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Transcript

Welcome to the Oxford Anthropology podcast.

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Hi, my name is Lan Duo,and I’m a DPhil candidate here at University of Oxford working on contemporary well-beings in urban cities. Welcome to the Podcast channel of the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography. In this episode, we feature Nikhil Anand from the University of Pennsylvania, very well known among us for his book *Hydraulic City: Water and the Infrastructure of Politics in Mumbai*. As an environmental anthropologist researching on cities, climate change, state power and infrastructure, he in this talk will dive into some details in his new upcoming book. Take us to his ethnographic encounters and his reflections on the uncertain futures faced by coastal cities in an era of climate change. The title of this talk is “living in the tide”. Enjoy.

In my research I examined how urban worlds are being imagined and made possible with water. And here I look at the process of water, not just because water is of significant contemporary concern, but also because it provides a different lens for which to understand urban space and politics, which have thus far shown and entertained, theorise with solids in generating its key concepts. Attention to water reveals the more fickle, fluid and dynamic processes through which cities are made. Water makes urban spaces in ways that planners and engineers can seldom fully control or even apprehend.

While in sabbatical in Oxford this year, I'm currently writing a book based on field research I have been conducting since 2016. 3 titled The Urban Sea. Today, as rigid climate change calls for a rethinking of how coastal cities inhabit the future. Other residents inhabit cities that are still in infrastructural and climactic uncertainty. The book is based on research with fishers, scientists and particularly oceanographers and planners who work in the sea to develop emergent futures from and in the Anthropocene. The Anthropocene does not only present challenges to the lives of cities and citizens but also social worker,scholars, demands, as Chakrabarti has previously argued, that social and environmental processes are invested more capaciously as natural and human sciences. As such, the questions that I approached in the book are shared by an ongoing collaboration called Inhabited Sea. Both draws from and contributes to this collaboration. Inhabited Sea is a transdisciplinary research initiative comprising of Mumbai based architects, artists, citizen scientists, ethnographers, urban planners, oceanographers, sociologists and filmmakers. We gathered to examine the life of fatigue amid sudden urban habitat and the diversity of marine life imitating plastic coastlines. Finally, committed to Open Access scholarship, the entire collection of research projects, as well as the funding seminars that launched them, are freely available online. Featuring research done by my colleagues. also in this talk. Today I present a very tentative and just written drafts that forms part of my second chapter of the book. More ethnographic than theoretical. I look forward to hearing your comments and questions and the discussions, that is already wide open at this point.

Because I'm an Indian living in England right now, let me start with a cricket story. In December 2019, I visited my friend and interlocutor Anthony at his home. Anthony was a coley fisher living in one of Mumbai's 27 fishing villages. Villages that have been in Bombay, before it was a city. It's always on the edge costs. The higher above the high tide line degrees. Were a feature of his home, as was the sweeping field of the water. As we were walking —- as we were talking, I noticed a few boys walking into the sea and setting up fabrics for a game of cricket. I was puzzled, When you'll be the stressful version of the game: at the time they were knee deep in water as they began hitting the cricket into the sand. Even if they consume my conversation with Anthony, I noticed the water has receded and land emerged at the very spot they were locking their wickets in moments before. And pick me appearance of land. A few minutes later, the tide receded still further. Released not just the dry pitch, but also a dry-ish field. There in one of the densest cities in the world, it's little open space, the youth had read the cricket field into being in the sea. An unusual, sweeping open day space amidst the boats. That happened the. urban sea is to notice, measure the time and space that I could not, at least initially, apprehend. Mumbai is a City made coordination service with The ski. Today, Mumbai, and largely for this reason, Mumbai regularly appears on calling, riffing on. The work of course. Incitement in the cities list, a list of cities is inundations portended by the rising waters of climate change. Yet this is a terrestrial story of land being united by water. Since 2015 have been navigating the urban sea with Mumbai’s Coley Fishers, because I wouldn't provincialis respiratory, I want to read it back to the other habitation in the sea, the sea that exists both across land and water that hold social life. So in the structure of the book, this is a very conventional CB story, but I'm thinking to see that extends the crop and below the cities’ territories as well.

