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Livelihood Vulnerability of Fishery-based Communities in Contextof Climate Change : Insights From and Around Selective Fishing Groundsof South 24 Parganas, West Bengal

9 ABSTRACT

The 4th Assessment Reports prepared by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 10 11 2007 reported serious concerns which directly affect the livelihoods of millions of coastal habitants 12 and fishing communities. This study mainly concentrates on the awareness regarding the climate 13 variability and vulnerability exposed by climate change on the marine fishing communities based on 14 their: Socio-Demographic Profile; Livelihood strategies; Social Networks; Health; Water; Natural 15 disasters and Climate Variability and Knowledge and Skills, which are divided into three main 16 components of vulnerability (IPCC): Exposure, Sensitivity and Adaptive Capacity. Here, we have 17 chosen the three major functioning fishing harbours of this district are Lakshmipur Abad of 18 Namkhana, Kalinagar of Kakdwip and Sultanpur of Diamond Harbour with their respective fish landing 19 centers. The primary data used is based on a survey of 150 householdof fishing communities and for 20 secondary data available publications were accessed.

The study reveals that the most important climate-related elements of exposure are the storms and cyclones. We have also found that studied villages are highly populated and competing for limited resources, furthermore lack of economic opportunities like agriculture in coastal areas making these communities already vulnerable along withhigher sensitivity and lower adaptive capacity combine to create higher vulnerability.

26 Key Words: Fishing communities, Vulnerability, Sensitivity, Adaptation, Livelihood

27 1. INTRODUCTION

The significance of marine capture fishery sector has very important roles for food supply, food security and income generation in India.West Bengal secures a second position in national fish production with about 2945941 of marine fish-folk population contributing to an export value of 1825.12 crore hence the threats of climate change on marine fish production and on the structure of fishing livelihoods comes out to be significant.

Climate change has both long term and short term impacts and are effecting the livelihoods in the agricultural sector, fisheries, forestry's, marine life and it will eventually create risk for poverty and food security and income generations [1]. Assessment Reports of IPCC, 2007 shows the coastal communities inparticular, small-scale fishing communities in developing countries, which constitute 90% fishery-dependent people [2], to experience the complex and vulnerable effects of climate change both in direct and indirect ways.The fisheries sector, which supports livelihoods of 660–820 million people [3], is considered amongst the worst affected by climate change [4]. Coastal 40 communities face several climatic shocks and stresses in the forms of sea level rise, higher 41 temperatures, altered precipitation patterns, enhanced monsoon precipitation and run-off, potentially 42 reduced dry season precipitation; increase in cyclone is projected to aggravate this situation [5] and 43 alsointerrupting fishing operations and land-based infrastructures of the region [6].

44 Livelihood security especially in developing countries like India, is the ultimate concern to face 45 the climate change at the community level. As a matter of fact, local communities are already 46 reporting the effects of variations in climate that tend to affect the poorest and most vulnerable 47 communities [7]. To address the impacts, adaptation is widely recognised as an important response 48 strategy along with mitigation [8, 9, 10]. So here the study was conducted to assess the vulnerability 49 of fishery-based livelihoods to the impacts of climate change in fishing communities and their 50 households of adjacent villages to the three major fishing harbours as well as major fish landing 51 centres of South 24 Parganas.

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53 2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

54 The study mainly focuses to -

- 55 1. Assess the knowledge and perception of the fishing communities on the trends of climate56 change and variability.
 - 2. Examine the vulnerability of the fishery-based livelihoods to the impacts of climate change.
- 57 58

59 3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

60 **3.1. Study Area**

Figure 1 – Location of the Study Area

61 fishina communities residina in The 62 adjacent villages to the Fishing Harbours as 63 well as major fish landing centres of South 64 24 Parganas. The three major functioning 65 fishing harbours of this district are situated 66 Diamond Harbour, Kakdwip at and 67 Namkhana with their respective fish landing 68 centers. The purpose of selecting adjacent 69 areas to the fishing harbours is to get a 70 fruitful community response as a huge 71 concentration of fisher folk population 72 engaged with this harbours has been found 73 flocking in thereby. Among the selected 74 fishing blocks Lakshmipur Abad of 75 Namkhana, Kalinagar of Kakdwip and 76

76 Sultanpur of Diamond Harbour. I have chosen them for their highest invovelment in fishing

77 functionalities and population density.

