(Amita Bhide)

RESETTLEMENT
Or a Silent Displacement?

This article has been written on the basis of a joint action research project between Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Youth For unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA) and Dignity International.

Development and displacement have emerged as two sides of the same coin in the last six decades of *'planned development'* in India. It is estimated that around 40 million persons have been displaced since 1950 on account of development projects (Parasuraman, 1995). Questions such as what is development, who determines it, who gains, who loses, its overall impact and goals (Kothari, 1996) have been articulated by academic as well as activist quarters in the last few years. The search and articulation of alternative development paradigms is an equally engaging arena of debate. However, the dominant discourse on development continues to lay stress on an expansionist framework of exploiting capital, both natural and human, for enhancing growth and productivity, albeit with a recognition of some elements of social justice. Displacement is an inevitable outcome of this framework, and over the decades, as the country treads the path of 'development', the cost of this development has expanded in size and intensity.

The *'urban'* is a site of dense conglomeration of people, generating several competing pressures on space. These competing pressures between multiple uses and users are reconciled through planning and governance

mechanisms. Planning mechanisms are based on norms and principles evolved by professionals to reconcile the above contradictory forces, while a political process aimed at similar goals, anchors the governance process. In the context of urban India, where these mechanisms have been far overtaken by the pace of urbanization and spontaneous settlement, (an anathema to the idea of planning), displacement of such spontaneous settlements is a recurrent theme. It is so recurrent that, much of it remains invisible and unrecognized. The urban development discourse has become more accommodating of the poor and their settlements over the years, thereby adding to the complexity of practice.

Thus, in urban areas, there are displacements and there are displacements. Many of these occur as part of a daily quota by anti Encroachment squads, some are precipitated by shifts in governance priorities affecting relatively settled areas and some are consequences of development projects. The issue of displacement in urban areas is thus mired in complex, intertwining debates. The Process of globalization now understood as locused in the urban, is however, generating unprecedented forms and scales of displacement. The absence of an articulated, agreed upon urban rehabilitation policy in significant variance with rural areas is an aggravating factor. The conventional response to displacement in urban areas and the assertion of the right of the poor to the city has been in the form of housing rights struggles. These struggles, in their local and national forms acquired immense strength in the nineteen eighties, but were found to be inadequate to cope with the forms and scales of displacement unleashed in the post-liberalization era. (Bhide, 2000). There is therefore, a need for fresh articulation of right to the city.

The research project described here is an exploration into the substantive concerns of development-displacement-rehabilitation as exemplified in three major projects in Mumbai. It is also a search for alternative articulation of urban development and strategy for rehabilitation.

The strategic entry point for this action research project is seen as the analysis of the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP). This project represents one of the large infrastructural programmes in the city with implications for resettlement of 80,000 households. It also has a rehabilitation policy and therefore can be used as a launching pad to understand the larger issues of housing for the poor in Mumbai. Along with MUTP, the Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project (MUIP) and the Mithi River Development Project (MRDP) which are simultaneously being implemented and are included in this study. These other projects are following the MUTP guidelines for rehabilitation to a large extent with minor changes.

" In urban areas there are displacements and there are displacements, many of which occur as a part of daily quota by anti-encroachment squads "

This research tried to understand the experiences and adequacy of rehabilitation efforts under these three projects so far (Oct, 2007), the plans for resettlement and rehabilitation in relation to the degree of displacement and the analysis of the guidelines for rehabilitation vis-a-vis the International Standards for Adequate Housing for the poor. Further some insights related to issues of inclusion/exclusion in rehabilitation, transparency/secrecy in resource allocation and utilization, direction of resource allocation, and service delivery are also attempted.