In Mumbai, Christians read and act. In the urban sea, through boundary making practises that brings lesser bodies ties and more than human element to relation. I wish to think of seas as cosmologies not to highlight how sea thinking is distinct from land. As Stefan Henrich has previously argued, thinking of the sea in this way has a deeply colonial lineage of a free, maritime nature, distinct from urban culture. But still, in this chapter had argued that Coley occupations in the city and occupations both his livelihood but also of dwelling, have London. Based on studio. City as an ongoing process of wet and dry relations. It is a stage not just in volumes, as opposed to urban spaces, but also in time. An understanding of the city that is situated in our relation with the land and sea, folding and unfolding in 4 dimensions. In such a rendering, urban lands do not end at the coastline. You're also composed of the sea. A stunningly has recently argued, and I quote, Real lands are not sealed within their borders but carry Out a perpetual dialogue with the sea, in the hydrologic hydrological cycle, in the harvesting of maritime and resources by terrestrial populations, and in the atmospheric effects of industrial emissions, as they are absorbed by ocean currents. Business fish are the only two. Aware that live in, not on the Earth Sea. The sea, which will. Never appear or is continuing transformation processes. Times to fish, times to market, and times to celebrities are all in more of the dynamic and really different nations between the Earth and the Sea, between fish, fishers, their markets and their publics. And come fast to planners and developers. In Mumbai that assumed that this. Can be durably dried and staged on dry land. Fishers and acutely aware that the ground is always sudden that seas are full of stuff, and that these tidal regions and wetlands, specifically wetlands, are conditions of possibility for their everyday living. Conceptions of time are not structured by the clock. But neither are they. As Evans Pritchard has failed to describe the word science that is regulated by societal activities. Coley Fisher have been enjoy. Being unmoored from clock time, their activities are regulated socially. They're also ordered by celestial phenomena, the phases of the moon in particular, and the times of sunrise and sunset. And the lunar month of the year. Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that Fisher temporalities and ontologies that this creep from those of other urban movement for living Mumbai. In order to argue that official departs signed up for history and politics of global reclamation and real estate development in the city. He lives, as all of us do, in more than one world. Structured by overlapping histories that do not encompass their life ways.

In the second part of the chapter, I show how urban metabolic. Processes including real estate development and coastal pollution constitutes climate of fishing in Mumbai. The climate in which fish are harder to find and in which the materiality of coastal seas, while all this body, are even harder to discern. Ellipses foreclosed futures Fisher. Doco did dream of one day having AC for the fish, they're also increasingly traffic in the dreams of spectacular profit through real estate development in the city. The earliest written records that went in the credits of coley in Mumbai stretched back to the 1500s, before Mumbai, before Bombay, before the city was a city. In the times since, coley are widely recognised to be the adoptionist residents of the city, the city including Putra or, as colleagues at Madison Carnation, Gopal Dubby Dubby and pointed out in a recent film of the same name as started Putra as offspring of this team. Today, they can form between 50 and 100. 1000 residents in Mumbai and 1127 of fishing villages that are within city limits. Whether that is both within and beyond the city's formal development processes. But the boundaries remain unmapped by association, sees of considerable concern. Categories were justifiably suspicious of development projects that their lands. Right from Colonial tribes, colleagues have been keenly attuned toward urban politics. That all these organisations to live active that were equally so large, clear, cardiac, clearly society, was founded in 1919. The society is led by 9 elders, not pupils that take other many social and welfare responsibilities as equally were up in 3 festivals and health camps or dealing with the government to run development of infrastructure provision.