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79 3.2. Data Source, Sampling, and Sample Size

80 Data was collected both from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected from the 81 fishermen. The secondary data was collected from official records of the Indian Meteorological 82 Department (IMD), published reports of similar projects, journals and literatures. The sample for the 83 present study comprises of 150, 50 from each of the study sites, whowere involved in fishing as their 84 primary occupation, following a simple random samplingtechnique. A face to face interview schedule 85 and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were used as a tool for primary data collection. The data is 86 beingmostly analyzed in Microsoft Excel. The analysis and inferences were finally carried out through 87 textual and tabular formats followed by the description of the study results.

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89 3.3. Understanding and Assessing Livelihood Vulnerability

Vulnerability of climate change senses as "a function of the character, magnitude and rate of climate
change and variation to which a system is exposed, its sensitivity, and its adaptive capacity" [2].

92 The current study has applied a

93 vulnerability approach which 94 incorporates by the IPCC, 2007: 95 "vulnerability is a function of the 96 character, magnitude and rate of 97 climate change and variation to 98 which a system is exposed, its 99 sensitivity, and its adaptive 100 capacity". In this concept, the 101 components, 'exposure' and 102 'sensitivity' create potential impacts 103 and increase vulnerability, while 104 'adaptive capacity' decreases it. 105 So, the three main components that need to be considered in 106 107 Livelihood Vulnerability-IPCC are 108 Exposure, Sensitivity and Adaptive 109 Capacity. This study considered 110 these three as major components 111 and designed the discussions in

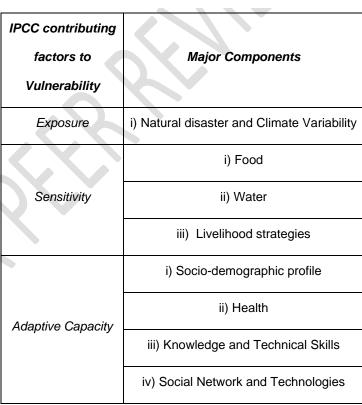


Table 1 - IPCC contributing factors to Vulnerability

112 Table-1 categorizing these three into further eight sub-components.

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114 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

115 4.1 Perception and Awareness on Climate Change

116 Perception validation holds important criteria when issues dealt with human intimacy. In the study the

117 surveyed community confirm their experiences of certain changes and abnormalities in the climatic

- behaviour but are found totally ignorant of the term 'Climate Change' as a global concern.
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121 Table 2 - Respondents' awareness about phenomena related to climate change (N=150)

SI.	Phenomenon related to climate	Fully	Somewhat	Not aware at	Mean	
No	change	aware	aware	all		
1	Increase in sea level	91	28	31	2.4	
2	Increase in the number of cyclone per year	33	85	32	2.0	
3	Rise in both day and night temperature	129	20	01	2.9	
4	Phenomenon of increased drought and flood	58	51	41	2.1	
5	Increased variability in rainfall	71	32	47	2.2	
6	Increase sea surface temperature	01	13	136	1.1	
			Source –Compi	led by the authors from	field survey	

122 123

124 On what they put on maximum strength is on increased temperature, rise in the sea level and on

changing nature of rainfall patterns. The mean values of (Table-2)ofthese three categories of 2.9, 2.4and 2.2 respectively affirm in favour of their responses.

127	Table 3 - Distribution of respondents on perception of climate change consequences (N=150)

SI. No	Statement	VL	SL	UD	รบ	vu	Mean score
1	There will be increase in frequency of storm	38	68	33	8	3	3.9
2	There will be increase in frequency of flood		62	18	5	6	4.1
3	There will be heavy inundation of land	75	28	7	13	27	3.7
4	There will be heavy reduction in fish production	98	48	0	4	0	4.6
5	There will be reduction in number of fish species	98	52	0	0	0	4.7
6	livelihood will be affected	96	27	23	3	1	4.4
7	Standard of living will decrease	93	40	12	3	2	4.5
8	Starvation and food shortage will occur	0	17	83	36	14	2.7
9	chance of suffering from serious disease	109	13	22	4	2	4.5
10	Impact on biodiversity and coastal ecosystem	0	123	19	7	1	3.8

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	Increase of sea water will lower the availability of						
11	fresh water	74	42	31	2	1	4.2

{VL: Very Likely; SL: Somewhat Likely; U: Undecided; SU: Somewhat Unlikely; and VU: Very Unlikely} [Source –Compiled by the authors from field survev]

4.2. Assessment of consequences of Climate Change: The respondents expressed their perceived consequences as very to somewhat likely as evident by the obtained mean score of above 4 in almost all the cases (Table-3). That the reduction in number of fish species which effect on standard of living of fishermen and their various diseases had mean scores above 4.5, which signified their perceived occurrence as very likely to somewhat unlikely. The findings revealed that there are inherent perceived risks and apprehensions among the respondents about the consequences of climate change.

