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CASE STUDY

LIVING IN TRANSITION: AN EXPLORATORY CASE ON THE IMPACTS OF RESETTLEMENT ON THE LIVELIHOOD OF THE DWELLERS OF CMC COLONY

Hiranmayi Shankavaram/Jay Choksi (Assistent) – 2018

Funded by the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union

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Language Editor: Nalini Ramachandran

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ABSTRACT

The approach to slum-free cities included slum redevelopment through mass slum clearances, demolition of poor-quality houses, and the provision of newer, improved buildings. This expensive and tedious process involved relocation of slum dwellers to the fringes. Where most people were content with the quality of services, the experts criticised the social implications of the idea. To tackle this, the World Bank proposed two standpoints: one, completely refusing the idea of displacement; and the other, tackling the methodological aspects of easing the negative impacts, irrespective of overcoming complexities.

The weaving of the World Bank's strategies with the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board's (TNSCB) visions in the 1970s, particularly in the housing sector, restructured the TNSCB to limit political shadows and the degree of dependence on state capital. With in-situ developments and upgradation in its initial years, the TNSCB, in the 1990s, shifted back to weak trails as a testimony to a struggle-oriented action against evictions and as a response to relocation.

The dynamics of the occupancy of slums, divisive party politics within slum communities, and the gentrification of TNSCB tenements tarnished the unity essential for the success of such schemes/initiatives. The case under study—Vellalore, one of the largest resettlement colonies in the city of Coimbatore—is researched to address the archaic traits of resettlement and the presumptive repercussions on the livelihood of those displaced. The colony, which houses 24 different slums that have been displaced mostly from the centre of the city, puts forth the immediate challenges of the municipal workers (CMC Colony), specifically in terms of access to infrastructure, added financial burdens, and social implications, which are delimiting the current transitional period post resettlement. ◆

“ The case under study is researched to address the archaic traits of resettlement and the presumptive repercussions on the livelihood of those displaced.”

ABBREVIATIONS

NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
CBO	Community-based Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
PMAY	Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission
BSUP	Basic Services to Urban Poor
NSDP	National Slum Development Programme
TNSCB	Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board
CDW	Community Development Wing
ADB	Asian Development Bank
MUTP	Mumbai Urban Transport Project
TDR	Transferable Development Rights
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal

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PART 1
INTRODUCTION

For long, the constructs of informality have been combative in both ontological and topographical senses. Economist Hernando De Soto interpreted 'informality' as 'people's spontaneous response to the state's failure in satisfying the basic needs of the vulnerable'. The dichotomy that reigns over the formal and the informal are, today, sheer games of class power and their control on legitimacy, infrastructure, and services. Informality is often argued to be a product of the state since the definitions of what is formal or informal, legal or illegal, licit or illicit, and authorised or unauthorised lie under its purview to further determine which one will thrive against the other. The state's administration is now an indicator to define urban informality and reckon the reason for the formation of slums (Roy 2011).

Roy (2011) thus concludes, "urban informality is a heuristic device that serves to deconstruct the very basis of state legitimacy and its various instruments: maps, surveys, property, zoning and, most importantly, the law." (Roy 2011, 233).

ties in India are engraved with paradoxical contours that reveal enclave geographies (Roy 2009) territorialised by urban identities through contrasting fissures ranging from social demonstrations and rights-based mobilisations to contemporary cities marked by exclusion, inequality, mass displacement, and segregation (Ayyar 2013). One such territory can be termed a slum, which represents a concentration of population(s) creating enclaves in its own sense, with a defensive culture to protect itself from the rest of the world. This distinct culture termed as a *culture of poverty* has become a means of both survival and self-respect. In line with the context under study, the city of Chennai – which is the capital of Tamil Nadu – defines its slums as a way of life, a distinct character with its own set of norms and values perceived in poor sanitation, health values and practices, social isolation, and deviant behaviours (Hochart, 2014).

The fissures that have been a part of city dynamics are often interceded by the state's counteractive systems that, every so often, create obtrusive complexities. Dispossession of the poor and inequalities are observed as responses to the re-envisioning of city landscapes. Furthermore, the populist approaches by the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) that embark upon civility often project a simultaneous compliance and resistance to top-down approaches, creating a *politics of inclusion* wherein the urban agents are "simultaneously empowered and self-disciplined, civil and mobilized, displaced and compensated" (Desai 2012, 50) in the name of urban renewal. The notion of informal settlements as 'illegal' overshadows the legitimate claims of the citizens, hence rendering a top-down approach where social justice remains questioned (Desai 2012).

The course of redevelopment as one of such remedial actions has been accused to have utilised a class perspective, shadowed by capitalist processes with the redevelopment processes and components portraying neglect towards the social life of displaced populations – the victims in the case of India being the marginalised groups, the Scheduled Castes, and Scheduled Tribes (Ayyar 2013).

The Big Picture: Housing Shortage and Redevelopment Policies in India

The rise in productivity and the gross domestic product (GDP) became a cause to celebrate urbanisation in the global context. However, the developing world catered to high levels of urbanisation without growth, where the quality of opportunities depreciated. Decent housing gathered high precedence in such contexts. Out of the 31 per cent (377 million) of the urban population in India in 2011, 27 per cent of the urban population (65 million) lived in "extreme shelter poverty" (Hindman et al. 2015, 8). This entails the improvement of quality of life in more than 6 million households. These areas, given the nature of informality, are termed as 'slums' or 'informal settlements', putting forth complex challenges.

In the global context, during the 1970s, the approach to slum-free cities included slum redevelopment though mass slum clearances, demolition of poor-quality houses, and the provision of newer, improved buildings. This expensive and tedious process involved relocation of slum dwellers to the fringes. Where most people were content with the quality of services, the experts criticised the social implications of the idea, leading to the next phase of policies (by the 1990s) which concentrated on in-situ upgradation and the provision of tenure security to overcome the social costs of relocation.

With more than 1,00,000 slum blocks across the country, and the household numbers ranging from as high as 86,000 in Mumbai (Dharavi) to as many as 1,300 in Chennai (Nochikuppam), the quality of infrastructure and the public services have remained sour. Given the low muncipal/local government tax base and the non-compliance of the slum dwellers towards tax payment (by and large attributed to informality), the government presents meagre incentives to improve quality. The potential in the electoral votes (to demand services) expected from such settlements often fail due to caste-based voting that leads to a polarisation of votes.

The *demand* side of housing illustrates a shortage of close to 19 million houses in urban India, more than 50 per cent of which belongs to the economically weaker section (EWS), whose monthly household income is less than Rs.25,000. The lack of access to formal financing agencies or housing finance corporations (which ideally cater to the middle- and high-income groups) make the urban poor vulnerable and incapable of maintaining a quality life.

The *supply* side supposes the affordability of a slum household to be under their 40-month income, i.e., the house unit should cost them lesser than Rs.4,00,000. This is a substantive challenge for developers who often fail to provide decent housing at the aforementioned price (Hindman et al. 2015).

Furthermore, the availability of urban land, increased construction costs, and local regulations constrain the supply of affordable housing. With a limited amount of urban land being available within the city and the complexities involved in land licensing, most of the housing projects are pushed to the peripheries or the fringes as resettlement projects. Therefore, as Roy (2005) declares, the sites of new informality are in the rural/urban interface and are the products of a complex hybridity of rural and urban functions and forms.

In India, displacement in the name of development, globalisation, privatisation, and liberalisation has been marked by a weak endurance in safeguarding the environment and social concerns. As a responsive action, the National Rehabilitation Policy under the Land Acquisition Act initiated in 1894 details the regulations for the transaction of land by the state and central governments (Nayak 2011).

The development of housing policies can be mapped under the following:

1. The objectives of National Slum Development Programme (NSDP) in 1996 to improve physical amenities such as water supply, storm water drains, sanitation (common baths and toilets):

The dwellers were provided with loans and subsidies to improve their housing, while the government provided for the common amenities. This programme, however, faced delays due to administrative concerns.

2. The objectives of Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP) to provide security of tenure at affordable prices along with improved infrastructure: This was a subsidised housing construction programme by the government. The shortfalls of this initiative included the incapacities of the government during implementation, lack of transparency, and poor monitoring (during construction), all leading to poor-quality housing.
3. The year 2015 witnessed the ambitious vision of the 'Housing for All (HfA)' scheme/policy by the government, which aimed at the provision of adequate and affordable housing for all by the year 2022. The proposals in this regard articulate in-situ redevelopments and resettlement (on-site and off-site) through subsidised housing; sometimes, with the participation of the private sector. The scheme can be articulated through four sub-initiatives:
    a. In-situ slum rehabilitation using land as a resource, with the active participation of private developers;
    b. Public-private partnership for affordable housing;
    c. Affordable housing through the Credit-linked Subsidy Scheme;
    d. Beneficiary-led, individual house construction or enhancement (Hindman et al. 2015).

"National policies in India have moved from slum upgradation, to ex-situ slum redevelopment, to in-situ redevelopment in a short, twenty-year span. In-situ redevelopment promises to fulfill the aspirations of the new urban India through better quality housing, faster construction, and enhanced beneficiary identification" (Hindman et al. 2015, 22).

Until recently, the Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) sector financed most of the infrastructure projects of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) and has commanded development-led displacements of the urban poor which, in turn, resulted in a disruption of their livelihoods, social networks, access to amenities, and gave rise to inequities in benefits and social justice (Patel & Mandhyan 2014).

The case presented in this report, a resettlement initiative, has been proposed under the affordable housing through the Credit-linked Subsidy Scheme for the EWS – i.e., a house size of up to 30 sq. m. for those with an annual household income of up to Rs.3,00,000.

Interventions of the World Bank

In 1990, the World Bank adopted remedial measures for the complexity of issues arising from displacement and proposed operational guidelines. The shortfall, however, was pointed towards the interpretation of improved living standards only through income restoration and, to some extent, livelihood replacement (Nayak 2011). "Infrastructure planning needs to be forward-looking, as restoration of existing levels or qualities of infrastructure may make little practical sense in rapidly changing urban environments" (World Bank 2003, 296). The need for better public services, along with the aforementioned, has been proposed for improved rehabilitation (Nayak 2011).

The World Bank identifies three factors that affect the urban diversity in resettlement:

a. Political processes may be treated, in terms of importance, on a par with economic or technical considerations for the project process, site selection, and implementation.
b. Urban economy drivers become diverse and give rise to specialisations.
c. Location as a primary factor in the restoration of the standards of living and income.

This diversity proposes the need for routine social assessment during planning. The practice of initial planning stresses on social, demographic assessments and the incorporation of revisions in the design through public consultations. Revision of investments during implementation can be avoided through complete participation on the part of the resettled households. Early planning can also avoid opportunistic claims on resettlement assistance. An inventory of eligible beneficiaries, their socio-economic profile can command the size and quality of the structure, land use, and other relevant factors (World Bank 2003).

The World Bank thus proposes two standpoints: one, completely refusing the idea of displacement; and the other, tackling the methodological aspects of easing the negative impacts, irrespective of overcoming complexities. The following parameters summarise the aforementioned criteria:

a. To avoid or minimise involuntary resettlements due to high impoverishment risks and disruptive processes.
b. If unavoidable, necessary assistance should be provided to improve and restore former living standards.
c. Necessary compensations (land, infrastructure, or other) for their losses (at replacement costs), provision of opportunities to share benefits, and assistance during the transfer and transition period.
d. Short distance between the departure and relocation sites to minimise socio-economic disruptions.
e. Compromises between distance and economic opportunities to be balanced.
f. Promotion of participation both from the displaced persons and host sites to help in re-establishment.
g. Equipped with good infrastructure and services (Takeuchi n.d.).
h. Inter-agency consultations and co-ordination to bridge gaps and strengthen the cause.
i. Proposal for subsidised commuting costs.
j. It is important to consider the aspects of safety in and accessibility to the new site. People should be screened for problems such as drug abuse, alcoholism, etc.
k. In the case of multistorey housing, the managerial arrangements have to be in place for maintenance and service delivery. Co-operatives can be formed in such cases (World Bank 2003).

However, the propositions of the World Bank do not provide assistance to unlicensed street vendors. Furthermore, the resettlement strategy often followed is of a fill-in typology where the displaced persons may receive vacant existing housing or new housing constructed on vacant lands scattered across different areas of the city.

"Even if satisfactory arrangements are made to restore formal employment to one or more members of a household after relocation, informal income or subsistence activities may be overlooked or discounted, contributing to further vulnerability and impoverishment" (World Bank 2003, 294).

Slum-free City in the Context of Tamil Nadu

The Slum-free City Plan of Action – initiated in 2010, under the Rajiv Awas Yojana, which is currently known as the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) – entailed remedial measures for the shortage of urban land. It also entailed shelter and amenities in two ways: upgradation and resettlement of existing slums with property rights, housing, and reservation of land (to avoid new slum formation). The arrival of the private sector in such schemes emanated as a response to ambiguities in the objectives and vision of the public sector, wherein the slums have swayed between illegalities and exclusion on the one hand and tolerance and recognition on the other.

The weaving of the World Bank's strategies with the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board's (TNSCB) visions in the 1970s, particularly in the housing sector, restructured the TNSCB to limit political shadows and the degree of dependence on state capital. With in-situ developments and upgradation in its initial years, the TNSCB, in the 1990s, shifted back to weak trails as a testimony to struggle-oriented action against evictions – a common response to relocation. Relocation, as a concept, was still a tolerable option in the 1980s, with the persuasion of the Community Development Wing (CDW) and several interconnected actions such as the tough stance of the state agencies and their strenuous outreach programmes. Furthermore, the introduction of state-sponsored self-help groups, mediated by the NGOs, promoted systems of patronage and power struggles between the state and the NGOs and the NGOs and the slums. The dynamics of the occupancy of slums, divisive party politics within slum communities, and the gentrification of TNSCB tenements tarnished the unity essential for the success of such schemes (Hochart 2014). ◆

PART 2
PRE-STUDY: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction to the Resettlement Theory: Voluntary and Involuntary Typologies

"Over the years, arbitrary demolitions, planned relocation and on-site slum improvement have all been variously tried. What underlies all these efforts is the reluctance to grant tenure to slum inhabitants and a tendency to push slum communities out as soon as the market value of the land they occupy increases, or when the land is needed for commercial use" (Contractor et al. 2006).

The aspect of resettlement most often balances between the provision of good-quality services, essential amenities, better social living, and a legal recognition embossed on it. These parameters are not necessarily disparate: for example, with the provision of security of tenure and evasion of the fear of evictions, household investments diverge to cater to housing, health, and education, subsequently influencing income levels and better living conditions – physical and social well-being – to further bring down morbidity and mortality rates. Contention over this premise is directed towards the location or the context of resettlement (Banerji 2005). "It is generally true that current slum resettlement projects usually end up looking not very different from the slums they replace" (Banerji 2005, 12).

The definition of resettlement can thus be summarised as "the process of identification and transfer of a group, large or small, from their local habitat/native place to a host place, which may or may not have agreed to admit them. It may happen voluntarily, when people or communities migrate from one place to another at will. It may also happen involuntarily, when it is forced by the public agency for the larger public good/benefit. Resettlement usually happens with some compensation; the benefits, monetary or non-monetary or in any other form, are provided to the person who has been resettled in lieu of the lost locale, assets, workplaces, relationships, etc. In the case of slum dwellers, compensation is provided in the form of land or housing at highly subsidised rates to eligible slum families" (Singh & Khosla 2014, 1). The eminent domain is the power vested in the state agencies to take control over land for public purposes.

The developmental aspects of resettlement are based on the perceptions of the enhanced use of land and property. To its best, relocation should be undertaken at the will of the dwellers. "At worst, resettlement is little better than forced eviction with no attempt at consultation or consideration of the social and economic consequences of moving people to distant, often peripheral, sites with no access to urban infrastructure, services or transport" (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2003, 131).

The process of resettlement might add to complexities with the provision of a temporary accommodation (transit accommodation) prior to the relocation to a permanent site. This adds to the problems of access (to employment, schools, and other services) and induces transport disruptions, forcing those who have been resettled to shift back to their former residences and workplaces (or close to it). This two-step process should be strictly evaded.

Migration theories propose push and pull factors, the occurrence and scale of which determine the premises of resettlement. In case of involuntary

resettlements, the push factor (diminished decision-making) overpowers to render the affected powerless (Ayyar 2013). Voluntary resettlment is differentiated from the involuntary type by the fact that the former's migration is gradual, with less time for adaptation in the socio-economic spectrums, while the latter's process deems to be indiscriminate, disrupting the socio-economic mechanisms (Contractor et al. 2006).

"The Asian Development Bank (ADB) policy on involuntary resettlement states that 'involuntary resettlement [should] be an integral part of project design, dealt with from the earliest stages of the project cycle…. The absence of formal legal title to land by some affected groups should not be a bar to compensation'" (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2003, 172).

In most cases, insecure tenure increases the possibility of involuntary resettlement as well as affects the necessary compensation and assistance to the affected households (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2003). Apart from political upheavals and natural calamities as a basis for resettlement, many of them are an effect of unplanned, unanticipated development projects desired by agencies of the government, businesses, etc. (Ayyar 2013).

Involuntary resettlement has been exclusively researched upon by Michael M. Cernea (2004), who explains two distinct yet closely linked components: the first being the displacement of people, and the second being the reconstruction of their livelihood which entails rehabilitation. The complexities arise in tackling the sociological dimensions, the disregard for which may, at times, indicate political crises (Ayyar, 2013).

Stages, Transitions, and Implications of Resettlement

Displacement in the name of development entails "a perverse and intrinsic contradiction" (Cernea 2004, 1). The inequities in the distribution of benefits and losses in the process raise ethical concerns. Restoration of livelihood has been an undying challenge – a continuous process to ease the risk of impoverishment.

