



# NORWAY'S PURSUIT OF TRADE AND HAPPINESS:

Norwegian trade interests and small-scale fishers in Kerala

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Spire 2012

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Norway's pursuit of trade and happiness

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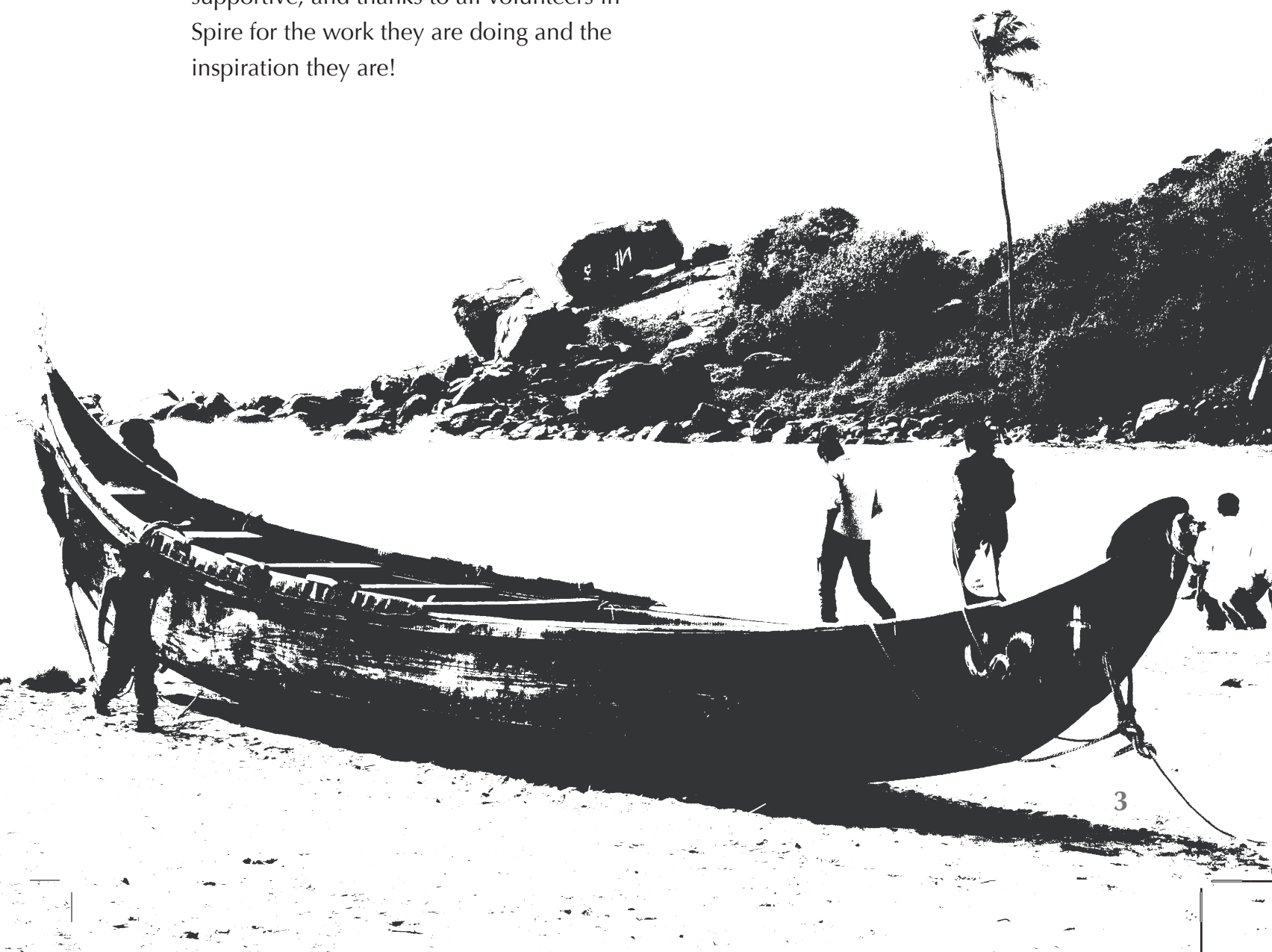


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## Foreword

In May 2012, we travelled to India for 3 weeks to collect information on Keralan fisheries for Spire's autumn campaign 2012, 'Fisk for folket'. We need to thank all the people giving of their valuable time to respond to questions in person or by emails before, during and after the field work. It is appropriate with a special thanks to Prema Nair for travelling, translating and working with us in Trivandrum and Kollam. Thanks to all family and friends for being great and supportive, and thanks to all volunteers in Spire for the work they are doing and the inspiration they are!



