**Interview Information**

Interviewer/s: Gajendran V., Raju K.,Durga Moorthy and Saravanan K.

(GV,RK,DM,SK)

Place of interview: Kattukuppam

Geo Coordinates: 13.219887, 80.318912

Date of interview: 01.04.2023

Transcription by: RK

Audio: [230401\_Toxicity\_Kattukuppam\_Women\_GV,RK,DM,SK](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hZ302IHRqw1Wg89D4U7ETJZeY6Nk3Sm8/view?usp=sharing).m4a

**Interviewee Information**

Pseudonym: W1, W2, W3, W4, M1

W1: Fisher 1

W2: Fisher 2

W3: Fisher

W4: Fisher 4

M1: Fisher 1

**Interview note:**

Interviewed and discussed matters relatqing to Sediments, Charru mussels, Fiddler crabs, prawns and about their toxicity. Women are fishing with their family men sharing their women fishers’ struggles, men fishers’ struggles, women’s work in fishing (prawn catching) and their joynessnees in fishing.

**Transcription note:**

More than one person was responding to the same question. I have entered mostly single responses if I couldn't hear others responses or if the responses were similar. In multiple responses dominant voices in the audio recorded were transcribed. Tried to be gender neutral in transcription. Many women go prawn catching with their husband, but even in this interview, women have gone prawn catching with their brother(s). So I have referred to the male prawn catchers with the women as ‘man’/’men’ or ‘a family man/men’ in the interviews, rather than just as ‘husband’ in general. Women have responded in plural aspects in accordance with men vs women in prawn catching. I have also mentioned them as ‘fishers’; prawn catching as ‘fish catching’ though they particularly catch prawns. They also refer to their work in general terms as Net-work (valaiku poradhu), but I have mentioned mostly as fishing/fish catching. Women also do picking the prawns after the prawns are caught and shed on the boat; It’s part of segregation.

**(00:00:00)**

GV: How many days are you doing this prawn catching work?

W1: I have been fishing with my husband for 10 years in the motor boat.

GV: What is the difference between the prawns caught 10 years back and prawns that are caught now?

W1: Prawns were caught more and were good in the past as the water was good and now, there are plentiful ‘vandaal thanni’ (turbid water) and slurry muds (kola kola vala vala seru); the whole boat (inside) becomes muddy as the nets get muddy while catching prawns. At Least more than ¼ of the river's water level is muddy, if we get down into the river, our legs would get into the mud up to our knees

W2: The muds are blackish and because of the ash water, the prawn breeding has declined and prawns are dying and floating on the river. Before 20 years we had great earnings from the river, but now there is no prawn growth(‘no porappu’), we are suffering much as there are no fishes, no prawns and no crabs in the river. Men are facing too much hardship because of the river degradation and no job opportunity. We can only sense their hardship as we travel with them. If not we would not have sensed their hardship and the situation of the river. Government is also not providing employment for us; I am not sure how to find a way to live in this country. The main reason for the muddy sediments is the sand deposited by ports.

M1 (to W2): Tell them about how the mud has been deposited.

W2: Muds (seru) were developed because of the newly built harbor (KPL).

GV: From the harbor, only sand was dredged and how mud came here?

M1: From the harbor, sand was dumped in the river to build a coal yard. The dumped sand mixed with the water and drained as turbid water into the river. The solute (dirt) part in the mixture sediment was carried by the water flow in the river and thus slurry muds deposited on the river sediments. The water flow in the river carried the slurry till Pulicat region. The mud had the smallest granules, it was like a paste (kozla kozla). The mud is too slurry and it’s hard to take the slurry in the hand, as the slurry would be mixed with water by the time our hands reach the water surface.

GV: It was said in the other interviews that prawns only grow in the mud. How true is that?

M1: River muds are different and the current slurry depositions are different and not sure of the relationships between the river sediment and sea sediments. Now the prawn breeding is much less.

W3: At present, prawn production in the river is negligible . In the old days, there would be more prawn production. We (fishers) are directly seeing those changes. We keep our hands inside the water; we can sense the loads of prawn's presence in the river. Now those things can’t be found anywhere in the river. Kaaka Aazhi (Charru mussels) invasion has even worsened our livelihood. It’s hard for us to do fishing and make our livelihood.

GV: When did you come to know about Charru Mussels?

W3: For some days, I have not been going to the net-work (means fishing; valaiku). Charru Mussels infestation has increased in the river and the river has been elevated. It's even tough to get down and pull the boat due to the spread of mussels above the flowing water. Everyone is facing the severe hardship of pulling the boat across the Charru mussel infested place in the river. Even after such hardship we won't be getting good prawn catches by spending much on diesels from our pocket. It would be good if the government care for us.

**(00:05:07)**

W3; While riding the boat over Kandachedi Paadu (one of the fishing grounds). Our boat got stuck over the Charru mussel infested area. My husband was trying to pull the boat across the Charru mussels spread area, but he couldn’t move the boat. One more person (neighboring Paadu fishers) came to help, they couldn’t move the boat. Further two more persons joined to move the boat and even after 4 people pulling the boat in the river, the boat didn’t move. I was holding the Engine. My husband instructed me to lift and place the propeller attached to the Engine in the muddy-charru mussel infested surfaces with little water, while he was pulling the stucken boat. While holding the engine arm (to hold and control the direction and movement) in the river, I would have fallen from the boat as the propeller got stuck in the muddy Charru Mussel infested places. If the propellor fan’s wings are touching the sediments, then the propellor would turn the engine to the direction based on how the sediment is turning the propellor wings and the person holding the engine arm would be pushed or pulled with that pressure. It’s hard to control the engine once the wings touch the sediments. Then I fell in the river like diving into the river from the boat.

W1: Yesterday, I would have fallen as I was trying to hold the engine.

M1: The person would be twisted in the direction based how the propeller is turning based on the base thing it touches in the river,

W1: However, I managed to sit on the boat immediately. In that pressure, I had a severe headache by then.

GV: Did you had this issue earlier?

W1: No. Earlier we haven’t faced such issues.