Along with physical exclusion from a context, social exclusion from a regular system of functioning too is beheld. This, adding to impoverishment, necessitates the adherence to equity norms, social justice, and respect for civil rights and entitlements.

Cernea (2004) proposes risk reversals and strategies to re-establish livelihoods by, firstly, defining the process of resettlement, the risks of impoverishment, and risk reversal methodologies. The process of recruitment, transitions, development, and handing over, along with the understanding of residents' responses and stress behaviours, are articulated to define the patterns of change in livelihood and the conceptual models to restore livelihood. These inform the toolbox for researchers.

Historically, resettlement projects have failed because the impact patterns and cumulative effects have not been modelled on the framework.

The model assesses the effects and losses through a synchronic process to propose recovery strategies after resettlement. Dismantling the effects, Cernea (2004) talks about the components of the following:

a. Landlessness: The foundation of dwellers' activities and livelihoods are expropriated, leading to losses in terms of natural and man-made capital, thus ending up in pauperisation.
b. Joblessness: Loss of wage employment, assets, and land; shift to tertiary occupations; and, failure in the creation of new jobs to match obtainable human skills entails a substantive investment, the failure of which leads to unemployment and underemployment. Skill training as a remedial component need not necessarily provide jobs.

c. Homelessness: Alienation and deprivation in social status are the repercussions of a loss of common community space and individual homes. This aspect is closely linked to joblessness, marginalisation, and morbidity rates, compelling the need for better financing (of the project and the compensation based on assessed market value).
d. Marginalisation: Economic instabilities, obsolete human skills for the new context, time-bound improvements in the standard of living, and downward trends in social mobility are common grounds for marginalisation along with the overlooked facets of psychological consequences, behavioural impairments, anxiety, etc.
e. Food insecurity and increased morbidity: Nutrition-related issues arise from the impacts of landlessness and joblessness. Social stresses arising from these and relocation-based illnesses (the quality of the environment of the relocation site) work as differential consequences on dwellers' physical and mental health across gender and age.
f. Loss of access to common property resources: A component that hinders livelihood since they remain uncompensated by the government, i.e., loss of school, religious spaces, community spaces, burial grounds, etc.
g. Community disarticulation: The social fabric gets disturbed by fragmentations within the communities, networks, and patterns of organisation. These are overlooked and uncompensated for by the programmes. Rebuilding previous bonds remains a tedious affair. Piecemeal relocation radically imposes a stress on previous ties, interpersonal behaviours, and cohesion within households. Participation in societal activities after relocation remains challenged. Facing social uncertainties is the heaviest cost of all, inducing a stress on poverty, and it adds to vulnerabilities owing to powerlessness and dependency.

- Gender and Social Concerns

Compensation biases in the case of women were revealed under a gender-oriented study of the framework (Cernea 2004). In multistoreyed structures, women may often face issues in terms of the time spent in collecting water and the struggles of carrying it to the upper-floor houses. Many who work as domestic helps in middle-income households could lose their jobs post resettlement – this is attributed mainly to the lack of transport facilities, costs incurred, and the travel time. The public spaces or common amenities such as parks, playgrounds, and community halls may sometimes be restrictive to women, provided the evident mixed-neighborhood-led consequences. Moreover, the men of the other communities mostly tend to be viewed as a threat (Ayyar 2013).

An increased drop-out rate amongst students was another aspect of concern after relocation. It is also imperative to touch upon the pressure that relocation imposes on the host land and resources (physical and social). The economic impacts (rise in prices), health impacts, and cultural concerns endure for a considerable period of time. The inequities in opportunities should be minimal. It is, therefore, imperative to state that these processes and risks occur simultaneously and thus their reconstructive strategies have to be multidimensional, comprehensive, and systematic.

- Criticism

The development effectiveness of resettlement and rehabilitation has scoured, owing to the non-compliance of social and economic factors that mould complex and diverse livelihood systems. This has led to low standards of living and often to marginalisation. Time gaps in the process of resettlement – between planning and initiation – give rise to many uncertainties and social anxieties (Bartolome et al. 2000).

Resettlement carries with it the premise of availability of land close to the slum/settlement that is to be displaced. This proves to be a colossal feat for cities and state agencies, i.e., to find urban lands with suitable public and social infrastructure to prevail over common losses (in terms of assets – discussed later in **PART 2**) that occur due to relocation. Beyond this, the complexity in finding suitable financing agencies, construction deals, population management (of the displaced persons), and prevention of further encroachments after relocation add to the existing hassles, which necessitates the constant interest of the state agencies. The main challenge for the displaced residents is urban land – more often than not, chosen along the urban fringes. These deprive the residents of their independence in the choice of location, design of the house, employability, and the tedious relocation process itself. To match up to the physical and social requirements of the displaced slum, resettlement is often associated with rehabilitation which constantly aims at the restoration of livelihood in the newer context (Hochart 2014).

Resettlement projects across India have revealed flaws in implementation (and rehabilitation). The study conducted by the Tata Institute of Social Studies in Mumbai of the Mumbai Urban Transport Project's (MUTP) resettlement of 9,000 persons defined the process to be a "recycling of poverty" (Ayyar 2013, 46); a few experts also pointed to the strategies leading to the emergence of vertical slums. The primary reasons for disgruntlement (in the case of Mumbai) were attributed to "pathetic living conditions marked by lack of access to civic amenities, public transportation, access to a common place of worship and a heightened sense of insecurity and lack of belongingness in the new neighborhood as compared to their earlier habitat…. On the positive side, residents were satisfied about their entitlement, which they said was the "only positive/plus point" of this relocation, that they have a pucca house which they legally own" (Ibid.).

With relocation sites being situated along the fringes, increased commuting time and transportation costs become the discernible outcomes. These bring about concerns of affordability, joblessness (vulnerability addressed more in the case of working women), financial stress, health-related stress (mental and physical), pressures within households, pressures between households, and overlooked social interventions fragmenting the networks and support systems.

Vulnerabilities from the change in social ecology arise from the fragmentation of communities and their traditional systems, challenging the complex of human rights at the individual and community levels. Such disruptions seem to arise primarily after relocation, once the project loses momentum which is often referred to as "developer's fatigue" (Bartolome et al. 2000, 7). Restoration of pre-relocation standards remains inadequate and limited.

Large resettlement colonies are liable to tackle social losses when people from a mix of different backgrounds (amongst the poor) are put together in one place. The relocation, by and large, entails a social mix, where the community lacks a sense of belonging and safety. Restricted approaches may give rise to vulnerabilities along financial and social facets where the claims of human rights can be contested. A suggestive overcoming mechanism embraces an inclusive and integrated approach to move beyond appeasing mere housing poverty to alleviate urban poverty (Hochart 2014).

Consultations with the dwellers in decision-making throughout the project remain as *consultations* rather than *co-planning* in most cases. The induction of such initiatives is mostly absent in the developing countries due to the weak institutional capacities of the state agencies. Beyond this, the *dysfunctional communication* between the stakeholders adds to the complexities (Cernea 2004).

Diverse social identities in the settlement disclose caste- or religion-based differences, privacy issues, and struggles over usurping endowed resources. What might seem as petty issues – such as the formation of co-operative societies, its leadership, management, and maintenance – can sum up the divisive conflicts, schisms, and discord (based on language, religion, caste, etc.).

Insecurity and crime become a part of such settlements due to the mix of social groups. The unoccupied part of the buildings (if any) attract unscrupulous activities such as drug abuse by children (who drop out from schools – due to reasons such as disinterest or the distance of and the cost incurred in travel after relocation), formation of gangs, thefts, and attacks. Such a context affects the safety and security of the area (marked by rampant eve-teasing and crude remarks aimed at women), thereby creating a divide between the residents who otherwise are united in their struggle for the same causes.

The freedom of young women is hampered, resulting in a constant need to monitor their safety. With the loss of jobs, women usually help in contributing to the household incomes by vending everyday items on carts on the streets and in the corridors of the housing complex. Such activities often face evictions which turn out to be a routine struggle.

NGOs and other mediating agencies act as either providers or harbingers of support (emotional/social) for the residents. The power struggles between the NGO and the state, and the reluctance of the residents to join hands with the NGO (due to social pressures, caste- or religion-based issues) continually amplify the woes (isolation) of a deteriorating livelihood (Ayyar, 2013).

Furthermore, hierarchies amongst the residents, based on the occupation or the region/location of the displaced slum, become reasons to frown upon. The common struggles of poor infrastructure and disturbed livelihoods take a rear seat, leading to isolation based on religious lines.

"Such resettlement sites have become latent spaces of immense struggle, exclusions, and are treated as the anus of the city, peripheral, neglected, while its residents are deemed to be a burden and worthless to the city" (Ayyar 2013, 55).

Until today, incapacities of (the idea of) resettlement may be pointed towards preventing victimisation, discriminations, and de-capitalisation. Imperative norms to enable the affected people in reaping the benefits of development on both economic and social/moral grounds should be a part of resettlement frameworks, famously termed as the "economics of recovery" (Cernea 2004, 9).

- Process: Risk Reversals and Strategies

Policy responses should imbibe directive actions in reconstruction and development that mandate an integrated and inclusive approach towards resolution. Owing to the dynamics of the context, the risk models and the collaborative actions are to be mobilised with the participation of all relevant actors under state-provided resources. For this, Cernea (2004) proposes risk reversals as focused strategies that endure as chain effects and synergies that direct …

a. Landlessness and joblessness to land-based resettlement and re-employment respectively – co-ownership of new lands, provision for new employment, and skill enhancement;
b. Homelessness to house construction;
c. Marginalisation to social inclusion;
d. Restoration of common assets and services;
e. Community rebuilding;
f. Improved healthcare and adequate nutrition.

The risks and their reconstructive strategies, on a general platform, can be indicated under four tasks:

a. Planning and indicative function (predictive in nature): This includes an encounter with the

community to assist and comfort for the shock induced vis-à-vis the news of resettlement, along with a mapping of the existing socio-economic profile;

b. Exploration, explanation, and assessment function (a diagnostic approach): Sensitivity towards the repercussions due to a breakdown of social networks, loss of livelihood, education, and mobility should inform the design of the resettlement framework. Participatory tools and mechanisms are to be adopted at every stage;
c. Propositions for reconstruction and re-establishment (a problem-resolution function): A social impact assessment is prepared as a monitoring tool post resettlement "to understand the hardships of the people during resettlement, the lacunae of the process, the benefits and welfares received as planned, the issues and concerns of the involved departments and the learning from the exercise" (Singh & Khosla 2014); and,
d. Investigative function (a research function) to conduct research and formulate the hypotheses.

- Community Rebuilding

Access to community-owned resources as an alternative strategy for the re-establishment of social ties by providing equitable access can work better, compared to a viable resource base made available by the development programmes. "Community-owned assets lost in displacement are valued and financially compensated by the state to enable the reconstruction of the same, or of comparable, community assets, which contribute to the livelihoods of resettlers" (Cernea 2004, 37).

Organised and collective action for the marginalised and vulnerable groups can improve inclusion. Common cultural values help in overcoming material deprivations, economic instabilities, etc. "Community re-articulation is not necessarily a function of regaining economic well-being, it can precede it" (Cernea 2004, 38).

With the current practices of redundant cost-benefit analyses discounting of the sensitivity analyses and risks, multivariate pressures seem to exist on the residents, with an emphasis mainly on the rate of return earned by the project's investors rather than on protecting people's interests and welfare. This, by and large, conflicts with the policy's objective to tackle poverty. "The new economics of recovery would justify growth-enhancing investments in resettlement operations, in addition to providing compensation, to support resettlers' development" (Cernea 2004, 46). Enabling the dwellers to participate in risk analysis creates awareness and suggests coping mechanisms through strategies. Information at every stage should be transparent. However, the aspect of *reverse participation* (protests against development) is often claimed as a justification for the non-transparency and withholding of information.

"Equitable policy, plus planning, financing, and implementing resettlement with the participation of those affected, can create the premises for the improvement of resettlers' livelihoods" (Cernea 2004, 50).

- Social Security

"Social security encompasses provisions or assistance by the state or bodies responsible for the welfare of citizens, to ensure that the beneficiaries/recipients are assured of a minimum level of subsistence or standard of living" (Contractor et al. 2006, 39).

This entails not just the provision of assets but the access to it as well, such as "access to reasonable employment opportunities, transportation to access the workplaces, food security through ration shops, hospital and health care services, educational facilities to acquire skills, and emergency benefits and care" (Contractor et al. 2006, 40). Provision for updated ration cards and skills for employment and entrepreneurship should also be integrated.

- Privatisation

The emergence and growing trends of private investments in large development and infrastructure projects have raised debates of their relevance to displacement and relocation projects. The interrelationships between public purpose or public interest, private capital, and social and environmental costs are ascertained (Bartolome et al. 2000). The public-private partnerships, as a part of *slum-free India*, promote the development of slum lands as well as access to these lands to developers through transferable development rights (TDR), in exchange for housing provided to the displaced slum households. "This emphasis on the process of alienating common or public lands to private hands helps bring into focus the shared struggles of the dispossessed – from dam displaces, to slum evictees, to those facing the privatization of public housing projects – to defend various commons" (Ghertner 2014, 1563). However, the pitfall in a democratic setting is the increased privatisation which undermines the institutional and political practices, specifically in terms of governance that promotes people's participation (Bartolome et al. 2000). Accessing resettlement as a multilayered task can be an indicative tool for policies in the future (Ayyar 2013).

Resettlement: A Pretext for Gentrification?

Resettlement of slums to peri-urban areas, slum demolitions, and land privatisations are, of late, largely characterised and tagged as 'gentrification'—for higher and better use; for example, Sabarmati Riverfront Development (Desai 2012). The presumed patterns of reinvestment in land brings out the notion of slum demolitions (a regular phenomenon and cause for displacement in the context of India) being attributed to gentrification. The argument here is that the uprisings (political debates) that prevail are remotely related to the traditional struggles against gentrification. Also, the outcomes of demolitions or resettlement have been termed by researchers as a response to urban revolution (a capitalist approach), enclosures (privatisation of public lands), and accumulation by dispossession. Slums emerge through "a vernacular production of space backed by sweat equity, not formal credit" (Ghertner 2014, 1558). With squatting and landlordism being prevalent in such contexts and the consent of politicians and state agencies (as a part of socialistic planning), the squatters transform degraded lands (near waterbodies, along railway tracks, swamps, low-lying areas, etc.) for habitation as well as the structures from temporary (*kutcha*) huts to permanent (pukka) houses made of concrete and brick with time and tenure. This, termed as 'incremental investment', is often seen in the global context – endorsed as under-invested spaces rather than disinvested spaces. Such areas display high productivity with scarce or fixed capital. In conclusion, the premise of gentrification as a reinvestment in disinvested areas may not fit the agenda of slum removal.

Introduction to Livelihood Theory and Approaches - Premise, Definition, and the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The premise of resettlement and the need for rehabilitation in restoring livelihood (through poverty alleviation) necessitates an inquiry into the definition of livelihood, sustainable livelihoods, and the framework that dictates implementation strategies and trajectories. The livelihood approaches (in the rural or urban contexts) are a guiding tool for communities and external supporters with an objective to mitigate poverty, threats, damage, and destruction in their local, social, and natural contexts (Nguyen et al. 2006; United Nations Development Programme 2010).

The British Department for International Development (DFID) (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty 2008) adapts the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) and devises the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) as a participatory tool for experts to understand poverty and mould its utility, based on specific contexts and objectives, along the four pillars of development –

social, economic, environmental, and institutional. The definition adopted and the core principles are as discussed below.

The UN and the DFID adapt the Chambers and Conway (1991) definition: *"A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base."*

Livelihood interventions can be broadly classified into livelihood provisioning, protection, and promotion, based on the duration of applicability (immediate, short, or long term). Livelihood provisioning looks into critical items for recovery; livelihood protection deals with replacing and rebuilding productive assets that existed in the earlier contexts; and, livelihood promotion deals with interventions that strengthen the economic viability and sustainability for a resilient future (United Nations Development Programme 2010).

- The Approach, Core Principles, and the Context

The struggles of the affected persons can be understood through the implications of poverty (or vulnerable milieus) on the social relations in a particular context and as a comparison between two contexts: for example, between genders, urban and rural, rich and the poor, institutions at the local level and the state, etc. The diversity in the modes of livelihood exists both within and between households. To bring these complexities into one bubble, three distinct yet related approaches are taken note of:

1. A *circumspective* approach – which understands the diversity that exists at the moment – to propose participatory interventions.
2. A *retrospective* approach – a longitudinal comparison between livelihoods that studies the pre-existing contexts, trends of change, institutional frameworks, and the relationships between macro, meso, and micro levels – to highlight the vulnerability matrices and impoverishment trajectories.
3. A *prospective* approach – which influences policy through considerations of past policies under different political regimes, the rationales of development, and interventions at various levels, and the procedures of monitoring and evaluation that help build alternate livelihood frameworks – to facilitate opportunities (Murray 2001).

With the aforementioned criteria, the core principles of SLA propose that the framework should be …

a. People-centred: The aspect of asset creation and development revolves around its users and not simply the resources they use. The success or fall of institutional structures is thus primarily dependent on people;
b. Holistic in structure: A manageable model analyses the aspirations and livelihoods of the stakeholders through its varied facets and constraints;
c. Dynamic: The approach should be able to accommodate the changes in people's livelihoods as well as in institutions to analyse negative aspects, and propose to overcome or mitigate whilst encouraging positive aspects;
d. Capitalising on the strengths and potentials to add to the robustness of the objectives that are in play;
e. Aware of bridging the gap that exists between the micro and macro enterprises/policies' relationship and the effect on its people or vice versa;
f. Sustainable: The framework should also be resilient to further external shocks and stresses, to maintain productivity from available natural resources, without disturbing others' livelihoods (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty 2008).

