CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As a part of planned development, several multi-purpose (small, medium and mega) projects were planned and executed. These planned development projects were certainly progressive steps resulting in India’s self-reliance in various fields. The objective of these developmental projects was certainly the benefit of the common citizens of India. However, the planned infrastructure growth has adversely affected several groups of habitats within the country. Hence, the development-induced displacement and rehabilitation become major controversial issues in this country.

Broadly, the people are displaced from their hearths and habitats for three major reasons: first, they are displaced due to political causes like war, revolution, partition of nation; second, they are displaced due to natural disasters like floods, earthquakes, draughts and cyclones, third, the people are displaced due to planned development projects like construction of dams, highways, airports, defence projects etc.

After the end of British rule in India, the main national goal was to achieve a rapid development by using countries human and natural resources. As a result our planners introduced community level and society level infrastructure development projects. The programmes pertaining to health, education, agriculture, roads, railways, airports, dams, power projects, industries, nuclear plants etc., helped India, as independent nation to develop her overall standard in the global world.

However, as we all know, the ‘national freedom’ or ‘nation-state’ identity always plays a vital role in the international community. Hence, our nation has two important goals. One, the development of country’s infrastructure in order to improve the standard of life of its citizens and the nation itself. Two, the development of
national defense projects not only to protect its citizens or to maintain the national identity in the global world but also it is essential part to enjoy the fruits of development by its citizens in real sense.

Therefore, the planners of the country have launched many projects to develop its national defence force. To achieve this national goal, one of the attempts was to establish modern integrated naval base called Sea Bird Project, at Karwar in Karnataka state. The establishment of SBP was a step forward at the national and international level. At a micro level, this development activity invariably displaced several groups of people from their original coastal habitats. Therefore, independent welfare state of India had to develop a definite plan and policy for resettlement and rehabilitation of uprooted population.

One can not deny the need for the comprehensive sociological study of development-induced displacement and rehabilitation, because, this kind of scientific study definitely provides a critical outlook of rehabilitation policies for the planners and the policy makers. In addition, such studies are significant to the R and R authorities responsible for the implementation of the plans at grassroots level. This empirical research study is also very relevant for the social scientists in general and sociologists in particular. Because, it helps to understand the transitory stage of resettlement and the changing socio-cultural and economic structure of the uprooted communities.

As noted earlier, throughout this study an attempt has been made to explain development-induced displacement and rehabilitation with special reference to the Sea Bird Project, Karwar. The study has also attempted to explore how this national defense project caused displacement and as a consequence, what kinds of change and continuity among the resettlers have occurred in the process of adaptation and
adjustment with the new environment. The study has tried to answer certain micro theoretical and practical research questions like what are the impacts of the displacement and rehabilitation on different interest groups with different social, cultural and economic background? What are the attitudes of different interest groups towards the displacement and the rehabilitation? How are the vulnerable groups such as landless, peasants, women and children and elders affected by the displacement and what is the nature of their social suffering? What kind of rehabilitation policy would not marginalize vulnerable groups? What are the implications of cash compensation on different kinds of groups? What are the drastic changes brought up in social units like village, caste, family, neighbourhood and leadership? Thus, the study has sought to answer the above questions.

In the larger interest the coastal habitats of Uttar Kannada district were evacuated from their ancestral land, property and habitats and involuntarily resettled in the planned rehabilitation colonies. However, different sections of people within displaced group had faced different kinds of problems during the time of evacuation and even after the displacement. As a result, they suffered socially, culturally, economically, physically and politically as well. This study has resulted in certain findings pertaining to these aspects of displacement and rehabilitation.

1. Findings Pertaining to Village Physical Settings

The physical settlement of village has always played a significant role in socio-cultural and economic network of inhabitants. Prior to the displacement, the physical settings of Sea Bird Project affected villages were peculiar in their characteristics. All the affected villages were evolved and developed for centuries on the Arabian coast. They were dispersed kind of villages. The houses in these habitats were built in narrow and irregular lanes and streets giving rise to dissimilar types of
houses. The dwellings generally had single entrance. There was a small open space around the house for kitchen gardening and a small thatched shed for sheltering the cattle.

