VIII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study on the short distance displacement of shopkeepers and residential families from the immediate vicinity of the Golden Temple under the Galiara Project in the city of Amritsar was carried out with a purpose to examine and explore various dimensions of displacement and rehabilitation of the project affected people in the urban setting with specific features of its own.

The Galiara Project is not an isolated event. Rather, it is an important knot tied in the long chain of events. It could well be conjectured that had the state of affairs remained normal in Punjab, it would not have been possible for any government to dislocate such a large numbers from the vicinity of the Golden Temple in the name of ‘beautification’ and ‘redevelopment’ of the area. The problem of militancy in Punjab and its close connection with the Golden Temple in due course forced the government to conceive a project like Galiara which envisaged creating an open space around the temple so as to stop the misuse of a religious place at the hands of the militants. Some of the turning points in this regard have been discussed in detail in the first chapter.

The area of displacement under the Galiara Project represented the ‘core’ or ‘essence’ of the city. The social and business networks evolved in the area through time reflect rich accumulation of ‘social capital’. Therefore, the process of displacement and rehabilitation was examined and analysed in the backdrop of perspective of social capital as discussed by Pierre Bourdieu and Robert D. Putnam.

The Galiara Project has been prepared with the manifest purpose of de-congesting the localities in the immediate vicinity of the Golden Temple Complex. The official name of the project reads as: Project for Re-development of the area around the Golden Temple Complex, Amritsar. The project envisaged co-ordination of various activities in the redevelopment process. It intended to facilitate speedy formation and implementation of the scheme and rehabilitation of the displaced persons in a time bound framework.

The present study primarily dealt with the people uprooted by the Galiara Project which came as an aftermath to Operation Black Thunder in 1988.
However, the people were uprooted under different phases of the Galiara Project. In all, there were five phases. The first three phases were initiated in 1988 with the commencement of the project. The last two phases were implemented in parts under which Mochi Bazaar, Jain Building in Bazaar Dhobian and Chowk Ghanta Ghar Market were pulled down in 2003, 2006 and 2009 respectively. All the displaced persons (DPs) in the city of Amritsar under different phases of the Galiara Project except the oustees of Chowk Ghanta Ghar constituted the universe of the study. The Chowk Ghanta Ghar Market could not be included in the sample as it is case of very recent displacement. The research is descriptive in nature with the emphasis on the presence of the social capital that exists in any society. It is based on the interviews of 200 displaced persons by using random sampling with snowball technique. It (study) focuses on the lived experience of development and displacement at the micro levels and in concrete social settings.

The Galiara Project resulted in the displacement of the two major categories of people viz Tenants and Owners. The study is based on both primary and secondary data. The primary data has mainly been collected from 160 Tenants and 40 Owners through use of interview schedule. The Tenants were further classified as 132 commercial, 8 residential and 20 commercial-cum-residential, and Owners as 25 commercial, 3 residential and 12 commercial-cum-residential. The secondary data has been drawn from various government documents as well as private records like project reports, maps, sketches, official circulars, pamphlets, associations’ letters related to negotiations and correspondence with the project officials.

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

**Socio-economic profile**

The socio-economic profile of the displaced persons reveal that majority of the persons living in the immediate vicinity of the Golden Temple were Sikhs (68.5 per cent) followed by the Hindus (29.5 per cent) and Jains (2.0 per cent).

Persons of Arora (41.5 per cent) and Khatri (34.0 per cent) castes were in majority in terms of caste composition of the displaced. The presence of other castes like Brahmins (7.5 per cent), Aggarwal (4.5 per cent), Kamboj (2.5 per
cent) and Ravidasiya (7.5 per cent) was also noticed but Arora and Khatri were the dominant castes when it comes to having control over the traditional business. Thus, these middle rung castes continue to maintain their stronghold on the traditional business and commercial establishment of the Amritsar city. All the castes were found trading in different goods except Ravidasiyas who were invariably engaged in ‘dastkari’ i.e. handicraft work of making Punjabi Jutti and footwear business.

A very negligible presence of women (3.0 per cent) was noticed on the shops. It was mainly in form of a helping hand to their male counter-parts. Thus, the dominance of patriarchal structure remains paramount. Overwhelming majority of the respondents (92.5 per cent) was found leading a married life. However, the presence of unmarried (4.5 per cent) in the marriageable age group indicate trend towards increase in age at marriage.