The livelihood context is assessed by mapping the following:

a. Social relatedness, i.e., the sensitive issues of gender, ethnicity, religion, culture, and history that shape livelihoods and their implications within the community;
b. The political processes that exist, the civic bodies, leadership trends, power relations, and the social rules and norms.
c. Governance tools that are in play, i.e., the structure of the government and its form and quality that work around the components of power, effectiveness, efficiency, rights, etc.;
d. Delivery and flow of services (infrastructure and amenities) from the government to its citizens;
e. Accessibility to resources and the factors that harness or impede them (social norms, customs, behaviours, etc.);
f. The design, framework, and implementation of policies, i.e., the methodological tools that translate the ideas as per the respective contexts (United Nations Development Programme 2010).

- Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF)

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), as illustrated in **Figure 2.1**, is a toolbox that assists in mapping the following:

a. The vulnerability context, shaped by factors such as seasonal shifts and constraints (or opportunities), economic instabilities, and other trends;
b. The role of livelihood assets or capital, their interrelatedness, and their utility;
c. The set of institutions and processes that govern the assets;
d. The use of the asset base to frame strategies for improved livelihoods.

- Vulnerability Context

The influence of the external environment on its people is checked to understand critical trends, shocks, and seasonality that affect livelihood, mainly due to a lack of control and capacity of the people. The thin line that separates risk (the likelihood of occurrence of shocks and stresses) from vulnerability (the degree or scale of exposure to uncertainties/risks and the capacity of its people to prevent, mitigate, and overcome the risk) has to be identified to define poverty and its causes (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty 2008).

- Assets

These are mainly the strengths of the people and their ability to utilise them for positive outcomes. The SLF classifies these as follows:

a. Human capital: This entails knowledge, skills, leadership potential, entrepreneurship, household size, health, and the ability to work.
b. Physical capital: This constitutes the basic infrastructure (water supply, roads, sanitation needs, schools, other social amenities) and producer goods in the rural context (tools, livestock, and equipment).
c. Natural capital: The natural resources that can be capitalised on (land, water, soil, forest, fisheries, etc.) are mapped to identify potentials and constraints.
d. Social capital: This entails the informal networks, trust, reciprocity, exchanges, membership under organised groups, co-operative institutions, etc.
e. Financial capital: This measures the income from jobs, other inflows of money, stocks, trades, remittances, savings, and credits (United Nations Development Programme 2010; Nguyen et al. 2006).

- Institutions, Processes, and Policies

These constitute the "intentional or unintentional ways in which human behaviour is influenced" (Nguyen et al. 2006, 4). Policies that operate at all private to public hierarchical levels – from households to international and at all departments – to help determine the *access* to different kinds of capital and *frame* relevant livelihood strategies with the expertise of influencing bodies or the decision

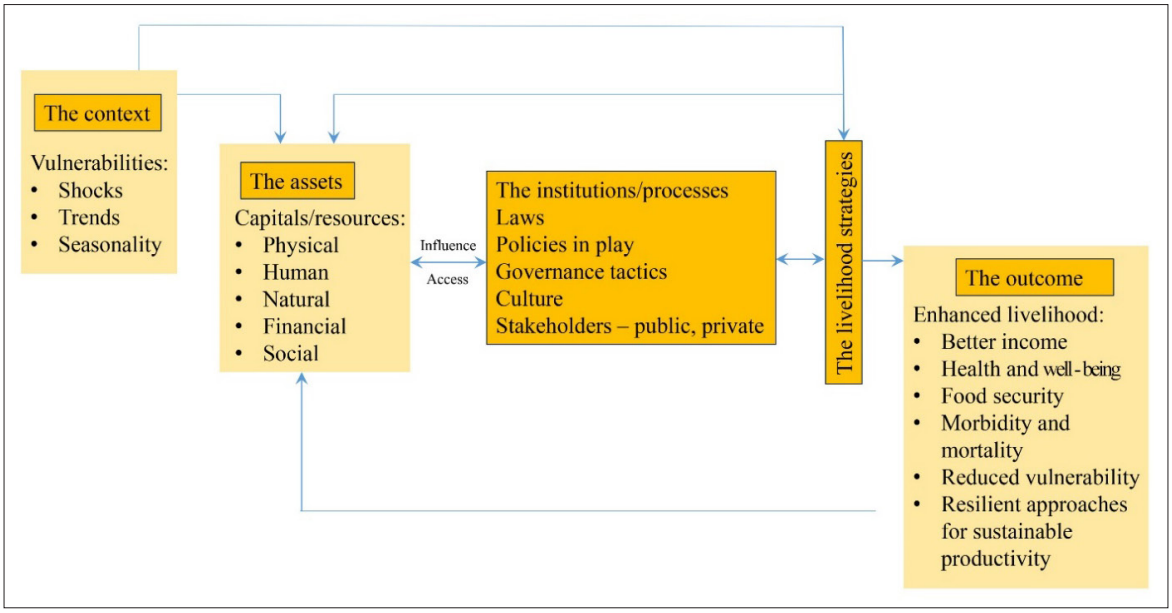
makers; map the *terms of exchange* between the different kinds of capital; and, propose the *returns or outcomes* of the strategies. This is devised to bring in a sense of belonging to achieve inclusion and well-being. A tab on the culture of the context and its implications can be assessed to influence the decision-making process.

The applicability of the SLF is thus suggested after …

a. A detailed investigation into the prevalent context or target population;
b. Identification of the limitations on the one hand and the potentials (in assets and the target group) that can be resourced to reduce vulnerability on the other hand;

Figure 2.1

Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID Sustainable Livelihoods

- The SLF's Applicability, Potentials, and Shortfalls

For different contexts, the SLF aims at improved livelihoods through the direct support of existing assets and the tweaking of policies, processes, and institutions for effectiveness (ease of access and the choice of improved livelihood) in the best interest of its people. The strategies of SLF include a dynamic and competent set of activities or objectives that are poised to achieve livelihood goals. The formulated strategies are based on the asset status, policies that are in play, and the institutions and processes that affect the workability. The outcomes of the strategies are designed to look into positive futures through increased incomes, enhanced well-being, improved health, sustainable productivity, etc.

c. Predicting the possible implications and side effects of the SLF on its people (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty 2008).

"Generally speaking, if people have better access to assets, they will have more ability to influence structures and processes so that these become more responsive to their needs" (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty 2008, 4).

- Strengths

1. Flexible and adaptable in different contexts;
2. Helps in prioritising and works as a checklist for developmental activities;

3. Participatory in its core concept—strengths, weaknesses, and goals identified by the people involved;
4. A holistic approach that identifies the dynamic aspects of livelihood;
5. Identifies the problems and their direct causes with an aim to connect the macro and micro levels;
6. Embraces the existing developmental schemes and works together capitalising on strengths;
7. Specific issues related to gender and ecology are dealt with.

"A livelihood analysis therefore applies a broad range of conventional methods and instruments, as for example from Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Good Governance Assessment techniques" (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty 2008, 5).

- Weaknesses

1. Time-bound and a long process to capitalise on both financial and human resources – which might not be available in most development projects.
2. The holistic approach reveals complexities and overlays in the interdependence between multiple sectors that are hard to cope with. This would imply weak/ineffective co-ordination mechanisms and assessment tools.
3. Improving a particular population's livelihood might affect the others, which necessitates sensitive prioritisation beforehand.
4. The SLF, as a tool, might bring about overlaps in understanding its components (that can be used interchangeably) (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty, 2008; (Murray, 2001).

Conclusion

The broader picture which the framework indicates is that the time-scale relevance to the assessment of livelihoods may be considered as a sustainable approach that embarks upon the past, present, and a "wishful thinking for the future" (Murray 2001, 14). The mixed methodology that it proposes can increase the efficiency of research, with micro-level studies that inform, at the regional context, a fair picture of the dynamics in play. This can be further applied to the international context to map the primary socio-economic trends, pressures of politics, institutions and economy, conflicts in social relations, and the inequalities within and beyond populations. However, a check of the trajectories of change of one social class, and which may affect the other social classes, should be conducted beforehand. Overall, it can be simply put as follows: "The SLF still is a simplification of the multidimensional reality of livelihoods" (Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty 2008, 5). ◆

PART 3
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE, RESEARCH QUESTION(S), AND METHODOLOGY

Research Objective

A study on the premise of informality that devises theories of resettlement, the introduction of rehabilitation policies for improved livelihoods of the affected population, an inquiry into the livelihood framework tackling changing environments, and, subsequently, the application of theories in review in the context of the CMC dwellers at the Variety Hall Road provides a starting point for understanding the predominant concerns that prevail pre, during, and post relocation. The context of the departure slum[1] and the relocation area are studied and analysed through mixed-methodological approaches in data collection. Justifications for the choice of departure slum and the methodology imparted are specified. Data analyses stipulate the primary findings to address the need of the hour and sketch out context-based implications. These, further, are indicative to subsequent studies that can be taken up to address specific concerns.

Research Aim

To explore the implications of resettlement on the livelihood of CMC dwellers of the Variety Hall Road, who have been relocated to the resettlement colony at Vellalore.

Research Question(s)

- What are the primary aspects of resettlement that impact the livelihood (physical and social) of the CMC dwellers of the Variety Hall Road, now living in the Vellalore resettlement colony?
- What entails the process of resettlement in the context of Vellalore?
- What is the background (socio-economic and physical) of the departure slum, i.e., the CMC Colony dwellers of the Variety Hall Road?
- What are the primary livelihood concerns faced post relocation by these CMC dwellers?

Scope of Study

- Exploring the concept and complexities of resettlement, the rehabilitation policy as a livelihood trajectory, and the specificities of the context-/target group-based studies.
- To understand the implications that the scale of the resettlement project casts on livelihood (specific to the social capital) of the target population.
- The assets of livelihood are touched upon amidst their interdependence, and thus this report works as an indicative research that creates scope for further studies encompassing explicit concerns such as gender, specific capital/assets, etc.
- A check on reality through explorations into the translation of government-proposed initiatives on the ground. The findings can dictate future projects with recovery tools for identified constraints and empowerment tools for ingenuities.

Limitations

The mixed methodology adopted through consensus might indicate the primary concern; however, the premise it sets might make the researcher biased, leading to a pessimistic portrayal of data.

1 The 'departure slum' is the term used for 'the slum or informal settlement from where the dwellers are relocated'.

The participatory approach or focused group discussion might fail in providing true information – as in, respondents approached in groups might give similar responses or influence each other's perceptions of the identified issue. This hampers the authenticity of the data collected.

The data collected with the assistance of students might hamper the intent of the questions prepared as human error in data collection, computation, and analyses are unavoidable.

The place and the time of the survey might influence the quantum of data.

Process and Data-collection Methodology

The background studies of the theories relevant to this research necessitate a mixed-methodological approach in the data-collection process. Newspaper articles[2] portraying uprisings as a response to the resettlement initiative steered the choice of study and the need to explore the translation of the project on the ground.

The initiation of the study included a visit to resettlement projects proposed at Malumichampatti (currently unoccupied) and Vellalore (2,816 total tenements with 85 per cent occupancy rate). The choice of Vellalore as the context of study was primarily because of its scale (the largest resettlement colony in Coimbatore), the occupancy rate, the diversity of relocated slums (24 slums from different parts of the city), and the current visual experience that the site poses (lack of maintenance, poor waste disposal, etc.).

2 Links to newspaper articles:
a) 480 dwellers of CMC colony allotted TNSCB flats in Vellalore, August 25, 2017: https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-tamilnadu/480-dwellers-of-cmc-colony-allotted-tnscb-flats-in-vellalore/article19556770.ece.
b) CMC Colony residents up in arms against relocation, August 22, 2017: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/cmc-colony-residents-up-in-arms-against-relocation/articleshow/60165991.cms.
c) The resettlement of 400 odd sanitary worker families of CMC colony, still unsettled, September 7, 2017: http://simpli-city.in/news-detail.php?nid=16896.

Following this was a pilot interview **(Appendix 1)** with the Chief Engineer of the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB), Mr. Rajashekar, who provided an overview of the resettlement project, with information on the policy initiatives, course of the project, and a list of the slums involved, to indicate a fair understanding of the timeline and the stakeholders involved.

The overall list of resettled slums aided in narrowing down the target population for this study, solely on the basis of the total number of households resettled, i.e., slums with a high number of evictees were selected. This instigated a visit to departure slums such as Anaimedu (Phase 1 and Phase 2 included 393 households/HH), Auto Driver Colony (133 HH), Nanjundapuram Ittery (305 HH), and Variety Hall Road CMC Colony (434 HH). All these slums were, by now, evicted and demolished. Spontaneous interviews with the neighbourhood primarily indicated concerns pertaining to transportation and employment, since the relocated dwellers still travel to the departure slums for employment.

The ensuing activity included a *participatory* exercise at the resettlement colony as a trust-building exercise with the dwellers, which helped sketch an overview of the implications that the project brings about. At about 3 p.m., when the women of the community were busy fetching drinking water, the students performed an awareness-building skit based on the theme of cleanliness and waste disposal, to gather the attention of the dwellers. This played a key role in engaging respondents in the activities arranged (mentioned below):

1. Mapping exercises to identify the place of employment, schools, and other amenities that the dwellers use.
2. A time-activity chart that indicates the change in activities and their duration post relocation.
3. Priority mapping of identified factors such as housing, transport, employment, community living, health, water supply, sanitation, and education.

4. Mapping of safe/unsafe zones.
5. An art activity for the children to be able to express the changes post relocation through drawings.

The above process (the skit and these activities) was repeated at a different location at around 5 p.m. to target the working populations. The results of these exercises will be discussed in **PART 5**.

The subsequent visit to the relocation site was aimed at mapping the timeline of the project, stakeholders involved, and impact mapping. This was intended to be a focused group discussion, but was altered to be an extension of the previously conducted participatory process. The results of the same provided a fair insight into the aforementioned and reinforced the primary issues of the respondents.

The large population of the resettlement colony imposed a need to constrict the target population under study. The CMC Colony dwellers from the Variety Hall Road were chosen for obvious reasons such as the total number of households, the site's location being the farthest (i.e., 11.6 km. by road from Vellalore), and the socio-economic profile (discussed in **PART 4**). With a population of 434 HH, the *individual house surveys* were targeted to include a minimum of 50 surveys; however, the final number of surveys completed totalled 92 HH.

The responses to the above methodologies have been computed and the analyses provided in **PART 5**. Preceding this, in **PART 4,** we provide an overview of the context through '3 Ps' – Place(s), People, and Process. *Place(s)* describes the locational potentials and constraints through the mapping of the amenities surrounding the departure slum and the resettlement site. Under *People*, we discuss the socio-economic profile of the departure slum (CMC Colony) and the diversity in the resettlement site (Vellalore). *Process* discusses the timeline-based activities under the umbrella of resettlement. ◆

PART 4
CONTEXT

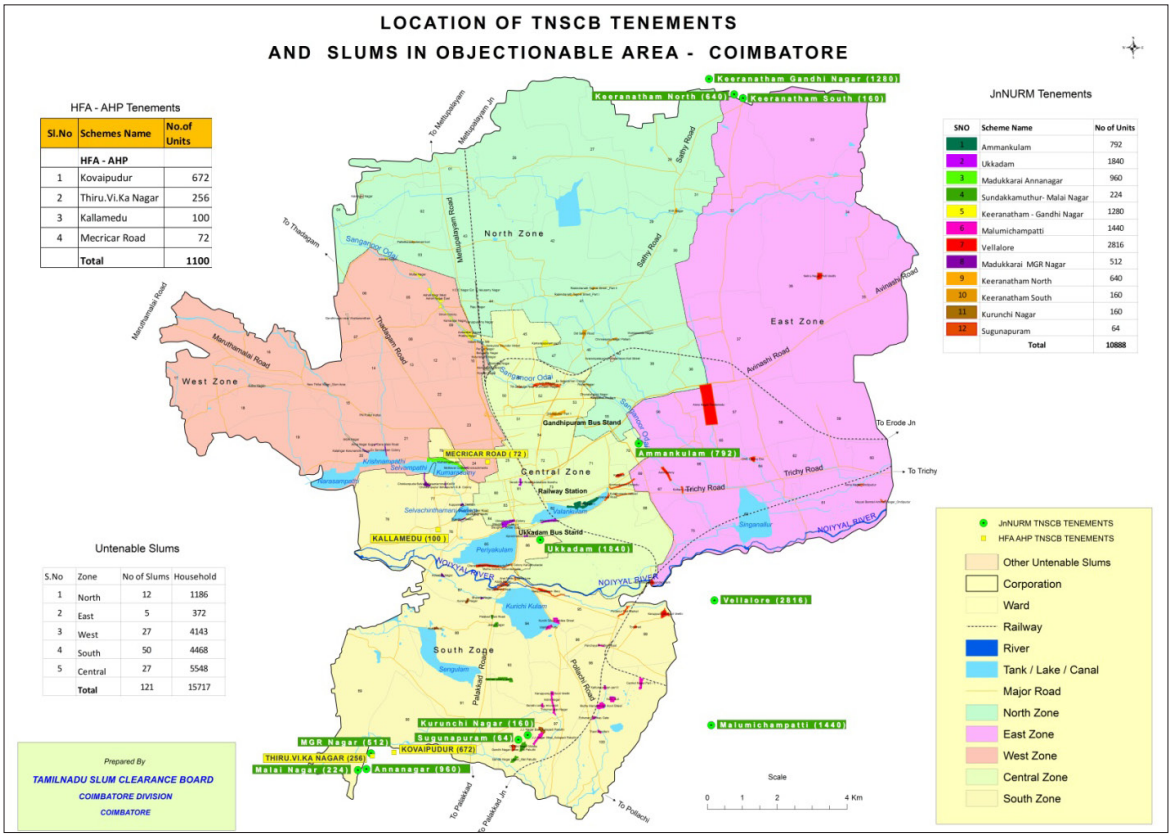
Introduction

The 2011 Census indicated an estimated total of 33,510 slums in the urban areas of India, with 13,761 being notified and 19,749 being non-notified. The urban population of the country consisted 377 million, i.e., 31.2 per cent of the total population. The slum population amounted to 5.4 per cent of the total population of the country, while it constituted 17.4 per cent of the country's total urban population.