This organisation that I first met Anthony. At the time of our first meeting in 2016, Anthony was one of the few leaders of the March that were still living on fishing. Others have been deeply engaged in negotiating new development projects in the city or working to provide the city village with sewage lines or urban street lighting. He was also the secretary from the nearby church Welsh organisation and was widely perceived to be an influential elder living in the coley villa. Politically, water and primarily some colleagues and maybe. Hindu or Christian. While Anthony was Christians and regularly created a. Small shrine by the standing sites, many have mentioned before fishing. And run festivals. Such as those of Godfather, Ryanair, polima. Were more syncratic. For instance, one afternoon when we were talking about kid relations, he described how his cast. Using English word a fisherman. Looked up and. Down the Maharashtra coast all the way to Goa. I asked. I asked, did he mean police? Christian colleagues, he responded. Yet when I asked her of. Their festivals, he said. They were the famous hidden colleagues. They both committee celebrated Diwali, Christmas, but even here there was similarity, he said. For Diwali, to make the scene was Christmas. God is in all of us, he said. You said. Absolutely, because at the time that he was speaking. Times in. Which Hindutva, parochial violin Project India in the nation? As well as the ascended in India. At this time, perhaps. In these times somewhat comforting. So they actually lived with his wife, the three sons and children, in this family home overlooking. Mahim day. As he did that, they get his life. Working with the Fisher initially in the 1980s. He followed his father into. The city's booming industrial sector, initially working as a machinist in the bicycle factory, then as a diesel mechanic in late teens and early 20s. That's going to happen. He had obtained visa to immigrates to. Work at labourer in Dubai. But then he began to wonder. What is all this for? He could get. Jobs here and there. No problem, but why not work for himself? So he just got back in Mumbai. Got married. Start experimenting with fishing. First by taking. It 10 football on loan, and then when he got loan for his wedding, he used it to buy a bigger, more. Tone turn fully to fishing.

Fishing for Anthony was good in the 1980s. This was the period immediately following escape programmes to modernise visual fishing in India. Incentives that directly benefited fishers and the fishing organisations in the 20th century. For instance, in the research, described how, and I quote, in the late 1950s, the gvernment introduced a loan scheme to help colleague by crawler that about 15 or 20 people began. Building bigger boats. The heavier boats demanded almost twice the amount of fuel and many more labourers. To encourage the fishermen buy the boats. They also subsidised diesel. Fishing cooperatives at this time were very strong and powerful, powered by state loans for boats and nets as well as companies for diesel. Well equally whereas. Two existing fishing cooperative, the worldly machinas and wealthy society, and also the world equally well. And once we can study society, continue distributing resources for the much smaller scale to the state. Assembly, even before the reduction of state subsidies, their power fishers like and need to make substantial investments into fishing. By the late 1980s, he owned 7 boats and hired 20 people. The flow of fish was good at. This time, he said. Because my son Fisher brothers, they fit. You had a good life. A free life. Pushing the azadi here, he said. With the mother child, he would be a worker down by. What other people tell him to? Do as a Fisher. Gave freedom rather the head time at all. He worked first in the sea for. Himself, but he needed to work. All the things here through the meeting and talking. Sometimes in his home and sometimes. They both have. Been particularly interested. In and needed money, knowledges of noticing. And reading the scene. How did he know when to go fishing? Where to cast his bed, and which net he chose to cast every day? When did they? Learn how to fish. In September 2018. I asked Anthony about a different colour. Starts he. Needed to learn when. He initially started. Fishing, he dismissed fishing as he need to do. All I have to do is tie 4 lots. To the stationary fishing boats, he said. And. The knife changes to go back. And pick up the fish. Again, he spoke of authority, of freedom. Over his time. Just for the life he wanted. I can't help. But pick up Anthony inhabiting silence as the original, affluent society, the society that was, well, the entire time and affluent he found after and not prior to, has experienced the drudgery. Of industrial labour. Refusal to think. Of fishing in the ponds, this is. Nevertheless, a learned skill. Not just in doing, but also sensing and seeing. I'm quite sure most of us. Would not find. Any session by sees, even if we start. To find the boat. And fishing next to do so. Fishing is an in body practise, one that is learned and performed by sensing the wind and its currents by using particular kinds of Nets and loads in specific space-time and the money of the sea. Is through these forms of sensing and doing that objects and life forms like fish emerged. From the sea. Forward these collections. Los Angeles Times Karen Burrard has devoted an attention. To the about remaking practises through particular objects anthologies. Are brought into being. Learned argues that objects in the world. Are not independent. Of what she calls their material cultural apparatus their application. Subjects their potential cuts. Within the phenomena to realise objects in the world. Following through in this chapter in one. Of the ways in which. Fish, fish and fishery have all brought into being through such situated boundary making practises to become fishers and to produce a seed that reveals fish. Police had over the last many years frequent heavy temporalities with more earthly ones to produce officially near the sea. Including the beginning of the fishing season. This is celebrated in the first. Full moon of the month of. Shravan in the Hindu calendar. This is the lunar calendar. For the dates vary, typically in around August 22nd. The full moon marks the end of the month soon and the beginning of car. More dependable water to resume fishing in. And speed 20/16/2017, he insisted. That it was at. The during the festival. Being familiar in the previous. Position of researchers, particularly those. Working on the. Seas, he reminded me to bring my camera. I agreed trying to ask him all sorts of questions. I might still be helpful documenting the festival, both family and friends. I was familiar with the festival. Growing up in Mumbai, we learned. About the importance of what? We call an English coconut Bay City schools. Today, traditional Fisher made offerings to of. Coconuts to the sea to keep this for the. Sea to keep them sea while fishing. In the sphere in the 50th. Festival narya Polima, the largest Koli festival. In the Hindu calendar. And is celebrated both by fishers and plant. Fishers in the village. Yeah, and unexpected intensity. The celebration and encounter when walked in seven, two. 1020, 2017. Many were out in the streets and. As a few different bankies.

