CHAPTER - I

SITUATING DEVELOPMENT AND MARGINALIZATION

The main objective of this chapter is to engage with the existing body of knowledge on development and marginalization in general and marginalization of fisher women in particular. In a way, this chapter attempts to give the conceptual framework of the thesis. A number of factors have been pushed forward as explanation for women’s exclusion. These factors could broadly be classified into two types. One related to the historically formed social, economic and cultural practices and the other is related to development policies and programs. Body of knowledge on gender disparity in development is vast and extensive. However, this chapter confines itself only to that part of the debate, which deals with the fisherwomen’s exclusion. In the same way, literature on gender bias in development is also extensive. This chapter focuses on that part of gender bias in development, which produces gender excluding development structures. This chapter has two parts. Part I concentrates on marginalization debates. Part II focuses on the existing body of literature on the marginalization of fisherwomen.

PART – I

Nice part of the development is that it lends itself to all kinds of interpretations. Hence, we have haters of development, lovers of development and some who distance themselves from these extreme positions. In the rich nations, development may not be very attractive and powerful. However, in the poor nations development is ubiquitous term. It is used and abused by all. It is a powerful term that decides the fate of politicians, changes regimes and gives hope to a vast majority. Beauty of the concept is that it never lets down its stakeholders. Inspite of its many colors even now growth remains the main stay of development. Growth being the under current of development all efforts are made to increase the size of the cake. From time to time, many factors have been identified as the main movers of growth. Earlier capital, later technology, institutions, and still later human resources have
been considered as the main moving forces of development. In most of the newly independent countries, including India, growth has been the main object of development.\(^1\) However, this model has several problems such as urban bias, deskilling and depriving of resources to some segments. These three major problems of development led to the displacement of population into urban areas, created market dependency and formed property-less groups. The subsistence segments of the society are slowly marginalized everywhere.\(^2\) Ideally development needs to be a space where variedly equipped and prepared stakeholders bargain for their share of benefits. However, in practice many a time the benefits of developments are not reaching in equal proportions to all the stakeholders. According to Amartya Sen, “Development requires the removal of various obstacles to live with dignity and worthiness. The legitimate rights of a human being is to satisfy necessities like food, remedies to treat illness, enjoy clean water, sanitary facilities, health care, educational facility, equality and enjoying effective institution for the maintenance of peace and order in the country. To exercise these rights, she or he needs freedom.”\(^3\)

Till early 1970’s, development considered women from welfare angles. The traditional role of woman as mother and wife, that too a wife whose sole objective is to bear children and grow them is considered as the important roles of women. In order to perform the above role their health need to be protected and to control birth their fertility needs to be reduced.\(^4\) It was assumed that benefits of growth would automatically trickle down to the poor. The poor women would benefit when their husband’s income and economic position are improved. In fact Boserup’s study conducted on women in Asia, Africa and Latin American Countries focused on the role of women in the economic development.\(^5\) In the newly liberated countries, 1960-70’s observed as ‘development decade’ by the United Nations with an agenda of 5 percent growth. However, there were no separate measures for women’s development. A World Plan of Action under the auspices of United Nation Organization in Mexico City from 19th June to 2nd July 1975 had focused on three inter-related themes of development, that is, equality, development and peace. The declaration claimed that the next ten years would be considered as the decade for women. Inspite of these declarations the conference held at Copenhagen observed that the position of women had deteriorated. In some countries educational and employment, conditions of women deteriorated further. In order to rectify these errors of development the conference declared
that importance should be focused on women’s participation as agents as well as beneficiaries in the development process. The Third World Women’s Conference held at Nairobi declared that women are no longer to be treated as patients but as agents in development. The overall world situation had undergone a dramatic change, which was discussed in the Fourth World Conference of Women held at Beijing in 1995. The Beijing platform of action shifted the focus to society and recognized that women’s issues are an integral part of the societal agenda. Thus, development now came to mean a measure of quality of life available to women and their empowerment.6

There was a need for Women in Development (WID) approach to integrate women into economic development. They are working as efficient as men, and given equal opportunities, contribute to economic development as much as men.7 However, Women in Development, promoted with the market economy, argued that providing unpaid family labor as a natural aspect of being a woman and at the same time, women were treated as a homogenous category.8 However, the Dependency feminist and feminist on women’s issue discussed inequalities between men and women that were created by the global capitalist economy. The women in the third world argued that women in the North mainly aim at gender equality whereas women in the South face the challenges posed by the development model that adversely effects their inclusion in the process of development. All these movements led to the creation of a network called Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) by the Third World researchers like Sen and Caren Crown. The network advocated that it was the system actually makes men and women dependent on each other. In order to take advantage of this system emphasis need to be laid on gender and development perspectives.9 Besides it was also felt by others that empowerment would become a successful tool only when it addresses the issues of patriarchy and global inequality.10

Critical literature on modernization argued that public spheres are embedded with modernity and they are occupied by men. Whereas the private space is covered with, tradition and they are occupied by women. Thus, development tenets are severe to gender.11 Hence, much of the analysis on Women and Development, and Gender and Development identifies the ways in which women’s locations in informal, non-market areas of social life are a legitimate issues of development. Otherwise, it will lead to feminization of poverty.12
In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie had exercised hegemonic leadership that restricted the working class and women from voting in the elections. The theoretical understanding that development strategies would produce social equality have not been materialized. In all the societies the local upper strata was the first one to take advantage of the benefits of development leaving the large number of weaker segments and weaker sex without anything to share. Development process has failed to keep its promise of inclusiveness and created an unequal method of income distribution among different segments of the societies.

