

Family Structure, Socialization and Cognitive Patterns in Different Economic Strata of Artisanal Marine Fisherfolk

By **M. H. Kalavathy/U. Tietze**

As artisanal marine fishing developed from a trade once oriented towards subsistence to an occupation which has nowadays become part of the coastal market economy with its products even being exported to other continents, economic stratification has become more distinct within traditional fishing communities. This chapter examines whether economic stratification has had an impact on social and socio-psychological institutions and processes such as family structure and interaction patterns, socialization of children and perception of trade and nature. Inferences are analysed separately for the Oriya and Bengali fisherfolk of North Orissa and the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa.

First, however, the present stage of economic differentiation in artisanal marine fishing is briefly discussed.

4.1 Present Stage of Development of Artisanal Marine Fishing Economy and Economic Stratification.

The present artisanal marine fishing economy, once oriented towards subsistence, has become part of a developed fishing economy which is to some extent even export-oriented, attracts capital from other sectors of the economy and avails itself of industrial **technologies** such as mechanised trawlers, gillnetters and purse

seiners, insulated trucks, cold storage facilities, freezing plants, ice plants etc. even though the degree of processing is comparatively low.

While there are various links and also conflicts between the artisanal and the industrial fishing economy, the artisanal fishing economy still constitutes a clearly distinguished sector which will be briefly described below according to the following criteria : differentiation of production process in subsectors, distribution of assets and income, sharing system, accumulation of capital and division of labour.

Regarding the division of the traditional fishing economy, the following functions can be distinguished :

- production e.g. catching of fish
- processing of fish
- marketing of fish
- finance, credit
- manufacture of means of production e.g. boat building, net making etc.

In some cases, the functions are interwoven and performed by the same category of persons; in other cases, they are separate and performed by different groups, depending on the stage of development of particular communities.

In fishing, we can distinguish crew members not contributing any equipment (labourers), crew members contributing gear pieces, crew leaders who again contribute gear pieces or who do not, and owners (of craft and gear or part of the gear) who participate as crew members or who stay on shore.

Regarding the distribution of income, a sharing system prevails, which ensures an equal share for all those who participate in the fishing operation plus shares for craft and gear, which are meant for depreciation, repair, maintenance and a certain return on the investment made in craft and gear. Crew leaders get an additional share from the share of the owner or from the share for craft and gear. This pattern is common among artisanal fisherfolk as observed by Mathur (1978) and Norr (1972).

However, the sharing system is a flexible one. If the catch is poor, the share of boat and gear is reduced to ensure a minimum income for the crew. In case of a bumper catch, however, the share of the crew members will be reduced drastically a fact which works as a mechanism rebounding to the accumulation of capital.

Apart from sharing systems, crew members of displacement boats in North Orissa who do not contribute any fishing gear are sometimes remunerated by fixed wages, which are comparatively unfavourable. This system is found in communities with traditional caste occupations other than fishing and seems to originate more from agriculture than from fishing.

Processing of fish in the artisanal fishing economy is done in principle in two ways, one at family level and the other on a large scale by wholesalers. The first way of processing is followed when the retailers have unsold fresh fish which cannot be preserved. The second type is adopted for fish species which are exclusively sold in dried form and which are processed in large quantities. In this case, the labourers who are employed for processing are paid daily wages. This large-scale commercial processing, if done by members of the fisherfolk community, is mostly organised by women¹ of big boat and net owners.

Marketing of fresh fish is done in two ways. If fish are auctioned by the village as a whole or privately, they are bought by the villagers as well as outside traders. The wives of big net owners buy fish wholesale and distribute them in small quantities to others by retail, keeping a small quantity for their own retail sale.

Others buy small or large amounts of fish directly and retail them and also barter fish for vegetables, paddy and pulses. If the village auction does not take place, net owners' wives take their produce to the market for retail sale or sell it to the traders on the shore itself. If they employ labourers to lift baskets or carry baskets to markets, they pay them daily wages.

¹ The role of fisherwomen in processing an small and large scaie Marketing is discussed in the report 'Role of Women in Small-Scale Fisheries of the Bay of Bengal 1980.



Drying and sorting out of fish in Chandipur,
Batasore district



Women head load retailers at Puri beach



Agent collecting prawns on the beach in Puri



Children of Puri preparing fishing equipment

Fish traders also advance loans to the fisherfolk and as a result the fisherfolk are bound to sell the produce at pre-fixed rates to the traders. This is the case particularly with export products such as prawns, shark fins etc. Apart from fish merchants, finance and credit within the artisanal fishing economy are provided by friends and relatives and by professional moneylenders from outside the community (Norr 1972, p. 210, Firth 1966, p. 168). Furthermore there are moneylenders within the community who are at the same time, or have been earlier, big net owners or fish merchants.

Even though the word moneylender still has a negative ring, among the artisanal fisherfolk there is a group of persons who, having accumulated capital by fishing and fish marketing/processing, act as financiers later on.¹

While fishing gear is manufactured and repaired by the fisher-folk themselves, boats are constructed by carpenters. Equipment and accessories such as yarn, floats, hooks etc. are sold in small shops which are rarely run by members of the fisherfolk community.

The differentiation of the artisanal fishing economy into sub-sectors such as fishing, processing, marketing, boat building, trade in equipment and financing is accompanied by a process of capital accumulation which has its major sources in the fishing operation itself.

In places where the economic differentiation is more advanced the functions are separate and performed by different groups of artisanal fisherfolk. How far this process is caused or facilitated by factors outside the artisanal fishing economy cannot be analysed here.

The processes of economic differentiation and accumulation of capital led to an economic stratification which is also reflected

1. This point is highlighted in the study of Christensen (1977, p. 85), who, while referring to the financing and the economic role of marketing women, shows that marketing women are often independent fishing craft and gear owners. who invest their profits from fishing and marketing by giving credit to others in the fishing community.

by the distribution of assets (craft and gear). The following table gives the figures for the two southern coastal districts of Orissa, Puri and Ganjam with a total number of marine fisherfolk households of 5898 of which the majority belong to the Telugu castes Vodabalijas and Jalaris.

Table 1 : Distribution of Assets in Gaojam and Puri District of Orissa¹

District	Ganjam	Puri
Distribution of assets		
a. Ownership pattern with regard to boats		
Percentage of households with no boat	37%	57%
Percentage of households with one boat/ boat share	36%	25%
Percentage of households with two and more boats/boat shares	24%	17%
Total	97%	99%
b. Ownership pattern with regard to gear		
Percentage of households with no gear	37%	50%
Percentage of households with one gear/ gear share	16%	11%
Percentage of households with two gear/ gear shares	10%	13%
Percentage of households with three and more gears/gear shares	35%	25%
Total	98%	99%

In both districts the percentage of those who do not own any boat roughly equals the percentage of those who do not own any net. This pattern suggests that on the one hand there is a group of labourers who do not own any assets while on the other

1. See M. H. Kalavathy and U. Tietze 1984, p. 25

band boats as well as nets are owned by the same households. This is also observed by Norr in her study of Tamil Nadu fisherfolk (Norr 1972, p. 45).

While the households which do not own any net form the biggest group, the second biggest group is formed by those who own three or more gears. In the case of boat ownership, the biggest group consists of non-owners followed by those who own one boat. The group of households who own two and more boats is still around 1/5 of the total number of households.

Table 2 : Distribution of Assets in Cuttack and Balasore Districts of Orissa¹

District	Cuttack	Balasore
Distribution of assets		
a. Ownership pattern with regard to boats		
Percentage of households with no boat	49%	81%
Percentage of households with one boat/boat share	36%	17%
Percentage of households with two and more boats/boat shares	15%	1%
Total	100%	99%
b. Ownership pattern with regard to gear		
Percentage of households with no gear	35%	18%
Percentage of households with one gear/gear share	43%	60%
Percentage of households with two gears/gear shares	4%	17%
Percentage of households with three and more gears/gear shares	18%	3%
Total	100%	98%

1. See M. H. Kalavathy and U. Tietze 1984, p. 25

The table shows a concentration of ownership which might be related to operational and managerial skills available with the respective households.

The two northern districts of Orissa, Cuttack and Balasore show a different picture.

Balasore district, inhabited by Oriya and Bengali fisherfolk who operate displacement boats, is characterized by the fact that, even though 82% of the fisherfolk households own at least one gear or gear share, only 17% own a boat or a share in a boat and a mere 1% have two or more boats or boat shares. While the table suggests widespread ownership of the existing boats and no concentration, each household usually owning not more than one boat, the total number of boats which can be arrived at from this distribution as compared to the total number of households seems to be inadequate.

The reason as observed during the study is that, in the Oriya and Bengali coastal villages of North Orissa, fishing boats are often owned by members of other communities such as well-to-do agriculturists and leased out to fishermen.

The ownership pattern with regard to nets shows a widespread ownership of small assets such as 1 net piece/share. The reason for this phenomenon is that in Balasore a crew member has to contribute a net piece in order to get a share of the catch, If he cannot provide a net piece he gets a fixed wage per fishing day and this is unfavourable compared to a share. The number of owners declines rapidly when it comes to ownership of more than one net.

All in all, the concentration of assets, seems to be less among the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk than among the Telugu fisherfolk.

The reason might be that marine fishing has a much longer tradition in the south than in the north, and that is why the economic stratification is more advanced there. Cuttack district is settled by Telugu as well as by Oriya and Bengali fisherfolk and thus shows a mixed picture combining the characteristics of both North and South Orissa,

Differences with regard to performance of economic functions, division of labour and ownership of assets, as outlined above, find their equivalents in social status, role in political leadership of a community, role in cultural functions, marriage patterns, settlement patterns and standard of living. For example, labourers not owning any assets live in different streets and in smaller houses than owners of craft and gear.

Marriages are usually arranged within the labourers group, small owners' group or big owners' group respectively and not between the groups'. Functions performed and rituals are usually connected with economic status. The functions again reflect the social status of the person or family who performs the function.

Changes of economic status regularly lead to conflicts with roles played in rituals and festivals.

An important area, however, where differences in economic status are not readily shown in social status differences is the working pattern during the fishing operation itself, which is most probably due to the fact that owners usually participate in fishing and that there is hardly any specialisation aboard a small fishing craft where all crew members rely on one another for a good catch and a safe return to the shore.² Thus a tendency towards narrowing of economically based social status differences exists and is caused by the demands of the production process itself.

On the basis of these considerations and assumptions, the following chapters examine the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa and the Oriya/Bengali fisherfolk of North Orissa separately to ascertain whether the existence of different economic strata is reflected by differences in socio-psychological processes and institutions e.g. socialisation of children, perception of occupation

1. This adherence to economic status in spite of the homogeneity of caste is also noted in a fisherfolk community studied by Norr (1972). p 47). She mentions that even though caste members of different economic status associate freely, their preference group is limited to their own economic status for marriages.
2. This phenomenon is discussed as egalitarian work group structure by Pollnac (1978, p. 6).

and nature, and the structure of primary social groups like the family.

4.2 Family, Socialization Process and Cognitive patterns in Different Economic Strata of Artisanal Marine Fisherfolk of South Orissa

The economic stratification, which is applied here, is based on the production process (fishing) in South Orissa and comprises three strata, viz. labourers not owning any craft and gear, small owners owning one craft and one or more gear, and big owners owning several craft and gear.

The three economic strata are compared and examined to find out whether type and structure of family as an important primary social group, socialisation process and cognitive patterns reflect differences in economic status and function.

The analysis is based on a sub-sample, consisting of 86 Telugu fisherfolk households, selected from four villages of Ganjam district; 28 households belong to the 'labourer' category, 30 households to the 'small owner' category and 28 households to the 'big owner' category.

4.2.1. Economic Stratification and Family

Family as the most important primary social group performs a wide range of socio-psychological, social and economic functions and tasks, regarding both its members as well as community and society. In accordance with Leslie (1982), the main functions and purposes of family can be summarized as satisfaction of sexual needs and biological reproduction, common residence, socialization of children and in some cases economic cooperation.

