

Settlement Dynamics and Livelihood Challenges: A Study of the Refugees-turned-Settlers in the Neighbourhood of the Jarawa Community in the Andaman Islands

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ABSTRACT: The resettlement of refugees from East Pakistan in the Andaman Islands after independence marked a significant turning point in the region's history, aimed at alleviating labour shortages and optimizing agricultural land use of the island. However, this initiative brought about intricate socio-economic and environmental changes, particularly concerning the interactions between the settlers and the neighbouring indigenous Jarawa community in the southern and middle Andaman. This study churns out the historical settlement patterns and contemporary livelihood obstacles faced by refugees who have transitioned into settlers in the Andaman Islands. It reveals a stark contrast in development initiatives, with the settlers facing land fragmentation and uncertain prospects, while Jarawa-centric policies are tailored to their needs. The study also highlights settlers' psychological pressures, including concerns about future generations' prospects amid limited development plans. Despite some economic improvements, settlers encounter challenges in land sustainability and resource management, emphasizing the necessity for more comprehensive and inclusive development policies. The findings also underscore the necessity for balanced development policies that prioritize the sustainability and well-being of both settler and indigenous Jarawa community.

INTRODUCTION

The 'settlers' of the Andaman archipelago do not have any history there before 1949, except for very few settlements for the Local-borns, Mophlas, Bhandus, Karens and others, as the first batch of the refugees from East Pakistan arrived only that year as part of a rehabilitation plan for refugees bearing wounds of the partition of the country. According to government sources, after the independence of India

in 1947, the government faced the problem of settling the influx of people on the mainland, at the same time, the Andaman Islands were suffering from a shortage of labourers for the exploitation of natural resources and to make use of agricultural land. The displaced agricultural people of then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) provided a good option, so colonising the islands emerged (Andaman Island District Administration – history - <http://andamandt.nic.in/history.htm>). 'In reality, the impetus for taking refugees to these remote Islands came from the administrators of the Andaman Islands whose plans of developing

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the Islands had hit a road block due to unavailability of labour' (Sen, 2017).

They were settled, as per the development plan of the Andaman Administration, in a place entirely different from their imagination of future livelihood and neighbours, the Jarawas, the son of the soil. Naturally, the basic tenet of the development initiative consisting of policy-level initiative and ground-level implementation is fundamentally different for the Jarawas and their neighbouring settlers.

For their living, the settlers had to welcome and accept the welfare-based approach of the resettlement. At that time, the right-based approach to the development initiative was a far cry. Though, ideally, the policy-level initiative should have been based on thorough research and ground-level inputs before implementation, which should be amended at regular intervals after assessing the inputs coming out of the impacts of the ground-level implementation of those policies. In this case, the policy-level initiative was not meant primarily for the cause of the development of the settlers. They were engrafted in developing the island and became integral parts of that returned development paradigm. However, for Jarawa, the development plan was framed considering their requirements.

For the refugees, the journey terminated in the islands had begun in their native villages in East Bengal. The first- ever batch to be taken to the Andaman was allotted abandoned fields, essentially ready for cultivation. Later batches of refugees were either put to work immediately in clearing land or housed in temporary camps while they awaited land to be cleaned by the Forest Department. The camps consisted of long two-storied barracks built of bamboo, cane and leaves, divided into ten rooms (Biswas, 1994). The vast majority of refugee families lived in such camps for months—waiting for the local authorities to disburse the lands promised to them. Years of struggle, they were followed against the jungle, wild animals and the remote settlements' isolation to carve out sedentary agricultural life. They did not have the faintest idea that they would be settled in the areas that happened to be feeding off the age-old Jarawas.

Issues under the objectives: This study to look into the issues of development and sustainability at

representative locations in Indian peasant and the tribal contexts thereon had been carried out as a part of the National Project 'Development and Sustainability' by the Anthropological Survey of India. This study in selected villages of Andaman is one of them. The study examines three narratives on development and sustainability: the narratives of the state, community and civil society. The contentions of each of these narratives are juxtaposed in our anthropological enquiry. Based on the field investigation, it has been tried to assess the relationship between development and sustainability to arrive at a comparative picture. The study also tried to look into the current standard of living of the settlers residing as a neighbour of Jarawa through a consumer expenditure approach.

