

*An Appraisal of Post Tsunami Interventions by
Civil Society Organisations
in the Fishery Sector of Nagapattinam*

*NGO Coordination and Resource Centre
Nagapattinam*

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About NGO Coordination and Resource Centre, Nagapattinam

The NGO Coordination and Resource Centre (NCRC) is an institutional mechanism for regular, coordinated and transparent interaction between the Government Departments, NGOs and the communities affected by the Tsunami in Nagapattinam District. NCRC has been functioning since 01 Jan 2005, as the NGO Coordination Centre and was focussed on trying to coordinate the relief efforts as best as possible. During the relief phase the Centre was run by numerous volunteers from all over the country and even from abroad.

In the current rehabilitation phase, NCRC aims to support the different stakeholders by:

- researching and building up a knowledge base around issues and sectors relating to rehabilitation
- providing technical expertise to facilitate the development of sectoral and regional perspectives
- collecting reliable relevant data and making this easily available to all stakeholders
- contributing to appropriate and relevant policy formulations
- Facilitating community participation in the decision making process so that the community perspective is clearly articulated.

The NCRC is now run by a team of competent professionals and it seeks ensure that the needs of the tsunami affected communities are met through a rehabilitation process that is effective and sustainable.

Content

Executive Summary.....	1
Introduction	3
Context and Need of the Study.....	3
Objectives.....	4
Methodology.....	4
Limitations of the Study.....	4
RESULTS AND ANALYSIS	
Resumption of Fishing	5
The force behind CSO Intervention.....	6
The Failure of Government-CSO Partnership in Fishing Asset Replacement.....	6
Role of Traditional Panchayats in Fishing Asset Distribution.....	7
Reflection of CSO Intervention in Power Dynamics in Fishing Hamlets.....	8
Change in Number of Fishing Units.....	9
Net worth of Fishing Assets before and after Tsunami.....	10
Unbalanced Asset Distribution.....	11
Quality of Fishing Units Distributed.....	11
The Emerging Group Ownership Phenomenon.....	12
Labour Issues and Resale.....	12
Asset Creation – A Solution or Deepening Crisis?.....	13
Reduction in Fish Catch.....	13
Reduction in Number of Fishing Trips.....	14
Change in Combination of Fishing Assets in the District.....	15
Pressure on Fishing Ground.....	15
Nurtured Greed Culture.....	16
Transition of Fear Factor into Idleness.....	17
Possible Price Reduction.....	17
Increasing Tension for Space.....	17
THE IGNORED SECTIONS AND AREAS	
The Women Vendors and Fish Vending Occupation.....	17
The Merchants, Commission Agents and Others Affected and their Business... ..	18
Others.....	19
Investment Need and Response from CSOs.....	19
The New Location and its Possible Implications on Occupation.....	20
Observations/Lessons	20
Conclusion.....	21
Appendix	
1. Details of Fishing Units after Tsunami in Study Centres 1(a)-1(d).....	22
2. Village wise Fishing Units before and after Tsunami.....	23
3. Total Net Worth of Fishing Assets after Tsunami.....	24

Executive Summary

This study, based upon a sample of four representative villages, intends to take an account of the post-tsunami interventions of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the fisheries sector of Nagapattinam. Even though the main focus of this study is the issue of distribution of fishing assets, it also tries to understand the post-tsunami fishery situation and the status of different working groups along with the social dynamics in fishing hamlets.

The study identifies that the total number of FRP boats has increased more than twofold, while the number of Kattumarams dwindled into less than half. It also observes a one fifth reduction in mechanised boats the reason being the belief of some owners that replacement of mechanised boats wouldn't be profitable.

Out of the four fishing hamlets studied, the total fishing investment has increased in three hamlets, by an average of one crore, while it has come down in Nambiar Nagar which is mainly due to the conflict between the trawl owners and labourers that led to feelings of insecurity among the owners.

A separate calculation of the net worth of pre and post- tsunami traditional fishing assets shows that there is an additional investment of Rs. 6.728 crores in these four villages.

The unstructured asset distribution process has resulted in many of the FRP units not getting adequate sets of different fishing nets to enable them to venture into the sea through the different seasons.

The available data shows that there is a decrease in the total and per unit catch of the FRP units and the number of trips they used to operate.

A majority of the labourers became co-owners of FRP boats in the post tsunami relief and rehab process with the result the old owners are now finding it difficult to get labourers to do fishing in traditional fishing villages like Tharangambadi and to certain extent, in Arcottuthurai.

Traditional Fishermen Panchayats played an arbitrator's role in distribution of fishing assets, by taking over the custody of the fishing units that were given to the hamlets and redistributing them among the fishermen using their own formula derived from their ethical and traditional values and culture, which sometimes seems quite unjustifiable to an outsider. At times this became a weakening point as far as the age old traditional Panchayat system is concerned with the formation of various groups with conflicting interests.

The distribution of fishing units has become a cardinal point of internal conflicts in many hamlets. The conflicts worked either explicitly wherever the strengths of the opponents are at par or high enough to challenge the existing Panchayat or implicitly wherever they don't have it. In a few hamlets, the Panchayats in existence were overthrown due to this conflict in asset distribution, whereas in some other hamlets a new consensus formula was worked out that incorporated the representatives of opponent groups.

The interest of the post-harvest area was largely ignored in the rush for fishing asset distribution. A large number of women who are involved in fish vending, the merchants and

commission agents and others who depended upon fishing, albeit indirectly, come in this category.

The spirit of Government – CSO partnership which envisaged complementary role in renewal of fishing assets was bypassed from both sides, partly due to pressure tactics the traditional Panchayats played and partly due to the hurry of the CSOs to distribute the boats and finish their projects.

The asset distribution, on the one hand, helped in re-constituting the traditional Panchayats through the incorporation of representatives from common people rather than exclusively from the wealthy and traditional power holders. On the other hand, it has divided the community more than ever before and weakened their powers.

Fear of the sea has translated into idleness a section of the fishermen with the result that they prefer to be on land rather than go fishing.

The increasing number of FRP boats brought for repair being reported from many fishing hamlets on the one hand exposes the low quality of newly given boats, while showing disproportionate power combination between the engines used and the capacity of the boats to absorb the increased vibrations.

The study observes that a closer understanding of the field reality is essential for bridging the gaps in CSO interventions by freeing the initiatives from charity concept and fix them in sustainability and people centeredness.

INTRODUCTION

Fisheries sector has suffered a lot in terms of asset and livelihood loss in the aftermath of tsunami. Nagapattinam was the worst affected district in the Indian mainland with 6582 Kattumarms, 2977 FRP boats and 677 mechanised boats fully or partly damaged. The whole sector was paralysed for the first three months, without anyone venturing into the sea. The income loss has crippled the fishing community making them highly dependent upon relief from the Government and Civil Society Organisations. However, the sector started building itself with the generous help extended by people from all walks of life.

The wide reaching effect of tsunami over South Asia has helped a lot in receiving response from people all over the world. The high visibility of devastation resulted in an enormous amount of aid to the sector. Understanding the importance of the situation, both the District Administration and CSOs played a decisive role in bringing life back in the sector.

Creation of fishing assets, unfortunately, was preconceived as the only strategy of bringing normalcy in the fishery sector. Moreover, welfare of the fishing community was envisaged on the borrowed perspective of the agrarian economy that ensuring welfare of the fisherfolk is possible through converting the labour fishermen into owner fishermen. Captivated by this idea, Civil Society Organisations and other interested groups focussed their interventions on repairing and replacing of fishing units alone, ignoring the complementary sectors. As too many actors were involved in the relief activities, at one point of time there arose a situation with surplus fishing units and new owners in the traditional fishing hamlets.

Context and Need of the Study

Even before the proliferation of FRP boats along the Nagapattinam District, there were discussions in the CSO community about the dangers of indiscriminate distribution of fishing assets through various workshops and meetings. These efforts, despite convincing the District Administration and many CSOs about the dangers of over supply of boats, failed in building a consensus among them. This was mainly due to the *project oriented approach* of the CSOs and their Donors. Lack of an overall vision and approach among most of the players only helped to worsen the situation. The directionless actions of the CSOs reached a point where even the District Administration was forced to ask them not to distribute FRP boats to the fishermen.