Made their way on.

Handcarts through the narrow lanes with very. Exuberant drumming and dancing. As we walked the. Pier through drums and processions, Anthony introduced me to different colleague, partners, politicians. And publics as we made. Our way to the sea. As the processions reached this key, the leader makes short speeches in 2018. For instance, one of the battles of Willie Kuwada addressed his followers, as he did to see. But the problems? We are seeing he. Said, referencing the recent floods in coastal Kerala and also the problems of plastic. Pollution wave waters. Were posed by Junkrat. For the for the unseeded. Difficulties? He asked for her protection, addressing her the devotee before setting coconut. Enough things in the water. Nevertheless, the spectacle that the larger park is already part of the story many families keep on their own to preach this here and make it offerings and indirectly pictures of families, friends and associates he knew. But he gave his prayers till the. End of the day, when most have departed. Once the fund had sent and when he returned to their homes and he took me with his. Family to his boats that embarked on the. Shore for the. Month soon, the short ritual involved prayers. Incense, coconuts and sweet booties. Yeah. So these first receive dentures boats. And then after this, we returned to his house. And had some sweet sun at the end. Of the day. Season begins scenario pulling on the first full moon day is not incidental. The tide for the strongest on the date of the full and new. Moon every month. Accordingly, for much of the year, Fishers focused their fishing, labour, and the days preceding and following. These two great ties of the. While the Moon invited officials to narrow their fishing times to confuse of times of. Month the sun. Advises them of when to fish on a given day, but they be most likely to catch them. Fish and we would. Say rise up in the evening at dusk and go down to. The sea bed at dawn. Fish would rise before the sun to catch the. Fish that move with it. Let's start grasp before dawn or just before dusk. You would complete it in Mr Window for. Good catch. Taken together, efficient time for order by attending to the relational division as the orbit and rotate around each. Other through the days, months and years. Now sitting in the narrow continental shelf of Western. India Mumbai is visited by many different kinds of fish. Because different fish weather. Is born and travelled through Mumbai at different times.

Of year.

Police expect, and their customers expect to. Eat different kinds of fish. Different seasons. So most of the expectation that what he would catch and. Which Nets he would. Use were calibrated accordingly. You tell me. Now the student prawns from Ganpati Diwali. Conference for mayor laying eggs now. It would be good to cash. During the rally and just after. After that there. Was the deep sea. He spoke of ours. Unfortunate that the most abundant signs to catch fish September and October in particular, were often times uppercased. Hindus would have their fast. Time of the. Year that they would. Not eat any fish. This is 1. Way the bunnies keep us down, he said.

The time to get a.

Big catch. No one needs to buy. What about Christmas? I asked. Was fish plentiful then? Then people wanted to eat it. But this was a low. Season, he said. These are snacked times fishing. In mug, the fish come back. I asked after Sumaya kingfish. Apparently the police found in cleaner water these days. He told me that thankfully the water run by actually polluted.

And these are for.