M1: Earlier, there were no Charru mussels in the river. Just in some places the wings would touch the sediments because of sand dumped in the river. Then we would push the boats with a log towards the deeper part of the river and also by pulling the boat by getting into water, after that we would continue with our work. But in the Charru mussel infested places we couldn’t get down from the boat to pull the boat. Because of the Charru mussels we are getting scratches; the mussels are not just scarching, by scratching,it wipes out the hairs (vellus hair) in my legs. I am having severe itching in my legs because of scratches. ‘Allachi’ ([barnacles](https://www.google.com/search?q=barnacles&sca_esv=557772975&bih=668&biw=1366&hl=en&sxsrf=AB5stBiIPFU0SX_2s2j27A9WE7SvaTXtZA%3A1692282298846&ei=ui3eZL2cM72a4-EPr5Kj0As&ved=0ahUKEwi94aDq8uOAAxU9zTgGHS_JCLoQ4dUDCA8&uact=5&oq=barnacles&gs_lp=Egxnd3Mtd2l6LXNlcnAiCWJhcm5hY2xlczIIEC4YsQMYgAQyBRAAGIAEMgUQLhiABDIFEAAYgAQyBRAAGIAEMgUQABiABDIFEAAYgAQyBRAAGIAEMgUQABiABDIFEAAYgAQyFxAuGLEDGIAEGJcFGNwEGN4EGN8E2AECSMkPULMBWLMBcAF4AZABAJgBpAGgAaQBqgEDMC4xuAEDyAEA-AEB-AECqAIUwgIHECMY6gIYJ8ICEBAAGIoFGOoCGLQCGEPYAQHiAwQYACBBiAYBugYGCAEQARgBugYGCAIQARgU&sclient=gws-wiz-serp#vhid=uYXHaelQaAL-vM&vssid=3981:TVoaFFflbBRtvM), a saline species) exists on the Charru mussels which would scratch more. Their ([barnacles](https://www.google.com/search?q=barnacles&sca_esv=557772975&bih=668&biw=1366&hl=en&sxsrf=AB5stBiIPFU0SX_2s2j27A9WE7SvaTXtZA%3A1692282298846&ei=ui3eZL2cM72a4-EPr5Kj0As&ved=0ahUKEwi94aDq8uOAAxU9zTgGHS_JCLoQ4dUDCA8&uact=5&oq=barnacles&gs_lp=Egxnd3Mtd2l6LXNlcnAiCWJhcm5hY2xlczIIEC4YsQMYgAQyBRAAGIAEMgUQLhiABDIFEAAYgAQyBRAAGIAEMgUQABiABDIFEAAYgAQyBRAAGIAEMgUQABiABDIFEAAYgAQyFxAuGLEDGIAEGJcFGNwEGN4EGN8E2AECSMkPULMBWLMBcAF4AZABAJgBpAGgAaQBqgEDMC4xuAEDyAEA-AEB-AECqAIUwgIHECMY6gIYJ8ICEBAAGIoFGOoCGLQCGEPYAQHiAwQYACBBiAYBugYGCAEQARgBugYGCAIQARgU&sclient=gws-wiz-serp#vhid=uYXHaelQaAL-vM&vssid=3981:TVoaFFflbBRtvM)) shells are fragile, which would get broken and scratch our legs when we place our legs on them.

W1: Charru mussels have scratched our legs. Even my husband got his legs scratched.

GV: Can you share about prawns living space, their growth with your experience

W4: 20 years before the river was clean, we could throw the coins in the river and take it back.

Mussel (Aazhi ilai) and [snail](https://www.google.com/search?q=giredled+horn+snail&sca_esv=559012914&sxsrf=AB5stBj0-s8iXAQxmFqr5cVifPIbM08Kag%3A1692693039033&ei=L3LkZJ_LAZDWseMPwdu8sAM&ved=0ahUKEwjfnrj67O-AAxUQa2wGHcEtDzYQ4dUDCA8&uact=5&oq=giredled+horn+snail&gs_lp=Egxnd3Mtd2l6LXNlcnAiE2dpcmVkbGVkIGhvcm4gc25haWwyBxAAGA0YgAQyCBAAGIoFGIYDMggQABiKBRiGAzIIEAAYigUYhgMyCBAAGIoFGIYDSMn7AVCk8wFY0_YBcAF4AZABAJgBkgGgAb8CqgEDMi4xuAEDyAEA-AEBwgIKEAAYRxjWBBiwA-IDBBgAIEGIBgGQBgg&sclient=gws-wiz-serp) (Oori ilai) would have good breeding and production. All the mixes of effluents, ashes, hot water, drainages and other chemicals have stopped prawn production. I think because of the muddy ashes in the river, this Charru mussels growth is happening. Companies are the reason for decline in fishes, prawns and crabs production in the river. Before 20 years people were wealthy in this village with prawns and fishes.

M1: Even when the EB (TN Electricity Board) offered jobs to our people, our forefathers denied the offer stating that their one month salary could be earned in one day. At that time we were earning so much from fishing. My father denied stating that those salaries could be earned in hours. Our people had this calculation at that time (Indha kanakku pottanga appodhaiku periyavanga). If we ask for those jobs now, we couldn’t get a government job.

W4: If we had known earlier that this would be our current status, we could have chosen those job opportunities. Now we are thinking of going to any jobs here in the surrounding factories, but they (companies) are not providing the jobs.

W3: Our livelihood was completely dependent on the river, so we couldn't educate our children with these earnings. We are selling our jewelry to educate our children, and the river is everything to us, the river is our livelihood. If we couldn't get anything out of it, what would we do? Now we are asking for a job. But we are not getting any jobs though we have ‘n’ number of companies surrounding Ennore. We have more debt, only if we could earn daily we might not have any debt. One month we would have some income, next month we would not have any income from the river. So we have no option other than getting loans. Earlier we have admitted our children to the private school, now I have admitted my daughter to Royapuram girls higher secondary school as we could not pay fees to the private schools. We couldn’t do anything in life, for men and women we need jobs. That’s our current demand.

**(00:10:43)**

RK: How much do you invest on one day fishing?

W3: The expense would go up to 1000 rupees.

W2: Definitely it would be 1000 rupees.

W3: Even after spending so much we are earning less like 200, 300 or 400 rupees in the market. We are facing severe hardship with this Charru Mussel, we couldn’t bear the stress. Until then, my husband had never asked me to push the board with logs if the boat was jammed with the sediments. One day, the boat got heavily stuck and we were waiting for the high tide to get the boat out and go home after fishing. Then, at 1 or 2 AM we were trying hard to get rid of the jammed boat. I pushed the boat with the log and my husband pulled the boat by getting into the water. We got very late when we got back to our home.

GV: How would you go fishing (prawn catching)?

W4: We would go with our husbands.

GV: Did you grade the prawns?

W3: We would segregate the prawns into Vellera, Valechera and Karupera.

GV: How many kinds of segregation of prawns would be done?

W3: 3 types.

W4: 4 types.

GV: What are they?