LEARNING FROM LITERATURE ON RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION

Displacement on a large scale and in various forms is a common occurrence in urban areas; however, there is considerable dearth of research in resettlement and rehabilitation (R & R). Cernea (1993) observes that the most relevant contributions to analyzing relocation were made in the 1960s, especially by Gans (1959) and Anderson (1965) and they dealt with forced relocation in industrialized countries. These contributions focused attention on the importance of networks and active community linkages in the lives of shanty towns and the impact of their loss in case of forced relocation.

Forced relocation in developing countries has been studied more in the context of rural areas. Thus there are several studies on development induced displacement such as dam projects, mining projects, etc. Studies on urban displacement in developing countries are limited to a handful of cases and more so, in the nature of fact finding reports post – displacement with a few attempts at conceptualization. Cernea (op cit) further comments that though urban involuntary displacement is a silent companion of urban growth, much of it has remained outside the research lens and policy debate.

One of the most comprehensive descriptions of the impact of displacement is offered by Micheal Cernea. He identifies the varied risks and threats of impoverishment due to disruption in life caused by displacement. These include-

- Loss of access to natural resources, Joblessness, Increased
- Morbidity & mortality, Community Disarticulation, Loss of Property and community networks, Landlessness, Food
- Insecurity, Disruption in Formal Education.

Displacement is a disruptive process. It affects, changes, destroys the painstakingly created networks of life and labor in urban poor households and settlements. Several fact finding studies highlight the immediate loss of income in the period following displacement, the enhanced vulnerability to illnesses, deprivation of basic necessities like water, food, electricity, sanitation and increase in drop out rates from schools. A small study conducted by Committee for Right to Housing (CRH, 2004 -2005) reiterates that the quantification of loss incurred by people in all these arenas cumulates to Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 50,000 per household. Given the precarious nature of livelihoods of those whose houses have been demolished, displacement has an irreversible and devastating impact on vulnerable households. The loss of a livelihood and a home, the loss of a foothold in the city created through years of struggle, affects some people psychologically, while some have been forced to commit suicide.

According to current thought, resettlement and rehabilitation are not just compensatory processes but reconstructive processes which address the basic insecurity and citizenship issues of the urban poor. Several of the loss areas operate as factors in a vicious cycle attenuating the other threats. Conversely, if some of the key dimensions are effectively addressed, it generates enough confidence and opportunities to build up new networks and effectively integrate into the resettled environment.

Urban R & R policies are characterized by international, intracity and even inter project variations. There is a strong element of adhocism and a significant dimension

of political compulsions of the time in resettlement response. The last two decades have in fact, witnessed an attempt to codify the learnings in urban relocation and inform policy practice. Prime among these are I) O. D 4.30 of June 1990 – a comprehensive paper on Involuntary Resettlement in Development Projects prepared by the World Bank. II) a manual on relocation and resettlement in urban areas developed through an expert meeting at Rotterdam (Davidson et al, 1992).In India too, the proposed Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill has paid scant attention to urban displacement. Practice on ground thus, continues to be characterized by arbitrariness.

Some of the major themes in the debate around R & R are –

A. 'Protecting The Settlements of the Poor and Minimizing Relocation:

Cernea (1991) distinguishes between displacements caused by natural and other disasters on the one hand and those caused by planned development programs on the other, on the basis of the element of advance notice. He thus draws attention to the potential role of mitigatory planning. Davidson et al (1992) expand this notion and discuss the balance of factors pushing for displacement and the factors that lead to protection of settlements.

They argue that relocation is very rarely successful and therefore, strong safeguards against arbitrary eviction and an evaluation of the full costs and benefits of relocation built into studies of project feasibility are key to the above balance. The criticality of this balance is also reasserted by Leckie (1993) who argues that resettlement policies often serve as tools to legitimize displacement.