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Assessment of Livelihood Vulnerability [IPCC,2007 Framework Approach]

The vulnerability approach is constructed on the notion that vulnerability is a function of exposure to climate change and variability; sensitivity to the impacts of that exposure; and the ability to adapt to ongoing and future changes [11].

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(V) = f (e+s-ac) [where, V = vulnerability; e = exposure; s = sensitivity; ac = adaptive capacity]

143 **4.2.1. EXPOSURE**

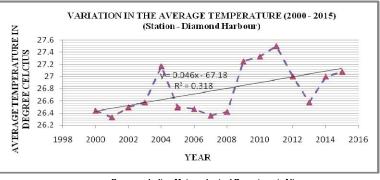
144 Trend of Annual Temperature: The temperature dataset of (2000-2015) of Diamond Harbour

145 Meteorological Station shows an observable rise in the average temperature that is predicted to effect 146 the overall physical and socio-

147 economic processes of this region.
148 The data reveals a 0.73°c increase
149 in the average daily temperature.
150 Two marked peaks in average
151 temperature has been observed in
152 2004 and 2011 with the present
153 increasing trend since 2013.

154 While going through the 155 study another revealing observation 156 showed a faster increase in the 157 average minimum temperature than 158 the maximum resulting in a gradual

Figure 2 – Variation in the average temperature (2000 – 2015) Station – Diamond Harbour



Source – Indian Meteorological Department, Alipore

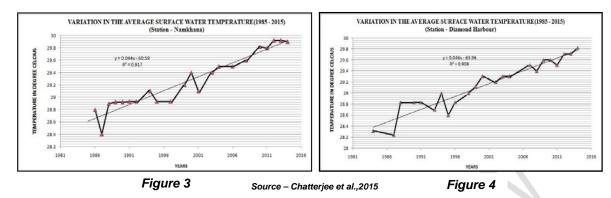
159 decrease in diurnal range. This changing temperaturetrend is slowly but seriously becoming more of a

160 concern and needed to be immediately mitigated.

161 Mean Surface Water Temperature: The decadal study of the Mean surface water temperature in the

162 study sites has shown significant rising trends for the period of (1985-2016).

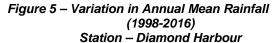
Figure 3 and Figure 4 - Trend in Surface Water Temperature at Namkhana and Diamond Harbour (1985-2016)

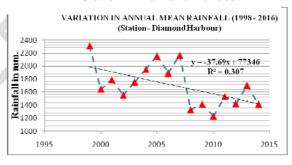


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167 The Surface Water Temperature for Namkhana have varied 1.15° c in 30 years with a yearly increase 168 of $.04^{\circ}$ c, while Diamond Harbour reveals 1.6° c increase with yearly average of $.05^{\circ}$ c.increase [12]. 169 This rising trend of sea surface temperature is directly related with the increased frequency and 170 severity of depressions and cyclonic storms which clearly indicates the higher susceptibility of the

- 171 fishing communities to these hazards in particular
- as in concern to their habitat exposure.
- 173 Annual Mean Rainfall: The Study site receives
- 174 rain mainly from the South-Western monsoon.
- 175 Though the above dataset over a period of
- 176 1998-2016 reveals a declining trend of 46.11mm in
- the mean annual rainfall, studies
- 178 show an increase in Post-Monsoonal rainfall
- 179 over the Northern Bay of Bengal. This localized
- 180 heavy downpour with its associated adverse effects
- 181 and erratic nature of rainfall is the main concern of
- 182 recent climate variability. This leave with no clue for





Source - Indian Meteorological Department, Alipore

the fishermen in understanding and coping with this unsystematic nature and adapting against itsadverse effect.

Cyclonic Disturbances: The coastal and estuarine blocks of South 24 Parganas has been categorized as highly prone (Very High, P1 Zone) coastal area with high intensity of flood (FL Zone) in cyclone proneness and flooding intensity respectively **[13, 14]**. The first five year (2000-2005) in a 15 year trend reveals a below average value of 3.8 disturbances / year but after 2006 up to 2008 there has been considerable increase in the occurrences of such system.

