

FISHERIES-BASED LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

The issue of access to and control over an open-access resource base was fundamental to the discussion in the session on fisheries-based livelihood strategies. The increasing mechanisation of fisheries, combined with the entry of joint-venture enterprises threatens the livelihood of fisherfolk, the sustainability of the resource base on which they depend, and the availability of cheap animal protein to the large number of fish consumers.^{1,2}

Common Campaigns

The fisheries sector has demonstrated a remarkable degree of cohesiveness in developing common strategies and platforms for addressing common problems. In two recent instances, it has been able to close ranks and develop effective campaigns against joint ventures for deep-sea fishing and aquaculture. Both of these campaigns have been successful, the latter resulting in a Supreme Court ruling ordering the closure of environmentally damaging aquaculture activities. The ruling also recognised the adverse effects that the aquaculture activities were having on livelihoods of agricultural labourers and on common property resources in coastal areas, where lands were becoming saline and the groundwater table was affected.³ On the issue of deep-sea fishing, the Murari Commission, which was set up to review the New Deep Sea Fishing Policy of 1991, specifically recognised the strengths of indigenous technology and knowledge system, and expressed concern that these might be rendered obsolete by allowing unrestricted access to foreign-made joint venture vessels, long-liners and purse seiners, trawlers which deplete the resource base at a rapid rate, and create further havoc by straying into coastal waters, the domain of traditional fisherfolk and the breeding ground for juveniles.⁴

- ¹ A recent work on the sustainability of small-scale and artisanal fisheries urges the implementation of "aquarian reforms which will provide small-scale fishworkers with greater effective control over the coastal fishery resources and the primary activities of the fish economy." See Kurien, J., 1996, *Towards A New Agenda for Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries Development*, Trivandrum, South Indian Federation of Fishermen Societies (SIFFS). Kurien argues further that the sector needs "empathy rather than sympathy", i.e., efforts should be made to build on inherent strengths rather than to compensate for weaknesses.
- ² These problems confront artisanal fishworkers everywhere; the dispute is between industrial and artisanal interests rather than between Northern and Southern artisanal fishworkers. See Chanteau, Jean-Pierre, "Devil in Deep Sea Waters", *Down To Earth*, 4(18):31-33, 29 February 1996, and Kurien, John, "Teaching the Taught", *Down To Earth*, 4(18):33-34, 29 February 1996.
- ³ The judgement said that all aquaculture farms, shrimp industries, and shrimp culture ponds within the Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) should be demolished and removed before 31 March 1997. The aquaculture lobby is strong and has many supporters in government. The Ministry of Agriculture attempted to push a bill through Parliament which would have set up an Aquaculture Authority to review existing shrimp and prawn farms and formulate guidelines for their construction and maintenance. The Ministry of Commerce has also been trying to propose legislation to include aquaculture among the activities exempt from the restrictions of the CRZ.
- ⁴ It is estimated that at least 200,000 traditional boats and 35,000 small mechanised vessels fish in 165,000 sq. km. of coastal waters. The Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute in Kochi indicates that the current annual production of coastal fisheries is 2.5 million tonnes, and that the coastal resources are "fully exploited". Reported by Niyanand Jayaraman in "Fishing in Troubled Waters", *Humanscape*, May 1996, pp. 22-25.



Accn No: 021

MFN No: 42

A Movement

This ability of the fisheries "movement" to demonstrate a united front when necessary is due to various factors: strong leadership, collective action, shared vision, enormous commitment, skillful mobilisation, and theoretical understanding. It also reflects the ability of the leadership to place local problems within a sound understanding of global and regional macro-economics and to communicate this perspective effectively within the movement and without. Thus, it has been possible to build campaigns that are founded on a solid grassroots base and a thorough analysis of the issues. The aquaculture campaign is an example of such a comprehensive approach, where the link between industrial aquaculture and industrial fisheries was elaborated to the public and policy makers in the course of the campaign.⁵

Strengthening the Movement

Workshop participants said that networking among different organisations of fisherworkers and fishing communities is crucial for strengthening the movement. This is especially important because the resource in question is mobile - using it sustainably requires effective co-ordination and co-operation among different groups of fisherfolk. Organisational development work in terms of formation of co-operatives, improving the position of women in fisheries, leadership training, education on the nature of the resource base, and capacity development for effective participation in resource management and development are also needed, to strengthen capacities and build confidence.