W4: Chemmekera (red prawn), Valichera, Vellera (Penaeus indicus) and Karupera (Tiger Prawn).

W3: We would segregate Chemekera and Valichera as one, then Vellera and Karupera would be segregated separately; into 3 types. (for sales)

DM: Why do you segregate in such a way?

W1: Vellera is the larger one and Karuppera is even larger. So we segregate them separately. Chemekkera and Valichera would be smaller in size; this would be segregated as one.

GV: In which place can you get more prawns in the river?

W4: The prawn catch is not specific to any places. If the prawn catch would be good in every fishing grounds(sites) when the water was good. If it's a good time, every Paadu (fishing grounds) would have a good catch. But since the river's depth has been raised (because of dumping of dredged sea sand in the river).

W1: It’s been more than 10 years.

W4: Many people are interviewing us. But we couldn’t find any solution for our livelihood.

GV: Do you have an idea about the prawn's life cycle and growth?

W4: Prawns have only a day value. We have to sell it immediately in 1 or 2 hours.

GV: That’s once the prawns are caught in the net; I am asking about their life in the river? Their birth, growth.

W4: We are not sure about, “How could we see all their growth in the river?”

DM: Then, you would catch whatever be the prawns growth is at the time of the catch?

W3: Yes.

RK: Can you guess the age of the prawn based on the size?

W4: No

W1: No, we don’t know all that.

W3: No

M1: For that, we should not tie the nets (kind of nets) to catch the Podiera (granule prawns; meaning smallest prawns). That’s the village restriction (ooru Kattu).

**(00:15:00)**

GV: For how many years has this restriction been practiced in the village?

M1: Since the cycle of Podiera (smallest prawns), it would take 3 months for the prawns to grow to a size that can be caught by the nets (that is spread).

GV: What if you get Podiera on the net?

M1: If we get the Podiera in the net, we would wash (kazguvi uduvom) those prawns and let it into the river. We would not take the net into the boat if those small prawns are caught, we would keep the net into the river and wash away those prawns into the river water.

W4: There are values to the prawns. If it rains well, then we would catch good prawns in 2 or 3 weeks from the date of rain, the prawns would grow well (therippaidum - their growth would explode).

GV: Which month would you get larger prawns?

W4: In Aippasi (Mid-September to Mid-October) and Karthi month (Mid-October to Mid-November) we would have a good catch.

GV: WIth your experience can you say, which month you get low prawn catches?

W3: Now we don't get good catches.

GV: But in general which month do you get the lowest prawn catch in the river?

W1: In Chithirai month, we would get good catches. In the summer season we would get less catches.

W3: In the rainy season we would get a good catch.

GV: Why do you get good catches during the rainy season?

W3: Water flow is higher than usual.

GV: From where the water flows at that time?

W2: The rain water would only drain into the river. So the water flow would be higher at that time. During summer, there would be no water draining into the river, as there is no water we would have lesser income during summer.

W4: In those 3 months it would be hard for us to get a good income.

W1: The rain water has to come to sea only by river, so the water flow would be higher in the rainy season.

GV: Where do the prawns grow?

W4: Prawns would grow in the earth (sediment) eat the dust in the river.

RK: How and where do they breed?

W2: How do we all know those?

W4: We only go to the Paadu (fishing ground) and catch the prawns.

W1: There would be many Mangrove plants on the banks of the river; prawns would breed below the mangrove trees and grow below those trees. They grow only because of these trees.

RK: What do the prawns eat?

M1: Prawns would consume the sediments in the river.

GV: In the river where do you catch the prawns, is it only in the Paadu (fishing grounds)? Or would you catch prawns in the river (other than fishing grounds)?

W3: We only catch prawns in the river.

GV: Won’t you catch prawns in the river while you are on the way to the Paadu?

W1: No, it’s our village restrictions. We should not catch prawns anywhere else other than the Paadu that is allotted.

GV: Would you prawns only in the Paadu (fishing grounds)?

W3: Earlier they (fishers) used to spread nets only in Paadu based on where the prawns would be available. Even now the same thing is practiced. We have to catch the prawns only in that Paadu.

W2: Because next Paadu fishers should not be affected. That’s why Paadu is allotted to everyone. We should not tie the nets, little front or little back from the Paadu site.

M1: A Paadu is 25 meters long. Tying nets away from allotted Paadu would disturb the fishing ground of the neighboring fishers. That's why to identify a Paadu, a stone would be laid (can be seen above the surface) to identify the Paadu to tie the net in the river.

GV: Who would be in the next Paadu?

W1: Mugadwara Kuppam Paadu.

W3: Every alternate day we (Kattukuppam) would go to the Paadu. Next day Mugadwarakuppam fishers would go to the Paadu. We have the mutual understanding to catch the prawns in the Paadu in the river.

GV: Would you stay there in the night to catch the prawns?

W3: Yes, we would stay there in the night during the prawn catch.

W1: We have to stay awake all night. We are going to clean the prawn that is caught in the net. We would shed the prawns on the boat that are caught in the river and clean the other things like thorns, catfish, other fishes, debris and algaes that are caught along with the prawns. We would segregate those things and we should not dump those things again in the river because it would get into other fishers’ nets who are catching prawns. Then we would segregate the prawns that are caught in the net and store the prawns with ice. It does not have specific time to catch the prawns, it might be anytime in the night. Men (relatives, mostly husbands) would get into the river and pull the nets and shed in on the boat, we (women) would segregate the prawns then. We would not sleep anytime while going for the prawn catch.

**(00:20:15)**

GV: Do you find any difference between the prawns that are caught at present and the prawns that are caught earlier?

W1: Earlier, the prawns used to be larger in size. At present the prawns are not growing well; not enough, they are smaller in size.

W3: Then we would catch Karupera (Black prawns) that would be in good size (era nalla mokkkai mokkai yaa kedaikum). Now, the prawns' growth is limited to only a particular size. Now, we are getting the prawns only in smaller sizes.

GV: Are there any changes in the prawns’ size that are caught before 10 years in the rainy season and with the prawns that are caught now in the rainy seasons?

W1: Yes. The prawns’ size has reduced at present.

W3: The pollutants, dusts and all the waste things are let into the river by the companies. Thus making the prawn breeding and prawns’ growth limited.

GV: What do the prawns consume?

W4: Prawns would eat the sediments under the mangroves.

W1: We are not sure about it.

W2: It eats algae. Mostly it would eat the things under the mangroves.

W1: It eats thread algae (nool paasi). It would also breed inside the algae.

W3: Algae would be present in the river most of the time.

W2: If the wind blows it would come towards our village.

