IMPOVERISHMENT ASSESSMENT OF SLUM DWELLERS AFTER IN SITU AND OFF-SITE RELOCATIONS

A CASE OF INDORE

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to assess the positives and negatives of a relocation and resettlement program in Indore, by comparing the life of slum dwellers before and after the implementation of the program based on the indicators of impoverishment risks due to Displacement and Resettlement formulated by Cernea. Eight forms of impoverishments are proposed by Cernea (2000b) in his Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model. The research, while corroborating the research of the lead author in a different empirical setting in Ahmedabad (Patel, Sliuzas, Mathur, & Miscione, 2013), shows a significant loss in household assets of displacees and issues of joblessness, accessibility to common services, health risks, marginalization and social disarticulation that has increased their vulnerability of falling into deeper poverty.

KEY WORDS

Relocation, Rehabilitation, Slums, Impoverishment Risks, Development Induced Displacements and Resettlement
INTRODUCTION

The term ‘slum’ brings the following to mind: dilapidated houses, congested alleyways, poverty, squalor and crime. The definition provided by the The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN–Habitat) largely matches these expectations. In ‘Challenge of the Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements’, a widely-cited report by UN–Habitat, the ‘slum’ is described as an area that “combines, to various extents, the following characteristics: inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality and durability of housing; overcrowding; insecure residential status (CDHR, 2010). The report indicates that the definition of the slum elaborates upon the physical features but some of the important social parameters are excluded1.

Who lives in India’s Slums? Regarding this question, most of the people have a crude thought that the low income group with in a city and low wage laboring population such as vendors, sweepers, construction workers, domestic workers and other wage labors stay in the slums.

What are the lives of slum dwellers like? With respect to this question there are misconceptions and people often associate slums with criminality and inferior living conditions neglecting the community interaction and productivity indicants in the slum along with the capability of slum dwellers to resolve problems which necessitates the need of intervention by the Government for improvement of the slums.

Slum improvement has become a priority for local governments and various other organizations after the identification of slum as jeopardy to the city and their high association with poverty. Various interventions in terms of policies and programmes have been made to reduce and prevent the problem of slums. The policies of slums have manifolded starting from the eviction of the slum to slum relocation and rehabilitation (ADB 1998a, ADB 1998b, Hasan 2006 as quoted by (Kabir, 2011))

Impoverishment refers to situations in which people’s welfare and livelihood worsen as a result of a specific intervention. Risk is defined as the possibility embedded in a certain course of social action to trigger adverse effects such as losses, destruction, functionally counterproductive impacts, deprivations of future generations, etc. This paper tries to trigger the impoverishment risks caused due to displacement and resettlement under the Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) program of

1 The first four criteria as per the definition provided by United Nations for slums correspond to physical expressions of slums conditions (i.e. access to basic services, overcrowding and housing structure) however, the fifth, is related to the law or to the application of the law, which is more difficult to measure. (Restrepo, 2013)

2 According to Asian Development Bank (ADB), rebuilding of the houses, assets (which include productive land) and infrastructure in another location is the ‘relocation’. And re-establishment of incomes, livelihood assets, social system is ‘rehabilitation’ (ADB 1998a, ADB 1998b, Hasan 2006 as quoted by (Kabir, 2011)).

3 Global Land Tool Network (GLTN) defined ‘relocation’ and ‘resettlement’ separately. According to them ‘relocation’ is the transfer of individual or group of people physically from their original place to another place and it can be temporarily or permanently. They defined the ‘resettlement’ as the number of provisions in the place of relocation or in the place of their origin on their return (in case of on-site resettlement). These provisions are shelter, basic infrastructure, services, livelihood
Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM), the largest single infusion of public funds to urban local governments for new housing, transport and other infrastructure. Infrastructure projects at the scale envisaged by JnNURM are relatively large and unprecedented and they involve complex financing and engineering arrangements.

These projects have led to large scale displacement of residents along with a loss of livelihoods. Displacement also affects their access to services to public utilities. Displacements raise question about the policy and the implementation process of the Government that claim to be beneficial, participatory and efficient. Some writers have demonstrated that the displacees endure substantial risks of social, economic and cultural impoverishments, raising issues of social justice and equity (Cernea M., 2000a, b; Downing, 1996). Nevertheless the government rationalizes these concerns by stating the benefits for larger number of urban poor and by rehabilitating the displacees to prior levels of wellbeing to justify the ills of displacement.

In most cities, BSUP projects are designed as majorly relocation to new housing estates in the urban periphery rather than insitu up-gradation or relocation. The displacement of the ‘eligible’ from prime urban locations to the periphery comes at considerable economic, social and human costs and the ‘ineligible’, which are unacknowledged and abandoned are even worse off (Patel, et al., 2013). In case of off-site or insitu relocation, only few attain better living conditions whereas majority are made worse off due to additional financial responsibilities, insecurity and poor community interaction. The latter cannot be ignored (Cernea & Kanbur, 2002). In both the processes whether it is off-site or insitu relocation, the displaced slum dwellers in Indian cities are inevitably exposed to multiple impoverishments (Patel, et al., 2013).

