

# Changing pattern of the livelihood of the displaced households: A case study of Dhamra port project in Odisha

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## Abstract

**Objectives:** This study analyses the physically as well as economically displaced households due to development of Dhamra port project in Odisha in India and makes a comparative analysis of changes in the socio-economic condition of the displaced households living vicinity area of the port project.

**Method:** This study has made use of both primary and secondary data. The primary data has been collected based on stratified purposive sampling by using questionnaire method. Total sample of 140 households have been collected and categorised as the displaced households (DHs), government encroacher households (GEHs), private encroacher households (PEHs) and land loser households (LLHs).

**Findings:** The development of the port project has diversified the occupation of the project affected households. They have lost their traditional occupation of fishing. Their market dependence has increased and made the women unemployed. The rearing of the livestock has decreased and cost of cultivation of paddy has increased. In this way, they have become poorer by losing their major occupation of fishing.

**Improvement:** The people who are contributing the development process by losing their and livelihoods are becoming the vulnerable and victim of modern development paradigm. Therefore, before beginning of any development projects, the potential consequences have to be assessed properly and victims of the development projects should be compensated properly.

**Keyword:** Development, Displacement, Land, Livelihood, Port.

## 1. Introduction

The development of infrastructure, in recent years, has played a proactive role in the progress of an economy. To expedite the growth of the economy, it is indispensable to develop the transport sector which aids the smooth functioning of an economy providing a fillip to the productivity and efficiency of the economy. With the opening up of the economy and introduction of privatization in the year 1991, private players are playing a major role in the development process. The government is also assisting the private players, with the pursuit of accelerating development process and achieving higher growth and for this the rules and regulations are aligned accordingly to suit the needs of the private sector. The government also takes the sides of these project proponents instead of victims of development of the projects [1]. Displacement has become one of the prominent characteristic of the present paradigm of development process in this globalisation era. In the modern context, development degrades people's standard of living by threatening their livelihoods. Previously most displacement of the households was caused by dams and confined to the tribal areas but now its horizon has widespread to other development of infrastructure projects including projects like thermal power stations, mining, industries, highways, airports, ports, urban development and so on.

Earlier, major development projects which has induced large scale of displacement is categorised into industrial projects, multipurpose dam projects, thermal projects and coal mining projects. According to an official estimation, 4 lakh of people (nearly 80%) have been displaced by only dam projects alone in Odisha during 1950-1995 [2]. Similarly Hirakud Dam, one of the biggest dam in independent India constructed in Odisha, displaced more than 400,000 persons till mid 1990s, out of which 75% were dam oustees [3]. But now nature of displacement has switched to the development Port projects as well. The most significant and direct impact of the port project is the displacement of communities (mostly fisher folk) through land acquisition where community land rights exist.

For the development of the new modern port namely, Jawaharlal Nehru Port (JNP) in New Bombay across from the existing Bombay port, the government of Maharashtra acquired 2,584 ha land from 1829 families belonging to 12 villages. The major sources of these families were salt pan work, agriculture and fishing. In the port affected villages, 91% families owned land and lost all, but less than 33% got employment [4]. The development port projects such as Gangavaram Port in Andhra and Mundra in Gujarat have resulted displacement of people whose major livelihood is fishing. The development of Gangavaram port project has caused displacement of 3,600 families. When People, being dissatisfied with the compensation and rehabilitation package, protested, it led to firing on 27<sup>th</sup> March 2007 where one fisherman was killed and 12 others were injured. Gangavaram fishermen were denied access to their traditional fishing grounds, which is compelling them to move towards poor fishing grounds [5].