In some cases, the increased economic independence not necessarily increased the bargaining power of women. Social relations and womanhood have compelled the women to consider their husband’s reputation and contribution is more important than their own economic contributions. The process of development was unable to develop long-term strategies to mitigate the existing power distribution in the society and provide minimum standard of living to women. In employment sector, sometimes employers prefer only women for certain jobs. It is not the skill of women, rather it is their social and cultural image that makes them employable. The practice of women’s employment change from society to society based on the level of development. However, in the more advanced economies also women’s employability depends on many issues, which are not confined economic rationality. Even the capitalism has not challenged the existing patriarchal practice. The inequality of women in many third world countries has two components. Firstly, households vary in their control over means of production and wage income. Therefore, their endurance depends on particular relation to land and resources. Secondly, these households are segregated and restricted social units, which limit their physical and social mobilities. In fact caste system legitimately, supported the subordination of women and made them to relay more and more on the informal sector. They are categorized as labor reserves and the result is the feminization of poverty. According to Amartya Sen, inequality can arise due to difference in capabilities and power that people have and inequality in capability deprive mainly from opportunity denials. Hence, inequality is a deprivation in acquiring the capability. At the same time justifying the inequality based on capabilities will sideline many and it is not acceptable. Modernization laid emphasis on rapid economic growth that attacked on cultural identities and people adjusted to change. However such changes are
guided by the market forces without considering human beings and displaced the people from traditional livelihood.\textsuperscript{22}

In this way women’s behavior and role is one of adjusting to the market forces. Institutionalists advocate that it is the market, which decides what work a woman could do. She does not have any choice in the market. By separating her in the labor market, she has been paid low wages. Critical thinkers contest that, the historical growth of capitalism that has succeeded in exploiting the women at home as well as in the market. In a way, there is an indirect relationship between economic development and development of the household.\textsuperscript{23} Hence, women has disadvantaged position in labor market falls into three groups. Neo-liberalist argued that the male -female differentials in earning is either due to lower productivity of women or market imperfections. The labor market segmentation, approach argues that the structure of labor market is based on disparity in employment and influenced by institutional barriers. Whereas Feminist theorists argue that it is the social and cultural factors that block women’s role as productive and reproductive agents.\textsuperscript{24} As a unpaid labor in reproducing process and as a underpaid labor in producing process women is a kind of subsidy for capital and thus women are twice subjugated labor class.\textsuperscript{25}

In the African modernization experiences, women were forced to take up major role in agricultural activities in villages, because during the colonial period the young and married males were employed by the Europeans in road constructions, mines and plantation.\textsuperscript{26} Even Adam Smith’s understanding of division of labor creates a homogeneous group of deskilled workers. If the market permits, the task could be assigned to mechanization for greater productivity. Thus, women could be released from the workforce based on cost calculation.\textsuperscript{27} Men and women differ in their livelihood priorities, in the use of technology. All these have serious implication for the status of women.\textsuperscript{28} Development processes enabled men to grab opportunities, which were previously available to women and thus affected the status of women. Moreover, whatever opportunities available have reduced them into lower strata.\textsuperscript{29}

With the advent of commercial crops and resultant centralization of land ownership and increased landlessness among subsistence farmers, the men were forced to migrate to cities and towns. All these developments have increased female headship. They find it challenging to secure credit and assistance to have a livelihood. End result of these processes is the feminization of poverty.\textsuperscript{30} As the title deeds of land are not in the name of the women,
they are least benefited from the implementation of land reforms laws. The policy framed to eradicate gender inequality and dependence on the dual market would certainly marginalize the weaker sex further. The growth oriented economic development strategy has increasingly emphasized on mega projects. These projects have negatively affected the marginalized in general and women in particular. The commercialization and rise of mediators, who could organize both production and marketing on a large scale with the support of capital and wage labor, displaced women from various traditional opportunities of self employment.

It was predicted that world economy would take a robust upturn by 1990 and there would be a vast expansion in tertiary sector and continuing entry of women into full time wage labor force. The above prediction became true in Indian economy. A large number of women entered labor market as informal workers. However, their economic status has not improved because most of these opportunities are of low income generating one. Consequently, incidence of poverty increased and compared to formal workers the standard of life stagnated. With the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) women found employment opportunities in the new service industries. However, they are paid less. There is no prospect of career development. State also failed to intervene in their favor. Due to these developments their competency level has been affected and capacity to participate equally with men also hampered. In the process of globalization the worst effected sections are women in India. Majority of the women (90 percent) work force is in the unorganized sector. Insecure and lowly paid unorganized sector work increases the pace of feminization of poverty, especially in the deprived groups of the society. The labor market is highly polarized. Sometimes it leads to migration of women across the nation to work as domestic workers. The malicious technology combined with restructuring has benefited small groups of younger graduates, with technical skill in the dynamic labor market. Thus, it appears to be a competition between groups of women themselves.

