Small-scale fisher migration, conflict and wellbeing
A case study from Sri Lanka

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2 Theorizing wellbeing and place attachment of small-scale migratory fishers amidst resource conflicts

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the theoretical departure points, defines the main concepts and explores relationships. It also defines a conceptual framework that positions and guides the research. It first reviews the conflicts among multiple users who compete over natural resources in the sea and coastal spaces. These conflicts concern inter-community resource allocation, fish marketing, use of technology, and rules that govern the fisheries sector (see 2.2). It explains legal pluralism as an approach to analyze the multi-scalar conflicts that emerge from the governance framework (see 2.2.5). Migration and its role in fishing are discussed in relation to seasonality and place making behaviour (see 2.3). Section 2.4 explains why it is important to go beyond a narrow income approach in considering the multi-dimensional wellbeing of the conflict-affected migratory fishers. The policy relevance of the wellbeing approach at the macro level is discussed in Section 2.5. Section 2.6 elaborates on the importance of taking a gender-aware approach to wellbeing in fisheries. Finally, the conceptual framework is presented in Section 2.8. These frame the key concepts of the research: fisheries conflicts, migration, wellbeing, place attachment, and gender that are needed to answer the overarching research question.

2.2 Fisheries conflicts

Many scholars have analysed conflicts related to natural resources (Kassa 2019; Caravani 2019; Fisher et al. 2018; Bavinck et al. 2014; De Theije et al. 2014; Homer-Dixon 1999). Relationships between natural resources and people's livelihoods are mostly highlighted (Mazor 2009). Greed over natural resources and grievances due to exclusion and access, are argued to contribute to conflict (Kok et al. 2009: 14). Complex and dynamic bio-socio-economic systems in fisheries include interactions between the marine environment and its climatological conditions (Amarasinghe 2013), human societies and their institutions at local, national, and international levels (Charles 1992), and the differing stakes of interacting parties (Hilborn 2007). Four objectives representing different disciplinary angles– biological, economic, social, and political (Kooiman et al. 2005; Mardle et al. 2002) – are commonly associated with fisheries. The biological objective focuses on the maximum biological production that is consistent with maintaining fish stocks at a sustainable threshold and is referred to as *maximum sustainable yield* (MSY). Increasingly, such a biological approach is seen to be limited as fish stocks are also affected by coral bleaching and ocean acidification as well as by endocrine disruptors (Seggel and De Young 2016). The economic objective focuses on the maximum resource rent *i.e.* the *maximum economic yield* (MEY) that fishers can extract from the resource. The social objective in developing countries is to provide maximum job opportunities even with zero profit but allowing the majority to participate in fisheries, food production, and maintain traditional communities (Amarasinghe 2013; Viveknandan 2011; Hilborn 2007) known as *maximum social yield* (MSoY). The political objective is to avoid conflicts by developing science-based fair, legitimate, and predictable rules (Stepanova 2015). These objectives are intertwined in reality as fish stocks affect economic profit, social employment, political rules, and vice versa. However, different actors focus on singular objectives (Degnbol et al. 2006). Therefore, trade-offs between the bio-ecological objectives may be seen as limiting the socio-economic aspects, or the short-term political objective may affect the bio-ecological objectives and limit the long-term socio-economic objective. In this setting, an increasing body

of literature is devoted to fisheries-related conflicts (Charles 1992; Bennett et al. 2001; Bavinck 2005; Scholtens 2016).

2.2.1   Conflict

A conflict is a nonlinear (circular) struggle (Bennett et al. 2001), or a situation of non-cooperation among parties with contradictory objectives that result from a process of change and transformation (Rutten and Mwangi 2014). It is "the clashing interests of two or more parties where at least one of the parties seeks to assert its interest at the expenses of another party's interest" (FAO 1998: 199). Fisheries conflicts are a "confrontation between groups or categories of people regarding fishing activities and its management" (Bavinck et al. 2014:149). These definitions see 'conflict' as evidenced in the behaviour of people, a perspective that I follow in this dissertation.

The following section discusses what are often viewed as the causes of fisheries conflicts. Thereafter, I zoom in on the institutional issues as some scholars view them to be of paramount importance in explaining not only the origins but also in divining the solutions of conflict.

2.2.2   Causes of fisheries conflicts

Fisheries are a common pool resource, subject to the tragedy of the commons (Harding 1968) caused by the 'limited availability of fish' and 'increasing fishing efforts' (Pomeroy et al. 2007: 647). This creates burgeoning conflicts (Bavinck et al. 2014; Pomeroy et al. 2007; Berkes et al. 2006; Bavinck 2005). Fisheries conflicts have complex, multiple, and inter-connected causes (Derkyi 2012) such as: i) demographic changes (Pollnac et al. 2015; Pomeroy et al. 2007) due to population growth and influx of new comers leading to the decline of economic or ecological wellbeing; ii) natural resource competition (Rutten and Mwangi 2014; Homer-Dixon 1999); iii) development pressures, which are social issues and government policy changes (Pomeroy et al. 2016; Pomeroy et al. 2007); iv) structural injustice such as differential access to resources by social groups (Warner 2000: 11) including, local to transboundary jurisdictional challenges (see e.g. Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) under the international law of the seas); v) absence of effective institutions (Rutten and Mwangi 2014:68; Bennett et al. 2001); vi) inequitable power relations (Stepanova 2015; Jentoft 2004) and fragmented governance (Nagoli et al. 2016; Bavinck et al. 2014); vii) ideas of entitlement (Bavinck 2005), and (viii) types of technologies (*ibid.*). A conflict may also be viewed as a function of cultural issues (Bennett et al. 2001), security challenges, and rational decision-making when trying to maximize an individual's utilities- conflicting interests of stakeholders (Nagoli et al. 2016; Hilborn 2007; Warner 2000). Conflicts affect the identity and wellbeing of interacting parties (Bavinck and Vivekanandan 2011) while frustrations over the inability to achieve legitimacy, social and economic success can burst out as a conflict (Risman 2004). Conflicts also contribute to the process of change and transformation (Peil and Oyeneye 1998: 290). Literature is available on these types of conflicts from South Asia (Bavinck 2005), East Asia (Pomeroy et al. 2007; Pomeroy and Ahmed 2006; Berkes et al. 2001) and the African countries (Kassa 2019; Caravani 2019; Lenselink 2002). At the micro-level, interactions between migrants and local communities intrinsically create significant conflicts (Wilson et al. 2010; Glaesel 2000) accompanied by social unrest, political instability, and threats on regional security (Pomeroy et al. 2007). Therefore, conflicts are associated with social, economic, political, cultural, and legal reasoning (Stepanova 2015; Oba 2011).