Eight forms of impoverishments risks in displacees are proposed by Cernea M. (2000b) in his Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) model. The elements specified in the model are landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, morbidity and mortality, and social disarticulation. In the past two decades, these eight interlinked forms have been empirically reconfirmed, and evidence includes a major World Bank review (World Bank, 1994). But these studies are largely in context of rural and tribal displacements, urban displacement and its consequences on the displacees, however, remains relatively unstudied topic (Bartolome, 1933). It is projected that the infrastructure projects under JnNURM will increasingly account for major displacement and therefore the outcomes and impacts of the implemented projects demands more attention to know the rhetorics and reality of the policy adopted. Urban displacement and impacts of displacement and resettlement on urban poor in fastly urbanising cities of India remains an under explored though few authors such as Patel et al. (2012), (Bhan, 2009) have shown evidences of consequences of displacement and resettlement. This study adds empirical evidence to the research by the lead author in a different empirical setting of Ahmedabad (Patel, et al., 2013) by studying Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) of urban poor in Indore.
The aim of this study is to assess impoverishment risks due to displacement and resettlement (originally defined by M. Cernea) and assess whether slum relocation scheme under BSUP has been successful in alleviating impoverishment.

The city of Indore with approximately 2 million populations (Census, 2011) is the most prominent city of the state / province of Madhya Pradesh in India as the 17th most populous city of India as per 2001 census. As per 2001 Census, slum population of Indore constituted 16.25% of the total population while the population in the slums notified by Madhya Pradesh Slum Clearance and Improvement Act was 20% of the total population. Several initiatives and intervention have been made to ameliorate the conditions of the slum, starting from the Madhya Pradesh Nagariya Kshetron ke Bhoomihin Vyakti Adhiniyam 1984 popularly known as ‘Patta’ Act 5 to the Slum Rehabilitation and Relocation Scheme6 under BSUP (Basic Services for Urban Poor).

**METHODOLOGY**

This study is based on mixed methods i.e majorly qualitative supported by the quantitative research in two case studies designed to provide an in-depth understanding of relocation scheme and examine the DIDR’s (Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement) impact on the relocated and rehabilitated people based on the parameters of M. Cernea. The two case studies taken were: first, Scheme No. 134, where 272 households displaced due to developmental projects under JnNURM 5

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5 The Madhya Pradesh Nagariya Kshetron Ke Bhoomihin Vyakti (Pattadhruki Adhikaron Ka Pradan Kiya Jana) Adhiniyam, 1984, popularly known as the ‘Patta’ Act was introduced to grant leasehold rights to the landless persons occupying urban lands. The Act was amended in 1998 to extend the cutoff date of eligibility to 31st May 1998. The most important amendment in the Act was to introduce the Mohalla Samitis with the intent to empower the community in the planning and management of the development and social welfare. Under the ‘Patta’ Act, three categories of pattas are given, category ‘ka’ (A) for the registration of disputed cases, category ‘kha’ (B) for permanent lease of 30 years and category ‘gha’ (C) for temporary lease of 1 year (CDP-Indore, 2006).

6 Indore Municipal Corporation(IMC) proposed to take up Slum and poor locality integrated area development of Indore with the clear and limited objectives as follows: to provide security of tenure, to integrate the slums with the social networks and economic structure of the city, to transform the physical infrastructure, mainly water and sanitation, of the slum matrix of Indore city, Sustainable improvement in standards of health, education and community life and increased income-earning potential of people in slum’s of Indore, sustainable improvement in overall quality of life of people living in slums in Indore, to facilitate the grassroots community participation in the spirit of the 74th Amendment to the Constitution through appropriate legal, financial and organizational framework. Strong, committed and broad-based formal and informal community – based groups, which participate actively in sustainable development activities established and functioning and to strengthen local government to ensure that assets created are property maintained and project benefits sustained (Mehta & Associates, 2006).
have been allotted but only 180 households are actually residing and second, Panchsheel Nagar, where 300 households have been relocated insitu. These cases studies were considered because they were the first completed BSUP projects where displacees were staying since past two years and hence the resettlement process has gained maturity. The location of the sites considered is shown in fig[1].

This study used primary data collected through questionnaire survey and interviews and observations from twenty five households (25% of 300 households) in Panchsheel Nagar and forty five households (25% sample of 180 households) in Scheme No. 134 [Table1] following the method of stratified random sampling. The secondary data included archives collected from government documents, Indore Development Authority (IDA) office and JnNURM project office. Internal reports from consultants of the project and conversations with the community leaders were also an important data source for this study. The interviews conducted for collecting primary data followed a set of questions derived from the rigorous literature study related to the case. A major purpose of the interviews was to corroborate certain facts that have already been studied and to discover new facts about the issues related to the life of slum dwellers after relocation. Basic interview questions were formulated covering household information, income & expenditure, health & hygiene, education, social network,

Source: Indore Municipal Corporation
social marginalization, food security, loss due to shifting, productivity in terms of time utilized at work, education etc), accessibility to services, social disarticulation, kinship scatteredness, etc.

**Table 1:** Number of dwelling units allotted and sample size taken

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Dwellings / Plots constructed</th>
<th>Dwellings allotted</th>
<th>Dwellings occupied</th>
<th>Sample No. (25%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resettlement on BSUP site</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchsheel Nagar (Insitu Rehabilitation)</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheme No. 134 (Relocation)</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1184</strong></td>
<td><strong>572</strong></td>
<td><strong>480</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upcoming projects of relocation such as Ahirkhedi, Nahnod, Bada Bangada and Bhuritekri and BSUP rehabilitation sites of Bhimnagar would expose the displacees to impoverishment risks. Hence the learnings from the two case studies from our research needs to be incorporated in the upcoming projects.