In India many social issues relating to women hinders them to participate in public life. The consequences of losing one’s spouse are different for men and women, eventually resulting in gender division of labor, which deprives employment opportunities to widows. India, was one of the first countries to make serious efforts to bring in women’s perspective and outlook on development planning. The First Five Plans focused on the self-reliance and
self-sufficiency of women. However, the perspective from the welfare approach to development of women approach took place in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85). The Seventh Plan introduced the 27 development schemes for women under Department of Women and Child Development (DWCD). The Eighth Plan (1992-97) highlighted for the first time a gender perspective and the need to ensure a definite flow of funds from general developmental sections to women. The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) made two important contributions for the empowerment of women and the merger of existing service available in both women specific and women related sectors. The Tenth Plan prescribed measures empowering women as the agents of socio-economic change and development. In the Eleventh Plan as a special move, the Government has formed a committee of feminist economists, to ensure gender sensitive allocation of public resources. Moreover gender equality and inclusive growth as an extension of the gender budgeting concept of the Tenth Plan. Each successive Five Year Plans, have identified widespread poverty, patriarchy and under development. It has become the impediments in the path of gender empowerment. Therefore, till the Seventh Five Year Plan the country had not noticed any sign of progress in poor women belonging to rural and urban sector. In order to protect women from discrimination the Hindu Code Bill proposed equal inheritance rights for women.

In order to mitigate the negative outcomes of mainstream development approaches the developing countries adopted Basic Need Approach (BNA). BNA reframes development as a broad based, people oriented and on endogenous grounds. Besides alternative development paths laying emphasis on agriculture, small-scale industries, labor-intensive activities and with appropriate technology. It even includes local democracy, community and popular participation in decision-making process through the civil society at the grass root level. However, the civil society in India, from the beginning occupied a secondary position and is not able to maintain a tempo along with globalization. The Human Development approach emerged in 1990 resumed development as human well being. It is especially in terms of increasing access to knowledge, nutrition and health services, security and political and cultural freedom. The best-known measure is Human Development Index (HDI), which measures Development in terms of Longevity, Knowledge and Income sufficiency. Deprivation arises mainly due to lack of accessibility to instrumental freedoms. Instrumental freedom provides the opportunity to people to purchase goods and services and the freedom
to make use of opportunity with human capability. In return, human capability substantiates the freedom.  

According to Naila Kabeera gender inequalities is always seen in development process and in social spheres. Hence, there is a need for ‘Reversed Development’ which starts from the choice of the poor that give importance to human development and well being. The inequality in women’s status can be measured with the help of Gender Development Index that consists of three main development indicators. They are per capita income, educational attainment and life expectancy. It focuses on enhancing capabilities for improving women’s participation in the process of development. At the same time, to share the benefit arising from it equally. Three primary domain of equality between men and women are capabilities, access to resources and agency or the ability to influence. The Gender Empowerment Measures formulated by the UNDP considers the economic participation and participation in decision-making as a method to measure the level of women’s empowerment.  

The above discussions prove beyond doubt that the women’s marginalization occurs in the public as well as in private space. On many occasions, development processes biased against women because of division of labor prescribed based on gender division. Women have not gained much from mainstream development process. The development laying emphasis on growth is working against the poor and the weak. Already existing body on development have focused on the feminization of poverty due to lack of access to resources and assets. The fruits of growth-oriented strategy hardly reached the poor and when it percolated in small quantity, it failed to reach the poor women. Labor market in the capitalistic structure is not friendly to women. Female work participation rate has been increased in informal sector. That is not a secured option for women. The market guided development strategy forced the women to work for longer hours outside the home. The negative consequence of these developments could be understood from the low ranking of India in the Human Development Report of 2009. In the next part, we shall see how the above discussed development processes affected women in the fisheries.
This section focuses on policy interventions and their impact on fisheries development and women empowerment. Like other sectors fisheries also exposed to modern science and technologies. The main objective of these policy interventions is to enhance fisheries production and to increase income at the disposal of those who engaged in fishing. Some of the studies on fisheries development also accepted the growth dimension of fisheries uncritically. UNDP Report on Fisheries Development, 1969 suggested many changes India could incorporate in its fisheries development policies and programs. The expert committee on fisheries development examined the development efforts from 1951 to 1966. It recommended for capital-intensive method of fishing. The committee also suggested to tap foreign aid, to offer credit at subsidized rate of interest, and to allow private companies in processing and exporting of fish on a commercial basis.52

U.K. Srivastava and M. Dharma Reddy’s study on fishing supported capital-intensive method of fisheries development in India. The study identified the investment required to attain the opportunities for private capital, investment in production, processing and marketing and estimated, the working capital needs of different infrastructural facilities.53 Similarly Catalla Rebecca & et.al’s study observed that the massive financing program that was initiated by the Development Bank of Philippines was responsible for the expansion of fisheries in Philippines. However, this massive investment did not bring much change in the catch and income of fishermen. The volume of fish caught and income earned remained the same. The study identified some reasons for such negative relation between investment and production. Increases in fishermen’s population, competition from trawlers and fish scarcity due to pollution are some of the reasons identified.54