In the context of developing countries and metros like Mumbai, the ongoing influx of poor migrants, the overwhelming proportions of populations living in slums and poor housing conditions add different dimensions to this balance. Here, the population settled is regarded as encroaching and therefore, undeserving of rights except in case of 'popular pressure or populist politics'. A TCS–TISS (1996) study quotes a senior government official, 'They (the slum dwellers) are encroachers on our land. We are only taking it back. What is the question of compensation or rehabilitation?' Though such attitudes are gradually changing, these are not isolated responses and are deeply ingrained in bureaucracy. Thus, 'resettlement' itself becomes a favor done rather than an attempt to understand the devastation of displacement and mitigate it.

The following are the protective factors that can help to mitigate displacement-Supportive Policy, Legal supports, Institutional support, NGO support, Clear guidelines on practice, Participative process, Development of alternatives, Use of full economic evaluation that includes the cost of resettlement and human loss.

It is also to be noted in this context, that the opportunity to know, represent and redress is unequally stacked against slum dwellers. Legal redressal and protection through political leaders seem to be the only option.

B. Concept of Rehabilitation:

Where displacement is unavoidable, resettlement should be conceptualized as a development program with resettlers being provided sufficient investment resources and opportunities to share in project benefits (O.D 4.3, World Bank). Such conceptualization of a rehabilitation program demands a) provisions for fair and equitable compensation

b) physical transfer c) housing and d) a set of economic opportunities. It also demands a sound backup of resources and institutional arrangements (Courtney, 1993).

In the absence of a policy framework, most relocation experiences in Indian cities have been adhoc and traumatic to project affected persons. Almost every city has its own tale of swings in resettlement policy. Thus, S.K. Das (1993) reports how the policy of giving alternate 80 sq. yard plots on leasehold basis in 1956 in Delhi gave way to one of allotting 25 sq. yard plots with minimum facilities in 1970 to allotment of developed plots on basis of upfront contribution in 1990 to the current policy of rehabilitation in constructed units. Mumbai too (Sharma, 1997) has its own story of moving from allotted large plots to sites in developed/undeveloped layouts to subsidized/free allocation and from settlement in 'dumps' on the fringes of the city to resettlement in situ or in vicinity.

It is to be noted that in all these shifts in policy, physical resettlement is the only dimension emphasized. The concept of resettlement as a 'development' program is far from being realized. The Rehabilitation Policy framework created for the Mumbai Urban transport Project (MUTP) under directives of the World Bank is thus, pioneering. While it has not paved the way for the nature of rehabilitation in projects that have followed, in Mumbai or elsewhere, it has been able to create a framework that can be extensively researched and improved upon.

The evolution of rehabilitation policy has a lot to do with understanding displacement. There is a world of difference when displacement is understood to involve 'the relocating of individuals or groups away from their place of residence' and when it is understood as 'systematic alienation of an individual livelihood and habitat' (Poverty and Displacement panchayat nic-in). A rehabilitation policy needs to address both these concerns effectively. There is also a need to recognize the potential political reverberations of involuntary relocation and to introduce participatory approaches and procedures in the relocation process (Cernea, 1993). There is some evidence to show that a single, alternate resettlement site may prove efficient from the point of view of the implementing agency but it ghettoizes people and does not take into account varying locational needs (Slingsby, 1993).Finally, several experiences also show that preparedness and involvement of communities in the relocation facilitate improved negotiations and integration in the new site (Das, 1993). Pro-activity in resettlement pays in multiple ways for both the project implementing agencies as well as those affected.

C. Location and Preparedness of Resettlement Sites:

As stated earlier, location of resettlement is one of the single most important influences on the relocation process. It is a key to employment access, business opportunities and to land and building costs (Davidson, 1992). A distant site, used as a preferred option in most Indian cities, has an advantage of low land and construction costs but has a strongly disruptive impact on all the above mentioned dimensions. On-site relocation and relocation in nearby small sites helps to mitigate the scale of adverse impacts. The experience of Mumbai's Slum Rehabilitation Scheme (SRS) which adopts the principle of in-situ relocation by giving incentive 'development area' to private developers is thus, comparably positive. (Bhide et al, 2003).