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Table 4: Frequency of Different Cyclonic Parameter over Northern Bay of Bengal

S <i>I.</i>										Year	S							
No	Parameters	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016*
1	Depression (31-49 km/hr)	1	1	-	2	2	2	6	1	2	-	1	2	-	4	2	2	1
2	Deep Depression (50-61km/hr)	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	-	1	-	2
3	Cyclonic Storm (62- 88km/hr)	1	1	1	-	-	3	3	2	3	1		1	-	2	-	2	1
4	Severe Cyclonic Storm (89-118km/hr)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1		-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Extreme Severe Cyclone (119- 221km/hr)	-	-	-	1	-		-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
6	Total Disturbances	2	2	2	4	4	6	1	7	7	4	2	5	1	7	3	4	4

199 Source – Compiled by the authors from e-Atlas-IMD: Tracks of Cyclones and Depressions in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea * upto Augut 2016

However, from (2009-2012) a decline in the occurrences again revived to an increasing trend in the last 3 years. Though the average number of disturbances during the last 5 years has reduced to 4 the frequency of severe storms and intensity increased remarkably. The cyclones bring high wind, heavy rain and storm surge causing embankment failure anddevastation through saline water inundation. The floods have its effect on the socio economic livelihoods of the areas [13].

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- 213 4.2.1.5. Land Erosion: Several studies show the local sea level rise in Sagar Island in Diamond
- Harbour to be 5.22 mm/year and 3.14 mm/year, respectively [15, 16]. Both these values are much
- 215 higher than the Indian national average rise in sea level
- of 1.88 mm/year. This estimated rise in sea level is likely
- to affect Namkhana situated along the Hugli estuary falls

Namkhana					
Years	Land loss and inundation				
	(sq km)				
1979	151.63				
1989	150.20				
2001	147.30				
2011	145.00				

Table 5: Trend of Land Erosion and Inundation

betweenSagar and Diamond Harbour and it eventually exhibit 4.37% of land loss and inundation in a

three decadal window gap.

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Source – Chatterjee et al.,2015

222 4.2.2. SENSITIVITY

At the local level exposure and sensitivity are almost inseparable and it is challenging to characterise them [17]. Sensitivity in this context of climate induced vulnerability is the degree to which a livelihood system is affected by or responsive to climate stimuli (note that sensitivity includes responsiveness to both problematic stimuli and beneficial stimuli [2].Hence when analyzed the sensitiveness of the study areas we focused on three major components i.e., Water, Food and Livelihood Strategies and broke each of them in sub components for the detailing.

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Table 6: Assessment of sensitivity of the community towards climate change

		Average per head nutrients uptake from sea food (grms / week)	440±219.74grams / week
7	Food	Average no. of months households face challenges in getting sea food	2.73± 1.48 months
⊢ ⊢		Percentage of households can afford getting animal protein other than seafood	45 %
>		Percentage of households use unsafe source of drinking water (Tap & Tube well – Safe ; Pond & River – Unsafe)	2 %
SIT	Water	Percentage of households face trouble in accessing drinking and regular use water	78 %
z		Percentage of households do not get a consistent supply of fresh water	58%
ш		Average time from households to water source	13.3±5.87 minutes
S	Livelihood	Percentage of households having Kutcha and Semi- Pucca house	82%
	Strategies	Percentage of households living in rented houses	31%
		Percentage of households without natural capital	94%

	Percentage of households without livestock	73%
ĺ	Percentage of households without financial capital	97%
ſ	Fishery-based livelihood diversification index	0.42
	Percentage of households without fishing boat and net ownership	83%
		Source: Field survey

The first major component **Food** elaborated that though belonging in the fishing community the average consumption of sea food is just 440 ± 219.74 grams per head a week and only 45% of the community can afford having other animal protein than sea food. The challenges in their profession are found prominent as an average of 2.73 ± 1.48 months in a year when attaining food becomes a challenge for them. Households are able to get consistent access to food all-year where persons are involved with multiple income sources or are engaged with some secondary occupation and like agriculture.

The next major component Water along with its sub components revealsabout 78% of the households face troubles in accessing watermainly in terms of its constant supply and far-off sources for their safe drinking and household uses. 58% household claim not to have a consistent water supply and to collect water women and girls are customarily charged travelling over long distances. Households states to walk an average distance of 13 ± 5.87 minutes to access water from wells and community pumps.Because of these water challenges, 2% of respondents access water through natural and unsafe water sources. These households increase the susceptibility to waterborne diseases.