Alexander G. Merlijn observed similar situation in Malaysia. The study found that Government assistance to the fishing industry in Pusa sub-district in Malaysia had only a limited impact on production and productivity. Private informal sectors offering complementary services, which the Government could not offer and the fishermen never considered the intermediary relationship as exploitative, were some of the reasons identified by study.55 Jean –Pierre Chauvean and Alassane Samba’s study observed that in Senegal since 1980 the strong and dominant ideology was that progress could be achieved only by
modernization. Hence, traditional mentalities and structures in fisheries were an impediment for the development. The study also found that the small-scale fisheries in Senegal were not marginalized but remained viable in spite of the introduction of the market system.\(^{56}\) In Karnataka some studies considered modernization of fishing is blessing in disguise. Varamballis study on ‘Mechanized Fishing in Coastal Karnataka examined the impact of mechanization on the employment, income, saving habits and asset formation of fishermen households and found that there was an increase in the tangible assets of the fishermen household.\(^ {57}\)

It was observed in Mahesh V. Joshi’s study on the impact of mechanization and organizational set up on fishermen families of Saurasthra region in Gujarat that there was a positive relationship between mechanization of fishing and employment opportunity. The capital labor and capital output ratio was high in mechanized boat. The mechanized boat owners’ standard of living improved and their earnings and literacy increased. However on organizational front co-operatives failed to provide credit to the fishermen.\(^ {58}\) Similarly, in Hemamala Muna Singhe’s study on ‘Socio Economic conditions of Small Scale Fishermen in Srilanka’ found that high levels of profitability were recorded for every type of mechanized fishing operation. The savings of fishermen have been diverted towards investment in tourism. Besides there was a decline in rope making cottage industries. These industries used to be the source of earning for women of Buddhist fishing community.\(^ {59}\)

Theodore Panayotou Kamphal Adedavidhaya and et.al’s study on ‘Socio Economic Conditions of Coastal fishermen in Thailand, A Cross Sectional Profile ‘of four sites in Southern Thailand concluded that development interventions created difference in fishing incomes among location and difference in fishing assets. Non-fishing incomes are more closely related to the availability of labor employment and agricultural land than to non-fishing capital. The study further observed that along with fishing income, availability of non-fishing employment opportunities is a method of alleviating the socio-economic condition of coastal fishermen.\(^ {60}\) In U.K. Srivastava, B.H. Dhola, and et.al’s study on ‘Fishery Sector of India’ researchers found that there was lack of infrastructural facilities for unloading, ice plants and cold storages in fishing harbors. The study supports deep-sea fisheries development and expansion of domestic and export market.\(^ {61}\) Similar, view was expressed by S.L. Shanbhogue in his study, on the Marine Fisheries of Karnataka. Having
analyzed the case in detail the study recommended for exploitation of deep sea and off shore resources to make the ventures profitable and to attract entrepreneurs to take up deep sea and off shore fishing.\(^{62}\)

In a similar fashion, D.K. Pothuval’s study on ‘Marine Export potential of Dakshina Kannada’ found the need for diversification of mechanized fishing, processing and diversification of markets so as to lay foundation for the future success of marine product export industry.\(^ {63}\) Biradas R.S and Pandey’s study gives a detailed account of Indian fisheries sector contribution from 1990-91 to 2003-04. The study highlights that the fisheries co-operative was an effective tool for the development of fisheries industry. The study also observes the issues related to the development policy, which directly affects the artisan fisheries.\(^ {64}\) Sumangala Nayak’s study on Socio economic status of fishermen community of Uttara Kannada district indicated that rate of illiteracy in fisherman community in Uttara Kananda is negligible. They have made use of the Government free Education Policy effectively to maintain proper records and accounts of their business. Considering the response of female members of fishing community the study concluded that the status of female in the society is good. The study found that mechanized fishing might support the fishermen to have a better standard of living.\(^ {65}\) However, Pazhani K and S. Nadarajan’s study identified that the poor quality of human capital was a reason for backwardness of fishing industry in Kanyakumari district of TamilNadu. During slack periods, fishermen from this district migrate to Kerala and other maritime states.\(^ {66}\)

Analysis of studies on policy interventions in fisheries shows that experience gained in developed countries was taken as basis for fisheries development in developing nations. Labor scarce societies have made deliberate attempts to take recourse to mechanization of fishing. However, our story is different. We have a large army of employable human resources. Inspite of this contradiction the state policy interventions made the fisheries sector capital intensive. Along with the state interventions, the private capital also made the sector more and more capital intensive. Most of the studies found positive relation between modernization and fisheries development. However, these studies have not focused on the role of private capital and its impact on distribution of income and unlimited exploitation of resources. Besides, fisheries sector consists of both men and women. But these studies have not paid needed attention on gender issues. In the following pages, we shall discuss the
findings of studies, which focused on gender dimension of fishing and on consequence of unbridled private capital.

