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**TRADITIONAL NORMS IN TRANSITION:
A CASE OF FISHERFOLK IN SOUTH INDIA**

The customary panchayat of the fisher-folks of Indian sub-continent is one of the unique mechanisms adopted by the community to maintain social control and control access to fishing procedure for successful resources management. The impact of globalization has led to the depletion of sea resource through industrialization in coastal areas, and the invasion of trawlers and vessels has created disastrous effect on social life of the fisher folk. Thereby the traditional fisher folk have eased out of their age-old profession and are deprived of their livelihood, resulting in occupational mobility and the economic heterogeneity undermines the traditional norms. Modernization also brings change in the feudal social setup, which results in the collapse of traditional norms and values.

In the recent past the studies on the traditional fishing communities have dealt mostly on their ethnography, livelihood patterns, cultural norms, values and behaviour, etc. The study conducted by Raymond Firth (1942) among the Malayan fishermen is a pioneering work in the studies of fishing community. Later in 1975 K. Norr engaged in fieldwork twice to understand the changes happened among the fisher folk of northern Tamil Nadu. The work of Acheson (1981) gave a complete review on anthropological studies on fishing communities and initiated a conceptual framework for the maritime anthropology to emerge as a sub discipline. P. Roche (1984) presented a detailed ethnographic account of the Paravas of southern Tamil Nadu, while Elizabeth Schoembucher (1988) analysed the importance of flexibility in the social organization in Vadabaija of Andhra Pradesh. Kalpana Ram (1991) emphasized the role of Mukkuver women (fisherwomen). Meanwhile, Paul Alexander's (1995) monograph on the economy of a fishing village on the south coast of Sri Lanka is also a significant contribution to works on fisherfolk and C. Busby's (2001) political economy of gender among fisherfolk of south India also deserves mention here. There are also few studies concentrated on their indigenous knowledge, political system and Common Property Resource management (CPR) among fisherfolk. McCay's (1980) work among middle Atlantic Coast fishermen emphasizes the cooperative nature in fisheries resource

management among the fisherfolk. Studies on common resource management were also done by Berkes, et al. (2004), who projected a comparative study on 'Padu' common resource management among the Kerala fishers; M. Bavinck (2004) among the Pattinavar fisherfolk of Northern Tamil Nadu, Karunakaran (2006) among the Pulicat fishers regarding the economics of padu system, S. Couthlard (2011) research on ecological impact on the padu system of Pulicat fishers, and most recent work on the changing traditional political norms of Mukkuvars in kanyakumari by Ajantha Subramaniam (2009).

Fisher-folk community of the Indian subcontinent has many specific caste groups among them. Every coastal fishing village is characterized by homogenous caste composition and is isolated from the other communities by social and geographical demarcations (Schoembucher 1988:214). Although they live in different coasts and with different ethnic background, they share some of the common cultural behavior. According to Poggie (1980:20) the major reason for this kind of uniqueness is due to the maritime environment and the job risk involved in it. This supposedly becomes the determinant influence on the socio-psychological impact on the characteristic nature of the fishermen. Apart from that, the work relationships during fishing are quite egalitarian and encourage the fishermen to emphasize their common bonds and to minimize differences among them.

Strong and live persisting traditional political system among the fishing communities is a unique feature that has been binding the fisher-folk throughout the centuries. These political systems or otherwise called as traditional panchayat system, unlike other traditional communities incorporates stringent norms, powerful institutions to control over the access and effective fishing procedures for successful resource management (Acheson 1981:284, Karunakaran and Thangamuthu 2006:61). As also Bavinck (2001:1088) referred the traditional caste panchayat of fishermen in India has mainly involved in regulating the access to usage of fish resource and community management. All these attributes are regulated by the traditional panchayat system and by the indigenous knowledge that is incorporated in the culture. The indigenous knowledge system of a community is often based on the experiences over centuries of use to adapt to the local environment.