W1: Algae is its primary food for prawns.

GV: Have you seen the prawns eating the algae?

W4: We know that prawns are eating the algae.

W1: I have not seen that. It’s hard to see when the prawns are inside the river as the river would have dust.

GV: Earlier it was said that people can clearly see the coins submerged in the river. During that time, was it possible to see what the prawns were feeding upon?

W4: There would be lots of prawn next to the mangroves. In the past, under the mangroves there would be lots of prawns that amounted to one month's catch; but those prawns are offsprings (Podi era) that shouldn’t be caught. In a month they would grow to larger size.

W2: It’s harder to see the prawns’ offspring at present.

W3: The podiera (prawn offsprings) would be found near the river bank while parking the boat during the prawn catch. The prawn offspring would be abundant near the bank. We (women) used to fetch the prawn offspring in the plate that we use to have dinner at night during the prawn catch. We would fetch the prawn offspring with the plate and used to play with the prawns. Those offspring prawns would jump and get into the water while fetching them from the river. If we fetch the prawns’ offspring using our hand, then also they (prawns’ offspring) would try to jump into the river. It would be a good time pass for us (women) while waiting simply when the men are spreading the nets to catch prawns. It would be nice to play with the prawn offspring with our hands and see them swimming in the river while we are feeling alone.

W1: While parking our boat, the Podiera (prawn offspring) would come to the boat shadow region when the boat is parked. Then we used to play with the plenty of prawns wandering in the boat shadow. At that time, they (men) would be repairing the net holes (valai pothuradhu) and spreading the nets to catch the prawns.

W3: We should not disturb them (men) at that time; it would be boring at that time. So we use the eating plate to fetch the water with prawn offsprings and play with that for some time.

GV: What else would you be doing while going in the prawn catch?

W3: We used to watch the prawns in the river, their movements and their diving direction in the river. While spreading (/tyeing) nets, he (husband) used to ask,”Which side are the prawns diving on? Are they diving this side or that side?” We have to respond on which side the prawns are diving or else we should also say if the prawns are not diving. Only if the prawns dive, we could catch those prawns.

W1: The prawns would bounce with sounds (chattu chattu-nu thullum). Prawn bouncing sound is a different sound, we would hear that. Bouncing fishes would have different sounds and bouncing prawn would have different sounds. We used to intimate all these happening to men.

GV: How do fish sound differ from prawns?

W3: Fishes would have ‘Bothu bothu’ sound and prawns would have ‘chattu chattu’ sound.

GV: So the prawns’ sound would be lighter and the fishes' sound would be heavier?

W3: Yes.

GV: How would you know the prawns and fishes bouncing direction in the night time?

W3: We would be in the center of the river and nets would spread around the boat across the river. They would be bouncing next to us, so we would be able to sense it. It would bounce to either one side at a time.

**(00:25:06)**

W1: But the prawns or the fishes only bounce after they touching the net (as a hindrance in their moving direction). Either it would get into the net or get away from the net.

GV: What if the prawns are getting out of the net? What would be done then?

W3: Nothing can be done. But they (men) would be saying,”the net could have been be spread from that side; we should try an alternate way to spread the net”. Based on the prawns movements, we would plan to spread the net next time.

GV: Only you would be saying if prawns bouncing/jumping direction in the river?

W3: They (men) would be asking us as they would be below us, in the river for tying and spreading the net and also while spreading the net till the river bottom sediment by covering the river mud with net. We would be above the river on the boat. Thus they would be asking us (women) as they couldn't see the things clearly.

GV: So, they would be tying nets based on your indications?

W3: If it’s tied, nothing can’t be done. But at the time of tying if they know the prawns movement is different, then the nets can be tied accordingly. So, mostly they (men) would be asking prawns movement while tying nets.

DM: Mostly in the night it would be darker. Would you be able to see the prawns movement in the nights or would you indicate based on the sound?

W1: We would also hear and we could also see that.

W3: River is surrounded by companies, so we would be able to see the prawns movement with the companies’ light.

W1: In early times it used to be darker (irulooo nu iurkum). After companies were established, there would be lights.

W3: Earlier there used to be no companies, no vehicle movements and vehicle sounds. Then they (fishers) would not hear any vehicle sounds or would not see any company lights. Fishers would sense the happening in nature as they were experienced. Earlier they were able to sense the prawns bouncing sounds, now because of vehicle sounds, they couldn’t hear anything. So, it’s hard for them to hear the prawns bouncing. So they would ask us to know the prawn movement.

GV: In early times, it was darker in the river. Then how would you identify the prawn movement?

W4: We would find the prawns movement with the prawns sounds.

GV: Would you take any lamps?

W4: Yes, we would take lamps with us.

GV: What lamp would you take?

W3: We used to take ‘Gaada lamp’.

W4: Lamp would be lit with Kerosene and lamp wick (kirusenaal oothi, vathi pottu eduthu povom). While segregating prawns (picking prawns from the net after catching) on the boat, we used to light the lamp. If we need to pick anything from the boat during fishing, we used to light the lamp.

W3: Now fishers are using electric light with battery charge. They use powerful lights during fishing. They are even using lights that are fixed to the head.

W1: We are facing too much hardship, but we are not getting any employment in the surrounding companies.

W3: Whatever be the political situation. If any party or any politicians come to power, we are facing the same hardships. Whoever comes to power we aren’t getting any solutions.

GV: Would you also use the light that is tied to the head?

W3. Yes, we would also tie the head lamp (battery) to segregate (/pick prawns). After using that light regularly, my eyesight got poor. As I had to look at the prawns closer with the high powered light, my eyesight got diminished. Now I am using eye glasses to look closer, my eyes would become watery if I have to sign (signature) anywhere.

W1: What would happen to our eyes if we were seeing things with light for the whole night. Closer things can’t be seen clearly.

GV: What are the other issues you are facing while fishing?

W1: Importantly, the Kaaka Aazhi (charru mussels) has to be removed, then only we can freely move with our boat to catch prawns.

W3: It would be good to remove the Charru Mussels as soon as possible.

W1: Yesterday I also asked,”Why can’t village people dredge the Kaaka Aazhi for free boat movements? It would useful if at least 10 people join and dredge the Kaaka Aazhi”

W3: We couldn’t get down the boat. Even if we get down the boat, our legs are scratching. If our legs are scratched, it’s hard for us to go fishing for the next week. In the place where Kaaka Aazhi infested one person had to get down and pull the boat to cross that infested area in the river.

W1: Because of Kaaka Aazhi, I got a severe headache and cold fever. I got pressured too much.