Thingalaya’s study concluded that mechanization might not be a panacea. It could reduce the uncertainties in income. But may not assure a steady employment and income to a large number of people depending on fishing. The study highlights, the theoretical framework of economic development in dual economy so as to have some amount of occupational shift from fishing to other productive sectors to reduce the economic backwardness. Sunimal Fernando’s study on the Marketing System in the Small Scale Fishery of SriLanka, noticed monopoly and oligopoly practices prevailing at various levels of marketing structure. These practices caused harm to both the producers and consumers – fishermen received low earnings and consumers paying high prices. The real beneficiaries are the intermediaries. They pocketed excess profits and they restricted the entry of potential competitors into the system by adopting legal and illegal methods like high capital or threats and violence.

Oscar Amarasinghe’s study in Sri Lanka concluded that the Government channeled large amount of public funds to the artisan fisheries sector. It established many institutions to help fishermen to take up mechanized fishing and thus eroded the patron client relations belonging to a pre – capitalistic mode of production. Reynolds Eric’s study on the pattern of fish consumption, distribution and marketing in seven countries of African sub continent concluded that the wholesale fish trade is dominated by men. Women could find place only in the retail trade. In retail trade, women need to face competition from the supermarkets, butcheries, hotels, restaurant and fish and chip shops. Inspite of this competition the study found that fish trading is a significant alternative source of income and enable them to support their families.

P.Ibrahim’s study focused on the net impact of the introduction of mechanization on the fishing sector of India in general and Kerala in particular. The study found that the there was greater instability in production, growth of conflicts between the traditional and mechanized sector and decline in the availability of fish especially for the poor sections of final consumers. Absentee fishermen or fishermen from other communities were a major threat to fishing community. P.Ibrahim and Stanly D’Silva’s studied the comparative economies of mechanized boats and motorized crafts in Mahe region of Malabar Coast. The
study found that mechanized fishing was confirmed to trawler. The operational efficiency of traditional craft was better than mechanized boats. Even though profit rate was the lowest, gross earnings and remuneration per member were the highest in trawlers. Similarly, Giriappa’s study on ‘Performance of Mechanized and Non-Mechanized Boats, A case study in Dakshina Kannada,’ found that though the number of mechanized and non-mechanized boats have increased tremendously, the catch per boat has not shown a remarkable increase. However, there were fluctuations resulted in under utilization of infrastructure in some years. After the advent of mechanization, the share of non-mechanized boats has declined.

Ramachandra Bhatt examined the technological acceptance of market and influence of development in Karnataka. He concluded that the developmental programs promoted by the Government created heterogeneity in the socio economic characteristic of the once homogeneous community. However, Bhatt’s later study was on the success of a community based fishery co-operatives as against a Government sponsored co-operatives in Dakshina Kannada district. It was found that to avail the subsidies, many unions of boat operators were converted into primary co-operative societies and ridiculed the Government schemes. However Bhatt and Gadgakar’s study has contested the above position. Their study showed that Government promoted fisher’s co-operatives performed better and developed into major institution in port fish markets. Moreover, the existing structure of fisheries co-operatives is attractive to the fishermen as they facilitate them to obtain subsidy from the Government.

Ramachandra Bhatta brought out certain emerging issues in fish marketing and processing especially in the liberalized context. The study found that liberalization affected the small-scale fisheries in three ways - deskillling, indebtedness and dependence on outsiders.

Samantary and Vaidehi’s study highlight how the women’s organization in coastal Orissa has taken up issues relating to women’s survival such as problems they face in the era of globalization. The study observed that women in marine fisheries formed a Federation known as ‘Samudram’ consisting of six district level women organizations. The study identified that in the area of marine livelihood Samudram has been active in the protest against the invasion of trawlers, violation of the Coastal Regulation Zone Act and collection of shrimp and seeds. Dehadrai and Yadava’s study on ‘Fisheries Development State of Indian Farmers Millennium Study’ highlighted the problems faced by the people depending on fisheries industry. Over capitalization of the small scale mechanized sector,
marginalization of traditional fishermen, unchecked underemployment, lower capital earnings and lack of alternative job opportunities were some of the problems faced by them. Moreover, seasonal migration and absence of mobility of labor to other sectors is the added part to their problems. Manjit Singh and et.al’s study on ‘Fishery Sector and Fish Workers in India, an Overview’ identified many problems faced by the sector as well as by the fisheries households. The intermediaries play a big role in exploiting the fishermen. Market driven situation after 1960 has led to the introduction of highly mechanized fishing vessels resulting in the extensive exploitation of the sea bottom. All these development led to the depletion of fish stock. Due to this, the fishermen depending on fish harvesting were deprived from their livelihood. However in Aramanzan Madanda’s study on ‘Commercialization and Gender Roles among Lake Victoria Shore Fishing Countries of Uganda’ concluded that inspite of commercialization, both men and women in fishing community were not willing to change the cultural belief and practices. The study, found that commercialization of fishing has not made a significant change in the roles of women. Because they were trading in low quality species of fish which were not in much demand in the export market.