Creation of surplus fishing units even in the traditional sector is not a healthy practice to be followed considering the limited fishery resources available along the eastern coast. The distribution of fishing units has become a cardinal point of internal conflicts in many hamlets. At times this too became a weakening point as far as the age old traditional Panchayat system is concerned with various groups formed with conflicting interests. The conflicts worked either explicitly wherever the strengths of the opponents were at par or high enough to challenge the existing Panchayats or implicitly wherever they did not have it. In a few hamlets, the existing Panchayats were overthrown due to this conflict in asset distribution, whereas in some other hamlets a new consensus formula was worked out that incorporated the representatives of opponent groups.

In terms of occupations, the distribution of assets has made visible changes in the total composition of assets, raising issues of ownership and asset management and, impact on fish

stock and targets species, among other things. It also raises some cultural and ethical questions like need and supply, change of attitudes, whose choices etc.

This complex and conflicting situation demanded a study to explore the different issues pertaining to the post-tsunami fisheries sector vis a vis the Civil Society Organizations' interventions.

Objectives

The key objectives of the study are:

- a) To understand the extent of intervention of CSOs in fisheries sector
- b) To explore the impact of the intervention both in fishing occupation and social system of the fishing community
- c) To understand the distribution of benefits among the various sections of the people involved in the fishery
- d) To pick out the lessons from the intervention

Methodology

The study was mainly based on informal discussions and focus group discussions with the various groups like fishermen, traditional Panchayats, women fish vendors, commission agents and merchants, and Civil Society Organisations. A detailed but unstructured questionnaire was used for the discussions.

The study was carried out in four fishing hamlets: Tharangambadi, Nambiar Nagar, Akkarapettai and Arcottuthurai. These villages were selected based on the principle of representation from traditional fishing dominant hamlets, mechanised fishing dominant hamlets and hamlets having strong presence of both traditional and mechanised fishing practices; along with their geographical location.

Limitations of the Study

Since the study was done based upon information collected from four fishing hamlets only, the issues sometimes may not be exposed in real representative terms.

There is an amount of censorship exerted by the traditional Panchayat representatives in providing information, which may affect the judgments of this study.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Resumption of Fishing

It took almost three months for the artisanal sector and seven months for mechanised sector to resume fishing in Nagapattinam District. The three months delay in artisanal sector was mainly due to the delay in getting the boats and engines repaired and getting the new nets. The issue of compensation disbursement also delayed the resumption process. The traditional Panchayats along the District want to ensure that all are getting compensation on time, and without any conditions attached. A number of discussions went on between the traditional Panchayats and the District Administration regarding this. Meanwhile, the District Administration assured that adequate steps would be taken to minimise the grievances in connection with compensation. The District Collector also urged the Panchayats to take initiatives to resume fishing.

Arcottuthurai was the first fishing hamlet that resumed fishing after tsunami. These fishermen belong to the Padayachi (Vanniyar) community and have no traditional interactions with other fishing hamlets in Nagapattinam District. Hence the feelings of solidarity with the Pattinavar hamlets is very weak. Therefore, they waited neither for other fishing hamlets to take a collective decision nor for the District Administration to declare its fishery compensation policy, but wanted to resume fishing as early as possible. When they got the first batch of FRP boats repaired by mid march, they were mentally prepared to resume fishing, and by 21st of March itself they ventured into the sea, while the other fishing hamlets were struggling to prepare themselves. The Arcottuthurai Panchayat also showed special interest in sending the fishermen to sea as early as possible since they thought that earning income is very important in a crisis stage and going to the sea would also reduce tension within the village.

On the other hand Tharangambadi, being a head village¹ waited for the administrative formalities to be finished in order to resume fishing. The village managed to get 20 boats repaired and 15 new boats at the same time that Arcottuthurai fishermen received the boats. However, as the first set of fishing units were ready to go for fishing, Tharangambadi Panchayat issued letters to start fishing to 16 hamlets that come under its jurisdiction – from Chinnurpettai to Kodyampalayam that falls in both Tharangambadi and Sirkali Taluks. This preparatory work took a couple of weeks and the fishing started from 1st April onwards. Both Nambiar Nagar and Akkarapettai fishermen also started venturing into the sea by April first week. In fact, almost all the hamlets had started venturing into the sea with traditional fishing crafts like FRP boats and Kattumarams.

However, the mechanised fishing could resume only by August, since most of the fishermen started repairing their boats only after receiving compensation from the District Administration. The other important reason for them not showing interest in repairing or rebuilding the boats was the fishing ban for these boats for a period of 45 days from April 1

¹ The traditional governance system of the pattinavar community envisages a hierarchical relationship among the fishing hamlets. As per this system, for every sixteen fishing hamlets there will be a head village that will take final decision on inter-village matters. This hierarchy will go in such a way that for thirty two and sixty four fishing hamlets there will be higher level head villages.

– May 15. In effect, these boats were ready for fishing by July but could start fishing only in August.

It is quite interesting to note that even before this official resumption of fishing, many of the Kattumaram units and some of the FRP boats started fishing for subsistence in the month of February itself. However, these units were not allowed to take fish to the market as part of the community's strategy of 'no fishing and no fish consumption' till the Government declared a clear compensation policy.

All the fishing hamlets faced a shortage of fishing implements when they started fishing. In order to cope up with this situation where there were lesser number of FRP boats with large fishermen population, 6-7 fishermen were accommodated in a single unit instead of 4-5 people earlier. This helped in sharing the income into more families, even though the income received by the families came down. This practice was followed till the fishermen got enough number of FRP boat. This practice is still prevailing in Akkarapettai fishing hamlet as a number of boats here are still undergoing some finishing works, and therefore, haven't been able to resume fishing.

The force behind CSO Intervention

The intervention of the CSOs in fishing was mainly influenced by the visibility of damages and highlighted wishes of the local fishing communities. This was also triggered by the donor directives which were framed from media projection and hearsays. The combined result was the preparation of similar projects by a large group of CSOs, which were approved by the donors. The logic of pouring inputs was also framed from the point of charity rather than thinking why this much input supply is required and what positive results it can produce. This furthered the livelihood restoration plan from restoration of the pre-tsunami fishing fleet into enhancing of fishing fleet.

The underlying force behind distribution of fishing assets by CSOs was the principle of equity. They wanted to include all the fishermen within the purview of the benefits by making them co-owners. However, they failed to understand the real foundations on which the fishing occupation rests. Tamil Nadu's fish catch has been stagnating for the last few years despite increases in the number of mechanised and motorised boats (*NCRC Livelihood Rehabilitation note, page 2*), which shows additional inputs are not being translated into increased fish catch. This situation authentically denies any scope in enhancing the fishing fleet by providing more number of fishing crafts.

The Failure of Government-CSO Partnership in Fishing Asset Replacement

The partnership between the Government and CSOs envisaged the renewal of fishing assets jointly. As per this agreement, CSOs and Government were supposed to contribute Rs.75,000/- each for replacing the FRP boats. It was also declared that in case the partially damaged boats were repaired by any CSO, the owners were not eligible to get compensation from the Government. This was based on the principle that one should not receive double benefit for a single loss. However, this consensus was bypassed from both sides, partly due to pressure tactics the traditional Panchayats played and partly due to the rush of the CSOs to distribute the boats and finish their projects. Thus, while the Government has given cash of Rs.75,000/- as grant and 75,000/- as credit for fully damaged FRP boats owners, Rs.32,000 to Kattumaram owners, and compensation to the partly damaged boats, the CSOs

have given them new FRP boats or repaired their boats. Here the only consolation point is that they didn't repeat the same mistake in mechanised sector, due to its high investment requirement. These mechanised boat owners got compensation amount ranging from Rs1-5 lakhs according to the extent of damage. However, many of these mechanised boat owners also got FRP boats from the CSOs. The Government, going back from its original stand of no compensation to the already compensated boat owners, later agreed to give compensation since the traditional Panchayats put excessive pressure on it. Thus the failure in complying with the partnership agreement and diversion from the principle of no double benefit for a single loss has led into escalation in the number of FRP units along the Nagapattinam Coast. The other part is that the additional benefit is being taken away from the owners and distributed among the other community members, who were mainly labour fishermen.