W4: After getting so much scratches, it’s hard for the men to go to the fishing next day (the alternative day: the next time)

**(00:30:01)**

GV: Have you been fishing during rainy times?

W3: Then we would get more prawn; we don’t see if it's rainy or not, we would start segregating prawns.

DM: Would you segregate even if it's raining?

W3: It’s okay to get wet (nenanjaa nenanjikalam). We would get some happiness in that (adhula konjo sandhosham kedaikudhula); we are getting the prawns; whatever it is even if it’s raining or not; we are working hard; god is compensating us for the hardwork we do (kashta padrom, Kashtapadradhuku yethaa kooli kuduraaru kadavul). So we are not bothered about rain. If we take a raincoat, we would be using it. If we forget the rain coat, nothing can be done; we have to segregate (/pick) prawns in the rain.

GV: It was said that during the rain times, there would be more prawn catches? Have you experienced it?

W1: Earlier it used to be like that. At present the situation is different, we are not getting a good amount of prawns even in the rainy season. Since the company (NCTPS) was built, the catch during the rainy season has reduced.

GV: Do you get the same amount of prawns in all the seasons?

W1: Earlier, water would be full in the river, most of the time the water flow would be higher in the river; even in the high tide the water level would be somewhat equal. Since the drainage of sink water in the river; Basin bridge water, Central (Chennai Central), sewerage all that water has been discharged into the river. Immediately the prawns, fishes are getting unconscious and dying.

W3: Recently the water has been too stinky. It is said as Gulf company water

W1: Children could not breathe here because of the smell.

W3: We are sensing the heavy smell even from our village, before going fishing.

W4: Children are coughing because of the Kothari company.

W3: Though the village is voicing out, more privileged people should also voice this. But no one is bothering all this.

W4: Many people are coming here, visiting the place and then they are leaving from here. There is no other action on the issue.

GV: Does any species consume prawns?

W2: Fish would consume the prawns.

W4: Only fishes would consume the prawns.

W3: The snakes in the river would eat the prawns. There are more snakes in the river. They would always exist.

W1: In the rainy season, there would be more snakes in the river. They would get caught in the prawn net. It would not harm us, but it would get stuck in the prawn nets and then the prawns wouldn't get caught in the net.

W3: If the snakes get stuck in the net, it would loosen out the prawns that are caught in the net. The prawns would escape and

W1: The snakes would twist the nets, it would be hard for us to repair the nets. We have to remove the snake within the water, it would be too hard if we try removing the snakes by pulling out the nets over the boat. The snakes would have a slippery body, if we pull out the net from the river to the boat, the boat would become slippery. Then we all have to slip and fall down from the boat. This is the situation if get the Nila kodanjaan (earth borer; it’s a kind of eel fish would look like snake)

GV: What else would be caught in the net?

W3: Crabs, Prawns, Snakes, Fishes. That’s it.

W1: Thrice I have seen water snakes.

GV: What will you do with the snake?

W3: That we would let it again into the river. Who would hold it in their hand?

W1: The snakes would be slippery and they would get into the river on its own through the hole in the bottom of the boat for draining any water that spilled on the boat. We won’t take that with prawns.

W3: If I see the snakes I would jump to logs that’s kept on the boat.

W1 (to W3): What snake?

W3: That NIla kodanjaan.

W1: What would that do ?

W3: Is that your baby? You go and pamper that snake by holding in your hip (adhu enna Kolandhaa, thookki vechi konju andha kolandhaaya)

W1: What is it gonna do? It would do nothing to us.

DM: Who would say that (Nila kodanjaan) as a baby?

W3: My husband used to say, “it’s a baby; it would do nothing to you. You can even pamper them”. I would say,”whatever it is, it's a snake, it’s moving like a snake”. So I am afraid of that.

GV (to other women): Are you not scared of snakes?

W3: They all are experienced.

W1: I am not afraid if the Nila Kodanjaan is caught. But I am afraid of the water snakes being caught in the net.

GV: Why are you afraid of that?

W1: It’s literally a real snake. It’s a water snake. So I am afraid. Thrice or four times it has bitten me.

(00:35:08)

W4 b(to W3): What snakes are you talking about?

W1: Water snakes.

W3: It would be in a different color.

W4: That snake would be collected in the boat and by the time going home, we would kill those snakes and again throw it

GV(to W1): Did you take medicines for the snake bites?

W1: It is said that those snakes are not poisonous.

W3: It’s Poisonous.

W4: But it would be handled carefully in a way that would not bite any one.

W2: It would be kept aside. After the snakes are dead, it would be thrown away.

W4: It would be beaten to death.

W2: Only once it has got into our net. We didn’t beat it.

W3: During the rainy season, when the river's flow is higher these snakes would get caught.

GV: Then it didn’t bite you?

W1: No, I have seen it thrice. I would not touch, my husband would beat their heads while holding the tails and throw them in the river. I would not get close to it.

GV: Do you cook the prawns that are caught in the river?

W1: Definitely.

W3: We would save the prawns to make curry in the home and then only we would take the prawns to the market.

W1: If the prawns are not saved for our houses; that's it; our children get angry and would not consume any food with prawns. They would say,”I only need prawn food (era sooru thaan venum)”

GV: Would the children like the prawns that much?

W1: It doesn't have any thorns, so they like it very much.

GV: What kind of dishes do you make with prawns?

W3: We would make Biriyaani, Era thokku (like chutney), Era varuval (prawn fry), we would add eggs to the prawn fry and make it as another dish.

W1: We would also make a dish with carrot and prawn.

W3: There are many varieties of dishes with prawns.

W1: We would cook the prawns by adding bitter gourd, carrots, etc.

W3: Any vegetable could be added to prawns to make dishes.

W1: Podiera (smaller prawns) would be used to cook with vegetables.

W3: Mostly Vallechera and Semmerkera would be used in these kinds of dishes with vegetables.

W1: If we go fishing, we definitely have to save the prawns for them.

GV: How would you sell that prawn?

W3: We would sell prawns in Kasimedu. They would ask for some rate, we would negotiate and then we would sell the prawn to them.

W4: Some people who want to make curry in their home, would directly buy from us. The remaining prawns like 8kg, 10kg, 20kg or 30 kg would be sold in the market.

GV: Would anyone come here to get the prawns?

W3: Yes, some business people would come and buy the prawns from here. Some retailers who would sell prawns in the market or streets would get the prawns. And some EB workers in the village would also get the prawns.

GV: How has the water and Sediment have impacted the prawn growth?

W2: Cherry (Sediment) has changed.