On the contrary, the physical settlements of planned rehabilitation colonies are very different from the original habitats. First, the new places of resettlement are not villages but have become the rehabilitation colonies. The term ‘colony’ gives the impression of town or city life. But the RCs are not towns and cities. The urban activities like industry, trade and business, market etc are absent. The salient features of village communities like agricultural land, livestock activity, fishing, household industries etc are not found in the RCs. All the RCs are human made, pre planned and suddenly formed soon after the displacement. Hence, they look like artificial settlements and not natural settlements. Another significant difference is that almost all the new rehabilitation colonies are formed away from the seacoast. This means that the inhabitants’ attachment, adjustment and assimilation with the sea and seacoast are dismantled after the displacement. Since, the rehabilitation colonies are pre planed in nature, the houses are built by the resettlers on the wide and the straight streets. The lanes within colonies are straight and regular ones.

The residential pattern in the Belekeri and Chittakula RCs is comparatively compact type, whereas Todur RC is spread out as allotted sites have remained vacant. Though the residential pattern is compact in nature, the physical proximity between the houses of same caste and kin groups are missing after the resettlement. Thus, the old residential pattern of caste and kin groups’ proximity is discontinued after the resettlement. The families with different socio-economic background belonging to different project affected villages are resettled together in the Chittakula and Todur RCs whereas in Belekeri RC all resettled families belong to single village called
Bhavikeri. At the new place of resettlement, the families lack the feeling of belongingness. Like in the original habitats, the idea of ‘we feeling’ is not developed among the resettlers. This is clear from the fact that, whenever they spoke about their original village, they used to say ‘Namma Uru’ (our village) and when they spoke about new place of resettlement, they used to say ‘Ee, Nirashritar Colony’ (this displaced peoples’ colony). A strong sense of collective identity is not developed in the RC. This indicates that even after the displacement their attachment to the original village is not broken. On the contrary, even after passing of three years in the rehabilitation colony, they are not totally adapted and adjusted with the new place of resettlement. Perhaps it may take some more time for them to establish socio-economic relations and to create a feeling about calling my village and thereby establishing ‘we feeling’ among all the resettlers of the RC. This is a slow process and naturally the time certainly will require.

The planned efforts of R and R authorities towards the formation of well-planned rehabilitation colonies have failed. The roots of this failure can be found in the wrongly planned residential pattern of the rehabilitation colonies. The desire of the displaced people to live together along with all the families belonging to their own caste, kin and villager is totally unmet. This kind of unplanned physical settlement has culminated in socio-cultural and economic suffering of resettlers at least in the initial phase of resettlement.

There is also a significant and positive change in the pattern of layout and quality of houses in the rehabilitation colonies. In the original villages, there were more number of kachcha and semi-pacca houses and very few families owned pacca houses. However, after the displacement more number of resettlers have built semi-pacca and pacca houses in the rehabilitation colonies. The kachcha houses are almost
absent in the new place of resettlement. As the resettlers were free to build their own house according to their choice, they invested not only the amount of compensation received for the old houses to construct new houses but also a large portion of other compensation and rehabilitation grants received from the government. This is due to two reasons; firstly, the compensation received for old house was inadequate to construct new house due to increased cost of construction; secondly, it is human nature that when money is jiggling in his pocket, he would like construct a more modern, spacious, and comfortable dwelling. The poor and illiterate villagers did not realise that the amount of compensation and rehabilitation grants they received from the government is meant for their rehabilitation. In the excitement of having large some money as compensation, they forgot the future and simply invested the entire amount in the construction of a new house at the rehabilitation colony. Thus, the resettlers built good houses in terms of their size and quality. This is a positive aspect of the SBP R and R planning. Earlier researches on involuntary resettlement have highlighted the risk of homelessness as a part of displacement studies.

The R and R authorities have allotted the land for houses to each resettled family. The sites allotted to the resettlers varied in size ranging from minimum of 1.2 guntas to maximum of 5.4 guntas. Therefore, almost every resettled family is having an open space around their houses. However, unlike the old habitats, there is absence of kitchen garden, separate compound walls, cattle sheds and wells around the house. Only a few rich families have constructed compound walls and dug wells of their own.

In the RCs, there is absence of income generating horticulture trees like, coconut, jackfruit, mango, banana, drumstick, cashew nut, betel nut etc. Before the displacement, such kind of trees played a significant role in the socio-cultural and
economic life of the inhabitants. They were not only a source of income to the family but were instrumental in establishing and strengthening the social relationships. Whenever a family got the fruits from their trees, some amounts of fruits were shared with their own caste and kin groups, neighbours and intimate family friends. When family members visited relatives' house, they carried some fruits along with them. Thus, in the original village, the trees around the dwelling place helped them to develop mutual interaction, mutual exchange, mutual help and co-operation among the families. This kind of socio-cultural and economic network has been broken after the displacement.