Role of Traditional Panchayats in Fishing Asset Distribution

The prevailing custom in fishing villages prevents the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) from directly supplying fishing equipments to the beneficiaries. Anybody who is interested to give assistance to the fishermen has to approach and hand it over to the Panchayat. It is the Panchayat who decides to whom that assistance shall go. Complying with the custom, almost all the CSOs handed over the assets to the Panchayats which in turn redistributed them to the fishermen. The interesting thing is the Panchayats who took over the control of asset distribution made this opportunity to share the benefit among all the fishermen. A new list of beneficiaries comprising all the fishermen in the hamlets was prepared, not giving enough weight to the issue of damage or ownership.

The rule of the Panchayats was that the existing owners were entitled to get the boats repaired if their boats were partly damaged or new boats if their boats were fully damaged. For getting this done, they had to surrender the compensation amount they received from Government to the Panchayat. The Panchayats tried their best to get hold of the maximum number of new boats for the hamlets. After compensating the real loss, the surplus boats were distributed among the crew on the basis of group ownership. Accordingly, a group of four or five crew received an FRP boat. The owners of Kattumaram were also treated at par with the labourers and to a group of four Kattumaram owners one FRP boat is given (*besides their compensation amount*). In Tharangambadi, those who didn't get boats were given Rs.15, 000/- each as compensation from the common fund of the Panchayat. The formula for sharing this amount was that a boat costs Rs.75, 000/- Therefore if a boat is given to a group of five members, the share of each one come to Rs.15, 000/-. Even the trawler owners also received FRP boats besides their compensation amount.

In an attempt to deal directly with the fishermen, an organisation called AVEX supplied nets among the fishermen saying that the amount of the net would be considered as loan and the fishermen have to remit the amount back. However, after receiving the nets the fishermen refused to pay back the loan amount and finally the organisation had to approach the Panchayat for settling the issue. The Panchayat could derive a solution with great effort, by talking to the fishermen. This shows the decisive power of the Panchayats over the fishing hamlets.

Reflection of CSO Intervention in Power Dynamics in Fishing Hamlets

The power structure that exists in fishing hamlets undoubtedly indicates the key role of the traditional Panchayats in the entire crucial decision making matters. Tsunami was a testing case for these Panchayats to prove their power over their people. On the other hand, it also showed the real strength of people over their Panchayats with their power to call back their representatives. The day after the tsunami, the people of Tharangambadi asked the Panchayat to step down for a new Panchayat that would incorporate more eligible persons. Accordingly, a new Panchayat comprising six members from each four wards of Tharangambadi came into power. In Arcottuthurai, the hamlet was already split into two four years ago, and two Panchayats rule the two portions of the hamlet. After tsunami, even though both the Panchayat heads tried to come together and work together, that didn't work due to political reasons. Both Panchayats are trying their best to get hold of the benefits and are blaming CSOs for not giving benefits in their area, while pouring it into the other area.

In Akkarapettai and Nambiar Nagar, the CSO intervention has made a profound influence in the traditional power structure. Along with the Government compensation, the distribution of FRP boats by the CSOs in fact made the crew members revolt against their owners and traditional Panchayats. Listening to the stories of the FRP distribution in other fishing hamlets, these crew members believed that Panchayat represented by the owners has conspired against the crew members by preventing the CSOs from distributing boats to all the crew members. They are of the view that the owners were receiving compensation for their age old assets that enabled them to make new assets, but the crew who were working for many years in these boats is not getting anything out of it. More over, these owners are now standing against their crew in preventing FRP boats distribution, thinking they wouldn't get enough crew to run their boats, if all the crew members receive boats. According to them this double cheating was quite unjustifiable, and believing such people in future would be foolish.

This thinking made them to come together and form their own labour unions to fight for what they believed were their rights. Their power of bargaining with the Panchayats was so strong that the Panchayats were forced to underplay their power in front of the demands of the crew members in order to avoid splitting in the hamlets. A compromise formula was worked out in these two hamlets, which dissolved the old Panchayats and laid foundations for new Panchayats comprising equal representation from two conflicting groups.

To pacify the anger of the labourers, the new Akkarapettai Panchayat also purchased 10 new FRP boats from Poiganallur² and distributed among the labour fishermen. Even though, the labour union constituted in Akkarapettai has dissolved as per the request of the new Panchayat, the Nambiar Nagar workers union stood firm and refused to be dissolved. They have registered their labour union with the help of the Construction Workers Union (CWBC) and opened an office in the village. These workers are of the opinion that unless the

² These boats were originally from Akkarapettai itself, but taken away by Ramakrishna Mission according to exchange system (new boats instead of old boats) and given to the Poiganallur people, who were in fact, not active fishermen. As these people never used to fish with FRP boats, they tried to sell them and Akkarapettai fishermen could purchase these boats for nominal price. This also shows that all the old boats taken away under exchange scheme have again gone to the fishing hamlets, increasing the total fleet number.

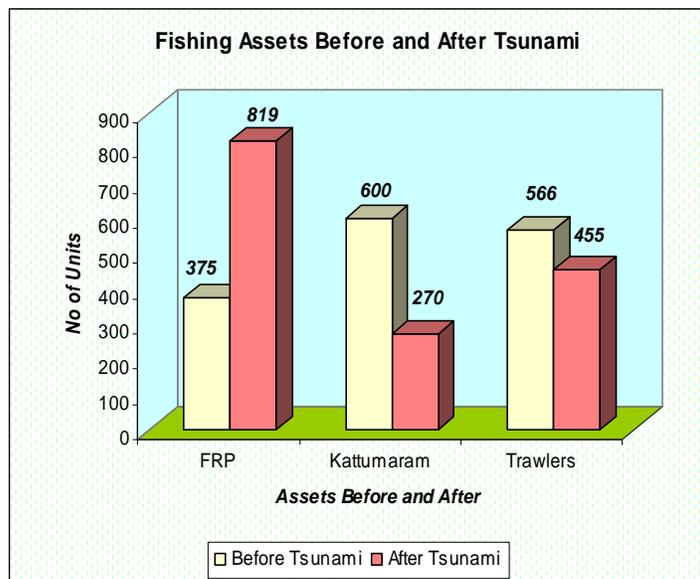
owners share a portion of the benefits they get as compensation with their crew, they wouldn't go for fishing in their boats. They also contacted some NGOs and got some boats for the labour fishermen in the village.

In short, while the asset distribution on the one hand has helped in re-constituting the traditional Panchayats through the incorporation of representatives from common people rather than exclusively from the wealthy and traditional power holders, on the other hand, it has divided the community more than ever before.

Change in Number of Fishing Units

While looking at the present fishing fleet in the studied fishing hamlets, there is an overall increase in FRP boats due to the indiscriminate boat distribution by the CSOs. There were only 375 FRP boats in all these villages before tsunami. It increased to 819, which is 2.18 times greater than the old number.³ The capacity of these boats was also increased due to the

supply of more powerful engines. The fishermen are now using 10 HP engines instead of 6-7 HP engines in their FRP units, which will help them to venture further into the sea and cover more fishing areas. However, there is a decrease in the number of Kattumarams from 600 to 270 which shows 55% decline. Two reasons contribute to this phenomenon. First, there were not enough trees available to fulfill the need of this large Kattumaram requirement. The second, but important reason is the fishermen's disinterest in owning a Kattumaram. Given the chance of opting between Kattumaram and FRP, they opted for FRP boats. The number of mechanised boats also came down by 20% as these owners were given a chance either to reinvest in mechanised boats or switch to some other business. Some owner, who lost their mechanised boats, didn't show interest in renewing the assets as trawler industry is a slowly dying industry. However, the main reason for this decrease in trawler fleet is the intense conflict between the Nambiar Nagar trawler owners and workers.