With regard to the function common residence, we can further distinguish between family as a domestic group and family as a residential group (Harris 1970, p. 75 and 78). While domestic group means that family members share domestic services such as provision of food, shelter, clothing etc. not necessarily living in the same house (or hutment in the case of most fisherfolk families), residential group denotes, that even though family members live

in the same house, they form separate domestic groups or separate households.

The family function, economic cooperation can be subdivided into two components. A domestic group can be an economic group “in the sense that they purchase and consume goods as a unit” (Harris 1970, p. 79). In this case a family forms an economic unit with the emphasis on common purchase and consumption of goods. Apart from this, family can also assume the role of a productive economic unit : “where a group’s members act together to exploit productive resources owned by all or one of them, then the group may be regarded as an economic group in the productive sense” (Harris 1970, p. 79). Harris (ibid) points out further that in some societies and this applies to a large extent also to the fisherfolk communities described here, economic production is usually undertaken by groups of kinsmen and property and employment are primarily obtainable through membership in a kingroup. These kingroups can be further distinguished according to whether they own property without working it in which case they are called proprietary group, or whether they function as a work group without owning any property.

In order to carry out the functions and tasks mentioned above, family constitutes a specific social group with roles and interaction patterns, which follow on the one hand the dominant norms of society and on the other hand reflect the unique experiences, beliefs and values shared only by the members of a particular family. Under the latter aspect, family may be called a “unique set of roles and values” (Harris 1970, p. 70). In this context family has also to be seen as a permanent interaction process with family members exchanging expectations and informations, interpreting, negotiating and defining norms and rules, communicating emotions, sharing tasks etc. While acting in specific roles which are among other things defined by age and sex.

The focal point of family organization with regard to performance of tasks and functions is the pattern of division of labour among the family members, while the focal point from the viewpoint of family as interaction process is the authority structure or decision making pattern of the family.

Family does not only consist of functions, roles, values, and interaction patterns, but being a social institution followed certain customs and rules regarding its foundation and break up, marriage, inheritance, etc. regulating the family process which means “the creation and extinction of nuclear (and extended, the author) families, the creation of new members by birth, the loss of existing members by death; the establishment of affinal relationship by marriage; the supplementation of these ties by ties of filiation as the children are born, and affines become kin’s kin.” (Harris 1970, p. 70)

The type of family traditionally found in India is the joint family. Even though now-a-days joint family in its original form is not any longer existing, the concept of joint family still has its implications for contemporary family life. The term joint family, does not only denote the composition of a family as it is the case with the terms nuclear family and extended family, but also indicates a certain authority pattern, a certain mode of inheritance, a certain ownership pattern and utilization of family property as well as a certain pattern of worship/religious practises. O’ Malley (1975, p. 121) defines joint family in the following way : “In its complete form a joint family has a common property, a common house, with a common kitchen and common worship of a family idol or idols.” A similar definition is given by Karve (1953, p. 10).

Common residence however, is not a necessary property of a joint family even though rural joint families usually reside together. O’ Malley adds (ibid) “It must not be concluded that all members of the family reside together. But there is a home, in which the worship of the family idol is kept up, in which every member of the family has a right to live, and in which there is a more or less complete family gathering on the occasion of certain festivals.”

Thus a joint family might consist of several separate households, which again might be extended ones or nuclear ones.¹ The

1. Agarwala (1955, pp. 141-142) holds the similar view that members of a joint family need not necessarily reside together or form a household, referring, however, to an urban commercial community. See also Desai (1950, pp. 147-148), who holds the same opinion.

empirical case, however, that members of joint families live in separate households occurs more often in urban settings caused by the “conditions of modern life” (O’Malley, *ibid*), such as lack of cheap large flats and houses, separate places of work etc. but hardly in traditional rural settings as prevailing in coastal fishing villages.

Thus for the purpose of this study, being an empirical one, family is operationalized as household, meaning a domestic and residential group, thereby facilitating proper identification of sample units and respondents.

With regard to family, 4 aspects are analysed : family type and size, formation and break-up, division of labour and decision-making pattern.

4.2.1.1. Family Type and Size of Family

Among the properties of families discussed above, the following will be examined for the families of artisanal marine fisherfolk of Orissa in this chapter :

- type, composition and size of family
- formation and break-up
- division of labour
- authority/decision making pattern

Among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa, a family whether it is an extended or a nuclear one is referred to as “Kudumbam”. Telugu fisherfolk families both of Vodabalijas and Jalaris are characterized by pntrilocal and patrilineal descent and patriarchal authority. Primogeniture or the principle of the outstanding role of the first child is reflected in property inheritance and certain functions within the family. Most of the families are monogamous, While Indian families are classified into different types based on various authors, here Kolenda’s classification is followed (Kolenda 1962). Nine different types of families **have** been distinguished among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa.

-Incomplete families without dependents (1) and with dependents (2) : An incomplete family consists of a wife and a husband without children or of one of the parents with children. Dependents living in incomplete families were grandparents and grandchildren.

The number of incomplete families living in fishing villages in South Orissa is very small, usually consisting of a married couple without children, sometimes living together with a widowed parent or a grandchild.

-Nuclear families without dependents (3) and with dependents (4) : The nuclear type of family is the most common family type found among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa, Its dominance might be due to the common habit of setting up a separate house and household soon after marriage. While, a nuclear family without dependents consists of parents and children, a nuclear family with dependents has a widowed parent as an additional family member.

-Lineally extended families with dependents (5) and without dependents (6) : Lineally extended families, consisting of parents with married children and grandchildren constitute the type of family that is found most frequently after nuclear families. Close relatives form the group of dependents who are staying with lineally extended families.

-Collaterally extended family (7) : When one or more siblings, in this case brothers continue to live together after marriage, it is understood as a collateral family. This type of family is, however, negligible among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa according to our findings.

-Lineally and collaterally extended family with (8) and without dependents (9) : This family type combines both the characteristics of a lineally and of a collaterally extended family.

The tables below show the occurrence of different family types in the three economic strata as well as the family size.

Table 3 : Family Type vs. Economic Stratum¹

Type of family	Economic strata	Labourers group	Small owners group	Big owners group
Incomplete family		3	—	
Incomplete family with dependents		1	—	2
Total no. of incomplete families		4 (14%)	0	2 (7%)
Nuclear family		16	14	8
Nuclear family with dependents		6	6	6
Total no. of nuclear families		22 (79 %)	20(67%)	14 (50%)
Lineally extended family		2	9	4
Lineally extended family with dependents		—	—	2
Lineally/collaterally extended families		—	1	3
Lineally collaterally extended families with dependents		—	—	2
Collaterally extended families		—	—	1
Total no. of extended families		2% (7%)	10 (33)	12 (43%)
No. of respondents		28 (100%)	30(100%)	28(100%)

Table 3 a : Average Family Size

Labourers	4.8
Small owners	5.7
Big owners	7.7

1. The family types have been distinguished based on Kolenda's classification of family types (Kolenda 1962).

The table indicates a clear pattern. With the ownership of assets the number of extended families and the family size increases and the number of nuclear families decreases. The reason for this phenomenon is that in the higher economic strata e.g. in small owner and big owner households, the family assumes the function of a production unit, which is not the case in labourer households.

In families functioning as production units family members apart from working as crew members carry out functions such as participation in fishing operation, team recruitment, fish sales, arranging for repair of equipment, procurement of spare parts etc. so that a larger number of assets also requires or accommodates a larger family. Simultaneously a larger number of assets can also sustain a larger family.

4.2.1.2 Formation and Breakup of Families

The formation and breakup of families and their relation to the economic stratum have been examined by investigating the mode of inheritance and the instances of separation of the younger generation from the family. The general hypothesis was that the different functions that families belonging to different economic strata perform in the production process might be reflected by different modes of inheritance and by different instances of separation prevailing in the different economic strata.

This assumption, however, could not be confirmed. In both cases a common pattern in all economic strata was observed.

As mentioned earlier, marriages are preferably arranged within the same economic stratum. In all strata childhood marriages are common. The average marital age of girls and boys was found to be 9 years and 17 years respectively. In spite of a regular marriage taking place a girl goes to settle down in her husband's home only on attaining puberty when after a special ceremony her husband's family take her ritually home.

Apart from economic considerations mentioned above, caste endogamy is strictly practised, when selecting bride and bridegroom. Both inter as well as intra-village marriages take place depending

on the availability of brides and grooms. All families prefer kin marriages. Preferential bilateral marriages between cross cousins ("Menachium") are a dominant feature. Uncle-niece marriages are also Common.

Among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa, the traditional custom of bride price is slowly being replaced by a dowry system, a process which is more advanced in higher economic strata. At the time of marriage the girl's family usually presents dresses, both to the bride and bridegroom. In higher economic strata the bride receives jewels and the bridegroom a wrist watch, a bicycle and a ring. When shifting to the house of the in-law, the bride is given household utensils, a box to keep her clothes, a mat and a pair of pillows. The family of the bridegroom celebrates the marriage in their village and takes care of the expenses. Before the actual marriage, at the time of engagement, the bridegroom's family is expected to give jewels or gold to the bride as "Prathanam." If they are not in a position to do so, the bridegroom's family has to borrow gold and present it to the bride symbolically. This custom clearly perpetuates the tradition of bride-price and show the special status of women in the coastal Telugu fisherfolk communities of South Orissa.

Regarding separation from family, the usual practice is that at the time of marriage the son requests separation from his parents' household. If he is not urged by his parents to set up a separate household the son might also stay on with his parents' family. In the first case the parents provide space and essential construction materials and household goods. In the latter event, the following are the consequences in all three economic strata. Firstly, the newly married wife has to be integrated in the working pattern, status hierarchy and communication pattern of the female sub-group of the family. Secondly, with the emergence of a new sub-group e.g. wife and husband, the question of contribution to family income and consumption arises regardless of the question whether assets are owned by the family or not.

Accordingly, reasons for separation from the family after marriage cited by respondents from all strata are quarrels and conflicts between mother and daughter-in-law and between daughter-

in-law and unmarried sisters mainly because of status conflicts and distribution of work. Equally important are quarrels among brothers over contribution to family income and expenditure for consumption¹

Similar reasons are given by O' Malley (1975, p. 125) who discusses the dissolution of joint families in India in general: "Family disputes are the most usual cause of the dissolution of families in separate branches. In particular, earning members who contribute to the family resources are disgusted by a system under which idle relatives are a drain upon them, and their wives, devoted to their husbands' interests, keenly resent their energies being exploited."

It needs to be mentioned here, that the dissolution of extended families does not necessarily mean the end of the extended or joint family system. According to the respondents, it seems that now-a-days an extended family breaks up much more easily than earlier. For example married brothers after the death of their father take their separate shares and start separate families and households of their own, aiming, however at new joint families with their sons, as also observed by O' Malley (1975, p. 126). In accordance with O' Malley (ibid) it can be assumed that "the general effect is, that large joint families are replaced by small **joint** families many in number and short of duration."

The mode of inheritance is similar in all theeconomic strata because it is based on the custom that assets as well as debts are equally shared by old parents and sons, Older sons might get a higher share of property if they have to take care of unmarried brothers and sisters and also a higher share of debt.

Girls do not get any share other than the jewels and household utensils given to them at the time of marriage as part of the dowry.

1. According to Suryanarayaoam's study of coastal Andhra fisherfolk (1977, p, 76) status conflicts and economic conflicts lead to a partial separation of extended families where the means of production are not divided and the fishing is still carried out together and the produce divided equally but the individual nuclear families cook separately.

4.2.1.3 Division of Labour in the Family

To obtain a true picture of the working pattern of families in all three economic strata, women and men were interviewed separately in order to consider differences in perception. The activities chosen for investigation can be broadly classified into household work activities and activities related to fishing, Tables 4, 5, 6 show the results for the three economic strata.