2.2.3 Typology of conflicts

Conflicts can be internal or external to the fisheries (Charles 1992). Internal conflicts in fisheries relate to the allocation of fisheries resource, differences in rent between in-shore, offshore, and artisanal fishers, problems of fishing techniques and selling mechanisms, disputes between fish merchants, fish processors, and the government or local institutions. Conflicts usually occur within the fisheries sector and its population (macro environment) (Bennett et al. 2001; Charles 1992). External disputes are those with competing users from other sectors such as tourism, aquaculture, forestry, ocean mining, and others. Conflicts can be symmetrical or asymmetrical (Bavinck et al. 2014; also see Rapoport 1974:176). Conflicts with comparable weights among conflicting parties are known as symmetrical and asymmetrical with disparate weights. Furthermore, conflicts can be endogenous or exogenous. Endogenous conflicting units are part of a larger system with self-controlled and/or conflict resolving mechanisms. Exogenous conflicting units are from different systems requiring joint mechanisms for control and conflict resolution.

Authors have formulated different typologies of conflicts. Whereas Warner (2000) distinguishes between conflicts that can be possible in heterogeneous communities in relation to micro and macro environments, Charles (1992) describes how fisheries conflicts can be categorized into four inter-related headings based on the institutional efficiency and resource allocation: (i) fisheries jurisdiction; (ii) management mechanisms; (iii) internal allocations; and (iv) external allocation. When any of the above fails, conflicts can be referred to as resulting from 'institutional failure' (Bennett et al. 2001:4). In this dissertation, I make use of the typology developed by Charles (1992), and elaborated by Bennett et al. (2001). Key features of these two typologies are given below, starting with the four institutional factors of Charles (1992).

Fisheries jurisdiction
Fisheries jurisdiction relates to issues such as who controls and administers the fishery, who owns it, and what the optimal form of fisheries management is. Generally, government units at different levels have jurisdiction over fisheries. Thus, a focus on inter-governmental rules, government and sub-national regulations and community-based common property management systems result from this (*ibid.*).

Management mechanisms
Management mechanisms pertain to conflicts over harvest levels, consultative processes and periodic management plans, allocation, and fishing techniques (*ibid.*). Management issues often relate to whether governments make rules based on a combination of different knowledge through a democratic and legitimate process, or whether they make rules autocratically and ignore local knowledge and practices. What is important to note is that in all decision-making processes, there are winners and losers – this may be acceptable when winners also compensate losers in one way or the other (*ibid.*).

Internal allocation
Internal allocation refers to conflicts within specific fisheries systems, between user groups, gear types, fish processors, and other players. 'Gear wars' (Bavinck et al. 2014), technological interactions (Bavinck 2005), and conflicts between artisanal versus industrial fishers, commercial versus recreational and large-scale versus small-scale fishers (Pomeroy et al. 2007) are internal allocation conflicts.

External allocation

External allocation conflicts occur between internal fishers and outsiders such as foreign fishing fleets (Scholtens 2016; 2015), tourism, non-fishing industries, and forestry.

The categories within which failures can be distinguished (Charles 1992) are also explained by Bennett et al. (2001) as a typology of fisheries conflicts (see Table 2.1). Here, the Type I conflict is the same as the fishery jurisdiction conflict explained by Charles (1992); it deals with conflicts over access, ownership, and access controlling mechanism in fisheries. Type II conflicts relate to management mechanisms (Charles 1992) concerning enforcement issues and harvest levels. Type III and IV represent the internal and external allocations as described by Charles (1992), which are conflicts that occur within the fisheries sector. Type V conflict was not covered by Charles (1992) as it deals with the impact of economic and environmental changes on fisheries.

Table 2.1 Conflict typology for fisheries

Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V
Access issues	Enforcement issues	Issues between different identities and user groups	Issues with other stakeholders within the fisheries sector	Issues with other stakeholders outside the fisheries sector
Who controls the fishery?	How is the fishery controlled?	What is the relationship between fishery users?	What is the relationship between fishers and other users of the aquatic environment?	What is the relationship between fishers and non-fishery issues?

Source: Bennett et al. (2001:7)

2.2.4   Note on institutional failures

In the above section, I have linked fisheries conflicts to the realm of institutions and institutional failures, without properly explaining the concepts. As institutions also play an important role in the discussion of legal pluralism and governance (see 2.2.5), it is worthwhile to pay attention to the topic. Institutions include actors such as families, communities, social networks, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)/Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), firms, government bodies including legislative entities, and markets (Jentoft 2004: 138; North 1990). Institutions are the rules made by actors to organize, manage, lead, communicate, negotiate, represent, and govern the resources/human behaviour (Jentoft 2004:138). Ideally, they are legitimate (Andrew et al. 2007), participatory, equitable, transparent, efficient, and effective (Bennett et al. 2001) and adhere to democratic principles. Institutions can be formal or informal (North 1990).

Informal institutions refer to the norms, procedures, and practices of people, including rules of access, monitoring and control, and relationships (Wickramasinghe and Bavinck 2015), e.g. markets, community rules, and social capital that govern the behaviour and shape society with *de facto* rules and norms. Formal institutions are norms and rules that are institutionalized by the state, judiciary, and political authorities. These have emerged over the years and have been formalized through regulations that govern the behaviour and shape the society (North 1990). The rights enforced by the government and passed through ministries are '*de jure*' rights to which legal recognition has been given by formal bodies (Schlager and Ostrom 1992: 254). Historically, *de jure* rules are often based on *de facto* rules, as this was the only way to ensure acceptance of these rules. Over time, conquest, colonization and scalar issues have led to situations where these differ from each other (*ibid.*). The presence of multiple institutions for multiple user groups with multiple legal systems could lead to inequality and injustice among stakeholders (Bennett et al. 2001) leading to further marginalization (Scholtens 2016). Conflicts may arise due to miscommunication and inefficient governing mechanisms between institutions, actors, and agents (see 2.2.5).

It is clear that institutions – defined both as organizations and as rules of the game –are critical in the governance of fisheries, and that their plurality can affect whatever the governance activities taking place. I now turn to the topic of governance and legal pluralism.

2.2.5 Governance and legal pluralism

Bodies specialized in policies for a certain sector sometimes have conflicting objectives with other related sectors (Runhaar et al. 2014; Jacob et al. 2008). Resolving these conflicts is not easy especially when states have limited resources and capacity (Scholtens and Bavinck 2014). While community driven institutions may be more effective in their socio-economic functions, the question is whether they have access to the knowledge and resources needed for addressing the complex trade-offs, systemic interaction and drivers at other levels of governance. Yet, their leverage is limited with regard to resource-based conflicts, trade-offs, and other coastal management options concerning migratory fishers and their issues due to insufficient attention being paid by legal and policy making authorities (Crona and Rosendo 2011). This calls for increased collaboration between state and community agents (Wickramasinghe and Bavinck 2015) that could lead to enhanced human wellbeing (Butler and Oluoch-Kosura 2006), peace development (Scholtens 2016), and poverty alleviateion (Brown et al. 2002).

Inter- and intra- system interference between people and events, clashes among actors, intra-clashes among resource users, and clashes between people within a societal system and governing actors need to be addressed with an appropriate governing mechanism (Bavinck and Vivekanandan 2011; also in Charles 1992 and Warner 2000 as typologies of conflicts–see 2.2.3). Governance refers to the "whole of public as well as private interactions taken to solve societal problems and create societal opportunities" (Kooiman et al. 2005:17). It refers to the complex and dynamic networks of institutions with their boundaries, cultures, structures, and mandates (Jentoft 2011) and is closely related to the field of law, understood as the bodies of norms and rules that assist in ensuring social order. Identities such as religion, ethnicity, family, clan, gender, and culture are inseparable from legal systems (Bavinck et al. 2014).