Another critical dimension is the preparedness of the site to receive 'settlers'. Many a time, the experience of

resettlement is made even more traumatic by the nature of the site. Relocated sites on untenable or reserved land are a common occurrence, making the displacees vulnerable to environmental problems and future evictions. Those displaced from Mahakalinagar in Mumbai were allotted 'serviced pitches' in Malwani – a site 15-18 km. away. At the time of relocation, the process of allotment was only half complete, thereby compelling several households to stay on the roads awaiting allotment. Further, the land was not leveled. The original marshy land was not treated adequately to be livable.

There was no electricity or water for an entire year. The lack of internal roads made movement within the settlement difficult (TCS-TISS, 1996). Issues pertaining to the site of relocation thus need to be addressed as a frontal challenge prior to the 'act' of displacement. This implies in turn that planning for relocation has to proceed simultaneously with planning of projects.

D. Institutional Management of Relocation:

Relocation and rehabilitation have for a very long time been considered an activity peripheral to the project, an impediment to the achievement of the more 'important' development goals. Hence, a tendency to 'leapfrog over the rights of people compelled to yield the right of way'. (Cernea, 1993) Planning for rehabilitation thus, requires a considerable reorientation of institutional actors. The lack of a rehabilitation policy to guide decisions and actions is one of the most critical lacunae in the institutional management of rehabilitation in urban India. It brings in arbitrariness and adhocism in most decisions pertaining to R & R. In Maharashtra, which has legislation on Rehabilitation of Slums, that is, the Maharashtra Slums (Improvement Rehabilitation) Act (2002); and a policy on R

& R for the Mumbai Urban Transport Project, a framework exists. However, the nature of process and entitlements differ between projects.

At the level of process too, the question of 'who', 'what' and 'how' have been arbitrarily experienced. The 'who' ranges from Project Implementing Agencies (PIA) themselves to local government bodies to housing agencies (usually involved developers of resettlement sites) to development authorities of cities and to more recent advent of NGOs and consulting firms. Experience shows that that several problems experienced by affected people can be attributed to lack of effective coordination between departments of a single agency or between multiple agencies and that for the actual relocation act to be 'successful', it needs coordination between multiple agencies (TCS –TISS, 1996).

The entry of NGOs in the field is a response to the lack of organized articulation of the needs of people and grievance redressal at various stages of the project. NGOs too are seen to play diverse roles in R & R. Earlier, if NGOs took on mostly 'soft' roles, that is, those of organizing people, consultation, information dissemination, they are increasingly seen to take on the 'hard' roles of planning and managing R & R and often even developing the resettlement sites and transit camps (SPARC, 1998). This shift in roles has implications for the points of alignment between the NGO and the people. In MUTP and MUIP (Mumbai Urban Infrastructure Project) for example, where NGOs like Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers (SPARC) and Slum Rehabilitation Society (SRS) are involved in managing R & R, the critical question to be asked is whether they are perceived as representing people's interests or those of the project.

The most important factors in the 'what' and 'how' are

perhaps i) the exploration of alternatives pertaining to sites, shelter and layout options, financial options and ii)information and accountability mechanisms. The World Bank guidelines are elaborate on both the above terms. There are many more experiences where both the above aspects are not paid due attention (Sharma, 1997). Of course, as Van Der Linden, 1993 notes on the basis of his experience in Karachi that there is reason to not attach too much value to policies though elaborately formulated as the 'political struggle around distribution of public goods and services often takes place at the output stage where policies are implemented rather than at the input or formulation stage'. The real test of policies is thus, in their implementation and how they are experienced by the affected people.