According to the 2011 Census, the southern state of Tamil Nadu with a population of 72 million consisted of an urban population of nearly 35 million, i.e., 48 per cent of its total population. The state ranked the highest, having 507 slum reported towns in India, and stood fifth with 5.8 million persons living in slums. Thirty-two per cent of the slum population consisted of the Scheduled Caste (SC)[7] category and 0.5 per cent of the Scheduled Tribe (ST) (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, 2011).

Figure 4.1

Coimbatore map showing its four zones, along with all the slums that have been evicted and resettled at Vellalore



Source: TNSCB

The City

Coimbatore, the second-largest city in Tamil Nadu, doubled its corporation limits (by 2010) from 105.6 sq. km. to 265.36 sq. km., incorporating 100 wards with three additional municipalities (Kurichi, Kuniyamuthur, and Gowndampalayam), seven town panchayats (Sarvanampatti, Kalappatti, Vellalore, Vadavalli, Thudiyalur, Veerakeralam, and Perur) and two village panchayats (Chinnayamplayam and Villangurichi). The local area plan encompasses an area of 1,277 sq. km. with a population of close to 22,00,000 in 2011 (Census 2011). The dynamics in the occupancy of slums, divisive party politics within slum communities, and gentrification of the TNSCB tenements tarnished the unity essential for the success of such schemes/initiatives.

A total of 215 slums (spread across 3.42 sq. km.) have been identified under the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), across 5 administrative and regional zones (Central, North, South, East, and West zones) of Coimbatore Municipal Corporation **(Figure 4.1)**. The slum population accounts for nearly 46,650 households living in a total of 319 slum pockets **(Table 4.1)** – which is 16 per cent of the total CMC population, of which only 44 slums have been surveyed under RAY and developed by the TNSCB.

Table 4.1

Number of slums identified under the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)

S. NO	NAME OF THE SLUM	NO OF SLUMS	HOUSE HOLDS
1	Developed Slums by TNSCB	44	5964
2	Slums not surveyed under RAY due to non cooperation from Slum Dwellers	60	10749
3	Surveyed Slums under RAY	215	29937
	Total	-	46650

Source: RAY

The prioritisation of slums is based on assessment matrices considering, firstly, the economic status—Below Poverty Line (BPL) or Scheduled Caste/Tribe (SC/ST); secondly, vulnerability of housing; and thirdly, the infrastructure quality. The enumeration based on the socio-economic profile, conducted in every surveyed slum, was indicative of necessary interventions by the municipality to provide improved solutions. This also commanded financial deployment, apt for the cause and for maximising the potential of benefits.

Socio-economic studies revealed that the percentage of uneducated people ranged from 20–30 per cent, with only 10 per cent of slum dwellers having a diploma or other higher qualification. Forty per cent of the slum households had incomes lesser than Rs.5,000 per month, which is inadequate for fulfilling daily requirements.

"5% of the slums in Coimbatore Corporation come under the category of delisting and 28% of slums come under the category of less vulnerability and poor infrastructure. Hence, focus needs to be towards providing basic infrastructure to improve the environment of slums. There is a need for immediate attention in improving the housing condition for 20 slums" (Smart City Coimbatore 2017, xv).

Ninety-nine out of 215 surveyed slums were on objectionable lands, encompassing 10,586 households, for which 32 acres of vacant land had been identified by the TNSCB for the resettlement projects of specifically untenable slums. The construction of resettlement tenements presently comes under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM).

The Research Case

With the city's agglomeration indices and dynamics, the premise discussed below provides an overview of the *place(s),* the *people*, and the *process ('3 Ps')* that are in play. The people of the departure slum (or the resettled slum) and the potentials that the departure slum's location (CMC Colony) provided are explored to assess and sketch a picture of their livelihood before relocation. Further, the site of

resettlement (Vellalore) is explored to demarcate the influence of its location and the diversity of its people on the project's success.

- Place(s)

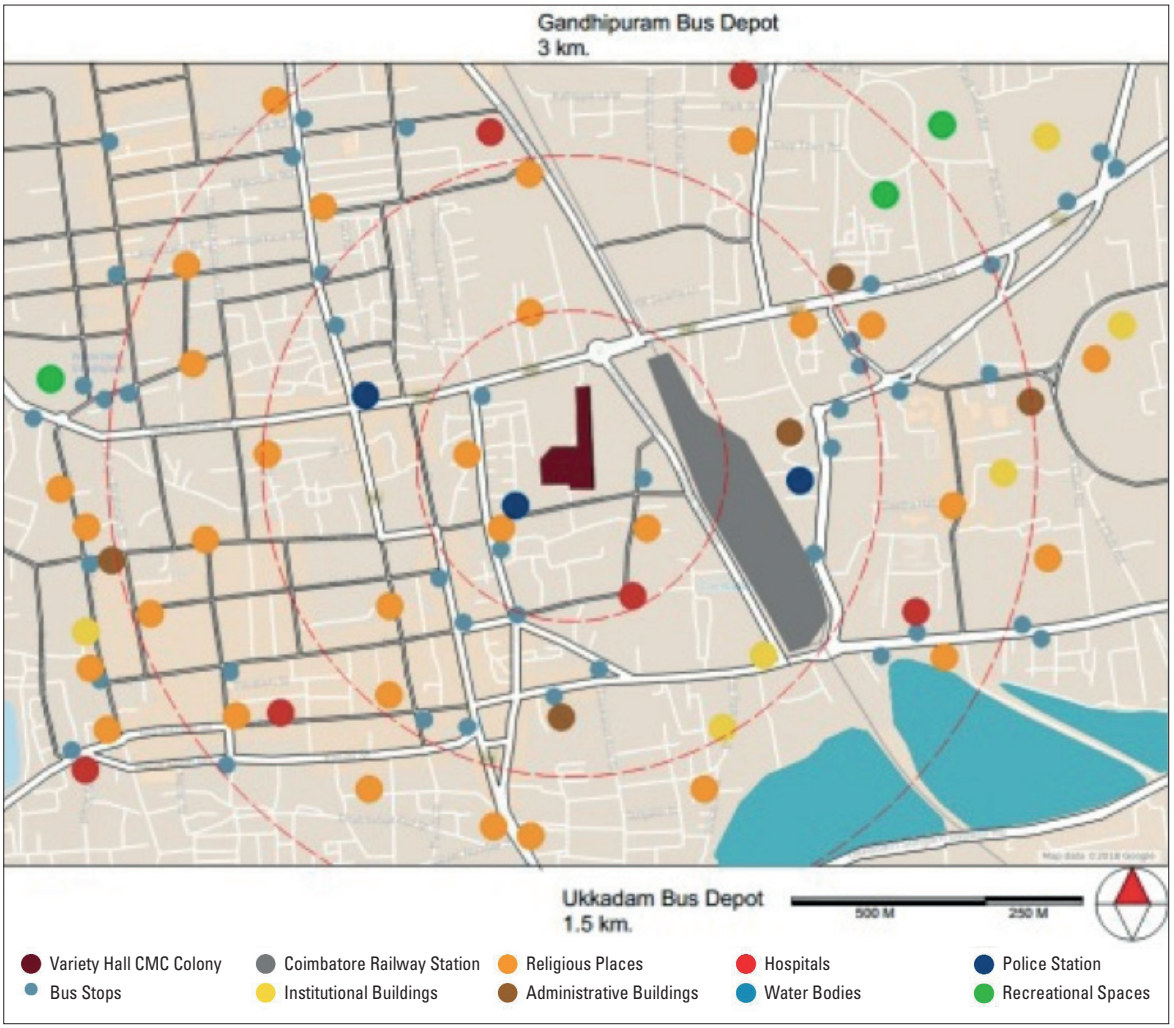
1) Departure Slum:

CMC Colony, Variety Hall Road

The CMC Colony gets its name from the dwellers who work for the municipality – the Coimbatore Municipal Corporation (CMC). The colony is located near Variety Hall Road in the midst of Coimbatore city (Central Zone), Tamil Nadu. The colony enjoys the perks of its location, with transport modes such as the Coimbatore railway station being at a walkable distance of 800 m., the Ukkadam bus depot being located at a distance of 1.5 km., and the Gandhipuram bus depot being located at a distance of 3 km., thus facilitating intra-state and interstate mobility. Being situated in the oldest part of the city, the colony utilises its resources (social and economic) for daily sustenance. The location map is as illustrated below **(Figure 4.2)**.

Figure 4.2

Map showing how the departure slum (CMC Colony) enjoyed the perks of its location in oldest part of the city



Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

From the map (**Figure 4.2**), it can be noted that the location of the settlement – in the heart of the city – played a vital role in shaping the livelihoods of the slum dwellers. Assessing the physical assets and access (or the ease of access) to infrastructure – both social and physical – provided opportunities on the one hand and created a sense of security on the other. Most of the dwellers (both men and women) in the settlement were either employed as corporation workers or as coolies[3] at the Coimbatore railway station; thus, their respective workspaces were at a walkable distance or accessible by public transport at affordable costs. Women in the settlement were also employed as domestic helps in the surrounding residential areas, contributing to the household income and financial stability.

Furthermore, the presence of social amenities such as schools, hospitals, police stations, theatres, etc. at close proximities and a well-connected public transport system benefitted the dwellers. With the dwellers having resided there for more than two generations, thick social networks held them strong against external stressors (mainly evictions), with a sense of security being restored. With the occupancy of objectionable land and the lack of secure tenure, the households living in the semi-pukka typology of the settlement (434 households) were evicted, relocated to Vellalore in November 2017, and consequently their houses were demolished.

The colony houses a total of 734 families, out of which 300 families reside in 15 blocks of housing units (G+3 typology) constructed by the housing board nearly 30 years ago, and the remaining 434 families lived in semi-pukka houses (only ground floor). These 434 households were opportunistic encroachments, living on objectionable lands **(Figure 4.3)**, who did not enjoy the security of tenure and were assessed with a deficiency matrix of 2 x 3 under RAY (Smart City Coimbatore 2017). This became the premise for their relocation to Vellalore.

Each unit of the TNSCB housing complex, constructed with an approximate area of 20 sq. m., consisted of a multipurpose room, a kitchen, an individual bathroom, and a toilet. The dwellers of these units were provided with individual domestic water connections through overhead water tanks and drinking water collection points at the ground level. The remaining 434 households of semi-pukka typology had common collection points for both drinking water and domestic water supply.

3 In South Asia, 'coolie' is now a commonly used, inoffensive word used for workers involved in unskilled manual labour, especially porters working at railway stations.

Figure 4.3

Map of CMC Colony, Variety Hall Road

Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

2) Destination Area:

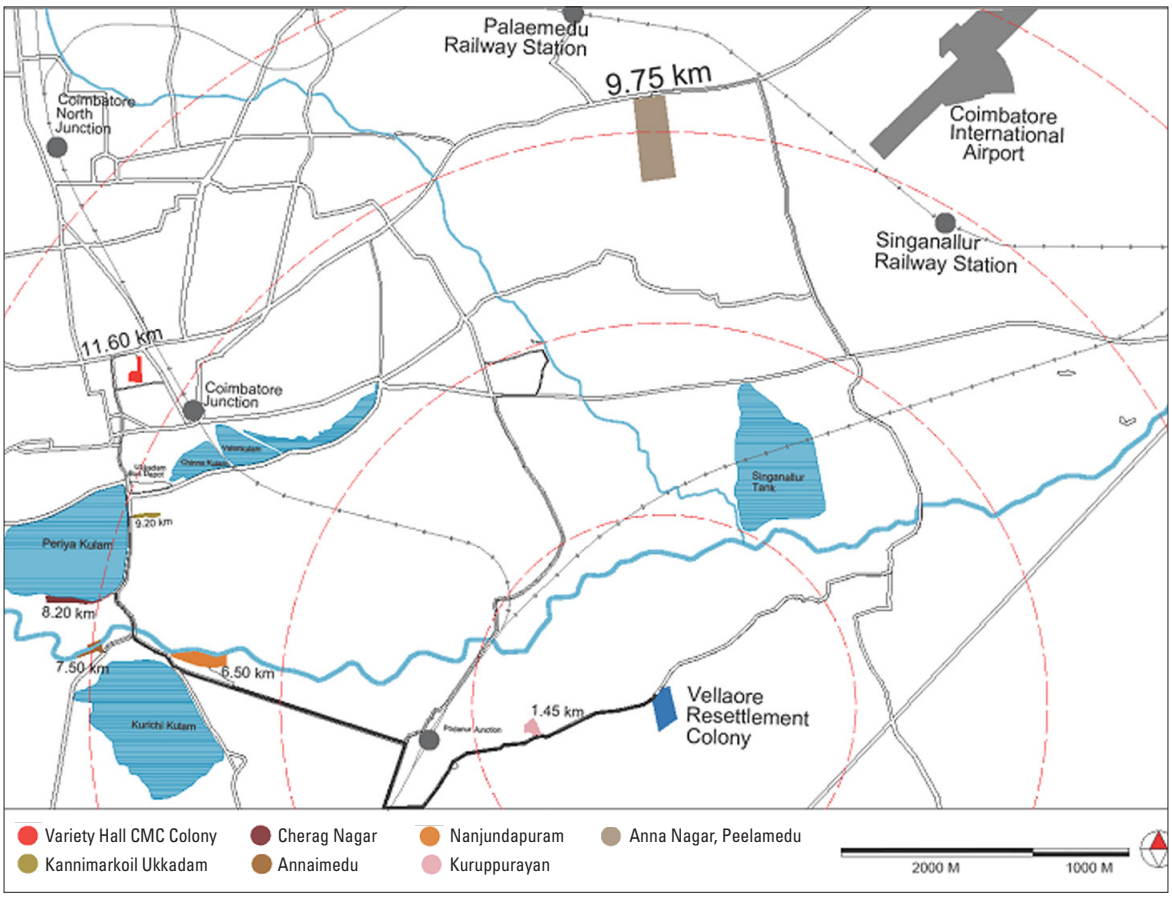
Vellalore Resettlement Colony

Vellalore is a town located along the south-east fringe of Coimbatore city. The jurisdiction, as yet, is still under the Vellalore town panchayat, encompassing a population of 17,294 (Census 2001), with a sex ratio of 50:50 (male to female). The literacy rate is 64 per cent (59.5 per cent is the national average), with the rate being 70 per cent amongst men and 59 per cent amongst women.

The Vellalore Resettlement Colony is the largest resettlement programme amongst 11 other such projects **(Appendix 2)** in the city that have been initiated by the TNSCB under the JNNURM and the 'Housing for All' scheme. This programme entails the construction of 2,816 tenements on 20 acres of land at a project cost of Rs.172 crore (Rs.1.72 billion). It houses nearly 24 slums **(Appendix 3)**, with some large-scale resettlement of dwellers from Anaimedu (393 HH), Nanjundapuram Ittery (305 HH), Annanagar Peelamedu (239 HH), and CMC Colony (434 HH)[4]. **Figure 4.4** shows the slum concentrations and their distances to the resettlement colony.

Figure 4.4

Slum concentrations and their distances to the resettlement colony



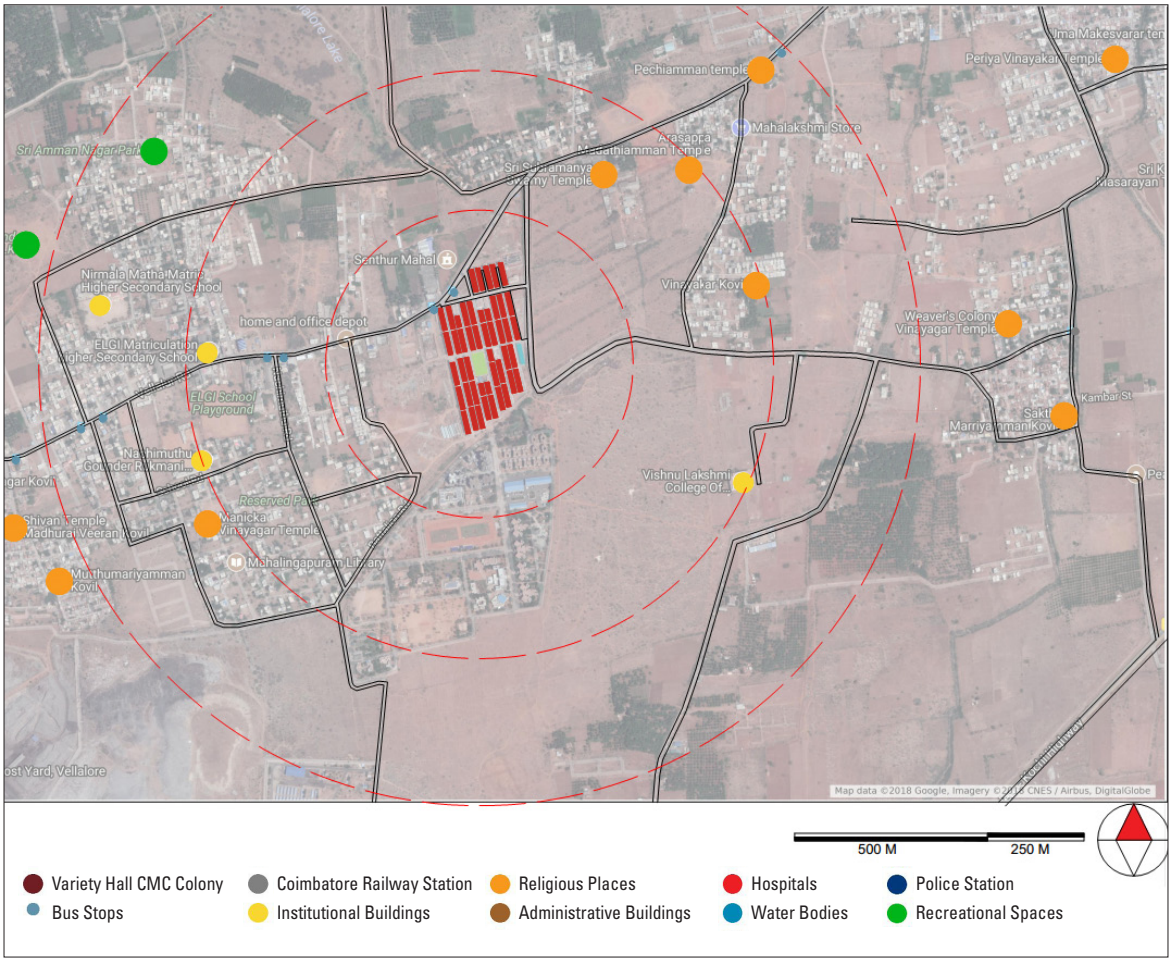
Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

4 Links to newspaper articles describing the Vellalore project:
a) Permanent houses for slum dwellers by May end, May 11, 2017: https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Coimbatore/permanent-houses-for-slum-dwellers-by-may-end/article18423183.ece.
b) 1.2 lakh people evicted to make our cities beautiful, slum-free and smart: HLRN, February 24, 2018: http://citizenmatters.in/hlrn-forced-evictions-2017-housing-slum-rehabilitation-5860.