All human beings have to live their life. Irrespective of their situations, the struggle to meet their necessities is central to human survival. As regards ensuring that everyone meets their basic minimum needs, the role of the state and society comes into play. Naturally, the question of social development comes in.

The success of a society is linked to the well-being of every citizen. Social development is about improving the well-being of every individual in society so that they can reach their full potential. It is about putting people at the centre of development, meaning a commitment that development processes need to benefit people, particularly people with low incomes. It is also about recognising people and how they interact in groups and society, the norms facilitating such interaction and shaping development processes. Against this backdrop, it has been tried to study the settlers' community, which resides as a neighbour of the Jarawa, the hunting and gathering community.

METHODOLOGY

Area and Selection of Villages

The study was conducted among the Jarawa and neighbouring settler communities of the Middle and South Andaman areas. Households were selected following a random sampling method. According to the buffer zone notification 2013, 30 fringe areas/villages are contiguous to the Jarawa reserve. Among these, three fringe villages were selected for the study.

These are villages that have contact and bartering relations with the Jarawa. These villages are Phooltala and Bamboo Tikrey in the Middle Andaman and Tirur in South Andaman. Among these villages, Phooltala and Bamboo Tikrey come under Kadamtala (Revenue Village).

Andaman Islands, the Government of India initiated a programme to rehabilitate the displaced persons from the then east Pakistan in the Andaman Islands immediately after independence. Initially, it was estimated that 5000 refugee families could be settled. About 4164 people (931 families) were settled from 1949 to 1955 in the vicinity of Jarawa territory (Table 1).

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Under the scheme of overall development of the

TABLE 1
Year-wise rehabilitation programme in South Andaman

Year	Number of villages established	Number of families rehabilitated	Population settled	The area allotted for paddy cultivation(acres)
1949	6	202	830	1530
1950	10	265	1165	1765
1951	4	114	554	625
1952	8	123	595	789
1953	-	-	-	-
1954	3	97	400	575
1955	5	130	620	735
Total	36	931	4164	6019

Source: Rehabilitation in South Andaman, unpublished report of Andaman Administration (1956)

In the first batch, 202 families were rehabilitated in March 1949 and they are settled in a liner fashion, mainly close to the road at the Tusnabad–Manpur-Colinpur-Temple Myo- Herbatabad-Tirur areas of South Andaman at the edge of *Jarawa* territory. Similarly, on the other hand, about 1397 families were

settled around the *Jarawa* territory in Middle Andaman from 1953 to 1959 (Table 2). Altogether during the years 1949 and 1959, 68 villages of the refugees consisting of 2328 families having a total population of 10,018 individuals got their rehabilitation in the South and Middle Andaman Islands.

TABLE 2
Year-wise rehabilitation programme in Middle Andaman

Year	Number of villages established	Number of families rehabilitated	Population settled	The area allotted for paddy cultivation(acres)
1953	3	198	812	1439
1954	12	438	1810	1905
1955	7	264	1157	1725
1956	8	400	1729	1884
1957	-	-	-	-
1958	1	88	807	400
1959	1	9	39	45
Total	32	1397	5854	7398

Source: Rehabilitation in South Andaman, unpublished report of Andaman Administration (1961)

The first batch of 202 families was rehabilitated in March 1949. Each rehabilitee family was provided with certain facilities and grants. They were given an ex-gratia grant of Rs. 1,050/- and a recoverable loan of Rs. 1,730; apart from that, a total of 10 acres of land, of which five acres were for paddy land and five-acre hilly land for horticulture (Sen, 2017). In addition to

this land, each family was given some homestead to construct houses and other uses. During a span of seven years from 1949 to 1955, overall, 931 families were rehabilitated in different villages of South Andaman like Hamfregunj, Herbertabad, Guptapara, Wimberlygunj and Shoal Bay. Notably, all these villages are contiguous to the Jarawa territory.

