

INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS OF LOCAL SELF GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS IN THE MALABAR COAST, KERALA¹

BAIJU K K²

Abstract

The effectiveness of state laws continues to challenge the top-down management of common property resources in many coastal villages in Kerala. Most often, state's response to common property management is unidirectional and opens up channels to transform common property rights to open access. Amidst these institutional struggles, local self governing institutions continue to challenge state legal systems and evolve multi-dimensional governance systems. This paper documents the working of intrinsically diverse *kadakkody*' (sea court) system in the Malabar Coast of Kerala, India and discusses how the local level community-based self-governing institutions change due to technological developments and state interventions. The Kadakodi system that existed in the study area during the pre-mechanisation era was an integrated complex governing system of the artisanal fishermen with regulative, normative and cognitive functions. The paper addresses three questions. What was the nature and functions of the kadakkodi system during the pre-mechanisation era? What are the major drivers of change? How did this system overcome stresses and adapt to the challenges of globalisation?

Key words: Kadakkodi, self governance, common property, community-based management, institutions, conflict

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² Research scholar, School of Industrial Fisheries, Cochin University of Science and Technology, Kerala, India, E. Mail: baijukk@gmail.com

Introduction

Local self governing systems delivered a variety of useful services for the management of traditional fisheries in many countries (Townsend, 1995; Townsend, et.al.,2008; Berkes, 1986; Gray, 2005; Kurien, 2002). These community organisations regulated member's access to various fishing grounds, monitored the concurrent operations of multiple gears and resolved fishing conflicts among gear groups In traditional fishing societies (Thomson and Gray,2009; Bennett et.al., 2001; Charles, 1992). Unfortunately the capability of these systems deteriorated over the years due to competition from state sponsored top-down management systems, lack of support from state and ineptitude to adapt to the challenges of modernisation/ globalisation. State bureaucracy, most often, disparaged community organisations and their contributions to fisheries governance. Transnational outburst and the subsequent spatial restructuring within coastal communities have also challenged the smooth functioning of these systems (Thomson, 2011). Amidst these challenges, community-based governance systems survived in many parts of the world, and continue to supplement fisheries governance. This study documents the working of intrinsically diverse *Kadakkody*' (sea court) system in the Malabar Coast of Kerala, India and discusses how the local level community-based self-governing institutions adapt to technological developments, state interventions and forces of modernisation.

Kadakkodis of Kasargod district are essentially artisanal village courts crafted by the local communities for the management of marine fisheries³. Moreover, it performs legislative and executive functions; enacts rules and regulations and enforces them carefully to ensure a fair distribution of benefits to various sections of resource users. It acts as a regulator of resources, protector of livelihoods and a mediator of social conflicts. Kadakkodi system has been studied by various scholars and various explanations have been proposed for their evolution and survival (Paul, 2002; Kurien, 2000; Ramachandran, 2004). This paper updates previous studies by undertaking a fresh enquiry on these systems with special reference to the modern challenges faced by them in a globalising world. Apart from examining the present structure and functions of selected kadakkodis, the paper highlights how these systems adapt and incorporate modern challenges of globalisation.