DM: Because of the change in sediment, how were the prawns affected?

W2: Prawns growth has declined, they are smaller now.

W4: Their breeding has declined in the river. Water capacity is also reduced.

DM: Were you able to see the changes directly?

W4: If the water was like earlier, it would have given the prawns a good growth, now the company water (effluents) has caused decline in the prawns growth.

W3: Now the water is more clear in some places (where they catch prawsnb); it used to clear in the river, but in the places where the prawns present, the place would look turbid.

GV: How many years before you started to catch prawns?

W2: Before 20 years.

GV: Is there changes in the prawns that were cooked before 20 years or 10 years and the prawns that are caught now.

W4: Earlier the prawn taste was greater and now the prawns taste not much.

W3: At present the taste is lower.

W4: Even if we sell the prawns, people are not buying the prawns, stating that as ‘Ennore prawn’ and not buying it. Because prawns are having different smell (because of Effluents)

(00:40:04)

People would say, “you are selling it by cheating. We are spending and buying the prawns but the people at home are not wishing to eat these prawns”. Business people would say,”We couldn’t sell the prawn on the next day after purchasing this prawn”.

GV: Even in the prawns, are you getting the smell?

W4: Yes, the taste would be lesser.

W2: Ennore fishes and prawns would be sold for lesser prices because of the current status of the river. If we spread the Visuru valai (cast net), we would fish. But people would reject it if they know it’s Ennore fish, they would reject the fishes. Later some would buy for lesser prices.

GV: How would they know that those fishes are the Ennore fish?

W2: People would know us, they would identify us. It’s obvious that the fishes we carry for sales are from Ennore.

W4: People would ask, “Is this these fish that are caught next to Ennore bridge”. They could clearly see the status of the river while travelling in the train when the train crosses the river over the bridge and also sense the smell while traveling. People are rejecting the Ennore fishes. Prawns are sold, but the taste are reduced, but it does not smell bad.

GV: Can you tell more about the taste?

W4: Company effluents.

GV: Can you describe the taste that has been changed?

W2: It’s because of the wastewater that has been discharged in the river. Earlier it used to smell good. Currently, at present there are no smells in the prawn.

GV: It’s like earlier you used to sense the smell of the prawn while cooking, now you don’t find any smell.

W2: Yes. At present we are fine if our stomachs are filled.

W3: If we fill our stomach with the prawns that are caught, then we would be saving money. We are looking at all the aspects now.

GV: Do you think peoples’ health is affected by this?

W2: Yes, People are impacted; they are facing illness.

GV: What kind of diseases?

W2: Fever, coughs and many different kinds of diseases are coming. People are pouring their money into the hospitals.

GV: Then this is also impacting your illness?

W2: Yes.

GV: How are you adapting to these situations?

W3: We have to cope up with this situation; we do have no other choice. The companies won’t stop these things. We can’t do anything to the industries but with the companies they can allot us some employment. All (most) are going to the net catch from our village, Everyone needs a job and the river has to be cleaned. Even if we go to any other job, we are a fishing community, we should have the option to do fishing/prawn catching, this is our primary work. This (river) also has to be cleaned. We also need our river and also employment, because we are surrounded by many many institutions. But we are not going to the ‘jobs’ in these industries, people from outside are coming here to work. Not many people from our community are employed in these companies.

GV: You are saying that prawn and fish growth has declined, but how is Kaak Aazhi growing in the river?

W3: It’s growing only in recent times.

W2: It might be because of the ash water discharge at that place.

W3: It is said that Kaaka Aazhi invaded through the ships coming to Ennore ports from other counties. It’s plentiful above the river.

W2: It was informed that the prawns would be dredged with dredgers.

W3: It’s standing above the river.

W3: It’s in the sentiment and also above the river. It keeps on growing and forming platforms over the river. At present the river flow in the river is also lesser. We couldn't even push the boat over the Kaaka Aazhi infested places.

GV: Even if the prawns and fishes are impacted, the Kaaka Aazhi growth is not impacted?

W3: Yes.

GV: Are there any other species like Kaaka Aazhi that have good growth in the river?

W3: We would get clams (matti) and green oysters sometimes in the river.

GV: No, I am asking you something about the species whose growth is good even in the bad environment. Is there any other species growth of any prawns, crabs and fishes affecting you.

W1, W3: If all those species were growing well, we would have a good livelihood.

W1: Those species are giving us livelihood, but Kaaka Aazhi are spoiling our livelihood. ( adhu Polappa kudukkudhu, idhu polappa kedukkudhu)

GV: If something is growing well in a bad environment, it’s spoiling the livelihood.

W1: Yes.

**(00:45:12)**

GV: Do you have anything interesting to say about the prawns? Are there any songs related to this?

W2: Earlier, fishers used to go catch prawns, fishes, crabs. All the work has been done in the past. At that time, fishermen refused to go to other industrial jobs. At that time, 1 kilogram of crab was 50 rupees and now it’s 300 rupees. Even when the price of the things were lesser, there were more catches in the river and we were earning lots of income. Now the fisheries income has reduced, at present when people are looking for jobs, they can't get any jobs. The river has worsened because of the companies here, they are trying as much as they can to earn by fishing (prawn catching) and also protesting against the companies, but the government is not bothering the fishers.

W3: We are continuously demonstrating strikes, what is the use of all these. All the media is covering this, interviewing us; taking it to the government and politicians. Even then the suffering people are always suffering. People who benefitting from these kinds of struggles keep on growing.

GV: Do you sing any songs to keep you entertained during fishing at night?

W1: That's why we have our phone, we used to hear songs.

W3: Still they climb up the boat after spreading the net, I used to see any serials or any youtube videos with the mobile phone. Now we are not getting bored.

GV: What would you do, when you have phones to keep you entertained?

W3: Earlier, we used to get lots of prawns, we would not find any time to relax, we would be fully engaged.

( not clear 00:46:52 to 00:47:00)

GV: Why I am asking this is, farmers used to sing songs to keep them entertained during their work. Wanted to know if there are any such things in practice?

W3 (about W1): She would be doing that. She would get down the water, she does more hardwork.

W2: I have stopped fishing for the last 10 years because of knee pain.

GV: You talked about the slurry sediments. Can you elaborate on that?

W2: If we have water till our neck, ¼ is slurry mud. It’s hard for men to move their legs in the river to spread the nets.

GV: How was it in the earlier times?

W2: Earlier it used to be sandy sediments, it was easy to walk; easy to spread the nets; it was easy to plug the logs and remove the logs to tie nets (nets would be tied on the logs that been placed in the regular in the river); boats were moving freely in the river. Now, the muds are hindering the boat movements and it’s hard to spread(and tie) the nets in the muds.