Massive forest coverage in and around Jarawa territory was cleared to provide land to the settlers. It was proposed that 10 acres of land (5-acre plain paddy land and 5 acres of hilly land) be allotted to each family settled under the agriculturist scheme. About 1,42,920

acres of land in and around the Jarawa territory were cleared and allotted in 1949 for the refugees mentioned above in the rehabilitation scheme (Sekhsaria and Pandya, 2012) (Table 3).

TABLE 3
Assessment of land available for allotment in Great Andaman in 1949 (in acres)

Name of Island	Flat land for Paddy	Sloping land for terraced paddy	Grazing & Garden land	Land for coconut farming	Total
North Andaman	7490	13500	14290	4430	39710
Middle Andaman	25305	28600	13600	4525	72030
Baratang	2160	7500	5600	2040	17300
South Andaman	3100	5550	4200	1300	14150
Total	37785	55150	37690	12295	142920

Source: Dhingra (2005)

It is evident that the Jarawa did not know of it. They felt insecure in their homeland when refugees from East Bengal and other settlers settled in adjoining areas in 1949 under the Government of India's refugee rehabilitation programme. The Government built basic infrastructural facilities like roads, water supply, electricity connection and other infrastructure infrastructural facilities in the area. The result of that has been reflected in the gradual reduction of their territory and as well as to their resource bases.

History of Settlement of the Settlers

For the refugees, the journey terminated in the islands had begun in their native villages in East Bengal, and years of struggle followed, against the jungle, wild animals and the isolation of the remote settlements, to carve out sedentary agricultural life. The first-ever batch to be taken to the Andaman was allotted abandoned fields, essentially ready for cultivation. Later batches of refugees were either put to work immediately in clearing land or housed in temporary camps while they awaited land to be cleaned by the Forest Department. The camps consisted of long two-storied barracks built of bamboo, cane and leaves, divided into ten rooms. The vast majority of refugee families lived in such camps for months—waiting for the local authorities to disburse the lands promised to them.

It was decided that each settled family would be provided with 10 acres of land (5 acres of plain land for paddy cultivation and 5 acres of hilly land for plantation) and an ex-gratia grant in cash. In May

1953, another batch of 198 families was rehabilitated in the Rangat Valley of Middle Andaman. Within ten years, i.e. from 1949 to 1959, 2328 families with a population of about 10018 were rehabilitated in 68 South and Middle Andaman villages. The gradual increase in the population of refugees and others put more and more pressure on land resulting in encroachment of the fringe area of Jarawa Tribal Reserve territory, creating a situation of perennial competition and conflict over the same set of resources.

BEGINNING THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS

All the refugees resettled in the Andaman Islands called themselves 'settlers'. Specific details of their settlement process loomed large in their accounts, suggesting that a settler identity had largely overwritten their trauma of displacement from eastern Pakistan. They have been given some land in different parts of South, Middle and North Andaman. According to the Government scheme, the land was categorized into the following types:

1. Flat land for paddy cultivation.
2. Terraced land for paddy cultivation.
3. Homestead, grazing land and land for growing fruits and vegetables.
4. Land for coconut and areca nut plantation.

Due to certain special features of this area, like good soil quality, abundant rainfall and perennial sources of fresh water, more settlers were attracted to this area resulting wide increase in the population.

Initially, in the course of the rehabilitation programme, some parts of South Andaman were chosen for communication facilities and proximity to the headquarters, Port Blair. The settler's families were provided with an ex-gratia grant of Rs.1050/-, a recoverable loan of Rs.1730/- and a total of 10 acres of land (5 acres of plain land and 5 acres of hilly land) per family (Sinha, 1952). In addition to the above mentioned land, each family was provided with 5 acres of land for homestead and other uses. From 1949 to 1955, 931 families were resettled in various South Andaman villages. In the same process, with some difference in the amount of money provided in Middle Andaman, as many as 1397 families were resettled.