Corruption, political agenda, exclusion of important stakeholders from decision-making processes, inefficient institutions with limited capabilities, poor enforcement, asymmetry in information availability, and poor communication hinder the governance of small-scale marine fisheries (Pomeroy et al. 2016). As

Jentoft et al. (2011: 464) state, "governance intervention for small-scale fishers must always be measured in terms of ecological and social contexts…following the dexterity principle". Thus, governance systems need to account for legal plurality that value community rules and rituals within a sound ecological and social context and make effective links between community and formal rules. When different rules apply to the same jurisdiction or when "different legal mechanisms [are] applicable to identical situations" (Bavinck 2005:811), a situation of legal pluralism arises (Vanderlinden 1972). For example, challenges are encountered when state-based formal fisheries institutions at national level focusing on biodiversity conservation, sustainable livelihoods, coastal tourism, clash with local informal self-regulating structures (Wickramasinghe and Bavinck 2015). This has traditionally occurred in colonial and post-colonial situations where remnants of legal systems imposed by colonizers juxtapose against informal institutions, as well as new rules and regulations formed by formal institutions (Bavinck 2005: 810). Legal pluralism implies a plurality of values, norms, customs, directives, and mandates engaging people in a particular society (Jentoft 2011).

2.2.6 Typology on legal pluralism

Bavinck and Gupta (2014) presented a typology that categorizes different relationships between legal systems. This concerns the quality and the intensity of relationships. The validity and usefulness of legal systems are examined by the quality aspect, whereas the level of interconnection is explained by the intensity aspect. Accordingly, four heuristic types are explained as follows; (i) indifference –the relationship with the least or lack of operational overlapping with different jurisdictions and interests; (ii) competing – different legal systems compete for power where the "institutes command a strong presence and struggle over legal interpretation and implementation" (Bavinck et al. 2013:636); (iii) accommodation –recognition of other systems and reciprocal adaptation is noticed with little institutional or jurisdictional integration; and (iv) mutual support –strong legal systems jointly agree to sustain a frame of action. Indifference and accommodation relationships are identified as weak pluralism that needs to engage with agreements for harmonization. In contrast, competition requires investment in developing trust and promoting coherence. This typology is used in Chapter 5 to analyse the multiple legal systems enforced on the northwestern small-scale migratory fisheries.

Migrant fishers spend their time in two localities (home and host regions). Thus, the prevalence of multiple formal and informal institutions is obvious. Moreover, the literature notes three types of governing interactions occurring in relation to Palk Bay conflicts, namely; 1) between government agencies; 2) between fishers; and 3) between fishers and government agencies, which introduce different sources of law (Bavinck et al. 2014; Scholtens and Bavinck 2014). My investigation of migrant fisheries in Sri Lanka builds upon these understandings (see 5.2.2).

2.3 Migration

Migration is a process where an individual, family or a group of people leaves one geographical area to settle down in another area temporarily or permanently. This move is determined by cultural and historical practices, and may be for reasons such as economic prosperity, political turmoil, resource availability (Aburto et al. 2009), and/or educational and employment purposes. It can be from rural to urban areas, and within and between countries (Bhugra 2004). Migration is not only a flow of people but also the flow of ideas, norms, values, knowledge (Odotei 2002), and rules (Benda-Beckmann et al. 2005). Migration is an integral part of the economic and social structures and institutions of countries and regions (IOM 2005).

Power relationships and identities decide who migrates, under what circumstances, and with what effect on inclusive development (Silvey and Lawson 1999). However, migration is also often a stressful process where people may feel isolated and alienated, especially when there is no place attachment (Bhugra 2004). Settling down in the new environment depends on one's personality traits (Lawson 2010), prior preparation activities, social support, acceptance and welcome by the new region (*ibid.*). Migration can have both positive and negative impacts on human wellbeing. On the positive side, it can enhance access to resources, livelihoods, income and social networks. On the negative side, it can cause social vulnerability and individual disruption. The way migration affects families, their children, and their health, are all relevant for the study of wellbeing (Bennett 2005). Fisher migration can be either rural-urban migration, modern-traditional transition, change-continuity transition, or national-international migration (Wanyoni et al. 2016a), but they can also be season-based. The next section elaborates on these patterns of fisher migration.

2.3.1   Migration patterns in fisheries

Fisher migration (see 1.2.3) consists of two types (Jorion 1988): (i) seasonal movements that repeat annually (temporal migration); and (ii) long-distance movements with a settlement in the region (spatial migration) for a longer period, often more than one year. Spatial migration is when fishers cross political-administrative boundaries while temporal migration is when fishers migrate seasonally (Rajan 2014). Fishers move from their homes to remote fishing locations (Njock and Westlund 2010; FAO 2008; Curran 2002). This migration is a key demographic feature in small-scale fisheries worldwide (Wanyonyi et al. 2016a; Curran 2002). It can be a permanent or seasonal shifting of both places of fishing and residence (Rajan 2014; Curran 2002). Although literature on seasonal and temporal migration is not as common as rural-urban migration (Crona and Rosendo 2011), migration is common (Wanyoni et al. 2016a; Randall 2005) in tropical marine fisheries and freshwater fisheries (Béné and Friend 2011).

2.3.2   Factors affecting fisher migration

Five factors are known to affect fisher migration (Binet et al. 2012; Njock and Westlund 2010). First, fishers migrate in search of *profitability and gain* (Delauney 1991: 161), especially because it enables them to continue as fishers throughout the year to survive and prosper without falling into poverty traps (Crona and Rosendo 2011; Grellier et al. 2004; Glaesel 2000). Global migrant fishers stop at any coastal city that promises a good harvest; they are known as 'route fishers' (Cormier-Salem 2000). Migration is thus a process driven by economic motives (Nagoli et al. 2016). Second and related to the above, migration is influenced by *biological* factors –upwelling, fish migration or natural movements of target fish species (Duffy-Tumasz 2012; Njock and Westlund 2010; Nunan 2010; Cripps 2009; Curran 2002; Jorion 1988), coastal erosion, over-fishing in the home region, and population pressure, which leads fishers to move to areas where fishing is lucrative. Third, *socio-economic* factors such as availability of networks, markets, access to credit, safety, savings, love of adventure, knowledge transfer, access to cheap inputs, and status (Kraan 2009). Literature shows how migrant fishers contribute to the economy by promoting production, employment generation, and trading (Kraan 2009; Odetei 2002). Fourth, *extreme weather conditions* in the home location of fishers can cause migration, for example, West African fishers migrate to other places due to extreme drought in their home regions (Binet et al. 2012). Finally, migration could become a way of life (Binet et al. 2012; Nunan 2010) with cultural values that tie fishers to the place of migration. Resource abundance *per sé* is not the core factor of a fishing site. For example, migrant fishers in the northwestern provinces in Sri Lanka frequently appear to migrate to one particular site annually (Stirrat 1988), demonstrating fisher-place bonding i.e. place attachment.