The Umargaon (Gujarat) harbour caused the displacement of fishing communities and affected the highly profitable traditional fishing and agriculture area. The fisher folk spearheaded wide scale protests under the slogan of *Kinara Bachao Sangharsh Samiti* (save coastline movement), in early 2000 under the auspices of port-protester and activist Pratap Save. Save died when he was allegedly beaten up by the police in custody on 7<sup>th</sup> April 2000 following a protest by villagers of the area against the survey work being carried out for the port in Umargaon. As a result of the protests, it led to the withdrawal of UNOCAL- the promoter. In the year 2007, five thousand protestors had marched to the Pondicherry bus stand demanding the cancellation of the deep water port anticipating the construction of ports and harbours would be affected, they will be displaced and their boats will be damaged and livelihoods would be jeopardised [6]. The Dhamra minor port has been developed by the Dhamra port Company Limited (DPCL), a joint venture of equal shares between L&T (Larsen and Toubro) and Tata Steel. In the process of the development of the port, there is regulatory captures of sidelining the existing rules and regulations and flouting of regulations ignoring the externalities stemming from the development of Dhamra port [1]. The development of Dhamra port has caused displacement of people from their livelihoods, land, and environment.

This study is organized as follows: section 1 explains the introduction whereas the section 2 deals with data sources, methodology and sampling design. Section 3 provides a prelude to the development of Dhamra port development and the nature of agreement for Dhamra port development. Section 4 describes the land acquisition and its resultant displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement of the people. Section 5 discusses the impact of the Dhamra port on livelihoods and other socio-economic issues of the displaced households. Section 6 is the conclusion.

## 2. Data sources, Methodology and Sampling design

The development of Dhamra port project has led the acquisition of land and displacement of the people from the land (physically) and livelihood (economically). Although, the ports will have various possible impacts, this study has restricted to the impact of the port project during the construction phase in terms of displacement of the people, loss of physical assets including agricultural land, the resettlement and rehabilitation packages as compensation, diversification of the livelihoods, other impacts on socio economic life of the people. This study examines the land acquisition for the location of the port project and its consequences of the displacement of households. It also explores the loss as well as changing pattern of the livelihood of the displaced households.

In order to understand the impact of the port project in the construction phase, the study has used data from primary as well as secondary sources. The primary data has been collected from 140 sample households by conducting a field survey from the village namely Dosinga, Oramal, Balisahi, Chianipahi, Sompatia who are staying close to the project. Of all the affected villages, Dosinga is the most affected village which entails 52 % of the displaced households of the port project. Although, the displacements of the people have taken place from 18 villages but lives of the Dosinga households have become more vulnerable compared to other villages. All the households from Dosinga village have been displaced by losing their agricultural as well as homestead land because this village was situated in close proximity to the location of the port. The 140 sample households have been chosen based on stratified purposive sampling and the structured questionnaires have been used to collect the data from the sample households.

These 140 sample households have been categorised as the displaced households (DHs), government encroacher households (GEHs) private encroacher households (PEHs) and land loser households (LLHs). First three categories of households are the displaced households and last category of households is land loser household. The secondary data has also been collected from the special land acquisition office located in the Bhadrak district, which deals specifically the land issues of the Dhamra port project.

### 3. Prelude to the Development of Dhamra Port Project

The Singapore-based ISPL (International Seaports Private Limited) signed a concession agreement with Government of Odisha on 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1998 to develop the port at Dhamra with world class infrastructure facilities on BOOST (Build, Own, Operate, Share and Transfer) basis. The Odisha government accorded formal rights to ISPL for its substantial expansion and development in the coastal district of Bhadrak. The period of concession from the official date of commencement is 34 years, after which the port reverts back to government ownership. The Dhamra Port Company Limited (DPCL) was formed in the year 1998 as a special purpose vehicle (SUV) for smooth implementation of the project. On May 5<sup>th</sup> 1999, ISPL signed a deed agreement, by which it has transferred all its rights and obligations to Dhamra Port Company Limited (DPCL) under the concession agreement for the implementation of the project. The Dhamra project was envisaged in late 1990s but it was delayed due to protests by different environmental groups of which the Greenpeace is primary. They protested against the project owing to the perceived threat to Olive Ridley turtle's habitat around the site. Since the project was plagued with delays in execution process, the two foreign companies, i.e. Precious Shipping of Thailand and Stevedoring Services of America left the consortium in 2002 leaving L&T (Larsen & Toubro) as the lone member of ISPL. However, in October 2004, Tata Steel signed an agreement with L&T to develop the port as 50:50 joint ventures through the Dhamra Port Company Limited (DPCL).