Source Data Collected from Study Centres

Some owner, who lost their mechanised boats, didn't show interest in renewing the assets as trawler industry is a slowly dying industry. However, the main reason for this decrease in trawler fleet is the intense conflict between the Nambiar Nagar trawler owners and workers.

³ See appendix 1 (a) – 1(d) for village wise fishing units after tsunami and the CSOs who distributed them. The village-wise pre and post tsunami fishing units are given in appendix 2

Net worth of Fishing Assets before and after Tsunami⁴

The overall net worth of fishing assets in the study centre calculated for before and after tsunami periods show that there is a slight decrease in post tsunami net worth of fishing assets when compared to the pre-tsunami period. The total net worth of the fishing assets, which was Rs.64 crores before tsunami has come down to 62.65 crores after tsunami (*see tables 1&2*)⁵. This is mainly because of the decrease in the mechanised fishing fleet. As the investment in mechanised boats is very high compared to the artisanal fishing units, a slight depletion in them is enough to show a reduced investment.

Table 1
Total Worth of Fishing Assets in Study Centres before Tsunami

Type of Assets	No of Units	Original Unit Value	Life Span of Assets (years)	Ave life expired (years)	Unit Value after Depreciation	Total Worth of Assets
FRP	375	150000	5	2	90000	33750000
Kattumaram	600	32000	15	5	21000	12600000
Trawlers	566	1500000	10	3	1050000	594300000
Total						640650000

Source: Data Collected from Study Centres

Table 2
Total Worth of Fishing Assets in Study Centres after Tsunami

Type of Assets	No of Units	No of Units Undamaged/ Repaired	Unit Value for Undamaged /Repaired	Total (1)	New Units Given	Unit Value for New Assets	Total (2)	Grant Total (1+2)
FRP	819	250	90000	22500000	569	150000	85350000	107850000
Kattumaram	270	260	21000	5460000	10	32000	320000	5780000
Trawlers	455	377	1050000	395850000	79	1500000	117000000	512850000
Total								626480000

Source: Data Collected from Study Centres

The hamlet-wise calculation of net worth gives a more accurate picture of this episode (*see appendix 3*). It shows an average increase of 1.5 crores each in Arcottuthurai and Akkarapettai and 60 lakhs in Tharangambadi. However, the net worth of fishing implements in Nambiar Nagar shows that there is a reduction of 5.15 crores, which is completely an isolated

⁴ In order to calculate the net worth of the fishing assets before tsunami, the average life span of each category of asset and its approximate expired life time was taken into consideration Annual depreciation of these assets was measured by dividing the original value of the asset with its life span. Total depreciation of the unit was calculated by multiplying the annual depreciation with the average life expired. This gave the new unit value of asset. This unit value (after deducting depreciation) was multiplied with the respective number of units to get the total worth of asset in each category.

In the calculation of the value of asset after tsunami, the same depreciation procedure was followed for the undamaged and repaired asset, while original value was given to the newly supplied assets.

⁵ The village-wise pre and post tsunami net worth of fishing assets calculated are given in appendix 3 – 3d.

phenomenon. Further enquiry shows that this reduction in total net worth of the fishing assets has a peculiar relationship with the labour-owner conflict in the hamlet. Due to the strong labour revolt against the owners, the owners in Nambiar Nagar found it better to avoid investing in trawlers and that resulted in depletion of trawl fleet from 80 to 23.

A separate calculation of the net worth of pre and post- tsunami traditional fishing assets makes this point clearer. The calculation shows that the net worth of traditional fishing assets has escalated from Rs.4.635 crores to Rs.11.363 crores, which means there is an additional investment of Rs. 6.728 crores in just these four villages. In fact, more than 97% of the support of CSOs were in the traditional sector (except a steel mechanised boat given by RDT to Arcottuthurai people), which is reflected in the inflated net worth in these two fishing hamlets.

Unbalanced Asset Distribution

The distribution of assets reflect high imbalance. CSOs that are competing with each other to distribute FRP boats are however not very much interested in giving the essential nets. Fishermen need a variety of nets to be prepared for all seasons. They use Mathi Valai (sardine net), Kavala Valai (another type of sardine net), Vala Valai (mackerel net), Kanni Valai (pomfret net), Pachu Valai (stingray net), Thadicha Valai (seer fish net), Salanka Valai (shrimp net) etc. according to the season. Most of the fishermen received an average of two nets only which is quite inadequate to operate in all seasons. Here, CSOs appeared to have consciously avoided the of the request of fishermen to give Thadicha Valai and Kanni Valai since the costs of these nets comes around Rs.75,000/- and Rs.30,000/- respectively. These nets are essential for catching valuable fish species like seer fish and pomfrets.

This gap in distribution of essential nets has resulted in a situation where a large number of boats are waiting idle on the shore since they don't have suitable nets. One reason for this serious gap may be that investment in nets is not visible as it is in boats. CSOs can't paint their name on the net like they painted it on the boat. Beside a shortage of nets, a few fishermen who received boats didn't get engines. These units are also waiting for the engines to come. This has also delayed the fishing operations from being resumed. Initiatives⁶ like loan given by SIFFS for its member fishermen and distribution of nets as loan by AVEX are helping them to buy nets on their own. However, putting these interventions in a wider demand context shows that these are quite inadequate to address the larger issue. Many fishermen are now trying to borrow money in order to purchase required nets, after waiting for a long time for relief from the CSOs.

Quality of Fishing Units Distributed

In order to cater to the demands put forth by the CSOs, a number of boatyards had opened their branches throughout the district and manufactured FRP boats. Most of these boatyards were not particular about the quality of the materials used, or the construction process itself. Often the inability of CSOs to assess the quality of boats also helped these manufacturers to continue this misappropriation. The fishermen who could easily assess the quality of boats

⁶ SIFFS has given Rs.25,000/- each for 25 member fishermen in Arcottuthurai to purchase nets and other equipment, while AVEX has given nets to 15 fishermen groups as loan. Both these are out of the regular fishing unit distribution scheme and hence mentioned separately.

were not given a chance to ensure the quality of FRP boats. All these contributed in many fishermen receiving poor quality boats. As a result, increased repair requests are being reported from almost all fishing hamlets.

The other reason that contributes to the increasing repair need of FRP boats is the use of engines having higher horse power (HP). The use of 10 HP engines instead of 6 -7 HP engines produces greater vibrations that demand stronger boats than the ones used earlier. As the boats were designed for the earlier engine capacity, these are more vulnerable to damage requiring frequent repairs.

The Emerging Group Ownership Phenomenon

Distributing FRP boats to the crew has resulted into group ownership where four or five erstwhile labourers jointly became owners. Group ownership in fishery assets that need smaller amount of investment is not a realistic set up and not practiced commonly. It was experimented in some of the Government Schemes like IRDP loans for purchasing new fishing assets which failed. The causes of failure of group ownership in small scale fishery are absence of individual responsibility, lack of collective entrepreneurial skills, lack of interest in setting up of security capital for maintenance and renewal of asset, inability or unwillingness to invest further by the members and disparity in interest shown by all the group members. One or a combination of all these causes is enough to set the ground for the failure of the group ownership system. In fact, disagreements have already started surfacing with cases being reported from the villages.

To discourage the possible split up within a group, Panchayats have gone into a written agreement with each of the group. This says that if any group member moves out of the group, he would not get any compensation. The agreement also indirectly entrusts the ownership of the asset with the traditional Panchayat saying that the group is not eligible to sell the boat. The moment any group is dissolved, the boat will go into the custody of the Panchayat. The boats will then be resold and the money will go to the Panchayat treasury. Nobody knows how much money is going flow into the Panchayat treasury from these disputes and what might be the consequence if Panchayats get fascinated with this idea of reselling and accumulating money out of such sales.