**IMPOVERISHMENT RISKS DUE TO OFF-SITE AND INSITU RELOCATION**

DIDR aims at generating economic growth, and improve general welfare (Oliver-Smith, 2009). It is a permanent action and usually involuntary. However, displacees always experience trauma and hardships in re-establishing their livelihoods and social, community ties (Oliver-Smith, 2009). DIDR is not a new concept; the issue was first recognized and developed by anthropologists in the 1950s. Anthropologists have contributed to policy formulation, project evaluation, planning, community- and Non Government Organization(NGO)-based resistance movements and implementation (Wang, 2010). Cernea M. (1996, 2006 and 2008) developed the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model on a response to economic, cultural and social impoverishment in order to prevent impoverishment and reconstruct livelihoods. Cernea points out the major result of the displacement/resettlement can be presented in two ways: one is impoverishment; another is the increased resistance and political tension surrounding involuntary resettlement.

The following have been identified as the major risks of impoverishment resulting from involuntary displacement: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of common lands and resources, increased health risks, and social disarticulation (Hoadley, 2004). These risks may not occur in all resettlement projects, their importance relative to each other may change, and a specific resettlement project may yield other significant risks. The likelihood is that a number of these risks will be present at the same time. The actualization of the risks means that a community is pushed deeper into poverty and crisis by the loss, simultaneously, of economic, social and cultural resources. Loss of land is the most visible risk, but may account for only 10-20% of the impoverishment risk (Downing T. E., 2002). Unless the risks associated with resettlement are identified, assessed and addressed in the RAP, resettlement can erode a community’s access to all the elements needed for rehabilitation and sustainability – social, human, physical and natural capital. Deeper impoverishment will also expose resettlers to the loss of civil and human rights, and, being poor, they are less able to demand these rights (Hoadley, 2004).
The associated risks with respect to urban area of Indore and considering the risks defined by various other authors in context of urban areas a comprehensive list of parameters is prepared. Those parameters are listed in table 2.

Table 2: List of redefined parameters for analysing the life of slum dwellers after relocation and rehabilitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landlessness</th>
<th>Joblessness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of Job</td>
<td>Loss of Assets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional financial burden in terms of equated monthly installment paid, increased transport costs, health costs, cost of services like electricity, water etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homelessness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of dwelling/shelter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marginalisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower socio-eco status in new location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of access to portable water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health Risk (food insecurity, morbidity and mortality)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loss of access to common resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Access to education service</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Disarticulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fragmentation of social networks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ASSESSMENT OF OFF-SITE AND INSITU RELOCATION SCHEME**

This section demonstrates the empirical findings established under Cernea’s framework to examine impoverishment. It also presents the influence as well as interdependency of parameters of impoverishment and drafts an analysis chart based on the gap between rhetoric and reality of practice.

**RHETORICS OF THE PROCEDURE FOLLOWED FOR RELOCATION AND REHABILITATION**

The procedure adopted for relocating and rehabilitating the slum dwellers should be inclusive and does not create any situation of uncertainty and insecurity but the present procedure [fig. 2] has certain flaws which enhances the perception of risk among the slum dwellers.
The procedure starts with identification of the slum and it takes seven days to one month to identify the slum that are to be relocated and rehabilitated. Then the survey of the slum dwellers is done and their eligibility is checked based on the availability of listed documents which include Patta, Below Poverty Line (BPL) card, Ration card and three years residence proof. In case of either of the three the slum dwellers are eligible to get a house at the relocated site. The list of the surveyed slum dwellers is then sent to the collectorate and is finalized tentatively in two months. The list after being finalized is displayed in the slums for eight days and if anybody has objections with this list then they can object, and objections are invited by appeal to the Municipal Corporation. Municipal Board makes the changes in the list if they are required and finally the Commissioner declares the final list. The notice is then provided to demolish the house of the slum dwellers. As per this study there was much uncertainty reported by the beneficiaries prior to the actual dispossession as also found by the lead author in Ahmedabad case study (Patel, et al., 2013). As in some cases notice were given three months prior to the demolition but this duration varied considerably and in many cases slum dwellers received notice one day before the demolition. The members of the household spent their productive time in consulting with community leader, Municipal Officers and in pursuing litigation in the high court to prevent demolition. This study shows that 12% of the households received an evacuation notice only one day before the demolition. This stimulated the feeling of division and distrust among the communities. Thus prior to expropriation, households showed evidences of income losses and loss of community ties due to discriminatory approaches of Indore Municipal Corporation (IMC) and uncertainty.

The discriminatory approaches to eligibility for allotment adopted by the IMC worsened the situation caused due to uncertainty. In case of insitu relocation the households needed to possess appropriate documents and the admissible eligibility documents were the BPL cards, ration cards and the residence proof of three years. IMC stated that the households with either of these documents would be eligible for rehabilitation but the survey indicates that 56% possessed one of the three documents,
On the other hand, 44% of the households on demolished sites possessed the eligibility card but they had not been resettled and continued residing nearby as there was shortage of BSUP units. New units are proposed to be constructed but until then, the beneficiaries would be staying in the interim site of 100 sq ft. per household. The households which were allotted houses in the Panchsheel Nagar, prior to their actual dispossession, had to stay on an interim site for almost three years and thus in this three way process of being displaced from slums to interim site and the final site, the displacees lost their income, assets and social capital.