Some factors may hamper migration. These include gear incompatibility (in the migrating region); non-familiarity with the local fishing ground (e.g. fishers who usually fish in Lake Chilwa cannot migrate either to Lake Malawi or to Malombe during the water recession period due to the depth and heavy water currents in those lakes) and the legal and policy framework of governing bodies (Nagoli et al. 2016). Fish migrants are sometimes seen as "roving bandits" (Berkes et al. 2006: 1557) and "environmental villains" (Schroeder 1999: 371) because of their extensive exploitation of the resource, which is destructive and unfavourable for local counterparts. Influxes of migrant fishers are known to contribute towards social and cultural changes, knowledge spill-overs, new technology, new traditions known as acculturation (Bhugra 2004), exploitation of recreational resources (Duffy-Tumasz 2012; Schroeder 1999), interventions in local jurisdictions, destructive fishing methods, and changes to the local system of resource governance (Wamukota and Okemwa 2009; Haller and Mertan 2008). They may, on the other hand, be excluded from the decision-making process (Crona and Rosendo 2011). Consequently, migrant fisherfolk are mostly absent from policies, regulations, and at national level discussion forums (Wanyonyi et.al 2016a,b; Binet et al. 2012; Glaesel 2000). In such regions, some scholars argue that small-scale fisher migration has reached an ecological and social deadlock making its future uncertain (Binet et al. 2012).

2.3.3 Migration and place attachment

Place attachment receives increasing attention in social and environmental literature regarding livelihoods and migration (Amundsen 2015; Brown et al. 2015; Casakin et al. 2015; Ujang and Zakariya 2015). The place attachment theory originated in the 1960s when Fried (1963) investigated the (negative) impact of forced relocation of households in Boston's West End from their familiar and socially-connected places to improved residential settings with higher living standards and property values. Since then, the notion of human-place bonding has been researched and discussed extensively in environmental psychology, environmental management, social and behavioural sciences (Williams 2014). Different but related concepts have been framed as a part of place attachment theories such as the sense of place, place identity and place dependence, focusing primarily on psychological aspects whilst treating economic conditions as external and given.

'Place' demonstrates a strong heterogeneity in terms of natural, recreational, cultural, physical, and societal perspectives (Kyle et al. 2014). The epistemological aspects (how can we know the 'place'?) are seen as more important than ontological aspects (existence of the 'place') (Creswell 2004). Since this concept is derived from human experiences (Stedman 2003), place attachment deals with: (a) the attributes of the place (emotional attachment) (Giuliani 2003; Kaltenborn 1998; Fullilove 1996); (b) the dynamic and diverse connections with different physical settings (people's feelings on public property planning) (Manzo 2005; Kyle et al. 2004b; Relph 1976); (c) place satisfaction (stakeholders' interests and competition over natural resources) (Stedman 2003; Bonaiuto et al. 2002; Shumaker and Taylor 1983); (d) time span (Hay 1998; Milligan 1998); (e) past experience (Manzo 2005; Vorkinn and Riese 2001; Brown and Perkins 1992); and (f) physical, social, and symbolic shelter from outsiders (Keefer et al. 2014; Debenedetti et al. 2013).

Places are co-constructed by people with different social and material realities in the biophysical world (Stedman 2003). The place and its broader environment do not only carry physical meaning but have societal components constructed by humans and their interactions (Eisenhauer et al. 2000). The collective meaning of the place is associated with socio-cultural values (Acott and Urquhart 2014; Urquhart and Acott

2013) because people expect protection from social aggression and intrusion through strong community ties that ensure their security and support (Keefer et al. 2014). However, community place attachment differs from individual place attachment in relation to location, level, focus, and behavioural responses (Mihaylov and Perkins 2014).

2.3.4   Elements in place attachment

Place attachment theories explain the interactions between people's physical setting, the (perceived) quality of the environment, and social processes (Marcheschi et al. 2015). Many scholars explain place attachment through identity, place identity, and place dependence as key elements.

Identity

Place is central and symbolic to social interactions (Scannell and Gifford 2010). People define places in terms of their identities in relation to the environment (Manzo 2003; Proshansky et al. 1983). Identity refers to who one is and how one should behave in a community according to the unwritten rules and codes of conduct (Stets and Burke 2003) to achieve consistency/stability in life (Stets 2003; Burke and Stets 1999; Burke 1996, 1991; Thoits 1995). Identities include non-geographic socio-economic features such as class, gender, religion, ethnicity, sexuality (Dalby and Mackenzie 1997), individual behaviour (Stets 2003; Stets and Burke 2003; Burke and Reitzes 1991) and livelihoods. Identity relates to the association between one-self and the physical and social environment (Proshansky 1978) with cognitive (Jorgensen and Stedman 2001) and emotional attributes (Kyle et al. 2014). Cognitive attributes consider human thoughts, knowledge, beliefs, memories, interests (Manzo 2005; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell 1996; Proshansky et al. 1983), and familiarity (Fullilove 1996) to the place. The emotional component includes positive (e.g. esteem, happiness, satisfaction, and pride) and negative emotions (e.g. shame, distress, disappointment, anger) (Kyle et al. 2014) that attract to or repel from the place.

Place identity

Place identity is an emotional, individual or collective attachment –a psychological investment that reflects the symbolic importance of a place; e.g. respecting trees and wildlife, and waste management (Vaske and Kobrin 2001: 17). It emerges from the accumulation of experience, memories (Cheng et al. 2013; Therkelsen and Halkier 2011), and physical and social attributes of the place (Gu and Ryan 2008). The physical landscape is designed for common but meaningful objectives (Stokowski 2002; Woldoff 2002; Stokols and Shumaker 1981) to visualize the identity of dwellers.

Place dependence

Place dependence is "a functional connection based on individuals' physical connection to a setting" (Raymond et al. 2010: 426). Functional attachment (amenities provided by the resources for a particular activity -e.g. hiking trails, rock-climbing routes) is based on conative elements (*ibid.*; Stokols and Shumaker 1981) and enjoyment elements (dwellers are satisfied by and enjoy these attributes) (Lee et al. 2012; Lopez-Mosquera and Sanchez 2011). Place dependence and place identity have the same time scale but differ in relation to the psychological aspects (Kyle et al. 2004a). A positive correlation between place identity, place dependence, and social bonding to place attachment of wild land residents and urban residents has been reported irrespective of the environment in which people reside (Kyle et al. 2014). The recurrent place-making behaviour of migrant fishers' is explored in light of these theories. I will analyse the attributes proposed in identity, place identity, and place dependence in relation to three motives in seasonal migration.