The Dhamra port is located in the Bhadrak district of Odisha between two major ports i.e. Haldia in north and Paradip in south (Figure 1). The master plan for the Dhamra Port provides for a total of 13 berths. In the first phase, Dhamra port is having two fully mechanised berths of around 700 m with capacity of 27 Million Tonnes Per Annum (MTPA) and 62 km rail line connecting Dhamra port with Bhadrak on the main Howrah-Chennai line. The Dhamra port is one of the deepest all weather seaports in India with a draught of 18 m which can handle cape size vessels up to 180 000 DWT. The construction activities of the port commenced in March 2007 and the port started its commercial operation during May 2011. However, L&T and Tata Steel, neither of which had experience in running ports sold their stakes to the Ahmedabad-based Adani Group for an enterprise valuation of ₹ 5,500 crores on June 22, 2014.

Figure 1. Location of Dhamra port



Source: [www.dhamraport.com](http://www.dhamraport.com)

The Dhamra port project in Odisha is expected to become the gateway of economic prosperity for the state as it has a significant locational advantage over its counterparts on the eastern coast. The mineral heartlands of the country (Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal) are in close proximity to Dhamra port and it will attract a number of small and large industries in the periphery, and in this way it will foster development of the region. A number of steel plants, thermal power plants and mineral based industries are located in these states and many more mineral based industries are coming up.

#### 4. Total land acquisition for construction of Dhamra port project

Most of the infrastructure projects require huge amount of land and Dhamra port project is not an exception to this. In India, land is generally acquired by the state for public purposes for any infrastructure project or any other industrial activities. The principal legislation that governs acquisition of land by the state is the Land Acquisition Act (LAA), 1894. This Land Acquisition Act, 1894 expresses the 'Doctrine of eminent domain' which vests power in the state to take possession of private land for public purpose. This coercive nature of taking over land is allowed by way of compensating persons who have legal entitlement over the land. There was delay in acquisition of land due to non-depositing of the cost of compensation by the developer of the port in 2000. As a result, land acquisition (LA) proceeding was lapsed and initiated again afresh during 2003-06. This led to extra expenditure of Rs. 30.86 crores when it was revised based on market value of land on the date of June 2005 to August 2005 and October-November 2007 against the market value of land on the date of February 2000 to November 2001. As a result, Government was deprived of earning revenue share of Rs. 99.26 crores [7].

The land for the Dhamra port project has also been acquired under this Land Acquisition Act (LAA), 1894, under which government can acquire any type of land for 'Public Purpose'. As this Act did not define the term public purpose, however, it has been interpreted as a purpose which is beneficial to the community and in which the general interest or the public interest of the community is preserved as opposed to the particular interest of individuals. However, in 1984, the LAA 1894 was amended; the Amended Act contains an inclusive definition of the term public purpose. Land is a valuable asset. The development of the Dhamra port project has acquired the agricultural land from the private citizens. The process of land acquisition was carried out by the Odisha Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation (IDCO) for the port project. The port project has acquired total 4330.77 acres of land from 74 villages under three Tahasils namely Chandbali Tahasil, Tihidi Tahasil and Bhadrak Tahasil. Of these three Tahasils, maximum amount of lands have been acquired from the Chandbali Tahasil and the Dhamra port comes under this Chandbali tahasil. This port has acquired the private land and government land. The details of total acquisition of land are mentioned in Table 1.

Table 1. Total land acquisition for Dhamra port project

Details of Government Land	Area (in acre)	Details of Private Land	Area (in acres)
First Phase	875.72	First phase	2094
Communal Land (Grazing & Burial)	101.22	Exchange of grazing and burial land	101.22
Second Phase Expansion	763.50	Second Phase Expansion	227.63
Total	1907.92	Total	2422.85

Source: Special Land Acquisition Office, Dhamra Port, Bhadrak

The Table 1 indicates that the government has acquired the 101.22 acres land for the port project which was used for grazing the cows and cremating the dead bodies. Again, the company has acquired same 101.22 acres of private agricultural lands from private individuals and earmarked for the same purpose.

##### 1. Displacement, Rehabilitation & Resettlement

It is very difficult to acquire land without displacing people especially in the habitation area. The acquisition of private land for the development of Dhamra port project has caused displacement of the people. Various development projects that involve displacement of the people come through the process of adopting the Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) policy. Dhamra port project has adopted the Orissa R&R policy, 2006 [8] to handle the rehabilitation activities of the project affected people and rewarding the compensation.