W3: Now the muds are more in the river. If we just keep our legs in the river, the muds are taking us inside them.

GV: You said that the muds are black in color. What other colors do the muds look like?

W2: The muds are only black in color. No other other color muds can be found.

GV: How were the sediments before?

W2: Earlier the sediments used to look like white sand. I wasn't even muddy. After the discharge of wastewater, more mud started to accumulate.

W3: The muds increased because of the ash water discharge into the river.

W2: It’s like earlier people used to build their houses with white sand (she is describing the river sand which was white or some what lighter in color which was used to construction) and now people are using black sand (it’s crusher sand or M-sand as in Tamil Nadu, there is deficit of the river sand). Earlier if there were muddy sediments in the river it was easy to get out of it, now it’s harder to get out of the muddy sediments after getting into it.

GV: Does the new changed sediment have toxicity with it?

W3: Fishers used to sense itches and skin problems after placing their legs in the muds.

W2: Fishers have allergies and boils in their skins because of the sediments. So my son stopped fishing in the river.

GV: So, the sediments have toxicity and are not good.

W2: Yes, that’s bad.

**(00:50:00)**

GV: How much the sediment has impacted people's lives and species lives?

W1: The impact on our livelihood is due to the mud; the river is too muddy. If we tried to spread our nets in the river, we couldn't walk in the water. My husband is swimming to move from one place to another place to spread the nets, he could move his legs in the river.

GV: What kind of impacts they are facing while their body is in the river?

W1: Skin problem, skin keeps on itching.

GV: What do they (men fishers) do for that?

W1: They wouldn't go to hospitals, they would just apply oil over the skin.

GV: What oil would they use?

W1: Coconut oil.

W2: Some people are impacted. Some people are affected.

W3: Some are even severely affected.

GV: Where does the fiddler crab live?

W2: They live on the shore, they won’t stay in the water.

W3: There would be plenty of crabs along the banks, they used to live in the small holes.

GV: Which month would their population be more?

W2: Because of the muds, their production in the river has reduced.

W1: Not noted those things (month wise)

W3: During water drained times, we can see more fiddler crabs.

GV: During summer, there would be less water in the river. Thus banks would be more visible and spread. There we can see more fiddler crabs.

GV: Are there different kinds of fiddler crabs?

W3: Not sure. But there are different crabs in the sea.

GV: Do people consume these crabs?

W2: No.

GV: Are the fiddler crabs important to us?

W1: No. I feel it’s not necessary for us.

GV: Are the Fiddler crabs necessary for the environment?

W1: Not sure.

GV: Does any other species consume fiddler crabs?

W1(to W3): Do any birds catch the fiddler crabs.

W3: No. Only if we go near them, it would go into the crab nests.

GV: To you, is it not necessary?

W3: For us, it is not useful.

GV: What do fiddler crabs eat?

W2: It consumes the mud.

GV: No other species consumes the fiddler crabs?

W2: They would live on their own.

GV: Do you have any other stories to say about the river and related things?

W3: We need jobs, that is what we are asking for and need to clean the river, remove the Kaaka Aazhi and give us. These are our requests to the government. This is what we want. We don’t have any economy, provide us with a clean river, remove the Kaaka Aazhi.

**(00:55:00)**

W2 (to W3): Then, don’t you need jobs?

W3: And we also definitely need jobs, at present we don’t have any economy. People who were employed EB (electricity Board) work have a good life at present. People dependent on the river are suffering more. earlier we were able to earn and build our houses, at present we can’t do any things; we can’t pay our debts.

W1: We couldn’t pay our children's school fees. We are getting a loan and paying the school fee for your children. My son is going to complete standard 5 and is going to join standard 6, now I have to get a loan for that. I have 3 daughters and 1 son. I have admitted my 3 daughters to the convent (private) school and later as I couldn’t pay any fees, I have admitted them to the government schools. My elder daughter has completed 12th standard and I couldn’t pay fees and admit her in college. I couldn’t do anything. As she is idle in the home, now she is going to tailoring classes that are organized in the village (a CSR program). Other two daughters are going to school. I am trying at least to admit my son to private school as he would become a bad boy if he were admitted to the government high school. We have to pay a 30,000 rupees fee for him in the next academic year, so I have to get the loan and pay the fee. We can’t earn 3000 rupees per week and pay the debt.

GV: Have you not got into the water?

W1: No.

W2: No.

GV: She (W3) told you that you (W2) would get into the water?

W3: She used to get into water earlier.

W2: Earlier the water was good, I used to get down. Now, I can’t get down in this water.

W3: My husband used to talk about her (w2) proudly, “How sister used to get into the water and work hard as men”

GV: What do you do after getting into water?

W2: I used to fix the plug in the log (kommbu naduven).

W4: I would support her husband in spreading the nets. I used to hold the net, her husband would tie the net to the plugged logs. I would get down for some time and get over the boat.

GV: How was the mud (sediment) when you were fishing the last time before 10 years?

W4: It was good then.

GV: Before 10 years there weren't these many effluents?

W3: At that time, there weren't many companies.

W1: In 10 years many changes have happened.

W4: 10 years before there were impacts, but only from NCTPS.

W2: There were no night lights then.

W4: Initially the canal was blocked near [Konamudakku](https://goo.gl/maps/K2WRr9qHVxxkHA12A).

GV: Which canal was blocked?

W4: The river channel was blocked by dumping sand over it. Then we were not able to take boats via that route. A pipe outlet was placed there and slurry sand, mud with water was drained at that place, that place completely became land. Then we protested, then those pipes were removed. From that time, the mud has increased in the river.

GV: There, would there be more prawns coming into the river?

W4: Yes. More prawns would be in the river.

DM: Have you been close to Mangroves forest?

W4: We used to cut logs from the mangroves.

DM: What was the purpose of those logs?

W4: To fire the oven on the banks of the river and make a fire bond. In the night it would be darker, so we would use those logs and also we would burn them to warm up during freezing cold nights.

GV: How does nighttime fishing feel?

DM: You would start by the afternoon. How would you go, after having lunch or would you take lunch with you?

W4: We would take food with us and tie the net by 5:30 in the evening. Men would get down and tie the nets. By 7 or 7:30 PM they would take the net (vala kelappuvaanga).

DM: What does mean,”valai kelappuvaanga”?

W3: They would remove the logs and untie the nets.