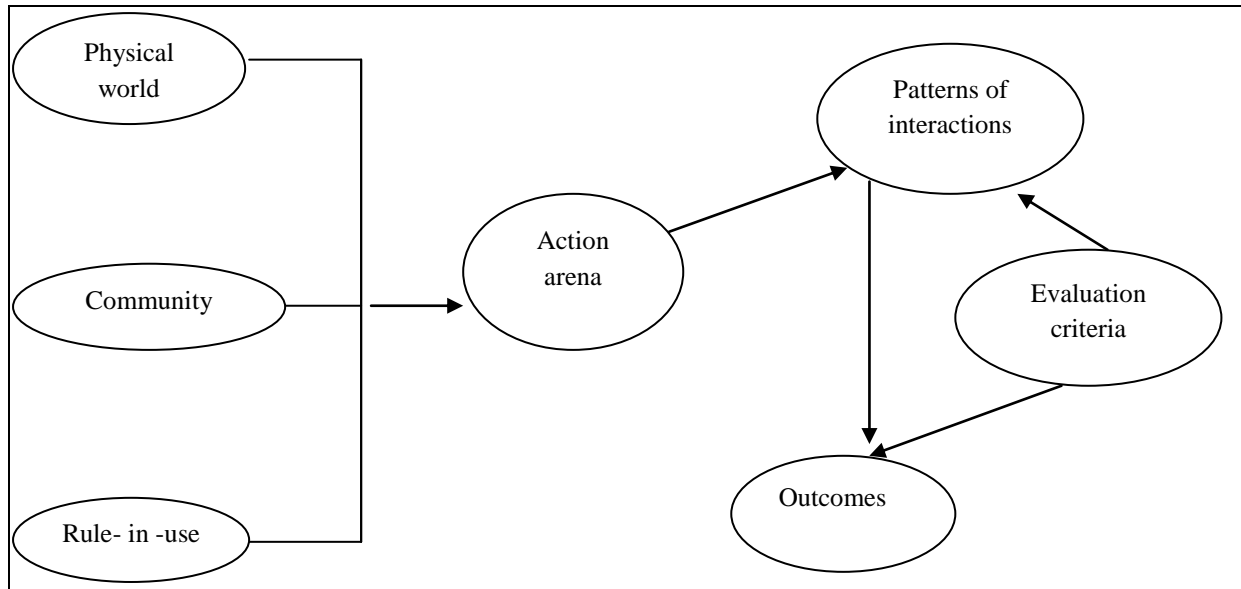
Conceptual framework and methodology for analysis

The study adopts the Institutional Analysis and Development framework developed by Ostrom et.al.(1994) to examine the institutional dynamics of the *kadakkodi* system of self regulation along the Malabar coast. Factors affecting local organizations of natural resource management are summarised in table 1. Following the IAD framework we begin our analysis by describing the physical and material conditions of the kadakkodi system of governance. These conditions include production inputs, technology, sources of finance and distribution channels. The demographic and socio-cultural profiles of local fishing communities and their rule systems are introduced next with a view to describe how the organisational structure is

³ The word *Kadakkodi* is derived from two Malayalam words *kadal* (sea) and *kodathy* (court). It is rooted in the culture and belief systems and the attitude towards social, economic and ecological perceptions of fishermen.

constructed by local communities. Patterns of institutional interactions are examined drawing from how communities resolved various conflicts. An evaluation of the system follows with special reference to how the system ensured livelihoods, regulated access to resources and negotiated social conflicts. It is important to specify these conditions because they have significant implications for livelihoods, quality of life, politics, collective action and policy making by communities.

IAD framework at a glance.



Source: Ostrom, Gardner and Walker, 1994

Table 1 Factors affecting local organizations of natural resource management

Attributes	Ostrom (1990,1992)
Physical and technical characteristics of resource system	Physical structure: Size and clarity of boundaries. Flow of patterns: Predictability in time, across space and quantity, Condition of resource, technology, for withdrawing resources and for exclusion.
Characteristics of the group of users	Number of members, Proximity to resource and between users, Extent of interaction individualizing or collective action, Skills and assets of leaders, Homogeneity v/s heterogeneity of interests, Norms of behavior / culture, Stability
Institutional arrangements	Design principles Member and access rules, Resource boundary rules, Appropriation (withdrawing) and provision rules, Collective choice arrangements, Monitoring and sanctioning rules Recognition of rights to organize by external agents, "Nested enterprises"- multiple layers of nested enterprises, Market conditions for the resource

Location of study

This paper is based on an intensive field work conducted in the Kasargodu District of Kerala state, India during 2009-10. Marine fisheries have been the traditional enterprise of artisanal fishermen of Kasargod district since time immemorial.⁴ Fishing has been carried out using medium plank-built canoes and ring seines during June to November followed by small plank-built canoes with gill nets during the rest of the year. Catches are landed in the shore areas of different villages. Including two recently constructed fishing harbours, Cheruvathoor and Thaikadappuram. There are fifteen beach-landing centres for artisanal fishing. Four fishing villages- Kasba beach, Keezhoor, Kottikulam, and Bekkal - were selected for detailed investigation and analysis. (See the location map.)