The civic facilities in the RCs like internal roads, electricity, streetlights, toilets, market complex, community building, temple building, school building, health centre, bus stop shed, tap water connection, training centre, police outpost building, balawadi etc are comparatively better in the RCs. In the original villages these civic facilities did not exist. However, some of the civic facilities in the RCs, particularly market complex, training centres, community buildings etc have remained unused. The bus stop shed in the Belekeri RC is of no use since there is no bus service to the RC. The internal roads in all the RCs are far better than the original villages. The school buildings, health centre, tap water, streetlights etc are also of comparatively better quality. Before the displacement, all these villages came under the jurisdiction of Panchats. Due to shortage of development funds, it was difficult for the Panchayats to provide good quality civic facilities to the villagers. As a result, the villagers suffered. After the displacement, however, the government allotted funds to develop the RC with all civic facilities. As a result, the resettlers got comparatively better facilities. The only worry of resettlers is how many days it will remain, who will
maintain this? Whether government will further funds for maintainace in the future. Such questions they often ask.

All the SBP resettlers belonged to the coastal village communities. For them, more than civic facilities, the CPR based livelihood resources are more significant. In other words more than the physical infrastructure the environmental resources determined their life and livelihood patterns as in the original habitats. The findings pertaining to the CPR based activities help us to understand the difference between the quality and quantity of CPR before and after the displacement and how this difference determines the life and livelihood activities of the relocated communities. These are discussed below.

2. Common Property Resources

In the original habitats the inhabitants’ life was very close to nature. The villagers in their day-to-day life activities were associated with the natural elements like plants, trees, fruits, flowers, birds and animals, mountains, forests, sea and water resources. Hence, irrespective of caste and class differences, almost all the villagers were dependent upon CPRs. Their occupational and economic functions were very much linked to CPRs. Therefore, prior to displacement CPRs were main source of employment and livelihood. However, the R and R authorities have not shown much concern for the ecological and environmental rehabilitation of the project displaced people. At the new place of resettlement, some elements of CPR like sea, grazing land, natural water resources etc. are totally absent while some others are insufficient (for e.g. mountains, forest, trees, birds and animals.). This shows that the forced displacement disrupts the symbiotic relationship between community and environment.
The present study finds that due to absence of CPRs at rehabilitation colonies, the vulnerable groups among the displaced such as women, widow (er), elderly persons, children, physically weak etc. suffer more. This is because, before displacement this section of displaced population was functionally interrelated with CPRs. They were involved in different household industries, which were directly dependent upon CPRs for raw materials. For example making of ropes, brooms, mats, leaf plates, baskets, animal grazing etc. required locally available raw material. Thus, after the resettlement the absence of CPRs has rendered them jobless leading to the loss of main source of income. As a result, their economic and social position is degraded within the family. The result of this is the increase in dependency ratio within the family and decrease in the income of the family.

In the original villages, the younger generation belonging to the families involved in CPR based household industries had learnt the required skills and techniques from their older generations. Prior to the displacement the ancestral knowledge and skill pertaining to household industries and occupations was automatically transferred from one generation to another generation without any formal training. However, after displacement the absence of CPR based occupations has compelled the younger generation to seek new and special kind of trainings in ITI, computer, bar binding, photography etc. from the formal educational institutions.

The SBP R and R planners have neither compensated for the loss of CPR nor have they provided the CPR based resettlement to the displaced people. This factor has affected all those displaced from rich CPR based coastal villages of Karwar region. In their respective villages, more than the private property, the CPR played a vital role in the livelihood patterns. The people had developed a symbiotic relationship with the CPR. This equilibrium is lost after the displacement, which was
indirectly brought a transformation in the socio-economic and cultural interactions between the CPR based families.

3. Findings Pertaining to Socio-Cultural Fabric

The families were displaced from the safe original habitats and involuntarily resettled in the planned rehabilitation colonies due to the construction of the SBP. The families belonging to partly as well as fully affected villages were resettled together in the rehabilitation colonies. Such kind of drastic modifications in the original habitat has led to the socio-cultural transformation. There is a change and continuity in the entire social fabric of the affected villages. The elements of change and continuity are clearly discernible in the structure and functional system of major social units particularly in village, caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, education etc.

