There is nothing as constant as change. The fishermen's norms, values and interactional patterns are unique and disconcerting. They represent a distinct cultural stratum and a definite demographic position in India's national life. It is the constant endeavour of Government to improve the socio-economic condition (Through Financial help) and bring them into the main stream of national life.

All the new opportunities after introduction of mechanised boats, change the way of life traditional fisherfolk as well as their occupational field, 'Marine fishing'. Basically the fundamental approach to life in case of fishermen is like a gambler which is itself hazardous and uncertain. But the poor socio-economic condition of traditional group, are still kept under the perpetual stranglehold of economic dependence on petty-traders of middlemen.

After the emerging town-complex at Paradeep-Port, several modern impacts result in tremendous changes on the growing multi-ethnic population. The neighbouring population of village 'Sandhakud', who are fishermen by caste are exposed to these multifold impacts. As it is
common natural law which always prefer change. So in any Social system, change is quite obviously marked amongst people of different caste and class. The fishermen of Paradeep-Port town and its adjacent villages are under the process of social-transformation due to impact of modernization. Mainly after the introduction of mechanised fishing boat, the impact produces remarkable change in Marine fish economy as a while. So the survival of traditional fishermen and their development fully depend on the adaptation to fast changing technology (Through Mechanised Operation of Fishing Boats) so far as their occupation is concerned. The consequent change economy shows as if the new entrants in the field of Marine fishery (Mechanised Sector) have choosen the whole process by taking out the breath from the traditional group. On the otherhand, the fishermen following traditional occupation, show the eloquent and impassioned plea headed with value-based silence has proved their sincerity. The widely accepted brother-hood in the village community is also another evidence of their head-strong attitude towards their own way of life and culture. The harmonic way of functioning in occupational field (Fishing) shows their rigid social system and culture-bound norms. So the degree of response to accept the change aspect of fishing technique due to impact of mechanisation is less effective amongst the fishermen of Sandhakud village, adjacent to Paradeep-Port. Their whole day hard labour is the real witness to their obligatory
attitude for retaining their own social norms. The fishermen have an aptitude for traditional occupation 'Fishing', inspite of several modern impacts. Moreover, they show traditional enigma towards their own caste-based occupation, inherited from generation to generation.

The traditional fisherfolk and new entrants in the field of Marine fishery are two separate entities as far as the economy is concerned. No doubt the marine fishery has shown the most impressive track record recently due to export value economy. Now the trade gets its momentum in full-scale progress. The Government is ill-put to decide its future progress, though till now they are in a good move at this juncture. On the economic front, the oil crisis is the main draw back (Because of its everising price). But the traditional fishermen are in no way concerned with oil price because their fishing crafts (Teppa, Dangi etc.) are non-mechanised man-operated instead of machine operation boat (Trawlers). There is a remarkable variation in catch of traditional and mechanised sector which leads to conflict with the former group against latter. It is because their occupational field is to utilise marine resources (mainly fish), only variation is found in tools and techniques for operation. Unlike the urban population where unnecessary waste of Money has become a fashion but traditional fisherfolk are well acquainted with hunger and starvation from their very childhood. This hardship in life make the fishermen strong and painstaking. Besides the constant and
endless efforts of traditional fishermen, the new venture through mechanisation process produce remarkable imbalance in fish economy. It is a severe threat to the survival and unity of traditional fisherfolk. So the primary need of the Government is to implement adequate financial help through social policy to drive out their basic needs.

As previously in 'Impact Chapter', it has been discussed about the Export Facilities at Paradeep due to Emergence of Port. It is the milage on the Marine fishery trade as a whole. The traditional fishermen have the overriding obsession for fishing; which proves their practical sense occupational inclination bounded with socio-cultural reality. The flawless effort of fisherfolk has made them to stick to their hereditary occupation 'Fishing'. 'Marine fishing' itself is very much uncertain where Fortune and Skill are two bi-lateral factors for their economic development. But the impact of mechanised boats has created many atrocities amongst the traditional group. Infact the new Export Facilities have changed the faces of trade and bring down fishermen into object poverty. This is in utter contrast for the mechanised sector where the people get unexpected money from the same occupation by employing traditional fishermen as the labourers or crews. They try to retain their past glory through caste-based occupation as a symbol. It is capricious and immature leadership in villager community (traditional group) which lead to their own economic falacy. On the otherhand their
sagacity in the professional field (Fishing) must be praised. The middlemen in this occupation are leading the living condition of poor fishermen to a disaster. Their economy is inflicted by the modern impact, which is a deep analysis in a narrow compass.

Previously they were satisfied with their limited source of income. There was no question of competition in their occupational field as they were the sole authority. Marketing system was limited to the local areas. Moreover they were the self-employers. As soon as the port emerged at Paradeep, town came into existence. Gradually the urban agencies started functioning like market-complex, cinema halls, Television programmes, industrial setup like Paradeep Phosphate Limited freezing and processing plants which produce equal job opportunities. As a result of which more people attracted towards the port area.

NATURE OF COMPETITION:

Port development gave rise to export facilities. To make the fishing production process more profitable, more mechanised boat have been pressed into service. Mechanised boat owners are interested for export of prawns and some other costly variety of fish. Initially it was thought by the development authority that introduction of mechanical boats will rather help the traditional fishermen by giving them employment. Later on it was
observed that the trawlers became competitors of the poor fishermen.

The competition between the traditional and mechanised sector got started since 1978 onwards. In comparison to other caste-based occupation, marine fishing is considered to be most uncertain, and strenous. These uncertainty is relaxed to some extent when it is added with machinery operation. In the traditional sector, the youngsters donot appreciate the crude and ancient techniques adopted by their parental generations. Nodoubt 'marine fishing' is a time-taking and daring occupation even if operation is done by mechanised boats.

Fishing which is the primary occupation of fishermen of Sandhakud village was so long smoothly operated as per their traditional methods. Now emergence of the mechanised sector has created a silent turmoil amongst the traditional group. Export has become the 'soul of the whole country' to get foreign currencies. Sea food is one of such field which has great export demand. Along with the mechanised enterprenuers, the community fishermen also have put their best efforts to increase their haul and get better money by supplying to the export agents.

The fishermen believe that norms that new dawn earn their new hope, so they set out very early. In the change circumstances to some extent change is marked in the attitude of people, their motivations, institutional set up
and production techniques etc. The current indicators of
development includes both economic and non-economic factors.
Now the trade (Marine fishery) is the most profitable one in
the corridors of money and power. But the traditional
fishermen are well groomed in all anticipated adverse
situations in one hand and on the otherhand transfixed on
the horns of dilemma. Actually the curse of poverty enslaves
the vast majority of fishermen. The drastic change of
economy which is mainly due to fresh introduction of
mechanised boats in to their occupation, results in economic
deterioration of traditional sector participants. 'Most of the
intersectoral problems pertaining to 'economy' and 'ecology'
have sprung up from the rapid development of this industry
in the coastal waters of India' (Kurem, 1982).

Impact of emerging town-complex at Paradeep-
Port, modernisation and mechanisation of fishing craft bring
the changes in various aspects of social life of people
which come like waves of sea. Change towards development is
factor dependent process. Apparently development refers to
qualitative and structural improvement in the state economy
in a wholistic sense. The changes are obvious due to flow of
currency and impetus for competition etc. Leaping of, the
Paradeep-Port town from a habitation of an under developed
society to a semi-industrialised town, signifies visual
development, but it is to be seen how much this has
revolutionised the traditional communities.
The changed environment has boosted the image of the trawler owners due to their better socio-economic condition. As two parallel sectors (mechanised and traditional), it is important to enquire the causes and extent of problems of fishermen (traditional group) in most of the parts of the country. The problems are to be seen from the grass-root level and most rational measures are to be taken to weed out their problem. In studying the fishermen community of Paradeep-Port, the sign of crack is marked in the social system due to the pressure differential between traditionalism and modernity.