Fishing working here, too, for materialities politics and also the ecology field and see. They're thinking about fish. Catch is tied, not. Just to their breeding seasons, but. Also to the ecology in the city that fish will longer visit and account of coastal pollution, for example. So the net officials that. Can be used, are keenly attuned to the way the fish occupy different depth of the water column. And this ecology, depending on the season. The Times of year. They go fishing, they got different. Kinds of metric gas, particular kinds of fish. Most often they use floating gear Nets. To catch larger fish like black palm, dreadful mackerel and kill net to catch lobsters. Crabs in the rocky seabed. And bag Nets that they. Would find to their customary fishing. Posts in their search. Their comments to dashboard shellfish. Like prawns with an old fish. Floating Nets will be often used in the evenings because when? Fishing in the evenings. Fish would come up. To the surface. And much of their freedoms in the. Morning time because fish. Would be going down in the mornings. And we understand. Preferred fishing in the evening. Because uploading there for easier to pull. Faster. There's a master. As he said, you need unique from this slang to speak about fishing. It's one day the kind of net catch. The particular kind of fish, he said. Delighting the cleverness of his phrase. But even still, what he called would not just depend. On the kind of Nets he does but. Also to some extent based on the kinds of fish. I would choose to come. He said. Next, go to catch fish ajar, he said. It's hard to. Say what will. Come back in the net. They smiled at this, recalling with anytime. We went fishing and the net would come. Up empty arm, he said. You would shout into them, please. Come or bring you call out the fish asking them to enter his length. This will only occasionally applies. So officials regularly, as I mentioned. Go during the spring times. Every month to fish but. At this season, where the fishing or. Whether which they have to use and whether to. Fish at all is based. On where others have previously. Caught fish the previous day. And an environmental conditions of the time. For instance, in April 2019, I went to fish. With Ramesh, another Fisher, he had told me a. Couple of days.

Prior that.

The water was. Green in colour and especially good for fish and fish. That very attuned to different colours of seawater. And create something like documenting this and then have three project generating expectation of particular kinds of water. Existing clear water is the worst water for fishing which was my expectations. They make money easier to hide in this more nutrients in them as well. So I reached. Out to the water with green and colour with. Rubbish. His friend had collected 11. Kilos of choline and that was the previous day. He hoped he will still. Get the next morning. Recent made plans to go. Fishing only the night before, he hadn't. Quite. Decided when I called him at. Around 7730 in the evening the previous evening, he told me he had been to believe. That day they hadn't. Gone out so that he would check. With his colleague brother and let me know. Soon after he called me. Back telling me to Rabbit 4:30 in the morning.

I was always.

Surprised at how the decision on? Whether to go fish with over the question. Depends on the conditions the. Investment of diesel that were. Necessary the availability of labour and so on. It was dark, but then. Right. I was nervous while. Waiting not so much because it was dark, but because in a little bit of light. But I noticed it. Was windy and that I expected. I could see white. Horses and the waves. Little curly white things to see. The mission arrived soon. After book by other rapper to get a. Bit more to the boat. This year, once we left here. Pushing through the wind in the dark, the boats were through the crashing into large waves by apprehension, first amused by the absence of a light on the boat. Within multiplied many. Times over and the only boat I could see was abandoning trip to the. Sea an account of the heavy wind. The spray from the waves on. All sides benched us. The others standing in the boat covered themselves with a blanket telling backwards. Through the firm ground. We're leaving the made by. The ways it would tilt with the boat and trigger sharp relief of horizon just being a relative concept. Other ways back into the bowl, Ramesh wanted allowed. Should get the trip. I was. Now even more. Worried. More scared than I was embarrassed and pleased with them that I wanted to go back. Ramesh dismissed my concern. He told me that he'd. Gone out on upper waters and that. You're not worried about. The boat sinking in this water. He was more anxious about whether he and the. Other would be able to pull that ends up in the stuff of water would be difficult. To adjust the two of them on the boat. That's useless. That the longer we were out. The more committed they were taken out to me. Hunting in the morning. The meeting question. Is based begin casting their next. Again, not the first affecting net and. The function in the comment fishing comments. They can talk more about you winning. These are the comments that officials have particular. Posts for each side of the next customer over generations. For another task next here I would be to invite conflict. The other direction to. Go further so. They went past. The rocky outcrop. And as they did for bathroom periodically. Checking the water at the front of the boards. Looking for bioluminescent algae and also the. Colour of the water. Because it's still dark, this is hard. To do, see and actually shining a. Flashlight in the water to see its colour. Leads to that database. Notice that the water is shipping with what he said. With radium that this would be a good fishing day. I put my hand in that water following his. Seen the blue grey. Sparkles all around me. It was. Beautiful. I was more relaxed now. After much back and forth in the. Family effect should be. On the rocks around 6:30 AM, that's about.

