Reevaluating Resistance from Cultural Silence from a Distinctive Analysis of ‘Jele’ (fishing) Community

Ahmed Sharif Talukder*

Abstract

The fishermen or the “jele” community has been living in Bengal, the land blessed with natural resource like rivers, for hundreds of years. However, we do not find any significant traces of the life and hardship of the fishermen in Bengali literature before Manik Bandopadhyay and Adwaita Mallabarman. Bandopadhyay in The Boatman of the Padma and Mallabarman in A River Called Titash bring in the life and suffering of the fishermen community in literary texts. These novels, instead of showing some resistance from the side of the oppressed fishermen community, focus on how this community is a victim of socio-economic inequality. This paper concentrates on Harishankar Jaladas’s Sons of the Sea, and in relation to that illustrates the authoritative powers that dissuaded the resistance of the oppressed “jele” community in the novels by Bandopadhyay and Mallabarman. In addition, by exemplifying the life of the subaltern “jele” community, this paper traces the origin of resistance so that they can break the boundary of “culture of silence” and demand an appropriate future for themselves.

Keywords: culture of silence, resistance, jele community

Introduction

“It is necessary that the weakness of the powerless is transformed into a force capable of announcing justice.” –Paulo Freire

The “jele” or fishermen community is alternately recognized as Koi-borto. We find they are divided into castes such as Malo, Rajbongshai, Jaladas in Bangladesh. They are often the victim of oppressive economic, social, and religious system and seen as outcasts. They do not possess any sophisticated privilege and do not get any educational opportunities, and thus become people who have “no history and cannot speak,” (Spivak 83). As a result, their suffering remains unsighted. Admittedly, in the age of “Kallol”, the Bengali literary scholars began to bring in the saga of the suffering of the common people. We find a change in the literary canon which has “moved away from Rabindranath … into the worlds of the lower middle classes … into the neighbourhoods of those rejected and deceived” (qtd. in

* Assistant Professor, Deptt. of English, Ranada Prashad Shaha University.
Reevaluating resistance from cultural silence from a distinctive analysis of ‘Jele’ (fishing) community

Chakrabarty 157). Manik Bandopadhay and Adwaita Mallabarman realistically present the tale of “marginal people, such as boatmen and fishermen of the riverine delta of Bengal … who were earlier excluded as subjects in Bengali novels” (Biswas 15). Between these two literary scholars, Bandopadhay’s work is notable because he puts forward the story of the fishermen for the first time in Bengali literature, the story of the unrepresented and underrepresented class. His landmark realistic novel, The Boatman of the Padma (Padma Nadir Majhi, 1936), shows the hardship of fishermen, who are entangled in their hunger, powerlessness, and pain. Two decades later in 1956, Mallabarman, whom himself belongs to the oppressed community, comes up with another novel that makes the life of the struggling fishermen community residing around the river Titash. In A River Called Titash (Titash Ekti Nadir Naam, 1956), Mallabarman presents the cultural and socio-economic condition of this community, making the novel a precedent in literature. As Kalpana Bardhan comments, in this novel “with an insider’s insight he illuminates the soul of the community and its culture—presumably for us, outsiders to the Malo fisherfolk” (Bardhan 1-2). From the publication of The Boatman of the Padma to the present, the sociopolitical and socio-economic structures have gone through considerable changes over this long course of time. We assume that the fishermen community is also a part of this change. Therefore, concentrating on Harishankar Jaladas’s Sons of the Sea (Jalaputra, 2008), I would reexamine the different representations of the fishermen community by Bandopadhay, Mallabarman, and Jaladas, and outline how over the course of approximately seven decades the socio-economic conditions are changed, and whether or not they are still entangled in an oppressive system. In addition to that, I would observe the reasons behind the formation of a negative consciousness which leads the fishermen to remain silent against the persecution. Moreover, I would suggest some measures that can work as an instrument to resist oppression.