The Odisha R&R policy 2005 did not include the benefits of rehabilitation and resettlement to the linear project in which port is considered as linear project. But the R&R policy issued by the Revenue and Disaster management Department of Government of Odisha in 15<sup>th</sup> May, 2006 included the linear projects. Therefore, the Dhamra port project has extended the benefit the of R&R assistance to its displaced households as per the R&R policy, 2006. This policy considers Dhamra port project as linear project. The Dhamra Port has acquired land from 74 villages for railway corridor as well as construction of the port. This land acquisition has caused displacement of 389 households from 17 villages. These total 389 displaced households (DHs) include 39 private encroacher displaced households (PEDHs) from 5 villages, 31 government encroacher displaced households (GEDHs) from 8 villages and 319 displaced households who have legal entitlement over lands. The aggregate figure of the total displaced households and their R&R assistance due to the Dhamra port projects are outlined in Table 2.

Table 2. Category-wise total displaced household in Dhamra port project

Category	No. of Displaced Households	No. of Households received R&R assistance	No. of Households not received R&R assistance
Displaced Households	319	311	8
Private Encroachers	39	39	-
Government Encroachers	31	31	-
Grand Total:	389	311	8

Source: Special Land Acquisition Office, Dhamra Port, Bhadrak

Out of total 319 displaced families 167 households belong *Dosing* village alone. Out of 319 displaced households, 311 households have received the R&R assistance and the remaining eight persons have not yet received R&R assistance due to disputes. The displaced households land owners with legal entitlements have received ₹ 2.36 lakh per household as R&R assistance as per Odisha Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy, 2006. Every member above the age of 18 is considered as a separate family and eligible to get the assistance of ₹ 2.36 lakh. For instance, a son is considered as major if he is 18 years old and therefore eligible to get R&R assistance otherwise, he is called minor son. The identity cards have been issued to each displaced family for identifying the households as beneficiary of displaced households.

People came into category of private and government encroached households because most of the households are immigrants from West Bengal since last 100 years ago during the reign Kanika King in Odisha. When they came to that area they found that lands were open and vacant and therefore they amassed huge chunk of land. Some of the owners of the lands deputed some persons to take care of cultivation and allotted some amount of land for their stay. Although this person used to stay on that land but he did not have legal entitlement over the land but in the name of another private person. Such persons have come to be characterised as private encroachers. In some cases, some people purchased the land for constructing house and stayed in that land for a long time, but land was not registered in the buyer's name. The buyer had enough trust on the sellers of the land and mutual understanding existed among them in those communities. But when company came and found that they are staying in the land for which they do not have ownership and official record, the company declared such residents as private encroachers. The compensation amounts for the lands were given to the original owners of the lands who continued to possess the entitlement over the lands. So the so called 'private encroacher households' of this kind, became worse off not getting any R&R assistance except ex-gratia of Rs.1 lakh. But, the original owner of the land became the beneficiary of R&R assistance. Similarly, those people who were staying in the government land have been declared as government encroaches. Both private and government encroachers got compensation of ex-gratia ₹ 1 lakh as per Odisha R&R policy, 2006. All the encroached households have accepted the compensation even though initially they were hesitant to accept. Later some of them realised that they are staying in government land or private land and they do not have any right to get any benefits. They first accepted whatever was coming of its own accord and then demanded for equal benefits and treatment on par with the displaced households. After they were evicted from the government land, they are again staying in the government land. But the difference is that they used to pay tax earlier, but after they have been evicted, they are not paying the tax.