An hour and.

1/2 later. Remain straight forward to do this. And the other. Drawback is there, but those that they cast. Messages see that they hardly began. To pull them up. I suppose that's what the problem is that you. Went from an. Infant fishing Commons are on their such. They later learned that. The adverse kickoff, then, too close to another, the. Little Linklater steam. In the water. They were little disappointed. Then of having to pull up in there fairly quickly after, not just because the labour that was involved but. Because it's getting later and later.

In the day.

With the sun coming up. They would think. About the window to catch good fish and they would still go down to deeper water. Any change to the water has changed, Ramesh said, looking at his colours in the early rising sun. This is a good water. For fish, he. Hoped the valet going in this direction often brought. Fish, he told me. But harder to breed. With the wind coming in from the north and. Northwest, that is good wind, he said. They. Bring fish from Gujarat and Preston. Against the coast. These are also the kinds of waves that do not. Pose much of A danger to the boat sinking. When the wind blows from the South or the southeast. They told me and they. Cannot come from the north. That's where it's dangerous. That's where the boat might capsize. This is why they worked for it earlier, they explained. They moved towards. The short cost next again. Because it was late. Stealing after few net to catch pump thread. Once these network casts. Can move out for a bit and we. Did for a while. Now the sun was. Up I notice formation being quite tight. In this light. We pull the Nets. Up soon after.

By the end of the.