In the above discussed studies we have seen how the technology based development programs and formal financial institutions supported the emergence of ‘Absentee Fishermen’ in different ways. Small-scale fisheries were affected adversely. The impact on small-scale fisheries was felt more by the fishermen as most of them dependent on it. In the meantime, modernization provided new employment opportunity to men as wage earners in the sector. However, these developments have not provided much space for fisherwomen. Even in trading activities gender division continued - men are in wholesale trade and women in retail and subsistence trade. Market rather than becoming a leveling force introduced newer disparities and hostility towards women. In the following pages, we shall some more studies, which have pondered over the above problems.

Jean Philippe Platteau’s study focused on the various existing systems and modalities of capitalism that have percolated in the third word fisheries. Small-scale fishermen communities have been exposed to the world market system. There were large numbers of displacement of petty fish traders especially women by bigger merchants. These merchants have better access to all forms of formal or informal credits. They have accumulated their
resources through non-fishing occupations also.\textsuperscript{82} Wicky Meynen’s study examined the economic changes imposed on the fishing community in Kerala. Introduction of modern technology led to the species selectivity, centralization of landing centers and concentration of marketing operations. Apart from this a new employment opportunity was created for the poorer strata of women fish workers who were poorly paid in prawn peeling and grading factories.\textsuperscript{83} Similarly, Nalini Nayak’s study on ‘Fisheries a Feminist Perspective’ attempted to examine the impact of technology transfer on women. The modernization of fisheries resulted into a flow of capital into the sector. This flow of capital sidelined fisherwomen from the local fish vending market. They were compelled to work as wage laborers with low wages and exploitative conditions of the processing plants.\textsuperscript{84} Same kind of occupational shift identified by Yahaya. In his study on ‘Women in Small Scale Fisheries in Malaysia’, found that, those who marginalized because of the modernization have taken up jobs in tourist and cottage industries. The study makes general observation on displacement by stating that development projects have a tendency to displace the traditional source of employment of women working in fishing industry.\textsuperscript{85}

N.H. Chao and C.F. Chang’s study observed that while responding to transition to globalization in fisheries, special prominence was given by the Taiwanese women to prepare against globalization. However, it was observed that gender inequality against women still exists in many workplaces. Taiwanese women in fisheries have organized various schemes in response to globalizing trends. However, while considering the gender division of labor, the respondents not only take care of fish and shrimps but also they have to look after their families.\textsuperscript{86} R.H. Asong and et.al study looked into the livelihood sources of men and women of landless dwellers in Philippines. The main sources of income for both men and women were derived from the production of model boats tagged to market exchange. However, the production activities done by the women lack recognition due to socio-cultural influence that their earnings were minimal compared to men.\textsuperscript{87}

Mukhtha Shet’s study on ‘The impact of fisheries technology on fisherwomen’ contested the Nalini Nayaks study. This study found that even though proportion of females involved in major decision was higher in the non-mechanized households, mechanized households take better decision in the area of purchase of assets and accounts keeping.\textsuperscript{88} Another study in the same region on the same problem by Bhatt and Rao’s do not fully
support the position of Muktha Shet. The study observed that the main source of credit was from the informal sector. Fisher women’s co-operative societies have not lent much to the women. On the decision-making role of women, the study found that even though women take decisions, major decisions such as change of business, large investment and is taken by men. Report on National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector recognized the above position by observing that women are traditionally indispensable members of the fishing community. They are involved in all posts harvesting and pre-harvesting occupation. The basic problem they face is that the perishable nature of fish, cost and poor transport facility and the competition in the fisheries sector.

Beena’s study on Problems of Women workers in the Fish Processing Industry examines the problems faced by women in the processing industry in Kollam, Alleppey and Ernakulum districts of Kerala. She noticed that increased cost and managerial problems of prawn processing forced the units to entrust the peeling operation to small ancillary units. These small units with intention of reducing cost paid low wages to their women workers. Moreover, fisherwomen had to face stiff competition. Because women from other communities joined this sector by breaking caste barriers and social taboo attached to fisheries sector. Saradomoni’s study highlights the socio-economic condition of migrant women workers of Kerala in fish processing industries and in the coastal belt of India especially in Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Goa, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. This study brings out the sufferings of migrant women workers, their lives and struggle for survival in distant unknown places.

Even though women workers make significant contribution for the growth of fisheries they are not rewarded properly. V.D. Nischith’s brings out this problem in the study on ‘Role and Status of Women Employed in Seafood Processing Units in India.’ The study takes note of the special skills possessed by the women of workers. However, the remuneration received by these women was always less than what their male counterparts receive. Moreover, that low wages received at the whims of the contractors. Cecilia Busby’s study on ‘The Performance of Gender An Anthropology of Everyday life in a South Indian Fishing Village’ observed that one of the evident difference between women and men in their relationship to sea. Men do fishing and women do not. Women manage household resources and money. Infact the fishermen lack these skills. They believe that husbands and wives are halves of one
whole and so they are equal. However, that equality is not stable because of constant struggle, co-operation and fighting. Yet the study sees equality, but it is dynamic and imbalanced equality.\textsuperscript{94} L Lambeth and et.al’s study explored the existing policies and supports from the Government and examined women’s role in fisheries management and development in Oceania region. Women were seen in low paid work such as marketing, processing and administrative area of the industry. Cultural taboos have become a major impediment to women to ask for assistance from the Government.\textsuperscript{95}