## 2. Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) Package

Total size of 140 sample households out of total population of 389 displaced households have been the subject matter of analysis in this section. The compensation packages of 140 sample households are given Table 3. The Table 3 depicts that two out of 80 displaced households and three out of 20 government households have not received the R&R assistance. The reason is that the displaced households as well as government encroacher households considered the compensation ₹ 2.36 lakh and ex-gratia of ₹ 1 lakh as very meagre. The displaced households are demanding the compensation to be much higher than the ₹ 2.36 lakh and the government encroacher households are demanding ₹ 2.36 lakh of assistance on par with the displaced households who have legal entitlement over land. However, all the private encroacher households have received the compensation of ex-gratia of ₹ 1 lakh. The study has taken into account of both displaced households and land loser households to examine the amount of land lost for the project. Out of collected samples of 80 displaced households, 23 households have lost only homestead land and rest 57 households have lost both homestead land and agricultural lands. The amount of land lost by both displaced households and land loser households for the development of the port project is mentioned in Table 4.

Table 3. Compensation of R&R assistance of sample households

Category of sample Households	Total Sample Households	R&R Assistance Received	R&R Assistance not Received
Displaced Households	80	78	2
Land Loser	20	20	-
Government Encroachers	20	17	3
Private Encroachers	20	20	-
Total	140	135	5

Source: Field Survey

The Table 4 indicates that around 52 (65%) displaced households have lost land within range of 0-1 acre of homestead land and only 3 displaced households have lost more than 5 acres of agricultural land. On the other hand, 12 households out of 20 land loser households have lost land within the range of 0-1 acre of land. By and large, the maximum amount of displaced and land loser households lost less than one acre of land. Since the displaced and land loser households have the legal entitlement over the land, they have received the R&R assistance for the loss of agricultural land. The sizes of land holding before and after the location of the port are presented in Table 5. The Table 5 indicates size of land holding has shrunk significantly for both the displaced households and land loser households after location of the port. The landless for the displaced household means they did not have any more agriculture land. Total seven (8.75%) displaced households were landless before the location of the port and this landless households increased to 20 (25%) after the location of the port project. There is a deceleration in the amount of land holding of the displaced households of the ranges of 1-3 acre and 3-5 acre after location of the port compared to before. The number of displaced households of land holding of more than 5 acres of land has decreased from 8 to 3. These 3 households have purchased the land in the distance place (in other Panchayat) with their available compensation amount. It was not possible for them to purchase the same amount of land surrounding the Dhamra port project with their given compensation because land price already started inflating in that area due to the location of the port project. In case of land loser household, there was no landless household before the location of the project. But after the location of the port, 4 land loser households have become landless. The size of land holding has decreased for the land loser of range of 1-3 acre and 3-5 acre. The land loser households responded that the company the company purchased the land of the Dosinga village with meagre compensation i.e. ₹ 1 lakh per acre but after one month gap it purchased at ₹ 6 lakh from the neighbouring villages.

Table 4. Amount of land sacrificed for the Dhamra port project

Category of Land	> 1 acre	1-3 acres	3-5 acres	> 5 acre
Displaced Households				
Homestead land	52	23	5	0
Agricultural land	28	17	9	3
Land Loser Households				
Agricultural land	12	5	3	

Source: Field Survey



Table 5. Size of land holding before and after the location of the port

Status of Displacement	Landless	Less than 1 acre	1-3 acres	3-5acres	More than 5 acres
Displaced Households					
Before displacement	7(8.75)	22(27.5)	28(35)	15 (18.75)	8(10)
After Displacement	20(25)	25 (31.25)	22(27.5)	10 (12.5)	3 (3.75)
Land Loser Households					
Before displacement	-	8(40)	8(40)	3(15)	1( 5)
After Displacement	4 (20)	8(40)	6(30)	2(10)	-

Source: Field Survey

## 5. Analysis of socio-economic condition of the sample households

Apart from the impacts of location of the port on various project affected people, it has several other direct and indirect impacts which have affected the socio-economic life of the people in local area as well.

### 1. Scarcity of common property resources

The coastal people's livelihoods are largely dependent upon the common property resources. The port has taken over the common property resources such as burial ground, grazing land, playground, forest land and therefore created scarcity of such resources. Before the location of the port project, the livestock such as cows, oxen, goats etc., are allowed to graze on community resources freely and they move towards the free area of seashore for grazing. Total 20.69 acres of grazing land and burial land have been taken away by the company [9]. After these lands were acquired, the company fenced it; forest lands have become areas of restricted entry and grazing or other public use is now construed as trespassing. So, in the absence of grazing land people are rearing less livestock in their own homestead land and feed them purchasing fodder from the market which has become expensive for them. They purchase around ₹ 400 fodders per month per two cows. Similarly with regard to the burial land, people used to bury the dead body in the river bank. After acquisition of burial ground people are forced to bury the dead bodies in their homestead land or drifted out to the sea through the distance route without any restriction. Sometimes, they are making strike for the burial land and protesting against port authority by throwing the dead cow in front of gate of the port. Since there is not much open or free space for the animals, they are rearing less number of livestock in the small piece of purchased homestead land. As a result, the earning from rearing such livestock has decreased.