Day after all the Labour going out at sea. Casting and building up. Debts permission. The other called 3 fish that day. Three small fish. Formation of Sense fishnets was just not. Worth it? He said. He talked with bother when maybe trying. Something different. He could repair the bigger boat and to go further to see. To the deep sea, maybe. In search of. Fish. But this would mean bigger investments. Hey, like many others in this field, shoulda Fisher registered the tie. They come into the wind, they show. The practise of collecting net. That not just environmentally, but also socially mediated. Fishes from the field village, actually. Calibrated where they can cast Nets and. When they cannot. When it's when it's too close and. When it's OK. To other Nets that are floating in the sea. We tried to catch them close enough to create a cascade, and let's across the team prove which fishermen cross. But working information. By others also revealed how official the 10 closes the currents and the winds to make. The work of fishing more expedient. When Fisher scarves Nets. In the sea, stretching manually, not without a wrench. They do some with the time to work working that goes the direction of the time so that it quickly opens up their Nets behind them, and when pulling up Nets, they use the wind towards ensuring the Nets do not get pushed under the boats. While they do so. Sticking together Fisher suture, various temporalities finessed by the social relations should be able to see that is. The problem there. Are fish and fish under sea but in it? Nevertheless, despite all these techniques learned. By reading the. Relations between water and sea sparkle, wind and. Currents and the. Nets of neighbouring fishers, rather than their only three fish to. Show for the day's work. Climate of fishing had changed. Declamation, Anthony with different kinds of knowledge than tools to produce fish, there are logical cups to reveal fish made over generations need now to address for. The sea fish. Is also made with the. Water for allergenic pollution and climate change. Over the five or six years that we've known each other, and I've seen that officially frequently talk about the different changes, about how the fishes have been steadily dispossessed of the Arabian Sea dispossessed in the other sea. As the state continues to colonise. The city with infrastructure, the policy both empty the fish and also of saltwater. These practises aren't distinct from climate change. I argue that they constitute the climate of. Fishing by climate of the press in the pursuit of freedom in. The sea in favour of. The derangements of land making and real estate, and I'm getting derangement from. The work of Amitabh Ghosh. Let me just argumented. 5 by the. Work of Christina Sharp. With her book in the way and since. The history of slavery are inseparable from the phenomena. Of climate and ecology. A sharp in what she calls. The weather quote Anti blackness is as pervasive as climate and vote. It constitutes the environment of black dispossession in the Americas. And form the federal conditions that Blacklight needs to make it help with. Properties the tea Bombay has also been fabricated through about practises that was possession particularly through and 1st through photographing the particular operations of European colonialism. Landfill and roads played an important part in. Mumbai popular history. Government reports and other history books frequently remind readers that this story. One in which engineering works of times. Passed are naturalised so as to continue to insist on a story of human mastery, to improve wetland environments. But which colonisation had ended? The city's. Terrestrial colonisation of the sea continues to this day. In the first chapter of the book that. I presented at Somerville last term. I described how Mumbai's coastal. Road, a massive landfill beyond. Its western coastline continues to be predicated. In the duration of colonisation. Goes to do a project. Just over a decade prior. Therefore, the gap could starts with. The bank robbery ceiling. A large bridge that's for car. Users and landfilling Machine Bay. Studies have showed other lands has rendered this. Fatigue a lot more vulnerable to flooding. Including the floods of two. 1005, which are catastrophic. But as he. Told me the construction. Of the copper. Band Ravali ceiling also divided and weak in the currents that. Entered Mahim Bay. Fish gonna come to spawn in. My ABC News too, he said. Michael. Fishing worthy in my aim fully. Well, have been affected ever since. The Coastal Rd project he. Said wouldn't be intensified in destructions and. In his possession. This is the landfill for the coastal Rd project. This was taken in 20. 18 I think, but it's actually not. Going steps right now. Autism fishers are also very concerned with the growth of mechanised trolling in coastal waters, and these trailers are generally operated by customary fishers, but increasingly by large corporate houses in India by large engines. Mechanised nests are more effective as cooking in fish. And as he would frequently tell me how the. Caller that would actually the water the. Fish would there would not be I. Mean fish left to entitle Stillwater to spawn. Controllers and keeping fish from entering nearshore waters. The cities foods are folder pushing fish. Away from them. And reason in violation of environmental standards since 1990, that's about 30 years. The city has continued to release 2 billion litres of sewage into surrounding seas every day, with virtually no treatment. Anthony was acutely aware of. The city sewage dwelling in the sea. But since he showed me. The foods layering in the sea. You can see that actually lying between the sewage water and the water. On our trip, he showed me the. Social agreements. He he said that the tide goes North and South, they pull the sewage along the coastline, forming a wall of low oxygen water. That fish do not cross. So you see that. Here actually they released the switch at point #3 and the flow we see going north-south this is an image taken by using the sensor in the water. We have done this work but this works. About the walls of sewage up close, like the fish to enter. We focus all these prayers and rituals to get more fish, he said. We offer. Coconuts to the sea but this. Is the problem the fish don't want? To come anywhere near this water, he said. Few water if not just water of course. Little water with just water. The water is composed. Of fish and bacteria. Of sewage and salt and now also plastic. When fishing in in Mumbai. Fishers frequently catched plastic. Bags and a variety of other. Packaging in their Nets. Actually, for this problem have been the result of both informal and formal processes informing many Conservancy workers and residents, students have dumped. Their trash into the sea. But the last. Six years here, also a result. Of formal planning processes. Like many in the city in Mumbai have been. Situating its landfills in wetlands. Right. And so when the high tide comes, it erodes the landfill, pulling the plastic and other kinds of rubbish into the seat. And Anthony was very insistent that when plastic in the sea systems coming right, so either cash, plastics or fish, you can. We sell them both. Talk about today is about climate change in terms of the rising sea surface temperatures. Today, the notion of the fastest. Warming notion in the world. The Arabian Sea. Is the fastest warming. Part of the Indian Ocean. These have already started. Changing my food and patterns in. The city, for instance, today already monsoons on the western coast of India start later and continues through Maria Purnima that start of fishing season that I talked about earlier talk. Now in these warmer waters. Cyclones today are an uncanny. Yet increasingly common occurrence in the Arabian Sea. The rebels never had. Cyclones before as much as they do now. Or many fewer anyway. That's the obvious risk of storm surges and coastal innovation. Before 10. Cyclones, even those that missed the. City also interrupt days. And potential fishing and fishing revenue. This is Cyclone Nisarga from. July 2020, which came out very close to the city. And then the cycles coming down as well. Cycles visit the city during the most productive time with the fishing calendar, typically around September.