NEW LIVELIHOOD

In the initial days of rehabilitation, the settlers were primarily involved in agricultural activities. In addition, some of them also worked as agricultural labourers as a secondary source of income. A few of them got employed as wage labourers in the forest department. The authority did not consider allotting any land to some of the other migrants who reached Andaman unbesought for their livelihood, engaged in carpentry work with wood and cane, and engaged as wage labourers. A few of them started exploiting the natural resources of the surrounding forest areas commercially. This tendency is observed to be increased over time as a direct consequence of the increase in population. Initially, only jobless and landless persons entered the forest to maintain their livelihood. However, later on, the people with land and other means of livelihood realized that they could get high returns from forest-based activities and started to venture into those forest-based activities. Even the cultivators in their time entered the forest either for hunting or collecting non-timber forest produce. Here it may be observed the range of strategies refugees employ to adjust to their new lives, which includes reliance on familial ones and adoption of new skills, such as hunting and shifts in diet to include deer.

At the time of settlement, the amount of land (15 Acres) was allocated to the settlers batch who first came to that area. After that, only the Phooltala area was developed for resettlement for some families known as the "Badti Family" (28 families). Over the

period, the population has increased, and the number of families also increased, and in that area, agriculture is the only means of livelihood. Naturally, the amount of land per family now has become significantly less. Later on, fishing has become another source of income. However, since the Jarawa area extends up to 3 km in the sea, fishing for commercial purposes in and around the Jarawa area is limited. Now many people are compelled to work as daily wage labourers. At the same time, a few among them derive their livelihoods from resources obtained from the forest and sea, which in most cases, are illegally procured. Now people are less interested in growing paddy mainly because the cost of paddy production per unit is higher than the price of rice, they get from Public Distribution System (PDS). As such, there is a shift in agricultural practices. Now people are more interested in growing areca nuts and vegetables instead of rice as nuts and vegetables fetch more profits than paddy production.

Present Livelihood Issues

The settlers are traditionally experts in various agricultural activities and, in some cases fishing in inland water. However, their expertise was limited to agriculture-related activities in the plain and fertile land of Bengal, where the rainy season was not generally detrimental for cultivation. Growing crops, vegetables and fruits in the alluvial soil of Bengal were much more effortless. However, it took some time for them to adjust to the Andaman Islands, which have different climatic conditions, terrain and soil types. In Andaman now, paddy is the main crop in agriculture. Besides paddy, they also grow some vegetables in high demand in Andaman. However, their interest in cultivating paddy is declining due to higher production costs than the price they pay to get the rice from the PDS outlets. They also rear cattle and goats, along with some small ventures in poultry. Their main thrust of activity for livelihood has now been turned to horticulture. Locally they called it *Bagicha* (garden). The garden is prepared on undulating hills wherein they plant coconut and areca nut saplings. These two cash crops are now more popular than other agricultural produce for their profitability.

Nevertheless, this profession is for the people who possess the land. A sizeable number of people

have no option other than daily wage labour. A tiny section of the settlers maintains their livelihood through employment in the service sector, self-employment and fishing.

TABLE 4
Distribution of population by primary source of income

Primary Source of Income Village	Quantum of Paddy land (acre)							Total
	Nil	<1	1.1-3.0	3.1-5.0	>5	Total		
Bamboo Tikrey	42.9%	9.5%	19.0%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%		
Phooltala	27.6%	6.9%	55.2%	10.3%	0.0%	100.0%		
Tirur	75.0%	2.5%	12.5%	5.0%	5.0%	100.0%		
Total	52.2%	5.6%	27.8%	8.9%	5.6%	100.0%		

Source: Field Survey

The distribution of the population by the primary source of income has been shown in Table 4. It shows that 44.5 per cent (agriculture 17.8 per cent and horticulture 26.7 per cent) of the population earn their livelihood from the land. A significant portion of the population, i.e., 34.4 per cent, depends on earning from the daily labour.