In a way, the clause of no compensation to the outgoing member will scale up tension within the group since they have no freedom to separate. This may lead to the fishing unit not going for fishing. Another danger of this clause is the possibility of one or two members by taking on a dominant role can even send others out of the group without paying any compensation. This kind of conflicts will go on, testing the traditional Panchayat for the coming months. The greater danger is likelihood that the dissatisfaction of the retrenched members will affect the cordial neighbourhood relationships they have now, which certainly is not easy to restore.

Labour Issues and Resale

Indiscriminate distribution of FRP boats has made majority of the former labourers, co-owners of FRP boats. The old owners are now finding it difficult to get labourers to do fishing in traditional fishing villages like Tharangambadi and to certain extent, in Arcottuthurai. In Tharangambadi, even before the tsunami there was shortage of labour. The situation is now aggravated by the oversupply. This might lead to a situation where a number

of boats will remain on the shore without going for fishing in all the seasons. The owners of these boats will be gradually forced to sell out their boats. The high demand for labourers shall also tempt some of the fishermen to sell out their ownership and work as labourers. It is not quite clear that who will remain in ownership after one or two years, as the situation looks uncertain. It is possible that those who have enough family members to operate the units, and those who have the managerial skills in operating the boats may be able to remain in ownership.

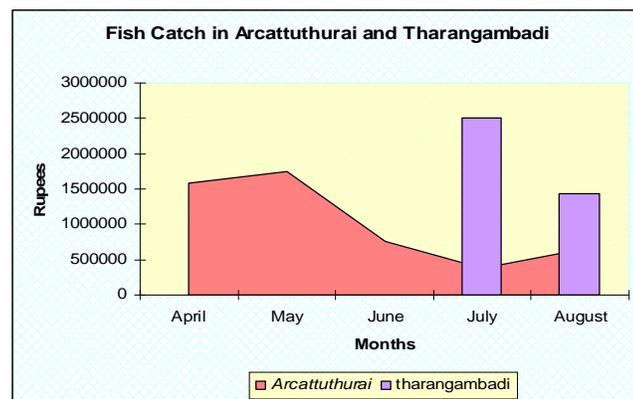
However, the situation in Nambiar Nagar is entirely different. Here since the number of mechanised boats has come down sharply compared with any other surveyed fishing hamlets, there is still an excess of labour force which is beyond the normal absorption capacity of the FRP sector. These labourers can be found complaining against the old Panchayat committee and mechanised boat owners for not welcoming CSOs saying that was the reason for not getting boats for all the labourers. Akkarapettai also faces the same situation, though on a smaller scale, and that too, temporarily. However, they appear to be coping with the situation far better than the Nambiar Nagar fishermen, since they have a comparatively larger fleet.

Asset Creation – A Solution or Deepening Crisis?

In the post tsunami rehab process, will the common belief that creation of assets is the only way of ensuring the welfare of fishing community be challenged? A close look into different aspects of the issue gives us some evidence to say “yes” to this question. The change in the combination of different types of fishing assets in the post tsunami scenario gives a skewed picture where more than 95% of the distribution has been in the area of the FRP sector only. This creates an unbalanced asset possession. Moreover, the fish production in this region has been showing a declining trend, which means that distribution of surplus assets is not likely to ensure a steady fish catch and income. Thirdly, dwindling fish catch is reflected in reduction in the average number of fishing trips and the greater time periods that these assets are bound to stay idle on the shore. Shortage of labour force to make the assets fully operational is another important aspect. The following is a detailed discussion on some these points.

Reduction in Fish Catch

The catch data collected from Arcottuthurai society over a five month period and over a period of two months collected from Tharangambadi⁷ society shows that after the initial period of two months there is a steep decline in fish catch (see the chart). The reason for the increased fish catch in April and May is the long three months fishing holiday observed all over the district. This gave a chance for the reproduction of the fish stock, and does not mean that the productivity



Source: SIFFS society Records

⁷ in Tharangambadi, catch data for the months of July and August is only available as the society restarted its functioning by the end of June. The catch data and fishing trips data was available only in Tharangambadi and Arcottuthurai fishing hamlets.

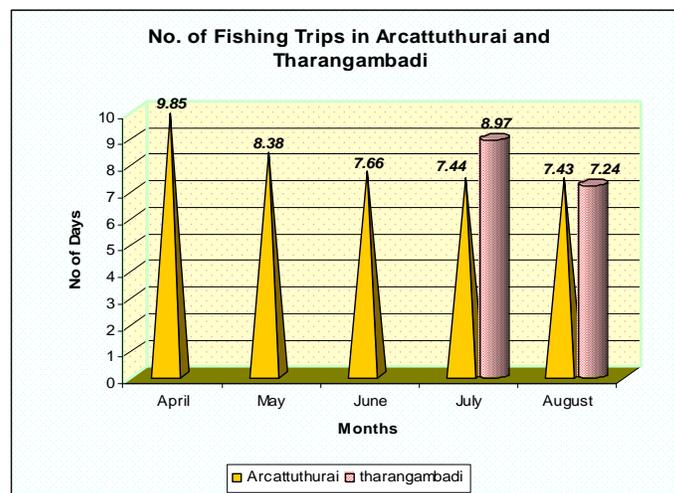
of the sea is not at all adversely affected by tsunami. The steep fall in fish catch during the following months also justifies this observation. During this period, the fall in fish production was around 60-70% than that of the previous two months.

The average monthly fish catch per unit will more precisely make clear this point. The average monthly fish catch per FRP unit in Arcottuthurai that was Rs.19, 863/- in the month of April slightly increased to Rs.21,895/- in May, but drastically fell down to Rs.9,415/- in June. It showed a further decline with a catch figure of Rs.4, 695/- in July and then slightly increased to Rs.8, 025/- in August. Tharangambadi, which shows a healthier fish catch than Arcottuthurai also shows a declining trend. It recorded a decline from Rs.22, 781/- in July to Rs.13, 000/- in August. Even though, there is no catch data available from Akkarapettai and Nambiar Nagar, the opinion of the fishermen goes exactly in line with the data collected from other centres. The expression of a group of fishermen in Tharangambadi that *“there is no fish in the sea, what NGOs gave is resting on the shore”* was in fact, spelt in another way from other hamlets also, which clearly indicate the dismal situation in fishing hamlets.

This is a report during the peak season time⁸. If this is the situation during the peak season, it is but natural for the fishing community’s heightened concerns about the catch in other seasons.

Reduction in Number of Fishing Trips

There is an overall reduction in the average monthly per unit fishing trips. More than 50% of the fishing units are just waiting idle on the beach mainly because of low fish catch, non-availability of important fishing nets, fear of rough season etc. Till tsunami the FRP units used to operate 15-25 fishing trips per month. Now fishermen don’t venture into the sea even for 10 days in a month due to the unviable fishing operations. Another reason for the declining fishing trip is the non-availability of required fishing nets. When asked why they do not do fishing as earlier, the fishermen in Akkarapetai said – *“Even if we venture into the sea, we can’t earn for the bread of our family after meeting the rocketing operating costs. The nets NGOs given are not supporting us all the time.”* The past five months shows a decline in fishing operations from an average of 10 trips per month to 7.5 per month (see the chart).



Source: SIFFS society Records

The past five months shows a decline in fishing operations from an average of 10 trips per month to 7.5 per month (see the chart).

⁸ The peak fishing season in Nagapattinam starts in April and lasts till July end. This is followed by the normal season during August and September. Soon after this, north east monsoon period starts which will normally be the poor season (October-January). In the rest two months (February – March) also there will be normal catch.

While majority of the fishermen in traditional sector tried to reduce the actual number of fishing trips by not venturing into the sea, majority of the mechanised units shifted from single day fishing to multi-day fishing and stay-fishing to cope up with the dwindling catch phenomenon⁹. A number of FRP units also have increasingly shifting to multi-day fishing. Constantly increasing fuel diesel price also forces them to opt for this strategy.