The colony finds its main access through Vellalore Road, with the town centre and the Podanur railway station being at a distance of 3 km. As shown in **Figure 4.5**, the dwellers can access public transport through the bus stop that is outside the colony. Although accessibility is not a concern, the frequency of buses plying to the city centre being less, the dwellers may be forced to resort to private modes of transport. This might pose concerns of affordability and the time spent on travel. The map below illustrates the colony's proximity to and the number of religious, institutional, and recreational spaces around. **Figure 4.5** also illustrates the choice of and access to amenities around the settlement in comparison to their departure slum (illustrated in **Figure 4.2**). It is important to observe the presence of one of the largest sewage treatment plants at a distance of just 1 km. from the settlement. This treatment plant has continually posed issues to its immediate surroundings due to fire outbreaks[5], indicating probable vulnerabilities in terms of dwellers' health.

Figure 4.5

Map showing the amenities around the Vellalore Resettlement Colony



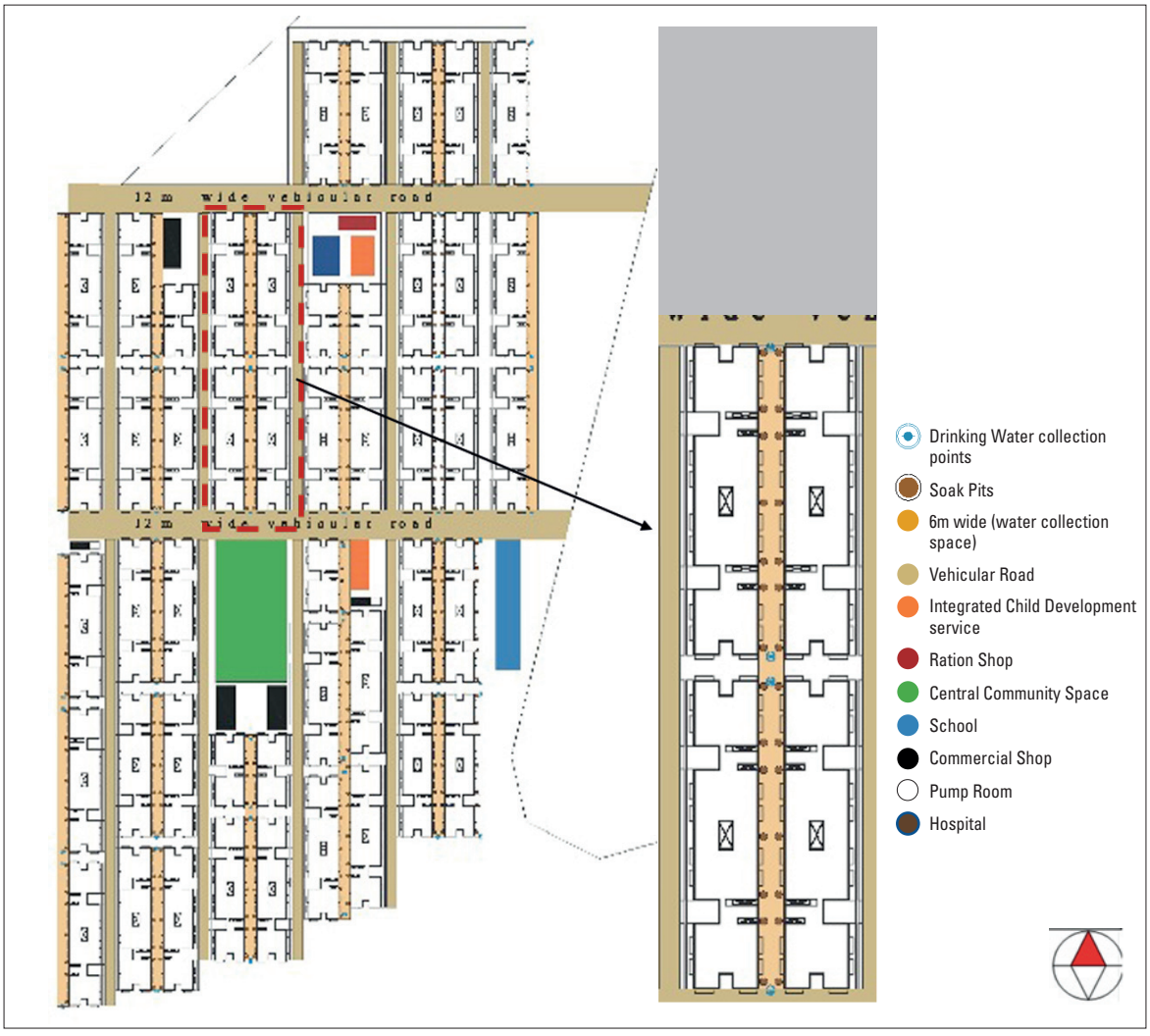
Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

5 Fire at Vellalore dump yard, third this year, July 23, 2017: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/fire-at-vellalore-dump-yard-third-this-year/articleshow/59718881.cms.

The colony houses a community space with a playground at the centre of the precinct, a government school (not functional as yet), two ration shops, an Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) centre, a common hall, 19 petty shops, and a public health centre. The housing complex with 2,816 households (approximately 400 HH lie unoccupied) is divided amongst 88 blocks of G+3 typology. Each block receives domestic water through 16 overhead tanks and the spaces between blocks have drinking water collection points, which supply water every alternate day, between 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. The access roads to the blocks are 5 m. wide (excluding the underground drains and rainwater culverts), with a distance of 6 m. being between blocks that consist of soak pits along with the aforementioned water-collection points (two water-collection points for every four blocks). **Figure 4.6** illustrates the block layout with the water-collection points and other services.

Figure 4.6

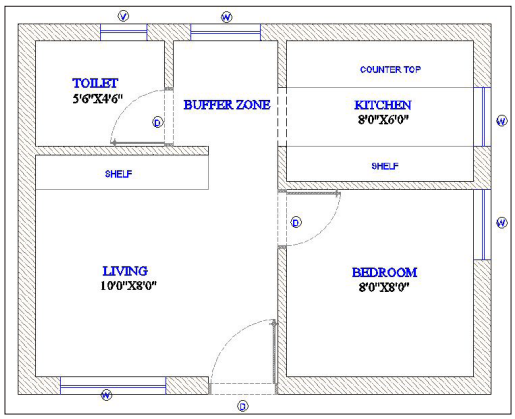
The block layout of the Vellalore Resettlement Colony with water-collection points and other services Source: KAHE



Source: KAHE

Figures 4.7; 4.8; 4.9

The kitchen area; Typical floor plan at the settlement, Vellalore; The bedroom



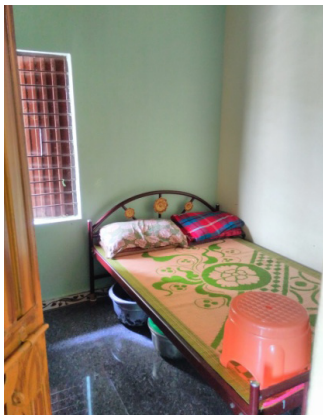


Figure 4.10

The living area

Figure 4.11

The buffer zone

Each individual dwelling unit consists of a multipurpose hall/living area, a bedroom, a kitchen, a bathroom, and a toilet—similar to the other housing units constructed by the TNSCB. The total built-up area is 30 sq. m. and the unit's plan is shown in **Figure 4.8**.

- People

The Vellalore Resettlement Colony witnessed a plethora of cultures being housed in one precinct. This induced an exploration into the influence that relocation/resettlement induces on social assets of livelihood that, to a large extent, marks the success of the initiative. The population under study accounts for at least 9,500 people [{2,816 HH – 400 (unoccupied)} x 4 (average family size)], rendering a large number for the selection of the sample size. This necessitated the delimitation of the sample to one of the largest populations relocated there, i.e., from the CMC Colony. Also, a visit to four of the larger demolished slum sites and their analyses **(Appendix 4)** strengthened the reason for this selection. The socio-economic attributes are as discussed below:

Source: KAHE

The social asset of CMC Colony is identified through the caste that the majority of the dwellers belong to. The dwellers are called by different names such as Arunthathiyar, Chakkaliar, Adi Dravida, Madari, etc. This community is largely spread across the western part of Tamil Nadu and is historically claimed to have migrated from Andhra Pradesh. It has been claimed that during the Vijayanagar empire (early 16th century), the warriors (Naga Nayakars) sent to Pandia (now Tamil Nadu) were accompanied by cooks, tailors, and servicemen from this community. Nevertheless, the history of this clan has been rewritten several times to assert their identities in revolt to the injustices (discriminations) done to them (Krishnasamy 2011).

The Arunthathiyar clan forms a large portion (nearly 7,71,659 persons according to the 2001 Census, which constitutes 6.5 per cent of the Scheduled Caste population in Tamil Nadu (19 per cent of the total population). The Arunthathiyars are considered to be a sub-caste of the Chammar caste and are also one of the three main subgroups of Dalits[6] or Schedule Castes[7] in Tamil Nadu, the other two subgroups being Paraiyar and Pallar. They have a literacy rate of 60 per cent, which is inferior in comparison to the other two subgroups.

Traditionally, their primary occupation involved making leather goods. Just after Independence, with the influence of British rule and the formation of municipal corporations in each town/city, the Arunthathiyars were roped in for scavenging work, cleaning of drains, sweeping, etc. – in Tamil Nadu, 95 per cent of the Arunthathiyars are scavengers. Today, they have taken up many other occupations (for example, some of them are cobblers, labourers, construction workers, etc.) and are quite often associated with miserable living conditions. Women also participate in culture-based occupations and add to the household's income.

The Arunthathiyars, until today, are considered to be an untouchable community because of the menial work they do. They are frowned upon not only by the upper castes, but also by other Dalit subgroups. Hence, they are called the 'Dalit among Dalits'. They are forced to live in segregated colonies such as *cherrys* (or *cheris*)[8] in rural areas or slums in the urban areas. Consumption of alcohol is seen amongst both men and women (about 90 per cent of Dalit adults are addicted to alcohol). This has led to a deterioration of their health, negligence in childcare, and undying poverty (Krishnasamy 2011). The socio-economic profile of the caste also reveals high drop-out rates amongst schoolgoers. This is mostly attributed to economic instability and the lack of opportunities for social mobility.

The initial encroachments were tackled through in-situ redevelopments; however, the opportunistic and strong networks amongst the dwellers led to further squatting on adjacent vacant lands. Poor hygiene, poor maintenance, and squalor were evident features of the settlement, leading to the prioritisation of and their selection for resettlement. They are now relocated and housed at Vellalore (discussed below).

- Process

The technicality of the resettlement theory entails pre-relocation processes, the transition or the relocation, and post-relocation processes. The interview with the Chief Engineer of TNSCB provided first-hand information about planning and execution. Along with this, interactions with the dwellers guided us in mapping a basic timeline of the project (as discussed below).

6 A Dalit is considered to be a member of the lowest caste, as per the traditional Indian caste system.
7 Officially designated groups of historically disadvantaged people in India.
8 Cherry (or cheri) in the Indian language Tamil means 'settlement'.

The idea of resettlement was proposed in the year 2012, under the political reign of the Indian National Congress and the central government's city modernisation scheme – JNNURM, branching out to the states to provide affordable housing under the 'Housing for All' scheme.

Between 2012 and 2015, the transactions related to land, processes for the call for tenders for construction, and mapping of socio-economic profiles of the departure slums were carried out. The year 2014 witnessed a change in political reign at the centre to Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). However, the project continued under the terms of the JNNURM.

The construction of the resettlement colony was begun around February 2015 by three companies – SK Builders, Sunadrasamy & Co., and Sanmugam & Co. The construction spanned a good one and a half years – till August 2016. The TNSCB continued mapping the departure slums through house demarcations (allotting a house number), assessing family sizes (in cases where more than one family/generation lived together), satellite imaging for topographical information, creating socio-economic profiles, skill-training initiatives, and finally the allotment of numbers to those who were to be displaced.

The informal settlements on objectionable lands, river-beds, lake-beds, etc. were evicted, to be resettled. Vellalore seemed to be a potential location for the project with a proposal for a large-scale bus depot and lorry pet[9] (a place where lorries are stationed for servicing, which is also designed as a resting area for lorry drivers) in the near future. These proposals, once approved, would assist in providing employment opportunities for the displaced dwellers (as drivers, watchmen, etc.), with salaries ranging from Rs.8000–Rs.13,000. Necessary skill training in this regard should accordingly be provided. Few women were trained at the Nirmala College, under Rhythem Social Service Society for Women, to be employed as nurses, tailors, beauticians, and most of all entrepreneurs. However, the outreach of this training programme is questionable.

The allotment process based on the marked house numbers started in June 2017 and spanned two months. A general lot was called for to assign the block and the respective unit to the beneficiaries. Preferences (of opting for the ground floor) were given to households with senior citizens or physically disabled persons.

The beneficiaries had to submit a payment of Rs.36,000 (at once or periodically) to the TNSCB, in exchange for a sale deed spanning 20 years. This deed constricts the owners from selling or renting the house during the initial 20 years, which is when they would receive ownership of the unit. ◆

9 Corporation hands over Vellalore Bus Stand Project to NH, May 12, 2018: https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Coimbatore/corporation-hands-over-vellalore-bus-stand-project-to-nh/article23865647.ece.

PART 5
DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

Participatory Exercise

The entry into the resettlement colony included a trust-building exercise with the performance of a skit by students, which helped capitalise on the human resource for participatory mapping activities. This exercise was designed for the entire resettlement colony, i.e., all departure slums. The data of a total number of 62 respondents (36 women and 26 men) was recorded. The planning details of these exercises are attached as **Appendix 5**; the data procured is explained below:

- Mapping Exercises

Mapping exercises were conducted to help gain a broad overview of the effects of displacement on the people. The first step included the mapping of the displaced people's current place of employment, school, and hospitals. This was conducted to understand the impact of the transition or the shift in accessing basic amenities and resources.