Similarly, M Banez Sumagaysay’s study on ‘Working Wives in Philippine Coastal Fisheries,’ found that fisherwomen could not bring sufficient cash income. Their income was low and even that low income was not received on stipulated time. Cultural and social factors play a predominant role deciding the fisherwomen’s income in all the societies.\textsuperscript{96} S.B William’s study examined the Gender dimension of fishing in Africa. The study attempts to assess the reason for which rural fisherwomen were pushed to lower end of the sector. They were compelled to struggle in works where productivity and returns were very low. The impact of economic globalization forced some of the women to assist their husbands so as to save the labor cost.\textsuperscript{97} Another study on the same problem observed that women in gender biased sectors always have many kinds of obstacles especially when their marital status is single or widowed. The encouragement of development agency for offshore and deep-sea fishing has resulted in the sidelining of fisherwomen into less paid labor force. The study also highlighted the habit of fishermen of marrying as many wives as possible to save labor cost.\textsuperscript{98}

I. M. Siason and et.al’s ‘Women in Fisheries in Asia’ examines the situation and prospects of women in fisheries in selected countries in the Asian regions such as Mekong Region, Islamic countries, South Asian region, Philippines and Japan. In Mekong region in spite of women’s active participation and involvement in fisheries, their contribution was not recognized and is undocumented. Women do not have access to the benefit of training and information. However, in the more liberal Islamic societies like Malaysia and Indonesia, women generally have more career choices and gender equalities are protected by the state. Marketing of fish is the occupation of many women from the lower socio-economic group of society. In South Asia countries like India and Bangladesh, fish is generally considered a secondary source of food and fishing communities are marginalized group. Even the state policies of fisheries development have not addressed these problems of women. Thus, the
role of women in fisheries becomes invisible and unrecorded in the work participation rate. In Nepal, traditionally rural women are involved in fishing or fish related activities and Government policies encourage women’s involvement in fisheries. In Pakistan, the involvement of women in fisheries is negligible, while in Sri Lanka women’s participation in fresh fish trade is limited. In Japan, young women prefer to work in other industries because of the difficulty in changing gender situation in fishing community.\(^9\)

A study on the ‘Role of Women in Fisheries Sector of Saurashtra Gujarat,’ observed that in the fisher’s communities, poverty was not the main reason for their educational backwardness but their inevitability to earn income at the young age was the reason. Due to illiteracy and other social barriers, they are often exploited and under paid. In fish processing plants, women workers from central and southern Kerala form a significant portion of the skilled and semiskilled workforce. They toil for more than 12 hours in a day for less remuneration.\(^{100}\) Madhumita Mukherjee says the condition of women section of fisher community of Sunderban was not a pleasant one. The illiteracy, lack of awareness of their right and male dominance relegated them to inferior status. Female dry fish workers work under major constraints such as wage manipulation, social and household domination, job discrimination, sexual abuse and exploitation of intermediaries.\(^{101}\)

Arundhuti Roy Chaudhary analyses the relation between gender participation and equity in existing community organizations and institutions initiated by the Government and NGO’s. The study concluded that the community evolved organizations are not egalitarian in nature especially for the women. The fishing villages are in the process of transition and many technological changes. State interventions resulted in the emergence of new power and social relations within the community.\(^{102}\) Another study on ‘The Status of Fisherwomen a Case Study of Women in Mogaveera Fishinghousehold,’ observed that the women in Mogaveera fishing household in Karnataka have a better decision-making environment. But modern technology and large scale fishing have impacted the fish stock and reduced fish harvest.\(^{103}\) Ninawe and Diwan A.D’s study on ‘Women Empowerment in Fisheries,’ found that there has been a remarkable achievement in the fisheries sector resulting in fast growth of mechanized fishing fleet, establishment of ice and fish processing factories and enormous increase in export trade. However, the benefits of these changes have not spread evenly among the fishing community. Especially the fisher women could not utilize the science and
technology developed by the Research and Development institutions due to lack of awareness, gender relations and poverty. More or less the same view is expressed by Gopal. In his study on ‘Women in Fish Marketing Net Works,’ focusing on the involvement of women in marketing of fish in Ernakulum district of Kerala, he found that the majority of the men were using cycles, mopeds and motorcycles and all women were head loaders. Women hawkers are engaged in door-to-door fish vending and earn a small income. Inspite of this hardship the women have positive note on their contribution. Their perception is that their families and society have recognized their economic contribution.