The traditional panchayat among the fisherfolk of Tamil Nadu in particular has a significant role to play in common resource management. The basic functions of the traditional panchayat are to facilitate equitable access, provide collective social responsibility, provide mechanism for conflict resolution and amending rules suitable for the community. Traditional panchayat has a very strong influence on the socio-political affairs of the fishing community. However, it is necessary to know whether the traditional panchayat system still enjoys the same power and authority in discharging its traditional responsibilities. To examine this fieldwork was carried out among the fisher folk of Pattinavar caste in Thiruvallur district of Tamil Nadu.

The paper will also explore the reasons for the changes that have occurred in the traditional political organization of fisherfolk.

Fisherfolk in Tamilnadu

The marine fisher folk census carried out in 2000 enumerated 6,98,268 fishermen population in Tamil Nadu (Yadava 2006:1). There totally 591 traditional fishing villages and out of them 261 marine fishing villages located along the Coromandel coast which lies in the northern part of Tamil Nadu including the villages starting from Thiruvallur to Nagapattinam districts (Radhakrishnan *et al.* 2009:544). It covers nearly half of the coastal distance of the state (350 km). Coastal stretch of Thiruvallur district is 27.9 km starting from Thiruvottiyur to Pazhaverkadu and it has 58 villages (Source: Data on Coastal information of TamilNadu, 2008). In these villages, same type of indigenous control systems is in vogue and most of them have been institutionalized through unwritten practices and conventions. Pattinavar is the dominant fishing community in this region. In every fishing village a strong fishermen community panchayat based on the ties between the different lineages within the Pattinavar community could be found (See Table: 1).

Ecological setting

Pazhaverkadu is located on India's biggest lagoon called Pulicat Lake. It imitates an island one side covered with sea and the other with the (backwater) lake, receiving supply of freshwater from three major rivers like Kalangi River, Arani river and Swarnamukhi river. Profound ecological setting enriches the place with good fishing resources, which includes varieties like white and tiger prawns, mud and lagoon crabs, mullets and catfish, etc. The catches have a wide market in other parts of the country and abroad. A couple of decades ago, the export of the catches to foreign countries was considered to be a boon for their economy. But the past two decades witnessed a drastic depletion of fishing resources due to drastic environmental degradation.

Coastal belt of Tamil Nadu has been in a constant threat of encroachment and forceful occupation in name of industrial development (Tamilnadu and Pondicherry: coastal Area Assesment by Equation-2006). It is vividly seen that within the stretch of the coastal villages of Thiruvallur district itself, many Industrial units like North Chennai Thermal Power station, Ennore Port Trust, Sea water desalination plant and German ship building industry and many more small units have been developed. From Ennore to Pazhaverkadu many coastal fishing villages were displaced to other far-off places due to this industrialization processes. The industrial waste and hazardous materials released from these industries pollute the coastal environment and also the backwater where the fishes and prawns undergo fertilization.

Social setting

There are eleven hamlets situated contiguously in Light House village panchayat with the population of 5,064 individuals and Kottaikupam panchayat has four hamlets with 4,184 individuals as its population. Light house panchayat is located on right side to the backwater, three sides covered by water in between the seashore and lake. The stretch of sea shore of light house village panchayat extends from *Gunnan kupam to Vairan kuppam* measuring approximately 2 kms. Before 1984, there were only four villages—Gunnan kupam, Light house kuppam, light house Nadu kuppam and Vairan Kuppam. Later Sempaspalli kuppam, Thirumalai nagar and Arangam villages emerged with the advent of people relocated from the Sriharikotta. Gunnan Kuppam, Sempaspalli, Thirumalai Nagar, Arangam and Vairankuppam are all artisan fishing villages inhabited by Pattinavar caste who fish in the sea. Light house kuppam is inhabited by both Pattinavar and Paraiyar, who fish both in the lake and seldom undertake sea fishing or would work as wage labourers in non fishing occupations. Vairan kuppam is divided into three parts- the southern part, middle part and northern part. Pattinavar live in the northern part, Mudaliar caste in the centre while the Parayars live in the southern part— all three of them undertake artisan fishing in the sea. Perhaps, Pattinavar is the traditional fishing caste, while the other two have adapted to fishing for livelihood for the past few generations. Apart from these villages, there are also other villages inhabited completely by non-fisher folks castes which are listed in Table 2.