245 The third and one of the most important component to analyse the sensitivity proneness is to go 246 through the livelihood strategies where we found about 82% of the houses are semi-pucca or kutcha 247 and about 31% of the households doesn't own a house and stay rented. The quality of houses was 248 taken as an indicator to have an understanding of the responsiveness of the community against the 249 vulnerability patterns as an improved level of house condition lowers the intensity of vulnerability. 250 Most of the houses are thatched or have asbestos shades with mud or brick walls and holds the 251 obvious chances to get destroyed inextreme weather events. Results show the only capital they 252 possess are the livestock. 27% of the households cultivate livestock and 94% and 97% of the 253 households run out of any type of natural and financial capital. The households with livestock assets 254 stated of their incapability in extending their livestock due to their low income coverage. Inadequate 255 financial capital such as jewellery, financial savings and deposits, makes them helpless in their coping 256 mechanisms and more vulnerable in time of disasters. Almost 83% of the total households doesn't 257 have their ownership on fishing boats and nets, they live on a lease partnership for their essential 258 equipments needed for fishing. The lack of boats and nets limits the households' resilience to climate 259 change, makes them moresensitive and hencerequires them toadopt more climate-sensitive 260 strategies. An attempt has made to calculate the Livelihood diversity of the community for a more 261 detailed understanding of their sensitiveness where the average Livelihood Diversification index value 262 came out at 0.42 when inversed i.e. vulnerability increases as the index value increases. Only 11 263 households out of 150 are found to have secondary income along with fishing. Most of the 264 households have the diversification index value of 0.5 that indicates to only one secondary source of 265 income. Most in the case it iseither a teeny-weeny store with regular need groceries runs by the

females or the aged ones in the households or else it is the young members of the households generally the school drop-out teen boys who run rickshaws or vans and totosfor this alternate income. The study reveals only in three cases that the maximum value of this inversed livelihood diversification index is 0.25 which denotes the prevalence of three secondary income sources at the same time.

271 4.2.3. ADAPTIVE CAPACITY

'Adaptive capacity' refers to the potential or capability of a system to adjust toclimate change,
including climate variability and extremes, so as to moderatepotential damages, to take advantage of
opportunities or to cope with consequences[18]. So in this sense, if adaptive capacity increases it
reduces vulnerabilities.

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Table 7: Assessment of Adaptive capacity of the community towards climate change

		Dependency Ratio	0.073				
		Percentage of female headed households	10.6				
	Socio –	Socio – Average age of the head of the households					
Υ	Demographic Profile	Percentage of households with persons having disability and ill					
A A		Percentage of households with heads without formal education	81.3				
A P		Average highest years of schooling among the house members	8.4± 3.03 yrs				
ပ		Percentage of households having unfit workforce	30				
ш >	Health	Percentage of households not availing Government health facilities	77				
DAPTI	\mathcal{O}	Percentage of households experienced health damage due to natural disaster in past	59				
A	Knowledge	Average years of experience of the household heads in fishery	32.26±5.65				
	Knowledge and	based occupation	yrs				
	Technical	Percentage of households follow conventional and non-	95				
	Skills	machinery methods in fishing based occupations Percentage of households do not posses any training in disaster	100				
	Skills	Percentage of households do not posses any training in disaster	100				

	management	
	Percentage of households without adequate access to banking	25
	facilities	20
	Percentage of households have taken credit from formal sources	32
	Percentage of households have taken credit from non-formal	51
	sources	
	Percentage of households having outstanding loan in last 5 years	51
Connections	Percentage of households are in no connection or are non-	
with social	recipient of any financial and technological innovations and	02
networks and	amenities	
Technologies	Percentage of households having electricity connections in their	89
	homes	
	Percentage of households posses and get information from television	87
	Percentage of households uses radio	17
	Percentage of households have access to internet facilities	12
	Percentage of households are in regular use with walky-talky	06
		Source: Field survey