In case of relocation at Scheme No. 134 the household which possessed the eligibility documents were allotted the BSUP units but those who did not possess the documents and were affected by the developmental projects under JnNURM were also allotted the BSUP units. On one hand such a practice is beneficial for slum dwellers as those who did not possess the eligibility documents could now have access to the formal markets and can take loans as they have formal papers of the dwelling unit. But on the other hand this aggravates the process of illegal acquiring of the dwelling units which further creates shortage of dwelling units for those who actually have been affected under the developmental projects.

LANDLESSNESS

Land is the principal foundation for people’s livelihoods, commercial activities, social networks and productive systems and its expropriation is a principal form of impoverishment and de-capitalization (Cernea M., 2000b). Land plays major role in enhancing the quality of life of people by providing opportunity for livelihood, social networks and amenities for health and education. The role of land varies in urban and rural context. In urban context, its importance is measured by its location. The location of the land provides the opportunity to the people and when the location is changed then the livelihood and life of the people are adversely affected. During displacement in Indore the location of the people were changed due to developmental projects under JnNURM and contrary to the claims and proposals in Detailed Project Report (DPR) for scheme No. 134, no household has been resettled within a distance of 1.5 to 3 kilometers whereas they have been actually relocated to an average distance of 8 km [fig. 3] from eight sites namely Kabirkhedi, Niranjanpur, Ishwar Nagar, Slums near Satya Sai Chowraha, Arvindo, Bhawarkua Chowraha, Piplihana tal, Anoop Talkies. Relocation led to the chronic unemployment of people. 8.7% lost their jobs while those who continued, had to travel on an average 8 kilometers to their workplace due to which their cost of travel to work increased by 405% and the distance to work place increased by 214% from the departure site. 50% [table 3] of the people shifted from non motorized and public transport mode of travelling to motorized and private mode of transport. The distance to school increased by an average of 3 kilometers or 220% [table 4] from the departure slum and accessibility to public hospitals decreased as the distance to public hospital increased to an average of 5 kilometers or 325% from the departure slum.

The self-employed workers who were engaged in informal businesses such as vending food or goods and services (tailor, laundry, barber, electrician, carpenter etc.) were the worst affected as their businesses and clientele were location specific and nurtured over years. A negligible section of such workers resettled in BSUP sites could continue such activities as the BSUP sites do not formally provide spaces for self-employment and informal activities whereas in slums such spaces evolve organically over time.
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[fig.3] Map showing relocation distances to Scheme No. 134

Table 3: Increase in distance to work and travel to work expenditure after dispossession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheme No. 134 (Relocation)</th>
<th>Distance to Work Place Previous (Mean)</th>
<th>Distance to Work Place Current</th>
<th>Average increase in distance to work (Km)</th>
<th>% work trips shifted to Public and motorized mode of transport</th>
<th>% increase in travel expenditure to work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>214%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>405%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Percentage increase in distance to services from the relocation site with respect to the departure slum site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average increase in distance to school (Km)</th>
<th>% increase in distance to school w.r.t departure slum site</th>
<th>Average increase in distance to Health Centre (Km)</th>
<th>% increase in distance to Health Centre w.r.t departure slum site</th>
<th>Average increase in distance to Market Centre (Km)</th>
<th>% increase in distance to Market Centre w.r.t departure slum site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>216.6%</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>325%</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>504%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A beneficiary from scheme No. 134 stated that “I have lost my job due to relocation and our family was informed one day prior to the demolition of the house, the Municipal Officer did not listened to my request and my house was finally demolished, I registered a case regarding the losses and injustice done to me but still no action has been taken yet.”

Those displacees who were relocated in Panchsheel Nagar had to stay in an interim site which was 100 metres far from their departure home. This helped in maintaining the economic opportunities provided by that location. Insitu relocation has benefits over off-site relocation in terms of locational aspects as economic ties as well as social ties of the people are not affected. These findings show that the distance of relocation has major implications on displacees and that insitu is a preferred option to off-site relocation.

JOBLESSNESS

Loss of income is a major issue linked to displacement. The loss of income may be in terms of loss of job or additional financial burden and if any of these factors are occurring due to relocation then it will dilute the strength of the displacees to overcome unforeseen losses. Severe loss may also lead to financial instability and in some cases it may cause death of the displacee. Due to relocation some people lose their jobs and their skills doesn’t match with the job profile required in the new site, which ultimately compels them to work at their previous location or work in the new location with lower income levels. Apart from loss of the job, the additional financial burden incurred due to the relocation, reduced earnings as well as loss of assets aggravates impoverishment.

The survey shows that the 8.7% lost their jobs while those who continued, had to travel on an average 8 kilometers to their workplace. The findings shows that additional financial burden due to higher expenditures on health, transport, Equated Monthly Installment (EMI), etc. [table 5] has deteriorated the condition of the displacees. Major percentage of the income is consumed in paying the EMI, electricity, transport and medical costs [fig. 4 and fig. 5] which markedly demonstrates the increase in expenditure and reduction in savings, that will further compel the displacee to get trapped into the cycle of poverty.