Attributes in place attachment

Scholars have explained place attachment by referring to the psychological behaviour of individuals. Cognitive, affective, and functional attributes are mostly considered (Scannell and Gifford 2010). Further, some explain the social factors of place attachment by discussing identity, place identity, and place dependence (Mihaylov and Perkins 2014; Giuliani 2003; Low and Altman 1992). A fewer number of studies mention the economic importance of the place (Wanyonyi et al. 2016a,b; Debenedetti et al. 2013). My study analyses place-making behaviour over economic, social, and behavioural motives. The available literature on each attribute is presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Attributes of 'place attachment'

Attributes	Supporting literature
Economic: natural, income and saving	Njock and Westlund (2010); Binet et al. (2012); Debenedetti et al. (2013); Levine (2016); Wanyonyi et al. (2016b)
Behavioural: affective bond	Shumaker and Taylor (1983); Hummon (1992); Low and Altman (1992); Cuba and Hummon (1993); Giuliani and Feldman (1993); Williams and Patterson (1999); Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001); Giuliani (2003); Stedman (2003)
Behavioural: cognitive	Proshansky et al. (1983); Twigger – Ross and Uzzell (1996); Jorgensen and Stedman (2001); Wynween et al. (2012)
Behavioural: affective, cognitive, and conative	Brown and Perkins (1992); Scannell and Gifford (2010); Kyle et al.(2014); Manzo (2005)
Social: community identity	Anderssan (2002); Brown et al. (2003); Kyle and Chick (2007); Debenedetti et al. (2013); Wanyonyi et al. (2016b)
Social: identity	Kaltenborn (1998); Eisenhauer et al. (2000); Clayton (2003); Trentelman (2009)
Social: place dependence and place identity	Proshansky (1978); Williams and Roggenbuck (1989); Vaske and Kobrin (2001); Raymond et al. (2010)

Source: Author, based on literature review

Although the literature covers permanent migrants (Hewage et al. 2011; Silvey and Lawson 1999) and their place attachment using the attributes presented in Table 2.2, there have been few studies on seasonal migration and the place selection behaviour of migrants in small-scale fisheries (Wanyonyi et al. 2016a; Curran 2002 and few others). The present study aims to understand the place selection behaviour and place-making attributes of seasonal migrant fishers. Sections 2.4 to 2.6 explain how this will merge with a wellbeing and gender lens.

2.4 Wellbeing

Wellbeing is a term that envelops the breadth and depth of meanings (Woodhouse et al. 2015; Armitage et al. 2012). It is influenced by social, political, and cultural contexts (Adler and Seligman 2016; Coulthard et al. 2011) and is the anticipated result of the operationalization and application of social policy into development practices (McGregor et al. 2015; McGregor and Sumner 2010). According to Buddhism, material wealth alone cannot bring wellbeing but requires inner peace (Bandarage 2013; Coulthard 2012).

Aristotle's eudemonia refers to 'human flourishing', which goes beyond wealth, power, and knowledge to spiritual, emotional, and material wellbeing (MacKian 2009).

Wellbeing was initially used in emotional and psychological discourses (La Placa et al. 2013), social psychology (Wallace and Wheeler 2002) and goal achievement based on subjective measurements by individuals (Kroll 2015). The theory of human wellbeing is increasingly emerging as the focal point in international development research and policy debates (e.g. Stiglitz et al. 2009). Participatory development focuses on interactions of beings, doings, and feelings (Weeratunge et al. 2014; Smith and Clay 2010; White 2010).

2.4.1 Why wellbeing?

In the post-financial crisis years, the concept of wellbeing is explained as a way to address the shortcomings of existing economic prosperity indices (Aked et al. 2010). Wellbeing is a critical goal of social inclusiveness, which is one of the ingredients of inclusive development, the others being ecological inclusiveness and relational aspects (Gupta et al. 2015). Wellbeing is a signpost to "shift emphasis from measuring economic production to measuring people's wellbeing" (Stiglitz et al. 2009: 10). It is a vital part of the current development agenda to achieve individual and community aspirations and needs for a better and content life with appropriate assessment tools (Woodhouse et al. 2015).

2.4.2 Definitions and dimensions of wellbeing

As a concept to evaluate a person's life or 'being' (Gasper 2002; Travers and Richardson 1997), wellbeing covers not only the material wealth of individuals but also other aspects in day-to-day life such as social relationships and networks, beliefs, ideologies, security, and satisfaction where by objective measurements are impossible (Gough 2004). This vast coverage with multiple attributes makes the concept common to different disciplines. Development economics views wellbeing as a subjective concept associated with happiness that is derived from material accomplishments (Lerner 1997). Social psychology view wellbeing as an internal expression of the psychological aspects of individuals. However, the overarching wellbeing approach takes objective and subjective aspects into account (Woodhouse et al. 2015; MEA 2005), and has evolved over decades (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Wellbeing definitions in the literature

Reference	Definition	Dimension/s
Bentham (1780) in Collard (2006)	Excess of pleasure over pain	Subjective wellbeing
Shin and Johnson (1978)	A global assessment of a person's quality of life according to his own chosen criteria	Subjective wellbeing
Sen (1993)	A person's being seen from the perspective of his/her personal welfare	Objective wellbeing
Gasper (2002)	An assessment to evaluate a person's life or 'being'	Subjective wellbeing
Shah and Marks (2004: 2); Aked et al. (2010)	Well-being means developing as a person, being fulfilled, and making a contribution to the community	Subjective wellbeing; relational wellbeing
MEA (2005)	Basic material needed, health, security, good social relations, freedom of choice and action	Objective wellbeing
Deci and Ryan (2008)	Optimal psychological experience and functioning: hedonia and eudemonia	Subjective wellbeing
Stiglitz et al. (2009)	Living standard (income, consumption, wealth), health, education, personal activities including work, political voice and governance, social connections and relationships, environment, insecurity of an economy and the physical nature	Relational wellbeing; objective wellbeing
White (2010: 160)	"Doing well, feeling good, and doing good, feeling well"	Subjective; relational; objective wellbeing
Wellbeing and poverty pathways (2011)	Values and meanings, physical and mental health, competence and self-worth, close relationships, social connections, agency and participation, local environment, economic resources	Subjective; relational; objective wellbeing
Dellefave et al. (2011)	Virtuous life by actualizing the inherent potential are the ways of wellbeing: eudemonic and hedonic approach	Subjective wellbeing
Dodge et al. (2012)	Resources and challenges of psychological, social, and physical	Subjective wellbeing
Summers et al. (2012)	A positive physical, social, and mental state of individuals	Subjective wellbeing
OECD (2013)	Material living condition, quality of life, and sustainability	Subjective; relational; objective wellbeing
La Placa et al. (2013)	Meeting individual's need, giving sense of purpose in terms of personal relations, financial reward and attractive environments	Relational and objective wellbeing
Hirvilammi and Helne (2014)	Man and nature affectively, to overcome separateness and alienation, to arrive at the experience of oneness with all that exists: Having: Doing: Loving: Being	Relational wellbeing; objective wellbeing
Biedenweg et al. (2016)	Physical, psychological, cultural, social, economic, and governance	Subjective; relational; objective wellbeing