The findings pertaining to the socio-cultural fabric of rehabilitation colonies shows that the families involuntarily resettled in the planned rehabilitation colonies originally belonged to different villages. This kind of new social transformation is found in Todur and Chittakula RC. The heterogeneity in the original villages was comparatively simple. It was largely based on the religion, caste, occupation and income background. However, the RCs are more heterogeneous than the original villages. The resettlers not only belonged to different castes, occupations, income and educational background but also belonged to different villages. The families resettled in these two RCs belonged to four different villages affected by the SBP. However as in the Belekeri RC, all the resettled families belonged to the partly affected village of Bhavikeri.

The heterogeneity of rehabilitation colony shows that on the one hand, the original village structure has been broken into a number of small segments and on the
other the resettlers are facing the problem of restructuring of the new village. The families belonging to different villages are facing the problem of adaptation and adjustment with a new ecology and new environment, since each original village had its own customs, traditions, norms, cultural values and code of conduct. It had its own village God, Goddess, other deities, temples, community places, the CPRs and the village fairs, which they celebrated at particular time and in particular ways. Therefore, it is difficult for the families belonging to such heterogeneous background to settle together in the new RC. During the initial stages of resettlement, they faced the problem of lack of co-operation, mutual understanding, mutual help, mutual interaction, and hence, this led to the problem of lack of mutual trust. All these elements have come in the way of community solidarity and integrity.

Thus, the findings pertaining to the social units clearly showed that once the village social structure is broken, it affects both the micro and macro social units of a village. These are interdependent and inter related, particularly in the case of caste, family, neighbourhood, leadership, religion, education etc.

The data pertaining to the family shows that after the displacement, some seventeen joint families are divided into two and three divisions, and six have divided into four divisions and rest five have divided into five divisions. In the original habitats they used to stay under one roof or houses with close physical proximity which provided them socio-cultural, psycho-economic security, support, status and confidence. This is totally destroyed after the displacement.

A very significant change is that in the original habitat, after the disintegration of the joint families, the divided families lived in the same village, more often in a close physical proximity. However, the phenomenon of displacement has not only forced them to divide but also forced them to resettle at the different places. The
study findings reveal that nineteen divided families are resettled outside the RC, seventeen are resettled in the same RC and nine families are resettled at both in the same RC and outside the RC.

The field responses are clear about the causes behind the division of joint families. The more significant among them are: (1) development of the idea of individualism due to payment of individual rehabilitation grant; (2) lottery system of allotment of homestead site; (3) the small size homestead sites at RC being unsuitable for joint family settlement; (4) families got support from their relatives etc. However, according to the researcher’s independent observation, the two main reasons responsible for division of joint families in the several small units are: (1) after the displacement joint families have lost their common properties such as land, houses, trees, wells and common occupation which bound them together before the displacement, (2) after the displacement the dispute arose among the members of family regarding sharing of compensation and the rehabilitation grants. This situation has emerged since the seabird rehabilitation policy has not considered family as one whole unit for payment of compensation but individual members were considered as units for compensation. The amount of compensation for loss of family’s common assets was received by the awardees (legal title holder(s)), and the rehabilitation grant of rupees seventy thousand each was given to two adult sons. This gave rise to the idea of individualism among the members of joint families. Thus, the joint families are divided into a number of small units.

Like joint families, the caste composition and social heterogeneity has resulted in a disorder after the resettlement at the RC. As far as caste composition is concerned, there were minimum of ten to fifteen castes and sub caste groups inhabiting in the original villages. These caste groups held different socio-cultural
and economic positions within the village ecology. At the same time however they were functionally interdependent. After the displacement the original caste composition and its heterogeneity disturbed. In two rehabilitation colonies, the caste groups are almost homogeneous in nature. Particularly, in the Chittakula RC only the families belonging to fishing castes i.e. Harikranta and Kharvi are resettled. In the Belekeri RC, the families belonging to Hallakki-Vakkaligas and Achari castes are resettled. As far the settlers caste background is concerned, the Todur RC is comparatively more heterogeneous in nature, where families belonging to eight different caste groups are resettled. The conclusion of the earlier sociological studies finds out that caste factor played a significant role in the horizontal and vertical solidarity within a given village. This may be correct in case of settled village community. However, our study suggests that during transitory stage of reformation of community, more than the caste, the village background of resettled family unit played a significant role the horizontal as well as vertical solidarity within community. This is mainly because irrespective of caste and class differences, the families live in the same ecology and environment for generations. They had not only adapted but had also assimilated with each other. They had developed a symbiotic relationship with one another. This factor is responsible for the development of village-based solidarity, at least in the initial period of the resettlement. This finding is the main theoretical strength of this research study. One can safely observe that this study fulfills the existing gaps in knowledge prevailed in the earlier studies.