## Key Message

- By liberalizing the economy, India is giving away sovereignty to implement policies in support of small-scale fishers and fish vendors, and to secure a sustainable management of the fish stocks.
- Liberalization is thought to be beneficial for small-scale fish workers because income can increase from increased exports. We are concerned that these conclusions are based on research not thoroughly acknowledging actual possibilities of the marginalized groups.
- Monetary income from fishing is more important for obtaining food security than catching and consuming. Access to resources and opportunities to participate in the market for fish are factors, which are crucial for securing food security for the majority of fish workers.
- Food sovereignty is crucial for securing a viable livelihood in the future for the fish workers in India. This must include the power to exclude non-members of the community from accessing the resources or excluding vessels using non-sustainable gear.
- An impact assessment of free trade agreements is necessary before ratification to identify social and ecological consequences.







# Introduction

The world is increasingly becoming aware of the problems facing farmers in the agricultural sector. Meanwhile, the interests of millions of fish workers in coastal and inland fisheries societies are insufficiently represented in the global debate on food production and food security. The term “fish worker” refers to fishers, fish processors and fish vendors. The small-scale fisheries sector worldwide is under pressure from several processes and groups. Who are the small-scale fishers? There are several definitions of small-scale fisheries, but not a single one suitable for all countries. Small-scale fisheries employ more than 90 percent of the world’s fishers, and their importance to food security, poverty alleviation and poverty prevention is becoming increasingly appreciated. There are 25 million small-scale fishers in the world: For each fisher in the sector, three jobs are created in marketing, processing or other services. If we include the families of the people working in fisheries, it amounts to 400 million people directly affected by small-scale fisheries<sup>1</sup>.

Tourism is increasingly competing with fish workers for access to beaches, which serve as traditional landing sites for fish. Expanding construction and privatization of the coastline directly leads to a loss of access to resources. Tourism causes pollution in traditional ecosystems on

which millions of people base their livelihoods. Inadequate monitoring and management of fish catches and harmful fishing gears causes depletion of stocks and damage to ecosystems, which affects reproduction, fishing practices and profitability of fishing. Overexploitation of one species ‘spreads’ to other species as fishing efforts shift from the overexploited species to economically more efficient species. By increasing the pressure on several trophic levels, the vulnerability of the fisheries is becoming critical.

This report specifically focuses on the situation in fisheries in Kerala, India with a special focus on the impact of trade: Foreign vessels are competing with Indian fishers for resources. India is opening up for import of fish into the Indian domestic market, which will affect fish workers. The fishers do not feel that their demands are being heard and acknowledged by Indian politicians. This group is acknowledged as one of the most marginalized groups in Indian society, involving about 5 million people<sup>2</sup>. The exact number is difficult to estimate, and implicitly it’s hard to foresee possible consequences from changes in the sector. Our concern is how trade is likely to affect the fish workers most dependent on fish for their direct and indirect food security. Is increased income to the beneficiaries a sufficiently high benefit to

level out the negative impacts on people losing out on this development?

Norway is a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which is currently negotiating a free trade agreement (FTA) with India. The main areas of interest for Norway are liberalization of trade in fish, telecommunication, and minerals. While Norwegian agriculture is still given the world's highest tariff protection, fish is being traded as a Non-Agriculture Market Access-product (NAMA), meaning an industrial product and hence given zero

tariffs. In fact, Norwegian representatives from the Ministry of Industry and Trade are among the most eager promoters of lower tariffs and better facilitated terms of trade on NAMA-products. However, the 'production' of fish is quite different from that of other industrial products. Fish is depending on a functional ecosystem to reproduce, and for a certain number of individuals of the species to be able to reproduce in a sustainable way. Intensive fishing activity is causing interruptions for crucial reproduction. Clearly, fish is not an industrial product.

