BCV Palem group from Malpe said that the Boat Union association provided food from day four onwards in Malpe as their food stocks got over on the third day. Back in BCV Palem, the Government supplied rations in four cycles along with Rs. 1000/- per family as immediate assistance. Some local philanthropists (Mr Boddu Satyanarayana and Mr Voleti Jaggarao) as well as the local shrimp processing units like Apex provided the fishers with rice and other essential supplies. The MLA of Yanam, Mr Malladi Krishna Rao supplied vegetables to every household in the village. More recently, ICSF helped the fishers with a package of essential items.

The migrant fishers had a long list of suggestions and demands when asked what changes are sought by them in their recruitment, working and living conditions, and social protection.

All fishermen groups had similar things to say. Hence they have been clubbed together as follows:

Malpe and Veraval said that they wanted written contract agreements directly with the boat owners, in presence of (and vouched by) the government officers of the two state governments and the local boat owners' associations in Malpe. They said that the salary must be enhanced to Rs 15-20,000 per month and they should be provided with identity cards. The support and services that the AP state government extends to the fishers in the state should also be extended to the migrant fishers. As things stand, the fishers who died or had accidents at sea are not covered by any insurance – this should be changed to cover the migrants under the insurance package. The boats have no toilet facilities on-board and this leads to fishers falling overboard while relieving themselves; bio-toilets must be installed on-board. Maintenance of cleanliness in and around the harbour premises is essential.

They felt that the Captains should be instructed to avoid fishing near the Pakistan border and called for reduction in the duration of fishing voyage from 29 days to 15 days and the crew must get at least 5 days of rest in a month. The fishers said that if mini-jetties

were built in AP and they were provided boats and nets at 90 percent subsidy, they would not need to migrate to other states in search of work.

The fishers said that some portion of the income from fishing is set apart from the sharing process and felt this amount should also be shared with the crew. They pointed to differences in sharing patterns between the boats having Tamil drivers and those with Kannada drivers. They said that while the owners pay impartially, the drivers pay to the crew according to their whims and this should be stopped. They said recruitment of the crew should be handled by the owners who should be responsible for the wellbeing and the needs of the crew.

They said that all information, warnings and other notices should be provided in Telugu and that the boat owners should pay for the travel expenses incurred on account of the lockdown, and they must also compensate the fishers for the loss of two good months of fishing on account of the lockdown.

Paradeep migrants said that conditions were better for those working in the trawlers of Paradeep than if they were to work in their villages. They received regular salary and are looked after well. It was only when something like the Covid 19 emergency happened that they have found themselves in need of support but this was not easy to get. They said that more systematic efforts are needed to support migrant fishers in times of emergencies.

They pointed out that facilities in the harbour to take rest after the fishing trips are not adequate and will need to be improved. They had to spend several days in the harbour during the lockdown and suffered on account of poor facilities. Currently, they had little contact with the boat owners, making it difficult to demand their assistance in times of need. It is necessary for boat owners to be made responsible for the fishers' wellbeing and the facilities (onboard and on-shore) provided to them. They said that the boat owners must also take responsibility for the subsistence and financial needs of the crew during the lockdown period. The support and services that the AP state government extends to the fishers in the state should also be extended to the migrant fishers, they said. As things stand, the fishers who died or had accidents at sea are not covered by any insurance – this should be changed to cover the migrants under the insurance package.

Like the other migrant fishers from Malpe and Veraval, they also said that the fishing boats have no toilet facilities on board and called for installation of on board toilets. They also felt it would help to have better accommodation on shore for fishers to rest and recuperate after every fishing trip. Unlike the fishers going to Malpe and Veraval, the Paradeep migrants felt that it was better to deal with the owner through the drivers only because a direct contract with the owner puts the worker at a disadvantage on account of language and also because the owner is in his native element in Paradeep while the crew member is not, which reduces the latter's bargaining power.

The common response to the question of identity cards by the fisheries department of labour recipient state was that they had not received any kind of identity cards to prove



their status as migrant fishermen. All they have is a Xerox copy of their Aadhaar cards, without which they get harassed by the Coast Guard if stopped for inspection.

With regard to migrant fishworkers being part of any fisheries insurance, savings-cum-relief or other schemes, migrant fishers from Malpe and Veraval said that for local fishers, such programmes do exist but do not for migrants. In case of any accidents (which are frequent), neither the boat owners, nor the state governments of Gujarat and AP show any concern. The boats are insured but not the crew and no government schemes apply to the migrant fishermen.