Regarding the perceptions of the female respondents, there are no major differences among the economic strata over the distribution of work between men and women.

With regard to activities related to fishing, men dominate all activities such as fishing, team formation, procurement of inputs, fish marketing and processing with the important exception, however, of management of fishery finance, which is predominantly taken care of by women. Household work including management of family finance is looked after, with little assistance from male members of the family, by women in general. The only indication of differences related to economic stratum is given by the female respondents in the labourers' group who state more often than the two owners' groups that male members assist them in household work. Even though bisexual division of labour in household activities is common among the lower class families, where roles are less distinct in reality, the men in the labourers' group do not share the view of their wives regarding their involvement in **household** work. As in the other strata, they state their own involvement as a marginal one most likely because they still stick to a traditional role pattern of men not involving themselves in household work as heads of families even though in reality the actual practice has changed. When comparing the number of female members involved in household activities, the number of female members of labourer families involved in household work is higher than the respective numbers in owner families, even though the family size is smaller. This tendency may be due to the greater flexibility in division of labour among female members in labourers' families than among those of owners' families. This projects a picture of more female members in labourers' families even though they are fewer than those in owners' families.

Table 4 Division of Labour in Household-Labours Group

Activity	Women's perception/activity done			Men's perception/activity done		
	exclusively by women	exclusively by men	by both	exclusively by women	exclusively by men	by both
Cooking	43	—	—	33	—	—
Firewood collection	47	—	—	30	—	—
Shopping	44	4	5	24	—	5
Washing	30	5	—	15	—	—
Cleaning	45	1	—	28	—	—
Childeare	37	3	4	22	—	6
House repair	9	2	5	5	4	2
Gardening	7	—	1	—	—	2
Tailoring	4	1	4	—	—	1
Carrying water	50	1	—	24	—	2
Management of family finance	27	1	9	17	3	8
Animal keeping	8	2	1	3	—	—
Fish marketing/processing	5	20	3	14	—	—
Fishing	—	33	—	—	28	—
Procurement of inputs for fishing	—	21	—	—	8	—
Management of fishery finance	16	10	5	6	13	1
Formation of teams for fishing	—	—	—	—	—	—

Tables 4 and 5 show the number of household members involved in the respective activities. Therefore, the number is in most cases greater than the number of households. In some cases no answer was obtained, so that the number is smaller than the number of households.

Table 5 : Division of Labour in Household—Small Owner Group

Activity	Women's perception/activity done			Men's perception/activity done		
	exclusively by women	exclusively by men	by both	exclusively by women	exclusively by men	by both
Cooking	36	—	—	37	—	—
Firewood collection	35	—	—	32	1	—
Shopping	34	—	4	29	1	2
Washing	19	—	—	26	—	—
Cleaning	36	—	—	36	—	—
Childcare	38	—	2	31	—	2
House repair	8	2	3	13	4	—
Gardening	1	—	—	3	—	—
Tailoring	1	—	1	3	—	—
Carrying water	42	—	—	36	—	—
Management of family finance	28	—	5	13	14	3
Animal keeping	2	—	—	10	—	—
Fish marketing/processing	3	21	9	16	—	1
Fishing	—	38	—	—	26	—
Procurement of inputs for fishing	—	34	—	1	22	—
Management of fishery finance	13	5	8	—	16	2
Formation of teams for fishing	—	28	1	1	16	1

Table 6 Division of Labour in Household—Big Owner Group

Activity	Women's perception/activity done			Men's perception/activity done		
	exclusively by women	exclusively by men	by both	exclusively by women	exclusively by men	by both
Cooking	32	—	—	38	—	—
Firewood collection	43	—	2	43	—	—
Shopping	32	2	2	34	1	1
Washing	32	—	—	23	—	—
Cleaning	37	—	—	40	—	—
Childcare	33	3	2	32	—	—
House repair	14	—	2	9	1	6
Gardening	10	—	—	7	—	—
Tailoring	5	—	2	10	—	—
Carrying water	35	—	—	35	1	—
Management of family finance	22	2	3	14	7	2
Animal keeping	6	1	2	8	—	1
Fish marketing/processing	3	27	—	7	—	1
Fishing	—	43	—	—	—	—
Procurement of inputs for fishing	1	37	—	2	19	—
Management of fishery finance	16	10	3	10	9	3
Formation of teams for fishing	2	35	1	3	15	1

Considering that the number of extended or joint families is larger in the owner strata than in the labourer stratum, this finding agrees with the statement of Ross (1973, p. 87) made with regard to the division of labour in urban Indian families : “One of the main differences between the division of labour of the large joint family compared to the nuclear family lies in its distinct duties”.

Overall the perceptions of the male respondents differ to a significant extent from the perceptions of their wives.

In the case of fishery finance, only male respondents belonging to the big owner stratum share the view expressed by the female respondents of all groups that women predominantly manage financial affairs related to fisheries. Contrary to their wives' views, male respondents from the small owner group claim to dominate this activity while male respondents from the labourer group hardly see any role for women in the management of fishery finance.

In the case of family finance, male respondents belonging to the labourers' and big owners' groups to a great extent, share the **view** of the female respondents that women predominantly manage the financial affairs of the family.

Male respondents belonging to the small owner category, however, claim to manage the financial affairs of the family jointly with their wives.

Whether these differences in the perceptions of the female and the male respondents of the three economic strata reflect different living conditions or just different value systems cannot be decided here but has to be further investigated through observation.

Another difference that appears in the perceptions of the female and the male respondents of all three strata concerns fish processing and marketing. While men uniformly assign these activities to the female members of the family, the female respondents hold the opposite view¹.

1. The same tendency has been observed by Christensen among the Fanti-an African fishing community. In spite of the important role played by **Fanti** women in marketing and thereby the economy, they do not like to acknowledge it. (Christensen, 1977, p. 86).

Table 7 : Distribution of work among Women (Female Respondents)

Family Member	Labourers			Smah Owners			Big		
	Mother Mother- in-law Grand mother	Unmar- ried daugh- ten	Daughter- in-law	Mother in-law Grand mother	Unmar- ried daughter	Daugh- ter-in- law	Mother Mother- in-law Grand- mother	Unmar- ried daugh- ter	Daugh- ter-in- law
Cooking	79	19	2	56	11	33	63	6	31
Firewood collection	72	23	4	49	20	31	51		28
Shopping	70	25	5	65	18	18	56	16	28
Washing	73	17	10	63	16	21	53	19	28
Cleaning	73	18	9	56	25	19	57		27
Childcare	62	30	8	61	26	13	56	28	16
House repair	78	22	—	63	13	25	79		21
Gardening	42	29	29	100	—	—	20	40	40
Tailoring	50	50	—	100	—	—	60	—	
Carrying water	64	28	8	48	36	17	51	20	29

Management of family finance	100	—	—	100	—	—	82	9	9
Animal keeping	75	25	—	100	—	—	83	17	—
Fish marketing	80	—	20	100	—	—	67	—	33
Fishing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Procurement of inputs	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—
Formation of teams	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	—	—
Management of fishery finance	100	—	—	92	—	8	100	—	—

Note All figures are given in %. Only those cases are included where the activities are carried out exclusively by women. The percentages refer to the absolute figures given in tables 4, 5 and 6.

Table 8 : Distribution of Work among Men (Male Respondents)

Activity	Family Member	Labourers			Small Owners			Big Owners		
		Father	Married Son	Unmarried Son	Father	Married Son	Unmarried Son	Father	Married Son	Unmarried Son
Firewood collection		—	—	—	100	—	—	—		
Shopping		—	—	—	100	—	—	100	—	
Washing		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cleaning		—								
Childcare		—	—	—						
House repair		25	75	—	75	25	—	100	100	—
Gardening		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tailoring		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Carrying water		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Management of family finance	33	67	—	76	24	—	100	—	
Animal keeping	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Fish marketing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Fishing	100	—	—	81	19	—	44	50	6
Procurement of inputs	100	—	—	86	14	—	53	47	—
Formation of teams	—	—	—	88		—	53	47	
Management of fishery finance	100	—	—	94	6	—	89	11	

Note : All figures are given in %. Only those cases are included where the activities are carried out exclusively by men. The percentages refer to the absolute figures given in tables 4, 5, 6.

While it is assumed from observation that the view of the male respondents is correct, the reason for the women's perception is most probably the fact that even though they are involved in processing and marketing of fish, they do not consider it an integral part of their role and attach a low value to it.

In accordance with this, the men's view also shows that the number of women who are involved in fish marketing/processing decreases with lowering of the economic status. It should be kept in mind, however, that this is not the case in the perception of the female respondents.

In tables 7 and 8 we see how the work is distributed among different members of the women group and the men group.

Tables 7 & 8 show differences among the economic strata which are based on the different types of families to be found in the strata: the higher the economic stratum, the bigger the family and the greater the contribution of married sons, unmarried daughters and daughters-in-law.

Regarding fishing, the father is the only active fisherman in all the labourer families interviewed. In the small owners' group he is occasionally assisted in fishing by married sons, the latter however being hardly concerned with the management of fishery finance. In the big owners' group the father and a married son share all the activities, related to fishing except the management of fishery finance; unmarried sons play only a minor role in fishing. The reason might be that even though unmarried sons participate in fishing, they are neither regarded nor mentioned as active fishermen because only after a certain age at which they get married, are they given a full share and accepted as full-fledged crew members.

In labourers' households the mother has a larger portion of the household work than in the small owner household, where she is more often assisted by unmarried daughters and in some cases also by daughters-in-law. In big owner families her portion is even less with regard to the most time-consuming activities. The

Table 9 : Verbalization of Family Matters

Activity	Men's perception									Women's perception								
	Labourers			Small owners			Big owners			Labourers			Small owners			Big owners		
	Dis- cussed	Not dis- cussed	No answer	Dis- cussed	Not dis- cussed	No answer	Dis- cussed	Not dis- cussed	No answer	Dis- cussed	Not dis- cussed	No answer	Dis- cussed	Not dis- cussed	No answer	Dis- cussed	Not dis- cussed	No answer
House construction/ repair	17 (61)	11 (39)	—	17 (57)	13 (43)	—	20 (71)	8 (29)	—	27 (96)	—	1 (4)	26 (87)	3 (10)	1 (3)	20 (71)	1 (4)	9 (25)
Acquisition of household goods	17 (61)	11 (39)	—	18 (60)	12 (40)	—	18 (64)	6 (21)	4 (14)	21 (75)	—	7 (25)	20 (67)	7 (23)	3 (10)	11 (39)	—	19 (61)
Sending children to school	10 (35)	11 (39)	7 (25)	12 (40)	17 (59)	1 (1)	14 (50)	11 (39)	3 (11)	3 (11)	—	25 (89)	6 (20)	13 (43)	11 (37)	10 (36)	4 (14)	14 (50)
Medical treatment	22 (79)	6 (21)	—	26 (87)	4 (13)	—	16 (57)	12 (43)	—	25 (89)	—	3 (11)	29 (97)	1 (3)	—	20 (71)	1 (4)	7 (25)
Celebration of festivals	25 (89)	3 (11)	—	30 (100)	—	—	21 (75)	7 (25)	—	27 (96)	—	1 (4)	28 (93)	2 (7)	—	24 (85)	1 (4)	3 (11)
Purchase of craft and gear	—	—	—	17 (57)	13 (43)	—	20 (71)	8 (29)	—	—	—	—	28 (93)	2 (7)	—	23 (82)	3 (11)	2 (7)
Selection of spouse	17 (61)	11 (39)	—	16 (53)	14 (47)	—	17 (61)	10 (36)	1 (4)	26 (93)	—	2 (7)	27 (90)	3 (10)	—	20 (71)	1 (4)	7 (25)
Savings	16 (57)	12 (43)	—	12 (40)	18 (60)	—	16 (57)	11 (39)	1 (4)	7 (25)	—	21 (75)	13 (43)	7 (23)	10 (33)	12 (43)	4 (14)	12 (43)
Acquisition of jewellery	17 (61)	11 (39)	—	18 (60)	12 (40)	—	18 (54)	6 (21)	4 (14)	2 (7)	—	26 (93)	12 (40)	14 (47)	4 (13)	13 (46)	1 (4)	14 (50)

In brackets % figures are given

daughter-in-law plays a slightly more important role than unmarried daughters.