In case of insitu relocation the additional financial burden on the displacees was lower [fig. 6 and fig. 7] as compared to in the case of off-site relocation but still it deteriorated their condition. In case of Panchsheel Nagar the displacees were displaced to an interim site so they had to incur the cost of upgrading on the new site [table 6]. So in one way or the other the displacees are facing financial burden and moving towards impoverishment.

[fig. 4] Monthly expenditure on services - percentage share of income (relocation- previous)  
[fig. 5] Monthly expenditure on services - percentage share of income (relocation- previous)
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[fig. 6] Monthly expenditure on services - percentage share of income (insitu rehabilitation - previous)

[fig. 7] Monthly expenditure on services - percentage share of income (insitu rehabilitation - current)

Table 5: Monthly expenditure on services after relocation and rehabilitation (in INR)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relocation</th>
<th>Travel</th>
<th>House Repair</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>food</th>
<th>Electricity</th>
<th>EMI</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Previous</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>3619</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current</td>
<td>1180</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>3881</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>2134</td>
<td>2357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insitu Rehabilitation</td>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>House-Repair</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>EMI</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>4415</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>4415</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>-595</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Homelessness

Loss of shelter means loss of physical assets as well as cultural space and identity. Loss of one’s home and of the group’s cultural space leads to alienation, status deprivation and impoverishment (Cernea M., 2000b). In Indore homelessness could be redefined by the households that have endured a long stay at the interim site and the households who continued to reside in the slums post demolition as they were excluded from the relocation package.

The households who stayed in the interim site for three years (in case of Panchsheel Nagar) had to construct a new house there at their own cost, as the compensation offered by IMC meagre. They were offered a plot of 10*10 sq.ft and few logs for constructing the house.

The survey shows that most of the people in the interim site stayed in temporary structures which were unsafe as well as unhygienic to stay in, while 46% of the same households had permanent and semi permanent houses in the departure slum. The displacees on an average had lived for 25 years in their departure slum and in these many years they had incurred substantial expenditure for the development of their dwelling unit. Relocation caused them to lose their home and incur economic costs for shifting the assets and reconstructing another house in the interim site. The average cost of upgrading on an interim site per household was INR 27,394 [table 6]. To overcome this cost they had to either use their savings or incur debts which further led them towards impoverishment. The interim site was deprived of sewerage, drainage and solid waste disposal facilities which made the site an unhabitable place to live in. After three years
they displacedes were once again relocated to the newly constructed BSUP units. In this whole cycle of relocation of the displacedes, they were pushed towards impoverishment as their house was demolished twice and the loss of assets during the demolition at the interim site was INR 22363. The total loss accumulated to an average of INR 49757.

The displacedes in case of the off-site relocation site had better houses with permanent structures at their departure slum (table 6) and 27% of the household had individual water connection. Displacement caused them to suffer from the loss of INR 30956 [fig. 8] due to demolition and bear additional costs of transporting the assets [fig. 9] to the new dwelling unit. These slum dwellers were residing in the departure slum sites for an average of 25 years and during this period they had developed social and cultural capital. With time they had acquired their own social rituals, routines and gathering places. Most of the households had been associated with the religious places where they celebrated festivals and that has become a part of their cultural identity. With displacement and loss of shelter they were deprived of their social and cultural well being as a result of which social impoverishment had set in.

Our findings show that homelessness leads to social impoverishment and economic losses social disarticulation, marginalization and morbidity are in turn the corollary of social Impoverishment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>% households with permanent and semi-permanent houses in departure slum</th>
<th>% households with individual water connection in departure slum</th>
<th>Average Value of lost assets (INR)</th>
<th>Average Cost of transporting assets (INR)</th>
<th>Average Cost of upgrading on new site</th>
<th>Average total Cost (INR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panchsheel Nagar</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>22363</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>27394</td>
<td>49757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheme No. 134 (Relocation)</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>30956</td>
<td>1148</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>32104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[fig. 8] Value of lost assets - Scheme no. 134

[fig. 9] Cost of transporting assets - Scheme No. 134
MARGINALIZATION

The risk of marginalization threatens displaced individuals and entire communities as they slip into lower socio-economic status relative to their local areas. Research has shown that such marginalization is accompanied by a loss in self-esteem, especially when the displaced become “outsiders” and “newcomers” in host communities (Downing T., 2002). Marginalization could be expressed through loss of Human Capital, lower socio-economic status in the new location, Loss of political power in new societal structure and loss of confidence in the society and themselves. Displacement induces marginalization and as per the study it was found that in the relocation site people from different slums were brought, which caused breaking of community ties of the slum dwellers and further leading to loss of standing in the community. Displacees were not happy with the communities staying in the new site and they had feeling of distrust among themselves. A woman subjected to the oppression of displacement stated that “I do not trust the people from other communities and men create nuisance during night, we have been forcefully evicted so we have to stay here in this locality though we do not feel secure”.