Majority of the respondents were small businessmen (54.0 per cent) followed by middle businessmen (32.5 per cent) and big businessmen (6.5 per cent). In terms of educational attainment, majority of the respondents were matriculates (32.5 per cent) followed by the graduates (21.5 per cent). The increase in educational level with the improvement in economic position is noticed. However, the education levels reflect the hierarchical feature of the caste system where the upper and middle rung castes of Brahmin, Khatri and Arora have fared better than the lower caste of Ravidasiyas. On the whole, the data reflect better educational levels of Khatri and Arora castes.

The prevalence of Joint families (48.5 per cent) in majority of the cases indicates that the joint family structure and ethics were still popular. Ross (1973:14) in his work ‘Hindu Family in Urban Setting’ holds that one of the major reasons for ‘jointness’ is the succession of number of generations in the same locality, occupation and social class. However, the preference for large family size was found to be on decline. The settlement pattern revealed that sizeable proportion (25.5 per cent) had migrated from Pakistan at the time of partition of the country in 1947. Some of them represented cases of multiple-displacement as they were the victims of partition in 1947, the sufferers of the Operation Blue Star in 1984 and also oustees of the Galiara Project.
The impact of displacement on the religious behaviour of the oustees, in particular Sikhs, was visible as Gurdwara Shaheedan (25.5 per cent) took over the Golden Temple (22.5 per cent) as a preferred shrine for visits.

Neighbourhood preference for settlement hardly exhibits any striking tendency in terms of forming settlement enclosures on religious lines though the city had remained subjected to fundamentalist overtures during the thick of militancy.

Economic profile exhibits overwhelming majority (93.0 per cent) owned the house. Nearly one-third of the respondents possessed all the enlisted household/electronic gadgets and identification of almost half of the number of respondents as owners of two-wheelers largely corroborate with their status category as that of small businessmen.

**Displacement**

The surroundings of the Golden Temple represent first settlements of the town erected and re-erected through time. The area initially came up to serve pilgrims but with the gradual expansion of trade and commerce it assumed significance as that of a major trading centre. The prominent areas that came under the axe of displacement were; Bazaar Kathian, Bazaar Muniarrian, Bazaar Kaulsar, Gali Bagh Wali and parts of Chowk Darbar Sahib, Thara Sahib, Attamandi, Mochi Bazaar, Jain Buldings in Bazaar Dhobian and Chowk Ghanta Ghar Market. Thus, the surroundings of the Golden Temple largely comprised of commercial establishments. These establishments were mainly in the hands of small businessmen with the status as that of commercial tenants.

Almost all the bazaars and areas were sparsely dotted with residences. Mostly, the residences were age-old structures of multi-storey buildings where, in some cases, the ground floor was hired as commercial out-let by the traders to harness the business opportunities around the Golden Temple.

The different markets housed in these bazaars had strong business networks, social connectivity and existence of well-knit business associations to protect and promote the interest of its members. When confronted with the challenge of displacement, some of the association members re-organized and re-grouped to make virtue out of necessity as was noted in the case of Bazaar
Kathian in the previous chapters. Their efforts reflect effective mobilisation of social capital and new modes of social organization.

Displacement has changed the status of tenants into owners. Overwhelming majority of tenants in pre-displacement situation have become owners in the post-displacement phase. It broadly indicates that considerable majority of the respondents were able to sustain their changed tenurial status which implies that they were able to overcome the economic hardships unleashed by the displacement over a period of time. Some even said to have improved their economic standing in the post-displacement phase.

However, few oustees, in particular, from erstwhile Mochi Bazar became victim to the economic crisis triggered by the displacement phase. Thus, they were forced to pick up private jobs to sustain a living. The economic hardships in such cases have caused split in the Joint families.

Another significant change noticed in the post-displacement scenario was the near absence of commercial-cum-residential category. It has ceased to exist mainly due to spatial separation of business and residence at the new sites. In contrast, the bazaars and streets in the immediate vicinity of the Golden Temple though were famous for their brisk business but they also housed some multi-storey residences where the ground floor was used for commercial purposes.

In terms of assistance received by the oustees from the government, overwhelming majority (87.5 per cent) held that the government should have at least put up transportation arrangements in place to avoid inconvenience and delay. They also rued that the government did not carry any follow-up measures and washed off its hands once compensation was disbursed. They wished government should have identified problems associated with the new sites and possibly mitigated them on priority basis.