Figures 5.1 & 5.2

The survey team conducting a participatory exercise at the Vellalore Resettlement Colony

Figures 5.3 & 5.4

The survey team communicating with the children

Source: KAHE

1) Employment

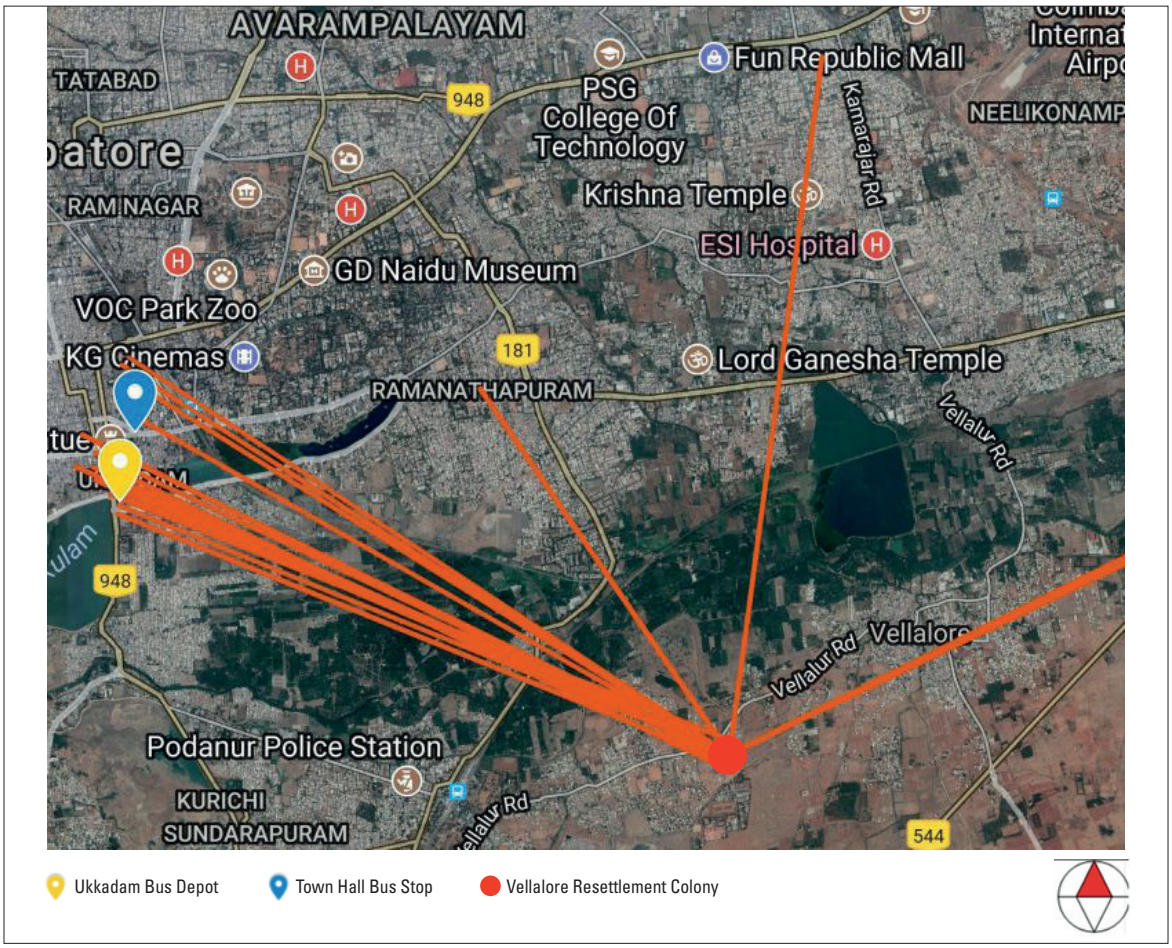
As observed in the map **(Figure 5.5)**, most of the dwellers, until today – i.e., 10 months post relocation, travel back to the area of departure for employment. Most of them report to the city centre for work, which they are able to access after at least one intermediate change of bus near the Podanur junction. The travel distance ranges from 8–12 km. and the time taken to travel is around 2–3 hours per day (back and forth), since there are no direct buses.

"For the bus facility to be provided, the government should have finished the railway overbridge connecting Vellalore to the city before we were relocated here; alas, it has not been finished yet, hence no bus (sic). That was very wrong, and we are suffering as a result. We can't even reach work; the environment here is no good; everyone throws trash everywhere, and no one seems to care about hygiene," said a dweller.

Since the corporation workers need to report to work during the early hours of the day (at 5 a.m.), these dwellers need to be at the bus stop at least by 4 a.m. Women, who worked as domestic helps had to give up on their jobs, since the travel time and costs seemed practically unviable.

Figure 5.5

Map showing the workplaces or the areas of employment



Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

- Vellalore Resettlement Colony

In the context of Coimbatore city, the private bus services are cheaper compared to the state-provided buses, the reason being that the regulations on the number of passengers allowed is restricted on a state-run bus. Hence, most of the local people prefer private bus services. However, the frequency of private buses to Vellalore is very less, adding to the costs of travel, further curbing the choice of the public transport system. The inconvenience of time, infrequent bus services, time spent on travel, and added costs for transport may indicate stresses (financial and physical) on the dwellers.

"Earlier, Rs.100 was sufficient for three days' worth of petrol in Aathupalayam[10], but after we moved here, Rs.100 is only enough for a single day," a dweller said.

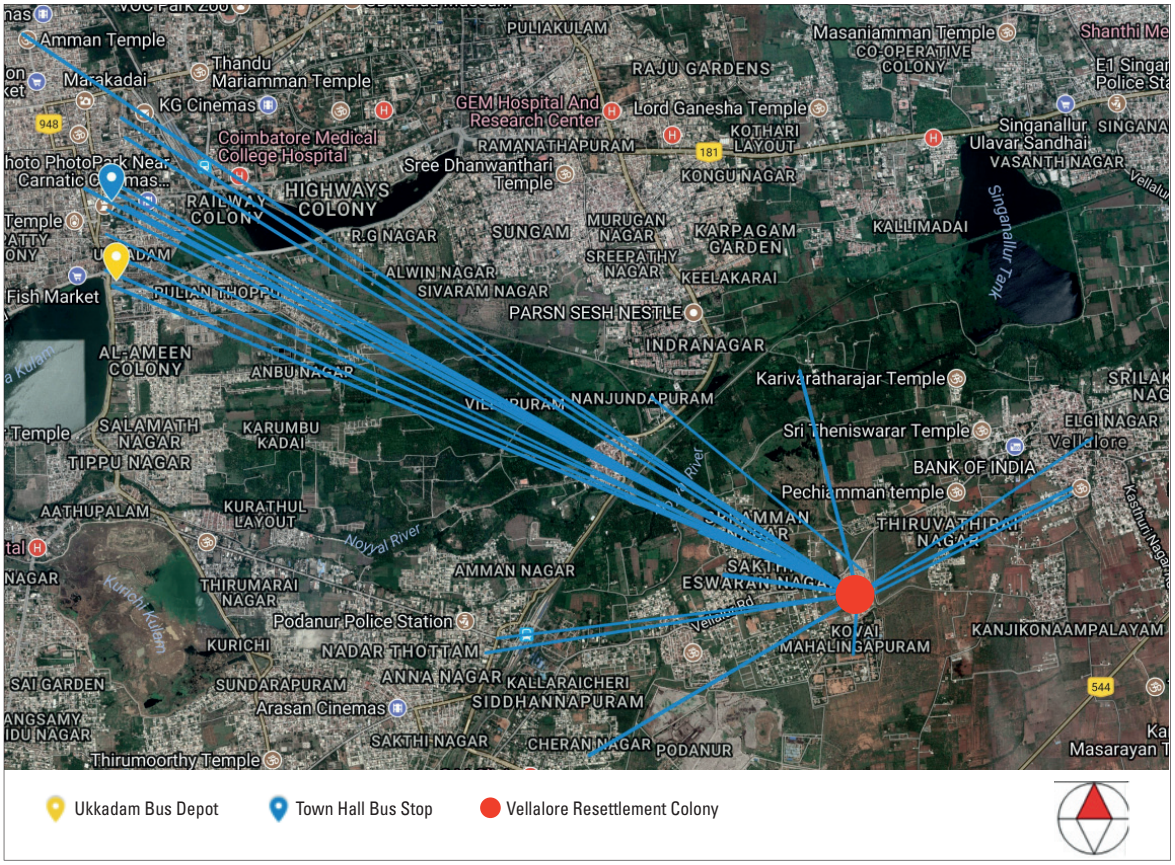
2) Education

A similar reasoning holds good for access to social amenities, especially schools. The children travel long distances to reach their schools. The time taken and the cost of travel add to the financial pressures of the household. The transition to schools located close to Vellalore is mostly absent. This can be attributed to the unavailability of good-quality schools, the oddly-timed relocation (shift to other schools may have led to the loss of an academic year), and the reluctance of the children to adjust to a new setting (due to the fear of losing their friends). As a remedial measure, most of the dwellers have come together to arrange for private vehicles (autos and vans) for pickup and drop services. However, this has been expressed as a costly affair. The school that is presently being constructed within the relocation campus is designed for students up to the primary level, i.e., up to Grade 5. The dwellers have expressed reluctance in enrolling their kids in the new government school because of the quality of education, since most of their children have been attending private schools. Affordability, however, in this regard (providing and encouraging good education in private schools), has not been expressed as an issue by the parents. This may be attributed to the Indian reservation system which prescribes that a percentage of entry seats be reserved for Scheduled Castes.

10 Aathupalayam is an area located in the east of Coimbatore.

Figure 5.6

Map showing places of education that the children had to travel to



- Vellalore Resettlement Colony

"The primary school is located 1.5 km. to 2 km. away from the residential area. It is a government school. Most of the students are continuing their academic education in the previous school itself, because, if a student is studying in 6th Standard [Grade], he is unable to change the school for 7th Standard. Moreover, most children are admitted to an English-medium school. The government school here is a Tamil-medium school. So, most of the children are travelling by bus and contract-based autos," said Dr. S. Udhayakumar – faculty member of the Department of Social Work at the Bharathiar University in Coimbatore – who had guided and accompanied the team during the field visit.

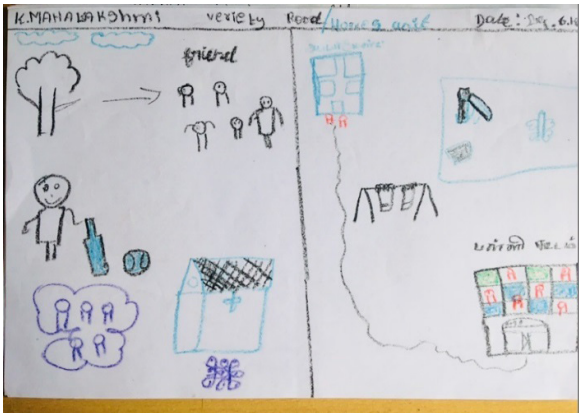
The extended time for travel curtails a child's play-time, and most of the evenings are spent in finishing schoolwork. A mother of two children expressed, *"My children now return only by 5 p.m. and immediately sit to complete their schoolwork.... They have no time or are too tired to play, and their sleep time has also reduced."*

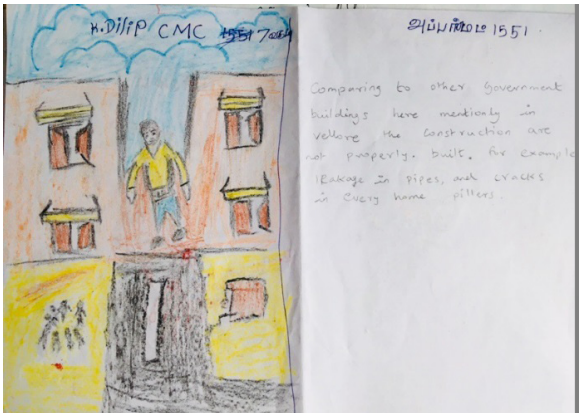
The reactions of the children were expressed as drawings, to indicate the changes they experienced post relocation. The availability of a playground with a swing and a slide were expressed as a happy feature of their evenings in Vellalore. However, few of them expressed loneliness due to a lack of friends. Few images are attached below **(Figures 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9)**.

Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

Figures 5.7, 5.8 & 5.9

Reactions of the children expressed as drawings, to indicate the changes they experienced post relocation





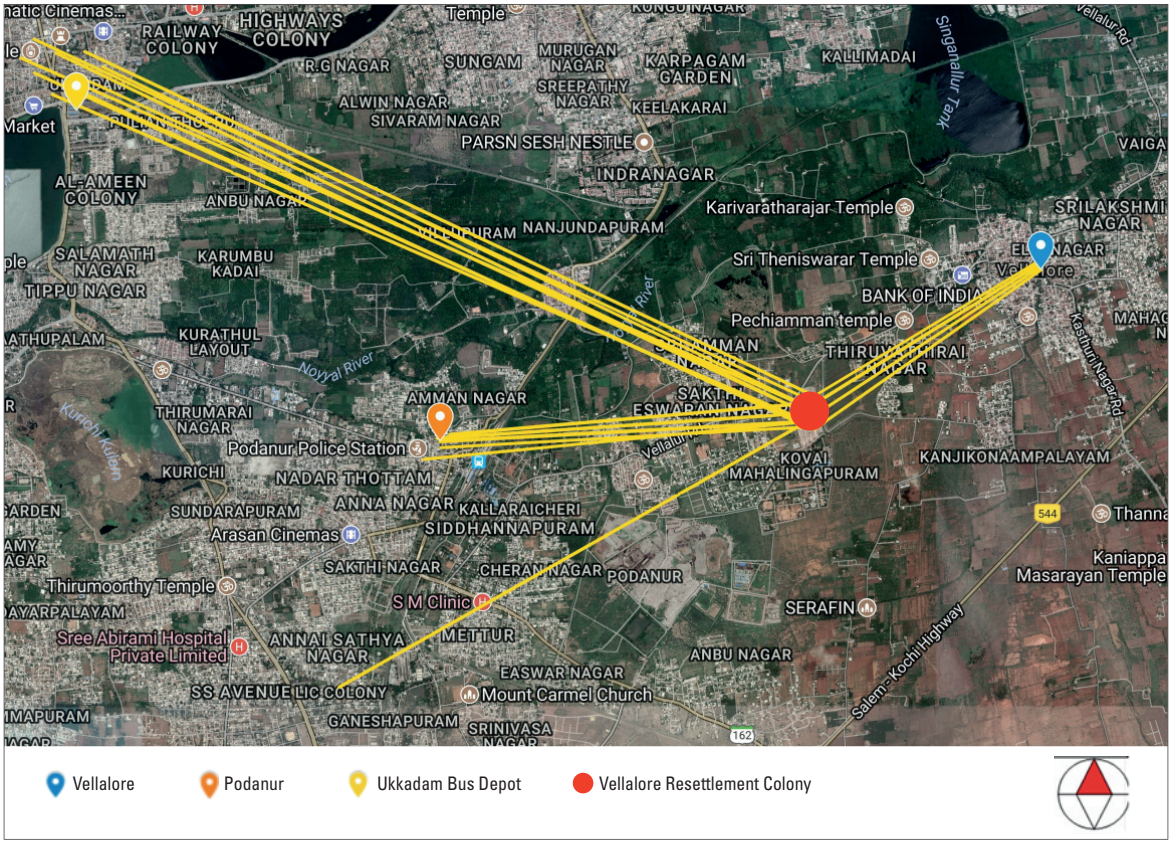
3) Health

The provision of a public health centre within the campus has failed to address the concerns of the dwellers. Its functioning has been reported to be inconsistent, with the unavailability of doctors or nurses in case of emergencies being a crucial concern. During all the visits by our team for the survey, the centre remained shut.

Source: KAHE

Figure 5.10

Map showing places with healthcare facilities



Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

- Vellalore Resettlement Colony

The dwellers expressed concerns over the availability of ambulances and the time taken by them to reach Vellalore during emergencies, with the closest hospital being at a distance of 3 km. Most of the dwellers visit the government hospital near the city centre since they avail themselves of the treatments at subsidised rates. However, these add to the pressures of the travel cost. Access to physical infrastructure, specific to transportation, and social amenities such as education and health have been asserted as primary concerns that add to the financial burdens of the dwellers, which may affect their health (mental and physical) and well-being, to further impact morbidity and mortality rates.

4) Safety

In the initial days post resettlement, a team of police officers were positioned for vigilance. However, these services failed to subsist. In due course, crime within the colony increased, with the unoccupied blocks being misused for illegal activities, social tensions between dwellers, and family troubles. The nearest police stations, i.e., the Vellalore police station and the Podanur police station, are both at a distance of 3 km. The map below **(Figure 5.11)** portrays the safe and unsafe areas, identified by the dwellers as part of the participatory exercise. Stickers of red and green were provided to them for marking the unsafe and safe zones respectively (see **Appendix 6**).

Figure 5.11

Map showing the safe and unsafe zones within the settlement

Source: Map created in Google My Maps by KAHE

It is observed that the central community space and the road connecting to the bus stop were considered to be the safest zones, while the vacant areas around the school (under construction) and the unoccupied blocks formed the unsafe zones according to the dwellers.

With further inquiry, the dwellers expressed their insecurities about the unoccupied blocks and the vacant lands as these being spaces for illegal activities such as drug abuse, alcohol consumption by minors, along with a few residents' supposition of prostitution. Since alcohol consumption is an evident cultural trait amongst corporation workers (men and women), many other residents have expressed discomfort in their actions positing an unsafe environment for girls and women. The dwellers also complain of the dangers of used liquor bottles being thrown from the higher levels of the structures; the undisposed glass shards hurled everywhere have often injured passersby.

"The black market for alcohol is rampant all over Vellalore. People go to great lengths to get alcohol; many a time, the liquor bottles are just dropped from the house's window; once, I almost got hit in the head by one…. Nowadays, young men from other blocks get drunk and come to our block to ogle at and grope young women. We see it happening all the time, sometimes as late as 2 or 3 a.m., with absolutely no one to question their actions," a fishmonger, who is one of the heads of the block committee, said.

"We have a hospital facility nearby, but there is only one nurse who comes there regularly. There is no doctor. The hospital was constructed within three months, but there are no people for work. There is no proper police station nearby – no policemen care to come now, but they used to come earlier. That is why this place is becoming a hub of crime for youngsters," another dweller concluded.

- Activity Mapping

Activity mapping is an exercise through which we mapped the changes in the activities of the dwellers post resettlement. A clock with all hours marked **(Appendix 5)** was provided to understand the primary activities performed by the dwellers throughout the day.

This was an experiment to compare how resettlement had influenced the daily schedule of both men and women. In the chart (activity wheel) below, it can be observed that the men stay outdoors for longer hours (often spent in travel). This has affected their leisure time and sleep schedule. Also, it can be pointed out that women who are alone at home face issues of safety when the men are out for longer hours.