The neighbours in the original habitats were living together for several generations. Hence, due to close physical proximity and continuous socio-cultural contact and communication among them, they were having primary relationships, and had developed 'we-feeling'. They had established close network of relationships.
Thus, in the original village they were associated with each other. This kind of intimate social network helped them to sustain life in co-operative way. However, after the resettlement in the RC, all the families are going through the process of adaptation to the new socio-economic and geographical conditions. Since they belong to different villages, the process of neighbourhood adaptation and adjustment will take time.

In the study, seventy-four percent resettled families are having new neighbours after the resettlement and only fourteen percent of resettled families are having their previous neighbours. It is interesting to note that five percent families have reported that their neighbours are unknown to them and seven percent families did not have any neighbours at all as their neighbouring homestead plots are vacant. This kind of neighbourhood disorder has mainly arisen, because the neighbourhood pattern of original villages has not been maintained in the planned rehabilitation of the colony as the entire village was not rehabilitated in one RC. The norms of SBP rehabilitation policy did not have the provision to allocate plots in a continuous order to the families desiring to live together. The lottery system of selection of sites separated them geographically. As a result, each one of them got their neighbour by chance and not by choice. In the original habitats the neighbourhood system was associated with the socio-cultural and economic factors. The caste, sub-caste, kin, social and economic status of family etc. played a significant role in determining neighbourhood and its relations. For example, all the Hallakki -Vakkaliga families of particular habitat (abodes) were living together in the ‘Goudar Keri’ (Caste based residential locality within a village). This shows that while selecting the sites for permanent abodes the people give importance to the socio-cultural and economic
background of neighbourhood ecology. But this aspect was ignored by the R and R authorities at the time of establishment of RCs and allotting the residential site.

In the original villages along with the neighbours, the intimate inter family relations and well-wishers also played a significant role in the socio-cultural and economic life of project affected families. Such intimate inter family relations were belonging to different castes, occupations and sometimes to the nearby villages. The network of intimate relation sustained each other in the rural society. They provided social security and confidence to each other. Moreover, they exchanged inner feelings, emotions and thoughts pertaining to their personal and social life. This kind of long established network of family friendship was broken due to the displacement. The norms of rehabilitation policy scattered them all over. Thus, the trauma of displacement seems to be more stressful to them. The study data pertaining to breakdown of intimate inter family relation reveals that after the resettlement, fifty seven percent families were having new family friends, thirty two percent were having their previous friends and twelve percent families are having no family friends at all. This indicates that after the resettlement the adaptation and adjustment is in process.

Leadership is another significant factor in the village life. The leaders are generally the products of group life. In each SBP affected habitat, there were different traditional leaders who represented their respective castes and occupational groups. They were the main source of hope, information and guidance for the villagers during normal as well crisis period. They provided the leadership to a movement launched against the SBP. But within a short time they realised that the state is much stronger than their organisation and movement. They realised the futility of their struggle against the project. Therefore, the demand for scrapping the
programme receded, and the emphasis of the movement shifted to the demand for adequate compensation and better R and R benefits. The village leaders who participated in this movement were mainly the representatives of agricultural and fishing communities. Hence, their immediate interest was to obtain justice to their own community rather than for the all displaced communities. The bureaucrats and the state identified their interests and satisfied them by providing fishing area to fishermen and agricultural land to agrarian community. After this, the two different group representatives put up their more specific and individual group demands pertaining to the R and R benefits. In this whole process, the strong state became more and more strong and weak leaders and their movement became more and more weak. Thus the leadership has failed to protect the interests of all the resettlers.