In Paradeep, it was slightly different though there are no government insurance or other schemes. Some of the BCV Palem fishers said that a fisherman's family will receive a compensation of Rs. 50,000 in case of a fatal accident, which is contributed from a common fund set up by the drivers in Paradeep. Pinapothu Mahalakshmi said that each fisherman has an insurance policy, but no savings schemes or other government support programmes are accessible to the migrants. Every fisherman has his own cell phone. The government relays weather warnings and organises a meeting with all people in the harbour every 10 days to give advice on safe practices.

A common response to the question of assistance received by migrant fishworkers at the time accidents or disasters before the Covid-19 pandemic was that none was received as there was little need. Acchiraju of BCV Palem said that any assistance provided would be accounted against the share of income so it is only a loan.

The migrant fishers were asked what assistance boat owners or employers have provided to migrants in previous emergencies and what have they done after the lockdown. The migrant fishers were also asked what their demands were from their employers?

In this case too, migrant fishers from Malpe and Veraval had similar responses which have been listed below while migrants to Paradeep had a slightly different response to share.

Migrant fishers from Malpe and Veraval said that there were no previous instances when such a thing happened, so there is no history of boat owners having to provide assistance to the migrant fishers. In the current instance, the boat owners provided them with food and supplied the materials to cook food. After the lockdown, migrant fishers have not received any further support; the Rs. 3000 they had taken as advance from boat owners to pay for the return to Visakhapatnam was only a temporary loan and would be accounted for against their future earnings. In the current situation, the most that the supervisors did was to supply some drinking water, that too, after repeated calls to them. After a point, they switched off their phones, leaving the fishermen helpless

Paradeep fisher migrants said that previously, if the fishers fell sick, the owners arranged for medical treatment. If the cure was prolonged, they arranged for the fisherman to return to their native place.

The migrant fishers were asked if they were working as skilled workers. Did they know how to swim, do signalling etc., and what the type of fishing they were doing was. All migrant fishers responded that they are are skilled workers, with considerable experience of fishing. They knew swimming and signalling and are adept at using different kinds of fishing gears – trawl, long-line, hand lines etc. Malpe migrants said that they knew their fishing grounds lie between 13°N and 17°N, that if they travelled closer to 18°N, they would reach Mumbai. They know how to use a GPS and put it to regular use on the boat. In addition, Paradeep's migrant fishers said that since there was no difference in fishing between Kakinada and Paradeep, they found it easy to adapt to the fishing systems there. Gangadhara Rao is partially blind on account of having only one eye but is a skilled fisherman. He is of advanced age and hence in charge of cooking and is a good cook.

*Veraval migrants provided the following additional information and photographs:*

Every year, the fishers travel to Veraval by the last week of July, to start working from the first week of August. Each fishing trip lasts 25 days, and the return to the harbour takes an additional four days. They spend one day in the harbour, unloading the catches and loading supplies for the next trip, to start back for fishing that same night. Fishing is carried on for 8 months in a year, and the fishers return to their home villages by late-March or early April.

Fishing is carried out some 300-500 miles from the shore, each fishing trip generating revenues of around 10-15 lakh from the sale of fish and shrimp. The tandels receive a monthly wage of Rs. 30-35 thousand and, although they come from the same area as the fishers, the tandels have a ferocious reputation and make the most trouble for the fishers.

Onboard, the fishers hardly get any sleep, and this gets worse in rainy months on account of poor sleeping arrangements onboard which leave the fishers exposed to the elements. In a 29 day fishing trip, they hardly get to take a bath 4-8 times using mostly seawater, which is washed off with about 4 small containers of freshwater towards the end. The harbour and its surroundings are also not hygienic and the facilities are very bad, so the occasional stay on land while the boat is being repaired or for some other reason is also not a welcome distraction.

Despite all the hardships, the fishers still choose to migrate because of the assurance of regular monthly wages. While fishing in their own neighbourhood might fetch Rs. 5000-10000 a month, the expenses tend to be higher as also the opportunities for extravagance. In Gujarat, being stuck onboard for 29 days at a stretch, there is hardly any opportunity to spend the income while the daily needs are also met by the boat owners. Daily food intake consists of a breakfast of freshly cooked rice with fish fry, a lunch consisting of rice and fish curry, and a night's meal consisting of chapati and fish curry. Vegetables are served with each meal on Saturdays.

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