Kottaikuppam panchayat (See Map 1 and 2) is located on the left side of the lake and it has three hamlets which are located along the bank of the lake namely *Kottai Kuppam, Naduvur Matha Koil kuppam and Aandi Kuppam*. *Naduvur mathakoil Kuppam* was earlier been a part of the Kottaikuppam but they were separated after their conversion to Catholicism. There are no intermarriages between the Christian and non-Christian Pattinavars. The fishermen in Kottaikuppam panchayat fish only in the lake where prawns and crabs form the main catch. The sharing of fishing resource system called 'padu' is more prominent among those who are fishing in the lake.

Fishing and fish based activities are the major source of income for the whole panchayat. Fishermen are directly involved in the fishing economy through catch and selling, whereas, other caste communities involve themselves indirectly through fish marketing, selling products related to fishing activities, handling motor vehicle for transportation and running small financing pawnshops. Since, past two decades due to the industrial development along the coastal belt of Thiruvallur district, the fishermen are forced directly or indirectly to move out of their traditional occupation and have been led to work in other places as contract labour, which shall be discussed in later part of this article. The industrial development has also

created a ruinous effect on the coastal environment and depletion in fish resources. And now youngsters have started to engage themselves in occupation other than fishing, especially entered into the newly developed industrial units.

Traditional panchayat

The Pattinavar fishing caste has its own traditional social control mechanism through their traditional Panchayat system. While talking about the traditional panchayat system, it is necessary to distinguish between the past and the present scenario because of the changes that occurred over a period of time. The characteristics and functions of traditional panchayat are prone to drastic change.

Map 1: Showing coastal Stretch of Thiruvallur District



Map 2: Settlement map of the Field Area in Pazhaverkadu, Thiruvallur District

Past scenario

The traditional panchayat called 'Oor panchayat' of the Pattinavar caste was a very strong political institution in the fishing villages. The constituents of the Oor panchayat are known as *Panchayadhars* and *Chettiars*. Traditionally there is one *Chettiyar* and a group of *Panchayadhars* representing different lineages of the Pattinavar caste in the fishing hamlets and they assume these offices through hereditary means. Each village functions as an autonomous political unit and the intra-village disputes are resolved through concerned panchayat in the village and the inter village disputes are reported to respective panchayats, and are resolved through the *Aikiya panchayat sabhai* (inter panchayat co-ordination committee). Under no circumstances the disputes are reported to police station or any other judiciary institutions. Even the government officials implement the welfare schemes through the cooperation from the Oor panchayat.

The membership of the individual in the village is ensured through imposition of tax, a payment which is locally termed as *oor vari* (tax). It is accounted in the village temple fund and is utilized for common purposes during cyclone and other natural lean seasons; temple festivals and village

rituals etc. Every fisher folk is bound to the decisions of the panchayat, and expected to show belongingness and positive approach towards the system. The other important function of the panchayat is to ensure the control over the fishing resources. In case of sea fishing, the right to exercise occupation to start from a specific region in seashore is earmarked authorized by the panchayat. Fisher-folk are not allowed to get into the sea from other than his affiliated village. Even the *oor panchayat* is authorized to impose ban on fishing (*oor thazhwuthal*) if situation warrants. Bans are inflicted in case of any death in the village or on the days of meetings in *oor panchayat* or during the temple festivals. The Oor panchayat also play a major role in preserving and maintaining the sustenance of fish resource for future by adversely imposing ban on some types of fishing technique which will be responsible for causing drastic damage to fishing resource. For instance, the off-shore seine locally termed as *madi vallai* was banned by the state and also by the Oor panchayats because of it would capture even a minute of creatures from the bottom of the sea bed. This demand was forced by this panchayat before the government for long time to implement.