When any society or community is well set in a profession as per the prevailing eco-system, certain socio-cultural practices become part and parcel of it. Under a pressure from another community in their field of subsistence, such people often try to improve or give in. Such situation has set in among these fishermen. The mechanised boat owners have thrown the traditional group out of gear and they are under a pressure of coping with the changed economic atmosphere. The occupational field which was so long monopolised by them due to marine fishing skill, is no more their's alone. On one hand the marine eco-system is too much exploited by the trawler owners which has detrimental effect on the Sandhakud fishermen, and on the other hand it has put them under high pressure of improving their skill and aptitude, which is not very easy. Obviously, returning with poor catch creates despair which is sometimes converted into anger.
As the fishermen have not acquired any other skill than fishing, this situation is an evidence of their natural and habitual obsession for the job. Their entire worldview is oriented to sea and fish. They are least concerned and conscious about fast changing world, though some degree of response is very much marked amongst the youngsters. Actually the younger generation is attracted by the glamour of urban agencies and relaxation, comfort enjoyed by urban people of port-town. The younger people or sub-adult teenagers, can visualize their own condition after comparing with the town people, who have multi-channel earning sources.

The arrival of new entrants in their occupational field, marketing system, set off a hasty attitude of traditional fisherfolk towards mechanised sectors. This attitude of fishermen is originated due to radical differentiations between the two groups. By and large the modern impact has created some sort of loose social relationship amongst community members instead of previously existing cohesive, integrated relationship.

The fisherfolk (traditional group) of Sandhakud village accept technological change (like the use of Nylon net instead of cotton) depending on the new market demand, still then show considerable resilience in adopting mechanised fishing craft. After so many hazards, they prove themselves enthusiastic and instant. On the otherhand, the
mechanised boat owners are turning out to be pragmatic in their outlook. The economic deformities of the traditional fishermen curtail their own achievements.

**CHANGE ASPECT OF PARTICIPATION IN FISHING:**

The basic difference between mechanised boat owners and traditional fisherfolk are based on indirect and direct involvement in fishing occupation. The active part usually taken by the traditional fishermen whereas the mechanised boat owners keep the crews, masters, drivers for the same who are from the heriditary-occupation group. The mechanised boat owners are indirectly involved in fishing by looking only towards the financial side of the fishing trade. Hence all sorts of economic achievements, profits usually utilised by the mechanised-sector rather than traditional-fishermen. Entire economic organisation system, specially export marketing system is totally controlled by the mechanised boat owners, procurers, exporters. Due to better socio-economic background, they have become revered figures and wield enormouse influence in controlling the whole trade specially the marketing system.

Before dealing with the detail aspects of change due to modern impact, the multiple angles of modernization are better to be discussed. The very concept of modernization is mainly to understand the undercurrent of caste mobility in Hindu social tradition. But the occupational mobility is an exogenous expression which is at
the sametime activated under the influence of other urban impact like establishment factories where job facilities are more. Cultural or social changes by the influence of imported culture caused due to influx of people in an industrial area can broadly be termed as industrialization effect. All these changes along with input of other effects leading the life-style upto the modern (latest) world-order is the real impact of modernization. Actually it is a broder concept. Here the emerging town-complex at Paradeep clearly shows the simultaneous trend of local urban agents, trend of Westernization, a syncretic foreign agent and trend of Modernization in a heterogenous set up. Details of all these factors have been studied on the fishermen community of village under study along with the multi-ethnic people of Paradeep-port town from historical and structural perspectives.

Now the competition between traditional fishermen and mechanised sector is acute. The economic euphoria caused by modern groups where the real indicator is their better socio-economic condition than traditional group. Despite of the desparate situation the fishermen are still trying their best to restore their trndition. To-day while the economic activities of Port-town is moving at a cruising pace, various income opportunities are coming up which in turn leads to a free-market economy. The entry of trawler owners in to field of same occupation (fishing) of traditional fishermen is very much over-powering because of
advance technology. It is difficult for the fishermen to carry out the fishing occupation without accepting any change. The use of 'Nylon net' is the impact of same.

Natural law always accepts change inevitable which produces eventual impact on the people of different socio-economic strata. Actually it is essential for human survival and continuity. If there would have no change, the living beings (specially man) would have been in a inert state of mind. Suryanarayan (1977) has opined, 'The fishing industry is associated with risk because it is subjected to the exigencies of climate and to other natural phenomena which may often result in complete failure of catches. There is a great deal of uncertainty in the fishing industry and it is regularly punctuated by irregular events. Thus a fishermen has always to be prepared for a failure of catch for days may be for months. To add to that, there is always the risk of life for a fishermen the very moment he enters the sea'.

Ray, Tietze (1985) has described about the impact of mechanisation, 'Even though marine fishing is carried out traditionally as a caste occupation of India, non-fisherfolk castes have lately been entering this profession in increasing numbers in its antisanal as well as mechanised form. The reasons for this trend are the increased demand for fish for home consumption, an increasing export market for marine products, particularly prawns as well as a lack of alternative employment
opportunities in agriculture etc."

Here the detail description about the socio-economic and political changes caused due to emergence of Paradeep Port on the traditional fisherfolk of adjacent village Sandhakud have been focussed.

CHANGE IN MATERIAL CULTURE:

Hutton (1944) has defined material culture as, 'the study of all those objects (other than human) and all those artifacts with which man surrounds himself in his attempt to ameliorate his position in his environment'.

The traditional fishermen are in such an economic condition where there is little possibility of changing the lifestyle, dress pattern, household assets, ornaments etc. So the change in the material culture of fishermen is not very conspicuous though they live close proximity with urban population of Paradeep Port town.

Dress and Ornaments:

Inspite of Several outward modern impacts of urban complex, the male members of fishermen community, are still using a small piece of cloth on the waist portion of the body and a conical cap on the head. On very rare occasions they use dhoti and shirt. But the femalefolk use simply 'sarees' and very often use undergarments, like petticoats, blouse etc. They also use ornaments of silver and gold.
Household assets like furniture, utensils are of rare need in case fishermen as they are not status conscious like urban people. Due to their hand to mouth condition, they always try to manage with limited household utensils, wooden furniture like cot etc. Mostly they use palm-leaf mat for sleeping purpose. There are few people like village headmen, 7 well-to-do persons (households), in the entire village are now-a-days using modern equipments like Radio, table, chair for sitting purpose etc. It has been observed that the fishermen are used to spend major portion of their income in liquor, beetle, cigarettes, tobacco etc. So they are compelled to reduce their expenditure for food. Again their daily fishing expedition needs some unexpected expenditure like repairing of net or even for severe damage, a new net may be required, purchasing of ice for preservation of catch (for a short period). So this necessary aspect of the traditional fishermen force them to cut-short their even some necessary expenditure like purchasing of dress materials, house-hold accessories, ornaments, furniture etc.

In this way change in material culture of traditional fishermen are less remarkable despite of several outward impacts of Port-township and its multi-ethnic population having various patterns of culture. Moreover due to economic secularity, i.e. less disparity in economic status in the community acquiring fashionable assets are not required by the fishermen.
CHANGE IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION SYSTEM:

Impact induces change in the society, the degree of response may vary from place to place, person to person depending on their socio-cultural, environmental conditions.

Details of caste-system, family types, ritual performances, kinship ties etc. of fishermen have been described earlier in previous chapters.

Looking forward to study the change aspect of family orientation, size, authority type, here some basic social norms are now also continuing. Kodanda Rao (1990) has emphasized on the generative processes of the family and households as well as its cultural and social-structural dimensions of fisherfolk (Jalari). No doubt in the present perspective, they are more inclined to establish nuclear family than previously existing extended or joint family. The patriarchal society is still continuing but authority is not restricted to father as sole head rather disintegrated to respective Nuclear family male members (It happens when sons establish separate households). Previously the people of the village understudy were not conscious about limiting size of progeny (when there has no provision for family planning). Along with the establishment of Nuclear family, they are also careful about limited size of family. Because in the recent market price, it is their concept to reduce the number of children. Beforehand the situation was just
the reverse. The fishermen always wanted more sons through whom they thought to get more man-power for occupation. A man having more children felt proud and self-sufficient. But now the situation is completely different. So the fishermen are though mostly uneducated, still then conscious about reduction in family size to lead a better way of life. It is now their conception that limited family-members will minimise their tensions either on intra or inter village level; which will give ample scopes to concentrate their attention towards most tedious occupation. They are now believing that it will help them to overcome the economic crises caused by mechanised sector. All these family size limitations refer to break the continuity of joint family to nuclear type. Again the limited size of family is maintained in each nuclear family having less number of children by adopting different family planning programmes implemented by government to avoid over population.