That there are internal conflicts of interest within the movement is clear, the most obvious one being between "artisanal" fishworkers who have traditional boats and "commercial" fishworkers who have small mechanised boats. The identification of a common threat, such as large deep-sea vessels, brings these two groups together, temporarily.⁶

Maintaining Solidarity in the Face of Technological Advance

Perhaps more worrying to the movement and certainly to the workshop participants were the apparent negative externalities within small-scale fisheries itself. A prime example of one such contradiction is the effect of technology. Technological improvements that benefit one group of workers may harm another group or the environment - this is so even when the level of technology is low but increases, perhaps exponentially, as the technology becomes more

⁵ In Shiva, 1996, *op. cit.*, p. 18, Kurien points out that fish meal provides the crucial link between industrial aquaculture and industrial fisheries, with global shrimp aquaculture consuming 180,000 tonnes of fishmeal in 1988, derived from an equivalent of 900,000 tonnes wet-weight fish. It is projected that the demand for fish meal in the year 2000 will be on the order of 1.1 million tonnes (i.e., 5.5 million tonnes wet-weight fish or almost double the current total marine fish harvest in India).

⁶ The threat that prompted this truce can best be understood in light of the fact that the Indian Ocean is the only ocean where fish availability has not been reduced. Other oceans have suffered a depletion of fish stock in the wake of factory trawler operations. For statistics, see "Fish Issues", *Down to Earth*, 5(9):60, 30 September 1996.

sophisticated. Over-capitalisation of technology puts tremendous strain on the resource base. Since technological improvements are being made almost continuously, it becomes very difficult to keep workers united. As mentioned in another context, to the workers, therefore, the face of the "enemy" is not clear and changes constantly. Thus, clarity of purpose and a common vision regarding the future in fisheries development and management becomes very important for the sustainability and dynamism of the movement.

Conclusion

When juxtaposed with the situation in other sectors, the relative solidarity of the fisheries sector and the existence of a "movement" draws attention instantly. Workshop participants were intrigued and questioned the apparently unique characteristics of the sector. Why is there a fisheries movement? It is a question well worth serious investigation, as there may be extremely valuable lessons in strategy for other sectors.

To a certain extent, one may argue that there is less economic and social differentiation among fishworkers as a group than among agriculturalists or rural industrial workers as a group. The distribution of the resource that the fishworkers rely on is continuous. The vagaries of the sea affect everyone.

These special features notwithstanding, it must be noted that the fisheries movement has benefited by:

- strategic planning;
- upscaling of activities;
- connections with fishworkers' organisations in other parts of the world (and understanding the reason for the influx of joint ventures from these exchanges);
- linking local campaigns to macro-economic and ecological issues; and
- successfully avoiding the attention of politicians in the infancy of the movement. ■

FUTURE OF CHILIKA FISHWORKERS: A LIFE OF STRUGGLE AND DESPAIR

Presented by Ramesh Chandra

Background

About one lakh fishworkers of villages surrounding the brackish lake of Chilika in Orissa are dependent on fish resources for their livelihood. The majority of them are also landless labourers. There are various subcastes among the fishworkers but all of them are considered to belong to Schedule Castes. There are other villages surrounding the lake where upper caste people predominate. Fishworkers' *bastis* do exist within these villages.

At the time of Maratha rule, local chieftains controlled fish resources, which were leased to local fishworkers. The same practice was followed during British rule when Zamindars used to control the fish resources. Consequently, at the time of independence, most fishworkers were greatly impoverished and indebted to local money lenders. To add to the agony of the fishing community, a class of middle men traders grew with the development of Calcutta as the biggest market for fish. These middle men both traded in fish and lent money to the fishworkers for their day-to-day needs.

In the 1950s, to improve the condition of fishworkers, the popular state government started a co-operative scheme with the assistance of a Canadian expert. Fishworkers were organised into fifty co-operative societies, which were integrated into an apex body. The apex body obtained a lease to fish in Chilika from the government and entered into sub-leases with the primary co-operative societies. The apex body gave loans for the procurement of equipment and purchased the entire catch of the fishworkers for marketing. Thus, the exploitation by middle men ended and the condition of fishworkers began to improve. This improvement was to be short-lived.