The right to fish in the lake is restricted only to the fishermen community of Pazhaverkadu panchayat, especially the prawn fishing. Prawn catch is highly money yielding occupation and hence, the *Oor panchayat* takes over the authority to serve the available resources equally to all the members of the village who pay *Oor vari*, and it is known as padu system. Villagers share a particular area for the catch in the lake where the catch of prawn is more. Specific number of fishing spots is shared among every individual family in the village on rotational basis. In such case, every villager gets a chance for a fish in padu system atleast twice in a month on an average. They have a strong mechanism of controlling and distributing the available resources through Oor panchayat by the Padu system. Normally the fishers go for the catch only in the place and day allocated to them. Anyone who violates this will be taken to trail and will be considered as a very serious offence and high amount of fine is imposed by the panchayat. Generally no such case of trespassing of fishing is reported in the Pazhaverkadu villages.

Generally, the Oor panchayat imposes heavy penalty for any violations of the existing norms. It implies not only for the violations related to the fishing, but also in the matters related to their social affairs. Many a times the amount of fine imposed is several times more than the monthly income of the family. There were also cases where the amount imposed as penalty was ten times more than regular monthly income i.e. is around Rs. 10,000 to 20,000. Although it's a huge amount for the poor fisherman, he had to pay it at any cost so as to get rid of the capital punishment of rustication from the village affairs and padu right. The acceptance of the bureaucracy of the Oor panchayat by the fisherman is not only due to the respect and belongingness but also because of the crucial economic factor. Fishing is a caste bound occupation

of feudal economy and it is perennial resource too, hence it is mandatory for the fisherman to adapt to its social setup. This is a common character in most of the fishing villages of Tamil Nadu in particular and south India in general.

The oor panchayat regulates, organizes common fund through *oor vari* (tax) and by imposing fine on offenders. During the period of good catchment, the *oor* panchayat would impose some special tax such as a requesting the catch of whole day to account in their common fund. The purchasing of catches from a specific village is allotted to a middle man through open bid in the *oor panchayat*. The bidder has to pay a advance amount to the *oor panchayat* and guarantee the right of purchasing the fish from the village. The middle may be from the same village or also from the different village. In most cases the middle man are from non-fishing caste. Whenever a fisherman sells his catch to the middle man, he will put one share in the village account and another share to compensate his advance amount he had paid to the *oor panchayat*. For instance if fisher sell a catch worth Rs.100 to the middleman, he pay him Rs,80 to the fishermen and Rs. 10 in *Oor panchayat* account and Rs. 10 is taken for his own account. All these funds are utilised for the village during the occasion of lean seasons and natural calamities, temple festivals etc., If there is any shortage of fund in organizing the festivals they impose festival tax from the members to raise fund.

The *Oor panchayat* has strong deciding authority in the political affairs too. Though the statutory village panchayat is in operation in these fishing villages, the candidature for the president and the ward members are decided in the traditional *Oor panchayat* and a unified decision is taken in the forum. Normally the president would be elected from the Chettiyar family and they utilise the panchayat fund according to the directions of the *oor panchayat*. In the case of state legislative and parliamentary election, the *oor panchayat* direct their villagers to vote for one particular party candidate as decided by them. Before 1970's they used to support the Indian National Congress party and after that they became the strong supporters of DMK due to the influence of MGR, a actor turned politician. Later, they turned their support to AIADMK, a new political party started by MGR. The formal judicial body like police department would not initially get into the issues directly without the consent of the Chettiarys of the villages. Even if there is any commitment of serious crime; the police would arrest the concerned person only after prior intimation to the *Oor panchayat*.