Slum dwellers displaced under JnNURM project and who had BPL or patta cards were allotted BSUP unit on the relocation site but those who did not have either of the documents were also allotted. Those who had the legal documents possessed grudge towards those who did not. This on one hand was beneficial for the slum dwellers who did not have access to formal market and could now directly access the market and were provided with legal documents. But on other hand this gave rise to illegal acquiring of dwelling units and depriving those who actually needed the place of shelter.
The displacees were overburdened with the additional cost of travel, health, electricity, EMI and faced economic loss due to the money paid for compensating the loss of displacement [Table 6]. As the displacees had inappropriate skills for the new location, they could not get a job nearby and had to work at their previous site which had other associated losses that finally reduced the capacity of the displacees to recover from economic losses. Poor recovering capacity has resulted in lower socio-economic status and as big townships are coming up in the nearby vicinity which may further leads to higher cost of services in the near future will still deteriorate the condition of the displacees. Higher costs will also increase the mental stress and psychological marginalization compelling the displacees to fall in the trap of poverty. In case of Panchsheel Nagar displacees were only subjected to economic marginalization apart from that the situation was far better than Scheme No. 134. Thus insitu relocation is better as compared to off_site relocation in case of Indore. Nevertheless both pose the risk of marginalization of the displacees.

HEALTH RISK

Impoverishment caused due to joblessness, homelessness and inaccessibility to resources leads to increased incidence of morbidity and mortality which further poses health risks. Health risks are also stimulated by various other factors such as poor access to safe drinking water, poor access to sanitation facilities, improper solid waste management, stress, anxiety and poor habits such as excessive consumption of alcohol.

In Panchsheel Nagar solid waste was dumped majorly on the open sites and rarely in the municipal bin. 57% of the respondents said that they throw solid waste on open sites and 41% reported irregular cleaning of solid waste which further leads to health problems and increased expenditure on diseases and health. Contaminated water is supplied for only twice a week that too for one hour (average). The water tank is under ground and is opened from certain places giving way to dirt and other substances to contaminate the water. Sewerage facilities present on the site were in miserable condition, 48.4% of the displacees were dissatisfied with the sewerage network and said that it was choked and overflowing.

In the relocation site 100% of the respondents said that they throw solid waste on open sites and even the dustbins provided by the municipal corporation were not cleaned on regular basis which creates unhygienic environment leading to breeding of insects and mosquitoes. 33% of the households have suffered from malaria and typhoid in past one year. Individual connections for water supply have been provided in all the dwelling units but water is made available in tanks only on the ground floor units till all the dwelling units constructed will be occupied. Furthermore, unhygienic conditions due to improper solid waste management and presence of slaughter house in the proximity has led to the deterioration of health of the displacees. Expenditure on illness treatment [Table 5] has increased tremendously on both the sites and displacees also face the problem of stress due to additional financial burden which promotes their indulgence in crime or unsound habits such as excessive consumption of alcohol. 96% of the respondents faced the problem of alcoholism in the relocation site which earlier was 82% in their departure slum as it is in outer area and nobody keeps a check on them on regular basis whereas 83 % of the respondents in Panchsheel Nagar said that their family faced the problem of alcoholism which earlier was 52 % due to coming up of a liquor shop nearby. Such activities aggravate the psychological stress and sense of insecurity among people. A woman from Scheme No. 134 stated that “ Streets lights are non functional , it is completely dark at night and it becomes unsafe for women and children to walk during night or even pass through this location. People after drinking cause menace during night and make the place unsafe to live in, apart from that lousy activities takes place which creates the stress and sense of Insecurity for everyone.”
LOSS OF ACCESS TO COMMUNITY FACILITIES

For human well-being in urban areas it is necessary to have access to community facilities such as schools, health centers, hospitals, ration shops, market places, etc. The study shows that contrary to the proposals made in the DPR for Scheme No. 134, primary schools or health centers has not been constructed [table 7]. The facilities that exist near the site are too expensive for the displacees whereas in the case of insitu site Panchsheel Nagar there is a primary school and primary health center in its proximity and for other facilities the displacees have to travel to far off places. The primary health center only provides basic health care services. They do not attend to medical emergencies which can be catered to only by higher order services.

After relocation 13% students dropped out of school and its major reasons being increase in distance to school by 3 kilometers or 217% from the departure site and inadequate access to public transport. Due to relocation the distance to the health services increased by 5 kilometers or 325% from the departure site that caused inaccessibility to the health services during emergencies. Deficient health services, poor on-site conditions and poor hygiene led to the tremendous increase in number of diseases and morbidity. As a consequence of poor health the economic productivity of households has gone down leading to the state of impoverishment. Furthermore the distance to marketplace increased by 5.7 kilometers or 504% leading the households to involuntary fall into undernourishment as they have to buy their staple food at market price which they earlier used to get from the ration shops at a very nominal value. Due to additional financial burden and joblessness households may compromise on their essential food intake leading to malnourishment.
table 7: Status of community facilities on BSUP sites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BSUP Site</th>
<th>Any Welfare Association Formed</th>
<th>Primary Health Centre Constructed</th>
<th>Primary Health Centre Functioning</th>
<th>Primary school Constructed</th>
<th>Primary School Functioning</th>
<th>Community Hall/space</th>
<th>Park/Garden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scheme No. 134</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchsheel Nagar</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes (Nearby)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes (Near By)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[fig. 18] Map showing location of major hospitals and distance from relocation and insitu rehabilitation site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BSUP site</th>
<th>Maharaja Yashwant(Govt.)</th>
<th>Jawaharlal Nehru Children’s H. (Govt.)</th>
<th>City H (Govt.)</th>
<th>CHL Apollo H (Private)</th>
<th>Bombay H (Private)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scheme No.134</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchsheel Nagar</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

table 8: Distance to major hospitals in the city from relocation and rehabilitation site