The oustees (37.0 per cent), however, upheld the crucial role played by the neighbours in providing support services during the phase of transition. These support services were mainly in the form of making the space available for dumping of commercial and household goods, taking care of children, women and elderly. Further, nearly one-third respondents, mostly tenants in the category of small businessmen, admitted to have received food, shelter and financial assistance in terms of loans from the relatives.
The Assosiations’ help to its members was mainly in non financial terms (61.5 per cent). Hectic parleys of the Assosiations of different markets have come to notice during the imminent displacement. Besides negotiating with the government on the issues of compensation and rehabilitation, the Assosiations also mobilised its social capital and worked out strategies for future course of action to advance its interest. As noted in pervious chapters, the formation of almost on the spot new assosiations in the face of challenges thrown up by the displacement demonstrates existence of robust norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness among the participating members. It represents a particularly productive form of ‘social capital’.

**Demolition and Eviction**

The properties under the Galiara Project were acquired in the five phases. Most of the traditional bazaars, streets and lanes were razed down in the first three phases at the time of initiation of the project in 1988. However, the project could not be carried out beyond 1996 after the completion of first three phases due to paucity of funds. But when the funds were made available the demolition drive resumed and properties falling under Mochi Bazaar, Jain Buildings and Chowk Ghanta Ghar were pulled down in the year 2003, 2006 and 2009 respectively.

The sudden announcement of the project left the prospective oustees in a state of shock and disbelief. The absence of credible information on the project made them suspicious about the real motive of the government. Even when the project was made public, the officials discouraged any meaningful participation of the prospective oustees or public in the matters associated with their eviction.

The land Acquisition Notice was served on the owners in a haste under the emergent clauses whereas, tenants came to know about the same through public announcements, newspapers and friends. Due to sudden eviction, majority of the oustees had to undergo several hardships. The whole process of transition turned out to be tragic one. It proved stressful and time consuming. The absence of adequate transportation arrangements added to their woes. More than two-third respondents suffered losses due to breakage and spoilage of their commercial and household goods in the process of shifting.
The oustees, in particular residential, reported adverse impact of displacement on the health of their family members. The studies of their children suffered on moving to a distant place. The increase in distance also caused some alteration in the social structure as it affected occasional or frequent visiting patterns among the relatives.

Absence of timely information on resettlement sites due to lack of coordination among the various project implementation agencies was another lapse that caused a sense of insecurity and unrest among the oustees. It led to the brief but stiff resistance against the government’s demolition drive.

It was mainly the representatives of the targeted markets who largely shaped the course of agitation. They were the ‘key-actors’ who effectively mobilised their social networks and resources to forge the collective action against their forcible eviction. Though variety of agitational methods were used by the protestors but it was performing of the Akhand Path that ultimately forced the government officials to retreat and suspend the demolition drive and invite the protesters to negotiations.

The initial phase of demonstrations witnessed collective resistance put up jointly by tenants and owners but this ‘togetherness’ could not be sustained for long as the interests of the prospective oustees were not homogeneous, the owners saw an opportunity in ‘compensation package’ to get rid of tenants who were occupying their prime properties for years by paying ‘peanuts’.

Irrespective of the religious affiliations, overwhelming majority (81.5 per cent) of the respondents believed ‘security considerations’ as the main reason or one of the reasons for execution of the Galiara Project. However, the oustees of phase IV and V point out ‘beautification’ as the motive behind their evictions and do not consider ‘security’ or ‘decongestion’ as a main reason for their displacement. Some of them do not approve of the manner in which beautification drive was being unleashed. They held that beautification should not be carried out at the cost of uprooting livelihood of others.

It is important to recall that the evictions during the phase IV and V were carried out under ‘normal’ circumstances and the oustees were psychologically prepared to part ways with their properties. Hence, their thrust was to secure alternative resettlement prior to eviction. The oustees, however, had to suffer tremendous strain and hardships when they were forcibly evicted by the project
officials amidst the presence of heavy security forces, ditch machines, cranes and roaring bulldozers. They watched helplessly when their belongings were forcibly thrown out in open on the roadside by the Project-hired-labourers.

The oustees of Mochi Bazaar were declared ‘illegal squatters’ by the project officials. Only the commercial oustees were offered alternative sites on the ‘compassionate grounds’ and the residential oustees were not provided any relief. The forcible eviction, thus, rendered them homeless for almost four months. This phase of ‘homelessness’ epitomises the harrowing experience that the oustees had to undergo under the Galiara Project.

In case of Jain Building of Bazaar Dhobian, the commercial oustees had to remain ‘siteless’ for nearly two years while most of the residential oustees did not opt for the flats offered to them at ‘reserve price’ as they largely belonged to labour class.