*Food security, as defined by World Food Summit in 1996, exists when "[...] all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life"*  
*<sup>3</sup>When it comes to fishing, food security has a direct and indirect dimension. Direct food security refers to fish which is caught and used as food without going through the market. Indirect food security refers to the income supplied by fishing, which generate the means to purchase food<sup>4</sup>.*

# Norwegian fisheries interests

## An urge for free trade

It's easy to see that the ocean is an important resource for the Norwegian economy, providing us with both oil and fish. Fish and fish products were exported for a value of 8 817 000 000 US\$ in 2010, making Norway the second biggest exporter of fish in the world. At the same time Norway is the seventh biggest aquaculture producer of fish, mostly consisting of salmon products from industrial aquaculture<sup>5</sup>. Norway wants to further strengthen its role as exporter and increase revenue from fisheries as one of the most important sources of income in the coming post-oil economy. This is the background for Norway's aggressive interests in fisheries trade.

Meanwhile, Norway is experiencing a net reduction in fleet size in capture fisheries. From 1990 to 2010, employment in fisheries decreased with 40% in 2010, 17 667 employed<sup>6</sup>. Norway is both dependent on and interested in new export markets for salmon and access to cheap resources to fish feed for farmed salmon.

The international rules of trade are negotiated in the world trade organization (WTO). Since 2001, when the Doha round started, there's been little movement in the negotiations. As a result, we've seen bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs) blossom. Norway is negotiating bilateral

FTAs through EFTA to remove tariffs and secure free trade. As long as there is no movement in the WTO negotiations, Norway is at a fast rate securing trade interests through bilateral free trade agreements (FTAs). With several growing economies globally, Norway is seeking the benefit of new markets.

Heavy criticism has been raised to the FTA negotiations for three important reasons: One, the situation where countries negotiate one to one puts developing countries in a weaker negotiation position compared to when they are negotiating together with other developing countries. Two, the negotiations are secret and the governments are not making their demands and positions official for civil society before ratification of the agreement. Three, there is no obligation to conduct an impact assessment prior to ratification of the agreements. Such agreements can have drastic implication for national policy and economic growth, and social and ecological consequences need to be assessed.





## Norway: Double-standard giant or coherent for development?

Norway is creating very different policies for fisheries and agriculture, although they serve many of the same functions for society. Agriculture is appreciated as multifunctional and given special treatment for this. By multifunctional we think of settlement and employment in rural areas, food production, management and use of natural resources and keeping of traditions and culture. Fisheries are not treated in the same manner. The demands for liberalization on NAMA-products have repercussions for other industries in economies. As fishing is far from the only 'industrial activity', Norwegian demands for free trade access also impact competition, profitability and employment in other sectors.

Norway has been criticized by the NAMA-11 group (11 countries, including India and South Africa) for making extensive demands in the trade negotiations for drastic tariff reductions in these and other countries. In most countries outside Europe, fishing is still a small-scale activity and is recognized to have multifunctional characteristics. In countries such as Brazil, where agriculture is big and industrial, and fisheries are small-scale, interests represent the total opposite of Norway.

The FTAs means new regulations on which policies states can implement to support an industry or sector. While Norway was able

to help its own industry after the Second World War with high tariffs or ban on imports, this is made impossible for other countries in the name of trade benefits and comparative advantages. These are the policies Norway is actually promoting. In 'Coherent for development' (NOU/ Official Norwegian Reports 2008:14) it was stated that "Norway should also reduce its demands for market access in developing countries within the negotiations for fish and industrial products since the Norwegian export of fish and seafood produce must not be forced at the expense of developing countries' opportunity for duty protection of the manufacturing and sea industry sectors"<sup>7</sup>. The NOUs are recommendations from expert groups on which policies Norway should adopt, but in this clearly different from the ones actually lead.