Oor Panchayats in Transition

Now-a-days both the characteristics and functions of the traditional panchayat system is facing a drastic change. Even the term *Oor panchayat* is now replaced with the word *Oor Nirvagam* (village management) in general usage and their leaders are now called as *Oor Nirvagi* (manager). The *Oor*

Nirvagam still holds the control in all these fishing villages. However hereditary leadership has weakened in the community due to the emergence of democratic values in recent times. The *panchayadhars* were selected by the villagers on the basis of open nomination in the Oor kootam (village general body). The newly elected *panchayadhars* are identified with the name of Chettiyars now; even though they do not belong to that particular family lineage as earlier. The hereditary name was given to the elected persons. The way of electing the Oor nirvagi differs from village to villages. In the hamlet *Thirumalainagar* the *panchayadhars* are selected on the basis of the number of net (*surukku valai*) group. The *surukku valai* is a type of fishing net composed of many nets linked together. For this type of fishing minimum fifteen to twenty five individuals are needed, all the members of the group work together and share the catch among them. There are around nine *surukku valai* groups (net group) in Thirumalai nagar, in every group there are fifteen to twenty persons and one from among them is elected as its Representative. In all together around nine *panchayadhars* are elected randomly from the groups every year. While in other villages, the leaders are selected on rotational basis, thereby every individual after 18 years of age gets an opportunity to become a *panchayat* member in his life time.

Earlier the tenure of the leadership was not fixed as once a leader was always a leader, but now the leaders are selected every year. Except for three villages like Kottai kuppam, Andi Kuppam and Thirumal Nagar in none of the other villages, the elected members had given their contributions in the affairs of *panchayat*. Few got relieved voluntarily within three month of time as they could not bear the pressure of the position. Generally, in earlier days villagers gave heartfelt respect to the *panchayadhar* and the position is treated as prestigious. But the current generation show lack of interest and have created distrust the village leadership (see Table 3).

Majority of the respondents felt that holding up a position as a *panchayat* leader is hectic job. This is due to the notion of non trust on leadership among the fishers and also the decrease in commitment rendered towards the *panchayat*. Comparing the oor *panchayats* of these villages, lake based fishing (*padu*) villages like Kottai kuppam, Andi kuppam and Mathakoil kuppam are somewhat better in handling the *panchayat* affairs under control as compared to the coastal fishing villages.

The weakening of the traditional *panchayat* can be known by the incidences of the fishermen approaching the police and court of law for their grievances. Though for any issues related to fishing are still dealt and are bound by the Oor *nirvagam*. However, if in case of a unsatisfactory and unfavoured decision from the *panchayat*, the concerned appeals to the formal judicial processes. Unlike the earlier times, Now-a-days police too directly enter the fishing villages very often. The police maintain a friendly relationship with the Oor *nirvagam* according to their interests.

As of the major role of the Oor nirvagam is to maintain rules and regulations both at inter and intra village levels. Decisions and control over inter and intra village affairs like household disputes, fishing disputes, infrastructure, distribution of relief and welfare schemes by the governmental and Non-Governmental agencies, financial assistance at the time of lean seasons are governed by the respective *Oor nirvagam*.

However, there existed a statutory village panchayat with a President and Ward Members in Light house village panchayat, the attitude toward these bodies are also getting changed among the people. They see them as money making sources. The competition in upholding the leadership position has grown more. Hence *oor nirvagam* took over the authority to nominate the suitable candidates to legitimate its powers. An open bidding is being placed in the general gathering and whoever is interested to compete, can raise their rate to win the candidature. After this the candidate has to pay the bidding amount to the *oor nirvagam* to accumulate in for common fund, and then anonymously he is elected as the president of the local panchayat. Such a kind of intervention by the Oor panchayat in the statutory panchayat election took place in Light house and Kottaikuppam panchayats during the 2006 local body election. The matter was notified by the election commission and stringent action was taken against the defaulters of statutory norms. Perhaps in 2011 local body elections the auction for the position took place again but, the unified decision was defaulted by a rival group place an alternative candidate. The reason for the rival candidate to contest in the election was due to the claim that the earlier had charges on misappropriation of panchayat fund and was put into trail by the District Administration during the previous tenure. As the president candidate selected by the Oor nirvagam had a bad remark of misusing his position and spoiled the trust of the people, in the consecutive election (in 2011) was held beyond the control of the *oor nirvagam*.