Within a decade or so, the condition of the apex body deteriorated due to bureaucratic control and lack of support from co-operative banks. Middlemen traders again appeared on the scene, although the government continued lease the fish resources to local co-operatives. There was a constant pressure on the government by non-fishworkers to have a share of fish resources on lease. Despite this pressure, during 1970s, regulations to streamline the leasing operation were passed. The legislation was initiated mainly by the then revenue minister who is also a former leader of Chilika Bachao Andolan. Accordingly, the auction of the fish resources was stopped and fraudulent societies managed by non-fishworkers were barred from entering into fishing leases.

In the 1980s, a new dimension was added to the struggle of local fishworkers when prawns became a prized, exportable commodity in the international market. Outsiders like businessmen, close relations of politicians and higher level bureaucrats started to occupy forcibly the fish resources for prawn culture. Some of them successfully converted co-operatives into their agents by various means. The local fishworkers were further marginalised.

At this juncture, Tatas in collaboration with the Government of Orissa initiated prawn culture with semi-intensive methods in one part of Chilika lake. Under the banner of Orissa Krushak Mahasangha, the fishworkers protested the move by conducting rallies, demonstrations, meetings and conferences. The movement was easily repressed and the protesters were arrested. The agitation remained localised, restricted to three or four villages directly affected by the Tata project. At that point, strategically, the Orissa Krushak Mahasangha raised the issue of environmental degradation in order to mobilise fishworkers from the surrounding villages. Soon, it was realised that many more businessmen would follow the Tatas to earn foreign exchange and that the fish resources would dwindle due to exploitation and pollution. This realisation not only spread the struggle to surrounding villages but also attracted national and international media attention. Chilika Bachao Andolan was born at a state-level convention in 1993. After two years of struggle, the Tata's project was stopped as it was not cleared by the Union Ministry of Environment.

The Tatas were gone but smaller Tatas continued to rule the roost. Although hi-tech prawn culture enterprises were not allowed to enter the lake, non fishworkers, politicians and bureaucrats still encroached on the fish resources. The government became party to this when it decided to classify fish resources into two categories: capture fishery and culture fishery. It is believed that the move was made to facilitate the entry of non-fishworkers.

Subsequently, in response to a case filed by the fishworkers' co-operative, the High Court upheld the classification and directed the state government to lease part of the fish resources to local non-fishworkers. The court also directed the government to remove all encroachments and intensive, semi-intensive and modified extensive methods of prawn culture were banned. There were a few efforts to remove the encroachments. The customary rights of the fishworkers over the fish resources of Chilika lake were not realised in spite of the court verdict. To pressurise the government and to evict the encroachers, the Chilika Bachao Andolan, in the second phase of its struggle, successfully organised *rail roko* and *rasta roko* campaigns.

Meanwhile, the fish resources continue to dwindle due to severe ecological degradation. The area and depth of the lake have been decreased due to heavy siltation caused by flood waters of Daya, Bhargavi and other small rivers. The salinity of the lake has changed gradually as heavy siltation at the mouth of the lake prevented easy discharge of flood water into the sea. Moreover, fish seeds and juvenile fish are being captured to cater to the needs of the coastal prawn culture industry. All these developments have reduced the fish catch by 50% in the past few years.

Although fish resources continue to dwindle, use of new technology or even appropriate technology to enhance the productivity of fish resources seems to have little relevance for traditional fishworkers since they have no control over the natural resources on which they are dependent. "Development" is meaningless for them if it displaces them from their traditional source of livelihood. The experiences of the fishworkers of Chilika illustrate that the preservation of ecology and the protection of livelihood of the poor are two sides of the same coin. These are the basis/foundation for the pyramid of development. ■

FISH ATTRACTING LANTERNS: SURVIVAL STRATEGY OR MARKET ORIENTATION?

Presented by J.B. Rajan

Background

Fish Attracting Lanterns (hereafter FAL) is a new fishing method employed by traditional fishworkers. This practice has resulted in social tension within traditional fishing communities of the coastal area of Trivandrum District. Although records show that different forms of FALs have been used by various fishing communities all over the world, FALs have been used in the coastal areas of Trivandrum only since 1985.