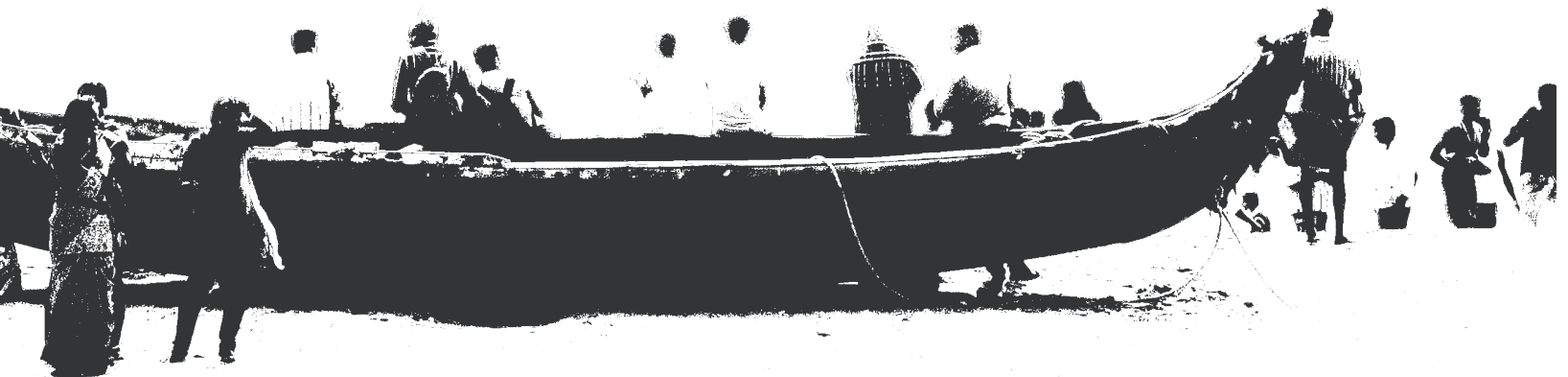
## Fisheries' ecology and food security

### Fisheries' ecology and food security

The oceans supply humans with fish, carbon storage, transportation, and a vast number of services and value, but the nature of the natural resources in the oceans are different from land based resources, which are mainly subject for ownership. The oceans are what we call commons and are open to everyone. Only 12.7% of the global fish stocks are non-fully exploited, while about 33% of global fish stocks are overexploited. 57% were in 2009 fully exploited, which means they have no room for further expansion and require effective management to avoid decline. Due to overfishing, the returns of fisheries are declining and it is harder to survive on the income from fisheries<sup>8</sup>. From the 1950's the world's marine fisheries increased with 500% to a peak of 86.4 million tonnes in 1996. Globally, fish provides about 3.0 billion people with almost 20 percent of their intake of animal

protein, and 4.3 billion people with at least 15 percent of such protein.

Fisheries can be practiced in different ways, the two extremes being single species intensive industrial trawling and extensive small-scale fisheries. While small-scale fisheries are fishing on several species (and not putting pressure on one group especially), trawlers are fishing for one species only. The gear is designed for catching huge amounts in each catch, and even though the gear is improved to reduce by-catch, huge amounts of fish and other animals are killed and thrown away as waste every year. When one species is overfished and not economically efficient anymore, trawlers will often start fishing on another species and the same process will start all over again. Overfishing is causing a tougher competition for the resources left in the ocean, and the race for the last fish is toughest between the large- and small-scale fishers<sup>9</sup>.



# Kerala and the sea

## Introduction

Kerala is renowned for its high score on social development variables like literacy, gender equality and income. Non-Keralites call the southwest state 'the Indian Gulf', and while Keralites migrate to the Persian Gulf, the rest of India goes to Kerala to seek jobs with higher wages. Kerala has India's longest coastline, and 96 % of the population depends on fish<sup>10</sup>. The coastal population sees the ocean not only as their basis of income, but also as their life. The fishery sector is extensively organized, but the sector still lag behind the rest of Kerala society with regards to income, standard of living and social mobility. Compared to fish workers in other Indian states and compared to other Keralites, the fish workers in Kerala have very low income and purchasing power<sup>11</sup>. Even though this group is dealing with food every day, they might be food insecure in terms of indirect food security and income. The income is also variable depending on season, which makes the fishers even more vulnerable for changes in prices and access to fish. Like small-scale fisheries worldwide, Keralan fishers are faced with several problems common for the whole sector, divided roughly into the process of mechanization, overcapacity and uneven benefits from trade liberalization.