Source: Author, based on literature review

The research on wellbeing has grown in multiple disciplines (Diener et al. 1999; Kahneman et al. 1999). Thus, different definitions are applied in different fields of study. Table 2.3 shows that most of the literature (before 2009 but except MEA 2005) values psychological aspects such as happiness, quality of life (QoL) and satisfaction in the subjective dimension. The Wellbeing in Developing countries research (WeD) group at the University of Bath has emphasized the holistic, dynamic, and social nature of wellbeing by distinguishing three inter-related dimensions: material, subjective, and relational dimensions (McGregor and Sumner 2010).
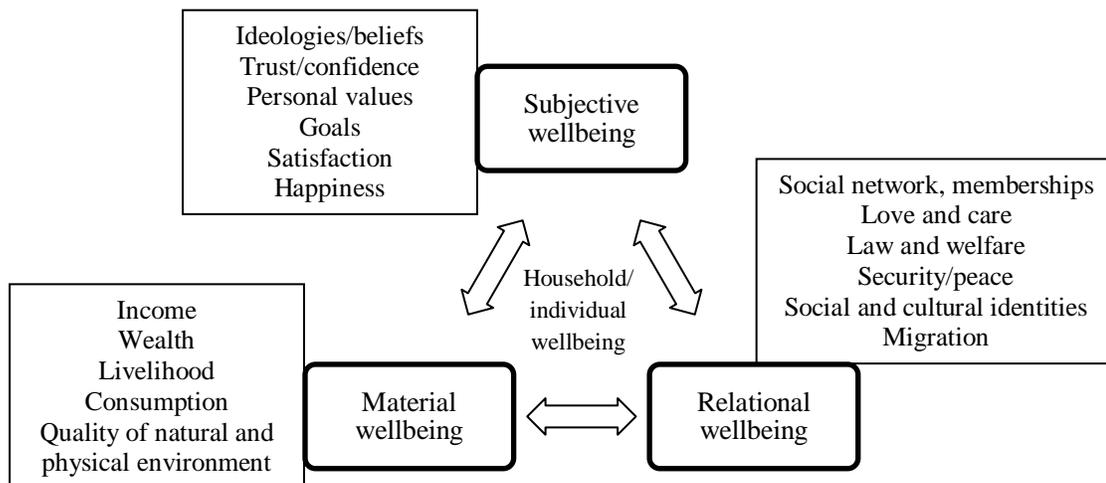
McGregor (2007: 1) defines wellbeing as "a state of being with others, where human needs are met, where one can act meaningfully to pursue one's goals, and where one enjoys a satisfactory quality of life". Being the "one framework that combines objective and subjective valuation and gives primacy to local understandings" (Woodhouse et al. 2015:3) and simplicity, practicability, and applicability (Woodhouse et al. 2015; Armitage et al. 2012). The WeD classification is used in this study to assess the individual and collective wellbeing of small-scale migrant fishers.

2.4.2.1 Material wellbeing

Material wellbeing refers to the 'welfare and standard of living' (White 2010:163) – economic assets, income, wealth, other endowments, health, education, skills, employment, (traditional) livelihood activities, access to services, amenities and environmental quality and, deals with 'what a person has' (the objective material resources) (Gough and McGregor 2007) to meet his/her needs and wants. This includes food security, and adequate shelter (Trimble and Johnson 2013) and has been described as human capital, physical capital, natural capital, and financial capital alongside capabilities (Sen 1989).

2.4.2.2 Relational wellbeing

Relational wellbeing is what a person does to pursue human wellbeing in relation to others (Gough and McGregor 2007). Relationships include human behaviour in decision-making (Coulthard et al. 2014), social capital and (more broadly) social interactions (Trimble and Johnson 2013), societal values, choices, actions, constructions of self and capabilities (Sen 1989), and capacities to aspire (Appadurai 2004). The relational dimension unravels the relatedness to others using power, identity, social interactions, and rules that govern 'who gets what and why' (White 2009) because social relationships are crucial in achieving and denying wellbeing (White 2010). Relational wellbeing enhances subjective wellbeing (Myers 1999) and is known as the stage of action. The determinants of relational wellbeing are: love and care, social networking, relations with the state, law, politics, social, and cultural identities, equalities, peace, security, social inclusion, connectedness, collective action, and positive influence (motivations). Moreover, the relational dimension involves social division, forms of entitlements, class, caste, religion, race, ethnicity, age, gender, and ritual responsibilities (attributes of identities). Relational wellbeing is sometimes referred to as social weather (Social Weather Station 2015) because unsatisfied or confronting relational wellbeing aspects may lead to social conflicts.

Figure 2.1 Dimensions of wellbeing

| Ideologies/beliefs |
| Trust/confidence |
| Personal values |
| Goals |
| Satisfaction |
| Happiness |

Subjective wellbeing

Household/ individual wellbeing

| Social network, memberships |
| Love and care |
| Law and welfare |
| Security/peace |
| Social and cultural identities |
| Migration |

| Income |
| Wealth |
| Livelihood |
| Consumption |
| Quality of natural and physical environment |

Material wellbeing

Relational wellbeing

Source: Inspired by Coulthard et al. 2011; McGregor 2009

2.4.2.3 Subjective (cognitive) wellbeing

Subjective wellbeing is widely researched in wellbeing literature (Adler and Seligman 2016), especially in psychology and happiness studies (e.g. Haring et al. 1984). Subjective wellbeing questions how people assess their lives affectively (how they feel) and cognitively (what they think) (Gough and McGregor 2007; Diener et al. 2003; Diener et al. 1999; Veenhoven 1996). Subjective wellbeing has been promoted in Buddhism and in Aristotle's philosophy on human flourishing (Vitterso et al. 2009; Kopperud and Vitterso 2008) (see 2.4). Subjectivity relates to values, ideologies, beliefs, and people's perceptions either positive or negative (Diener and Ryan 2009). Diener and Suh (1997) explain subjective wellbeing as including life satisfaction (cognitive sense of satisfaction with life), pleasant, and unpleasant effects (positive and negative moods and emotions; see also Adler and Seligman 2016). However, determinants proposed by White (2010) are: understanding the sacred and moral orders, self-concept and personality, hopes, fears, aspirations, sense of meanings, trust, and confidence, judgments and feelings about life satisfaction, interest and engagement, reactions to life events (joy, sadness), recreation, and job satisfaction. Hedonic wellbeing (feeling good) and eudemonic wellbeing (functioning well) are explained in relation to the success in four areas of life: i) health and longevity; ii) work and income; iii) social relations; and iv) societal benefits (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005).

The 3D model

These three dimensions always interact with each other (McGregor and Sumner 2010). The impact of one variable can influence the other dimensions directly and indirectly (Pouw and McGregor 2014) due to their interconnectedness and interdependence. Thus, the dimensions co-evolve and interact dynamically towards a positive perspective on development and poverty alleviation policies focusing on what people can do and feel (McGregor and Sumner 2010).

2.4.3   Key features of a human wellbeing approach

The five key features of a human wellbeing approach are as follows:

Positive charge: Development policies and strategies focus on all groups including the disadvantaged, marginalized or stigmatized groups. The wellbeing approach recognizes the capabilities of the poor and marginalized as a starting point; not reasoning from their deprivation, but from what they aspire to be and do (White 2009) promoting inclusive aspirations.