Fish Attracting Lanterns - Features and Changes

Previously, those who went fishing at night took lanterns mainly as a safety measure and to warn ships. Lanterns began to be used for fishing on moonless nights when it was realised that fish are attracted by light. Initially, kerosene lamps were used but gradually they were replaced by other kinds of lights. Now, petromax and gas lights are used mainly.

FALs which are used mainly in the months of November to April has spread to 27 of the 47 coastal villages of Trivandrum district. Fishworkers, fishing mainly with hook-and-line and boatseine, use FALs. The spread of the method has resulted in other changes in the region. For example, there has been an increase in the number of plywood boats, abandonment of drift net operations, etc.

FALs - A Point of Conflict

There are opposing views about FALs among the traditional fishworkers of Trivandrum district. Fishworkers who use drift nets, shore seine and small size gillnets are against the use of FALs. They complain that as available fish are caught in the night by fishworkers using FALs, there is hardly anything left for those who go fishing in the day time. Those who use hook-and-line and boat seine, however, are in favour of FALs. Before FALs came into use, the hook-and-line fishworkers fished during the day and/or on moonlit nights. Now they fish on moonless nights as well.

FAL users justify the use of the FAL on the grounds that it is used widely by inland fishworkers. Also, they protest that other harmful means of fishing are prevalent but only FAL users are being singled out for criticism.

The controversy over the use of FALs has resulted in regular disputes and conflicts between traditional fishworkers in the villages. The use of FALs was not an issue of major conflict in the initial stages. It became a point of conflict when the pace of its adoption increased tremendously.

Contributing Factors to the Conflict

Since the mid 1950s, there have been many changes in technology, and in the socio-political and economic organisation of the fishery sector of Kerala. These changes started with the establishment of Indo-Norwegian project (INP) in 1953. The project created two distinct entities in the fishery sector: mechanised sector and the artisanal/traditional sector. Except for a few changes in webbing, traditional fishworkers continued to rely on their earlier technologies till 1980s.

Since the 1980s, the traditional fisheries sector has witnessed many changes. The FAL is just one of several changes in response to external pressures. It started with motorisation and culminated in the use of plywood boats, artificial reefs, disco nets, ring seine, mini-trawlers and monofilament nets. The changes in traditional fishing technologies are considered to be a response to a severe shortage of fish resources in the 1980s. The fish resources are being depleted rapidly due to an injection of indiscriminate technology from the new business class and a corresponding modernisation of the fishing sector. The traditional fishworkers, faced with a survival crisis, are also seeking new technologies to augment their fish catch. As a result, the total amount of energy invested in exploiting fish resources turns out to be more than the amount of energy invested in under "normal" circumstances.

Points for Discussion

People, whose only source of livelihood is fishing, face several dilemmas and contradictions and are forced to make choices. Although traditional fishworkers are concerned about the state of fish resources, under external pressures they are moving from subsistence fishing to fishing for the market. The manifold pressures cannot be resisted. Many fishing methods that were questioned and criticised earlier are now being adopted. Still, it is questionable whether the FAL is a survival strategy or indicative of a shift towards market-orientation. ■

CONFLICT AND SURVIVAL: QUILON ARTISANAL FISHWORKER COMMUNITY

Presented by Julian Teelar

This case study outlines the changes in the artisanal fishery sector of Quilon bay from the 1940s to 1990s. The information for this study was collected from direct observation and discussion with elders and leaders in the community.

The Profile

The Quilon bay area consists of five villages: Pallithottam, Port Quilon, Moothakara, Vaddy and Thangassery. These villages are spread over four kilometres within the Quilon town area. These villages together have population of about 2,000 active fishworker families. About 6 km north of this region is Neendakara, a very rich zone for fisheries, which is the base of operation for over 3,500 coastal trawlers. South of this region is a low intensity fishing zone that stretches for about 25 kms.

This region became an important area for fisheries after the entry of European traders, especially the Dutch and Portuguese. Thousands of people became dependent upon port activities for their livelihood. At this time, fishworkers from east coast villages were invited by village leaders to train the local population.