SOCIAL DISARTICULATION
Displacement fragments the social fabric of a community including its spatial, temporal and cultural determinants (Cernea M., 2000b; Downing T. E., 1996). As kinship groups become scattered, the
capacity for collective action or social capital is lost as informal networks of reciprocal help, voluntary associations and mutual help groups are disrupted. Their vulnerability increases as they rely heavily on such social networks rather than formal and administrative frameworks Cernea M. (2000a) terms this as net loss of social capital which compounds the loss of natural, physical and human capital discussed earlier. Social capital lost through social disarticulation invariably remains unperceived, uncounted and unreconstructed leading to long term consequences (Cernea M., 2000a; Serageldin, 2006). Vulnerability, incapacity, dependency are frequent illation of Social Disarticulation. Besides the negative impact on social capital, the process of displacement and resettlement break down the routine culture (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2008). Routine culture is defined as “ the same people, or groups, repeatedly reoccupying the same places at the same times”. Routine culture increases the predictability of communities and individual’s ability of constructing livelihoods, because their primary questions and difficulties are always answered under routine culture (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2008). When the resettled families find themselves new to the environment, neighbourhood, jobs, they will feel isolated and disordered. Further it will lead to instability, insecurity and unpredictability in daily life, and harassed health and well being (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2008). It is interlinked with health risks and marginalization so deterioration of one may lead to the worsening of the other. Hence it needs to be addressed in the policies. Social Disarticulation related social capital is invisible and intangible (Moser, 1998). It needs time to study and analyse this parameter, hence the findings are in mainly in terms of theoretical explanations. The finding from this study shows that displacees from eight different communities have been brought to the relocation site and resettled in a dispersed manner. As many small fragments of communities have been resettled, social disarticulation and its factors could be strongly observed. In such a case the participation by displacees in maintaining urban services and utilizing community resources is completely absent. From the interviews it emerged that the displacees were unsatisfied with the other residents and they had a feeling of distrust among them. The harmony which was present in the communities at the departure site was entirely missing in the new site. The communities which earlier used to maintain the common property resources now have to depend on external sources such as IMC or NGO’s for sustenance of those resources. The situation was better in case of insitu relocation as same community structure was maintained which helped in preserving the social networks of the people but the displacees were subjected to other risks such as kinship scatteredness, lack of cohesion among families as the method of allocation of dwelling unit was inadequate which led to improper placement of the families and 21% of the respondents said that half of their families were still staying in the slum and are likely to get possession of the dwelling unit in near future but either in different building of the site or at some other site which again would aggravate the problem of social disarticulation.

COUNTERING AND MITIGATING IMPOVERISHMENT RISKS DUE TO INSITU AND OFF-SITE RELOCATION

This study demonstrates the process and outcomes of displacement and resettlement taking place due to urban development. An in-depth study of DIDR literature and rigorous fieldwork was done to analyze the condition of people who has been affected due to DIDR. Based on the literature review and by redefining Cernea’s Impoverishment risks for urban areas, important parameters were derived for studying the Impacts of DIDR on relocated and rehabilitated families. Those parameters were Landlessness, homelessness, joblessness, marginalization, health risks, insecurity, social
disarticulation, loss of access to community resources, loss of social capital and human capital. Following these parameters the survey of the relocated families at Scheme No. 134 and insitu-Rehabilitated families at Panchsheel Nagar was done and their perspectives regarding their condition were considered.

This study tried to assess the extent to which displacement has affected displacees and their capacity to recover from current circumstances by studying their overall assets. The findings from this study validated the lead author’s research in Ahmedabad (Patel, et al., 2013) about Cernea’s impoverishment risks. All forms have emerged in the displacees. The displacees faced Uncertainty prior to the dispossession, which resulted in the sense of insecurity and feeling of distrust towards the government. The method adopted for relocation and rehabilitation itself had many flaws, it was non transparent, coercive and discriminatory towards displacees. The parameters were interlinked and it was clearly indicated through the analysis that relocation distance (landlessness) plays major role in the life of displacees. Due to increase in distance to workplace, health centres, market place, ration shops and school the life of displacees has been totally disturbed. Though the proposals in the DPR mentioned that the displacees were to be relocated within a distance of 1.5 to 3 km of range but in reality the distance of relocation was 8 km (average) which further caused an additional financial burden to them. Some of the risks were partially addressed in the guidelines of BSUP but in reality only few proposals have been implemented and there existed a huge gap between the policy rhetoric and the reality. Certain issues were not even addressed in the guidelines and those were provision of livelihoods, capacity building and social training. Unemployment generated as a consequence of displacement and lack of provision of employment in the scheme drove the displacees towards impoverishment.

Joblessness and social disarticulation were an addition to their grievances that further led to health risks and resulted in loss of social and human capital; lack of access to common services and an unhealthy living environment were related to loss of physical capital; loss of savings due to demolition and additional financial burden of transport costs, electricity costs, etc and household belongings (due to forced eviction during displacement) caused financial capital depletion.