Change in Combination of Fishing Assets in the District

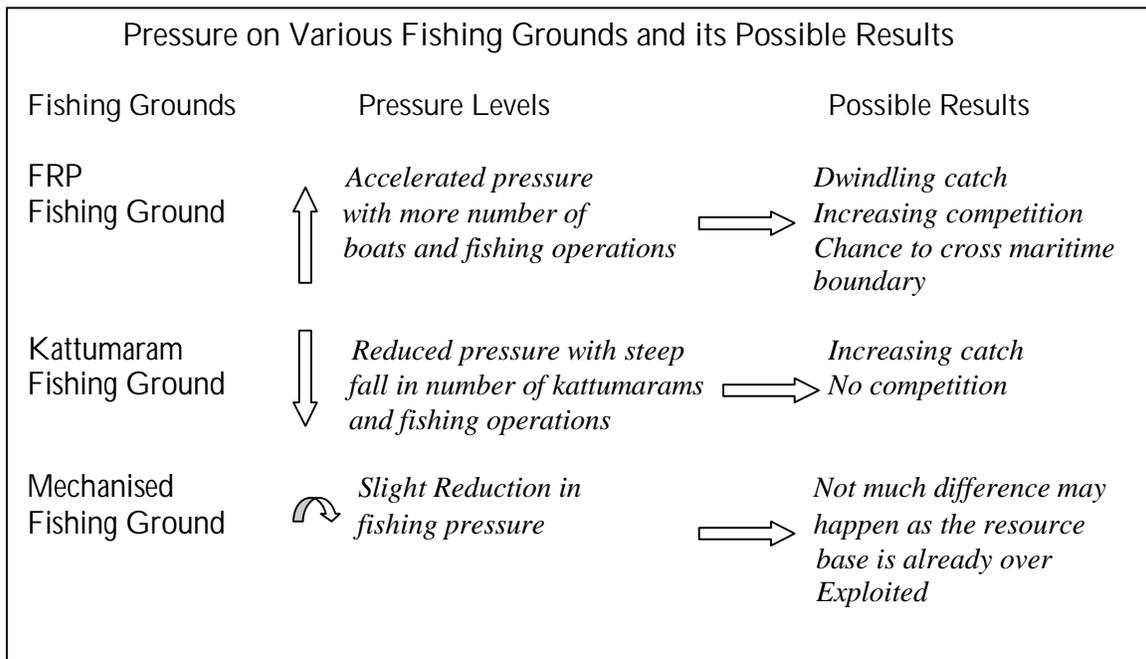
A combination of fishing implements comprising equally of motorised and non-motorised Kattumarams, and motorised FRP boats, was the normal scenario in almost all the fishing hamlets along the Nagapattinam coast before tsunami. Along with this, there were a number of mechanised Boats in some hamlets. The Kattumarams and FRP boats used to operate in different fishing grounds and often for different fish varieties and thus played complementary role. However, as most of the Kattumarams were replaced with FRP boats, the earlier scenario witnessed rapid changes. Today there are only a few Kattumarams here and there in the hamlets and the rest of the fishery is highly dominated by the FRP boats.

Motorised FRP boats that require high operating cost compared to the Kattumarams are not suitable during the off season. An average amount of Rs.300/- for gillnet operations and Rs.750/- for hook and line operations are needed, which means only a catch level that is greater than Rs. 300/- and Rs. 750/- respectively is beneficial to the fishermen. Otherwise, the fishing operations would end in loss which is often the case in off season in FRP sector. Fishermen usually depend more on Kattumarams than FRP boats in off-seasons due to the cost – benefit factor. Replacing majority of the Kattumarams with FRP boats in fact has collapsed this simple switching over between these two types of fishing units. Now the fishermen have to fight for the same fishing area for the same fish species, that too in all the seasons.

Pressure on Fishing Ground

The unbalanced asset distribution will retune the existing pressure exerted on various fishing grounds. There was a more or less clear fishing domain for each type of fishing unit before tsunami, which in a way distributed the fishing pressure over various regions. As the number of FRP boats has increased, there will certainly be a pressure upon the area where FRP operations are going on. On the other hand, there is a chance for a fall in the fishing pressure in Kattumaram operation area.

⁹ The mechanized boats in Nagapattinam have followed three different fishing strategies – 12 hour single day fishing (20-25 operations in a month), 16 hour single day fishing (20-25 operations in a month), 30 hour multi-day fishing (10-12 operations in a month) and 48-60 hour stay fishing (6 operations in a month).



The heavy pressure on a particular region will lead to dwindling fish catch per unit and nurture unhealthy competition among the FRP fishermen. On the other hand, this may tempt the FRP boats to increasingly join hands with mechanised boats and enter the Sri Lankan waters. This will ultimately increase the existing conflict between the Indian fishermen and Sri Lankan fishermen.

Nurtured Greed Culture

The fishermen along the Indian coasts were very particular about their self-dependency. Nagapattinam fishermen community was not an exception to this peculiar culture. They never used to look to others for help. Traditionally they were not even meticulous about accumulating wealth. Unfortunately, this unique tradition was totally uprooted with the unscrupulous pouring of aid in the form of fishing assets. Now fishermen can be seen waiting endlessly for further CSO assistance in the form of more FRP boats. It seems that they can be satisfied only if all the fishermen get one FRP boat each¹⁰, even though they know about its consequences. The common perception of the community is reflected in the comment of a group of fishermen in Arcottuthurai - *"How can you say that we should not receive whatever we get? The NGOs are receiving crores and crores from the donors and let them give more FRP boats to us."* The same attitude comes out at various points in all the villages. Nambiar Nagar fishermen feel they were far behind in boat hunting that they want to mobilise more boats from CSOs. The fact is that it not the need that drives the fishermen now, but sheer greed to utilise the opportunity to get hold of maximum benefit. How long this artificially nurtured greed culture can prevail in the fishing community is the worrying question at this juncture.

¹⁰ Even then it seems very difficult to satisfy them. For e.g. the fishermen in Nambiar Nagar are now expecting financial assistance from Government during the coming monsoon season as they think that they can't go for fishing at this time.

Transition of Fear Factor into Idleness

Fear of the sea is still there in the fishermen's psyche. Fishermen are so scared about the rough weather that they try to avoid going into the sea, even when conditions are similar to what they were used to earlier. The fishermen observe a notable change in ocean weather. The wind has become more furious after tsunami that makes the sea rougher than it used to be. A small number of fishermen have not yet resumed fishing. The point to be noted here is that this fear of the sea has gradually been transited into idleness. Many fishermen simply like to be on the land rather than going for fishing. To defend their idleness sometimes they are trying to find out extraneous reasons. The extended relief assistance and the compensation they got in the form of cash also has helped them to cling on to this idleness. Hopeless fishing season, unavailability of suitable nets, unreal expectations etc. also have contributed to this idleness.

Possible Price Reduction

As the number of FRPs goes up there is chance of concentration on the same variety of fishes. In this context, even if the fish production goes up, there is every chance for the price going down as the same fish will be landed everywhere. The marketing linkage is not strong enough and there is not enough facility in the post harvest area of processing and marketing. This in turn will be reflected in their real incomes.

Increasing Tension for Space

The increased number of FRP boats will reflect in the increasing tension for fishing space and landing space. The increased concentration of FRP boats in a specified fishing ground may cause fights among fishermen for space to cast their nets in sea. Their nets may more frequently fall into each other causing damage. They also require enough space on the beach to land the craft, repair the nets and keep other equipment. Many fishermen have been heard complaining that their boats are hitting each other while landing, which shows per unit space they had earlier has come down and they have no other way but to adjust with the situation.

THE IGNORED SECTIONS AND AREAS

While on the one hand, the CSOs were competing with each other to supply boats; they were silent towards the needs of the other sections of people who are working in the fisheries sector. The prayers of the women fish vendors, fish merchants, ice plant owners etc. were largely ignored. The traditional Panchayat, who were only concerned about the male fishermen, also remain aloof towards the issue of these sections. In short, the entire post-harvest area has been in the dark during the relief and rehabilitation phase.