**Compensation and Rehabilitation**

Although tenants and owners were provided compensation in terms of cash as well as site allotment but majority (78.0 per cent) of the oustees opted for site allotment because they largely felt that cash compensation could be flittered away in non-productive tasks. The respondents who mostly favoured site allotment were tenants whereas the owners decided in favour of a combination of both cash as well as site allotment. The role of market associations was crucial in negotiating collective resettlement with the project officials. Collective resettlement as a response strategy proved quite effective in case of newly carved out markets in restoration of their erstwhile ‘character’ and ‘identity’ at the new sites. But tenants (62.0 per cent) largely did not consider the relief measures provided by the government as adequate given the losses they had to suffer at new sites mainly due to slow down of business activity.

The ‘Displacement Compensation’ was considered too meagre to meet cost of construction. Some believed the size of shops at new sites was quite small whereas others rued turning down of their compensation claims and dragging them to litigation course unnecessarily.

However, those (35.5 per cent) who considered the compensation or relief measures as adequate or more than adequate largely comprised of owners for whom the Galiara Project afforded an opportunity to fetch ‘reasonable’ compensation for their properties from the government which otherwise could
not have been possible due to disturbed circumstances and age-old occupancy of their properties by the tenants for paying paltry rent.

The role of the project officials was held accommodative (63.5 per cent) largely by the oustees of first three phases. Whereas, it was considered rigid and non co-operative (18.5 per cent) mostly in the cases were ever the delay occurred in disbursal of compensation and rehabilitation measures. The latter was largely true for the oustees of Jain Buildings. The oustees of Phase IV and V were also aghast at the different parameters adopted for compensation by the government in their case.

By and large (83.0 per cent) the resettlers continued to occupy the originally alloted sites and exercised their ‘human agency’ individually as well as collectively i.e. at the level of associations to improve the surroundings for better living and business prospects. The change of site, however, was reported in some cases mainly to overcome the locational disadvantages.

Similarly, some (28.0 per cent) respondents who could not sustain their pre-displacement occupations in the changed scenario opted for other occupations which they found more conducive to the new settings. But, majority (72.0 per cent) of the resettlers continued with their pre-displacement occupations though in many cases some adjustments or additions were made so as to be in tune with the changing needs of the customer and requirements of the new sites.

Social Reconstruction at the New Sites

The resettlers of Galiara Project had to face numerous problems at the highly underdeveloped new sites which made their task of economic and social reconstruction difficult. The locational change of commercial sites impacted the business adversely. The rehabilitation of families at a distance increased the ‘economic’ and ‘social’ cost in many cases but due to the short distance displacement they were somehow able to readjust in the new settings. The challenges encountered in reconstruction of a community living and restoration of a livelihood gave a fillip to the atmosphere of mutual co-operation at the new sites. The several initiatives by the various market associations exhibit that how the traditions of mutual participation among the shopkeepers heightened in the hour of crisis to resolve some of the common problems. These collective attempts gave impetus to their readjustment and rehabilitation process.
Associations as embodiments of social capital played a crucial role in social and economic reconstruction. They made use of their vast social networks for renegotiating the emergent problems. In some cases location disadvantage reduced the economic activity and created a situation of under-employment whereby acquired skills (cultural capital) remained under-utilized in the post-displacement phase. The situation of dastkari artisans of the erstwhile Mochi Bazaar is a case in point.

The major reason for expressing satisfaction (52.5 per cent) in socio-economic terms was the high goodwill attained by some of the markets through time. However, dissatisfied section pertained to the markets which have largely failed to pick up till date.

Almost two-third of the resettlers justified the idea or concept of the Galiara Project either to begin with or through time. However, some were very critical of the way, in which the project was being carried out in the name of beautification and decongestion. The fourth and the fifth phase of the Galiara Project come in for sharp criticism due to inordinate delay and inadequate rehabilitation measures. They also lamented the differences in rehabilitation parameters adopted in the various phases of the project.

Majority of the respondents did not desire to ‘go back’ to the area from where they were displaced for varied reasons. The most common reason cited was ‘no- displaced- again’. Others do not wish to be back in the surroundings because of security reasons.

**CONCLUSION**

Galiara Project is set apart from other displacement related projects due to its short distance displacement in urban setting. It is also unique in the sense that it displaced relatively better off section of the society mainly from the age-old commercial and residential sites located in the immediate vicinity of the world famous site and the sanctum sanctorum of Sikh religion namely the Golden Temple.