Regarding the adverse effect of change in family type, (from joint to nuclear type) there are evidences of complete negligence of old father and mother (When not able to go for fishing) are just left to their luck. Naturally this change of individualistic attitude of fishermen from united members of same, there is less chance of behaving as a single fishing party. On the contrary in the family level, separation of brothers (after marriage) definitely affect fishing co-operation. Each brother (Having Nuclear family of their own) though go for fishing along
with their father (if capable) are more interested for personal benefit. Apparently this appears to be a team but without any inner co-operation.

RITUAL PERFORMANCES:

Rigidity in performing rituals which are mainly centered round 'Fishing', the previously existing fishing crafts are still observed by the fishermen. In this context, Suryanarayan (1977) has opined, 'fishing is associated with superstitious beliefs and practices which fishermen strictly adhere to'. It is the uncertain, risky, hazardous nature of occupation 'Marine Fishery' where the main concerned of the fishermen to satisfy 'Sea' (where from they get their catch) through performance of different rituals for better 'Product'. It is in their social norms where 'Sea' is personified as 'Mother Goddess' as mother always gives everything to her child without any interest and hesitation. Perhaps the very cultural-heritage of the fishermen is to satisfy the 'Sea' or 'Mother Goddess' (unlimited source of food resources). In real sense it is not female deity, but the concept of same comes in to their mind due to the functional approach of sea as a whole. So the fishermen always try to satisfy the 'Sea' through the performance of certain religious practices and culture-bound rituals. Moreover, they are very particular for the ritual performance besides several other cultural diffusion. They think that any deviation of the process may lead them towards uncertain fate and sudden death during fishing venture.
Marine fishing is a hard techno-economic task. In order to muster some strength of mind to face the risk of great uncertainty in catch and danger of the environment. The fisherfolk are in constant lookout for systematic support from supernatural beings (Raychaudhury, 1980).

In the social system of fishermen generally rituals like birth, marriage, death, etc. are observed as it was there in their traditional mode of life. They think that it will create a feeling of brotherhood amongst kin groups which is of utmost need for their occupation and survival. The modern impact also does not affect their ecosystem and kinship ties. It remains unaltered and cohesiveness is still prevalent.

CHANGE IN ECONOMY AND TECHNOLOGY:

Regarding the change in technology in marine fishing imposed by mechanised sector, Mathur (1978) has described, 'By and large they have not yet displaced their traditional structure and cultural values but in someway reinforced their cultural focus due to adaptive demand of new technology'.

According to Raychaudhury (1980), "Technology of Marine fisherfolk is a highly specialised art. It requires skill at every stage of its preparation and operation".
The fisherfolk of Sandhakud village, adjacent to Paradeep-Port are also skilled and adept in marine fishing. After the introduction of mechanised fishing boats in the Paradeep-Port area, the traditional group are facing a lot of monetary problem in selling their catch as the mechanised sector is much more advance in adopting new technique. The machine operated fishing boats are obviously more efficient in getting better catch than the traditional group. Non-fishermen caste are though not skilled in the occupational field still then capable of purchasing mechanised boats where traditional fishermen have to work as employees. So the entire economic organisation system is re-oriented and organised according to economically sound group (Mechanised Sector). Developed techniques of fishing by mechanised boat cannot be adopted by traditional fishermen of village under study due to their poor level of economy as well as socio-cultural barriers.

It is surprising factor to note that how quickly the traditional fishermen respond to the increased demand for prawns for its export value. So the only remarkable change is that the traditional group have introduced the use of Gillnets of specific varieties like Jagavala and Kilumala in fishing operation. The structure and function of these varieties of gill nets have been described in the chapter of fishing crafts technique. By using these gill nets the traditional group try to increase the Prawn catch which has got more economic value. The technological advancement is the small mesh size of these gill nets,
specially meant for prawn catch along with other commercially valuable fishes. These are the ecological and economic adaptation of traditional fisherfolk in the changed circumstances. If they did not have accept these technically developed gill nets, then their catch other than prawns etc. could not have been sold in the market.

"Sea is the main source of their livelihood, infact most of their food is derived from sea itself. It means, they must develop an appropriate technology to tap the sea resources for their survival. In this regard the most important thing for them is to boat and net' (Mishra, Tiwari, 1981). For traditional fishermen the mechanisation process of fishing brings new tensions. So they show quick response to new adaptation in fishing technology (by using gillnets). Besides the Nylon net, they are using other fishing accessories like floats, sinkers, foot rope, head rope etc. made out of nylon, polythene or even polypropylene because of better longevity and ready availability in the market of Paradeep-Port. Beforehand, they were using natural fibres, cotton, hemp, of wood and clay. But the replacement of natural-fibres by synthetic fibres had taken place by the poor fishermen without any financial assistance from Government or other institutions for which they depend on loans from fish-traders. Suryanarayana (1977) has mentioned, 'Most of the fishermen are indebted. Some of the fishermen's indebtedness passes from generation to generation'. This proves their temendous dedication, loyalty and
determination for their own existence in the fast changing face of 'Marine fishing' trade. The hard working, skilled, generous fishermen apply their own method in the 'Fishing Occupation', though the output is mostly enjoyed by the mechanised sector. It is the version of traditional fishermen, 'we love sea and fish, without which we get mad'. So far better catch, it is always the effort of the fishermen to apply their heart and soul.

Now the introduction of mechanised fishing boats into the field of marine fishery give rise to a new wave of Competitive spirit amongst the traditional fisherfolk. In comparative account, the mechanised boats are much more efficient in comparison to non-mechanised fishing crafts of traditional group. Due to socio-economic background, the mechanised boat owners, procurers, exporters have total control on the fish economy which drag behind the poor fishermen. Inspite of their hard labour, sincere effort, technical knowledge about the pros and cons of marine fishery, they cannot compete with the mechanised sector. Still then they have deviated not yet from their own hereditary occupation rather feel more enthuciatic in availing better catch of more economically valuable products, specially 'Prawns! For the changing market demand of certain specific varieties of fishes, they have adopted some self-acquired fishing crafts, nylon gill nets within their limited resources and money. On the otherhand mechanised boat owners are technologically ignorant about
sea fishing, are bound to employ traditionally skilled fishermen as their drivers, masters, crews etc. on salary basis. In traditional sector, fishing occupation of the fishermen which is self propelling type, they have to work hard for their existance. It is the immense love of fishermen for sea and fish which force them to adhere to their caste-based occupation. Due to changed market economy, the petty-fish-traders are more interested to purchase prawns from the fishermen at a very low price. Then subsequently they sell it to the procurers of mechanised sector. The close-chain economic organisation controlled by mechanised sector, keep the traditional group aloof from getting their deserved output in terms of money.

The basic needs of fishermen are capital and raw-material. Due to lack of required amount of money (to have their own fishing craft and net) now most of the fishermen work as employee in mechanised boats. The mechanised boat owners are not fishermen by caste, so they employ the labourers or crews, masters and drivers in their boats who are fishermen.

The following table shows the total number of non-mechanised boats, operated by the inhabitants of Sandhakud Village along with total number of mechanised boats; where traditional fishermen work as employee.

(The Table has shown in the next page)
TABLE XIII

Types of boats in operation in Sandhakud and Port area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Boat</th>
<th>Area/People</th>
<th>No. in operation as per year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-Mechanised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teppa</td>
<td>Fishermen of Sandhakud</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nava</td>
<td>Fishermen of Sandhakud</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar Boat</td>
<td>Fishermen of Sandhakud</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanised:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat</td>
<td>Port Area/Businessman</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep-Sea Trawler</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above facts clearly delineates the number of non-mechanised boats of different varieties were operating during the year 1985-86 and 1990-91 where the number has increased less (77 compared to 123 trawler boats) whereas number of mechanised boats has increased to a considerable extent. The statistics shows the more affinity towards mechanised boats by non-fisherfolk caste but number of non-mechanised boats has not increased to a remarkable extent. The fishermen says in their own version that due to competition in the fishing occupation where it is not very easy to stand against mechanised sector, they rather prefer to work as labourers in mechanised sector, they rather prefer to work as labourers in mechanised boats'. Again the fishermen who are used to follow their traditional occupation but use Nylon Gill Nets specially meant for Prawn ctach, cannot afford to purchase from of their own. So they take gill nets on rent basis who are called as 'Bania' and give minimum ₹.30/- per day.
Most of the boat and net owners belonging to traditional sector prefer for self-fishing kin members. As for example, father of family act as Master where as his sons and even brothers work as assistant. However, this process is continuing from the early morning only with slight modifications.