Even though the work load is also heavier in the bigger families of the owner strata, the mother does not delegate her role in the management of family finance to the other female members of the family.

4.2.1.4 Decision-making Pattern

The decision-making pattern is analysed under three aspects : verbalization of family matters, participation in discussion of family matters and participation in decision-making. Again, women's and men's perceptions have been obtained separately.

4.2.1.4.1 Verbalization of Family Matters

Table 9 shows to what extent family affairs are verbalized.

When we look at the various items considered for verbalization there are differences among the three economic strata in the perceptions of the female respondents regarding the utilization of savings, acquisition of jewellery and schooling of children, which are more often discussed in the higher strata, most probably because they play a more important role there, on account of favourable economic conditions and plans related to the future of children.

This difference, however, is not reflected in the perception of the male respondents, which might be due to the fact that their views reflect the general norms and values more than the particular reality of their family life.

Concerning the other activities, the female respondents' perceptions reveal that the degree of verbalization tends to decrease with lowering of the economic status. As concluded earlier, the roles as well as the working patterns in the lower economic strata are less rigidly defined than in the higher strata. This necessitates a higher degree of verbalization in order to achieve a level of understanding which is sufficient to carry out the day-to-day household activities.

Table 10: Participation in Discussion of Family Matters (Men's perception)

Activity	Labourers					Small owners					Big owners				
	m	dil	ud	f	s	m	dil	ud	f	s	m	dii	ud	f	s
Houseconstruction	17 (46)	1 (3)	1 (3)	17 (46)	1 (3)	16 (42)	3 (8)	—	15 (39)	4 (10)	23 (35)	9 (14)	—	22 (34)	11 (17)
Acquisition of house hold goods/jewellery	18 (46)	1 (3)	1 (3)	18 (46)	1 (3)	16 (39)	4 (10)	—	17 (41)	4 (10)	21 (39)	4 (13)	—	21 (39)	5 (9)
Sending children to school	12 (44)	1 (4)	1 (4)	12 (44)	1 (4)	14 (40)	3 (9)	—	14 (40)	4 (11)	17 (37)	6 (13)	—	17 (37)	6 (13)
Medical treatment	24 (48)	1 (2)	1 (2)	24 (48)	—	21 (40)	3 (6)	—	24 (46)	4 (8)	24 (39)	6 (10)	—	21 (34)	10 (16)
Celebration of festival	25 (48)	1 (2)	1 (2)	25 (48)	—	24 (42)	4 (7)	—	24 (42)	5 (9)	23 (38)	8 (13)	—	21 (35)	8 (13)
Purchase of craft and gear	—	—	—	—	—	16 (39)	4 (10)	1 (2)	17 (41)	3 (7)	23 (38)	5 (8)	—	22 (36)	11 (18)
Selection of spouse	18 (45)	1 (3)	2 (5)	17 (43)	2 (5)	14 (40)	3 (9)	—	15 (43)	3 (9)	21 (34)	6 (10)	4 (7)	19 (31)	11 (18)
Savings	18 (49)	1 (3)	1 (3)	17 (46)	—	13 (41)	3 (9)	—	13 (41)	3 (9)	19 (39)	6 (12)	—	18 (37)	6 (12)

In brackets the figures are given in %

m—mother, dil—daughter-in-law, ud—unmarried daughter, f—father, s—son

Table 11 : Participation in Discussion of Family Matters (Women's Perception)

Activity	Labourers					Small owners					Big owners				
	m	dil	ud	f	s	m	dil	ud	f	s	m	dil	ud	f	s
House construction	24 (42)	4 (7)	—	25 (44)	4 (7)	31 (40)	8 (10)	—	27 (35)	12 (15)	19 (41)	2 (4)	—	18 (39)	7 (15)
Acquisition of household goods	25 (45)	4 (7)	—	23 (41)	4 (7)	11 (39)	4 (14)	—	9 (32)	4 (14)	17 (37)	3 (7)	—	19 (41)	7 (15)
Sending children to school	4 (50)	1 (12)	—	3 (38)	—	12 (48)	1 (4)	—	7 (28)	5 (20)	12 (40)	2 (7)	—	12 (40)	4 (13)
Medical treatment	27 (49)	—	—	24 (44)	4 (7)	28 (42)	5 (7)	—	26 (39)	8 (12)	20 (35)	3 (5)	—	30 (53)	4 (7)
Celebration of festival	29 (50)	—	—	25 (43)	4 (7)	30 (42)	7 (10)	—	27 (38)	7 (10)	18 (40)	3 (7)	—	19 (42)	5 (11)
Purchase of craft and gear	—	—	—	—	—	24 (36)	8 (12)	—	26 (39)	9 (13)	16 (36)	2 (4)	—	18 (40)	9 (20)
Selection of spouse	27 (47)	3 (5)	—	29 (41)	4 (7)	28 (38)	10 (14)	1 (1)	28 (38)	6 (8)	18 (37)	3 (6)	—	19 (39)	9 (18)
Savings	5 (50)	1 (10)	—	3 (30)	1 (10)	18 (38)	8 (17)	—	17 (36)	4 (9)	7 (35)	2 (10)	—	8 (40)	3 (15)
Acquisition of jewellery	25 (45)	4 (7)	—	23 (41)	4 (7)	14 (41)	3 (9)	—	13 (38)	4 (12)	17 (37)	3 (7)	—	19 (41)	7 (15)

In brackets the figures are given in %
 rn-mother, dil-daughter-in-law, ud-unmarried daughter, f-father, s-son.

The men's perceptions do not show clear differences among the economic strata, which might again be due to their rigid adherence to the traditional value system.

4.2.1.4.2 Participation in Discussion of Family Matters

Tables 10 and 11 show the participation of the various family members in the discussion of family affairs.

With regard to the question who participates in a discussion of family matters, the differences between men's and women's perceptions vanish. However, in the big owners' group, women less frequently stress the participation of daughters-in-law in discussion; and in the small owners' group, the participation of unmarried daughters; and accordingly the responses of both women and men show a similar picture.

In the big owners' group the father and the mother participate equally in all discussions. Sons and daughters also participate, but only in one-third to half of all cases. Sons are more frequently involved in matters concerned with fishing; daughters more frequently with household affairs.

In the small owners' families the roles of the father and the mother are more pronounced because the number of nuclear families without married sons and daughters-in-law and older unmarried children is greater. The same is even more true for labourers' families. In addition to the characteristics already mentioned here, unmarried daughters have hardly any say in family matters.

By and large, the differences occurring among the economic strata are more or less caused by the different family types prevailing in the different strata.

4.2.1.4.3 Participation in Decision-making

Tables 12 and 13 show the decision-making patterns in the three economic strata separately from the point of view of male and female respondents.

Table 12 : Participation in Decision-making (Men's Perception)

Activity	Labourers					Small owners					Big owners				
	m	dii	ud	f	s	m	dil	ud	f	s	m	dil	ud	f	s
House construction	10	—	—	13	1	10	—	—	13	—	16	—	—	16	1
	(42)	—	—	(54)	(4)	(43)	—	—	(57)	—	(48)	—	—	(48)	(4)
Acquisition of household goods	15	—	—	7	1	16	—	—	8	—	17	—	—	11	1
	(65)	—	—	(30)	(4)	(67)	—	—	(33)	—	(59)	—	—	(38)	(3)
Sending children to school	9	—	—	10	1	9	—	—	5	1	9	2	—	12	1
	(45)	—	—	(50)	(5)	(60)	—	—	(33)	(7)	(38)	(8)	—	(50)	(4)
Medical treatment	16	—	—	17	1	15	—	—	20	—	12	—	—	15	1
	(47)	—	—	(50)	(3)	(43)	—	—	(57)	—	(43)	—	—	(54)	(4)
Celebration of festival	20	—	—	12	—	20	—	—	16	2	13	1	—	13	—
	(63)	—	—	(37)	—	(53)	—	—	(42)	(5)	(48)	(4)	—	(48)	—
Purchase of craft and gear	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	12	1	13	—	—	14	3
	—	—	—	—	—	(41)	—	—	(55)	(5)	(43)	—	—	(47)	(10)
Selection of spouse	10	—	6	12	6	13	—	—	13	—	14	1	4	10	8
	(29)	—	(18)	(35)	(18)	(50)	—	—	(50)	—	(38)	(3)	(11)	(27)	(22)
Savings	17	—	—	7	—	11	—	—	6	—	21	1	—	10	—
	(71)	—	—	(29)	—	(65)	—	—	(35)	—	(66)	(3)	—	(31)	—
Acquisition of jewellery	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	1	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(83)	—	—	(17)	—

Table 13: Participation in Decision-making (Women's Perception)

Activity	Labourers				Small owners					Big owners					
	m	dii	ud	f	m	dil	ud	f	s	m	dil	ud	f	s	
House construction	13 (37)	1 (3)	—	20 (57)	1 (3)	10 (43)	1 (4)	—	16 (43)	2 (9)	6 (30)	1 (5)	10 (50)	3 (15)	
Acquisition of household goods	17 (52)	1 (3)	—	14 (42)	1 (3)	14 (56)	2 (8)	—	7 (28)	2 (8)	10 (43)	1 (4)	—	9 (39)	3 (13)
Sending children to school	3 (50)	—	—	3 (50)	—	10 (59)	2 (12)	—	5 (29)	—	8 (42)	1 (5)	—	8 (42)	2 (11)
Medical treatment	15 (47)	—	—	16 (50)	1 (3)	18 (44)	2 (5)	—	19 (46)	2 (5)	16 (57)	1 (4)	—	10 (36)	3 (4)
Celebration of festivals	17 (50)	—	—	16 (47)	1 (3)	22 (50)	2 (5)	—	19 (43)	1 (2)	14 (50)	1 (4)	—	10 (36)	3 (11)
Purchase of craft and gear	—	—	—	—	—	14 (36)	—	—	22 (56)	3 (8)	5 (23)	—	—	13 (59)	4 (18)
Selection of spouse	12 (36)	1 (3)	1 (3)	17 (52)	2 (6)	21 (48)	—	1 (2)	19 (43)	3 (7)	10 (31)	2 (6)	—	16 (50)	4 (13)
Savings	10 (48)	—	—	10 (48)	1 (4)	13 (68)	1 (5)	—	5 (26)	—	7 (70)	1 (10)	—	2 (20)	—
Acquisition of jewellery	—	—	—	—	—	3 (60)	1 (20)	—	1 (20)	—	10 (43)	1 (4)	—	9 (39)	3 (13)

Likewise the perceptions of men and women differ only slightly in the case of participation in decision-making. The general decision-making pattern in all the economic strata is that the father and the mother decide together, in a few cases joined by the sons or the daughters-in-law. The mother dominates decisions related to savings, acquisition of household goods and celebration of festivals, while the father dominates decisions with regard to house construction and purchase of craft and gear.¹

The only difference that we find among the economic strata is that, according to both women and men, the participation of sons and daughters-in-law in decision-making increases with rise in the economic **Status**.

This is simply due to the fact that in the higher economic strata the number of extended families and of married sons and daughters-in-law is higher.

As to differences between the perceptions of men and women, it needs to be mentioned that women see a greater significance in decision-making by daughters-in-law than men do.

4.2.2 Economic Stratification and Socialization

Socialization is the process by which an individual incorporates attitudes, behaviours, knowledge and skills which are considered appropriate by society and particularly by the subculture or group to which the individual belongs. Socialization involves identity formation and conscience development which are both **related** to intra-personal and interpersonal adjustment. (See Adams 1980, p. 167).