W4: Then, they would shed and tap (thatti kottitu) the prawns that are caught and store the prawns in an ice box. Later they (Men) would have their dinner and sleep (lay) for sometime. Again by 10 or 10:30 in the night they would look if the prawns had been caught in the nets.

**(01:00:02)**

If the prawns are not found, they would come again to lay down. If the prawn are found, they would pick up and shed the nets on the boat (vala Kelappuvaanga). By 3 or 4 in the morning we would be back home.

GV: Would you not stay there till 5 in the morning?

W3: We would stay there if we get the prawns on the net, if not we would come home early.

W4: It’s the probability of time.

W3: We have to sell those prawns that are caught by time. Times are scheduled, we have to go to Kasimedu within a specific time.

GV: Can you share the timeline?

W3: We have to go to Kasimedu by 5 or 6 in the morning. If we go by 7 in the morning, there would be no one to buy those prawns. Then we can't sell the prawns, it is hard for us. Our hard work should not be wasted, so we would go early.

DM: Would sell the prawns directly or would you sell by auctions?

W4: We would sell it directly.

W3: We would come to our home, wash the prawns, add ice to the prawns and take them to Kasimedu.

GV: Some people said that they would segregate the prawns?

W3: Yes! After coming home from the prawn catch, we (women) used to segregate the prawns into 2 types.

W1: As we women are going fishing (prawn catch) with men, we would be segregating the prawns on the boat itself. Sometimes we would get more prawns like 100 kg or 200 kg, at that time we would bring the prawns to our home and shed the prawns in the house halls or infront of our house; women would segregate the prawns. When more prawns are caught, in that season, they (family man) would take any other men with them.

W3: If we (women) go at that time, there is no use. When men are accompanying them (any family man), then the work would be so quick, the other man would also get into the water and help spread the net and remove the net. When more prawns are caught only men would go fishing.

GV: How do they know if more prawns would be available?

W3: In the rainy season, during new moon day and during the full moon day.

W1: When there is good water flow, there will be more prawns.

W3: In the rainy season, only men would go for the prawn catch.

GV: Then you would segregate the prawns at home at the time.

W3: Yes.

GV: During summer time you would accompany them (a family man).

W3: Even during rainy times, we would accompany them sometimes.

W1: When the prawn catches are less, they would take us. During higher prawn catches, they would take any other man/men with them.

DM: Don’t women go alone to catch prawns?

W3: No, we won’t go like that.

W1: No.

W4: If more women are going for fishing, then we would also ask Paadu (fishing ground for us)

**(All laughing at 1:02:32)**

**(not clear for some 10 seconds)**

DM: Could you ask then?

W2: Who would start the boat engine?

W4: I would start the engine, why are you worrying?

GV(to W1): You said that you hold that engine.

W1: I would hold the engine, then. If we turn the engine to one side, the boat would go to the other side.

W2: It’s so hard. Only you (to GV) would know the hardship if you go to the net-work (prawn catch)

GV: Yes, I will go one day.

W2: You have to go one day.

W4: Tomorrow you come with us.

GV: Are you going tomorrow?

W4: No, someone would be going. I will ask them to take you.

GV (to W1): Has there any changes in the bathymetry (crater and ridge) of the river.

W1: Dredged places have become deeper, earlier those places used to be more elevated. Earlier we had to take many turns in the river to ride the boat. Now we can ride straight in the river, without bothering about the ridges; it’s easier for the boat movement as the ridges have been dredged. Only near the Kandachedu Paadu, the river has not been dredged. That’s why we suffered there too much yesterday (in the place where charru mussel infested). I fell down and got a fever because of that; I couldn’t push the boat with the log by standing on the boat. Then 3 more people joined and pulled the boat, even then it was harder.

(murmuring with themselves)

W1: Only during new moon days and full moon days, boats can move freely because of higher tides or else even the water can’t flow (mussels infested places).

GV: Do you get more prawns during full moon days and full moon day?  
W1: Relatively more water flows during the high tide, then because of higher water flow, more prawns would be caught. More water flow gives more prawn. If the water is more stagnant, then we would not get any prawns. It is said as Vatham and Vellam (low tide and high tide). Yesterday there was no water movement, either no low tide or no high tide; water was stagnant. Yesterday no prawns were caught. In the 4 nets spread only a handful of prawn was caught. I was thinking,”why have we spread the net today”. There were more Keluthi (catfishes).

W3: If we go fishing, we would be happy or at least satisfied only if we ate some amount of prawns. If we find no prawns, we would get tense.

GV: Would people not consume the Keluthi (catfish)?

W4: People would eat.

W1: People would eat but only if it’s larger.

**(01:05:07)**

W1: Prawns catch was lesser than the Keluthi (catfish) that was caught yesterday. While picking the prawns, the spikes poked me and I started bleeding because of Keluthi fish.

GV: Does it have spikes?

W3: Yes! There is another Keluthi called Irunkeluthi, if that bites, that's it we could not do any work. It would hurt more, we have to go to hospital to relieve the pain.

W4: If that catfish pokes, some would even get a heart attack; one can’t bear the pain. It’s more toxic.

W3: We can get a little relief only if we go to the hospital after being poked by Irunkeluthi (a type of catfish); only small relief can be gained by medication.

W4: If it poked us today, tomorrow only we could get back to normal.

GV: Do you (to DM RK) have any questions?

W4: What are you going to do with all this? Are you going to report them in the newspaper?

(She came in between the interview before explaining about the project and getting consent)

W1: Yes, they are going to publish in paper (joking)

W4: If it’s published in paper and if we get employment it would be great.

(people laughing)

RK: Are there any health issues you are facing because of fishing?

W1: We don’t get enough sleep.

W3: No good sleep.

W1: We couldn’t support our children to get ready for school, we couldn’t comb our daughter's hair while getting ready for school. We couldn’t cook for them. We couldn’t work at home (household work). We have to come back and sleep, if not we would get head pain. Definitely, our headache would increase, if we don’t sleep enough.

DM: How many hours would you stay in Kasimedu?

W3: If prawns are sold, we would be back immediately. If prawns are not sold at a good rate, sometimes it would take 8 or 9 in the morning to come back to our home; only on some occasions we would be getting late.

DM: Early means, you would be back before 7 in the morning.

W3: Yes.

GV: Would you go to the market?

W3: Yes, my husband and I would go to the Kasimedu market.

GV: There is a nearby market right?

W3: Here, there is Thalankuppam market. Their auctioning would happen.

GV: Who would buy there in the Thalankuppam market?

W3: There, business (fish selling women; viyabaram pandravanga) would buy the prawns. Individuals also buy for their home.

GV; Thank you.