Literature Review

The word “subaltern” was coined by Gramsci in Prison Notebooks written between 1929 and 1935. By the word “subaltern”, he meant “the workers and peasants who were oppressed and discriminated by the leader of the National Fascist Party, Benito Mussolini and his agents” (Louai 5). However, later on in Notebook 25 titled “On the Margins of History (The History of Subaltern Social Groups)”, Gramsci points out “slaves, peasants, religious groups, women, different races, and the proletariat as subaltern social groups” (Green 2). This point leads to the idea that the poor and marginalized “jele” community living in Bangladesh, who remain dependent on the river resources for their livelihood, can be identified as subaltern. As they are oppressed by the socio-economic system and do not have any recognizable voice to protest against the ongoing oppression, we can say that they “cannot speak” (Spivak 104). In addition to that, it is easy to misrepresent the subaltern as Mourid Barghouthi notes, “it is easy to blur the truth with a simple linguistic trick” (Barghouthi 177). Spivak in the essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” criticizes Foucault and Deleuze, as these scholars could not “acknowledge how subaltern critique must be presented within the privileged structures of Western epistemology” (Bignall 21). She adds emphasis on the point that the “representation” should two dimensional: “representation as ‘speaking for’… and
representation as “re-presentation”” (Spivak 70). I will review the novels by Bandopadhyay, Mallabarman, and Jaladas considering the two modes of representation to create a framework that showcases two representative perspectives. Jaladas’s Sons of the Sea gives a different representation of the fishermen community from those ones we get from Bandopadhyay and Mallabarman. Jaladas shows the saga of fishermen whose “life and living … are tied to the sea” (SS 13). Jaladas, himself was from “jele” community, thus the life of this marginalized community is reflected in his work, which discovers many untold tales of this community. Living in the southern belt of the Bay of Bengal, this community is habituated to face different natural calamities and “their survival depends on the whims of the sea” (SS 13). Even during calamities, the fishermen continue to venture into the sea risking their lives, and they are bound to do that because of extreme poverty. So we get an example of their hostile and dichotomous life. The fishermen are helpless and have “fester**ing sores of deprivation on their faces” (SS 10). Their poor homes and impoverished lifestyle prove the “poverty of hundreds of centuries” (SS 10). The “nature” and the nature of “human society” both exploit them. Even after risking their life in sea ventures, they cannot get out of extreme poverty, and the reality is “the fishermen are horribly poor and uneducated and most of them live from hand to mouth” (Billah x). Here is an excerpt from Bandopadhyay’s The Boatmen of the Padma which shows the relation between the fishermen of the sea and the fishermen who lived by the gigantic Padma, considering the context of the mid-twentieth century:

[The cries of babies in the fishermen’s huts never stopped … On the one hand the Brahmans and the lesser gentlemen kept them pushed back; on the other, the destructive forces of Nature were determined to annihilate them; rainwater seeped into their huts and their bones tingled in the biting cold. Diseases came and so did bereavement … here the reception of birth was sullen, non-celebratory and cheerless. Here the flavour of life consisted nearly in the satisfaction of hunger and thirst. (13)]

The existence of God is absent, and God does not listen to these unspoken voices. Bandopadhyay gives us a painful story of the fishermen, unlike him, Mallabarman shows a fishermen society that is economically and culturally more stable. However, continuous silting of the river, Titash, makes their life miserable as it makes them the victim of the oppression of the moneylenders and landowners, and such “social splintering brought alienation from their own culture” (Bardhan 2). As a result, the fishermen community “lose their livelihood and gradually fall prey to starvation” (Biswas 30) leading to the death of Titash and the locals living around it. So, we see even with a more stable socioeconomic position, the community is unable to remain in a sustainable position leading to unavoidable poverty. In Sons of the Sea, the readers speculate, the fishermen working as gaur1, paunna2 for their living, and other selling fish. We can draw the contemporary socio-economic framework considering the Marxist view, where we get an idea of “the haves and the have nots” (Tyson 54). We can see the traces of the relation between the exploited class and exploiting class from the immemorial past to the present. In Jaladas’s Sons of the Sea, we find a solvent and influential group “Bahaddars”, who possesses “boat, nets and hands to work for them” (SS 14). The influential inhabitants are free to hire gaus from other villages as well. A trace of hegemonic exploitation is found between the bahaddars and gaus as gaus are supposed to “risking life in rain, storm and thunder … toil in the tumultuous sea but the
Reevaluating resistance from cultural silence from a distinctive analysis of ‘Jele’ (fishing) community