Amongst 3798 active fishermen 1379 are employed as crews, masters, drivers in mechanised boats or trawlers. It is quite evident from the above statistics, 36.3% of total active traditional fishermen are working as employee in mechanised boats. Rest of the fishermen (63.7%) are still using their non-mechanised boats and traditional technique for fishing in vast, unlimited sea. Only adopted modern material is the use of nylon nets by fishermen; for its easy handling more durability.

In the backdrop of cash economy the marine fishery trade is growing towards a boom. Entire face of fishing economy is chaning towards mechanised sector by neglecting the actual skilled fishermen. As Thursday is the off day for fishing in traditional sector, all the share distribution usually takes place on that very day because the net and boat owners and crews in the traditional fisherfolk are in a relaxed mood as there is no tension of fishing venture. But this social taboo is not observed by mechanised boat owners. Here logic behind the taboo for fishing on Thursday is that on the very day they use to pay respect to 'Mahalaxmi' or 'Wealth Goddess' for their
economic progress. The rest day of fishing is also different from place to place. As Subba Rao (1980) has described, 'Except for Tuesday, which is the village day of rest, the Bandaravanipeta fishermen usually fish on all days of week provided the climatic conditioned are favourable'. Those who work on mechanised boat as employee (either master or crews) usually go for fishing on thursday because they are bound to follow the instructions of their mechanised boat-owners. At first it was strongly opposed by the fishermen community of Sandhakud village. Gradually it is accepted by their caste council because both the traditional and mechanised sectors are considered as separate entities. It proves their wide range of adaptation to socio-cultural reality as well as changed circumstances.

The traditional fishermen of Sandhakud village have retained their tradition by using non-mechanised boats. Now the a new impetus for which economic organisation pattern has changed to three-fold process like fishing, then processing and marketing. Moreover change is marked where special stress is given for prawn processing and its preservation which was not previously found out. Again the Marketing System has spread its magnitude from local to international level through export.

The fishermen of village under study even if mostly following traditional method of fishing in sea, but
just like mechanised sector, are giving more stress on prawn catch because of its high market price. The above fact has got empirical reality because during fishing they only preserve prawn by ice and rest of the catch are meant for local selling. Their native method of preservation by drying is not abandoned, as it has also got market demand.

The new marketing system gives a long term gap and a chain of persons starting from fish catch, selling of catch by the fishermen to middlemen where from the procurers take the fish and finally sell it to the exporters. In contrast to the present system, previously the traditional fisherfolk after fishing, were selling their catch in the local market directly. Mediator job has taken its new shapes as the distance between fishermen (producers) and consumers increases. So the total economic organisation system gets its changed shape since the entrance of mechanised boats in to marine fishing trade. The result is the total obliteration of monopolised traditional occupation of fishermen specially from economic point of view. Actually now they are harassed bitterly by the abuses and trickes of middle men or fish traders. Nodoubt the trade is flourishing day by day, but the real exploiters are the middle men, who are just in the intermediate position between Traditional and Mechanised Sector, where the former group does not have the direct access.

In the present stage, the marine fish economy has turned towards a new face which due to
export-orientation, attracts the attention of other sectors like cold-storage, processing units, freezing plants, etc. All these facilities were previously not there. Now marine fishery trade is considered as the only trade where the people can get a lot of money within a limited time period. For the traditional fishermen of Sandhakud village it is just living inside the dark room because the monetary aspect is completely controlled by mechanised sector. So they are becoming more fatalistic rather than their own effort and becoming the prisoner of the circumstances.

CHANGE IN DEMARCATION OF FISHING ZONE:

Before the entry of mechanised boats, the fishermen of Paradeep Port adjacent village were going for fishing venture freely without any obstruction. Only bar was their own ability of fishing up to which they can move. Now due to entrance of the mechanically operated fishing boats, the situation has changed. Mainly the trawler owners are now interested for Prawn catch for which they are using Trawl Nets mostly (net specially meant for prawn catch). The traditional fisherfolk are now not in a position set their nets freely as it was placed previously during fishing. It is because if by any means their net comes close to peripheral zones of mechanised fishing boats and net, there is every possibility of the damage of the same.

So the traditional fishermen are selecting their fishing ground which is away from the zones mechanised
boats. But the range of fishing ground in both traditional sector and mechanised sector are different. As for example manually operated fishing boats of fisherfolk can go up to maximum distance which is 40 Kms. but they usually go up to 10 to 15 Kms. The mechanised boats can move up to 160 Kms. but minimum distance, they cover is 30 Kms. and fishing operation is performed by machine. In contrast to that the traditional group not only operate their boat by themselves but also operation of net is performed through man power. So it is obvious that the manual operation cannot compete with machinery operation of mechanised boats. Empirical evidence shows that the fishermen using non-mechanised boat, restrict their fishing within 15 Kms. to 40 Kms. during fishing season (October to February) whereas during off season March to May) the fishing Zones of traditional fishermen has been restricted up to 10 Kms. to 15 Kms. It is because during off season, reverse wind blows from South-West direction along with high rolling of sea-waves obstruct the free movement of boat and reduction of catch is obvious. The fishermen complain that the shoal of fish are frightened and change their path by the machine sound of trawlers. Again the mechanised boats usually produce turbidity in sea water due to which the fishermen cannot get expected amount of catch.

All the fishermen of village Sandhakud usually start fishing everyday at a particular time and mostly go to a particular fishing Zone and set their net by only few distance from each other. The privilege of communal
fishing amongst traditional fishermen to avoid unexpected danger in the sea which is expected at any time. Communal fishing does not mean that they use common fishing boats and nets but they more together and choose close field to help each other. In each fishing boat there are two, three, four or even six persons according to the type of boat and net to be used.

Due to competition between traditional and mechanised sector, there arises always conflict regarding the demarcation of fishing zone and ground. When such hitch starts between two unequal groups, where traditional group deals with ancient method and other group proceeds forward with advanced techniques, so obviously more production is availed by latter. Again socio-economic variations between traditional sector and mechanised sector is also well marked because the market economy is solely controlled by one group whose numbers can be counted in fingers.

It is essential now to specify the fishing zones specifically for both traditional mode of fishing and mechanised fishing boat operation. To our great surprise, there is no such provision by the Government, though several steps are adopted or protection of right of economically backward classes.

Fishing in vast unlimited sea is most intricate, complex as well as unpredictable.
After the introduction of mechanised boats along with its sophisticated, and developed technique of operation for fishing was meant for the betterment of economically backward fishermen. But in due course of time, the economically well off, educated people adopted the marine fishing trade as their main source of income due to its export oriented and highly profitable aspect. So the trade itself gets new momentum leaving behind the poor traditional fisherfolk. On the contrary the traditional fishermen cannot leave the occupation as it is their caste occupation and inherited from the fore-fathers and also primary source of livelihood. To some extent they try to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances by hard labour and use of less costly modern equipment like gill net.

It is there in the socio-cultural milieu of fishermen of village Sandhakud that though sea is rude, to them (at times) due to climatic variation, natural disruption, still then it is the most inspiring, fertile source of production. They consider it as the inexhaustible source of wealth which can be exploited to maximum extent for their own source of livelihood. This traditional concept is the main binding force of fishermen to work combinely in the occupational field inspite of several negative aspects of modern impact. Moreover, their long term association, traditional knowledge helps them to adhere to hereditary occupation besides several level of exploitations. Again the mechanised boat owners always need the help of fishermen
traditional group) for their traditional skill of fishing which is not known to them. So in the changed situation, the fishermen are the active group whereas the employers are the passive financial authorities. Inspite of the hard labour, practical knowledge of fishing, the traditional fishermen's economic condition is grim.