Certain environmental advantages have made this area favourable for fisheries. The elders have reported that in the past, several different species of fish were abundant in waters at a depth of 25 fathoms. At a depth of 40-110 fathoms, there were coral reefs, which were breeding grounds for various types of big and small fish including valuable prawn varieties. In addition, many sand mounds and sand pits at the depth of 25-35 fathoms provided an undisturbed habitat for many fish. The main varieties of fish caught by the fishworkers included butterfish, jew fish, sardine, ribbon fish, sea fish, catfish, shark, tuna and carangids. Prawns, if caught, were thrown back into the sea as it was believed that eating prawns caused stomach ache.

Although this region was naturally endowed with fish stock, the fishworkers were financially very backward compared to other groups of workers. The main reason was that fish marketing was completely controlled by local chieftains. The financial dependence on moneylenders for advances and loans in the lean season and loans for other purposes aggravated the problem. Also, traditionally, fishworkers did not invest in the purchase of land removed from the coast.

The majority of fishworkers in this region belonged to the Latin Catholic Church and day-to-day life was influenced by the teachings of the Christ. However, the fishworkers received no financial aid from any organisation, church or diocese. Financial transactions were based on the rules of the local chieftains, merchants and their assistants. Politically, the diocese of the region supported the Congress party and during election times, priests canvassed for it through church forums.

Although the traditional collective mechanism for social conflict resolution and enactment of rules, locally known as *Kadakodi*, was in vogue till early 1970s, landlords and the church had veto power over it. Those who protested against rules or disobeyed were severely punished.

The Turning Point

In 1954, the Coastal Protection Society, formed to combat sea erosion, submitted its report to the Prime Minister. Subsequently, the UNO invited the Norwegian Government to study the problem. The Norwegian representatives who visited the region, noticed the unharvested stocks of prawns and shortly thereafter small groups of fishworkers and non-fishworkers were organised into co-operatives and given boats and trawl-nets on an experimental basis.

This was a turning point in the history of this region as the Indo-Norwegian project is one important cause for the fish depletion and destruction of coastal environment. The project introduced trawlers for the first time in this region and, given the possibility of quick profits, these boats quickly increased in number. Trawlers not only stirred up the sea bed and caused destruction of coral reefs and sand beds, the breeding ground for juvenile fish, but also fished day and night. In no time, the fertile sea was converted into a virtual desert.

Winds of Change

The artisans responded to the situation in three major ways:

- Adaptation of new technology
- Formation of trade unions
- Formation of institutions

The new technology included adoption of marine plywood canoes, outboard engines and larger fishing nets. These helped fishworkers to engage in deep-sea fishing, move more rapidly and catch more fish. Subsequently, the fishworkers formed a trade union and co-operative institutions. These institutions helped fishworkers to articulate their demands, to market their catch collectively and to realise better prices for their fish.

The Movement

In the latter part of 1970s, the process of multidimensional mobilisation of fishworkers was initiated by progressive clergy and some activists of the region. These efforts culminated in the formation of Fishermen Community Development Program (FCDP), Fishermen Welfare Society (FWS) and Kerala Independent Fishworker Association (KIFA). These organisations took up activities like conscientisation and community development, co-operativisation of marketing and credit efforts, mobilisation in favour of implementation of Marine Fishing Regulation Act and the seasonal ban on trawling. By the mid 1980s, the co-operative movement had spread across the state and FWS was part of a three-tier organisation operating at state, district, and regional levels. The co-operative movement partly enhanced by the development of co-operative structure by the Kerala Government could mobilise critical inputs like credit and

technology. This is considered a main reason for the survival of traditional fishworkers, particularly at a time when 3,500 trawlers were operating in the region.

The Contradiction

The situation in Quilon is considered better compared to other parts of Kerala. Nevertheless, it is reported that some of the traditional fishworkers do use mini trawlers and destructive nets like ring seine nets. Also, some of the traditional fishing boats are engaged as carriers on contract basis to unload trawlers. It is an indication of the inherent contradiction within the fisheries sector that those who use destructive fishing techniques and equipment and those who do not are members of the same union and work together. In a similar way, the Break Water Project, one of the many demands of KIFA, and the long-standing dream of the fishworkers, when implemented, victimised many fishworkers of surrounding villages. Many houses and even concrete buildings were destroyed by the sea. The project also impeded the natural flushing action of the sea and resulted in severe pollution. It is, today, a major environmental concern.