Socialization is a life-long process in which the individual plays both active and passive roles and by which individuals get in contact with various socializing agents and agencies.

The significance of family as socializing agency lies, among other things in identity formation and particularly in the case of traditional peasant and fisherfolk families in vocational socialization.

- 1 **Inher study of three fishing villages** in Tamil Nadu, Drewes (1982, p. 19) stresses the important role **of women in decision-making about purchase of craft and gear; which differs from our findings.**

With regard to the first aspect, expectations and attitudes of parents towards children's behaviour are important factors. Regarding the second aspect, initiation of children into work by other family members has to be examined.

In the following sections the socialization of the children of the Teiugu fisherfolk in South Orissa is analysed to see whether it reflects the different economic functions and tasks performed by the different economic strata with regard to occupation and environment.

The following variables are examined : educational status of children, initiation into work, expected behaviour of children, attitude towards children's future occupation. Households belonging to the higher economic strata also perform, to a limited extent, the management, marketing and finance functions for which skills such as reading, writing and numeracy are usually transferred by formal school education. Therefore, we shall first look at the educational status of children to see whether parents have these experiences passed on to their children by arranging for their school education.

4.2.2.1 Educational Status of Children

The following table shows the educational status of children of schoolgoing age in the three strata :

Table 14 : Educational Status of Children of Schoolgoing Age vs. Economic Stratum

Economic Stratum	Educational Status	Uneducated	I-III Standard	IV-V Standard	VI-VIII Standard	Total No. of Children
Labourers	37 (90%)	3 (7%)	1 (2%)	—	41 (99%)	
Small owners	47 (92%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	51 (100%)	
Big owners	49 (78%)	10 (16%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	63 (100%)	

The figures indicate a tendency towards a higher educational status in the 'big owner' category : this shows that parents pass on **their** own experience and the requisite qualifications to their children even though the differences among the economic strata are comparatively small.

We shall now see whether this holds **good** also for initiation into household work and occupation,

4.2.2.2 Initiation into Work

Table 15 shows at what age children in the three economic strata are usually initiated into various tasks.

It has to be noted that, as compared to boys, girls are initiated into fish marketing and processing more frequently in the big owner group than in the other two strata.

On the whole, however, the number of children initiated into fish marketing and processing is higher in the households of the labourers' and small owners' groups than *in* those of the big owners' group. This finding agrees with our earlier finding that, in the perception of the men fish marketing is more often done by members of households having a lower economic **status**.

Another difference seen with regard to initiating children into gardening and animal keeping, which is more often done in families belonging to the 'big owner' category, most likely because they can more easily afford to keep animals and maintain a garden than families with lower economic status can.

The third difference to be noted **is** that children, particularly girls, in the labourers' group **are** more often initiated into the management of family finance than children in the other two strata.

Otherwise a similar picture emerges for the three strata as far as age of initiation into work and sex of child are concerned. Initiation into household work takes place at a little earlier age than initiation into occupational tasks. The generally young age of initiation into work may be noted.

4.2.2.3 Expected Behaviour of Children

Table 16 shows what type of behaviour parents expect from their children in the three economic strata. Parents' expectations of the behaviour and future of their children are factors which influence the process of socialization and thereby the development of the personality of a child. Expectations of parents usually reflect their own living conditions, work, education etc. We shall see whether the economic **status** plays a role as a discriminating factor,

Table 15 Initiation into Work

Activity	Economic Stratum	Labourers			Small owners			Big owners		
		female children	male children	average age	female children	male children	average age	female children	male children	average age
Cooking		28(100)		9.4	25(100)		7.7	27(100)	—	8.1
Washing/cleaning		28(100)		7.6	25(100)	—	7.4	25(100)	—	8.1
Carrying water		28(100)		7	25(100)	—	6.7	25(100)		7.3
Firewood collection		28(100)		8.3	25(100)	—	8.2	26(100)	—	7.5
Shopping		21(65)	11(34)	7.2	25(71)	10(29)	7.7	26(68)	12(32)	7.6
Child care		28(76)	9(24)	7.1	25(83)	5(17)	7.3	25(74)	9(26)	6.7
Gardening		1(50)	1(50)	8				4(80)	1(20)	7.5
Tailorinp		9(56)	7(44)	8.6	—		7.7	11(69)	5(31)	7.2
Management of family										
Finance		28(68)	13(32)	11.9	20(71)	8(29)	11.3	16(73)	6(27)	10.1
Animal keeping		1(100)	—	6		—	—	5(43)	5(57)	7.2
Marketing/processing fish		11(28)	28(27)	12.2	6(22)	21(78)	11.5	10(50)	13(50)	10.3
Fishing		—	28(100)	10.2	—	25(100)	10	—	28(100)	9.9

The figures in brackets are given in per cent.

The table gives the number of cases where families could answer the question from their own experience. Therefore the number of children initiated into a certain type of work is sometimes less than the number of households in the respective category.

The following conclusions can be drawn with regard to differences in the expected behaviour of sons in the three economic strata, according to the answers of the male respondents.

Male respondents from the owner strata stress the importance of their sons becoming good and hardworking fishermen for their own benefit more often than male respondents belonging to the labourer's category. Accordingly male respondents from the owner strata stress less often than those belonging to the labourer category the need for their sons to support them economically. The expectation to see the son studying in school is more often mentioned in the higher economic strata.

The number of indifferent answers with regard to the expected behaviour of sons is higher in the lower economic strata.

Regarding the expected behaviour of daughters, male respondents from the owner category more often want their daughters to earn a good name in the house of the in-laws, and (only in the big owner category) to study and develop a good character while the labourers' and also the small owners' categories emphasize more the aspect of their daughters earning money for the parents and supporting them.

While the male respondents clearly express expectations which reflect the economic status and related living conditions, this is only partly true for the female respondents.

Regarding the expected behaviour of boys, the only differences are that, in the lower economic strata, more often mothers stress the importance of the son becoming a good skillful fisherman for his own benefit, while mothers belonging to the ownership strata more often stress the need for school education and development of a good character.

In the case of girls, mothers from the labourer group express even more often than mothers from the owner categories the expectation that their daughters should earn a good name in the house of the in-laws and thereby in society and less often they wish that their daughters should help the parents in the household.

Table 16 : Expected Behaviour of Children vs. Economic Stratum¹

Expected behaviour of boys and girls	Economic stratum male/female	Labourers		Small owners		Big owners	
		male resp.	female resp.	male resp.	female resp.	male resp.	female resp.
earn money for parents, support them in old age, repay parents debts, respect parents		13 (46%)	4 (14%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	4 (14%)	2 (8%)
hardworking, good manners , good future, learn fishing well, no bad habits		8 (29%)	21 (75%)	25 (83%)	18 (60%)	12 (43%)	13 (46%)
honest, pleasant manners, respect for elders		3 (11%)	—	—	8 (27%)	9 (32%)	9 (32%)
study in school, achieve something in life, good character		—	—	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	3 (11%)	11 (39%)
as children like		1 (4%)	—	—	—	—	—
nosons		1 (4%)	2 (8%)	—	—	—	—
indifferent/no answer		2 (8%)	—	3 (10%)	—	—	—

Expected behaviour of boys

Expected behaviour of girls	learn household work, get good husband	–	21	10	4	3	7
	earn good name in in-laws house	–	(75%)	(30%)	(13%)	(11%)	(25%)
	help mother, get married, learn household work	12	1	14	8	8	8
		(43%)	(4%)	(47%)	(27%)	(28%)	(28%)
	earn money for family by work as labourer (coolie, etc)	3	4	5	–	–	4
		(11%)	(14%)	(17%)	–	–	(14%)
	study in school, honest	–	2	–	–	2	2
		–	(8%)	–	–	(8%)	(8%)
	have a good character	–	–	–	–	1	–
		–	–	–	–	(4%)	–
be obedient	–	–	–	–	–	4	
	–	–	–	–	–	(14%)	
indifferent/no answer	13	–	1	18	14	3	
	(46%)	–	(3%)	(60%)	(50%)	(11%)	

1. The percentage figures refer to the total numbers of respondents in each stratum.

With regard to school education and earning money by wage labour, no significant differences are shown by mothers from the three economic strata.

Thus differences in the economic status seem to be communicated to children more often through expectations of fathers, while expectations of mothers follow other criteria obviously and do not reflect the economic status in the first place. This result is to be seen on the background of the economic stratum defined with reference to the occupation of the head of the family.

4.2.2.4 Expectations of Children's Future Occupation

Table 17 shows parents' expectations of their children's future occupation.

Looking at the answers of the male respondents, we note the following differences among three strata.

With regard to the occupational future of boys, respondents belonging to the owners' strata want their sons more often to complete schooling and also consider a salaried job, even though the number of cases is comparatively small.

While in all the strata fishing is the predominant occupational choice, the reasons given by the respondents clearly differ among the three strata.

Respondents belonging to the labourer and small owner strata justify their choice by adducing the reason that there is no other opportunity than fishing, while respondents from the big owner stratum justify their preference with the argument that there is good future in fishing or that fishing is at least as good as any other occupation.

Regarding the occupational future of girls, the response in all the strata is indifference, most likely because girls are anyhow expected to marry and not to take up any occupation. Only in the labourer group do some respondents expect their daughters to work as coolies. The expectations of the female respondents do not differ significantly from those of the male respondents, except for the lack of respondents from the labourers stratum who want girls to work as wage labourers.

Table 17 : Expectation of Children's Future Occupation vs. Economic Stratum¹

Expectation	Economic Stratum male/female	Labourers		Small owners		Big owners	
		male resp.	female resp.	male resp.	female resp.	male resp.	female resp.
Education and salaried job or fishing		—	1 (4%)	3 (10%)	1 (3%)	3 (11%)	5 (18%)
Fishing		23 (82%)	26 (93%)	24 (80%)	28 (93%)	24 (86%)	23 (82%)
Boys							
Son shall decide		1 (4%)	—	1 (3%)	—	—	—
Noson		1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (3%)	—	—	—
Indifferent		3 (11%)	—	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (4%)	—
Girls							
Learn household work and marry		3 (11%)	2 (7%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	1 (4%)	5 (18%)
Study in school and marry		—	—	—	—	1 (4%)	1 (4%)
Work as coolie and marry		9 (32%)	—	—	—	—	—
Indifferent		16 (57%)	26 (93%)	29 (97%)	29 (97%)	26 (79%)	22 (79%)

¹ The Percentage figures refer to the total number of respondents in each stratum.

Table 18 : Perception of Future of Trade vs. Economic Stratum

Economic Stratum	Cognitive Pattern	Optimistic	Pessimistic	Indifferent	No answer	Total
Labourers' group		10 (38%)	12 (43%)	6 (21%)	—	28 (102%)
One boat and one net owners' group		4 (13%)	18 (60%)	5 (17%)	3 (10)	30 (100%)
several boats and several nets owners' group		13 (46%)	7 (25%)	5 (18%)	3 (11%)	28 (100%)
Total		27 (31 %)	37 (43 %)	16 (19 %)	6 (7%)	86 (100%)

4.2.3 Economic Stratification and Cognitive Patterns

Differences in the perceptions of the environment among the economic strata are analysed on the basis of the attitudes towards the future of the trade/perceptions and of causes for cyclones/storms and good/poor catch.

4.2.3.1 perception of Future of Trade

The above table shows the attitudes prevailing in the three strata towards the future of fishing.

The table shows that big owners and labourers are comparatively more optimistic than small owners. The reason might be that big owners while employing a substantial part of the labourers, operate a varied set of fishing gear, which ensures good income opportunities throughout the year while small owners are rather limited in their fishing method, which can result in a poor income if the fishing season for certain species, which they are equipped for, fails.