The damage on overall capital assets has increased their vulnerability of falling into deeper poverty. Besides, the displaced households are trapped in a plight of being less capable of restoring their livelihoods. In addition, urban development and rehabilitation the urban poor will be the future trend of Indian cities under the JnNNURM.

The negative impacts of relocation and rehabilitation could be mitigated and livelihoods of the displacees could be restored if all potential impoverishment risks are identified prior to the formulation of policy. Once these impoverishment risks are known then following measures could be taken to avoid risks.

Social consideration, Social Parameters such as – kinship scatteredness, community space, safety and security, marginalization and alcoholism, these factors play a major role in the life of slum dwellers. Findings from the case studies clearly indicate that the social ties are important for slum dwellers. If community ties are broken then it may lead to crime and sense of Insecurity. Hence, the social parameters must be considered while framing the relocation programs.

Social Consultation, Community participation is fundamental in the formulation of the relocation policy. The affected people must be informed and consulted prior to the formulation of the policy as well as during various stages of the policy implementation. Public participation should not be only in terms of getting consent about shifting to the new location, but also knowing their perspective related to the physical and social factors of well being.
Preference for insitu or near site relocation, Relocation to far off distances leads to further impoverishment of the slum dwellers. Hence it is necessary to rehabilitate the slum dwellers to the near location or in the same place so that their livelihoods are not disturbed and they do not face the addition financial burden due to transport.

Livelihood Restoration and Capacity building, Poor people use their assets to reduce their vulnerability; the assets might be in the form of their social relationships, belongings, etc. Due to displacement and resettlement their assets and livelihoods are lost and displacees lose their capacity to restore their livelihoods. Therefore it is necessary to thoroughly study the human, physical and social assets and what impacts will it make if these assets are lost before formulating the schemes. Provide opportunities for the employment of displacees so that they could compensate for the loss of displacement and incorporate skill development programmes in the scheme itself.

Reviewing and Monitoring, Implemented project should be reviewed thoroughly and the negative aspects of those should be considered and reduced to zero in the further processes. Strict implementation of proposals in the DPR should be done and its monitoring at various stages must be done to reduce the gap in the policy rhetoric and reality.

Social implementation, Social Implementation units should be framed by taking the members of the community to resolve the issues of hygiene, services etc. This would maintain their community cohesiveness and enhance their skills. Certain amount of sanctioned money for the project should be used for appointing NGO’s for teaching the slum dwellers the importance of health and hygiene, ways of living and increasing their means of livelihood.

Design Consideration, “One size does not fit all” – hence there should be variation in the size of the house provided as per the requirement of the household. There is no provision for commercial spaces for the shop owners, lack of provision of community spaces which otherwise creates the sense of insecurity. Hence all these criteria must be considered while designing the dwelling units and near by spaces.

CONCLUSION

Urban development is inevitable in a developing country like India where there is a huge boost for infrastructure and with coming up of JnNURM , many urban projects are being implemented which accounts for large scale displacement of urban poor along with the loss of livelihoods. Some of the displaced people are resettled in BSUP sites. BSUP projects are mainly designed as relocation in the urban periphery rather than on-site up gradation. The aim of such project is overall welfare of the public and growth of the city which remains incomplete if the impacts of the projects are not analysed at macroscopic level and acted upon accordingly.

Development induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR) has sociological, economical and psychological impacts on slum dwellers and it raises question about distribution of the benefits of development. Hence, it is necessary to focus more attention in studying urban DIDR and finding measures to mitigate its consequences. This study coroborates the research of the lead author in Ahmedabad (Patel, et al., 2013) in showing that various impacts of displacement and resettlement on the displacees could be analysed using Cernea’s impoverishment risk parameters. The study further identifies that slum dwellers need to be an integral part of the rehabilitation process as these impacts may vary from one urban place to another and many more may be added or modified as per the rehabilitation planned and executed. It becomes imperative to study these impacts for every such urban project which has exposed the slum dwellers to greater impoverishment risks and made them
vulnerable to fall into deeper poverty. The findings from such projects must be then used to mitigate the impoverishment risks.

The analysis shows that the displacees are facing the burden of additional financial responsibilities of EMI, transport costs and health costs. They are also facing the problem of loss of assets in the process of rehabilitation and increase in the distance to market, work place and educational centres. Issues of social disarticulation, kinship scatteredness, loss of social capital, sense of insecurity and poor health conditions persists in the insitu relocated colony.

The findings from this study suggest that the indicators of social dimensions such as community interaction, social capital and human capital and certain indicators which provides physical security are neglected in the program hence the resettled people are facing problems, while framing policies these dimensions should be given prior consideration and weightage for efficient and effective functioning of the programme.

The relocation done is not followed upon by the authorities, which lead to the urban development project not attaining the objectives they were actually meant to. A continuous and comprehensive study should be done side by side the urban development for many such sites across the country by authorities and NGOs to counter and mitigate the negative impacts of relocation and rehabilitation.

This study is limited to a field visit of around four to five weeks and if such study is continued over a period of several years, it can help not only in understanding the problem of relocation and rehabilitation in great detail but also create a sense of being taken care of for those who are at the end of relocation and its related suffering. Critical research is required to re-orient the policy to ensure community participation, social parameters consideration, Livelihood restoration, proper planning and implementation of the preventive measures which will address the potential risks associated with relocation and resettlement.

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