Women, who lost their jobs post resettlement, spend most of their time at home, specifically during the afternoon and evening. Their sleep time has comparatively reduced, since the women wake up earlier than before to prepare lunch for their husbands and children. This shows how a change in the men's activities or schedule has an indirect influence on the women's activities/schedule too. The earlier working hours of

Figure 5.12

Activity Wheel – Activity changes seen among the men post resettlement

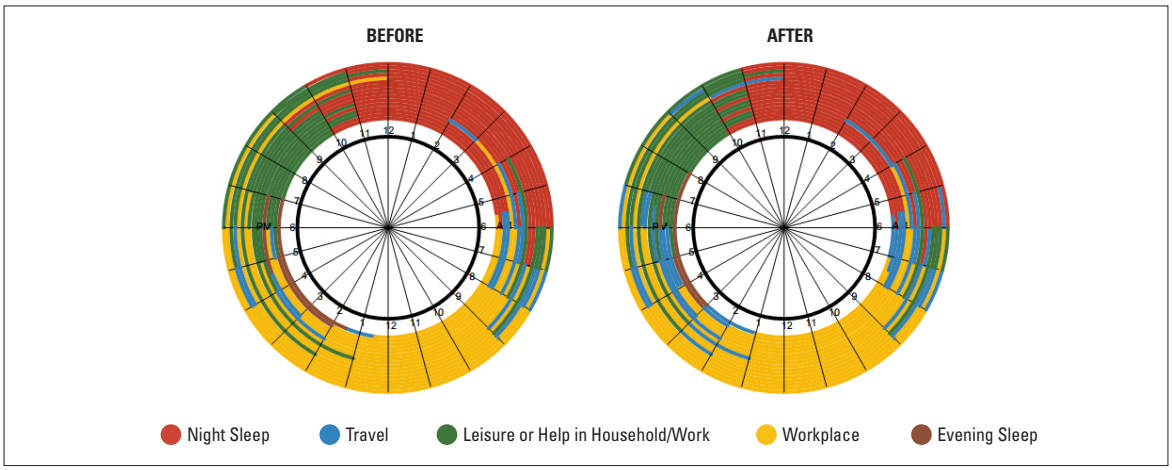
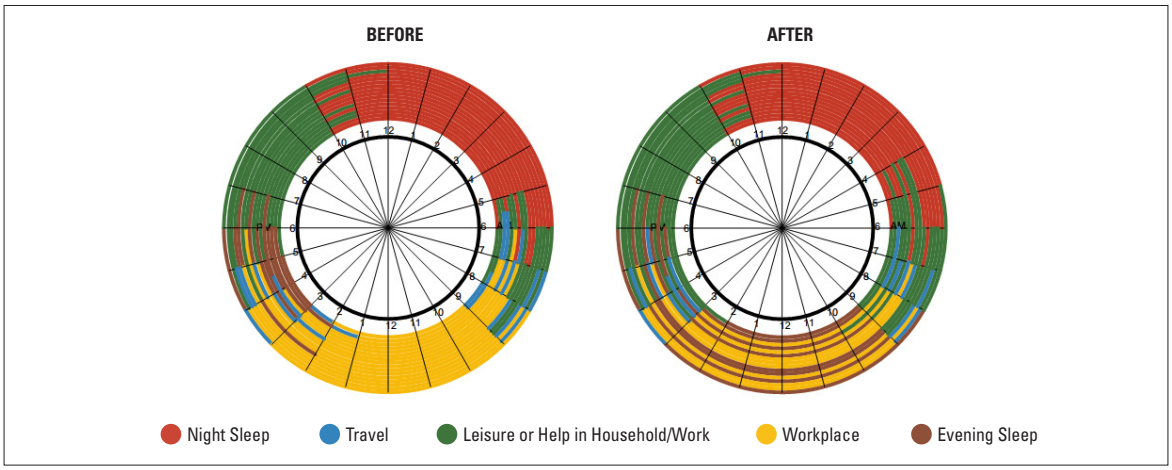


Figure 5.13

Activity Wheel – Activity changes seen among the women post resettlement



the women is now replaced by leisure activities or afternoon naps. Household-related activities seem to have increased in the evening hours for women.

Dr. Udhayakumar said, *"Initially, the women engaged in some IGP (income-generating programme) activities after the completion of their household and cooking-related activities. There were no major changes after relocation for the women who were engaged only in household activities earlier. After relocating to the housing complex at Vellalore, the women were unable to go outside for the purpose of earning money. Moreover, while going out or travelling, the transportation expenses were now higher – almost equal to the money they earned. Some women are involved in home-based income-generation activities like tailoring, packing, etc."*

- The Priority Chart

The dwellers were assisted in prioritising their basic needs and ranking them according to their preferences. In **Table 5.1**, it can be observed that highest importance was given to the accessibility of transport services, followed by the interrelated concern of education (ranks 2 and 3 respectively), i.e., the issue of access to transport has affected the access to education. Health concerns (access and quality) are prioritised at 3rd and 4th positions, followed by the need for a good-quality home at 4th or 5th rank. Employment ranks 5th, followed by community living being given the 6th or 8th rank. Water supply and ease of access are ranked 5th or 7th. A cumulative ranking has been articulated under **Table 5.2**.[11]

Table 5.1

Table showing the priority chart formed during the participatory exercise

PRIORITIES	HOUSE	EDUCATION	LOCATION	COMMUNITY LIVING	EMPLOYMENT	HEALTH	WATER	TRANSPORT
1)	05	10	08	01	0	04	01	25
2)	05	10	02	0	02	07	01	04
3)	01	09	01	02	01	08	05	0
4)	06	02	04	01	02	08	03	01
5)	06	0	04	0	10	02	02	06
6)	02	0	02	17	05	01	02	02
7)	04	0	08	08	05	01	06	02
8)	02	02	04	10	05	0	02	0

Table 5.2

Cumulative priority chart based on the participatory exercise

Rank 1	Transport: Infrastructure and services (access and quality)
Rank 2	Education: Access and quality
Rank 3	Health: Access and quality
Rank 4	House: Quality
Rank 5	Employment: Access and opportunities
Rank 6	Community living: Social networks
Rank 7	Location: Proximity to infrastructure and amenities
Rank 8	Water supply

Table 5.2 stresses upon the immediate actions required for better infrastructure and also indicates that accessibility is an instigating attribute for ensuing concerns. Although community living and

11 Tables 5.1 and 5.2 (Prioritisation process): Based on studies from literature, the KAHE team developed stickers or icons (see Appendix 5) to depict eight primary issues that may arise as a consequence of relocation. The residents were advised to prioritise and allocate a rank for each of these issues—Transport, Health, Education, House (or good living conditions), Location of the Resettlement Colony, Community Living, Employment and Water. Table 5.1 indicates the results of this process. The high numbers (in the responses) are indicative of the priority and the corresponding rank give to them. In certain cases, the categories were given weightage across two subsequent ranks, i.e., higher responses in two ranks. These were prioritised further by our team to devise a cumulative priority chart, which is shown in Table 5.2.

location-related issues were presumed concerns, the results of the above exercise revealed quite the opposite. This may be attributed to the failure in translation of the intent by the surveyor. Also, an individual's influence on another's answer, in the context of a participatory exercise (as discussed under **Limitations** in **PART 3**) can be a delimiting factor. By and large, this exercise revealed concerns related to physical, human, and financial assets that may disturb the livelihood of the dwellers.

As Dr. Udhayakumar said, *"A majority of the respondents faced problems related to transportation. Since they had already been working in urban central areas, they need to travel very long distances after shifting – around 15 km. Moreover, at the time of data collection, the Ukkadam flyover work was going on; so, the people would start their travel as early as 3:30 in the morning. They are also compelled to spend more money for transportation purposes. The government hospital is nearly 15 km. from their area of residence. So, they are unable to access proper medical treatment from the government hospitals too."*

Stakeholder and Impact Map

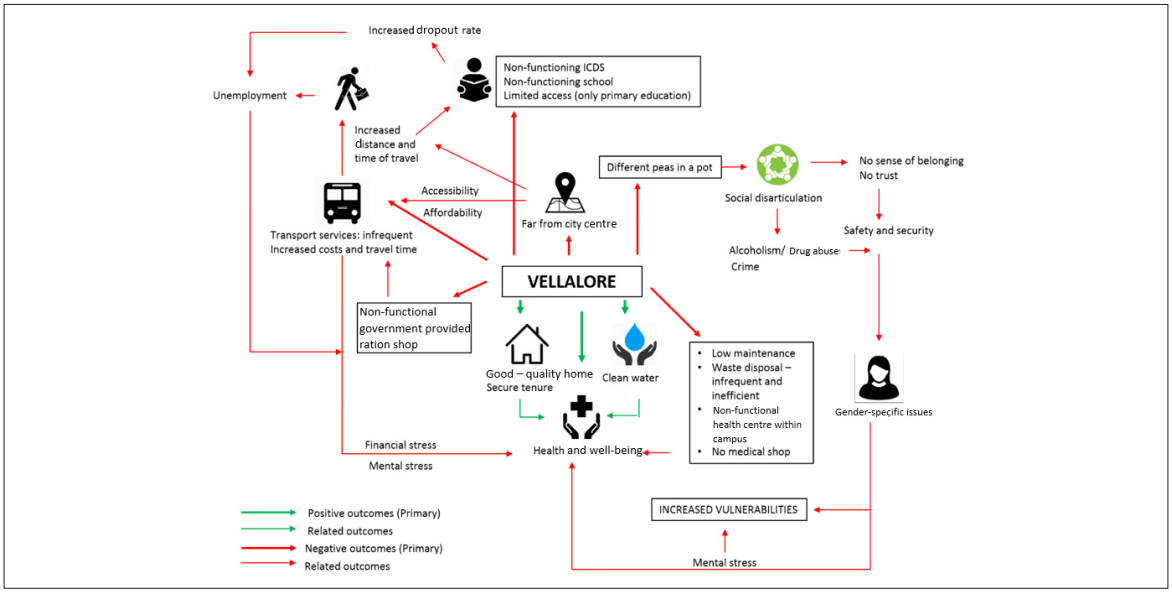
What was intended to be a focused group discussion to map the timeline and the stakeholders involved in the process of resettlement turned out to be an extension to the participatory exercise, with the dwellers assisting us in creating an impact map by identifying the positives and the negatives of the relocation project **(Figure 5.14)**.

- Impact Map

Figure 5.14 (illustrated below) is an outcome of the interrelated concerns of the neighbourhood post resettlement, providing inferential analyses on the posed concerns. The positives of the whole project are mainly associated with the provision of good-quality homes and regulated water supply, which lead to better health and well-being. However, the issues identified overshadow the optimistic renditions of the set-up, having caused increased vulnerabilities and transitional effects on people's health and well-being. This impact map can be a starting point for in-depth investigations pertaining to a particular group (CMC Colony, in this case), based on gender, occupation, social status, etc.

Figure 5.14

Impact map showing the outcome of interrelated concerns of the neighbourhood post resettlement

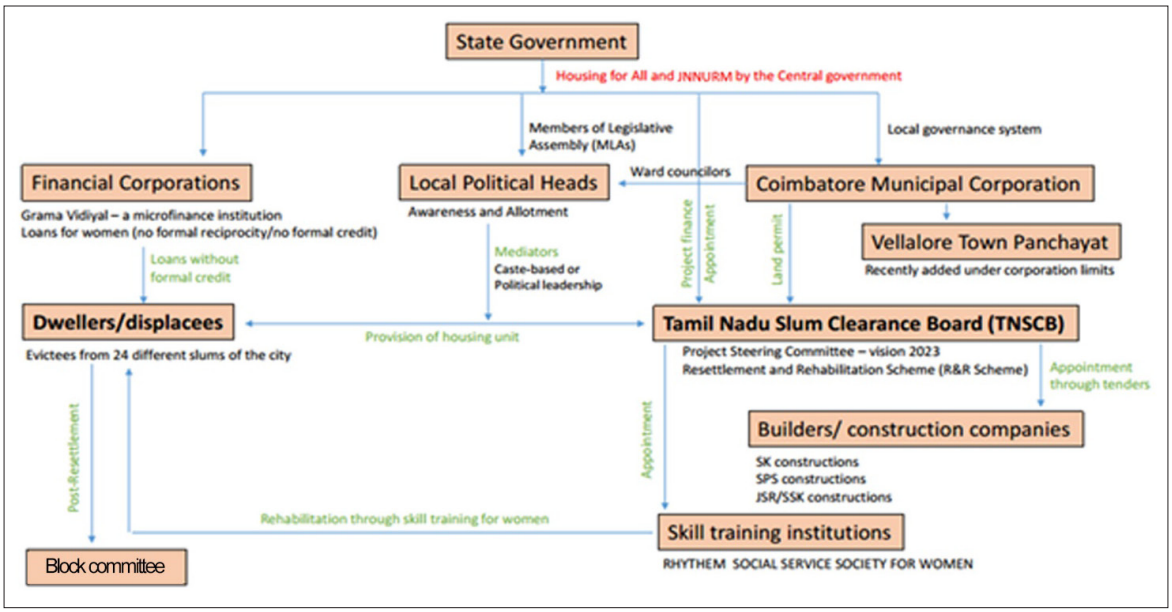


- Stakeholders

The main stakeholders who are involved can be identified as follows:

Figure 5.15

The framework of stakeholders



Household Surveys

The inferences from the participatory exercises demanded a funnelling down of the target population for household surveys. The context of the CMC Colony dwellers has been discussed in the earlier **PARTs**, which justified the premise for this selected sample. The triangulation of data was achieved by cross-relating the analyses of the household surveys with the inferences drawn through the participatory exercise. Along with a basic understanding of the household profile – family size, age, etc., the questionnaire that was devised **(Appendix 7)** also attempted to encompass the measuring indices of the different kinds of livelihood capital as follows:

Human capital: Measured with details such as education, skills available (language and its influence on employment), health, and well-being.

Physical capital: Preference, accessibility, and affordability of services and infrastructure were measured through the priority-ranking exercise.

Financial capital: Employment status was measured to understand the household income and assets, and compare these with expenditures. This is closely linked with both human and physical capital.

Social capital: Measured to understand the networks that are in play, reciprocity, and the trust that exists.

Natural capital: In this specific case, this kind of capital does not influence the livelihood, due to the absence of natural resources around the settlement. Vellalore Lake has dried up and has been converted for other land uses. Sustainability measures, in terms of adding to the natural resource base, do not seem to fit in this context.

The data collected from 92 respondents has been analysed (as below):

- Age Group

Table 5.3 (below) indicates that 69.5 per cent of the total respondents in the household survey belonged to the age groups of 16–30 years and 31–45 years together. This can be considered to infer that a suitable sample of youth and working population were part of the exercise to map the impact of resettlement on the physical and financial assets.

Table 5.3

Table showing the age group of the respondents

AGE GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL (RESPONDENTS)
1–15	0	0	0
16–30	10	20	30
31–45	18	16	34
46–60	11	9	20
61 and above	6	2	8

- Marital Status

Of the sample population, 81.5 per cent were married **(Table 5.4)**. The survey of non-working female respondents was adapted to indicate the income of their partners, in order to assess probable financial concerns. It also seemed important to note the widowed population, in order to highlight social concerns (discrimination based on gender, marital/social status, etc.). However, the current study provides only an overview and does not delve deep into such sensitivities.

Table 5.4

Table showing the marital status of the respondents

MARITAL STATUS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL (RESPONDENTS)
Married	41	34	75
Unmarried	4	4	8
Widowed	1	10	11
Divorced	0	0	0

- Family Size

Overcrowding in the departure slums makes it a tedious affair for the officials to assign houses to households based on the family size, especially in contexts where more than one generation reside together. However, the allotment is based on the Aadhaar[12] card of the beneficiary, and one house is provided per family. Yet, in the target sample, 15 per cent of the houses had a family of 1–2 members residing in them; 64 per cent of the houses were occupied by a family having 2–4 members; *21 per cent* of the houses had a family of 4 or more members residing in them – these statistics possibly indicate the concern of overcrowding and its implications on the health and well-being of the people **(Table 5.5)**.

Table 5.5

Table showing the size of the respondents' families

FAMILY SIZE	RESPONDENTS
1–2 members	14
2–4 members	59
4 or more members	21

"Not the ration card, but they ask for an ID proof—the Aadhaar card is required for the allotment of homes these days. A house was allotted to us only because I had a power connection in my name; the possession of an electricity bill in your name is among the most important requirements," the person heading the block committee said, when questioned about the requirements for the allotment of homes.

- Education Level

From the target population, 30 per cent are either uneducated or have completed studies till secondary school **(Table 5.6)**. This justifies the low education levels of the Arunthathiyar caste (discussed in **PART 4**), which has its effects on the employment type

12 Aadhaar (meaning 'foundation' in Hindi) is a 12-digit unique identity number that can be obtained by the residents of India based on their biometric and demographic data.

(discussed below). As mentioned earlier, all the dwellers of the CMC Colony have identified themselves as Arunthathiyars, with the older generations having migrated from Andhra Pradesh. Thus, Telugu is a widely spoken language among them, along with the local language of Tamil.

Table 5.6

Table showing the education level of the respondents

EDUCATION LEVEL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL (RESPONDENTS)
Primary	4	3	7
Secondary	15	13	28
High School	11	10	21
Pre-University	0	1	1
Degree and Above	3	5	8
Uneducated	13	15	28

- Employment Type

Out of the sample population, 25 per cent work for the Coimbatore Municipal Corporation, while an almost equal percentage work for private agencies (17 per cent) or are self-employed (18 per cent). With close to 23 per cent of them having high-school-level education **(Table 5.6)**, a shift in employment type (to private or self-employment) may indicate a faint occurrence of social mobility (or occupational mobility). Caste-based discrimination that exists and the high rate of school drop-outs, till date, have their implications on the intergenerational occupational mobility of the Arunthathiyars. Apart from the caste-related concerns, the probability of being employed in other government jobs remains low due to trust issues (from the side of the dwellers, for the agencies). Hence, they resort to owning petty businesses or working for the private sector as a part of housekeeping staff **(Table 5.7)**.