Bahaddars pocket the profit” (SS 14). This example is similar to “Russian serf labour, American slave labour, Irish agricultural labour and the metropolitan labour in London trades” (Linebaugh 374). The bahaddars resemble the Bourgeois, who “control the world’s natural, economic, and human resources” (Tyson 54). The dadondars or the moneylenders rule over the “jele” community. During the monsoons the poor fishermen borrow money from the dadondars “to buy necessary articles” (SS 51). So, the fishermen are exposed for exploitation by the bahaddars and the dadondars. In Sons of the Sea, Jaladas shows that there are two conditions for borrowing money where both conditions are beneficiary for the moneylenders. The fishermen have to “pay ten percent per month on the money [they] took or they … have to sell all the fish they caught at the fixed price by the dadonder” (SS 51). Shukkur and Sashibhusan, two people from different religion act like the capitalist by exploiting the fishermen, create hegemonic atmosphere as narrated in this novel. The fishermen remain with no option but to tolerate the oppression, the reason behind that is, “[i]f other moneylenders tried to lend money to the fishermen on softer terms, they had to retreat in the end because of the wiles of Shukkur and Sashibhushan” (51). In addition to that, the advance money is another burden which makes the fishermen a “debtor for generations” (51), and they cannot get out of this exploitative entanglement. By observing Bandopadhayay and Mallabarman we speculate:

[the class of moneylenders who own the boats and nets exert twin pressure on the fishermen. While on one hand the moneylenders own fishermen’s labor power (or time) for a definite money value; on the other hand they take away the fishermen’s means of subsistence (for the fishermen no longer produce for themselves). Thus the river centric environment no longer remains the passive backdrop but emerges as a vibrant entity playing a significant role in the struggle for survival. (Biswas 27)

However, exploitation by human or victims of nature, in either case the passivity of Malo people in “struggle for survival” is notable in the works by Bandopadhayay and Mallabarman. Absence of resistance by the oppressed is noticeable in both works. So, focusing on Jaladas’s work, I will investigate “[w]hy don’t the economically oppressed fight back? And what keeps the lower classes ‘in their place’ and at the mercy of the wealthy?” (Tyson 56).

Karl Marx, in the Preface of “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,” asserts that “[i]t is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness” (2). The fishermen, the oppressed side, gradually accept their fate without any resistance and “silently put up with the cruelty and injustice believing it was ordained by fate” (SS 133). In The Boatmen of the Padma, Bandopadhayay’s portrays Kuber3 in a manner that Kuber becomes a metaphor for the absence of resistance and presence of passivity. The absence of resistance leads Kuber to remain silent against deceitful allegation, and he cannot confront “the cruel nexus of corruption and exploitation at the hands of the social elites” (Biswas 29). Thus, people like Kuber and other fishermen are delimited in their self-image and remain entangled in a “culture of silence.”4

Generally, the fishermen are lower caste Hindus in Bangladesh and other sub-continental countries. They are social outcasts, treated like aliens, and sometimes disregarded as Dom
because of the fourfold Hindu caste system. As a result, they are victimized by upper-class Hindus and Muslims and their habitat is “miles away from the village of the gentry” (SS 10). We find the trivial position of the fishermen in *Sons of the Sea*, when Gangapado fights with a Muslim in Kamalmunshir haat. The Muslim insults Gangapado’s mother in his presence. However, by the crowd Gangapado is insulted with these words: “[h]ow do you compare between the Muslims and the Doms? A Dom is a Dom. How dare a Dom lays hands on a Muslim?” (SS 133). So we see how Muslims are involved in the exploitation along with the lower class Hindus, and they are alienated in the society. The oppressed people start to think they are unfortunate and start to believe nothing can change their fate. Thus, they silently tolerate all these accursed happenings. We find other incidents like Shukkur physically assaults Kamini, when bargaining on the price of fish. Shukkur shouts, “Shut up, you son of bitch. You brood of malaun. You will have to sell fish to me at whatever price I offer” (SS 66). This incident shows the readers how influential people take advantage and devalue the poor. Such devalue makes the poor fishermen think of themselves not as “fully human” who cannot resist injustice and bound to silently tolerate the ongoing oppression.