THE ENTRY OF BIG BUSINESS GROUP IN TO MARINE FISHING:
Gradually and day by day the marine fishery trade is flourishing to a considerable extent. Now the most recent development stage of economic achievement is through third sector besides traditional and modern sector. It is called 'Ultra Modern Sector' where more finance is required because it includes exclusively the 'Deep Sea Trawlers' (Kuereln, 1978). Mechanically, these deep sea trawlers are much more efficient and can stay inside sea for more than 15 days to one month just like ships. Its working capacity is much more in comparison to traditional and motorized boats. The fishermen's approach towards life is just as gambler where they can either gain or lose. In the new ecological setting space limitations along with their less developed technology and middlemen exploitation put them economically backward. At one hand the catch production is peak in mechanical sector due to their developed technology, on the otherhand the gradual reduction in catch by traditional fisherfolk due to ancient mode of fishing. The increasing demand of fish in the international market provides an impetus for new entrants in to the same trade. Long term
preservation of catch in freezing plants also expedite the profit margin of the business easily availed by mechanised sector. Very often the financers extend their influence and power alongwith money to have a full control on the trade. Thus financially sound condition of the new entrants has made them established a firm footing in the national and international markets.

Prior to the expansion of the trade, the traditional fishermen were getting their essential commodities through barter system, by exchange of fish. This old system of transaction has been replaced by cash payment. Unlike the traditional process of share-system, the employees of mechanised boat get both salary and 30% share of total catch. This distribution system is again flexible; because it is up to the boat owners (mechanised boat).

Thus restructuring of modern sector by utilising the traditional fishermen takes place after the emerging town complex at Paradeep Port. It also opens new avenues for the disposal fish at higher price considering its market demand outside India. The availing opportunities divert the attention of capitalists to have the control over the marine fishery trade on the basis of their economic status.

The modern trend and subsequent changes in the marine fishery trade have inspired the mechanised sector to acquire more profit as they have to invest huge capital
at the initial stage. So they always try to recover their own investment along with maximum profit. Due to higher exposure of marketing system (in the international level), the capital circulation also increases. But the private entrepreneurship of the trade has made process profitable for few individuals.

From the above the discussion, it is quite evident that the major remarkable changes in the social, economic, cultural and psychological spheres of the Sandhakud fishermen are due to unequal competition with mechanised sector. The mechanised boat owners, procurers and exporters constitute a closed circle where the poor fishermen are only supposed to perform the fishing job. Actually, in this trade, the middlemen or procurer stand between traditional group and exporters. During purchase of catch middle man plays tricky role. At times the trawler owners are to face heavy loss due to sky-touching, ever-rising fuel price and less output (in terms of catch). Moreover due to poor socio-economic condition, illiteracy, the fishermen have no clear understanding about the market tricks. On the otherhand they are well acquainted with all sorts of hardships since their childhood. So the mode of adoption in traditional group is comparatively more than mechanised group. The need is also less in traditional group. It is said that 'satisfaction is linked with ambition'. The high ambition of mechanised boat owners compete with their equals; not with the traditional
fishermen. Besides all these aspects, the occupational competition is marked between traditional and modern sectors.

CHANGE DUE TO NEW-TREND FOR PRAWN FISHERY:

The empirical data shows that the process of mechanisation in marine fishing trade has very close link with Prawn Catch. It is so because the same has got high price and great demand in the international markets like America and Japan. Depending on the market demand, the mechanised sector, always look forward for economic prosperity, try to catch Prawns by the help of mechanised boats or trawlers. Moreover for an economic fishing operation, profit is measured from the Product of Catch and price against cost of fishing. This basic principle is more systematically followed in mechanised sector where fuel expenditure (disel) and its market price. So in order to keep the balance between catch and expenditure for fishing, they are more oriented towards prawn production.

The Penaeid Prawns are found in abundance in coastal areas where riverine estuaries meet with sea. According to Sheridan (1981) Penaeid prawns support commercial valuable fisheries in many areas of world. Which lie between 35°N and S of the equator.

Kurekn (1982) is of the opinion that, there are 123 species of penaeids having commercial importance. But in Paradeep coast mainly four species are commonly found.
However those are penaeus indicus, (white prawn), penaeus monodon (Tiger Prawn), Metapenaeus spp (Brown Prawn), Acetes indicus (small shrimps). It is the tendency of prawns to breed in deep sea water and again migrate to esturine water (meeting point of river and sea) where the salinity is comparatively low than sea water, during their late Larval Stage and again return to sea as adults. This life cycle of prawns proves that it can be caught at three stages of their life cycle, first during Larva Stage at sea, the late larval stage and early adult stage at esturine water, finally in adult stage at sea. It is the mainstay of mechanised fishing industry is 'Prawn Fishery'. Usually bumper catch of prawn can be obtained from coastal areas of Paradeep Port.

One typical natural biological phenomenon of prawns is the movement of adult prawn from backwaters to the sea takes place throughout the year. The Spawning ground of different species of Penaeid prawn is in the sea. Some specific varieties like P.Stylifera and M.Dobsoni spawn in littoral as P.indicus and P.mondon breed in still deep water (According to breeding theory of Mohammed and Joseph 1973 and 1971 respectively). Natural phenomena like heavy floods, draughts and storms affect the Juvenile prawn population.

Normally for any type of fishing operation, fishing crafts and gear are required in combined form because these are complementary to each other. These are of variable size, strength and form. Now it is also seen that the fishing crafts are named according to type of gear they
need to operate. Particularly in case of mechanised fishing crafts, when a boat operates a trawlnet is called a 'Trawler' and operation by a Gillnet is called "Gill Netter' etc. The basic difference in case of traditional fishermen is that they use the Craft for fishing is not mechanised but regarding the net or gear are by and large of same type. As for example the traditional fishermen are now using different varieties of gillnets to get more prawn which has got highest demand in market both in national and international level. So they can now sell their catch (more quanties of prawns) to fish traders without the previously existing process of salting, drying for long term preservation.

'The profitability of 'Pink Gold' (Prawns) led to create a new chapter in marine fishing trade and market economy due to its unexpected demand in the international market. Thus the new fish economy has not only brought about the technological revolution in 'Prawn catch' interest but also in the processing and physical distribution. Nearly for about two decades, by and large, the growth of this export oriented industry has finally resulted in the creations of excess capacities of recently developed over·capitalisation'.

(Kurer, 1982)

Bhusan (1979) has opined, 'Indo-Norwegian project designed the first mechanised boat exclusively meant for shrimp trawling in India. In US trade parlance 'Shrimp' refers to the smaller varieties of prawns. The capture of
other fishes (demersal or bottom dwelling-species was purely incidental).

From the very beginning, sea gives free access, common resources, where the traditional fisherfolk lead their life as 'gambler'. On the otherhand the modern marketing facilities of mechanised sector has moved towards a boom, through more production. Now the Government (Orissa State Financial Corporation) has financed large number of mechanised boats without any subsidy.

Besides all these progressive aspects of changed economy due to remarkable demand of Prawn catch, the fishing level of fish production is not a welcome sign. It because any renewal process (just like modern techniques for fishing) on the path of natural resource has a maximum yield for short terms but gradually resulted in long term catastrophe. The same result is now seen in the marine fish trade due to Over Fishing which creates all sorts of natural encounters. It is mainly due to saturated number mechanised boats along with traditional fishing crafts are much more exploiting the marine resources both in day and night fishing beyond the expectations. This over additions of crafts and gears to catch fish through technologically developed methods give rise to marine fishery towards boom no doubt but simultaneously it has produced certain adverse effect on natural productivity of fish or crustaceans like prawn itself. So the decline of catch can be attributed to the factors like over-fishing, over use of gear more or less
damaged oear like several times repaired nets by the artisaral fishermen due to lack of funds, increase of mechanised and non-mechanised boat within a limited area of fishing etc. For this Pauly (1979) remakred in the following manner:-

'The fact that the stocks are composed of an assemblage of species with a very long, common, evolutionary history has given implications that any fishery, by removing specific prey fishes, will disrupt and eventually destroy the original food web and lead to the emergence in the system of often less valuable generalists'.