In absolute terms, however, only respondents belonging to the big owner group are more optimistic than pessimistic, while the opposite is the case in the two other strata. As reasons for their pessimistic views, respondents usually mention over-exploitation of fish stocks by mechanized as well as by non-mechanized boats.

4.2.3.2 Perception of Nature

The perception of nature has been analysed with the help of two indicators : the perceptions of causes for cyclones and the Perceptions of causes for a good and a bad catch.

The answers have been classified according to whether they cite supernatural causes or give realistic explanations'.

As natural causes for a good catch, the respondents mention a good rainy season, proper water currents, movement of the current called 'Vodiri', calm sea and availability of shoals of fish, while a bad catch was due to unfavourable water currents, rough sea, tidal waves, and failure of rain.

Under supernatural causes the following cognitive patterns have been summarized : Destiny, luck and will of God as reasons for a good catch; and sin, bad fate, ill luck, punishment of God, failure to perform poojas, misunderstandings, evil eye, conflicts in the village as reasons for a bad catch

With regard to causes of storms and cyclones, the following have been considered realistic explanations : high tides, waves and rough sea, fierce wind and rain, strong west winds, and concentration of clouds and high air pressure. As supernatural causes of storms and cyclones : sin, fate, bad luck, God's punishment for neglecting prayers or non-performance of pooja, and God's will and calculation, etc. have been mentioned by the respondents.

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1. A detailed description of **cognitive** patterns of West Bengal fishermen is given by Raychaudhuri (1980, p. 58-80) with regard to the sequence of tide and ebb, navigation, currents, topography of sea bed, fish behaviour and fishing method etc.

Table 19 : Perception of Causes for Cyclone vs. Economic Stratum

Economic stratum	Cognitive Pattern	Super-natural	Natural	Mixed	Indifferent	Total
Labourer group		7 (25%)	9 (32%)	1 (4%)	11 (39%)	28 (100%)
Small owner group		11 (37%)	7 (23%)	3 (10%)	9 (30%)	30 (100%)
Big owner group		6 (21%)	8 (29%)	1 (4%)	13 (46%)	28 (100%)
Total		24 (28%)	24 (28%)	5 (6%)	33 (38%)	86 (100%)

Table 20 Perception of Causes for good/poor Catch vs. Economic Stratum

Economic stratum	Cognitive Pattern	Super-natural	Natural	Mixed	in-different	No answer	Total
Labourer group		13 (46%)	11 (39%)	4 (14%)	—	—	28 (99%)
Small owner group		14 (47%)	1 (50%)	—	1 (3%)	—	30 (100%)
Big owner group		12 (43%)	13 (46%)	3 (11%)	—	—	28 (100%)
Total		39 (45%)	39 (45%)	7 (8%)	1 (1%)	—	86 (99%)

Both the tables show that there are no significant differences which could be logically explained in the context of the economic strata.

The reason for the lack of difference might be the fact, which has been mentioned earlier, that there is hardly any differences among the strata with regard to the working pattern maintained on the sea while sailing, navigating *or* fishing.

Thus the 'egalitarian work group structure' results in more or less uniform perceptions of nature, not influenced by the economic stratum.

4.3. Family, Socialization Process and Cognitive Patterns in different Economic Strata of Oriya and Bengali Artisanal Marine Fisherfolk of North Orissa.

The analysis of the role of economic stratification among the Oriya and the Bengali artisanal marine fisherfolk of North Orissa is based on a sub-sample comprising 126 fisherfolk households, of which 36 (29%) are labourers not owning any fishing craft and gear while 39 (31%) are owners of fishing gear, and 51 (40%) own fishing gear as well as fishing boats.

As in the previous part, the three economic strata are compared as to whether the type and structure of family, socialization process and cognitive patterns reflect differences in economic status and function.

In the case of the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk of North Orissa, however, some of the data collected during the field survey could not be analysed later on, because of doubts regarding their reliability and validity while other information could not be obtained at all for lack of frankness on the part of the respondents.

Thus, variables such as women's perception of the division of labour and the decision-making pattern within the family, women's expectations of the behaviour of their children and the children's occupational future, the division of labour among the male members of the family, the division of labour among the female family members, the formation and break-up of families, and the educational status of children have not been included in the comparison of the three economic strata.

4.3.1 Economic Stratification and Family

Three aspects of family life are analysed here : type and size of family, division of labour, and decision-making pattern.

4.3.1.1 Family Type and Size of Family

The following tables show the types of families found in the three economic strata as well as the average family size. The families are categorized into nuclear families, lineally and collaterally extended families.

Table 21 : Family Type vs. Economic Stratum

Type of Family	Economic Stratum	Labourers	Net Owners	Boat and Net Owners
Nuclear		14 (39%)	18 (46%)	12 (24%)
Lineally extended		13 (36%)	14 (36%)	15 (29%)
Collaterally extended		9 (25%)	6 (15%)	23 (45%)
Lineally collaterally extended			1 (3%)	1 (2%)
No. of respondents		36 (100%)	39 (100%)	51 (100%)

Table 22 : Size of Family vs. Economic Stratum

Economic Stratum	Family size
Labourer	7.8
Net Owner	7.7
Boat Owner	8.1

Boat and net owners live more frequently in collaterally extended families and less frequently in nuclear families, as compared to labourers and net owners.

As it has already been observed in the case of South Orissa, this pattern suggests with the ownership of assets, the family assumes the function of a production unit e.g. participation in fishing operations, fish sales, recruitment of team members etc. and therefore

frequently comprises more than one married couple in the form of either lineally or collaterally extended families, who jointly own and operate the productive assets.

The size of boat and net owner families, however, is only slightly larger than the size of families belonging to the labourer and net owner categories which is different from what has been observed in South Orissa: where the family size increased considerably in the higher economic strata while being generally smaller than in North Orissa.

A reason for the equally large family size in all the economic strata in North Orissa might be that those families which have a lower economic status in fishing might compensate this by secondary occupations like for example, agricultural labour which again provides sufficient income to sustain a large family.

Unlike in South Orissa the correlation between economic stratum and family type does not hold good for labourer and net owner households. On the contrary, even though labourers have a lower economic status in fishing, they live more often in extended families when compared to net owners, while the family size is about the same. They possibly compensate for their lower economic status in fishing by secondary occupations in agriculture.

The differences between the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa and the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk of North Orissa mentioned above, have to be seen in the background of their traditional caste occupations, which as described in chapter 4, are exclusively marine fishing in the south and river fishing and agriculture in the north. These differences also account for the larger family size found in North Orissa as well as the larger number of extended families as compared to nuclear families.

4.3.1.2 Division of Labour in the Family

In the following tables, the division of labour among the members of the households interviewed is shown. The activities listed can be broadly classified into household work carried out in the house or close to the house such as cooking, cleaning, washing, child care, house repair, gardening, tailoring, animal keeping, management of family finance, household work outside the house

such as firewood collection, shopping, water carrying and sometimes washing and fisheries-related activities like fishing, formation of fishing teams, net weaving, procurement of equipment, fish marketing, and management of fishery finance.

Table 23 : Division of Labour in Household-Labourer Group¹

Activity	Family members	Exclusively by women	Exclusively by men	By both
Cooking		40	—	—
Firewood collection		39	2	1
Shopping		4	44	2
Washing		48	—	—
Cleaning		41	1	—
Child care		35	—	—
House repair		4	38	5
Gardening		7	24	—
Tailoring		8	18	—
Carrying water		46	—	—
Management of family finance		1	29	9
Animal keeping		17	9	—
Fish marketing		8	23	8
Fishing			46	—
procurement of fishing equipment		4	15	—
Formation of teams			10	—
Management of fishery finance		3	31	6
Net weaving or mending		—	—	—

¹The tables 23, 24 and 25 show the number of household members involved in the respective activities.

Table 24 : Division of Labour in Household--Net Owner Group

Activity	Family members	Exclusi - vely by women	Exclusi- vely by men	By both
Cooking		45		
Firewood collection		38	21	—
Shopping		—	46	5
Washing		45	—	-
Cleaning		47		
Child care		41	47	
House repair		2	18	1
Gardening		6		5
Tailoring		13	3	
Carrying water		51	32	
Management of family finance			10	10
Animal keeping		28	15	1
Fish marketing		5	25	3
Fishing			57	
Procurement of fishing equipment		2	45	1
Formation of teams		—	38	
Management of fishery finance		2	32	5
Net weaving or mending		7	4	4

Table 25 : Division of Labour in Household-Boat and Net Owner Group

Activity	Family members	Exclusively by women	Exclusively by men	By both
Cooking		65	—	—
Firewood collection		53	7	
Shopping		2	67	3
Washing		60	—	—
Cleaning		61	—	
Child care		55	1	2
House repair		1	56	—
Gardening		12	27	8
Tailoring		18	—	—
Carrying water		55	—	3
Management of family finance			47	6
Animal keeping		38	7	2
Fish marketing		1	37	2
Fishing		—	70	
Procurement of fishing equipment		—	52	—
Formation of teams		—	54	
Management of fishery finance		—	54	1
Net weaving or mending		—	3	6

As already seen in the case of the Telugu fisherfolk in South Orissa, the three economic strata do not show significant differences with regard to the division of labour among family members except for a slightly more prominent role of women in the lower economic strata with regard to fisheries-related activities such as fish marketing, management of fishery finance, and procurement of fishing equipment.

However, these activities are predominantly or even exclusively taken care of by men in all the economic strata, besides other fisheries-related activities like formation of fishing teams, fishing and household activities, looking after the financial affairs of the family and shopping. An activity, which is generally carried out by both men and women, but more often by women, is net weaving, except for the labourer group. Gardening in the net owner group is more often done by women, too, while in the labourers' and big owners' group gardening is more often done by men. Household activities such as cooking, washing, cleaning, firewood collection, child care and tailoring are predominantly or exclusively looked after by women except that men take care of tailoring more often than women in the labourer group, while in the net owner group both women and men are responsible for child care.

When compared to the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa, the role of women among the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk in North Orissa is considerably less prominent. Oriya and Bengali fisherwomen play only a very minor or no role in fisheries-related activities such as the management of fishery finance, fish marketing and processing, and also in out-door household work such as shopping and gardening (exception: net owner group) as well as in the management of family finance while among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa all these activities are predominantly taken care of by women.

4.3.1.3 Decision-making Pattern

The decision-making pattern of the families of the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk in North Orissa is analysed under two aspects, viz. the verbalization of family matters and the participation of family members in decision-making.

4.3.1.3.1 Verbalization of Family Matters

The following table shows whether family matters are discussed in the family or not.

Table 26: Verbalization of Family Matters vs. Economic Stratum

Activity	Economic Stratum					
	Labourers		Net Owners		Boat Owners	
Verbalization	Discussed	Not discussed	Discussed	Not discussed	Discussed	Not discussed
House construction/repair	34(94%)	2(6%)	36(92%)	3(8%)	51(100%)	—
Buying of jewels	26(72%)	10(28%)	34(87%)	5(13%)	49(96%)	2(4%)
Buying of vessels	35(97%)	1(3%)	34(87%)	5(13%)	50(98%)	1(2%)
Sending children to school	26(72%)	10(28%)	30(77%)	9(23%)	44(86%)	7(14%)
Medical treatment	35(97%)	1(3%)	36(92%)	3(8%)	49(96%)	2(4%)
Celebration of festivals	34(94%)	2(6%)	37(95%)	2(5%)	48(94%)	3(6%)
Purchase of craft/gear	21(58%)	15(42%)	33(85%)	6(15%)	48(94%)	3(6%)
Selection of spouse	27(75%)	9(25%)	35(90%)	4(10%)	46(95%)	5(5%)
Family planning	26(72%)	10(28%)	27(69%)	12(31%)	26(51%)	25(49%)
Savings	27(75%)	9(25%)	33(85%)	6(5%)	43(84%)	8(16%)

The table shows a high degree of verbalization of family matters. AS in the case of the Telugu fisherfolk in South Orissa, differences occur mainly between the labourer group and the two other strata with regard to the purchase of craft and gear, buying of jewels, savings, selection of spouse and education of children. Labourer families might talk less frequently about these topics because they have less income to spend on jewels or to save than the two other groups, fewer opportunities to acquire fishing craft or gear, less attractive marriage proposals to consider because of their low economic and social status and because they can't easily afford to send their children to school.