## Mechanization and the Indo-Norwegian Project

By international measures, there is no industrial fishing (e.g. involving factory ships) in India, but there are trawlers and mechanical boats. The development of a mechanized segment of the fisheries sector started with the Indo-Norwegian Project (INP). The INP was one of the world's first development projects started in 1952, as a tripartite agreement between the United Nations, the Government of India and the Government of Norway. Norway helped to finance and develop solutions for mechanization of fisheries in Kerala, not long after India gained its independence. The projects saw the start of modern landing sites for fish, like the harbour in Neende Kara in Kollam, net making factories and more easily available outboard engines, making most boats a viable subject of motorization. The INP introduced fishing methods such as bottom-trawling, long lining and purse-seining

The new technology enabled affluent fishers to stay out for several days at a time and the routines of fishing changed from single-day fishing to 10-13 days fishing at the time. Huge amounts of fish are now caught in areas previously used for propagating. These zones were important



for the sustainability of the fish stocks. Alongside with the change in the ecological balance, there's been a change in the social structure in the fisheries sector. The larger, mechanized vessels have been taken over by large corporations, and the traditional sector has been put under pressure, which is likely to ruin it<sup>12</sup>. The technology was hijacked by the ones that already had resources, and did little to improve the livelihoods for the people mostly depending on it. Women, traditionally vending the fish, can no longer rely on the old system of credit to buy fish for the market, and combined with the rise in the price of fish at the landing sites, they are now increasingly being forced out of the market. Magline Peters, leader in Coastal Women's Forum, sees the development after the INP as

being extremely negative with regards for the situation of women. "We are losing our lives. Traditional knowledge about collection and preservation of food is being lost. Traditional employment of women with net and basket making is being taken over by the machines. We are losing at the market, which is discriminating against us, and it's ruining our health"<sup>13</sup>.

The Indo-Norwegian project accelerated the mechanization of fisheries, which in turn has driven the depletion of fish stocks. Although the Norwegian government recommended a system of surveillance technology and management of the fish stocks, this was not implemented by the local government. The result has been a depletion of fish stocks and little control on how much is harvested from the Indian sea.

***Fishing methods: Purse-seining involves a vertical net drawn around schooling fish and closed at the bottom. Long lining consists of a long line of baited hooks and is typically used for tuna, swordfish and halibut. Trawling involves pulling a fishing-net through the water column, in bottom trawling this heavy equipment is pulled along the bottom floor. The last two methods have traditionally had huge amounts of by-catch and especially bottom-trawling have had serious detrimental effects on ecosystems.***

## Overfishing from overcapacity

The lack of control of the ocean means that anybody with a boat has the opportunity to go to sea. X. Joseph, Senior Executive at South Indian Fishers Federation Societies (SIFFS) office in Trivandrum says a reduction in the fleet is essential to improve the management of Indian fisheries<sup>14</sup>. The number of trawlers is the most crucial for reducing fleet capacity, but also the number of small-scale fishers must be decreased. In Mr. Joseph's opinion, there should be a minimum demand for profits, even for the small-scale fishers: "Our fishermen should be active fishers, if not they are wasting their time". Mr. Peters, president of KSMTF and National Fish workers Forum, states the opposite, representing the interests of all small-scale fishers. Fishing is not an activity primarily about income, but about livelihood. The low returns to fishing come from the small catches. Catching fish is becoming increasingly difficult because of trawling, and simultaneously as the younger generation is achieving better education than the former generation, there's a migration from the low wages in fisheries to other sectors, where wages are substantially higher<sup>15</sup>.

India allows foreign vessels under a Letter of Permission (LOP) scheme. The LOP gives the permission to practice offshore deep-sea fishing, without demands for landing

and registration of catches in India. 77 big vessels recently got their LOP from the Government of India (GOI). However, there is no control of these areas and what is in reality happening and the official numbers suggest that there is about 900 vessels operating in the waters of India. Most of the activists and researches we talked to in Kerala see the overcapacity as the main problem in Indian fisheries. The mechanized vessels capacity is too big and the government should take drastic measures to reduce the fleet capacity. The government is officially not handing out new licenses, but new vessels are still entering the sector and the competition for fish. The management of fisheries lies primarily under the Ministry of Agriculture, although some of the programs directed towards the fisheries sector are delegated to other ministries. The result is a management system for the same sector with little coherence, and with a confusing bureaucracy to lobby for the organizations working for the rights of the small-scale fishers.