282 On the Adaptive Capacity head we have classified it into four main components with necessary sub-283 components to describe them. On analyzing the socio-demographic profile, as one of the major 284 components we found the dependency ratio touching 0.073 and implies to a demographic position 285 that has quite a higher dependency on the working class. A higher dependency indicates to low per 286 capita income and marks a community fragile and vulnerable against all odds. This can reduce one's 287 resilience to climate change. 16 households i.e. almost 10.6% of the total surveyed heads came out 288 as femalemale-headed households are in a better positionto cope with or adapt to climate change 289 than female-headed households because female headed household have limited access to livelihood 290 capital assets and strategies [19, 20,21, 22]. The community has been found with a high dominance 291 of aged head, the average age of which being 65.93 \pm 4.51 years. The average reported age of the 292 female household heads was 54.8± 7.81 years.09% ofhouseholds reported to have at least one 293 person that requires daily care because of old age, disability or mentalhealth challenges. Households 294 with orphans and persons requiring daycare place extra stress, and may reduce their resilience in 295 coping and adapting to climate stresses. About 81.3% of the household heads are found to have lack 296 in formal education. Even an average of 8.4 ± 3.03 year is being reported as the highest schooling 297 years of the community. This clearly implies that the community is being following this profession

through generations learning from the experience from their elders. A higher level of education can affect lifetime earnings of a household but on the other hand limited education can constrain its ability to understand disaster warning information and access recovery information [23]. These indicators actually help in understanding the probability of an endangered community to go against all the odds and overcome the same.

303 Households with greater human capital such as a higher number available for the workforce with 304 better health[18, 19] have a greater level of adaptive capacity. Here 30% of the householdsreported 305 to have unfit workforce. 59% of the surveyed households reported with health damage due to natural 306 disaster in past. Most of the households (about 77%) are casual or ignorant or have disregard for 307 Governmental health benefits and facilities. Hence through analyzing the information collected from 308 these four major components along with their sub-components the study founds the community vulnerable and proves its probability of being unrealistic in its survival through the changes in the 309 310 climate.

The third component that was considered for constructing human capital was **knowledge and skills.**Under this category, the community turns out to be highly experienced in fishing related activities. Survey founds the households'posses an average of 32.26±5.65 years of experience in the fishing sphere.Of the total surveyed households 95% detailed of have using conventional and nonmachinery tools and methods of fishing and no one found coming up with any type of practical training for fruitful coping up with disasters. It was found from the personal interviews that no one in the study area 'never' received any training on climate preparedness or awareness.

318 25% of the respondents did not have adequate banking facilities which show limited connections to 319 banks. It should be mentioned that banks are not frequent in the areas and banking facilities are only 320 centered at Sultanpur in Diamond harbour. The community proves their requirement for finance as 321 32% and 51% of the households have taken credit from formal and non-formal sources respectively 322 and 51% among them are running with outstanding amounts. Among the non-institutional sources 323 professional money lenders, trader and relatives, neighbours and friendshad the major share. Thus 324 the practice of money lending found to be quite popular in the study areas and to a large extent based 325 on mutual trust and understanding between lender and borrower than on formal documented 326 agreements. 14 of the 16 female headed households borrowed from relatives and neighbours while 2 327 from money lenders. None of the female-headed households borrowed from institutional sources. 328 Mostof the households are unaware or showed unwillingness to any type of local governmental help 329 or assistance in cash or in kind. Almost no one (02%) came up with any information and connections 330 to financial and technological innovations and assistance relating to the fishing sector. Though 331 89% of the household have electricity and 87% of them having their own television set, when asked if 332 they are aware of the current climatic behavior totally failed to give any response. They use the 333 television as a media of entertainment. Same is to say for radio too though it is accepted on a lesser 334 note (17%) than of television. Most of the households owns mobiles but reported to lack the internet 335 accessibility as wireless signal strength gets lower connectivity in the interior and remote parts of 336 these villages.

337 5. Conclusion:

338 This study attempts to represent climate induced vulnerability of three villages adjacent to the 339 major fishing harbours as well as major fish landing centers of South 24 Parganas. Factors in 340 manifold influenced the livelihood vulnerability of these communities. Climatic variations by whichthey 341 are affected the most are temperature and rainfall while the community's dependence on marine 342 fishing in major to run the livelihoods increases the range of sensitivity. The study concludes the area 343 as extremely vulnerable to climatic hazards. Meteorological data and former experience of 344 respondents also validates the negative impacts of climate on the livelihoods. In general, the villages 345 are highly populated and competing for limited resources. Furthermore, lack of other economic 346 opportunities like agriculture in these coastal areas is making these communities more vulnerable. 347 However it suggests further studies on the adaptation options and coping mechanism to make 348 thefisher folk adapted with the changes in climate.

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