Reason behind the change

There is a general notion that the traditional panchayat is losing its value among the fisherfolk is due to the modern innovation and development. It may be partially true, because the fisherman do not entrust or respect the leadership as earlier, however their affiliation towards the *oor panchayat* has not diminished. Even though they have controversies towards the functioning of panchayat, still they abide by the strong notion that panchayat is an unavoidable part of their village life and they cannot maintain their social orders without panchayats. Perhaps it may be due to the strong socialization process.

The rural social setup is declining due to modernization and acculturation process from the urban side. Beyond this, the socio-economic change is the main reason behind the change in the traditional panchayat system. The fishing economy had disastrous effect from two dimensions, one is due to industrialization and other is overfishing. Both these have resulted

in the depletion of sea resources and leads to the socio-economic change among the fishermen's economic life (see Table 4 and 5).

As rightly pointed out in the earlier studies that "The impact of globalization has led to the depletion of sea resource through industrialization in coastal areas, and the invasion of trawlers and vessels has created disastrous effect on social life of the fisher folk. The introduction of mechanized boat, no doubt has enhanced the marine produce collection, but, at the same time it has brought forth a number of serious socio-economic problems" (Ambrose Pinto, Berin Leekas and Rathakrishnan 1995:205). As specified in the ecological setting, large numbers of industrial units have developed around this region during the past two decades. The thermal power station, sea water desalination plant, Ship construction units and Ennore port are the mega industrial projects near these panchayats. These mega industries have now become the major source of environmental pollutants their industrial residues are highly polluted which has volatile effect in the coastal environment. Due to this reproduction of fish and availability of fish resources in the sea and the back water area have reduced. Moreover, the displaced fishermen from the Sriharikotta during the development of Rocket Launch station, were relocated in this panchayat forming four new hamlets which has increased the competition in sharing the fishing resources. Due to this, the traditional fisher folk have eased out of their age-old profession and are deprived of their livelihood leading to the changes in its physical surroundings and structure of the village. Most of the youngsters in these villages have come out of the fishing occupation and have employed themselves in the newly developed industrial units as contract laborers. The number of people depending on fishing has reduced. This resulted in occupational mobility and the economic heterogeneity undermines the traditional norms of the fishing community. The above table shows the age-wise distribution of individual involved in different occupation. It clearly indicates that those who are in the age category in between 19 years to 35 years are not involved in fishing and seek job as contract labours in the nearby industrial units.

Conclusion

Traditional panchayat has many roles to play among the fisherfolk life; and the important aspect of it is the control mechanism of sea resources to share for the whole community. We find that when fishing resources are reduced, it lead to change in occupation mobility resulting in the drastic change in the economic dependency on sea resource for fishing. And thereby the attitude of the people towards the oor panchayat is also gradually diminishing. Modernization brings change in the feudal social setup, which results in the collapse of traditional norms and values. The Traditional oor panchayat is gradually losing its authority value over managing the common resources. Although, the traditional Panchayat system of fisher's is in crises; still it

intervenes in the social affairs by acting as conflict resolution committee to enforce law and order. But, people do not bind with the decision of the panchayat when it imposed bans and fines to its member to legitimate its authority. Sometimes it's posed as the contradiction between the statutory judicial authority and the local, leading to the serious problem with in the fishing villages and results in internal conflicts among the fisherman communities.