The level of exploitation becomes extreme because the dadondars take advantage of the illiteracy and superstition of the poor fishermen. As Jaladas himself was from a fishermen family, we find some autobiographical notes that show how illiteracy and exploitation are interconnected. For the poor fishing community education is a myth, a luxury, and sending children for schooling is “an unusual choice” (Billah ix). The children of a fisherman is supposed to be a fisherman and they start to support their fathers from the teenage. Some of them do fishing in the canals or marshes, and some of them accompany their fathers in the sea ventures so that “they can add to the family kitty!” (SS 11). As a result, it becomes easier for the dadondars to manipulate their accounts and payments for years. The fishermen have to blindly believe the intentional miscalculation by the dadondars as “[p]resenting a false calculation” (SS 116) is one of the exploitative tools for the dadondars which disregards the right of the fishermen. The fishermen remain with no choice but to accept that, and “[t]he fishermen fall silent. They think that possibly the dadondars are right. They are unlettered, so they could miscalculate” (SS 116). This makes the dadondars rich and the fishermen bankrupt. The dadondars trick the poor with their words as well as in the name of religion and God: In this way, “[w]hat’s the point of cheating poor folks like you? Aren’t I afraid of hell? … God won’t forgive me if I cheat you. You must have faith in me. I will never cheat you” (SS 116). The dadondars wear a mask of honesty to fool the poor fishermen for years after years. As a result, the misery of the fishermen seems predestined and does not decrease over course of time. The dadondars, acting like colonizers, consider the fishermen “less than fully human,” to justify their exploitation. Though they are treated as less human, the fishermen do not have any alternative to get rid of such a situation, as their voice is delimited to “the reflection of the thought and expression of the director society” (Freire 1). The thought of the exploited people is manipulated by their exploiters. Therefore, they remain unable to change their lives and bound to live “under the circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past” (Marx 187).

Even nature does not show its mercy on the “sons of the sea” (fishermen) as they frequently become victims of floods and cyclones because “[t]he deltaic region of lower Bengal is
annually affected by floods and often by cyclones. Nowhere is the struggle for survival and resilience, more evident than in this part of the world” (Biswas 20). The fishermen’s life is as unstable as the ebb and flow of the sea. In the seasons, “Falgun, Chaitra and Baisakh the canals, rivers, other water bodies and the sea itself run dry of water-crop” (SS 13). Thus, the scarcity of fish in the sea makes it harder for the fishermen to earn the livelihood. They starve because of such a crisis and “the scarcity becomes so acute that it won’t be wrong to say that they have a famine indeed” (SS 13). The fishermen keep making their unfruitful sea ventures during this period only to return empty-handed. Thus, fishermen and fish sellers live miserably during this time. Nature becomes kind to them in Baisakh, but they cannot escape the human nature of exploitation by the bahaddars and the dadondars. From the following excerpt we can understand the helplessness of the fishermen:

[d]uring monsoon to a large extent relief from poverty, in autumn living from hand to mouth and during spring and summer scourge of poverty. During summer getting ready for fishing with their small savings, and the hapless fishermen sinking up to their neck in debt by borrowing money from dadondars. (SS 141)

The fishermen are always fighting the violent behaviour of sea currents which often destroy boats and kill the fishermen, causing premature death of many fishermen. Jaladas shows how the fishermen are risking their lives in adverse weather during the high tide so that they can catch more fish. Poverty and the crisis of food make them undaunted to risk their lives. We find many widows in jelepara8 like Bhuvoneshwari who loses her husband Chandramoni in a violent and stormy sea. We see “[t]hese widows live by selling fish … in the nearby neighbourhood carrying the fish on their heads” (SS 15). Most of the time the widows do not remarry because they are worried about their children and the whole responsibility of the families go to the widowed women. Such vulnerable hardship of the “jele” families is noticeable in Mallabarman’s A River Called Titash, where the demise of Titash causes poverty and bankruptcy. Titash, the source of “livelihood and identity” for the inhabitants living nearby, turns arid and with the demise of the river “its inhabitants on the banks gradually die out” (Biswas 30). Here, Mallabarman shows how nature is related to ill-fate, and its painful strike is unavoidable. Thus, leads the “jele” community to live in extreme poverty, hunger, and illness. Society and religion add more hardship to their life by systematic exploitation. Their identity as human gets challenged. The tendency to accept this social manipulation makes them passive and they remain stuck in a “culture of silence”, with no power to make any effective resistance.