One of the most critical dimensions of institutional management of R & R is the scale of displacement. It has been noted (Davidson, 1992) that a 'large' scale of displacement is more difficult to 'manage' both from the point of view of institutional capacities and hardships to people. The literal restructuring of geographies (Banerjee-Guha, 2002) in aspiring cities Mumbai have meant displacement and R & R on an unprecedented scale. The rehabilitation of slum dwellers along railway tracks, 14,000 displacees of the Sanjay Gandhi National Park, in the last 3-4 years has given government institutions like Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (MMRDA) the confidence to 'manage' another 2 lakh resettlers in another 5-6 years (MMRDA, 2005). This confidence needs to be tested on ground.

E. Participation in R & R:

The recognition of participatory management of R & R comes in the wake of the impoverishment risks that displacement and relocation carries (Cernea, 1993). Participation as a process is expected to offset some of these risks and set in place a framework where hitherto disenfranchised people can negotiate and generate new opportunities for socioeconomic development for themselves and be integrated as citizens in the city fabric (SPARC, 1998). Arbitrariness in rehabilitation policies also expresses itself in varied approaches to participation. There are tremendous differences across experiences of R & R in terms of opportunities and spaces available for participation (no opportunity/mediated forums/ consultations at various stages), the forums and instruments through which participation is operationalised (none/direct participation/ representative participation through CBOs and NGOs). More importantly, the integrity of the participatory mechanisms is reflected through the efforts in disseminating and giving complete information, and in a sound system for accountability and grievance redressal. The absence of this integrity can make a mockery of opportunities and instruments and turn a genuine exercise into a 'pseudo-participatory' one (Boomyabacha, 1993; Linden, 1993). Participation is definitely a key ingredient on which the 'acceptability' and subsequent integration of relocated people into host communities linger (Sudder and Colson, 1982). A TCS –TISS (1996) study too concludes that in cases where the community itself was the leading actor in a relocation process, with the assistance of an NGO and with the government playing a supportive intermediary role, the outcome is generally more acceptable for all parties concerned.

The above discussion shows that participation is definitely not 'easy'. The pressure to execute a project may in fact lead to pressure to bypass or cut short the process of participation which is 'time consuming compels authorities

into acceding to unreasonable demands and merits uncertain outcomes.' Yet it is a value of utmost importance which can minimally help to offer some protection against risks inherent in displacement and can potentially convert relocation to a positive experience.
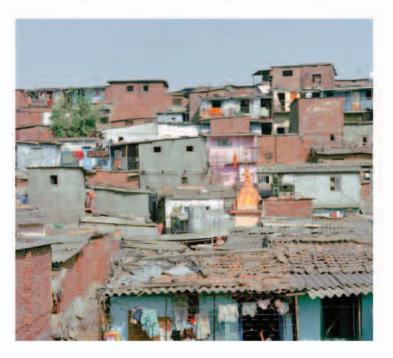
The in-depth, analytical understanding of urban displacement and relocation is imminent given the scale of restructuring of urban spaces in the world, and more particularly in India. The literature review indicates how the connections between slums, housing rights and right to the city are critical to understanding issues in relocation. Studies on displacement are largely impact studies focusing on the short-term, while R & R studies are more in the nature of program evaluation. There is a void of literature connecting the two to address policy questions. It also points out that a study of relocation should be able to connect 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' experiences.

METHODOLOGY

The study has several dimensions that include an institutional and financial analysis of MMRDA as the main proponent of both the projects as well as the R&R component, focus group discussions and case studies of individuals. However, the focus of the current article is the sample survey. At the time of collecting data for the survey, 95% of the project affected people (PAPs) affected under MUTP were already rehabilitated, and only a few were still living in transit sites. The MUIP project was being undertaken in full swing, with several communities being notified about relocation, some waiting for their eligibility status, and others being resettled in the resettlement colonies. With respect to the MRDP, the first phase of

the project was already complete and PAPs were already residing in their designated rehabilitation site i.e. Tunga Village. The second phase of the project was about to begin and therefore several communities were in the process of being notified. The respondents include 1206 households from 6 rehabilitation sites, 382 households from notified areas and 100 households from 4 transit sites.