The primary data used in this paper was collected in two phases. During the first phase, the study team generated baseline data on the physical, ecological social and economic characteristics of the study villages and communities. This was followed by a second phase of information gathering on various issues related to the institutional, and governance issues of artisanal marine fisheries management in the region. The study used participatory approaches and methodologies including case studies and in-depth interviews. 3 artisanal fishing vessels with outboard engine from each of the selected villages were interviewed to document the operations of marine fisheries of this region. Organisational level interviews included political parties, trade unions and the traditional management institution, Kadakkodi.

Social Organisation of Marine Fisheries and Related Economic Activities

As mentioned in the introduction, the *kadakkodi system* reigned along the Malabar Coast of Kerala, is probably the only traditional fishery management system that endured decades of intensive mechanisation state interventions. The management goals of the kadakkodi system have evolved and got prioritised on the basis of community's engagements with natural environments and the socio-economic order of the society. Therefore it is interesting to examine the structure of the system and how it adapts to external influences of modernisation and globalisation during these decades. In this section, we undertake a detailed analysis of the structure and functions of the system using the IAD framework.

Physical and technical characteristics

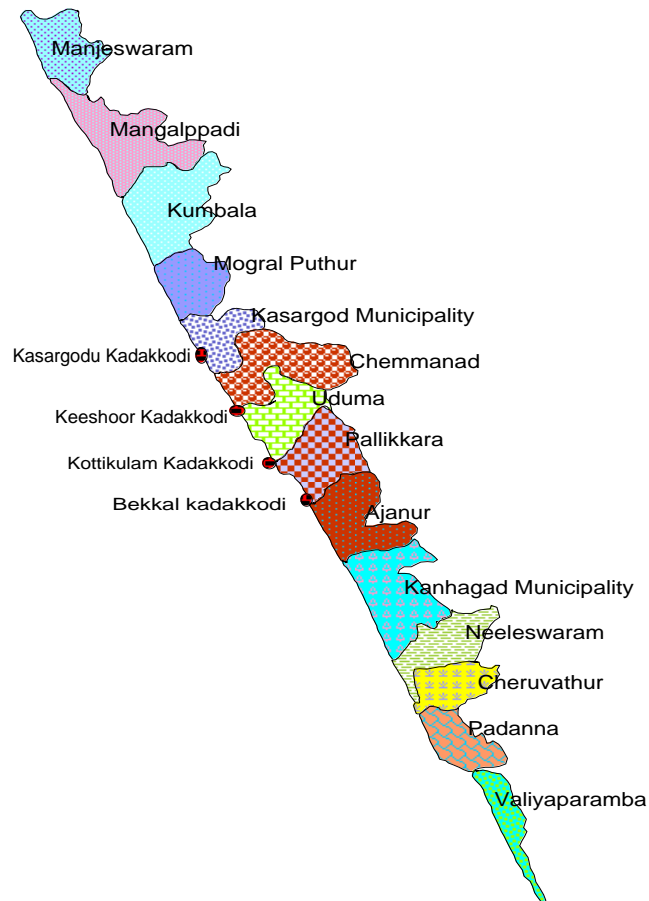
The fishing grounds off Kasargod's artisanal fishermen are rocky and act as the most productive breeding grounds for a variety of marine fishes. Marine fisheries off Kasargod is predominantly pelagic followed by demersal fisheries. Local fishermen however were concentrating more on pelagic than demersal fishes. . The major species caught were pelagic and constitutes around ninety five percent. Fishermen undertake fishing based on traditional knowledge on fish behaviour and migration.

⁴ The coastal shore of Kasargodu district is 45 kilometres. There are sixteen marine fishing villages: Ajanur, Hosdurg, Kadangode, Kottikulam, Padannakadappuram, Pallikkara, Poonjakadappuram, Thaikadappuram, Thrikkarippur Kadappuram, and Valiaparamba in Hosdurg taluk, Kalanad, (Keeshoor), Kasba beach (kasargodu beach), Kavungoli Koyipady and Shriya in Kasargodu taluk and Bangara in Manajeswar taluk.

The coast is known for the occurrence of “*chagara*” especially during the monsoon months and brings good fortunes to the local communities⁵.