As Foucault suggests about the true sense of identity, it is “not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are … to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries” (216). However, the “jele” community is far away from identifying their true sense. For centuries they are being treated as if they are not human in the name of society, class, religion, and caste. So, the presence of a sort of “self-denial” is visible in their mind which prevents them to fight against their destiny. It seems, for always they have accepted their misfortune and now do not want to try to “recover their lost humanity” (Freire 44) as narrated by Bandopadhyay and Mallabarman in their novels. They are entangled in “their belief in ghosts-specters,
incantation, superstition and prejudices” (SS 141). We can make an assumption that “when people have been thoroughly beaten and have their backs at the wall, they turn around” (SS 143), but unfortunately we find rare occasions when the fishermen make any effective resistance. For creating such resistance, they need to understand the evil system which is depriving them so that “they can reject the powerful’s definition of their reality—that they can do so even if they are poor, exploited, or trapped in oppressive circumstances” (hooks 92). Moreover, what they “need is courage and cooperation” (SS 142).

Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* comments, “Without a sense of identity, there can be no real struggle” (178). So, the fishermen community needs to rediscover themselves as humans to create an effective resistance against the oppressors. We find the character of Jaladas’s novel Gangapado challenges the ongoing systematic oppression and stands for the right of his community, which is absent in the novels by Bandopadhyay and Mallabarman. Gangapdo is the flag bearer of the prospect of the fishermen, who believes “[h]umans can change their fate” (SS 142). Education has the power to transform the human mind, as Richard Shaull in the Foreword of Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* points out:

*Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.* (34)

Shaull considers education as a powerful and influential element to ensure the freedom of humans. Bhuvoneshwari shows her firm belief in the potential of education to change the human mind and ensure freedom; she is keen to educate Ganga, but Bhuvon’s dream does not come true. Ganga feels bewildered in his school life, and he does not want to increase his mother’s burden. So, he does not continue his study when he is in ninth grade. However, with this limited light of education, Ganga becomes conscious enough to understand the deceptive nature of the dadondars. Ganga, with his limited education, and with the assistance of Dindayal, keeps the calculation to avoid the miscalculation by the dadondars. The intentional miscalculation by the dadondars comes into light when Kamini was settling a payment, thus the fishermen understood the reason behind the endless circle of poverty. For enlightening the other fishermen, Ganga becomes an “organic intellectual”. He makes his fellow poor people united with “active participation in practical life, as a constructor, as organizer, ‘permanent persuader’ and not just a simple orator (but superior at the same time to the abstract mathematical spirit)” (Gramsci 10).

After the hypocrisy of the dadondars comes to light, Ganga takes initiative to awaken and unite the poor fishermen, Ganga says, “Should we be exploited all our life? The pirates plunder your fish. On the shore, there is another type of plundering. In the name of dadon, butcher Shukkur and Sashibhushan take away all our fish paying almost nothing” (SS 127). He wants the other fishermen to be his companion in this process of resistance against the crooked influential people. We can justify Ganga’s reaction as logical because the oppression the fishermen were going through was intolerable to the highest extent, so we see “[t]he rebellious reaction of the working class … half conscious or conscious—at recovering their
status as human beings” (Engels 39-40), that is necessary for the survival of the oppressed class. Education works as a catalyst here to empower Ganga with the recreational power of creating a self-identity, which constructs a “self-image” to break the “culture of silence”. With his belief, he recreates the power of the oppressed to make them united against the oppressive force. Instead of remaining dependent on fate like the other fishermen, Ganga realizes “[i]f they wanted to live as humans, they must protest” (SS 134).