### 2. Increasing dependence on the market

Prior to the construction of the port, people used to depend less on the market, especially to meet their food requirements as compared to the current situation. They had ponds and easy access to sea for consumption of fish but now, the shortcut route to access sea has been blocked. At present the households are not having pond. They used to grow vegetable in their homestead land. Now, that opportunity has been ceased because they have purchased a small piece of land for habitation purpose only where growing vegetable or digging pond is not possible. In this way people's dependence on market has become greater than before for purchasing vegetable and fish. They also used to collect firewood for fuel purpose from the forest land through short route which has been occupied and blocked by the company.

### 3. Impact of location of the port on occupational diversification

Most of the displaced households and other victims of land acquisition are from fishing community. After the initiation of the port project their sources of livelihoods have been affected severely. Therefore, they have diversified from fishing as a principal occupation to other occupations such as cultivation, petty business, and agriculture labour and so on. Only a small portion of people are still continuing their old occupation of fishing. How have the occupations of the sample households been affected and pattern of their occupation been changed after port came into place is given in Table 6.

Table 6. Change in occupation of the sample households

Before Displacement \ After Displacement		Agriculture Labourer and fishing	Agriculture Labourer	Fishing	Cultivation	Working in DPCL	Others
Agriculture Labourer and fishing	53 (37.86)	9	14	10	2	12	6
Agriculture Labourer	23 (16.43)	7	5			8	3
Fishing	33 (23.57)	7	3	8		12	3
Cultivation	16 (11.43)	4	1	0	5	6	
Working in DPCL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	15 (10.71)	3			4	6	2
Total	140 (100)	30 (21.43)	23 (16.43)	18 (12.86)	11(7.86)	44 (31.43)	14 (10)

Source: Field Survey

The Table 6 shows the change in sources of livelihood of the displaced householders. Out of total 140 sample households prior to the construction of the port, 33 (23.57%) households were engaged in fishing and aftermath of construction of the port, this number has declined to 18 (12.86%) households. Since the seashore land and the forest lands which were used for drying fishes have been acquired by the company and people are not allowed to enter into that occupied area, it becomes difficult to access the sea and the coast to catch fish and dry it. This has led the fishing occupation unviable as a consequence to the establishment of the port. The Table 6 suggests that 53 (37.86%) of householders' major sources of livelihood were y livelihoods of agriculture labour and fishing, but after development of the port, 21.43% households are continuing with both occupations. After port came into existence, (31.43%) 44 households have been working in the construction activities of the port. It is important to note that out of these 44 people working in the DPCL, 30 households belong to displaced households and 6 households belong to land loser households and rest 6 people belong to both government and private encroacher households. These 6 encroached households are working in the construction activities on the daily wage basis through the contractor. However, the employment of land losers and displaced households have been formally employed and acknowledged by the company.

Since most of the fertile agricultural lands have been acquired by the company, the number of people who used to engage in cultivation as their principal occupation has decreased from 16 households to 11 households. The company has acquired a large chunk of agricultural land and very less amount of lands are left with the cultivators for cultivation. Those who are continuing the cultivation are finding it unprofitable. The company is using light in its premises at night as results insects of different kinds getting attracted to light are entering into paddy field and spoiling the crops. The cost of production is getting escalated to use pesticide in order to prevent the insect from spoiling the paddy crop. This is one of the factors that have forced people to diversify their occupation without finding any other alternative. Besides this, 10% of households have been engaged in different kinds of occupations to earn their livelihoods including blacksmith, stitching the nets, opening shops in the markets, doing business and selling betel leaves from market to market and villages to villages. Some people are finding as new source of livelihood, opening shops and doing business. Two displaced sample households have opened shops.