After the displacement some of the fishing community leaders resettled in the respective RCs. They continued their movement to exert pressure on the R and R authorities to meet their demands. Along with this, their common occupation and comparatively higher educational level facilitated them to organise well. Hence, they got comparatively more R and R provisions in their RCs. In contrast, almost all the leaders belonging to agricultural community are resettled outside the rehabilitation colonies. After the resettlement in the RCs, there is no occupational network among agriculturists. Hence, there is lack of unity and organisation among them. Of course, some young new leaders have emerged in the agricultural colonies but the entire colony however has not accepted them as their leaders. They themselves act like self proclaimed leaders. This empirical observation exhibits that; stronger the oustee’s organisation more is the bargaining power for better resettlement and rehabilitation package. Weaker the oustees’ organisation lower is the bargaining power for better resettlement and rehabilitation provisions.
Another sociologically significant aspect of this whole debate is the displaced people were deprived of from worshiping village Gods and Goddesses. In each SBP affected village, there were number of places of worship, village deities and Gods. The villagers used to celebrate various kinds of religious and local festivals as a part of their socio-cultural life. The important among them was the ‘Dodda Habba’ (Big Festival). This festival was celebrated to mark the beginning of agriculture season. The ‘Deva Habba’ (God Festival) was celebrated during harvest. The Halakki-Vakkaligas and some other caste groups celebrate ‘Bandi Habba’ (Cart Festival) for one whole week. After the resettlement in the RCs, these popular local festivals have come to be almost discontinued. This is because the reason for which these festivals were celebrated is not found at the new place of settlement such as the beginning of the agricultural year, harvesting the agricultural production or worshipping the sea etc. After the displacement, neither agricultural land is available nor cultivation and harvesting or fishing.

In the original habitats villagers were celebrating the fairs collectively as part of the village socio-cultural activity, irrespective of caste and occupational differences. Such jatras provided opportunities for the people to meet their relatives, caste and kin groups, neighbouring villagers and close family friends. The Jatras also created a good market for small traders to sell their goods and articles. Such jatras are not now found in the RCs. Each RC has one common God and temple, but not all the resettlers of the RC treat it yet as a common God of the village. This is because the participation of resettlers in the entire process of construction of temple and installation of Idol was almost absent. The R and R authorities themselves have decided the place of temple, its architecture as well as Gods and Idol. Hence, their entire effort was mechanical and artificial in nature. The authorities have failed to
give due importance and concern for the resettlers’ religious feelings, beliefs, faiths and ideas.

Thus, the empirical sociological knowledge generated by this study clearly shows that the R and R planners have failed to provide the socio-cultural and religious rehabilitation provisions to the displaced. They have more concern for the physical and material R and R provisions, with regards to particularly, distribution of compensation and rehabilitation grants, establishment of the RCs with civic facilities etc. Of course, this is also important for human resettlement. However, the socio-cultural and livelihood needs are more important and essential for the human beings but the authorities have neglected it. By the nature human beings are social and rational. They prefer to live in their own groups and communities mostly belonging to the same socio-cultural and economic background. While framing the R and R policies for involuntary resettlement the planners have totally ignored the sociological aspects of human resettlement. As a result, the relocated families are facing more socio-economic risks in the RCs. These risks are more severe during the early phase of the resettlement. Such kind of ecology creates hinderance in developing ‘community feeling’ among the resettlers. Particularly during the transitory phase of relocation.

4. Findings Pertaining to Livelihood Systems

The findings pertaining to livelihood system reveal that impoverishment is part and parcel of the forced displacement. At the macro level, the displacement leads to the disorganization of livelihood systems of village community and at the micro level, it has dismantles the occupational interdependence and economic activities of project-affected families. Prior to the displacement, the SBP affected families were involved in several occupations and economic activities like agriculture, fishing,
animal husbandry, horticulture, household industries, small-scale trade business, wage labour etc. These economic activities of the families were interdependent and facilitated the development of co-operation and integration among the inhabitants to sustain the livelihood systems. This long established and deep-rooted village economic structure determined the socio-cultural system of village. Hence, due to the displacement the basic economic structure of project-affected villages is disrupted resulting in disorganisation of other socio-cultural systems.

The study clearly reveals that prior to the displacement the agrarian community was involved in the settled agricultural occupation. They mainly cultivated rice, coconut, pulses, groundnut, watermelon etc. Among the displaced families, thirty eight percent were agriculturists and seventeen percent were sharecroppers and landless labours. Thus, about fifty five percent project displaced families were directly dependent upon agriculture. After the resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies with meagre amount of cash compensation in lieu of land lost, all of them are thrown out of agrarian network. As a result, at the macro level, this has led to increase in the problem of unemployment, poverty and dependency ratio. However, at micro level it has directly affected the occupation and income of fifty five percent project affected families. It has also contributed to the decrease in the agriculture production. This issue assumes significance in the context that agriculture was the main source of income of the people. Therefore, this empirical study concludes that the system of cash compensation for agricultural land disturbs the entire agricultural dependency pattern.