Regarding the life cycle of prawns of different varieties, George (1975) has stated, 'Depending on the species, the time taken between hatching in the offshore waters and entry of the small, post larve into the brackish waters varies usually from 2 to 4 weeks. In certain species they arrive in these shallow areas in the late larval stage while in some others they arrive in the early post-larval stages. Once in the brackish waters they leave the planktonic existance and descend to the bottom, reaching the different parts of the shallow water'.

Joseph (1971) is of the opinion that this movement of the adult prawns from the backwaters to the sea takes place throughout the year.

According to C.V.Kurian and Sebastian (1976), Metapenaeus monoceros, parapenaeopsis stylifera, penaeus
indicus, penaeus monodon are most important commercial species of prawns showing more demand in the international market.

Recently prawn fishery has gained its new dimension due to shrimp trawling. For this shrimp separator trawling process is adopted. By suitable arrangements inside the trawlnet, the fish is diverted in one direction and most allowed to escape through a large meshed section of the net, and the shrimp in another, to be retained by small meshes. (Gulland 1974) (Karlsen and Mathai 1978). According to Seidel and Watson (1978), 'The most advanced form of catching shrimp is by using a capacitor that discharges electrical pulsar. Only shrimp will respond to this pulsar and it jumps in to trawlnet thus eliminating the incidental capture of bottom fish and other marine organisms'. Bhushan (1979) is of the opinion that bottom trawling developed on a commercial basis only in the early 1960's with the realisation of the high value prawn stock (this prawn stock was not within the reach of the traditional sector except during the upwelling seasons).

Mainly the profitability of this 'pink gold' (prawn) led to the creation of a whole new industry in the marine fishereis sector in India. There was a technological revolution not only in the fish capturing process but also in the processing and physical distribution, (Kurégn, 1978). Regarding the advancement of mechanised sector, Pillai
(1981), 'The Kerala Finance Corporation itself financed 252 boats during these two years'. In Orissa, specially in Paradeep-Port the number of mechanised boats also increased to a considerable extent. It is because the mechanised sector (boat owners) try to increase the productivity by technological improvements through adding more craft and gear.

In the field of marine fishery various authorities have attributed several reasons regarding the decline in catch. The main factors are physico-chemical variations of sea, over use of destructive fishing gear, over fishing by increasing number of artisanal fishermen and mechanised boat operators etc.

Racek (1955) has also expressed, 'In view of the short life cycle of the great majority of commercial penaeid, a depletion of the available stocks would affect consistent prawn species first, these species may become replaced by migratory (inconsistent) species, gradually displacing the former stock'.

Due to more demand of prawns the fishermen (traditional group) as well as mechanised sector try to increase their prawn catch by over fishing. In Paradeep-Port area, during peak fishing season, they go even for day and night fishing. Basically there are two types of over-fishing such as growth over-fishing and recruitment over-fishing.
According to Gulland (1974), 'In growth over fishing, fishes are being caught when they still would, if left in the sea, grow much bigger, and this growth would more than balance any loss in numbers that would occur through natural mortality'. Cushing (1975) has described, 'recruitment over fishing is when the death by fishing is great enough to reduce recruitment to the stock'.

Trawling process mainly destroy fish eggs and larvae by the raking of the sea bottom. Moreover, the nursery ground of various types of juvenile fish is also disrupted as trawl nets plough for prawns.

Emmerson points out, 'while one method selectively attacks or entraps a single species, another (e.g. trawling) indiscriminately hauls up everything in its path (Emmerson 1980).

Kurerfn (1982) is of the opinion that, 'the saturation of mechanised fishing vessels on the shallow waters of India specially on the western coast is consistently checking the future potential fishable stock of the artisanal fishermen'.

However, Gulland (1974) suggests, 'reasonable management measures introduced early are better than perfect measures, introduced latter'.

By and large it will reduce the conflict between traditional and mechanised sector. Moreover, the
precautionary measure for giving more scope to the traditional fishermen to enhance their catch, Gulland (1972) is of the opinion that the existence of certain areas or seasons where small shrimps below the optimum size at first capture for the current amount of fishing are predominant. Anderson (1977) has anticipated that, since fishing effort is a function of the number of fishing units used, their individual harvesting power, their spatial distribution and total time spent in fishing.

Now at Paradeep Port the mechanised boat operation has almost reached the saturation point. Looking to the current problem. Pillai (1980) has remarked, 'The only evidence that supports this reservation is the reluctance shown in investments in trawlers now and the hue and cry made by the mechanised boat owners themselves for optimising the fleet.

Besides all these above described reasons due to impact of over population and excess number of mechanised fishing boats which are increasing day by day, there are also natural obstructions which cause reduction in availing catch. In this context, Gulland (1972) has written, 'Natural fluctuation can reduce the existing stock drastically sometimes (e.g in the Gulf between Iran and the Arabian peninsula there was a sharp drop in catch in 1969-70 apparently as a result of natural factors) and catch quotas set at the level appropriate to a normal year would provide little or no control on the amount of fishing.'
Regarding the ill-effect of mechanised boats, Govindan (1973) has remarked, 'It is a grim fact that some of our mechanised fishing boats operating on the west coast throw away all other fishes in order to make room for the foreign exchange earner'.

In Paradeep-Port area, the on set of mechanisation has enhanced the prawn fishery through trawling process, where the adverse impact is observed amongst skilled, traditional fishermen of Sandhakud village. Depending on the market demand, the traditional group also shows more affinity for prawn catch by using gillnet. By and large the anarchic growth of this export oriented industry has reduced production potential of traditional sector. The process of over fishing, through saturated number of mechanised boat has reduced income of artisanal fisherfolk of Sandhakud village.
CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT

Human relations are very complex in nature. As proximity breeds contempt, similarly proximity needs to be developed. Day to day life precipitate some bickerings which take shape of conflict. Yet humans also try to solve them very amicably and keep harmony in relationship. In the fishing village Sandhakud, the fishermen maintain a spirit of unity and co-operation both intra-village level and inter-village level, despite of some occasional conflicts.

Their profession needs co-operation. It is well reflected in socio-economic, recreational and ceremonial spheres of fishermen's social organisation system.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL OF CO-OPERATION:

The fishing venture into the sea is considered as risky, hazardous and full of uncertainties. So, the fishermen are to work very hard through out the day. There is keen competition every now and then, yet the very occupation has forced upon them co-operation and evolve a combined way of functioning.

Every day they start for fishing in combined way as protection against unexpected danger. Each fishing unit need more than one individual, which not only makes them free from mental tensions, which becomes more intensified in isolated set up, but also make the trip effective.
Highly engaging nature of occupation from early morning to evening, keeps them practically busy than to waste time in personal hitch or conflict. Their main goal is to get good catch, so all the individuals of the village under study irrespective of active fishermen and elderly members act as the members of a single family and co-operation is the basic criterion of their social system. Very systematic mode of functioning of their socio-economic life has shown the sense of brother-hood, though some difference of opinion may arise at times; from professional jealousy. It is usually ignored by them but in worst case, it is solved by the village headman.

The economic organisation system of fishermen starting from distribution of catch, selling etc. are glorified examples of their full-fledged co-operation which is rarely found in other caste-based occupational people.

The cultural relation of fishermen is centred around fish and sea. So, they observe all the rituals festivals with full co-operation. This mode of co-operation amongst fishermen of Sandhakud village, helps them to lead smooth social life. Through these co-operation, they are able to maintain unity and solidarity. In this way in every sphere of their socio-economic life, they help each other without any hesitation.

There are some eventful incidences where any loss of fishing crafts or nets of any fishermen are usually
shared by other village members. It creates a sense of equality and unity amongst village members and community as a whole.

Starting from boat construction, launching of new boat, beginning of fishing season, everyday fishing venture are usually performed in united manner by the fishermen which are the evidences of their strong social-bond of co-operation. At time of natural calamities like heavy storms, cyclone etc. they also help each other ignoring any personal differences. It proves their altruism and displays communal interest.