Location map of study area with selected kadakkodis

Coastal Panchayath of Kasargodu District



Motorisation was first introduced during mid eighties and most of the active fishermen in the selected villages adapted motorized fishing. ‘Paithu’ seasonal fishing using medium Planck-canoe and four crew numbers is undertaken from June to November. High value species like prawn, karikadi chemmen, poovalan, kaan

⁵ Fishermen attribute their fortunes to the presence and blessings of the goddess Laxmi.

chemmeen chitta chemmeen, Naran etc. were also caught during June and August. The major fishery of the region is locally known as “*paith*”. In this method, fishing is done by a team of four traditional canoes. The major gear used is a small purse-seine called ‘*raani vala*’. Table 1 provides a summary of various fishing methods used in the region.

Table.1 Craft, gear combination and fishing calender

<i>Craft-Gear combinations</i>	Bekkal	Koottikulam	Kizhoor	Kasargod	<i>Operating month</i>	<i>Major fishes</i>
Paith fishing 4 Canoes + OBM +Ring seine	12	8	3	16	June – November	Sardine, Mackerel, Prawns
Medium canoe+ OBM + mid-water gill nets (chala \ ayyila vala\ manchi vala)	160	80	102	260	October – June	Mackerel, Sardines, Pomfrets
Fiber Canoe+ OBM +Gill net (Drift net\Kanathavala)	20	Nil	60	2	October – June	Seerfishes, Whitefish, Vallia sravu
Large Canoe +OBM + Hook and line	6	Nil	Nil	4	November – June	Sharks, Rays
Artisanal fishing vessel with inboard engine+ Large ring seine	Nil	2	Nil	Nil	All time	Sardines, Mackerel, Prawns
Mechanized Trawler + Trawl net	4	6	Nil	25	November – June	Prawns, Crustaceans

Source: Primary survey

Community attributes

Except a few Muslim households in Keezoor, rest of the fishing villages of Kasargod district are inhabited by Arayas. The total number of fishing households in Kasargod district is 4777 and the population is 33866 (GOI, 2005: pp: 8-11). The study village Kottikulam has 275 fishing households with a population of 2098; Bekkal has 440 households with 3516 people; Kizhoor has 325 households and 2352 people and Kaasargodu beach has 675 households and 5279 members. The active fishing population in Kottikulam Bekkal Kizhoor Kasargodu beach were respectively 672,1017, 478, 1077 (GOI,2005:pp:61). In addition to fishing, people, especially women, also undertake a variety of fishery related activities to supplement their income. During the early 1970’s Bekkal fishing village had more than two large *chappas* for curing and drying fishes which have vanished from this region.

Cultural foundations of kadakkodi

Apart from the management functions offered to members, kadakkodis also performed a variety of social and cultural functions that are essential for the social and economic life of fishing communities. This is not surprising as the existence of similar management systems in traditional forest management, known as sacred groves, was also reported from this region (Saraswathy, 1998; Subhash Chandra,

1998; Gadgil and Vartak, 1976). In the Kasargod region of Kerala, social controls and regulations on marine fisheries were centred around Hindu Temples⁶. The organisation therefore included representatives from various social groups/sub casts and they together managed access to fisheries and the socio-cultural life of fishing communities.

Organisational structure of Kadakkodi system: Pre-mechanisation scenario.