The next-highest portion of the population, estimated as 8.9 per cent, is engaged in their most coveted profession, i.e. service. Here it can be said that the ambition of most eligible persons is to be engaged in service and, more specifically, in government service. Under the self-employed category, including fishing, comes to 8.8 per cent. It may be pertinent to note here that the settler's community under reference comes from a purely agriculturist community of the plain land of East Pakistan, which did not have the knowledge to deal with undulating terrain for agriculture or horticulture. Moreover, they never faced the sea and the weather

and ambience of the coastal area. Naturally, they were not acquainted with fishing in the sea. Over the period, some of them braved to choose the fishing profession. It is also evident that the number of persons engaged in agriculture and horticulture seems to be more than required, which may remind the situation of disguised unemployment. The overall situation indicates that with 34.4 per cent of daily labour and disguised unemployment, the pressure on land and forest is increasing and will be increased more if the proper corrective measure of alternative employment is not generated.

We mentioned earlier that the land allotted to the settlers had been fragmented over time. The family members of the families increased naturally—these increased members parted away to construct new households. Naturally, allotted land for agriculture and horticulture started to become fragmented. This picture of land fragmentation for agriculture and horticulture is shown in Tables 5 and 6.

TABLE 5
Possession of paddy land by settlers

Village	Quantum of Paddy land (acre)					Total
	Nil	<1	1.1-3.0	3.1-5.0	>5	
Bamboo Tikrey	42.9%	9.5%	19.0%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%
Phooltala	27.6%	6.9%	55.2%	10.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Tirur	75.0%	2.5%	12.5%	5.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Total	52.2%	5.6%	27.8%	8.9%	5.6%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey

It may be observed from the Table 5 that 52.2% of the families do not possess any agricultural land or paddy land, and only 5.6% of families now have agricultural land of more than 5 acres. Here it can be recollected that at the time of settlement, 15 acres of land were allotted to each family. It can also be

observed that 27.8% of the families have land amounting to 1.1 to 3 acres. From the Table 5, it is evident that agricultural land allotted to the families of the settlers has been fragmented on a large scale.

TABLE 6
Possession of total horticulture land

Village	Quantum of Horticultural (coconut & areca nut) Land (in acre)					Total
	Nil	<1	1.1-3.0	3.1-5.0	>5	
Bamboo Tikrey	28.6%	23.8%	28.6%	4.8%	14.3%	100.0%
Phooltala	34.5%	20.7%	27.6%	13.8%	3.4%	100.0%
Tirur	50.0%	15.0%	22.5%	10.0%	2.5%	100.0%
Total	40.0%	18.9%	25.6%	10.0%	5.6%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey

From the Table 6, possession of total horticulture land, it may be found that only 5.6% of the families possess more than 5 acres of land, whereas 40% do not have any horticulture land. This Table shows the fragmentation of allotted cultivable land to the settlers and its extent.

Now we look into the results regarding the living conditions of settlers. Regarding living conditions, we accumulated information for house type, availability of drinking water, sanitary facility, light source and others. In Table 7, we can observe that 18.9% of the families live in a *pakka* house, whereas 55.6% use semi-*pakka* houses, and the remaining 25.6% have *kachcha* houses.

TABLE 7
Distribution of house type

Village	House type			Total
	Kachcha	Pakka	Semi Pakka	
Bamboo Tikrey	23.8%	14.3%	61.9%	100.0%
Phooltala	34.5%	20.7%	44.8%	100.0%
Tirur	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Total	25.6%	18.9%	55.6%	100.0%

Source: Field Survey

From our field survey, we came to know that the availability of drinking water is excellent. All the families are getting potable drinking water, of which 91% are from the tap and the remaining from tube wells. Regarding the location of availability of drinking water, only 5.6% of the families have to collect from a distance of one to two km. Moreover, 38% of the families have the facility within their premises.

For information on the sanitary facility, it can be said that only 2.2% of families do not have any facility of their own. Among others, 93.3% use latrines, and 4.4% have a green toilet system. For the source of light, only 5.6% of the families are using kerosene oil, and of them are consuming electricity. However, 28.9% use electricity and kerosene oil as a light source. It shows that the use of modern technology in

agriculture is very much limited. Regarding occupation, it is already observed that 44.5% of the families are engaged in agriculture and horticulture. Only 1.1% possess a tractor, and 3.3% possess a power tiller.