The Women Vendors and Fish Vending Occupation

Compared to the heavy losses incurred by fishermen, the loss of the fish vendor women was much less. This does not mean this area needs lesser attention. A sizable number of fish vendor women are either widows or from the poorest families within the fishing community. A majority of these women lost their aluminium baskets, scales and knives used to cut fish, while some others lost the fish they procured and the thatched shed they used to store the fish. Though their losses seem to be insignificant to an outsider, they are important since they are their means of livelihood. These women resumed their occupation along with the resumption of fishing. However, as they didn't get anything from anybody, they were forced to buy these tools of trade that they had lost in the tsunami. Most of these women borrowed

money from private financiers, chit funds and moneylenders for buying these assets and for working capital. They are paying 5% interest per month for the amount borrowed. A portion of the women are able to get fish for one day credit. The average loss of a women fish vendor comes around Rs.1, 500/-¹¹, which means that the cost of one FRP could assisted a hundred women. It is only after they bought these equipment, SNEHA, Helpage India, Don Bosco and another group came forward in the month of July and distributed aluminium baskets, rain coats, scales, knives and Tiffin boxes, limited to a section of 160 women only. Since these were not given to all the affected women fish vendors, first they refused to accept this aid. However, they changed their mind later thinking that at least a group of them would benefit, and so it was better to accept at least what was given.

The reduction in fishing trips and poor season has also negatively affected the fish vending occupation. The number of working days for these fish vendor women has drastically decreased from an average of 20 days to 8 days in a month. The income from vending also has gone down accordingly from an average of Rs.1, 000/- to Rs.400/- that is now affecting their life standards. However, new entry in fish vending is high since the newly widowed women and others find it one of the suitable occupations to run their families. As the season is not good, money lenders are reluctant to give credit to these women, giving only to those women in whom they have the confidence of repaying the money. So others are forced to pledge their jewellery to get credit.

There is enough room for meaningful interventions in the fish vending segment. Quality improvement, better processing, better marketing etc. are the areas where the CSOs can do a lot. Even though the women fish vendors are asking for equipment like *insulated fibreglass fish display trays* and *fish storage boxes* that will improve their marketing capacity and ensure better prices at the same time, no one is willing to give these equipments. In short, the genuine issues of fish vendor women are not being given due consideration either by the government, or by the NGOs or Panchayats. The fact that any effort to increase value addition and marketability of fish through encouraging the vendor women to adopt innovative methods will result in an increased fish price the fishermen get is not being realized.

The Merchants, Commission Agents and Others Affected and their Business

The merchants and commission agents, who used to procure around 60-70% of the total fish landings, were another major group who suffered a lot financially. The big merchants lost their ice crushing machines, crates, Yamaha generators, shed and fish stock, while the smaller merchants lost their crates and fish stock. The money these merchants and commission agents had given as advance to the fishermen for getting their fish also remained unproductive throughout the natural fishing holiday season. Thus their money was locked for an average of three to five months with the traditional fishing units and seven to nine months with the mechanised fishing units. Some amount is also stuck with other wholesale merchants, who are not in a position to give back the money as their regular transactions were affected for a long period. The real income loss of these merchants comes in a range of

¹¹ There is around 700 fish vendor women altogether in the study centre. The total loss happened to these women comes around Rs.1, 050,000/- (Rs.1, 500/- * 700 women fish vendors).

50,000 – 500,000 rupees¹². Most of these people are from within the hamlets or from the neighbouring hamlets. None of these losses were taken into consideration either by the Government or by the CSOs.

As these merchants had been practicing the occupation for a long time, it was very difficult for them to find another suitable occupation. Naturally, they also started the business along with the resumption of fishing. As these merchants lost everything they had and not being compensated, they were forced to depend upon moneylenders for 60% annual interest. The other major source of their borrowing is the people who got Government compensation for the death of their family members. Normally, the rate of interest of these borrowings is 24-36% percent per annum, which is comparatively lower than the moneylenders. The important point here is the merchants those who have done business in large scale even by procuring fish from neighbouring hamlets are not doing it now at that earlier level. This means their capacity of doing the business has come down after tsunami. There are a few new entrants into this business. These are mainly from the group of people who received death compensation. However, they lack the professional skills and hence are not able to perform well in the business.

Others

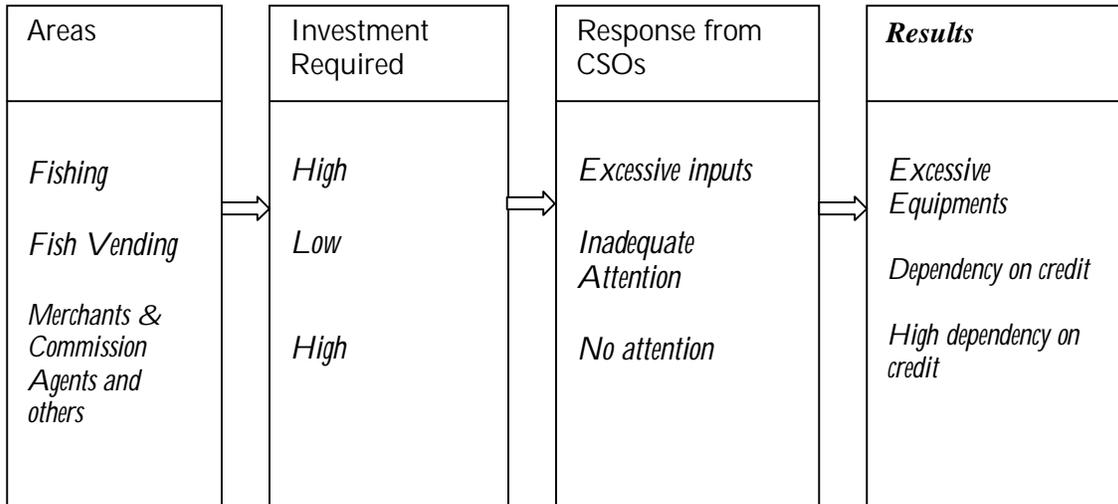
There are other people who had invested in fishery and suffered financial loss. These include the ice plant owners, owners of fishing equipment selling units and others who have not been compensated for what they lost in tsunami. These people also have borrowed from money lenders and from people who got compensation to resume their business. Some of them have left their occupation as they were already in financial crisis and tsunami took out their withstanding capacity.

Investment Need and Response from CSOs

The amount of investment needed by each category of tsunami victims and the insufficient attention given to their grievances shows the high mismatch in the intervention. While the issue of fishing input in traditional fishery got overwhelming attention leading to excess assets, the post-harvest area was ignored to a large extent (*see the figure below*). Along with the visibility of damages and the media attention they got, this can be attributed to the knowledge gap in the area of fishery rehabilitation.

¹² There are around 15 big merchants, 20 small merchants and 50 commission agents in the study centre. The big merchants lost an average of Rs 5 lakh while the small merchants lost an average of Rs.50,000/-. The commission agents are also supposed to have lost around Rs. 50,000/- each. Thus the total loss of this category comes around Rs. 11,000,000/-.

Requirement of Investment, CSO Response and the Results



The New Location and its Possible Implications on Occupation

A sizable portion of the fishermen from Tharangambadi, Nambiar Nagar, Arcottuthurai and Akkarapettai are going to be shifted into new places which at a distance of 750 meters to 1.5 kilometres from their original habitations. The people feel that it would certainly have a negative impact on their livelihood in terms of increased efforts and time to venture into sea, increased detachment towards the sea and fishing occupation and gradual alienation of the coming generations from the traditional fishing occupation.¹³ It is highly important that the fishermen should be in the sea at a particular time if they have to get catch. Only if they are on the sea shore, they can decide whether it would be useful to go for fishing on a particular day by observing the wind and current directions. Besides, they have to repair their nets and keep their boats safe in all the day. The fishermen cannot just go and come frequently to the beach if they are relocated into a place which is at an average of one kilometre distance from the shore. All these may affect their occupation adversely.