Further, the study reveals that the land lost by the agriculturists for the project ranged from one acre to four acres. All of them were resettled in rehabilitation colonies without any cultivable land. As a result, they lost not only agricultural
income and occupation but also lost functional network with sharecroppers, landless labourers, service castes etc. In the original villages agricultural land was one important source of family's socio-economic status, which was a determining factor of village social stratification. But after the involuntary resettlement, the land based social stratification is no longer found in the RCs. All the landowners have become landless. Thus, the phenomenon of sea bird displacement has converted 'haves' into 'have-nots'. They are confronted with several problems like poverty, unemployed, low standard of living etc.

The findings pertaining to the horticulture activities and income suggest that before the displacement, horticultural trees like coconut, mango, jackfruit, drumstick, banana, betel nut, cashew nut etc. contributed significantly to the income of the family. The displacement has uprooted this economic base of the people, as all families, irrespective of caste and occupational backgrounds, have lost these horticulture trees. These trees are generally grown around the dwelling place without much special effort and expenditure. Such kind of trees not only provided them additional income but also provided variety of flowers, fruits and also raw materials to run household industries like making of brooms, ropes, mats etc. After the resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies, all families have lost these horticulture based activities.

The findings suggest that among horticulture trees, coconut trees played a very significant role in the economic and social life of the people. The data reveals that eighty percent of resettled families have lost coconut trees ranging between five to forty trees. Altogether, they have lost one thousand six hundred ninety four (1694) coconut trees. Thus, on an average 8.18 coconut trees were lost by each resettled family. For several families this is not just a simple loss of income but also a loss of
main source of livelihood. In the original habitats just eight to ten high yielding coconut trees were enough to maintain a family of four to six members. However, after the displacement the small size of homestead plots along with water shortage has made it impossible to grow either coconut or other horticulture trees around the dwelling places. Some resettled families however are gradually showing interest in planting of horticultural trees around their new dwellings.

The data pertaining to livestock before and after the displacement shows the decline of numbers in all kinds of domestic animals. The population of the cow has declined from ninety nine to twenty seven, buffaloes from sixty to four and bullocks from forty five to eleven. The livestock activity is almost discontinued after displacement due to several factors such as: (1) resettlers have sold animals because of economic problems; (2) absence of grazing land and shortage of water in the RCs; (3) death of animals due to change in climatic conditions and shortage of fodder; (4) overall ecology and environment of the RC is not agrarian based but looks urban. Thus, the percentage of families without livestock income has increased from fifty-one to ninety five after the displacement. There is also a significant decrease in the livestock income of all the three categories (low, medium and high).

The findings regarding the fishing occupation indicate that before the displacement the families other than fishermen community were involved in the fishing occupation. But after the displacement, the SBP rehabilitation policy provisions did not permit them to resettle in the RCs meant for fishermen community. They were deprived of their long learned skill and occupation simply because they belonged to non-fishermen community. Thus, the policy kept them out of sea and fishing occupation.
The data pertaining to fishing occupation also shows that there is not much change in fish catching method before and after displacement. But there is a significant change in the number of fish catching families before and after displacement. Among the total sample families resettled in the RC's, fifty five percent were involved in the fishing occupation in their original villages but after displacement, only nineteen percent are involved in the fishing occupation. However the remaining thirty-five percent families have discontinued their traditional fishing occupation. This can be attributed to the following factors: (1) the geographical distance between the sea and the RC is more; (2) at the new marine area traditional method of fishing is not suitable; (3) after displacement fish catching groups are disorganised; (4) a few of them have lost their boats.

This research study also reveals that the loss of land, CPR and other sources of livelihood have brought misery to the resettled families. Consequently, in search of a new source of livelihood, some of them have started small-scale trade and business like kirana shop, pan-bidi shop or fish selling etc. But none of them is happy about the business transaction, customers and profit. This shows that the absence of proper source of livelihood at the new place of resettlement compelled the evacuees to adapt any means for their survival. As a result, both the 'haves' as well as 'have-nots' are marginalized after the displacement.

The study has also identified the problem of landless labourers. They are the silent sufferers of the SBP. In the original habitats all of them had either direct or indirect stake in agriculture, CPR and fishing occupations. The available fertile land, abundant CPR and rich fish catching marine area provided them sufficient work and wages. After the resettlement in the planned rehabilitation colonies they remained without work and sources of livelihood as RCs have no source of livelihood or any
other kind of income generating activity. Hence, this section of displaced population is thrown out from assured occupations and sources of livelihood and is pushed into an uncertain open job market.