Or October.

And this takes away from the day for fishing. I talked about. Earlier, for example, in late September 2018. Anthony got message not to go fishing for three. Days because of the. Cyclone that was passing by in Mumbai. That just a week later, he had. Another warning not to. Go fishing for a few more days, you know. For a different cyclone passing near Yemen. So these systems are. Like a massive. Scales causing disruption to water. Across the Arabian Sea. Between them and and by and everywhere in between. So that's September and we lost one of the most productive month of the year. The effects of climate change, a laugh that would not be registered in the light of the climate, lasting damage. Very recently, the source of much contention in the company of meetings. Today the other see upon which Cody Fisher of the Benfer livelihood. Is the site of industrial extraction of fish in this compulsive and which in the waste landfill and massive infrastructure. As well as their effects, warming sea surface temperatures, sea level rise in cyclones, the near and longer term phenomena, urban habitation has steadily dispossessed Collins in the sea ever since their amphibious grounds are colonised to make one make a keynote of the British Empire. But differently slow and ongoing violences of colonisation have continued to create harm to the cities indigenous officials. Just like loading this possession elsewhere as indigenous colours kind of powers white as we thought and others have shown, the climate of fishing in Mumbai is not new but an outcome of longstanding process with colonialist possession. Climate impacts are not too. Much offensive colonial deja vu. The new crisis that echoes the older formed clothing, dispossession. But more as an enduring crisis has intensified. As a colonial city has accreted in the sea. The work of. The crises of urban fishers are composed by what she calls the unbearable heaviness of climate coloniality, land reclamation, infrastructure construction, animation capitalism, and anthropogenic waste have continued to proliferate. Humanity sees. In the next chapter, which I haven't finished. Yet I would wonder with that yes, specific. Materials of the urban sea rolled through this plastic and warmer waters interacted A variety of scales, producing complex relation between cause and effect. Figure and ground and time and space.

For now, I.

Just want to conclude in the ways in which. The climate change, see, is one that forecloses. The possibility of. Freedom and life from Mumbai. For now, Anthony goes on fishing in. The sea, periodically experimenting. With new technologies that make it more viable, for instance, a few years before as some experimenting. With the sauna fish Finder. To find a few fish. That were still travelling in the sea. For effort with him this past. November, he told me he'd purchased a smaller boat, the smaller motor one that you did less fuel and needs fewer workers.

But every year.

The slow violence of infrastructure creates and they further squeeze human and non human life from these local regions of the city. 300 years after the literal. Landscapes are colonised, the Earth see continues to be a sacrificial zone. The staging of the city.

This is why this.

Team no longer holds a promise. The freedom to pursue projects of future well-being among holy communities, such to the extent that life was living aircraft in the Mumbai fishing villages, these are designated forms of. Survivance in the city. One afternoon I was talking. With the leader of the world. Equally so much, I spoke to him about the city of Blackwood interest in the fisheries that. Feed the city. Landing and some land, I said. Thinking of the. Work of city planners only interested in real estate development and the forms of like available development devices generates. The leader, someone who himself lives now in a mid. Rise apartment and. Works nine to five, job responded angrily. The city has supported people from. All over India. He said. People have made their millions of this. Land, but they haven't spent a thought. For the lives of colleagues, the sea and our farm are Katie, said Katie the Barcadia. Said the fishing line has been. Finished the farm had been ruined. The sealing benefited only the wealthy and closed off their fishing areas. He is now shouting at me. But this this should allow us to develop. Our land and. Give us an incentive to do so. And is in fact in. Development aviation of the urban. Land that penny colleagues take after future. 20 or 30. Fishing villages in Mumbai today, I'm active frontiers for land speculation. A process that joins builders, politicians. And many in the cooling community. Proposed to build massive buildings. At the hardened and escape edge. Of land and water. Yeah, I think perspective and deploy. Here and extend is 1 full of coding desire and matter. Of building dry ground. Delivery regions to sell through the states. Now that the sea. Has been finished. Or at least no longer holds the promise of. Freedom many colleagues seek to getting in. Their fishing grounds comments at homes to make. A future with which to live. At least in the moment.

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