Some corporate documents also argue that benefits of market economy are not evenly distributed between male and female members of the fishing community. FAO Corporate Document Repository produced by Fisheries Department Malaysia observed that the status of women has been adversely affected by the development of market economy. Family needs become more demanding and extending beyond the basic needs. Owing to non-profitability of fish trading, most of the fisher women had given up fish marketing. As a result, their economic status within the sector has been weakened. In a market driven environment fishing workplace has been feminized argues M.D. Islam Saidul. In his study on gender and employment at the bottom of a global commodity, he found that shrimp aquaculture in Bangladesh links the local workplace with world economy. This linking produces several characteristics of a buyer driven Global Community Chain (GCC). The study also observes that the feminization of the work place has marginalized the female workers. They (female workers) receive lower wages and lower social prestige compared to their male counter parts. Alleyamma Vijayan in her study on ‘Women Fish Vendors of South Kerala and their Efforts to Organize,’ brought out the various problems encountered by women vendors right from the procurement of fish in the landing centre till it was sold out. The study highlighted the success of special transportation procured for women fish vendors with their organized efforts.

NGO’s made some efforts to dissolve gender disparity in the workplace. Rahman,S studied a NGO working on women’s participation in aquaculture in Bangladesh. It is the biggest NGO in Bangladesh and it projects human development as its vision. It has promoted the economic empowerment through income generating activities by forming groups that involves both sexes. Efforts of this organization led to the emergence of new power and
social relations within the community. More or less the same argument is put forward by another study in another corner of Asia, that is, in a fishing village in south India. The study on micro-finance after examining some of the success stories of microfinance found that it is very good tool of empowerment of fisherwomen. With their own groups or through NGO’s the fisherwomen could overcome their financial and social constraints. Financial empowerment works to the advantage of female members. It has improved their status not only in workplace but also in the family.

The analysis of the studies already took place focus on the marginalization of women. The benefits of market economy and modernization of fishing is not distributed evenly between male and female members of the fishing community. For this lopsided development, some studies found reasons in the uneven power distribution in cultural, economic and social spheres. Other studies pointed fingers at the development approaches. Most of the development approaches lay emphasis on economic growth. In order to achieve this growth capital-intensive technologies are used. For the distribution of benefits of growth market signals are depended. In the process, weaker segments including women are excluded from the growth stories. As a solution to this problem, some suggested a need based protection of resources through regulation and legislation. They also argued for a strong organized effort to procure legitimate facilities for maintaining the livelihood of fisherwomen. However, there is no guarantee that all these measures would solve the problems of gender disparity practiced in the fishing sector. Modernization has created a number of new job opportunities. But a large of fisherwomen lack necessary skill to take up the new opportunities. What would be the alternative occupation when there is a lack of skill in handling the occupation? Studies focusing of women’s bargain power concentrate on market forces and resultant marginalization of women. However, making the market the sole culprit of women’s marginalization may not reveal the whole story of marginalization. Hence we need to ask what are other factors that contributes to weakening women’s bargaining power?

It is necessary because there a large number of programs to support entrepreneurship among male members. However, there is a doubt that how the development executors support the women entrepreneurs in fisheries? Fishermen have strong community networks. They mobilize on traditional identities. However, utilization of such mobilization does not
confine to social and cultural celebrations. They extend into areas of economic and politics. Local economic and political institutions are captured through these community mobilizations. Hence, it is necessary to know to what extent these organizations represent fisherwomen’s interest. For what reasons development waves have not provided the equal status to women in public space? When women are indispensable members of fisheries sector, why their interests are not adequately represented in the modernization processes? In this study, an attempt is made to answer these questions. The main objective of this study is to understand the gender sensitivity of development. To be specific, the study intends to examine how far the female members of fishing community could digest the programs initiated by the state to promote fisheries. The specific research objectives are - to study the policies and programs of fisheries development, to study the pattern of negotiation of these programs by fisherwomen, to study the factors that exclude fisherwomen from the benefits of the above programs and to suggest alternative policies and measures that would accommodate the interest of fisherwomen.

A study of fisherwomen of coastal Karnataka is undertaken to answer the above research questions. Even though fishing could be found in all parts of Karnataka, but large scale fishing sea fishing could be found only in the coastal Karnataka. Besides, in the last forty years coastal Karnataka has been witnessing large-scale modernization process. A number of mega projects such as Mangalore Fertilizers and Chemicals (MCF), Mangalore Refineries and Petro Chemicals Limited (MRPL), Nagarjuna, New Mangalore Port Trust (NMPT) and Sea Bird Project of Indian Navy have been established. These projects have displaced many families. Displaced families have been pacified by assuring employment in these projects. All these development projects have created some employment, increased growth and enhanced export. Income and standard of living of some segments of the society have been improved. However, we are not sure what percentage of the displaced actually shared the improved income and standard of living. Not only the larger context is changing, even the fishing sector is witnessing intensive modernization and mechanization. These processes might have brought several changes in the role of women who are engaged in post harvesting activity. There is an urgent need to understand gender dimension of these developments. On the surface, the hard working fisherwomen give the picture of equal partners in the benefits of these changes. We do not how far it is true. This doubt arises due
to our exposure to the literature on the experiences of fisherwomen of other places. Besides, fishing communities of coastal Karnataka have close knit family and community life. The gender divide practiced inside the house is extended to workplace too. When the male members concentrate on fish harvesting, the female members concentrate on fish vending. This division of labor based on gender may influence the respective share of male and female members in the modernization. In the next chapter, a detailed picture of coastal Karnataka and fishing communities is given.
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