The initial phase of displacement exhibit ‘urgency’ and resemble to the case of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) due to state intervention for restoring peace and security in the area. However, when the terrorism receded and the conditions became ‘normal’, the project assumed the character of Development-
Induced-Displacement and Rehabilitation as the idea of beautification and redevelopment of the area gained primacy over the security concerns. Thus, the context in which displacement occurred in the later phase is markedly different from that of initial phase. The change in context i.e. ‘missing of urgency’ in the later phase broadly explains the adoption of different parameters by the implementation agencies as regards compensation and rehabilitation. Moreover, the project authorities largely confined their role to the award of compensation. They let themselves off the hook from the responsibility of ensuring restoration and improvement in income and living standard of the displaced persons. In all the phases, the thrust of the government was mainly on compensation and not on restoration or improvement of livelihood.

The Project demolished many historical markets and residential areas around the Golden Temple. The surroundings in fact some way represented first settlements of the town. The various markets and residential areas embodied rich accumulation of ‘social capital’ in terms of strong business and social networks cultivated and nurtured through generations of social interaction and adherence to norms of mutual reciprocity.

Not everyone impacted by the Galiara Project has the same view on the displacement. Some bemoan the way it distributed costs and benefits, to others it presented new hopes and opportunities. At times, some associations and groups negotiated the best way out of displacement circumstances and situation.

Displacement affected social fabric and the existing pattern of social organisation were renegotiated in the new settings. But the life-sustaining informal networks of mutual cooperation were not hit as hard as to cause social disarticulation. The impact of displacement induced disruption in ‘social capital’ is more visible in residential cases as compared to commercial ones. The dispersal affected the bonding between the wider kin relations to some extent. However, the overall tenability of core structural features of culture, like marriage, family and kinship networks with varying intensity in the post-displacement scenario can be explained mainly on account of short distance displacement.

Though most of the displaced persons had average human capital in terms of education but they had considerable social capital in the form of business acumen and social networks. Their hard work, investments through loan
borrowings, negotiating skills and their willingness to take calculated risks, all reflect their discursive capabilities as a response to new and unconducive environments. Thus, the various ‘coping up’ measures and response strategies employed by the displaced persons individually as well as collectively during imminent and post-displacement situation largely enabled them to sustain their changed tenurial status that is from tenants to that of owners. Displaced persons emerged as individuals, families and associations exercising their agency under difficult circumstances thrust upon them.

The effective use of negotiating skills, mobilization of social, cultural and physical capital and resettlement at a short distance without causing major disruptions in kinship zone helped in faster readjustment and social reconstruction at the new locales. Whereas, locational disadvantage, poor physical capital and feeble use of social and cultural capital coupled with government’s apathy explain persistence of ‘impoverishing conditions’ in few cases.

Thus, heterogeneity of the experience of displacement is broadly due to differential access to ‘forms of capital’ which in turn accounts for variation in the ‘agency’ exercised by the displaced persons mainly in the post-displacement scenario.

**Lessons from the Galiara Project**

**Short Distance Displacement:** Short distance displacement is a parameter worth consideration in any project entailing displacement in the urban settings. In case of the Galiara Project, short distance uprooting caused less social disruption in the lives and livelihoods of those displaced than if they had been resettled at distant location. Thus, a healthy practice is to limit the distance required for resettlement.

**Need for consultation and participation of Displaced Persons:** Lack of information sharing on the project led to suspicion and community resistance. Again, lack of consultation and participation of the displaced persons ruled out community support for the Galiara Project. Therefore, in order to diminish community resistance to the Project and build community support for it, wider involvement and co-operation of displaced persons is suggested as it is expected to produce more conducive environment for project implementation.
**Need for establishment of proper grievance redressal system:** In case of the Galiara Project, the hearing of grievances of displaced persons was based on the knee-jerk reaction. Most of the displaced persons faced tremendous hardships during imminent and post-displacement phase. The common grudge was that there was no one to hear them. They felt like refugees in their own country, at their own place. Therefore, it is suggested that proper grievance redressal system with a representative of the displaced persons in place should be ensured by the project authorities before proposing any work related to demolition of housing and commercial sites. Rather, it would be better if services of some local NGOs are also solicited for this purpose. This step can give a human touch to the rehabilitation efforts.

**Need for proper co-ordination of Project implementation agencies:** Successful implementation of the project requires proper co-ordination of various implementation agencies. How simple problems of co-ordination in timing can become far more complex and create anxiety and unrest among those displaced is highlighted in this study when Municipal Corporation failed to pass on vital information regarding vacant flats for rehabilitation prior to commencement of demolition work. This communication gap heightened the anxiety and sense of insecurity for those who could not manage self-resettlement at such a short notice. Therefore, for effective project implementation, careful co-ordination should be ensured by project authorities at all the stages of project implementation.