Further, both traditional fishworkers and trawler owners are facing the problem of resource depletion. It is feared that the situation will deteriorate with the invasion of foreign agencies for fishing. ■

A.4 - IS IT THE GOOSE OR THE EGG THAT IS GOLDEN?

LIVELIHOOD, FOOD, FUTURE AND MARKETS: THE SURVIVAL STRUGGLES OF SMALL-SCALE FISHWORKERS

... the goose would lay a golden egg every day. With this assured income, the farmer, his wife and his children lived contented. Until... one day the farmer thought that he could become very rich. Mused the farmer: "If she is laying golden eggs, she must be golden inside... Why! I can be a very rich man at the batting of an eye!"

The livelihood system of 14 million people of our country correlates directly with the homeostasis and regenerative vitality of the aquatic and ichthyological systems, and the way these in turn interface with larger natural and human systems.

Fisheries in India had always been by small subsistence fishworkers, for small rural and urban working and middle class, and with small, low energy entropy, decentralised and low cost technology. Its resource accessing and sharing systems were fairly equitable, socially just and ecologically sustainable. It had contributed efficiently to food security for the poor.

The work organisation of the fishworkers and its nexus with the eco-bio system were explained and legitimised by belief systems and culture. The sea was a goddess, a mother. They went to her with love and awe. They followed carefully the prescriptions and proscriptions of the sea court. They valued caring and sharing.

However, from the 1950s, industrial fisheries initiated by the state and fueled by merchant entrepreneurs began to be developed. Concern shifted from production for food and livelihood to exploitation for the export market.

The euphoria through the 60s and early 70s, the dominant paradigms of the day, the clout merchant capital wielded and the mindset of planners/administrators prevented adequate appreciation of the dynamism and worth of the small sector. These also excused planners from critiquing the appropriateness of the technology and management regime introduced vis-à-vis the nature of fish, fisheries, tropical waters, fishworkers and fish consumers.

The burden and cost of harvesting export varieties (trawlers and their biological and ecological devastation of fish and fish habitats) were soon passed to workers. The crew turned trawler boat owners, tried to meet low productivity and increasing costs by intensifying fishing efforts and by encroaching into the fishing grounds of traditional workers.

Artisanal workers reacted by organising themselves for fishing regulations. But when these struggles met with resistance from the political economy, some opted - reluctantly - for trawlers, to work as crew in purse seiners or to use their boats as carriers. Others remained in the artisanal sector, but upgraded their technology.

Innovations have not contributed to improved productivity and standards of life of small scale fishworkers. Rather the situation is further vitiated: more people chasing faster fewer fish with more equipment in the same waters. Returns from higher fish price is being fast negated by spiraling investment/O&M costs. Dependency on imported and/or less ecologically sustainable gear/motors/energy is reinforced.

The situation is no better in the inland waters. Here the crisis is from the negative impact of development in: forestry, agriculture, irrigation, industry, urban development, tourism. These find their way, through water, into fisheries. The inland water bodies are shrinking and under severe environmental stress. Fishworkers are losing their worker status. They have few other alternatives than to swell the number in the job market.

This dichotomous development has now escalated into a major crisis: falling productivity, rising economic and ecological costs, pauperised small scale fishworkers both in the artisanal and modern sectors, fast disappearing inland fisheries, increasingly inequitable sharing of the product and earning from it. As always, tensions take the form of conflicts between workers themselves. This contradiction obfuscates the real issues.

New areas of concerns are emerging, some of them more alarming than the contradictions within the sector.

The globalisation of the economy is opening up our resource base to transnationals and to their Indian subsidiaries. The new deep sea fishing policy claims that there are untapped large fish stocks in the Exclusive Economic Zone. India is now licensing joint venture with foreign companies for exploiting this stock. But fishworkers and their supporters are convinced that this is a total sell out and a ploy through which foreign capital aims at maximising profits with their over capitalised and idle technology. The state is unable to effectively regulate these "joint" ventures.

The rapid entry of private business into export-oriented and intense aquaculture also brings with it a host of problems: degradation of soil and water bodies, ecological costs, displacement of traditional fish and agricultural workers, fish diseases, threat to natural fish resources and to health.