Another interesting difference is that family planning is more often talked about in families belonging to the lower economic strata. This indicates that families owning craft and gear might see more opportunities to sustain a bigger family while this is not the case in labourer households.

4.3.1.3.2 Participation in Discussion of Family Matters

Table 27 shows the participation of family members in the discussion of family affairs.

The head of the family and his wife participate most frequently in discussions of family matters. Unlike in South Orissa, where both participate equally in the discussion of family matters, this is the case in North Orissa only in labourer households. In households of boat and net owners the head of the family dominates. Besides him and his wife, married sons also play a significant role in the discussion of family matters. Unlike in South Orissa, unmarried sons and daughters-in-law play only a very minor role when something is discussed in the family. Unmarried daughters have equally little say as among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa.

4.3.1.3.3 Participation in Decision-making

Table 28 shows the decision-making patterns in the three economic strata.

While the decision-making pattern in the labourer group is identical to the discussion pattern, the other two strata show a different picture. While the authority of the head of the family increases,

the authority of his wife decreases in households belonging to the net owner and the boat and net owner stratum.

In all the strata, the role of a married son in decision-making is similar to his role in the discussion of family matters.

Unmarried sons have hardly any say and daughters-in-law and unmarried daughters have no say at all. While the authority pattern of the head of a family is very rigid and does not seem to change with the subject of decision, the wife of the head of a family participates more often in decisions concerning household affairs and less often in decisions concerning savings, purchase of craft and gear and house construction. Married sons participate highest in decisions concerning purchase of craft and gear and house construction.

In the Telugu fisherfolk households, too, daughters-in-law, unmarried daughters and unmarried sons do not play any role in decision-making in the family. The authority pattern between the head of the family and his wife, however, is a more flexible and, democratic one, depending on the area of decision.

As already observed in the case of discussion pattern, the decision making pattern, too, does not reflect the **economic status** much, except for the trend that families belonging to the labourer stratum show a more balanced husband-wife authority pattern than families belonging to the boat and net and the boat owner category.

4.3.2 Economic Stratification and Socialization

The socialization of children of the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk is analysed under three aspects, namely the attitudes of parents towards the behaviour of their children, the parents' expectations of the future occupation of their children, and the initiation of children into work.

4.3.2.1 Initiation into Work

Table 29 shows at what age fisherfolk children of either sex are initiated in the various activities.

Table 27 : Participation in Discussion of Family-matters vs. Economic Stratum

Activity	Labourer						Net Owner						Boat Owner					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
House construction	29 (35%)	21 (25%)	2 (2%)	29 (35%)	3 (4%)	—	32 (41%)	17 (22%)	1 (1%)	26 (36%)	—	—	44 (37%)	33 (28%)	5 (4%)	32 (27%)	4 (3%)	1 (1%)
Buying of jewels	28 (39%)	17 (24%)	—	24 (34%)	2 (3%)	—	35 (42%)	15 (18%)	1 (1%)	29 (35%)	4 (5%)	—	41 (38%)	25 (23%)	2 (2%)	36 (33%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)
Buying of vessels	32 (37%)	16 (19%)	—	32 (37%)	6 (7%)	—	35 (47%)	12 (15%)	1 (1%)	30 (37%)	4 (5%)	—	40 (36%)	25 (23%)	2 (2%)	34 (31%)	4 (4%)	5 (5%)
Sending children to school	14 (31%)	11 (24%)	—	19 (42%)	1 (2%)	—	28 (44%)	8 (13%)	1 (2%)	26 (41%)	—	—	35 (39%)	21 (24%)	1 (1%)	27 (30%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)
Medical treatment	30 (38%)	18 (23%)	1 (1%)	25 (32%)	4 (5%)	—	37 (44%)	14 (17%)	1 (1%)	32 (38%)	—	—	38 (38%)	24 (24%)	1 (1%)	32 (32%)	2 (2%)	4 (4%)
Celebration of festivals	35 (41%)	14 (16%)	—	31 (36%)	6 (7%)	—	39 (44%)	17 (16%)	1 (1%)	34 (39%)	—	—	37 (38%)	20 (20%)	—	32 (33%)	5 (5%)	4 (4%)
Purchase of craft/gear	15 (35%)	10 (23%)	3 (7%)	14 (33%)	1 (2%)	—	36 (45%)	19 (24%)	1 (1%)	24 (30%)	—	—	36 (39%)	32 (34%)	2 (2%)	19 (20%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)
Selection of spouse	21 (37%)	12 (21%)	—	21 (37%)	3 (5%)	—	35 (43%)	12 (15%)	6 (7%)	29 (35%)	—	—	33 (41%)	12 (15%)	4 (5%)	28 (35%)	2 (3%)	1 (1%)
Family planning	21 (47%)	4 (9%)	—	20 (44%)	—	—	19 (44%)	2 (5%)	—	16 (37%)	1 (2%)	5 (12%)	18 (45%)	3 (8%)	—	16 (40%)	2 (5%)	1 (3%)
Savings	20 (43%)	10 (22%)	—	16 (35%)	—	—	24 (41%)	9 (15%)	2 (3%)	20 (34%)	1 (2%)	3 (5%)	34 (45%)	20 (27%)	2 (3%)	17 (23%)	—	2 (3%)

1. Head of the family
2. Married son
3. Unmarried son
4. Wife of head of the family
5. Daughter-in-law
6. Unmarried daughter

Table 28: Participation in Decision-making vs. Economic Stratum

Activity	Labourer						Net Owner						Boat Owner					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	56	
House construction	29 (35%)	21 (25%)	2 (2%)	29 (35%)	3 (4%)	—	30 (55%)	13 (24%)	1 (2%)	10 (19%)	—	—	40 (55%)	28 (25%)	2 (3%)	13 (18%)	—	—
Buying of jewels	28 (39%)	17 (24%)	—	24 (34%)	2 (3%)	—	28 (54%)	8 (15%)	1 (2%)	15 (29%)	—	—	38 (52%)	18 (25%)	—	16 (22%)	1 (1%)	—
Buying of vessels	32 (37%)	16 (19%)	—	32 (37%)	6 (7%)	—	30 (55%)	7 (13%)	1 (2%)	17 (31%)	—	—	38 (51%)	18 (24%)	1 (1%)	16 (22%)	1 (1%)	—
Sending children to school	14 (31%)	11 (24%)	—	19 (42%)	1 (2%)	—	22 (54%)	7 (17%)	1 (2%)	11 (27%)	—	—	33 (52%)	17 (27%)	—	14 (22%)	—	—
Medical treatment	30 (38%)	18 (23%)	1 (1%)	25 (32%)	4 (5%)	—	31 (58%)	9 (17%)	1 (2%)	12 (23%)	—	—	35 (49%)	19 (27%)	—	16 (23%)	1 (1%)	—
Celebration of festivals	35 (41%)	14 (16%)	—	31 (36%)	6 (7%)	—	30 (55%)	9 (16%)	1 (2%)	14 (25%)	1 (2%)	—	36 (50%)	17 (24%)	1 (1%)	16 (22%)	2 (3%)	—
Purchase of craft/gear	15 (35%)	10 (23%)	3 (7%)	14 (33%)	1 (2%)	—	25 (60%)	10 (24%)	1 (2%)	6 (14%)	—	—	35 (52%)	17 (25%)	—	14 (21%)	1 (2%)	—
Selection of spouse	21 (37%)	12 (21%)	—	21 (37%)	3 (5%)	—	28 (53%)	8 (15%)	2 (4%)	15 (28%)	—	—	34 (59%)	9 (16%)	—	15 (26%)	—	—
Family planning	21 (47%)	4 (9%)	—	20 (44%)	—	—	15 (50%)	3 (10%)	—	12 (40%)	—	—	13 (62%)	—	—	8 (38%)	—	—
Savings	20 (43%)	10 (22%)	—	16 (35%)	—	—	21 (49%)	7 (16%)	—	5 (12%)	10 (24%)	—	28 (47%)	21 (36%)	—	10 (~17%)	—	—

1. Head of the family
2. Married son
3. Unmarried son
4. Wife of head of the family
5. Daughter-in-law
6. Unmarried daughter

Exclusively or predominantly girls are initiated into household activities which are either carried out indoors or do not involve dealings with people outside the family, such as cooking, washing, water carrying, firewood collection, child care and tailoring.

Exclusively or predominantly boys are initiated into household works as shopping and the management of family finance, which have something to do with handling money and dealing with people outside the house and sometimes the village, such as shop-keepers.

Boys and girls are initiated into fisheries-related and subsidiary occupations, carried out in or close to the house, e.g. net weaving, animal keeping, gardening.

A comparison of the various economic strata reveals two differences.

The lower the economic strata, the younger the age at which children are initiated into work.

The lower the economic strata, the larger the number of girls initiated into collecting or buying and selling of **fish**.

When compared to the children of the Oriya fisherfolk in South Orissa, it is noticed that the average age of initiation into work of the children of the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk in North Orissa is considerably higher. Differences with regard to the role of women between North and South Orissa, discussed earlier, are already prepared for through the initiation of children into work. While in South Orissa, predominantly girls are initiated into household activities which involve the handling of money and dealings with outside persons such as management of family finance and shopping, they are deprived of this role in North Orissa, where almost exclusively boys are initiated into these activities.

4.3.2.2 Expected Behaviour of Children

The parents' expectations of and attitudes towards their children's behaviour present a norm structure which influences the development of the personality of the child to a large extent while it reflects the parents' own environment and experiences.

Table 30 shows parents' expectations of the behaviour of their children in the three economic strata.

Table 29 Initiation into **Work vs. Economic Stratum**

Activity	Economic Stratum		Labourer			Net Owner					
	Sex of child/age		Female children	Male	Average age	Female children	Male	Average age	Female children	Male	Average age
Fishing			—	35 (100%)	118	—	38 (100%)	13.4	—	47 (100%)	142
Cooking			36 (100%)	—	9.8	37 (97%)	1 (3%)	111	47 (100%)	—	10.9
washing/cleaning			36 (100%)		9.5	37 (97%)	1 (1%)	106	47 (96%)	2 (4%)	103
Water carrying			36 (100%)	—	8.8	36 (84%)	7 (16%)	99	47 (94%)	3 (6%)	10.1
Firewood collection			34 (92%)	3 (8%)	102	30 (81%)	7 (19%)	99	43 (83%)	9 (17%)	96
Shopping			15 (31%)	34 (69%)	10.5	8 (18%)	37 (82%)	109	12 (20%)	47 (80%)	115
Child care			36 (100%)	—	8.7	36 (92%)	3 (8%)	10.7	47 (94%)	3 (6%)	98

Gardening	8 (50%)	8 (50%)	103	13 (43%)	17 (57%)	104	19 (42%)	126 (58%)	112
Tailoring	12 (92%)	1 (8%)	112	14 (100%)		116	16 (100%)	—	129
Management of family finance	1 (4%)	36 (96%)	164	1 (3%)	37 (97%)	17.5	—	45 (100%)	182
Marketing/Processing of fish	18 (34%)	35 (66%)	12.8	7 (18%)	31 (82%)	156	5 (15%)	29 (85%)	159
Animal keeping	22 (52%)	20 (48%)	93	28 (62%)	17 (38%)	106	32 (68%)	15 (32%)	114
Net weaving or mending or making cowdung cake	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	10.5	10 (63%)	6 (37%)	11.4	8 (62%)	5 (38%)	13.4

Table 30 : Expected Behaviour of Children vs. Economic Stratum

Expected behaviour of boys/girls	Economic stratum	Labourer	Net Owner	Boat Owner
For Boys	Hard working, good manners, good future, obedient	17(47%)	21(54%)	37(30%)
	Obedient and should pay respects to elders	7(19%)	6(15%)	3(6%)
	Honest, pleasant manners, respect caste elders	1(3%)		4(8%)
	Study in school, achieve something in life, good character	4(11%)	7(18%)	3(6%)
	Well behaved and should learn methods of fishing	—	2(5%)	1(2%)
	No sons	4(11%)	1(3%)	1(2%)
	Indifferent/no answer	3(8%)	2(5%)	3(6%)
	For Girls	Learn household work, get good husband and be a good housewife	2(6%)	9(23%)
Study in school, obedient		2(6%)	5(13%)	6(12%)
Obedient		12(33%)	12(31%)	18(35%)
Learn household work and work like their mothers		4(11%)		1(2%)
No female child		5(14%)	4(10%)	4(8%)
Indifferent/no answer		11(31%)	9(23%)	7(14%)

The table indicates differences among the three groups, which clearly reflect the different socio-economic context. The higher the economic stratum, the more important are characteristics like “good manners”*, which also incorporate among other things personal initiative (“hard working”) and optimism (“good future”).