**Need for protection of Customary Rights:** People with customary rights but no formal legal standing constitutes a contentious category. The property rights in case of Ravidasiya Community were not firmly established. However, they were dwelling there for generations and also had sufficient corroborative evidence to validate the same. The project authorities should have also provided for residential assistance prior to demolition of their housing. This was also necessary to maintain parity in compensation offered in all the phases of the Galiara Project. Thus, demolition of housing in their case exacerbated the problem of homelessness.

**Resettlement in or near displacement area:** Resettling displaced persons in or near the affected area rather than to another area had its own advantages in the case of Galiara Project. Resettlement of Jain Building and Mochi Bazaar oustees
close to the original site is appropriate to an extent that it was aimed at ensuring access to existing clientele. However, a little caution in designing the newly constructed Guru Ravi Das Market should have made the prospects of the market brighter. Properly developed rehabilitation sites with locational advantage can speed up the pace of development, notes Gajarjan (1970: 58) while reviewing the rehabilitation plan in the study of Tungabhadra River Project.

**Choices in Compensation:** A mix of compensation that is offering cash as well as alternative sites was another good practice followed under the Galiara Project as it provided multiple options to meet the diverse preferences of the displaced persons. Choices offered to the commercially displaced in terms of selection of market site for collective resettlement is identified as yet another healthy practice because it proved instrumental to sustain the erstwhile ‘character’ and ‘identity’ of the market in some cases.

**Timely dispersal of compensation claims:** Quick dispersal of compensation claims is another healthy practice identified under the Galiara Project but it was confined to claims under the first three phases of the project. It, in a sense, empowered the displaced persons to make quick decisions regarding their resettlement plans and possibly mitigated some of the ill-effects that could have propped up in the absence of speedy dispersal of compensation. But, when the delay occurred in compensation under the last two phases, it caused lot of resentment and earned a bad name for the project. Therefore, it is suggested that project authorities should complete all the formalities and comply by all the procedures beforehand so that timely dispersal of compensation is ensured.

**Need for observing uniformity in providing compensation:** In the case of displaced persons of the later phase, the project authorities were less considerate to them than those of initial phase as measures like displacement compensation, construction subsidy and house rent allowance were not offered to them. The adoption of different parameters under the same project is a sure short way to invite undue criticism, community resentment and litigation. It is in the interest of every stake holder to avoid such unhealthy practices and follow uniform pattern to maintain parity as far as compensation principle is concerned.

**Need for ensuring Income Restoration:** Income restoration is an uphill task in any resettlement project. The resettlement project needs to consider the issue of economic rehabilitation seriously if it entails loss of income or livelihood.
Recreating opportunities for displaced persons in the changed surroundings is a strenuous process. However, attention to physical and socio-economic issues increases the prospects of satisfactory rehabilitation. A healthy practice is to avoid relocation which entails loss of employment or change of occupation.

Mere provision of a place for running business may not be adequate for income restoration as is indicated by the conditions of some markets in the case of Galiara Project which failed to pick up. Therefore, it is suggested that resettlement project should assess the feasibility of income restoration at relocation sites in advance.

It would be in the fitness of things to suggest that shopkeepers be provided with options to assess for themselves whether their existing business is restorable or some changes are required and thus, assistance may be directed accordingly. ‘Follow up’ measures are must to help out the resettlers to sustain their living and business conditions.

**Need to combine displaced persons own response strategies with Government measures:** The present study refers to many instances where the mobilisation of ‘social capital’ as a response strategy proved highly effective. Such initiatives and practices by Associations, groups and individuals need to be identified, encouraged and supported as they can be catalytic in expediting the process of social and economic recovery.

**Need for Restoring Public Infrastructure:** A temporary provision of Bus Service to the Golden Temple was appropriate step from the social perspective as it fostered the social solidarity with the host population. Provision for restoration of educational and public health facilities and other community based services is a must at resettlement sites to avoid hardships to the displaced persons and resistance to the project. It was observed that many displaced persons did not settle at the residential area provided under the different phases of the Galiara Project due to poorly developed public infrastructure at the resettlement sites. Therefore, it is suggested that there is a need to undertake surveys to assess the kind, extent and quality of existing public services in the resettlement areas and efforts be made to improve them so as to make resettlement sites acceptable to the displaced persons.