The dominant paradigm of today is TINA. *There Is No Alternative* to the market. Market will push development in the direction of capitalisation and technology build up. Micro-enterprise alternatives are not viable against the economies of scale involved. The third world poor cannot stand up to the economic/political clout of the global market. Resistance will take the poor nowhere (it is being orchestrated by romantic middle class who have their axes to grind!). The growing internal contradictions in the traditional sector show that unlike the compulsive activists, the workers know that they have to be pragmatic, that they cannot address the issue of their survival by being nostalgic for traditions, that they have to go on and integrate themselves with the market or (and!) perish.

These "ADVOCATES" of IMF/IBRD/WTO, some of them converts from the activist milieu, and not without better axes to grind than the activists, would plead for development processes

that serve as ladles in the international soup kitchens (safety nets!). There are no options for the poor. And one cannot have concerns removed from compulsions!!!

In four case studies under this sub theme, small scale fishworkers and their organisations (political and economic) share their perceptions. These consider TINA as theoretical reductionism. Shallow understanding of the dynamics now developing in the sector. Market can be reshaped by people.

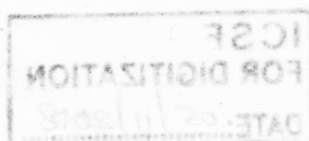
Despite setbacks, growing complexities, internal contradictions within and vested interests of the other powerful actors involved, state policy is being slowly reoriented towards more integrated planning for fisheries development and management, with people, food and future as important policy concerns. We must look how far we have travelled down the road. Not only at how far we have yet to go.

People - across the globe - have their future at stake. A coalition for reshaping the market is more pragmatic than some would admit. This larger link up will aim at bringing together small scale fishworkers in the country and will build alliances with all dispossessed. Including those who will be off-loaded from the organised sectors into the safety nets. This coalition must also cut across nations, look to the UN and its organisations (ILO for instance) and lobby for accountability of all nation states to them.

As long as democratic spaces can be preserved and enlarged, market can never be totally oppressive. But eternal vigilance, newer and sustained political and economic struggles are the price the poor must pay for survival for themselves and for their children: as self reliant and self-respecting nurturers of their livelihood systems and as responsible producers of development.

There are Alternatives: strengthening democratic processes and developing capacities for competitive and people based economic initiatives for managing natural resources. We must resist the surrender of our natural resources to the market.

We may yet care about food, future and life! We may yet realise that the poor whose survival depends on nature are the best bet also for our own future! We may yet have the good sense and settle for a golden egg a day - from a goose that is alive! ■



that serve as tables in the international soup kitchens (aid) sector. There are no options for the poor. And one cannot have concerns removed from compulsion!!

In four case studies under this sub theme, small scale fishworkers and their organizations (political and economic) share their perceptions. These consider TINA as historical reductionist. Shallow understanding of the dynamics now developing in the sector. Markets can be reshaped by people.

Despite setbacks, growing complexities, internal contradictions within and vested interests of the other powerful actors involved, state policy is being slowly reoriented towards more integrated planning for fisheries development and management with people, food and future as important policy concerns. We must look how far we have travelled down the road. Not only in how far we have yet to go.

People - across the globe - have their future at stake. A coalition for reshaping the market is more pragmatic than some would admit. This larger link up with all bringing together small scale fishworkers in the country and will build alliances with all dispossessed, including those who will be off-loaded from the reorganised sectors into the safety nets. This coalition must also out smart big game, look to the UN and its organisations (ILO for instance) and lobby for accountability of all nation states to them.

As long as democratic spaces can be preserved and enlarged, market can never be totally oppressive. But certain vigilance, new and sustained political and economic struggles are the price the poor must pay for survival for themselves and for their children as self reliant and self respecting members of their localised systems and as responsible producers of development.

There are alternatives: strengthening democratic processes and developing capacities for competitive and people based economic initiatives for managing natural resources. We must resist the surrender of our natural resources to the market.

We may not care about food, income and life! We may yet realise that the poor whose survival depends on nature are the best bet also for our own future! We may yet have the good sense and sense for a golden egg a day - from a goose that is alive!