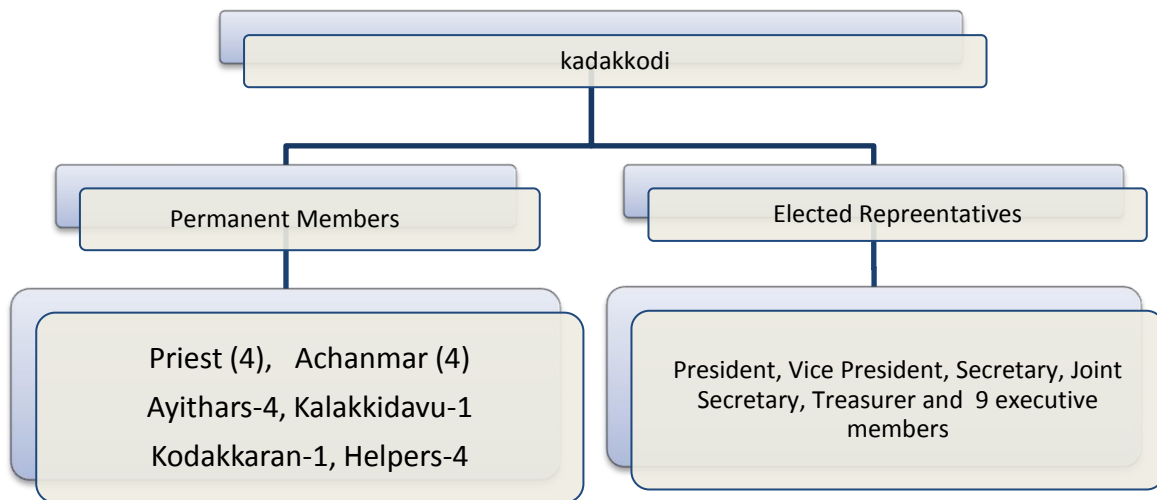
During this period, the socio-religious and resource management functions of kadakkoi were deeply enmeshed and were controlled by the Priests. At the top of the hierarchy, there were four chief priests (karanavanmar) representing four sub castes. They were assisted by four junior priests (Achanmars) representing deities, four oracles (ayathars), an assistant (kodakkaran), one messenger (kalakkidavu), one light carrier (Anthithiriyar) and fourteen helpers acting as the enforcement staff. Kadakkodi rules are crafted on the merits of the issues raised by various resource users. Since crafting of rules, monitoring and enforcement were pretty rigorous and continuous; the chances of violations were remote. The system was highly transparent and accountable to the members. Kadakkodi has always been a male centric organisation. Sea court as an indigenous authority, integrated the judicial, legislative and executive functions of fisheries governance. People bring issues and problems to the kadakkodi and demand solutions. The parties accept verdicts of the court and if the verdicts are not acceptable, they could approach formal courts for justice.

Institutional changes and the present structure of kadakkodi

Kadakkodi system has been undergoing structural changes in the early seventies. During this period, the authoritarian structure of the traditional Kadakkodi, which performed both marine fisheries management and other social functions through the religious leadership of Karanavars, got modified by much broader democratic system of governance. Although the Priest continued to act as the chief of the organisation, the management of fisheries was supervised by an elected body of local leaders. Since the priests experienced difficulty to manage resources, they slowly withdrew from the mundane management functions during early seventies and their power got shared by elected representatives from various fishing groups. At present, the Kadakkodi consists of President, Secretary, Vice president, joint Secretary, Treasurer and Nine Executive members, who are elected in the general body meeting. The present structure demonstrates how local communities democratically reformed their traditional management system by fusing the cultural and economic objectives of management. The democratic functioning of the system ensured transparency, accountability and reliability of governance.⁷ The present hierarchical structure of kadakkodis is shown in the chart.

⁶ The mythology centres around goddess Sree Kurumba who after assassinating her rival travelled towards the North, confronted Sanghupala Arayan who later recognised her mighty and welcomed her to his village. Overcoming initial objections of various leaders finally, the goddess settled at Kottikulam fishing village. This settlement gave hegemony and leadership to Kottikulam village in the social and economic matters of the fishing communities.

⁷ Kadakkodi is usually summoned by the executive committee in designated places or in front of the Sree Kurumba temple on receipt of a complaint received by individual fishermen or community



Role and functions of Kadakkodi in fisheries management

Kadakkodi is primarily a community-based system which integrates marine fisheries management and various socio-cultural functions for local fishing communities. Despite weaknesses, it continues to serve the local fishers, even today, in a variety of ways. Being an informal organisation, kadakkodi acts as a protector, regulator and mediator and it is difficult to differentiate its fisheries management functions from other activities and functions. However, a micro level anatomy using the IAD framework enables one to distinguish some of these management institutions. A detail analysis of these rules, especially the operational and collective choice rules is presented below.

Operational rules of Kadakody

Fishing communities of this region believed that the coastal fishery is a common property and access is allowed to individual members belonging to all the four villages. Other villages from Kasargod district could also land their catches in these villages while fishermen from other districts cannot land their catches in these shores. Table 2 summarises some of these rules in detail.

members. The court splits into three blocks: temple officials, kadakkody officials and the general public. The public could participate in the proceedings of the court and argue in support or against complainant. After hearing these arguments the temple officials and Kadakkody officials discuss the issue collectively and judgement is delivered by the eldest Karanavar of the temple. Although kadakkodi executive committee members are members of various political parties like Communist Party of India (Marxist), Indian National Congress and the Bharatiya Janatha Party/RSS, they do not exercise their political influences and decisions on the kadakkodi.