To prevent all the ongoing injustices, Ganga forbids the other fishermen to take any money from the dadondars in advance. He requests some kind and rich bahaddars to help the poor fishermen who do not have boats or nets by lending them money at a considerate interest rate, and “[a]fter much consultation, it was decided that they won’t take any advance next year from the moneylenders” (SS 128). In Sons of the Sea, we can observe that Gangapado acts as a river of consideration and intelligence, like a river he purifies the foul, like a river shows new hope of life by freeing the poor from the grasp of cruel systematic exploitation by uniting them. Following the decisions, the fishermen avoid taking advance from the moneylenders and take help from the kind bahaddars. A cooperative structure helped the fishermen which might lead them to self-sufficiency, but it made the dadondars upset as their “easy source of huge income … dried up” (SS 154). It is a slap on the face for the dadondars, and they start to feel this resistance by the poor must be broken. To continue their misrule and dominance over the fishermen, they take the hypocrite step of killing Ganga. However, Ganga’s death does not break the strength of the united fishermen community; instead, their revolt gets a new direction. The enraged fishermen set fire on Shukkur’s farm house, which shows the resistance of a newly emerged conscious class which is no longer silent. Hereby, Ganga’s dream of uniting poor fishermen against oppression and injustices gets fulfilled. The readers may feel Ganga’s killing as a victory of the evil force, but it is not. Instead, it is a new beginning for the weak people to get united to create an effective resistance to defeat the oppressive evil. Jaladas, unlike Bandopadhyay and Mallabarman, shows resistance by the poor oppressed people who are not educated but sufficient and conscious enough to build an endurable resistance.

Conclusion:

In Jaladas’s Sons of the Sea, we observe Ganga’s actions against the oppression make other fellows of him united to resist and remove all the injustices. There are some examples of subtle resistance as in the incident between Shukkur and Kamini, the other fishermen also speak on behalf of Kamini as Shukkur unduly assaults him. They spoke against Shukkur altogether, “[b]e careful, if you ever dare to lay your hands on … any of the fishermen, then we in a body will crush your hand” (SS 66). This incident is terrifying for the dadondars, but it also shows how strong the unity of the fishermen can be! The power to take decision goes to the fishermen, as they decided not to “[s]ell fish at the price offered by the moneylenders. If anything untoward happened because of their decision, they would resist in a body” (SS 68). They start to take collaborative decision such as returning the money which they took as an advance. They start feeling the necessity of their unity, believing their unity as a stronger resistance than the law or justice system. We find strong female voices in Jaladas’s novel
who fight back against exploitation. In an incident, Jonab Ali’s Bap (father) humiliates Bongshi’s Maa (Mother), he knocks her down, and then “[t]he three other fisherwomen didn’t stand by idly … slapping him, they knocked him on the ground” (SS 88). Thus, three women create a resistance against an oppressive man and the man is compelled to escape away. It is also a resistance against the Muslims who used to assault the fishermen community in the name of class and caste. So, we can experience the voice of the voiceless, and the subaltern speaking out for their rights.

As we examined different levels of resistance in this discussion, we find the subaltern group in Sons of Sea is successful to break their silence against oppression. The fire and flame in Shukkur’s farm signify the burnt state of hegemony, the oppressed fighting back against the oppressors.

In reality, Jaladas draws his own life through words in this novel. Jaladas’s personal eagerness to get educated for getting out of the oppression by a powerful and united revolt is visible in this novel. Jaladas becomes the advocate of a subjugated society, becomes its voice, and shows the path to be followed for a lasting resistance against hypocrite powers. Thus, he represents the fishermen community from a different framework, where the voiceless eventually empower themselves with a united voice. At the end of the novel, Ganga is killed but the rays of hope remain alive in the form of Ganga’s unborn son, Banamali. We find an indication that Ganga’s son will experience the same struggle and will be the flag bearer of a new form of resistance as Ganga was for his fellows, a dynamic form of subaltern resistance. If a half-educated Ganga can bring such a significant change, we can hope that there will be a lot of Gangas, powered with education to change the entire scenario of the oppressed fishermen community.

Notes
1. A hired boatman who helps in fishing.
2. Someone allowed to cast a net in the sea riding a boat owned by another person.
3. The protagonist of The Boatmen of the Padma.
4. A state of submissiveness that is opposed to the development of the critical awareness necessary to break the pattern of oppression.
5. A big market that meets on fixed days of the week.
7. A derogatory term for a Bengali Hindu used in Bangladesh.
8. The neighbourhood of the fishing community.

References:
Reevaluating resistance from cultural silence from a distinctive analysis of ‘Jele’ (fishing) community