In the original habitats the service caste families, particularly carpenters and blacksmiths were involved in making and mending of the agricultural implements and small fishing boats. They also made wooden furniture. This occupational group met the needs of the agriculturists, sharecroppers, landless labourers and even fishermen. In return, they were paid either in cash or in kind or both. Along with this hereditary occupation, they also used to cultivate their own land as a subsidiary occupation. After the resettlement in the RC the functional relationship between service caste groups and other groups is broken. This is mainly because of two reasons:

1. the entire village is not resettled in one place; and
2. due to non availability of agricultural land and fishing area there is no demand for agricultural implements and fishing boats. Ultimately, they are involved in fulfilling the household needs like making and repairing of doors, windows, household furniture etc. The traditional occupation is commercialised.

The study also finds that in the original villages each family had its own family occupation. Almost all the members of the family, directly or indirectly, were involved in the family occupation. All the members of the family carried out family occupation like agriculture, fishing, household industry, carpentry etc. collectively. These occupations were generally based upon family members’ cooperation, mutual help and interdependence. Such kind of functional cooperation and dependency was a uniting factor, which kept the members together under one roof or in the separate houses with close physical and social proximity. However, the establishment of SBP has taken away the family’s nature of collective work and has placed them in a new location without providing any kind of opportunity to work together. As a result, after
displacement the social units particularly family, caste and kins are disintegrated. The resettlers' income data gathered through the field study further reveals that due to absence of occupational rehabilitation, irrespective of their caste and occupational background, almost all the resettled families are marginalized. They are facing the problem of sustainable livelihood. The data pertaining to household income clearly shows that the household income is substantially reduced after resettlement. Before displacement, twelve percent families were belonging to the high income and fifty two percent families belonged to the middle income group. But after the displacement, the percentage of such families have reduced to two and twelve respectively. But there is substantial increase in low-income group families from thirty six percent before to eighty six percent after displacement.

Thus, we can conclude that the forced displacement takes away the inhabitants' sources of livelihood and disturbs the indigenous economic network. This kind of transformation not limited only to the local economic structure but also brings change in socio-cultural systems of the society. The occupational shift from higher order occupational ladder to the lower order occupational ladder leads to economic marginalisation. This, in turn, has caused social mobility after the displacement. Before displacement the families belonging to higher order occupations and income enjoyed comparatively superior social status. The phenomenon of displacement has placed them in lower order socio-economic status in the hierarchical ladder. The socio-cultural system of the coastal habitats was symbiotically related to the village economy, which is now disturbed. The economic condition of family or group of families, which determined the socio-cultural role and status within a given village community is also disturbed. This shows that the Marxian theory of 'economic determinism' (Economic system determines the culture of society) is applicable to the phenomenon of sea bird displacement.
SUGGESTIONS

In the process of displacement and involuntary resettlement the baseline socio-economic and cultural surveys always play a vital role, because the quality of resettlement and rehabilitation is fundamentally based upon the quality of socio-economic surveys. Hence, it is the duty of the concerned authorities to conduct the baseline surveys scientifically both in qualitative as well as quantitative way. This will guide them in the formation of more comprehensive, appropriate, flexible and qualitative resettlement and rehabilitation plan. Such kind of plans will definitely help the involuntarily resettled families to reconstruct the socio-cultural and economic network at the rehabilitation colonies. This study reveals that the R and R authorities have shown due concern to the provisions of physical resettlement, but along with this, they should have also given equal importance to the socio-cultural and ecological resettlement. It is their legal and moral responsibility to maintain a balance in the bureaucratic approach and the social service approach. This kind of balanced approach and efforts are inevitable for the quick adaptation and adjustment of the people to the new ecology and environment. As a result, they can reconstruct and lead, more or less, the same kind of socio-cultural and economic life even after the displacement.

The findings of this study pertaining to implementation of R and R provisions reveals that the livelihood problems of families resettled in the rehabilitation colonies are not being adequately addressed by the R and R authorities. The simple cash payment in the form of compensation to the affected families in lieu of acquisition of land and other immovable assets lost leads to the unplanned and wasteful use of money, which, in turn, leads to the impoverishment of the displaced people. This provision fails to restore the families’ livelihood after the resettlement in the RC.
The people belonging to agriculture and fishing communities in the rural coast are very much dependent upon the agricultural land and the common property resources like sea, forest, grazing fields etc. These natural factors play a critical role in the reconstruction of resettlers' livelihood systems. Therefore, the policy of land for land, sea for fishing, and also common property resource based resettlement and rehabilitation plans and programmes need to be pursued consistency by the R and R authorities. While providing such livelihood provisions, it is essential to take due care of the quality, quantity and physical proximity of livelihood sources and dwelling places of the resettlers.