- The MUTP and MUIP (including the Mithi River Project) have together resettled over 55,000 households. Resettlement has been primarily undertaken at 31 different sites in the city. Each of the resettlement sites houses between 1000–20,000 households. The experience of displaced

communities however shows that at least 15–20% households have been evicted without resettlement as they were found to be ineligible or lacked adequate documentation.

• These projects, as of now have displaced around 205 communities partially or fully. The MUTP and MUIP have acted as complementary projects in developing the road infrastructure. In at least a few places, the Mithi river project has also impacted the same geographical areas. Thus there are a number of slum communities where displacement has been experienced as successive waves. The study identified a few such communities listed below.

S No	Name of the Community	Affecting Projects
1	Shanti Nagar (Mahim)	MUIP and Railways
2	Bail Bazar (Kurla)	Mithi River and MUIP
3	Indira Nagar (Kurla)	Mithi River and MUIP
4	Kismat Nagar, Gazi Nagar, Buddha Colony	Mithi River and MUTP (SCLR)
5	Rahul Nagar (Chembur)	MUTP and Mithi River
6	Kanjurmarg	MUTP (JVLR) and MUIP (LBS Marg)

Table 1: A listing of communities affected by multiple projects

Displacement has thus been fragmented; tremendously affecting the negotiation capacities of communities.

• The following table shows that just as displacement has been fragmented, resettlement has also been fragmented.

Rehabilitation Site	No. of Communities from which sample households came
Asgaonkar	24
Kanjurmarg	46
Lallubhai Compound, Mankhurd	38
Oshiwara	61
Tunga Village	22
Vashi Naka	122

Table 2: A listing of displacement and resettlement

THE SCHEME

The MMRDA invited builders and NGOs to construct five lakh houses over the next five years, of which 50,000 are likely to be completed by next year.

MMRDA had earmarked Rs 100 crore for the project this year.

Every complex will have at least 500 tenements, each measuring 160 sq ft.

The tenements will be located anywhere between Kasara to Virar, depending upon where the builder proposes to start the project.

Zeeshan Shaikh
Mumbai, July II

THE MUMBAI Metropolitan Region Development Authority (MMRDA) has asked builders and non-governmental organisations (NGO) with land to construct residential complexes as part of its rental housing scheme.

MMRDA Metropolitan Commissioner Ratnakar Gaikwad had mooted the idea of constructing rental houses to tackle housing problems among the urban poor.

MMRDA plans to build five lakh houses over the next five years, of which 50,000 are likely to be completed by next year. For the current year, the body had earmarked Rs 100 crore for the project.

Every complex will have at least 500 tenements, each measuring 160 sq ft, which will be located anywhere between Kasara and Virar, depending on where the

builder proposes to start the project.

The MMRDA recently floated tenders for interested developers and NGOs with land or developmental rights to quote prices for building a residential complex.

"We held a pre-bid meeting, and 11 parties have evinced interest in the project," MMRDA Chief Engineer S.R. Nandgirikar said.

Bidders will be selected by the end of this month and they will have to complete the project within a year — by August 2009.

MMRDA officials said builders would get only the admissible floor space index (FSI) prevalent in the locality. However, officials privately admitted that the lure of a higher FSI would attract more parties to the projects.

URBAN POOR HOUSING SCHEMES UNDER WAY

■ The state is likely to get Rs 2,403 crore from the Centre, as its share for low-cost housing schemes, under the JNNURM.

■ Under the Basic Services to Urban Poor scheme, Mumbai will

for slumdwellers.

■ Nearly 1.67 lakh houses will be created for urban poor in upcoming townships and cities. The total cost of these schemes works up to Rs 4,545 crore

Resettlement experience has definitely resulted in a breakdown of prior community networks. Resettlement colonies face a number of issues of integration in terms of amenities and infrastructure and citizenship entitlements, for which community networks offer a position of strength. Generating a new community through these diverse groupings from a multitude of communities is an immense challenge.