Table 5.7

Table showing the respondents' type of employment

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL (RESPONDENTS)
Municipality/CMC	15	8	23
Other Government Agencies	0	3	3
Private Sector	10	6	16
Self-employed	6	11	17
Others	12	0	12

1) Employment Rate

Of the sample surveyed, 74 per cent were employed. It is interesting to note here that the unemployment rate has increased amongst women post resettlement **(Table 5.8)**. This indicates loss of jobs as an effect of resettlement that has affected women who may have earlier worked as domestic helps in the residential areas around Variety Hall Road. Also, the low development in the housing sector in Vellalore indicates that fewer such opportunities are available to these women.

Table 5.8

Table showing the rate of employment among men and women

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Employed	43	24	67
Unemployed	3	18	21
Previously Employed	0	11	11

2) Place of Employment

Table 5.9 is a clear evidence of the distance travelled by the dwellers for employment. The locations mentioned are around the city centre, with the average distance travelled from Vellalore being 11.5 km. A mere 6.5 per cent of the sample travel around Vellalore for their jobs – a presumptive indication of a slow transition in the area of employment.

Table 5.9

Table showing the places of employment

LOCATION OF EMPLOYMENT	DISTANCE (KM.)	RESPONDENTS
Gandhipuram	13.50	18
CMC Colony	11.60	12
R. S. Puram	11.00	13
Ukkadam	10.00	13
Selvapuram	11.50	2
Town Hall	10.50	12
Sowripalayam	9.30	4
Vellalore	3.00	6

- Monthly Income

Of the sample surveyed, 44.5 per cent earn Rs.5,000–Rs.10,000; this indicates the monthly income range of daily-wage (or minimum-wage) workers **(Table 5.10)**. An estimated range of expenses per month has been devised below to compute their income versus expenditure, indicating the dynamics of the financial capital after resettlement. It is also important to observe that close to 23 per cent of the sample population earn more than Rs.15,000 (salary of an entry-level graduate in most private firms), which may point out the nature of employment and add a presumptive note on the occupational mobility of those associated with private agencies or those who are self-employed. However, the added expenditures that may affect their savings have to be noted as well.

Table 5.10

Table showing the income generated by the respondents

INCOME	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL (RESPONDENTS)
Rs.1,000–Rs.5,000	8	7	15
Rs.5,000–Rs.10,000	21	20	41
Rs.10,000–Rs.15,000	4	11	15
Rs.15,000 and Above	11	10	21

- Monthly Expenditure

Expenditures were computed considering basic necessities such as an individual gas connection (for cooking), electrical charges, medical expenses, and groceries **(Table 5.11)**. Since most of the dwellers are provided with *medical* subsidies and free medical check-up (through the government's healthcare initiatives) in government hospitals, they travel to Ukkadam and Town Hall for medical attention. In case of emergencies, they can visit the hospital at Podanur (3 km. from the resettlement colony) or the Vellalore Government Hospital (2 km. from the resettlement colony). However, the outreach, in terms of services and quality, is, as yet, inefficient.

Table 5.11

Table showing the monthly expenditures of the respondents

LIST OF EXPENDITURES	AMOUNT (IN INR)
Medical	Rs.500–Rs.2,500
Electrical	Rs.100–Rs.300
Gas Connection/Kerosene Stove	Approximately Rs.750
Grocery	Approximately Rs.3,500
Water Supply	-

The *electrical expenses* for a single family of four members range from Rs.100–Rs.350 for a period of two months, apart from the subsidies provided by the electricity board (despite the first 100 units of billing being completely free of charge, for all its citizens). To negotiate the added expense, most of the dwellers saved on electricity consumption through the use of kerosene stoves instead of an induction cooker.

The cooking gas connection or the *liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) connection* has not been updated with the new addresses, posing a problem with respect to the delivery of the service. As a remedial measure, again, the dwellers have resorted to kerosene stoves.

Groceries are availed of at subsidised rates, by presenting proof through the ration card[13] at the government ration shops. However, these cards have not been updated till today. The residents travel to their departure slums for subsidised ration, adding to the cost and effort involved in travel. Also, the government ration shop designed within the Vellalore Resettlement Colony is still non-functional. During informal interviews, the dwellers mentioned that, once every week, the menfolk visited the government ration shop within Town Hall limits, on their way back from work, and brought home the groceries.

Apart from these, it is important to note that the costs of travel have increased substantially, with Rs.35 being the cost per day per person for bus travel to the city centre. Assuming a family of two working professionals, the cost of monthly travel would range between Rs.1,750–Rs.2,100. The schoolgoers in the family have to pay for transport too, adding to the overall cost. The fuel costs of travelling by a two-wheeler (assuming a mileage of 40 km./litre) would range from Rs.1,000–Rs.1,500 per month.

This would bring the range of monthly expenditures from around Rs.5,000–Rs.7,000, which in turn makes savings a dreadful task.

- Mode of Transport

The mode of transport widely preferred by the dwellers is the public transport system – as suggested by close to 61 per cent of the survey sample; 32 per cent of them own private vehicles **(Table 5.12)**. On the one hand, these figures defend the aforementioned woes of the transport system (time, cost, and frequency), while on the other, they show a slow shift in transport modes tagging the additional fuel cost to the monthly expenditures.

13 The ration card is an official document issued by state governments across India to households that are eligible to purchase subsidised foodgrains under the public distribution system (as per the National Food Security Act). They also serve as a common form of proof of identity and address for many Indians.

Table 5.12

Table showing the respondents' preferred mode of transport

MODE OF TRANSPORT	HOUSEHOLDS (RESPONDENTS)
Two-wheeler	30
Public Transport	56
Others	6

- Measuring Social Capital

The diverse social groups that are housed in the colony and the random housing-unit-allotment procedures of the TNSCB have disturbed the social networks that once held the community together. Less interaction between communities has been expressed in the name of religion or religious practices, caste, etc. Issues of trust and reciprocity are but obvious in such scenarios, which subsequently hinder the safety and security of the dwellers.

"People of several faiths live here. Some people apply cow dung in the common hallway…If they do this within their house, then who would object? I just don't like these things; I am even considering moving away to someplace else, because of this. Discipline is everything for us. Had they allotted specific blocks according to people [religion], there wouldn't be any conflicts, right?" the dweller heading the block committee said.

Social disarticulation is a known concern; its corresponding data has been computed and mentioned below:

- Degree of Interaction with Neighbours and New Network Systems

The dwellers were questioned based on the interactions with their neighbors (as a measure of immediate help). From the sample population, 43.5 per cent have interacted "sometimes" with their neighbours, providing a neutral response to the data intended, with a feeble indication towards weak trust and reciprocity **(Table 5.13)**.

Table 5.13

Table showing the degree of interaction between respondents and their neighbours

DEGREE OF INTERACTION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL (RESPONDENTS)
Always	3	5	8
Often	10	7	17
Sometimes	22	18	40
Rarely	6	9	15
Never	5	7	12

When further questioned about the probability of new networks being formed, close to 70 per cent of the dwellers suggested they had failed in making new friends post relocation **(Table 5.14)**.

Table 5.14

Table showing those who made friends after shifting to Vellalore

MAKING NEW FRIENDS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL (RESPONDENTS)
Yes	13	16	29
No	33	31	64

The festivals in India bring people together for a common celebration. The dwellers of the CMC Colony celebrate Hindu festivals and festivals germane to their caste. Strong networks make these celebrations seem mostly undisturbed even in this new area of residence, for 40 per cent of the dwellers' relatives reside within the resettlement colony. However, there are a few others who still travel back to their slums for the celebrations. With only 20 per cent of the dwellers celebrating with friends, and 10 per cent with their neighbours within the settlement, the statistics indicate weak networks outside their comfort zones (i.e., caste or religion). An ostensible observation can thus be made to deduce a low *sense of belonging* or community living **(Table 5.15)**.

Table 5.15

Table showing who the dwellers celebrate festivals with

CELEBRATE WITH …	HOUSEHOLDS (RESPONDENTS)
Relatives	65
Friends	19
Neighbours	8

- Priority Chart

The priority-ranking exercise conducted during the participatory exercise was reiterated at the time of conducting the household surveys. However, the intent for this slightly changed to incorporate priorities based on an individual's basic needs. The list included services such as water, education, health, good-quality housing, transport, proximity to amenities (location), employment, and community living. The shared ranks were further prioritised to create a cumulative rank. The results are as below:

Table 5.16

Priority chart prepared on the basis of the household surveys

PRIORITIES	HOUSE	EDUCATION	LOCATION	COMMUNITY LIVING	EMPLOYMENT	HEALTH	WATER	TRANSPORT
1)	56	04	02	0	0	06	0	19
2)	03	09	18	06	04	09	41	08
3)	0	09	22	26	10	19	08	04
4)	0	14	21	14	21	16	08	04
5)	01	20	13	22	23	06	06	01
6)	02	20	13	08	23	18	05	01
7)	03	09	08	11	10	15	22	09
8)	26	06	0	04	01	03	04	47

Ironically, transport was the least of their priorities compared to a good-quality house, access to clean water, and community living (in comparison to **Table 5.2**). With the provision of a house and water supply in Vellalore, community living and the advantages of location appear to be disregarded elements when it came to promoting the well-being of the dwellers. ◆

Table 5.17

Cumulative priority ranks according to the household surveys

RANK 1	House
RANK 2	Water
RANK 3	Community Living
RANK 4	Location – Proximity to amenities
RANK 5	Employment
RANK 6	Education
RANK 7	Health
RANK 8	Transport

PART 6
KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Key Findings

Through the parameters under study, a mixed-methodological approach in data computation, and by reiterating the impact map **(Figure 5.11)**, the following can be underscored:

Relocation from the centre of the city to its fringes has added to the stress on the livelihoods of the displaced persons. These can be indicated as the repercussions of weak planning and rehabilitation.

Firstly, with more than 10 months into the resettlement, the dwellers are still facing issues primarily related to transportation and related services. The issue has intensified, with a majority of those resettled here travelling back to their departure slums for employment and social amenities such as schools and hospitals. Accessibility concerns (good-quality education, healthcare services, etc.) increased the travel time and costs, and infrequent public transport services are asserted as poor provision of infrastructure. The school, ration shops, Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) centre, and the health centre within the premises of the resettlement colony remain non-functional till date.

Also, the dwellers under study (i.e., the CMC workers) show a hint of occupational mobility by resorting to employment with private agencies as opposed to continuing with their caste-based occupation of scavenging. However, the places of employment remain in the departure slum area, adding to their travel woes. It can be stated that resettlement or rehabilitation has, by far, not impacted social mobility.

Secondly, high levels of social disarray are witnessed in the colony as it houses people from different slums belonging to varied social backgrounds (religion or caste). The chaos has been mainly attributed to the allotment system undertaken by the TNSCB, wherein the call for lots has dispersed the dwellers across the colony, with priorities given only to households having senior citizens or physically handicapped members. Discontent in this regard has further weakened the plausible ties that could have been established between the dwellers. The matters of concern could have been largely scaled down (through the comfort of network) if the pre-existent networks had been directly translocated into the new setting. Fragmented social networks, weak trust levels, and a lack of reciprocity have raised alarming concerns of safety and security for the dwellers.

Thirdly, displacement has led to a loss of jobs, mostly amongst women, which has its effects on the financial stability of the household. Moreover, it was observed during the field visits that the zones between the kitchen and the living area (marked in **Figure 4.8** as 'Buffer Zone') within the housing unit are being used as a space to sell condiments and petty household items. These were mostly handled by women who were unemployed after resettlement. These activities also indicate a sprouting of informal activities as a medium of restoration of assets (mainly financial), lost or more so as a bottom-up livelihood strategy.

The roads within the colony are occupied by vendors and their carts in the evenings. All these possibly point towards weak planning and assessment (during

the pre-relocation period) in gauging the socio-economic profiles documented by the TNSCB. Proposals for street vendors and petty-shop owners could have been incorporated in the layout of the colony.

Rehabilitation through job provisions and skill training are more or less absent. The interventions of RHYTHEM (appointed by the TNSCB) remained restricted to women who were only from the Aathupalayam slum (around 50 women), thus posing a weak devolution of the rehabilitation strategy. It is also important to note that the CMC Colony's residents are associated with a caste-based occupation that makes them more vulnerable when combating livelihood issues.

Furthermore, the ineffectual and rather prolonged promises of employment opportunities in the proposed bus depot and lorry *pet*[10] in Vellalore, and the added pressures during this transitional period, may provoke withdrawal by the dwellers, forcing them to move back to the old location or elsewhere. It is important to note that the demolished slum land currently remains under the jurisdiction of the Coimbatore Municipal Corporation. If this is left undeveloped, opportunistic encroachments are not far from occurrence (adding to the already existing stories of many failed resettlement projects).

Fourthly, the concerns related to the colony are presently being voiced to the block committee members who were appointed post relocation. The members of the block committee are selected based on religion (at least one Hindu, Muslim, Christian, etc. should be involved), with women members being completely absent.

"We concentrated on the three main religions being represented equally (Hinduism, Christianity, Islam); it is only when these three communities come together that there can be an amicable environment. However, if they are to separate at some point, we cannot do anything," said the person heading the block committee.

Although the committee organises meetings every week (on Tuesdays between 8 p.m. and 8.30 p.m.), participation by the dwellers is meek, revealing trust issues. Constant persuasion by the committee to better the living conditions has been rendered futile.

When questioned about the lack of healthcare services and remedial actions for it, the block committee head mentioned, *"That is not possible without the co-operation of all the residents. There is a big difference between a small group of us asking for these facilities and the whole populace asking for them. The very reason we started the association was to do such small makeovers within the housing community and, in doing so, encourage the others to step in and work with us. We are not trying to exclude anyone; in fact, we are calling out to everyone, but they are not interested. They should join us; only then would they get to know about the prevailing conditions. If we visit a private flat complex, they have a proper bin to collect and dispose of waste; people put waste only in the bins; they also employ someone exclusively to collect waste. A lot of the residents here are sanitation workers themselves; if one doesn't keep their own house clean, how can these people be trusted with cleaning others' houses?"*

The dissemination of remedial actions thus remains unconsolidated, unfledged, and restrictive.

Fifthly, and most crucially, the entire process of resettlement – i.e., pre-relocation planning, transitional processes, and post-relocation planning – has been completely *non-participatory* in nature. The news of resettlement was given to the people through the local councillors, with consultations taking place only during the allotment processes. These consultations were conducted just a month prior to relocation/shifting. The process of allotment was carried out through a call of lots, with very little preference or decision-making power being given in the hands of the dwellers.

Lastly, the colony, 10 months into occupancy, endorses an unkempt look, at first glance. The reasons can be many, ranging from low-quality infrastructure revealing cracks in the walls and leaking plumbing lines to low maintenance by the corporation's officials and the waste-disposal methods of the dwellers. The rainwater culverts are clogged by undisposed waste. The dwellers and the corporation endure in a complex blame game (of liability for the dirty surroundings), with long-term consequences affecting the dwellers' health and well-being.

When questioned if the corporation is irregular in clearing the dumped waste, the block committee head said, *"No, they do [clean], but it is the people residing here who are worrisome. No one follows a decorum, but the effects of it are experienced by everyone."* This implies a lack of awareness and an attitude of negligence being prevalent amongst the dwellers. He also mentioned, *"We used to advise on where to keep the dustbins, but the government has placed the bins haphazardly. They don't seem to care about the implications of their actions."*

Conclusion

The argumentative corollaries to De Soto's theory of formalisation or legalisation (of the assets of the informal sector) considered the play of poverty, exclusion, and power struggles in the dynamics of capitalism where the informal activities were termed "localized subsistence economy" (Roy 2005, 148), and the devolution of the responsibility of corrective actions rested within the poor themselves – through apt enablement. The policies directed are, by and large, a response to the external pressures and the changing contexts that often induce confusion.

Urban upgradation through slum removal and relocation is limited by the ideology of space, i.e., redevelopment happens in terms of space, built environment, and amenities, shadowing the aspects of livelihoods, wages, and people's capacities. M. S. Roy (2005) terms this as "aestheticization of poverty" (Roy 2005, 150). The dilution in ideology is a result of 'who' sets the agenda rather than the strategies of the agenda, witnessed repeatedly to be a political process.

"Confronting the failures and limitations of models provides a more realistic sense of politics and conflicts, and also forces planning to face up to the consequences of its own good action. Such outcomes must be seen as something more than simply unintended consequences" (Roy 2005, 156). The Vellalore resettlement project conceives a rather repressive theory, whereas resettlement theories in the global context have been replaced by in-situ redevelopment concepts, rights-based policies, and participatory developments.

Reiterating the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF), the processes and institutions (the resettlement policy and the TNSCB) that assess the livelihood assets and propose livelihood strategies seem to falter in the case of Vellalore, with distressing outcomes such as lack of employment opportunities, inaccessible infrastructure, and affordability concerns plaguing the project – it is a recycling of poverty and adds to existing vulnerabilities. Beyond these, the role of NGOs or CBOs as mediating agencies for livelihood revival seem completely absent. The block committee is, as yet, inept at resolving the complexities in the dynamics of the neighbourhood, daunting the morale of its dwellers. Planning, in this sense, carries the attitude of a "casual shrug" (Roy 2005, 156), stating inabilities in managing the advocacies of complex social systems. The weak social capital is thus another primary concern that renders the context fragile, and may further augment vulnerabilities. Pressures on land – both on the resettlement premises (infrastructure pressure) and on the departure lands (shift of economy) – may influence the dynamics of microeconomics and, thereby, impact livelihood.

To conclude, the report questions the snowballing of issues, highlighted in the earlier **PARTs**, which may lead to a *vertical slum in the making*, if immediate remedial measures are left unheeded. However, as the title of this research puts across an understanding of the lives in transition, the observations and inferences made herein, though restricted to the current scenario, may give rise to ensuing hypotheses (specific to gender, caste, religion, employment, social networks, etc.). ◆

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