Table 2 Major systems of rules framed and enforced by kadakkodi in Kasargod District

<p><i>Operational rules</i></p> <p><i>Member and access rules</i></p> <p>a) Every fishing household has to take membership in the village Kadakkodi and renew it every year. Membership guarantees access to fishing territories. Fishing units have to pay two percent commission to the Kadakkodi for its activities and services.</p> <p>b) The total marine fishing territories off the kasargod district were the common property of kadakkodi members. Members belonging to all the six kadakkodis' in kasargod district have access to fish within these territories.</p> <p>c) Although workers can freely choose any fishing unit, those who borrow money from boat owners should work only in that canoe. He can change fishing unit only after reimbursing the loan</p>
<p><i>Appropriation/withdrawal and provision rules</i></p> <p>Kadakkodi, from time to time, prepare and finalise a fishing calendar and all fishing units have to adhere to this schedule.</p> <p>The present arrangements are:</p> <p>a) The major pelagic fishery of the region, called <i>paithu fishery</i>” allows fishing between 6 am and 4 pm between June and November using medium size plank canoes with a medium size ring seine.</p> <p>b) No other fishing methods will be allowed during monsoon season.</p> <p>c) Units adopting small/medium plank-built canoe and mid water gillnets could fish after mid September and</p> <p>d) Mechanized trawlers could begin fishing by the last week of November and continue till the commencement of monsoon.</p> <p>e) Mono filament gill net is banned and users will be heavily fined.</p>
<p><i>Monitoring and sanctioning rules</i></p> <p>Fishing is prohibited during the following occasions.</p> <p>a) When the festival of goddess Sree Kurumba is celebrated by member communities</p> <p>b) When there is death of fishermen</p> <p>c) When the sea court is assembled to transact fishery related agendas</p> <p>d) Auspicious days or any day as decided by the temple committee</p> <p>e) Fishermen are not allowed to fish between 10 pm to 6 am during Chakara season.</p> <p>f) Kadakkodi restrains fishermen from fishing during natural calamities like depression or Tsunami</p>

Recognition of rights of external agents

- a) An intermediary who advanced money to local fishermen has the right to sell the catches.

Collective choice rules

- a) General body meeting will be organized once in a year
- b) Every three year the kadakkodi should submit the income and expenditure statement and get the approval of the general body.
- c) The general body will elect the executive body and office bearers through democratic process
- d) The kadakkodi assures the livelihoods, security of the public, and social life of the community
- e) Marine fisheries conflicts among individual members in the village and are address properly by Kadakkodi. Members could appeal to the formal judicial process if they do not accept the decisions of the Kadakkodi.
- f) Issues among kadakkodis are settled by the collective action of all the village kadakkodis through participatory meetings and discussions.
- g) The fishing calendar and kadakkodi rules can only be changed in the general body meeting
- h) Each kadakkodi is responsible for upholding kadakkodi laws within its community. If an individual kadakkody violates common rules, it has to face penalties

Evaluation of outcomes and management functions of kadakkodi and implications for modern governance

For the traditional communities in Kasargod district, fisheries management has been a self-governing assignment of protecting common property and livelihoods; for which they built institutions, monitor compliance and if necessary enforce them against their own members. These tasks are ensured through mutual consultations and negotiations and also by resolving conflicts in the sharing of fishing grounds/territories between neighbouring communities. There are a variety of issues that called for the involvement of kadakkodis in organising social production locally and to exercise its functions as a management authority. To highlight the nature of these issues we shall present a brief evaluation of the economic performance of fishing activities of selected kadakkodis. A critical examination on how kadakkodis exercise their social controls and discharge management functions like defender of common property, protector of livelihoods, regulator of access and as a mediator of conflicts is presented below.