Holistic outlook: Wellbeing is considered as a whole rather than through the compartmentalization of lives or livelihoods as in a livelihoods framework, sustainability, or any other integrated themes in social systems. The multiplicity and integrity of human lives built with priorities, strategies, activities, influences, networks, and outcomes are categorized into a holistic nature enveloping all the facets into the overarching wellbeing concept.

Person centered: Wellbeing is targeted at individual priorities and perspectives. A fair weight on welfare, perception, satisfaction, and life experience has been given with an inward looking phenomenon centered on individuals in relation to their environment. It values feelings and emotions such as love and care of an individual and good faith built up on each other. However, recent literature describes collective or societal wellbeing more profoundly (Armitage et al. 2012; Coulthard 2012). Community based livelihoods such as fisheries are important to understand from a collective (societal) approach (Coulthard et al. 2011).

Socially and culturally constructed: Wellbeing aspects can be common almost to everyone within the community but vary with geographical, societal, institutional, identity, and cultural context (White 2010).

Wellbeing is a process: Constructs (dimensions) of wellbeing show an inter-relationship and co-constitution, which differs depending on actors and situations over time and space (Coulthard et al. 2011). Ideas, ideologies, perception, and aspirations are subject to change throughout life linking past, present, and future; short term and long term.

2.4.4   Wellbeing on the development agenda

Human wellbeing, children's wellbeing, and ecosystem wellbeing are growing concerns at local, national, and international levels (Leigh and Escande 2018; White et al. 2012). These have been codified in the Sustainable Development Goals (UNGA 2015; SDSN 2015; Gupta et al. 2015; Gupta 2014). Moreover, human needs and priorities need to be incorporated in national policy models for poverty alleviation in developing countries (Coulthard 2012; Diener and Ryan 2009; McGregor et al. 2009) with new perspectives on 'what matters' and by finding 'new ways' (McGregor et al. 2015; Pouw and McGregor 2014; White et al. 2012). The OECD tries to explore the feasibility of the wellbeing framework to assess the Better Life Initiative (Boarini et al. 2014). State governments are also developing their wellbeing-type measurements as a complement to the GDP growth index. High- and low-income countries alike are undertaking wellbeing assessments at the national level, including Canada, USA, Australia, Scotland, United Kingdom, Italy, France, Ecuador, Bolivia, Bhutan, Brazil, Mexico, and Morocco (see McGregor et al. 2015 for a summary review). The current challenge is to design more indicators and measures that are comparable over time as an input to policy formulation (Diener and Seligman 2004). In order to 'leave no one behind', a key element of Agenda 2030 (UNGA 2015), effective policy instruments that promote the wellbeing of marginalized

communities are needed according to their priorities and needs (Adler and Seligman 2016). Wellbeing assessment studies can thus inform and nurture inclusive development policies.

2.5 Assessments of wellbeing

Yet, wellbeing is intangible, difficult to define, and fuzzy with different meanings (Coulthard et al. 2011), hence hard to measure (Forgeard et al. 2011; Thomas 2009: 11; Ryff 1989). Being a broad and multidimensional concept (Blount et al. 2015; see Table 2.3), wellbeing cannot be reduced to a single denominator like 'happiness' (Kroll 2015; Durand 2013). Yet, wellbeing assessments are about what people can achieve or not, and how satisfied/dissatisfied they are (OECD 2016, 2015; Haq and Zia 2013), which is subjective (OECD 2016; UN 2012; Dolon et al. 2011). A full coverage of socio-economic indicators (objectivity) such as income, housing, assets (Diener et al. 2009); relational aspects of family, community and built environment (La Placa et al. 2013); and emotional, and psychological aspects of subjective wellbeing (Felce and Perry 1995) are key determinants in wellbeing assessments.

Although indicators and measures of subjective wellbeing are increasing, there is a lack of consensus on its core parameters (Leigh and Escande 2018; Helliwell et al. 2016). A recent trend of including both objective and subjective measurements is noticeable. The UK-based New Economic Foundation (NEF 2012) has come up with National Accounts of Wellbeing initiatives to inform the population at large (Michaelson et al. 2009). Wellbeing (composite) indices are used to identify, measure and monitor the most relevant indicators and policy requirements (NEF 2012). The distribution of wellbeing in society (Decancq and Lugo 2013) is important for public policy makers. Wellbeing indices can be used to compare all individuals in a society across time and space (Leigh and Escande 2018). However, bringing people's perception, satisfaction or happiness and other subjective measures into a measurable index is challenging (Pritchett 2010). An index constructed on empirical findings is presented in Chapter 8 to better communicate wellbeing aspirations for inclusive development policies.

2.6 Gender and wellbeing in small-scale fisheries

Gender refers to "behaviours learned through the socially prescribed roles of women and men, which are diverse and dynamic" (Branch and Kleiber 2015:5). The World Health Organization (1997) distinguishes the terms sex and gender. Sex determines the biological and physiological differences between men and women. Gender is a socio-cultural construct (Oyewumi 2002) that determines individual's roles, behaviour, capabilities, resource distributions, social relations, expectations, and attributes related to men and women to their social institutions (Cole et al. 2015; Bennett 2005). Gender views how societies operate, interact with resources, power roles, and negotiations between men and women (Bennett 2005). For understanding the wellbeing of coastal communities and their ability to overcome persistent challenges and costs of interactions and internal conflicts, a gender-aware perspective on past, present, and future wellbeing in the fisheries sector is needed. However, in general, there is a lack of gender sensitive policies (Muigua 2015; Haring et al. 1984) particularly in small-scale fisheries (Thorpe et al. 2014).

Fisheries are generally referred to as a male dominated sector (Branch and Kleiber 2015; Lentisco and Lee 2015; Zhao et al. 2014; Davis and Gerrad 2000), hence known as a 'man's world' (Lentisco and Alonso 2012). The masculine identity has featured prominently in fisheries studies (Koralagama et al. 2017; Deb et al. 2015; Mojola 2011). The contribution of women in fisheries is largely overlooked (Branch and Kleiber 2015; Bennett 2005) invisible, under-estimated and undervalued (Deb et al. 2015; Santos 2015). This is

because: (1) the production goals and sustainable policies are mainly focused on the fish-catch sector, which is male dominated; (2) most of the fisheries research ignore women in interviews because men speak out on behalf of women, misrepresenting their views and experiences in the sector; and (3) fisheries is still generally a sector within the vast agricultural sector and thus it is difficult to extract gendered data pertinent to the fisheries sector (Bennett 2005).

Nonetheless, from the few statistics available, it is known that more than 56 million women engage in small-scale fisheries globally (Thorpe et al. 2014; World Bank 2012). Although fisherwomen are primarily considered as care givers (Coulthard and Britton 2015; Kilpatrick et al. 2015; Harper et al. 2013), their services extend to poorly paid, less capital intensive, minor jobs in the sector (Lentisco and Lee 2015; Thorpe et al. 2014) such as net mending, fish processing (Santos 2015), petty trading on the beach (Thorpe et al. 2014), and as decision makers on family food consumption and nutritional intake (World Bank 2012). Women are also important as social-relational wellbeing agents (Coulthard and Britton 2015; Britton 2012) and supporters of fishing activities by providing the financial means, food security, water quality, social participation, personal security, and nutrient selection for the family (Harper et al. 2013).