We were reminded several times that the marine ecology of Norway and India is quite different. While Norway is operating with a quota system for commercial harvest of most species, the Indian biodiversity of fish and other sea animals is much more diversified and making a quota

system (and controlling that this is properly followed by millions of fishers) is nearly impossible to do.

The state government is responsible for the management of the fish stocks up to 24 km from shore (12 nautical miles), and from 12 – 200 nautical miles, the rules of the exclusive economic zone applies<sup>16</sup>. As the management of these two zones of the sea is dependent on the success of the other to be fully successful itself, it is problematic that the management of these are not more integrated with each other. One policy implemented to get a better control of things has been to ban trawling for 45 days during the monsoon season, which is the period for replenishing (and thus an important time for the sustainability of the fish stocks). The ban has been on since the 70s and most respondents see this as a good policy working well. Starting in Kerala, after much work from the root of civil society, the ban has spread to the other coastal states of India. GOI is also working on a ban on off-shore fishing, to make it easier to monitor the fishing activities.

## Repercussions of trade

In 1991, India made a radical shift in their trading policy. From being a closed, protectionist economy, India is increasingly opening up for trade and foreign investments. This is the background for the expanding trade of fish products and the ambitions for continued export of shrimp and fish in the coming years. From interviews with both fish retailers and fish consumers, one of the consequences of this new trade policy has been increasing prices of fish in the local and domestic market. The diversity is reduced; especially the high-value fish has become more expensive, because it is exported directly to the international market.

As a consequence of this, the price of fish has risen substantially for Indian consumers in recent years. Even the supply of low-value fish is lower, causing prices to rise for the most important species constituting the most important source of protein in the Kerala diet. The increased prices would have a positive impact on the food security for the fishers if the higher price is reflected in increased income for the fishers. According to T. Peter, president of KSMTF and National Fishworkers Forum, the price fishers get for their fish is low in both the international and domestic market, meaning that it's hard to increase the food security of fishers by trading more. Fishers will get more or less the same price

for their catch, and the gap between old and new prices ends somewhere else in the value chain<sup>17</sup>.

Dr. Shyam Salim is working as researcher at the Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute in Kochi. From his analysis on which groups connected to the fisheries sector will benefit more from trade, it becomes obvious that there are several groups who will gain from increased trade: Exporters are happier because of better market access, processors are equally happy about the expanded market opportunities, especially because India is currently only using about 30 % of its fish processing capacity. Increased market opportunities mean possibilities for higher profits. Domestic consumers, in this analysis defined as the middle-to-high income population who buy fish in the city markets, are better off because of higher diversity in selection. Low-income consumers are in his analysis connected to the group of producers<sup>18</sup>.

The benefit from more trade for the producers is depending on the opportunities for this group to get a higher price for their catch when targeted for the export market. Prices on the international market for high-value species is higher than on the Indian market, but these species constitute a small percentage of the harvest of the small scale fish fishers.



Oil sardines and mackerel make out the biggest chunk of their catches, and the price of these species will be lower on the international market than on the Indian market. This fish is still exported to cover a gap in the quanta needed to cover transportation and transaction costs connected to each container.

Could the fishers benefit more from trade if they were to trade more directly with foreign countries? Dr. Salim does not think that fishers are likely to enter the market more directly in any near future. Even with cooperatives it's difficult to get a more direct access to the export market. Exports are complicated, and the fishers prefer to let the export companies take the risk with setting up contracts (binding for how much to be sent in each container) and dealing with setbacks such as new restrictions and regulations of production.

How about consequences for fishers by the imports coming into India? Dr. Salim is not worried that imported, cheap fish will lead to a fall in prices for the fishers in Kerala. Even though the fish is caught or produced at a lower cost in the land of origin, the transportation and transaction costs must be added to market price. Add the fact that the fish is not fresh after seven days in a container to that price, and Dr. Salim feels certain that the preference for fish will be in favor of Indian fish. Dr.