Evaluation of economic performance

An evaluation of the changing nature of kadakkodis reveals how the self governing fisheries governing system in Kasargod district performs in the economic and social fabric of local fishing communities. Table 3 depicts the economic performance of selected communities. Kasargod and Bekkal kadakkodis are economically stronger than other two villages in all crucial economic indicators. The value of fish landings per trip, crew and owner share are higher in Bekkal followed by Kasargod and

Keezhoor. The economic crisis in Kottikulam village emerges clearly from this analysis. In this village, the number of cruise undertaken during the survey period is only 67. The value of fish landed per cruise was only 6624; owner's share Rs.1325 and crew sharers.132. Survey revealed a steady decline in the average household income in Kottikulam village in recent years. As a result, the younger generations in this village has been shifting their occupation from active marine fishing to other maritime related activities like joining in merchant navy, sailors, ship-breaking industry, and migrant workers in gulf countries and so on. We shall later argue that this economic crisis has led to institutional crisis in these villages, particularly in Kottikulam kadakkodi.

Table 3: Economic performance of major marine fisheries in selected kadakkodis (In Rupees)

	Regions			
	Kasargodu	Bekkal	Keezhoor	Kottikulam
Type 1	Paithu fisheries: 4 canoes + ring seine + 40 workers			
Value of landings per canoe	1472000	1349766	754416	443800
Number of fishing trips	116	90	81	67
Value per trip	12689	14997	9313	6624
Owner share per cruise	2538	2999	1863	1325
Crew share per cruise	254	300	186	132
Total Commission of agent	117760	107981	60353	35504
Agent commission per cruise	1015	1199	745	529
Total levy to Kadakodi	63011	63683	33681	24487
Kadakkodi levy per cruise	543	707	415	365

Source:Primary survey 2010

Kadakkodi: The defender of common property and protector of livelihoods

Although local fishermen consider fishing territories/grounds as common property, various groups exert pressure now and then to expedite the process of privatisation. These conflicts are sorted out by kadakkodis through negotiations and consultations. The conflict occurred between Kottikulam kadakkodi and the rest of the Kadakkodis over the issue of leasing of fishing grounds to traders is worth mentioning. Since the rocky sea beds in front of Kotikulam village offered productive habitats for crab, oyster and molluscan fisheries, local fishermen were fishing in these grounds immediately after the "paithu" season. In 2002, however, Kottikulam kadakkodi leased out these rocky territories to a Muslim trader who engaged outsiders to harvest these fishing grounds. Realising the risks of such transfers on livelihoods, the rest of the Kadakkodis objected the move and forced Kottikulam kadakkodi to terminate the contract and evict the lessee from this area. Another instance aimed to secure livelihoods relates to the intervention made by the Kottikulam kadakkodi in the realm of micro credits.

Most of the Kadakkodis in Kasargod district used to disburse micro credits to local fishermen on liberal conditions. This was organised using funds collected by the kadakkodis from members and was intended to support the livelihoods of people. Although, most of the beneficiaries repay loans in time, very few cases of non repayment were also reported. Once such incidents occur, the concerned kadakody committee intervenes and make arrangements to collect money. In once such incident of a loan of Rs. 20000 to a leading fishing group in Kottikulam village in 2004, the committee banned the operations of the fishing boat. Since the borrower refused to repay the loan, the committee confiscated the boat and released it after securing the necessary guarantee from the Karanavar and collecting Rs. 2000 as the first instalment of repayment.

The role played by kadakkodis in evicting migrant fishermen from local fishing grounds off Kasargod has reaffirmed their commitments to defend common property resources and community livelihoods. A series of incidents which occurred during the period 1980-2000 between local and migrant fishermen demonstrate such dynamics at the local level. By 1980's Kasargod district witnessed a slow but steady inflow of migrant fishermen from southern districts of Kerala in anticipation of higher catches and better returns. These groups were initially welcomed by the Muslim traders who charged a higher commission. Immigrants were fishing near Palikkara coast of Bekal kadakody and were targeting species not caught by local fishermen. Moreover, they used fishing methods- hook and lines- not used by the locals.

Migrants fished in local waters till early 2000 without much local resistance. During this period the migrants purchased four to five acres of coastal land/sea shore from the Muslim community. Twenty families settled in this area and procured ration cards. The elders reported that the migrant settlement expanded slowly and by 2000, there were seven fifty fishing households and five thousand migrant fishermen in pallikkara. They even built a Christian church in an attempt to consolidate their social and economic power in the local village. This motivated migrants to target pelagic stocks which using modern gill nets. As pelagic fisheries were the major source of livelihood of local fishermen, they opposed the operations of migrants which resulted in physical violence and damage of fishing assets. Following this communal violence, district authorities called a meeting to resolve the crisis. Office bearers of Bekal, Koottikulam, Keeshoor and Kasargodu kadakkodis, temple priests, fish merchants, and Christian priests from Trivandrum attended peace talks. The meeting decided that all the migrant fishermen should vacate the shore in a phased manner. Following this ruling, all the migrants, except, twenty migrant fishing households, vacated the shore.