Having tight social networks, the livelihoods of fisherwomen are enmeshed in dynamic gender relations (Deb et al. 2015; Lentisco and Lee 2015; World Bank 2012). Gender relations and social relations are critically interlinked (Kawarazuka et al. 2016). Gender relations are negotiated over natural resources, access, and interdependent social relations (Muigua 2015). The perceptions and expectations on conjugal relationships are influenced by wifehood and motherhood (Kabeer 2001). Marital cooperation provides social protection, material needs, and long-term security for women. In return, women are to create a happy, warm and comfortable home for children and a safe and loving home for their husbands (Overa 2011). Fisherwomen are vulnerable to HIV infection in certain fishing communities (Lubega et al. 2015) because poor marginalized women practice 'fish for sex' (Kawarazuka et al. 2016: 21; Béné and Merten 2008) for a consistent fish supply from fishermen (Deb et al. 2015; Lwenya and Yongo 2012; Medard 2012) even risking violence and sexual molestation (Lubega et al. 2015; Mojola 2011).

A gendered approach to fisheries development is novel with diverse issues and circumstances being highlighted (World Bank 2012). The approach views household and community wellbeing as challenging (Muigua 2015) because the fisheries sector is characterized by: 1) a strong gender division in labour; 2) invisible women's work in the production chain (not counted and usually undervalued); 3) limits in access of women to the means of production; 4) identity based restriction (cultural, taboos, and practices); and 5) the lack of decision making power for women in fisheries management (Koralagama et al. 2017; Deb et al. 2015; Lentisco and Lee 2015; World Bank 2012). Hence, gender equality and empowerment are argued to eliminate discrimination especially looking at gender norms and the relationships between men and women and how they affect fisheries management and development outcomes (Barclay et al. 2017:6). However, a deep understanding of gender dynamics within the fisheries sector, motivations of men and women and decision making at household levels are yet to be explored in detail (Koralagama et al. 2017). Therefore, this study follows a gendered approach to unravel gender discrimination caused by multiple conflicts, power imbalances, and inequalities in household and community positions that hinder the wellbeing of both women and men.

2.7   Climate change and wellbeing

The contribution of the coastal environment to the economy is undeniable due to its productive marine habitats, resources, and rich biodiversity (Muthukrishnan et al. 2013). However, the impact of climate change on coastal fisheries is critical. Climate change and the repercussions on coastal ecosystems have been discussed intensively by many scholars (Magesh and Krishnakumar 2019; Ninawe et al. 2018; Muthukrishnan et al. 2013). Research has been conducted on the impact of climate change in the Gulf of Mannar. Physical, chemical, and biological conditions of the Gulf of Mannar marine ecosystem are affected by climate change (Magesh and Krishnakumar 2019). The marine habitats of fish breeding sites such as coral reefs, mangroves, and sea grass beds, are subject to deterioration due to changes in the sea surface temperature, sea level rise, and ocean acidification (Muthukrishnan et al. 2013). On the other hand, indirect impacts such as declining fish stocks, loss of fish species, reduced biodiversity, and adverse weather conditions lessen the inter-community relationships, negatively affecting coastal communities and their wellbeing (Colburn et al. 2016). Thus, vulnerability and precariousness are overwhelming, further depriving the communities from economic, social, and ecological perspectives. However, this study does not aim to analyse the impact of climate change on migrant fisherfolk but note its impact on wellbeing due to declining fish stocks.

2.8 Conceptual framework

The chapter closes with a conceptual framework (see Figure 2.2) designed to guide the research. The conceptual framework shows the key concepts and their inter-connection that constitute to the focus of this inquiry (Trochim 2002). The focus of this study is on the migration community. A more comprehensive study would also include the local community from where migrant fishers seasonally reside, which is a limitation of this study.

Figure 2.2 Conceptual framework
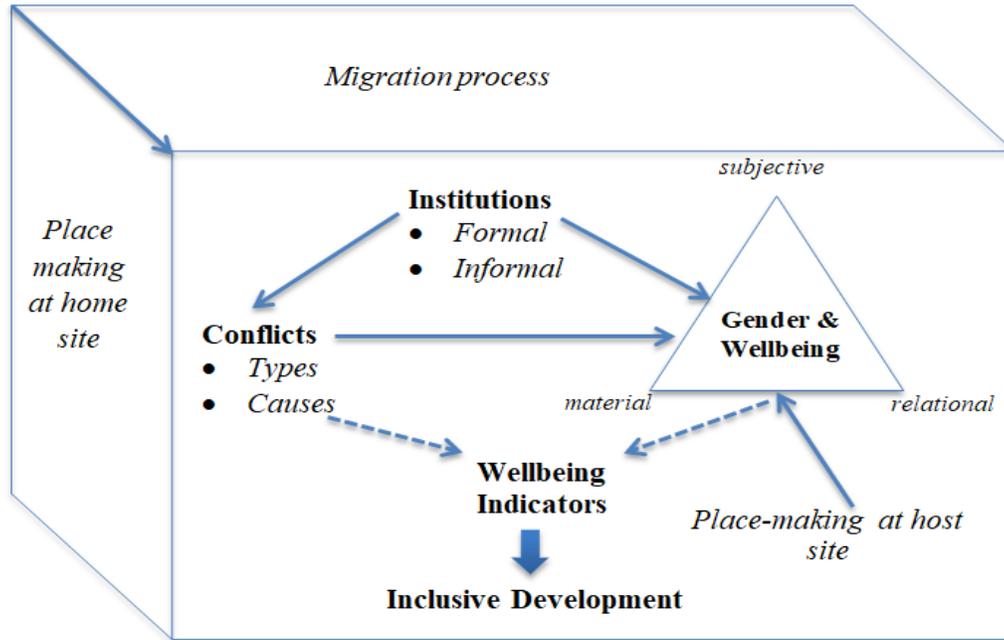
Source: Author

The above literature review makes it clear that migration is not uncommon among small-scale fisherfolk. Migration helps to continue their fisheries-based livelihood as a consumption smoothing strategy. However, the migration process is subject to challenges due to the engagement of multi-scalar formal and informal institutions. Competing claims from user groups attached to different institutions result in both overt and latent conflicts, which may not always erupt or be recognized as conflicts. These conflicts may differ based on the type and causes. The challenge for small-scale migrant fishers is how to reach the host region to pursue their wellbeing at individual and community level. As explained in Section 2.4.2, I refer to the three-dimensional wellbeing model to elaborate on the wellbeing aspects of small-scale migrant fishers with a gendered outlook. Thus, the wellbeing aspects of institutions - formal and informal - are explored for both men and women. Finally, the factors that influence place making even amidst conflicts are presented as pre-requisites to incorporate into inclusive development, focusing on both men and women in migrating fishing communities.