For other occupations among self-employment, fishing might have played a more significant role, but that feature could be brighter here. We know that only 4.4% of families (Table 4) are engaged in fishing. The settlers are not a fishing community. Before settling here, they were engaged in a sedentary agriculturist profession. Even they did not ever see the sea before arriving here. Naturally, they did not have any idea about sea fishing. As the income from agriculture became less gradually, they started to shift to other professions. Most of them accepted the work of daily labour, and few started the venture of sea fishing. However, they could not acquire their boat for fishing because it was costly. As per our field survey, only 3.3% of the families could own a fishing boat. Regarding the rearing of domestic animals such as cows, buffaloes, goats and birds, i.e. chicken, interestingly, 40% of the families rear chickens in their homestead. Cow/ buffalo are being reared by 31% of the families, which has become popular over the period, for the easy and profitable procurement policy of milk by Andaman and Nicobar Islands Integrated Development Corporation Limited (ANIDCO). However, it is mainly used for their own purpose.

We also endeavour to get an estimation of the standard of living of the Settlers in a separate detailed study using the process of the consumer expenditure survey. We calculated the consumption volume of home-grown/free collection items and their market value through our studies. After deducting the market value of home-grown/free collection items from total expenditure, which is less than average, all of India's Monthly Per Capita Expenditure as drawn by the National Statistical Office (NSO), Government of India,

indicates dependence on the available natural resources, in this case, of Andaman villages.

TABLE 8
Percentage to total monthly per capita expenditure
(MPCE)

Item	Rural India(NSO)	Andaman villages(Our study)
Food	57%	47.8%
Non-food	43%	52.2%
Total	100	100

Source: Field Survey

In Table 8 the percentage of expenditure incurred by the people of Rural India and the settlers of the Andaman has been shown. The total monthly per capita expenditure of Rural India and the village under study has been shown in the Table 8. It is evident from the Table 8 that the expenditure percentage on food items is less in the villages of Andaman compared to all India average. Moreover, the expenditure percentage on the non-food item is much higher for this village which signifies better economic conditions than the average rural economy of India.

Psychological Pressure for the Future

When conversing with the Panchayat Pradhan, other members and the people of the area about their past, present and future, we came across the stories of their living since settlement. In the nearby Uttara area, thirty families reached first with the help of the authorities. After reaching there, they found themselves in a small patch of cleared land surrounded by dense, unknown and obscure forest, that pervaded their psyche in a cloud of fear. They did not know how to live in the ecological space of forest and sea. After dark, it was a regular feature of flinch under the glint of thousands of eyewinks. Later, they realised it was mainly deer and other animals in the forest. The herds of deer became a menace for their agricultural fields. Even the Forest Department announced the prize of twenty-five paise for the prey of one deer then. Days were passed on in the struggle for existence. The first child was born in the new settlement. Day by day, they learnt to live with the forest, sea and the Jarawas. Often Jarawas were coming to observe their new neighbours. However, no collisions or enmity came up then. At best, the Jarawas collected ripe bananas and returned to the forest. Settlers also did not mind it. They were managing well with their allotted land in

plains and hills.

Generation after the situation has been changed to other directions. With sheer all-around struggles, the settlers strengthened their root in the soil of Andaman. In the process, naturally and for other external reasons, the population of that area has increased manifold. The expansion of the families of the settlers resulted in the fragmentation of their allotted land, causing many of the families to become landless wage labourers. They are scared of the uncertain future. They do not know and cannot find any reassuring road map for their future generations.

Students and others are very much exposed to the age of communication and technological advancement. It opens up the scope of opportunities that prevail in the larger world outside the islands. It is tough for the young generations to avoid the colourful beckoning of the larger world. However, unfortunately, they have yet to hear any plans for them from the authorities in this regard. Nevertheless, they observed many initiatives the authority took for the Jarawas to curb their interests. They claimed that they were never against the interest of the Jarawas, but no such action should be taken to hamper the interest of the settlers. To date, they always try to help the Jarawas coming out of the forest for their need.