**INTER-VILLAGE LEVEL CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT:**

Inter-village level co-operation is less important to fishermen of Sandhakud. Within the framework of their ethnic and cultural configuration utmost co-operation is maintained amongst fishermen.

The two sections: (a) fishermen and (b) trawler owners are competitors. They compete each other for better catch consequently better earning. One group is monetarily and technically so well equipped than the other that any kind of conflict is untenable. The mechanised group often purchase fishing skill of the fishermen, by employing them in their trawler as crew-men. This type of relationship is difficult to interpret as co-operation, but dependency. Of course these often brews dissatisfaction over under-payment, but these are part of modern industrial economics.
As all the fishermen (traditional) do not work with the trawler owners, a section still depend on their independent persuit. These people also need some crews for their co-operative venture where fishes are given as share. But expert fishermen crews are often lured away by the agents of trawler owners who pay cash money. Comparatively, cash money is attractive as also sea-faring on motorized launch. These hurried crews also have some assured income. It is not very clear from present work that whether there is a distinct difference in earning between the two groups, but it is evident that there is an undercurrent of cold-conflict between these two factions of fishermen.

CONFLICT:

No doubt, the fishermen in the village under study, have shown a cohesive moral order and true sense of co-operation, still then very often intra and inter village level conflict crops up amongst the members.

Due to hardship of fishing occupation, they have to work round the clock. Moreover, due to uncertain nature of output, they are always in a state of high mental tension. So, in this state of mind, a slightest provocation may spark the situation. The situation is particularly acute when the catch is not upto their expectation. So, the elderly members of the village always try to settle the dispute when any type of hetic situation arises amongst village members. When it is not solved easily, then village
headman and members of the village council come forward to tackle the situation. It also sometimes happen when comparatively young chap quarrels with an elderly man of the village, then the former is forced to beg apology to the elderly member. In this way any conflict arises in the village are easily solved without any further escalation.

INTER-SECTOR CONFLICT:

The two sectors traditional and mechanised, who work in the same fishing ground, sometimes face difficulties in setting of the net which lead to catch variation. In this situation there are chances of conflict. The following case-study is the evidence of same.

CASE:

During the field work, two such cases cropped up where the mechanised boat caused damage to the net of Sandhakud fishermen. So, after the decision of the village head man and trawler association members, some compensation was given to the fishermen. Thus, the tense situation was dissipated.

Besides all these conflicts, the fishermen (traditional group) are always in co-operative mood and mostly avoid intra and inter sector disputes as far as practicable. It is mainly due to their over work-load, strenous profession, poor socio-economic background, and peace-loving nature.
After the emergence of Paradeep-Port, the socio-cultural nexus of fishing trade economy as a whole is changing at a faster pace. The new economic opportunity, has opened up new vistas of progress yet the fisherfolks are comparatively in static position whereas mechanised sector has changed its dimensions in a forward direction. It is possible due to their trained attitude and knowledge which is more tradition bound among fishing community of Sandhakud. The cultural ethics of fishermen has forced them to adhere to their past, age-old traditional method of fishing. So, the degree of response of the fishermen is not according to expectation, in accepting the modern techniques of fishing. On the other hand, their degree of persistence to retain their own cultural norms is comparatively greater than the mechanised sector. The fishing trade as a whole has acquired new economic dimensions due to export facilities which was not found previously. Multifold marketing facilities has also changed the face of the marine fishing trade. The most vital point here is the mode of adjustment of traditional fishermen to a new technological setting after the introduction of mechanised boats. It is no more a mere deal with the improved techniques but a deal with their traditional culture centering art of fishing.

In the wake of rapidly changing situation, economic betterment of fishermen is of utmost need to compete in the new marketing system of marine fishing trade.
The Sandhakud fishermen exhibit an example how a 'human society' with all its acquired characters for social, cultural and economic survivality in a given ecosystem, is striving for 'appropriate adaptation' to a newly oriented environmental situation. The natural environment though remains unchanged, the approach-road to utilize it has considerably been crowded. The open sea which so long provided these village fishermen with sustenance around which their society and culture were woven, still remains open, but not exclusively to these fishermen. The near and deep sea is now very much infested with mechanised boats and fishing trawlers, straining fishes Down Under, much to the discomfiture of these village fishermen.

The mechanised fishing boat owners are not fishermen in traditional sense of the term, and do not share or contribute to the social and cultural matrix of fishing communities. In caste-based Indian society, social and cultural typification have developed through age-old professionalism of specific occupation. The modalities of occupation leave-impression on the socio-cultural ground which is not to be easily erased. The new venturers in sea fishing entrepreneurship, neither subscribe to the cultural views of a fishing community nor do they share the societal framework. Their main intention is economic gain, and
sea-fishing is just an altering business venture. These people, themselves are not involved in fish catching but employ crews who are paid to work for them. Thus we are faced with two groups in the same profession with entirely different approaches.

No system remains unchanged for a pretty long period. Change is not only inevitable but necessary sign of progressive evolution. There is change in the natural system so also in the realm of artificial or man-made system. In this case, we are faced with a situation brought about by 'change' through human interference. As this twentieth century grew old, we have visualized great human achievements in technological sphere, followed by huge upheavals in the socio-political and economic fields in the global scenario. Two great wars, break down of imperial powers, emergence of new politico-economic orders leading to sustained war situations in various parts of the world, reorganisation and realignments of nations and ultimately world-wide economic recession, are the major characteristics of this century. In between these negative events, there has been great development in human knowledge and escalation of such knowledge to every nook and corner of this earth.

In spite of great loss of human life through strife-ridden political manoeuvrings, diseases and malnourishment, there has been phenomenal growth in human population. As a result of such rapid population explosion, the limited resources have been subjected to competitive
grabbing. The difference in technology ingeniously developed or acquired, lead one group to master the resources. This has been the cases in historical past and so also in present and likely to be in future. The better equipped rules the roost.

The some route of economic survivality has led the advanced section of our population to join the fray of sea exploitation, with best technological equipments at their disposal. The appearance of the advanced sector in the fishing field has triggered off an uneven competition with the traditional fishing community which is the focal theme of this study.

Similar situation in the Kerala State has been encountered (Kureśn, 1978). In this locality, the situation has arisen as a fall out of urbanization in the vicinity of the establishment of port at Paradeep. Meanwhile, there has been a lot of change in India's socio-economic-political sphere as also in population pressure with increased trade relations with other countries. An independent India, opted for industrialization both in the public and private sectors and gradually many towns swelled into cities and many sleepy villages developed into towns. The occupational groups which so long formed such village populations, could not find the age-old techniques sufficient to deliver them a decent living. Many occupational groups tried to acquire improved techniques and retain their professional integrity, where
many other gave up the wild goose chase and merged into various corporate sectors.

The 'Julah' weavers of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, Hindu textile weavers of once famous Shantipur of West Bengal are some examples where the traditional folk have switched over to power loom and stemmed the disaster. But the situation is not easy for all others. The Noliya, fishing community people from this Paradeep area, could not totally respond to such adaptive changes by total mechanisation of their occupation.

There is no record of the asset of the fishermen of this village prior to the advent of the mechanised sector in fishing, but at present only 9% of the fishermen own their own boat and nets, and 41% have their own fishing nets only. This situation explain inconceivably low economic condition, where for essential fishing gears they have to depend on the money lenders, or investors. It is almost comparable to a peasant having land but no bullock, or plough. Majority of fishing people work as crew members in their community ventures. So like landless agricultural labour, they can be called fishing labour, who are only skilful in sea fishing. This helpless condition of fishermen is very efficiently utilized by the fishing entrepreneurs. Nearly 36% of active fishermen have now enrolled themselves as crew men in the trawler boats.
When earning is the main objective and the only skill in possession is the art of deep-sea fishing in indigenous boats, then employment for similar job is definitely alluring. Atleast two things justify their action for joining as labour: (a) regular money income and (b) more security for life in sea ventures, because of the mechanised boats. Their 'Nava', though bigger than the easily floatable 'Teppa', is not as safe as trawler boats. Moreover, in their traditional ventures, each day, catch is not of satisfactory quantity. Their share, obviously vary. But when fishermen are employed by trawler owners, they come under labour law and receive fixed remuneration irrespective of their haul of fish.