The women fish vendors also feel that their misery will increase after their relocation as they have to labour more than what they had to in their original habitation.

Observations/Lessons

- Ø Asset distribution strategy was not derived out of any proper planning, and this to a certain extent, defeated the good intentions of CSOs
- Ø It is better that a rehabilitation intervention should not be driven by the Donors or CSOs who are totally unfamiliar with the local situation, but
- Ø Proper understanding of the field reality is essential for any meaningful intervention

¹³ The fishermen of Akkarapettai are going to be rehabilitated into three locations - Akkarapettai entrance, near the Rolling mill and in Thideerkuppam. For Nambiar Nagar people also rehabilitation plot falls in two places. In Arcotturhurai, while one group want in-situ construction, other group want to move out into a place near the school. Tharangambadi also witnesses in-situ and relocation issues with one group remain in old place while the other moves out into another location.

- Ø An intervention should be guided by the principle of sustainability and diversity rather than charity
- Ø Media projection or visibility of an issue should not be the only criterion of formulating rehab plans
- Ø Proper care should be taken to ensure that there is no unevenness in attention given to various groups in the areas of intervention
- Ø An intervention instead of enhancing vulnerability should strengthen the cohesiveness of the beneficiary community
- Ø Delivering rehab services should not create a platform of division within and among the recipient communities
- Ø Principles followed by CSOs like abstinence from creation of assets in mechanised sector contain enough value to be highlighted
- Ø Instead of individual organisational level attention, joint efforts of the CSOs are more desirable considering the different complex dimensions of the rehab issue
- Ø The approach of CSOs should be *people centred* rather than *people's wish centred* that often be driven by sheer desires and be non-sustainable in the long run
- Ø The laws of justice and equity may carry different meanings in different given contexts and understanding this is very important as far as a CSO is concerned

Conclusion

The distribution of fishing assets, while showing the increasing concern of the Civil Society Organisations and Donors, exposes the flaws in deriving consensus among them for a more sustainable approach. The study, without a doubt, makes it clear that indiscriminate asset creation in fishery will not help the target community, but will do more harm to their livelihood, tradition and culture. This fact should be an eye opener for all who want to be involved in the rehabilitation of fishing communities, especially when the community has an organic link with its sources of livelihood and practices that go along with the organic link. It is not just good intentions, but close understanding of the situation that makes the interventions meaningful.

Appendix

Appendix 1 (a)

Details of Fishing Units after Tsunami in Arcottuthurai

	FRP Boats	Kattumaram	Mechanised Boats
Old ones repaired/undamaged	40	150	114
Ramakrishna mat	11*		
RDT	45*		1
Seva Bharati	3		
CREATE	32		
Bharati	27		
Best	4		
Helpage India	26		
World Vision	75*		
Bharatha Pengal Menpattu Mayyam	25		
SIFFS		10	
Total	288	160	115

Appendix 1 (b)

Details of Fishing Units after Tsunami in Tharangambadi

	FRP Boats	Kattumaram	Mechanised Boats
Old ones repaired/undamaged	160	20	42
Hope Foundation	45		
Don Bosco	25		
SIFFS	25		
Matha Amirthananthamayi	10		
Sastra	5		
Ramakrishna madam	5		
Sneha	7		
RDT	10		
Prepare	3		
Total	295	20	42

Appendix 1 (c)
Details of Fishing Units after Tsunami in Akkarapettai

	FRP Boats	Kattumaram	Mechanised Boats
Old ones repaired/undamaged		20	275**
Ramakrishna Math	78*		
Mata Amrithanandamayi Math	10		
Samudra	10		
Purchased from Poigainallur	10		
Total	108	20	275

*Exchanged

** out of this 50 are in the stage of construction which should be finished by November. Another 25 people should soon start their construction with all other formalities finished.

Appendix 1 (d)
Details of Fishing Units after Tsunami in Nambiar Nagar

	FRP Boats	Kattumaram	Mechanised Boats
Old ones repaired/undamaged	50	60	20 +3 WIP
Avvai	20		
Ramakrishna Math	20*		
VHP	10		
Mata Amrithanandamayi Math	10		
Sastra	10		
Ramakrishnamat	4**		
Simon Peter Boat Company	4***		
Total	128	60	23

*Exchanged

** not yet received

*** the distributors are unknown

Appendix 2
Village wise Fishing Units before and after Tsunami

Type of Fishing Unit	Arcottuthurai		Tharnagambadi		Nambiar Nagar		Akkarapettai	
	Before Tsunami	After Tsunami						
FRP	53	288	168	295	84	128	70	108
Kattumaram	296	160	100	20	119	60	85	30
Trawlers	133	115	53	42	80	23	300	275
Total	482	563	321	357	283	211	455	413

Appendix 3

Total Net Worth of Fishing Assets after Tsunami

Fishing Hamlets	Total Worth of Assets before Tsunami	Total Worth of Assets after Tsunami	Change in Net worth after Tsunami
Arcotturhurai	150636000	165470000	14834000
Akkarapettai	323085000	339330000	16245000
Tharangambadi	72870000	79170000	6300000
Nambiar Nagar	94059000	42510000	-51549000
Total	640650000	626480000	-14170000

Appendix 3 (a)

Total Net Worth of Fishing Assets in Arcottuthurai- before and after Tsunami

Craft Types	No of Units before Tsunami	Total Worth Before Tsunami	No of Units after Tsunami	No of Units Repaired/ Undamaged	Worth of Repaired/ Undamaged Assets	New Units	Worth of New Units	Total Worth of Assets after Tsunami
FRP	53	4770000	288	40	3600000	248	37200000	40800000
Kattumaram	296	6216000	160	150	3150000	10	320000	3470000
Trawlers	133	139650000	115	114	119700000	1	1500000	121200000
Total	482	150636000	563					165470000

Total Increase in Value of Asset – 14834000

Appendix 3 (b)

Total Net Worth of Fishing Assets in Tharangambadi- before and after Tsunami

Craft Types	No of Units before Tsunami	Total Worth Before Tsunami	No of Units after Tsunami	No of Units Repaired/ Undamaged	Worth of Repaired/ Undamaged Assets	New Units	Worth of New Units	Total Worth of Assets after Tsunami
FRP	168	15120000	295	160	14400000	135	20250000	34650000
Kattumaram	100	2100000	20	20	420000	0	0	420000
Trawlers	53	55650000	42	42	44100000	0	0	44100000
Total	321	72870000	357					79170000

Total Increase in Value of Asset – 6300000

Appendix 3 (c)

Total Net Worth of Fishing Assets in Nambiar Nagar- before and after Tsunami

Craft Types	No of Units before Tsunami	Total Worth Befor Tsunami	No of Units after Tsunami	No of Units Repaired/ Undamaged	Woth of Repaired/Undamaged Assets	New Units	Woth of New Units	Total Worth of Assets after Tsunami
FRP	84	7560000	128	50	4500000	78	11700000	16200000
Kattumaram	119	2499000	60	60	1260000	0	0	1260000
Trawlers	80	84000000	23	21	22050000	2	3000000	25050000
Total	283	94059000	211	131	27810000	80	14700000	42510000

Total Decrease in Value of Asset – 51549000

Appendix 3 (d)

Total Net Worth of Fishing Assets in Akkarapettai- before and after Tsunami

Craft Types	No of Units before Tsunami	Total Worth Befor Tsunami	No of Units after Tsunami	No of Units Repaired/ Undamaged	Woth of Repaired/Undamaged Assets	New Units	Worth of New Units	Total Worth of Assets after Tsunami
FRP	70	6300000	108	0	0	108	16200000	16200000
Kattumaram	85	1785000	30	30	630000	0	0	630000
Trawlers	300	315000000	275	200	210000000	75	112500000	322500000
Total	455	323085000	413	220	210630000	183	128700000	339330000

Total Increase in Value of Asset – 16245000