In families, which have their own boats and nets, personal initiative and optimism are essential to keep the ‘family enterprise’ alive, while they are not so much required in labourer families¹. On the other hand obedience and respect (“obedient and should show respect for the elders”) play a more important role in labourer and net owner families because they have to work under the instruction of others.

Another interesting difference to be noted among the various economic strata is that studying in school is considered more relevant in net owner and labourer families than in boat and net owner families, which is contrary to the observations made in South Orissa.

As far as expectations of the behaviour of girls are concerned, obedience is the most important expectation in all the economic strata. Girls of the higher economic strata are expected to study in school more often than the girls of the lower strata, indifference towards a girl’s expected behaviour is more often found in the lower economic strata than in the higher economic strata.

While the fisherfolk’s uniform expectation of the future of their daughters is ‘marriage’, the following answers were given when asked which occupation they expect their sons to follow once they are grown up.

While in the labourers’ and net owners’ stratum, fishing is the first choice for a son’s future occupation, followed by a ‘salaried job’, this sequence is reversed in the boat and net owner stratum.

¹A similar trend has been observed among the Telugu fisherfolk of south Orissa.

Table 31 : Expectation towards Son's Future Occupation Vs. Economic Stratum

Expectation	Economic Stratum	Labourers	Net Owners	Boat Owners
Salaried job		12(33%)	11(28%)	18(35%)
Fishing		17(47%)	12(31%)	13(25%)
Business		—	1(3%)	1(2%)
Son shall decide		1(3%)	8(21 %)	12(24%)
Any occupation other than fishing		1(3%)	6(15%)	5(10%)
<u>Indifferent/no son</u>		5(14%)	1(3%)	2(4%)

A similar trend is denoted by the fact that boat and net owners and also net owners expect the son to take up 'any occupation other than fishing' more often than the labourers and also more often let the son decide on his future occupation instead of committing him to fishing.

The answers of the respondents indicate a trend that the higher economic strata among the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk of North Orissa have a tendency to opt out of sea fishing, if other opportunities are offered. This tendency, which is contrary to what has been observed among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa, has again to be seen in the background of the traditional caste occupations of the fisherfolk of North Orissa, who unlike the marine fisherfolk of South Orissa followed other occupations such as river fishing, agriculture, village artisan's work etc.

4.3.3 Economic Stratification and Cognitive Patterns

The following paragraph examines whether economic status has become a discriminating factor with regard to the perception of trade and nature. The three economic strata are compared as to differences in perceiving the future prospects of fishing as an occupation, and in naturalistic and supernaturalistic reasoning about 'nature' in the form of storms and cyclones and a good and a poor catch.

4.3.3.1 Perception of Future of Trade

The following table shows the perceptions of the respondents of the various economic strata concerning the future of fishing as occupation. The answers, have been classified into optimistic, pessimistic and indifferent ones.

Table 32 Economic stratum vs. Perception of Future of Trade

Economic Stratum	Perception Optimistic	Pessimistic	Indif-ferent	No answer	Total
Labourer	11 (31%)	17 (46%)	1 (3%)	7(19%)	36
Net Owner	13 (33%)	16 (41%)		10(26%)	39
Boat Owner	26 (51%)	11 (21%)	1(2%)	13(26%)	51
Total	50 (40%)	44 (35%)	2(2%)	30 (24%)	126

Optimistic views are more in the higher economic strata, particularly in the boat and net owner stratum, while pessimistic answers are more often found in the lower economic strata.

The boat and net owners are the only economic stratum where the respondents hold optimistic views more often than pessimistic ones, as is the case, too, with the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa. The reason, again, might be that for owners of craft and gear, it lies more in their own hands to utilize the chances of getting a good catch and income, offered during the various fishing seasons for various fish species throughout the year, while labourers and net owners depend more on others to employ them or to join with them in a team. This is also brought out in the explanations given by the respondents.

Some of the fisherfolk belonging to the labourer category, for example, express the opinion that the future is uncertain, because of the uncertainty of the terms and conditions on which the boat and net owners will employ them. Many of the respondents from the labourer stratum who hold an optimistic view of the future attribute it to the prospect of being able to acquire a net and boat of their own before long. Respondents from the boat and net owner stratum and those from the net owner stratum holding pessimistic

views adduce declining fish resources, increasing numbers of artisanal fishermen, and natural calamities such as cyclones.

Optimistic views are often expressed by those respondents who have recently acquired additional fishing craft and gear or who hope to acquire it soon.

4.3.3.2 Perception of Nature

The fisherfolk's perceptions of nature have been analysed with the help of two questions: what are the causes of storms and cyclones? And what are the reasons for a good catch and a poor catch?

The answers have been classified into supernatural explanations, natural explanations, mixed explanations and indifferent answers.

Table 33 : Perception of Causes of Cyclone vs. Economic Stratum

Economic Stratum	Perception	Super-natural	Natural	Mixed	Indif-ferent	Total
Labourers		2(6%)	27 (75%)	1 (3%)	6 (17%)	36
Net owners		2 (5%)	27 (69%)	—	10 (26%)	39
Boat owners		8 (16%)	27 (53%)	—	16(31%)	51
Total		12(10%)	81 (64%)	1 (1%)	32(25%)	126

Table 34 : Perception of Reasons for Good/Poor Catch vs. Economic Stratum

Economic Stratum	Perception	Super-natural	Natural	Mixed	Indif-ferent	Total
Labourers		20 (56%)	12 (33%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	36
Net owners		12 (31%)	24 (62%)	1 (2%)	2 (5%)	39
Boat owners		25 (49%)	25 (49%)	—	1 (2%)	51
Total		54 (45%)	61 (48%)	3 (2%)	5 (4%)	126

In the case of storms and cyclones, the majority of the respondents mention natural causes such as climatic changes, air pressure, winds blowing from certain directions, changes in temperature etc.

Only a very small number cites supernatural causes such as god's punishment, sin etc.

It is interesting to note, however, that respondents from the lower economic strata more often give natural explanations than respondents from the higher economic strata who favour supernatural explanations more. This trend however does not hold good for explanations of a good and a poor catch. Here the labourer stratum contains the largest share of supernatural responses. Thus it seems that perceptions of nature are not easily related to economic status, as it has already been observed and interpreted in the case of the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa.

4.4 Summary

The economic stratification among the Telugu fisherfolk of South Orissa is reflected by differences with regard to social institutions and sociopsychological processes such as the family and the socialization of children. In the case of the family, it is found that, with the ownership of assets, the number of extended families is increasing and the number of nuclear families declining because, in the owner households, the family assumes the function of a production unit.

Related differences are to be found with regard to the working pattern and decision-making pattern in the family. The higher the economic stratum, the more pronounced the participation and the role of married and unmarried sons, daughters and daughters-in-law.

Regarding socialization, we find differences among the economic strata in the initiation of children into work. In the lower economic strata children are initiated into fish marketing and processing more often than in the higher economic strata, because of the need to supplement the income from fishing by other sources of income. Children from the higher economic strata, again, are more

often initiated into gardening and animal keeping, an activity which is carried out by well-to-do families, owning some agricultural land and cattle.

Another difference among the economic strata is that children of the labourer families, particularly girls, are more often initiated into the management of family finance than children of the higher economic strata.

The parents' expectations of their children behaviour and future occupation also differ among the three economic strata. The higher economic strata stress initiative and education more often while the lower economic strata more often express the view that their children should support them economically.

Cognitive patterns with regard to nature do not show any differences in the three economic strata. The reason might be that, during fishing operations which constitute the most relevant exposure to nature, the differences among the economic strata vanish because owners also participate in fishing and there is hardly any clear separation of tasks on board of small fishing boats where reliance on reciprocal interdependence and coordination of crewmen are essential.

Regarding the perception of the future of their trade, big boat and net owners and labourers hold more optimistic views than small owners, most likely because big owners, while employing a substantial part of the labourers, operate a varied set of fishing gear, which allows them to participate in different fishing seasons throughout the year, while small owners due to their limited gear are more seriously affected by the failure of a single fishing season,

The economic stratification among the Oriya and the Bengali artisanal marine fisherfolk of North Orissa is reflected by the type of family the fisherfolk live in and by the familial communication, but hardly by the authority pattern and by the division of labour within the family.

Families who own boat and nets or only nets more often live in extended families than labourer families do. Extended families, belonging to the owner strata, jointly own and operate fishing craft

and gear and thereby function as production units. The size of the families does not differ significantly among the various economic strata. It is considerably larger than the size of the Telugu fisherfolk families in South Orissa, who live in nuclear families more often than the Oriya and the Bengali fisherfolk of North Orissa who have their occupational origins in agriculture and inland fisheries.

While the division of labour does not generally differ among the various economic strata, women play a more prominent role in fisheries-related activities in the lower economic strata.

Regarding the decision making pattern, the labourer families show a more democratic and flexible authority distribution between the head of the family and his wife as it is the case in the owner strata where the man clearly dominates all decision making in a rather rigid way. Furthermore families belonging to the owner strata discuss subjects like savings, education of children, acquisition of jewellery, craft and gear more often than labourer households.

Regarding the socialization of children however, differences show among the various economic strata in the parents' educational attitudes, revealed by their expectations of their children's behaviour, in parent's perceptions of their children's future occupation as well as in the initiation of children into work.

In the lower economic strata, children are initiated into work at an earlier age and girls belonging to the lower economic strata are initiated into fish marketing more often than girls from the higher economic strata. Parents belonging to the higher economic strata more often expect their sons to show initiative and work hard, while parents belonging to the lower economic strata regard obedience as more important.

Regarding the future occupation of their sons, parents from the higher economic strata expect them to have a salaried job in the first place or take up an occupation other than fishing, while among the labourer families fishing is the first choice as occupation for their sons. In the case of girls, the various strata hold the unanimous view that girls should be obedient and get married, except for a slightly higher proportion of respondents in the owner groups who want their daughters educated in school.

The future of fishing as an occupation in general is also viewed differently in the different economic strata. Boat and net owners hold more optimistic views than Labourers, who in turn more often express a pessimistic outlook. Optimistic opinions are often legitimated by claims to the ownership of a varied set of fishing craft and gear or by the prospects of acquiring it, so that various fishing seasons throughout the year can be exploited, while pessimistic views are explained on the grounds of the dwindling of marine resources consequent on the overexploitation by an increasing number of artisanal fishermen as well as by mechanized fishing boats, uncertain conditions and terms of employment (in the case of labourers) and natural calamities e.g. cyclones and floods.

Perceptions of nature concerning storms and cyclones and a bad and poor catch were not found to be related to the economic stratum, most likely because the respondents of all the economic strata had undergone similar experiences of nature as members of a crew or work group aboard small fishing boats.