These two above factors, sufficiently justify fishermen's inclination to work as paid crewmen. The trawler owners, on the other hand, feel relaxed in employing skilled persons who are expected to work upto their satisfaction. Investment in trawler involves a good amount of money, as these consume a lot of oil, which is becoming costly day by day. Obviously, the trawler business will seek maximum catch of specific sea fauna which gives a good return.

Different varieties of prawns have wide international market than other varieties of fishes. There is observed growth of prawn processing factories and exporting business houses in the Paradeep port town. These are depending on the trawlers as well as orthodox fishing.
But the trawlers by virtue of larger coverage area, better hauling capacity and being manned by experienced fishermen crews, contribute the major share of prawn output. Being encouraged by this, more entrepreneurs are entering sea-fishing and sea-food production ventures - the result is over-crowding of 'fishing ground', elbowing out the traditional fishermen.

**CHANGE & ITS RECOIL:**

(a) The fishing community has evolved around its economic axis of fish catching, drying and selling to the 'middlemen'. There was a constant relation with the sea and 'middle-man'. Experience has taught them to learn the sea-character at different times of season, the nature of fish movements, identification of proper fishing-ground and also the nature of dealing with the middle-man (fish-purchasers). All these are within their immediate environment. The fish-brokers or middle-men often helped them with advance money, or loan in order to procure fish or prawns regularly and at cheaper rates, because sea-fishing was not within their capacity. On the otherhand, individual calibers of expert fishing not only earned fishermen good amount of money but also good amount of social respect.

(b) Under the aegis of expert fishermen, bands of sea fishing groups were formed. These groups were competing with each other for good catch, yet were co-operating in open-sea danger and other trouble at house. A man who had damaged
fishing equipments was helped by fellow fishermen. Because the whole society is an integrated one, inspite of petty quarrels and professional jealousy.

The new entrant mechanised boat-owners, do not belong to the community of fishermen, so there is no common tie which will make them concerned about the plight of these hapless country-boat venturers. The trawler-owners, by virtue of educational and monetary superiority, well understand the greater fish market of the country as well as other countries. They compete with each other in advancing their business. Such competition amongst their own class has enhanced hauling ability, and foraging towards deeper sea regions. This capacity is more improved by employing expert-crews from the fishing community.

Thus there have been two groups of fishermen (in the traditional community), one employed by trawler owners and the other self-employed professionals. The former section appear to be more pragmatic in view of the impending changes on their professional front. These fishermen were not well-off in their traditional system, so they do not find anything wrong or derogatory to their social status, to accept paid jobs. Rather, the other section of fishermen who have clung to their traditional occupation of fishing in country-boats, appear to be on back-gear in the modern economic advancement. As a social group, they are still the victim of low literacy, sickness and indebtedness.
(c) In traditional Indian concept, self-employment was given higher value than serving under any-body (old adage, 'business brings fortune most, its half in agriculture, its half in service and none in begging'). Occupational folks remained attached to their familial trade (business or any production activity) with great reverence. The deviants were looked down upon by the society members. This social value system worked perfectly till there was no wave of change of revolutionary type. As the world started to be getting closer in communication, new economic order prevailed over the existing mono-occupational economy linked with social system. Value attribute to occupation social status yielded to economy social status. The occupation which generates more money started to be given importance. As a result of this, joining of other community people in lucrative business of marine fishing employing trawlers, was not frowned upon by their respective societies.

This changed social philosophy capsuled in economic wrapper, failed to reach all sections of Indian population, and there are still many left-outs like our orthodox fishermen, who could not catch the flight to techno-economic modernity.

(d) Crisis of economic transition:

In all cases of transition, certain anomalous situations are mostly encountered. When the monopolized fishing occupation of the village-folk was threatened by the
advent of mechanised sector, this was accompanied by growth
of township in the near vicinity. The town threw open a
market before them, where transactions of selling and buying
both took place. Various objects of daily necessity articles
are available which are hard avoiding purchase. Market
economy has a tentacular attraction, which creates a demand
among the public. Such demand intensifies need for
production and raise the income level. But the pace is
inequal. This inequality of pace creates transitional crisis
in economy.

The Sandhakud fishermen have switched over to
nylon nets, which they themselves cannot weave, but procure
from the market. Inspite of its higher cost, these nets
serve their purpose better than the old type opened the
scope of fresh-fish preservation, but requires money as rent
or purchase of ice for transporting fish. This has done away
with the practice of drying the fishes. Availability of
bottled country liquor in the shops has eased their way of
relaxation, but demands cash expenditure. Home-brewed hooch
are no longer a desired drink.

As per these demands, the income-generating
process is not safe from deception. The nylon nets may help
in good catch, the cold-storage may preserv[e] their haul, but
the vendors do not pay them good price, as these fishermen
have already been enticed into their debt-trap. Clever are
those fishermen, who have surrendered their expertise to the
business house in exchange of fixed remuneration. But they also do not have scope to enhance their income above the fixed level. They also share the heat of the transitional economy.

A survey of the material assets of the households of both salaried and self-earning fishermen do not give any idea of a better economic position of the former. The salaried section are not under economic bondage of the fish-vendors. The fish market is gradually been pulled to the mechanised sector in the tug of war, one end of which is very weakly held by segmented traditional fisherfolk, whose feet are entangled in debt-trap.

(e) Socio-Cultural Transition:

Changes in the societal norms and cultural practices are often observed in the time of transition. The most aggrieved section are the elders. The community patriarchs do not enjoy the same commanding authority and console themselves by attributing the blame to the 'new wind' or 'new wave'. Transitional stages have fall out on almost all aspects of life including society and culture. Societal changes are not as explicit as cultural. Minor departures from social norms are often viewed with a pinch of liniency. When the younger section of fishermen, who have accepted subjugation to the mechanised sector, do not care to attend village meetings to discuss problems related to fishing ventures, or selection of fishing ground or their relation
to the vendor middle man, the patriarchs have no option left but to digest it silently, as they no more share the agony of the self-employed fishermen.

Previously, the fishing ability or possession of fishing gears were some of the important factors for being eligible husband. Girls family was to receive bride-wealth. Now, the customs of other Hindu communities, where girls are given less weightage in economic sense, have crept in this fishing societies. Working in a mechanised trawler, not only ensures standing income but also less risky, so why not claim for dowry or groom-wealth? Such flouting of their social norm is corroborative of customary practices of greater Indian societies. As a result this has come to be a practice, and received a passive nod from the elders.

One positive motto of change is 'improvement'. Improvement can be interpreted in a multi-dimensional way. 'Quality of life' is a recent connotation to mean a multi-factorial involvement with life conditions, and now a frequently referred measure for assessment of living situation. Transitional stages of change to improve quality of life will not only involve economy but social, cultural, political also. Cultural changes not merely to be viewed either in terms of material objects or simply of changes in the value and behaviour, but also in health and sanitation practices.
Transition often inflicts chaotic condition, as a society is tossed between 'orthodox' and 'new' methods, almost a near bewildering situation. All such possibilities might not be regular features with every society. These Sandhakud fishermen are to some extent victims of similar transitional situation. Life conditions do not appear to have improved for most, but to some. Existence of a growing town has very little to contribute for their upliftment from object poverty. Loan facilities from government sources to acquire improved fishing gears or mechanised boats do not exist. Personal loans from the middleman sometimes become too heavy to sink their boats in the battle for existence. The run-away section (employed crews) are young and belong to next generation, mostly born after establishment of the port-town.

These younger people are under the influence of 'advanced' people on board of the fish-trawlers and do not use typical 'Noliya' attire on fishing expeditions. Their attitude and views to life has undergone considerable change. Yet they still share a common platform of village-life and community culture. Bleak prospect of orthodox fishing and a receding economy have compelled them to accept remunerative job as sea-fishermen. It will not be astonishing phenomen, if after some time, the 'teppa', 'dangi', the 'noliya-cap', etc. become museum - materials and the Noliya fishermen of this village totally become
wage-earners as fishing crews in the trawlers. An independent fishing community, a vibrant culture of daring sea-men may be lost for ever being engulfed by the marauding modern economic system.