In the development of port there is a loss of both agricultural and homestead lands, immovable income generating assets (buildings, trees, ponds etc.) by non-market means from non-capitalists to potentially capitalist classes with state mediation. It results the separation of independent peasants and fishermen from their means of production (land and fishing), and disable the people to reproduce themselves except selling their labour-power. This has been conceptualised as primitive accumulation. This act is a precondition of capitalism and thus is called 'primitive' in the sense that it necessarily comes before the creation of the capital-relation between capital and labour. The transformation of these dispossessed producers into wage labourers in the capitalist system depends only on the presence of an appropriate structure and modality of power. It is in the market that means of labour are purchased with money. So it is capitalisation of the already existing means of labour rather than creation of new capital [10].



#### 4. Impact on the fishermen

This location of the port has significantly affected the fishermen of the region. As the residents of coastal area, the main occupation of the people in this area was fishing. Before location of the port the coastal area was open and vacant and therefore, women and children and other family members had easy access to the sea and in this way they were earning their livelihood. Generally, the women in the fishing communities are considered as earning member of the households. They earn money by catching fish in nearby shore. With the location of the port, the company acquired the land and constructed the cement wall both side of the port with such a height that nobody can enter into port occupied area. This area was being used for drying the fishes, for grazing the cows, collecting the firewood and docking the boats. When entry into coastal belt have been restricted, the women and children engaged in fishing are rendered unemployed. When fishing ground was close to the residence of the fishermen, women used to earn at least ₹ 150 to ₹ 200 per day. Now, since they are docking their boat three kms away women earning has stopped because it is becoming awkward for them to go to a long way for fishing and drying the fishes. The port authority has not taken any initiative for the employment of these women. Instead of reaping benefits from the development of the port, they are becoming unemployed.

This has made the fishermen to give up the fishing occupation and sell their boats. Now, fishing is not possible in this area anymore because the company is doing dredging activities, fishes are not staying in that area. That area has been dug so much that fishing nets are touching the bottom part and therefore fishes are sneaking out. Those who have to do fishing they have to go to a distance place to catch fish which is time consuming and risk involving. As a result, the households are selling their boat and giving up the occupation of fishing. Those who have not sold their boats and still continuing the fishing they dock their boat in another place called *talchua* which is three kms distance from their residence. In docking their boat they are having fear in the back of their mind that somebody may remove the anchor and drift the boats.

#### 6. Conclusion

The location of Dhamra port has affected the local households and their socio-economic life. Even though Dhamra port comes in the ambit of non-major port but its function and impacts are seen as major. This practice of acquiring land and handing over to project proponent has turned 'land into capital and people into labour'. It has reduced the access of many displaced households and fishermen to an independent means of livelihood. This makes them dependent on wage work at some distance from their original homelands. This larger process is frequently referred as accumulation by dispossession or accumulation by encroachment, and the rapid intensification of such process has been the basic feature of India's economy after 1991. Accumulation by dispossession is a generalization of Marx's concept of 'primitive accumulation' under which pre-existing assets are assembled and put into circulation as capital.

The development of the port has diversified the occupation of the local people. This project has become detrimental to the project affected people especially displaced households and fishermen who have lost their agricultural as well as homestead land at very low and meagre compensation. Although the development projects like Dhamra port project contributes to the progress of the nation in one hand but has become detrimental to the livelihoods of the fishermen and displaced people. The compensation amount was quite insufficient to purchase same quantity of land with increase in price of the land in the surrounding area. The establishment of the port has affected adversely all classes of people regardless of whether somebody is beneficiary of its development or not. The establishment of port has deprived the fishermen to give up their traditional occupation of fishing. Apart from the livelihood of the people, the port has caused the decrease in the production of paddy of the land close to the port area because of insects coming from the lights used by the port at night. The location of the port has made the local people bereft of grazing land burial land. Therefore, is it a genuine development for the local project affected people remains an unsettle question. It raises the question that in the one hand the policy makers' emphasis on the inclusiveness of the economic growth but could it be inclusive by excluding a portion of the people who are contributing to the development of the project by sacrificing their land and livelihood.

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