Kadakkodi as a regulator

Apart from protecting livelihoods and defending fishing territories, kadakkodis are involved in regulating fishing operations in number of ways. During monsoon months, fishing become difficult in this region and many fishermen between Kasargodu and Kanhagad used to visit landing centre belonging to Bekkal kadakkodi to undertake '*paithu*' fishing and were regulated by the Bekkal kadakkodi. As per the local kadakkodi rules, fishing operations should commence early morning at six 'o' clock and terminate at four 'o' clock in the evening. Kazargodu fishermen who reach early at the Bekkal shore used to commence fishing operations before the stipulated time and were stopped up by Bekkal fishermen. This resulted in physical

violence between the local fishermen and migrants. A combined meeting of the kadakkodis was convened and it was resolved that all immigrants should abide by the rules of Bekkal kadakkodi while using their shore.

Kadakkodi as a mediator

Kadakkodi mediates social conflicts between local Araya fishermen and outsiders. The frequency of communal riots between local fishermen and Muslim communities has increased in recent times and kadakkodi assists the local administration to maintain the law and order by evolving consensus among various social groups. Second, kadakkodi mediates economic opportunities offered by globalisation/transnationalisation. Kadakkodi makes remarkable influence in deciding the potential of coastal tourism in Kasarkod district. Coastal tourism projects are normally cleared by the regulatory bodies only if they procure the necessary social sanctions from local kadakkodis. This involvement acts as a filtering process that benefits local communities

Similar instances are also reported in the case of Kottikulam kadakkodi in negotiating modern economic opportunities. Compared to other fishing villages, Kottikulam has benefitted more from the liberalization process. 90 percent of the households in Kottikulam have their family members working abroad either in Gulf countries or in merchant navy or in foreign ships as sailors and crew. The money earned by them is not invested to fisheries due to poor infrastructure. Instead, the new generation has opted out from fishing and invests their income in the share market.

The improved economic conditions of Kottikulam fishermen have inflicted changes in the structure of kadakkodi and attitude towards fisheries governance. Office bearers were drawn from economically well off households who made money from foreign countries and merchant navy. The organizational priorities of Kottikulam kadakkodi also changed subsequently. For instance, the request made by fellow kadakkodis to take action against a priest who violated operational rules in "paithu" fisheries was set aside by Kottikulam kadakkodi. Retaliating on the inactive behavior, other kadakkodis collectively decided to impose a social ban and to exclude it from their common functions.

Summary and Conclusion

The system of marine fisheries governance described in this paper clearly reveals that they are capable of adapting to the modern challenges of globalisation. Local self governance of coastal commons therefore has increased relevance in a globalising world. The services rendered by kadakkodis especially, their role as a protector of livelihoods, regulator of commons and mediator are so integrated and have wide implications for modern management mechanisms. Endogenous and exogenous factors influence the stability and existence of Kadakkodis in Kasargodu coastal zone. The endogenous pressures like corruption, behavioural changes of primary producers, changing perception of public, cultural changes, and changes in values and beliefs are the dominant factors that influence the performance of kadakkodis. Market influences in fish trading, new investment opportunities outside the community, resource degradation, ecological changes and eroding indigenous knowledge are some of the major exogenous threats facing kadakkodis. The

pressure from formal management institutions especially at the national and sub national level, threaten the healthy functioning of local kadakkodis in recent years. However, state makes use of these systems during many occasions and work closely with kadakkodis for the management of fisheries. The possibilities of evolving co management of fisheries in kasargod district therefore bring more synergies to the collective effort towards a better social control over fisheries in this region. The manner in which some kadakkodis address issues of migrants indicates the probable directions in which these institutions need to be reformed. More state support is however needed to kadakkodis to effectively transfer economic benefits of globalisation to its members in a more efficient way. The institutional dynamics of community based fisher organisations therefore draws our attention for a serious theoretical debate on collaborative fisheries management along Kerala's coastal villages.

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