Kurup, vice chancellor at Kerala University Fisheries and Ocean Studies (KUFOS), has been in a committee working with assessing the consequences of the India-ASEAN agreement from 2010. He is not of the same opinion, and argues that certain species of Indian fish is under real potential threat from similar species with lower production costs in neighboring countries<sup>19</sup>. Both high-value species India is aiming to export more of in the future and the low-value species (sardine and mackerel), which are essential for the protein consumption and fish workers income in Kerala, will be affected by new species entering to compete with Indian fish.

Traditionally, it was the task of the women to collect the fish in the landing sites and buy directly from the fishers in the shores, beaches or landing harbours. Magline Peter, leader of Coastal Women's Forum and herself from a family of fish workers or fish people, explains how the previous fish trade system was based on trust and interpersonal connections more than formalized loaning systems. Today, this is replaced by competition for the scarce fish there is for the local market, driving up prices and forcing those who want access to fish to take up loans (often at very high interest rates), be present at landing sites during the night, badly affecting health

and welfare of the women, or even go outside the state to buy fish for sale in the local market. Traditional fish vendors, the women, are competing with more capital intensive retailers, who are buying both for exports and the local markets. Higher indebtedness, longer working days, non-beneficial market access, discriminating market taxes, sexual harassment, health hazards like uterus cancer, skin and sight problems and pneumonia are some of the problems women face in their dealings with the local market<sup>20</sup>.

When India embarked on their new trade policies in 1991, the fishery sector organized to fight the opening of Indian waters to foreign vessels. Peters explains the problematic situation with foreign vessels competing for fish in India markets: "They are catching our fish, at the same time we are opening up our markets. We started the agitation, but no one is listening because the governments are together and not thinking about the poor people. We are opposing this"<sup>21</sup>

Competition for marine resources is driving the marginal cost of catching fish, leading to higher investments in fishing technology, excluding those without the financial capacity to do the same investments. The problem of over-capacity in the Indian fleet is increasing as this development continues.

Most research reports on the situation in Keralan fisheries are concerned with the food security of the fish workers. Spire sees food sovereignty as the key to food security. Food sovereignty means giving the people in the local communities the right to decide how to use the local resources for food production. Although there's no guarantee for it, a resource managed by the local community has the opportunity to fulfill all demands for a socially and ecologically sustainable utilization. In this



case it would mean that the Government of India will not allow foreign vessels to compete with the national fishing fleet for catches through the LOP scheme; the local population would decide where the fish was to be sold, and the local population would decide how much fish to be caught each year without a threat of “surplus fish” getting caught by others (to fulfill the rules of the EEZ).



## Food sovereignty and Norwegian influence

Norway is one of the world's leading fisheries nations and has one of the best management systems for fish stocks. However, the 'management' is not as successful regarding the people involved with fisheries; even though the Norwegian quota system was designed to keep a certain fleet structure; we now see a steep decline in the number of fishers in Norway. We would like to see Norway taking the lead in a socially sustainable management of the fish sector, to give local population better access and control of the marine resources; the fish must be in the hands of the people. This responsibility is important also in a global context, and an important step in the right direction would be to heavily emphasize the importance of small-scale fishers in trade negotiations. Norway is now promoting heavy cuts in tariffs and customs on fish to secure its own position. This liberalization is happening at the expense of small-scale fishers in other countries. It is important to secure employment in Norway, but not important enough to grow at the expense of some of the world's poorest people.

Fisheries management and trade with fish are complex matters, and it is hard to measure how different groups are affected, including both positive and negative effects. Our main goal has been to look into who is benefiting most on more trade, and at the expense of whom. Fisheries and aquaculture have undoubtedly considerable potential as part of an economy for the future, if done

in a sustainable way. Our concern is that only economic growth and biological measures are taken into account, forgetting the coastal populations of the world which have interacted closely together with the ocean for generations. What is needed is a management regime that brings the fish to the people, and gives the local population control of the resources. The



## Conclusion

LOP-scheme is serving as an illustration of what this regime should not contain: the scheme is causing a depletion of the resources and is adding to the stress on the marine resources in the Indian Ocean without the local population having a say on the use of these resources. Local management, however, with education can support sustainable and economically just management, given that the coastal populations are dependent on the local ecosystem. There are cases of very successful local management systems around the world.