Table 1
District wise coastal length of Tamil Nadu

Sl. No.	District	Coastal Areas (Kms)				Total	No. Fishing villages
		Coramandal	Palk Bay	Gulf of Mannar	West Coast		
1	Chennai	19	—	—	—	19	44
2	Thiruvallur	27.9	—	—	—	27.9	58
3	Kancheepuram	87.2	—	—	—	87.2	44
4	Villupuram	40.7	—	—	—	40.7	19
5	Cuddalore	57.5	—	—	—	57.5	49
6	Nagapattinam	124.9	63	—	—	187.9	51
7	Thiruvarur	—	47.2	—	—	47.2	13
8	Thanjavur	—	45.1	—	—	45.1	27
9	Pudukkottai	—	42.8	—	—	42.8	32
10	Ramanathapuram	—	95.8	141	—	236.8	184
11	Thoothukudi	—	—	163.5	—	163.5	21
12	Tirunelveli	—	—	48.9	—	48.9	7
13	Kanyakumari	—	—	11.5	60	71.5	42
	Total	357.2	293.9	364.9	60	1 076	591

Source: Y.S. Yadava The Impact of Tsunami on the Livelihoods of Coastal Fisher communities in Tamil Nadu, India – A Preliminary Damage and Needs Assessment. Bay of Bengal project Inter-governmental Organisation (BoBP-IGO), Chennai

Table 2
Panchayat wise list of villages

Panchayats	Population (1991 census)	Name of the Hamlet	Inhibited by caste group
Kottai Kuppam	3660	Kottai Kuppam,	Pattinavar
		Naduvur Matha Koil kuppam	Pattinavar
		Zemilabath,	Muslims, Paraiyas and irula
		Sengima Nagar,	Paraiyas and Nayakar
Light House	5,064	Aandi Kuppam,	Pattinavar
		Ambedkar nagar,	Paraiyas
		Thoniravu	Paraiyas
		Thirumalai Nagar	Pattinavar
		Vairavan Kuppam,	Pattinavar
		Sembasipalli Kuppam,	Pattinavar
		Arangam kuppam,	Pattinavar
		Karimanal,	Paraiyas, iruals and others
		Palli kuppam,	Paraiyas
		Pettai Kuppam	naikar,
Nakkathuravu,	Muslims		
Nadu Kuppam,	Paraiyas		
Light House Kuppam,	Pattinavar		
Goonan Kuppam	Pattinavar		

Source: collected from field work

Table 3
Source: data collected from field work

Respondents interest to became panchayat leader			
	Frequency	Per cent	
No	196	81.0	
Yes	46	19.0	
Total	242	100.0	

Table 4
Primary Occupation of the Respondents

primary occupation	primary occupation * age Cross tabulation								Total	%
	Age									
	below 5	6-12	13-18	19-25	26-35	36-45	45- 60	61 above		
Fishing	0	0	4	32	35	38	27	2	138	29.81
Student	5	40	32	5	2	0	0	0	84	18.14
House wife	0	0	0	21	21	27	12	1	82	17.72
No Job	22	5	12	13	13	5	3	8	81	17.49
contract labor	0	0	4	29	17	1	0	0	51	11.02
fishing selling	0	0	0	0	2	5	4	1	12	2.59
Skilled labour	0	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	6	1.29
own business	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	6	1.29
govt Job	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0.43
Non=govt org.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.22
Total	27	45	54	106	94	78	47	12	463	100

Table 5
Secondary Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation	secondary occupation * age Cross tabulation								Total
	Age								
	below 5	6-12	13-18	19-25	26-35	36-45	45- 60	61 above	
No secondary Job	27	45	54	69	64	69	46	12	386
Fishing	0	0	0	20	14	1	0	0	35
govt Job	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
contract labour	0	0	0	14	14	3	1	0	32
own business	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	6
fishing selling	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Total	28	45	54	106	94	76	47	12	463

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