It has also come to their knowledge that the Government is actively considering the plan to open the sea route. In the views of settlers, it will also be another blow to their interest in the future. So, it is the apparent effervescence of future distress on the part of the settlers.

CONCLUSION

In the discourse above, we tried to draw a present representative picture of the settlers residing along the fringe area of the Jarawa Reserve at Middle Andaman and South Andaman, in the backdrop of the development initiatives and also to depict some inputs on its sustainability. We have dealt with it within the frame of the three narratives we mentioned at the beginning. It is felt that there is insufficiency of a third narrative, i.e. the narrative of the active civil societies from the area of our study, except a Mahila Mandal in the Kadamtala area. This Mahila Mandal primarily deals with local women's issues related to

disputes and familial deprivation, if any. They also help actively to start a Self-Help Group and guide to run it effectively.

We know that the displaced agricultural people of then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) provided an excellent option to live, and they were grafted for the execution of the idea of colonisation of the islands with the settlement plan through which they were provided 15 acres of land per family. Now after more than sixty years of settlement, it is evident that the amount of land allotted per family has been fragmented to a large extent (Table no. 6 and Table no. 7). It may be observed from the Tables that 52.2% of the families do not possess any agriculture land or paddy land. Only 5.6% of families, now, have more than 5 acres of agricultural land. It can also be observed that 27.8% of the families have land amounting to 1.1 to 3 acres. So, it is evident that agricultural land allotted to the settlers' families has been fragmented to a large scale. As a result, 44.5 per cent (agriculture 17.8 per cent and horticulture 26.7 per cent) of the population earn their livelihood from the land, and another significant chunk of the population, i.e. 34.4 per cent, depends on earnings from daily labour. It may be presumed that a sizable portion of disguised unemployment may be identified with proper study.

Our study of marriage distance also revealed that the linkage with the mainland from where the settlers were rehabilitated has faded with time. In our field survey of marriage distance, we observed that marriages of only 2.1% of families had taken place with spouses from the mainland. So, it is evident that the settlers are now practically and psychologically unable to identify themselves with the milieu in mainland India. Instead, with the prevailing almost free primary health and education system, they described their more or less satisfaction.

From the study of the standard of living of the settlers residing along the fringe area of the Jarawa Reserve, we get the percentage of expenditure to the total monthly per capita expenditure of Rural India and that of the villages under study, shown in the above Tables. It is evident from the above tables that the expenditure percentage on food items is less in this village as to all India average. Moreover, the expenditure percentage on non-food items is much higher for this village which signifies better economic

conditions than the average rural economy of India. So, it would be evident from the above data that these villages of Andaman presently belong to a higher level of consumer expenditure when we compare it to the rural India average.

It may also be noted here that as per the 2011 census, the decadal rate of the population growth in Andaman is (") 12.2 (Census of India, 2011), indicating that the influx of people to the island is no longer evident. It is an indicative feature of the fact that the supply of labour from outside is no longer required. They are available within the islands themselves. Though it is depicted in our study of consumer expenditure that the settlers are now in good condition compared to the rural India averages, if we put our attention to the carrying capacity of the land allotted to the settlers and the number of people dependent on it, we have a grim picture of the future. This apprehension has been supported in the conversation with officials and people of the area. Psychologically they are in suppressed condition for no fault of them. After once becoming rootless refugees, the settlers fortified their roots as residents of Andaman crossing through tremendous struggles in the last half a decade. Moreover, they have nothing to complain about the Jarawas in general.

Limitation of this estimate of consumer expenditure: Seasonal effect could not be considered. It is evident that, the market price is on the higher side than in the mainland. It is assumed that the quality of life may be reflected in the MPCE on non-food items, which is clearly higher than the MPCE on food items.

Earlier, we pointed out that the interest of the target population should be at the centre of implementing the development schemes ideally. However, here we can find enough hints that indicate the opposite situations. So it would be wise if the less publicised and not adequately attended issues of the settlers residing along the Jarawa Reserve were taken care of properly besides the highly publicized issues of the Jarawas. In return, that may be helpful to implement the Jarawa policy more effectively.

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