Is increased income to the beneficiaries a sufficiently high benefit to level out the negative impacts on people losing out on this development? The price on fish in India has increased substantially in the local markets since the 1970s and onwards. Less fish available (because of stagnated catches combined with increased exports) is the main reason for the prices going up. Female fish retailers are being forced out of their traditional part of the fishery sector. The organizations for small-scale fishers feel their demands to the government are not being heard. Judging by the principles of food sovereignty, the benefits are not leveling out the negative impact. Does Norway hold any responsibility towards the people affected by our trade policies? As one of the richest countries

in the world as well as one of the most influential fisheries nations there is no doubt Norway should see beyond what provides the highest revenue for salmon farmers in Norway. This should be done by securing the voice of smaller groups in the negotiations on free trade agreements. Making impact assessments of all such agreements with emphasis on both social and ecological consequences is a necessary tool to achieve this.

## Appendix: Methodology

The fieldwork for this report was carried out in May 2012 in Kochi, Trivandrum and Kollam in Kerala, India. The report is based on our knowledge and experience from reading up on the extensive literature on fisheries in Kerala and through several interviews with representatives from fisheries organizations, researchers, representatives from the local government and political activists. Although this is not an academic paper, we are hoping to present a balanced picture of the situation in Kerala, and that our interview objects feel their opinions have been represented in an acceptable manner.

The background for the report is Spire's autumn campaign 2012, 'the rights of small scale fishers'. This was planned to be a comprehensive impact assessment of an FTA between EFTA (Norway) and India, with a focus on how free trade agreements affect the sovereignty of a state to make its own policies to protect an industry. However, during the work in India, none of our interview objects responded to this as a problem in particular with trade agreements. It has been difficult to find information on this part of the trade debate, both during and after the field work. Instead, we want to give a general presentation of our findings in Kerala, as this has also been important for educating the organization in a new topic. The findings are concerned mainly with management and overfishing, livelihood and repercussions of trade on price development.

## Interviews:

Dr. M.R. Boopendranath, principal scientist, Central Institute of Fisheries Technology  
Dr. Nikita Gopal, Senior Scientist, Central Institute of Fisheries Technology  
Mr. Sanjeeva Gosh, Fisheries Consultant and former director in the fisheries department  
Mr. Sandu Joseph, Secretary Seafood Exporters Association of India  
Mr. X. Joseph, Senior Executive South Indian Federation of Fishermen Societies  
Ms. Rosewine Joy, PhD-student Cochin University of Science and Technology (CUSAT)  
Mr. Bayn K.K., PhD-student Cochin University of Science and Technology (CUSAT)  
Mr. Thomas Kocherry, social activist World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP), National Fishworkers' Forum (NFF), National Alliance of Peoples Movements (NAPM)  
Mr. Nixon, Fishers Welfare Society Kollam  
Prof. B. Madhusoodana Kurup, Vice-chancellor Kerala University of Fisheries and Ocean Studies  
Mr. Sumesh Mangalassery, Kabani  
Representative from Marine Product Export Development Authority (MPEDA)  
Mrs. Magline Peters, president Coastal Women's Forum  
Mr. T. Peters, president of Kerala Swathantra Malsya Thozhilali Federation (KSMTF) and secretary in National Fishworkers Forum  
Dr. Shyam Salim, Senior Scientist Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute  
Dr. K. T. Thomson, Cochin University of Science and Technology (CUSAT)  
Mr. Anthony V.T., PhD-student Cochin University of Science and Technology (CUSAT)

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- 14 Interview X. Joseph 07.05.2012, Trivandrum.
- 15 Interview T. Peter 08.05.2012, Trivandrum.
- 16 Interview T. Peter 08.05.2012, Trivandrum.
- 17 Interview T. Peter 08.05.2012, Trivandrum.
- 18 Interview Shyam Salim 16.05.2012 Kochi.
- 19 Interview Dr. Kurup 18.05.2012, Kochi.
- 20 Interview Magline Peter 08.05.2012, Trivandrum.
- 21 Interview T. Peter 08.05.2012 Trivandrum.





**Spire kjemper for en mer rettferdig og  
bærekraftig fordeling av verdens  
ressurser**