- An Analysis of MUTP and MUIP Rehabilitation Sites on the basis of the Principles of Adequate Housing

An analysis of the MUTP and MUIP Policy and practice of R&R reveals the following–

Sr. No.	Norms for Adequate Housing (General Comment No. 4)	MUTP Policy	Practice and issues
1.	Legal Security of Tenure	According to the policy all buildings within a rehabilitation site will form registered Cooperative Housing Societies.	Formation of cooperative housing societies has been considerably delayed with issues of eligibility, transfers etc not fully settled.
		All Registered Cooperative Housing Societies will then form a Federation of those societies for better functioning of the rehabilitation site.	Occupancy certificates to some buildings have not been issued, residents continue to stay in insecure circumstances
			Tenure is only transferred to individual households after 10 years.
2.	Availability of Services, Materials, Facilities, Infrastructure	According to the policy, selection of the rehab site is done keeping the following criteria in mind:	Availability of services and infrastructure varies across sites and ranges from poor to average.
		Pattern of transport and communication in the affected area	Non-Availability of schools and health amenities is a major issue in large sites
		Present level of access to market centers and towns	Sites like Vashi naka, Mankhurd and Tungwa face problems of connectivity.
		Present social services in the area – healthcare, education etc.	Mankhurd and Tungwa are located in low income neighborhoods and offer few prospects of mobility and
		Cultural differences among the affected population	integration
			The designs are standard and do not reflect any community consultation
		Layout and design should conform to cultural practices	
		Community inputs should be an integral part of the design process.	

Sr. No.	Norms for Adequate Housing (General Comment No. 4)	MUTP Policy	Practice and issues
3.	Affordability	Each building becomes a cooperative housing society and is therefore responsible for its own maintenance, which is decided by the Cooperative Housing Society. Maintenance includes the following–garbage collection and disposal, cleaning of the alleys between the buildings as well as drains and gutters, payment for the lights used in the building passageways, lobby as well as within the site, running and maintenance of the lift, Pumping water to overhead tanks, Payment of a gardener, security guard, if any.	Maintenance is roughly between Rs250 – 400 in each site. However many sites face issues of double water meters where construction water bills and rates are being passed to the PAPs, thereby increasing their burden manifold.
		Over and above this, each society member is required to pay for property taxes as well as water charges.	Garbage collection and municipal services have not been put in place in several areas. Efforts through schemes like Dattak Vasti yojana are linked to household contribution. All such contributions are distinct from the monthly maintenance.
		Besides paying for maintenance, the society members are also responsible for paying for their own electricity bills as each tenement possesses their own metered connection.	As housing societies are not registered, The transfer of 20,000 Rs deposited per tenement by developer in MMRDA has not been transferred to them.
		In order to help society members to pay their maintenance, MMRDA is supposed to deposit Rs20, 000 (for each tenement) in a revolving fund. The interest from this fund is supposed to help PAPs pay their maintenance.	
4.	Habitability	According to the policy, every eligible PAP is entitled to a tenement of 225 sq ft.	The construction quality of tenements is variable and ranges from good to average.
			Most rehabilitation sites are characterized by congestion within sites and also within tenements as there are no lofts or community spaces where households can have their footprint.
5.	Accessibility	Accessibility is measured in terms of eligibility.	About 20–30% people in each affected community have been denied the benefit of R&R on grounds of eligibility.
		Only those PAPs who have proof that they were living in their previous structure prior to the date on which the BSES was conducted are eligible.	Several cases where allocation to single women, elderly has not followed norms
		According to the policy, vulnerable groups (elderly, handicapped, single women headed households) are entitled to a ground floor tenement.	
6.	Location	The rehabilitation site is not supposed to be more than a 2 kms radius from the PAPs original location.	This norm has more or less been followed in the case of MUTP affected but thoroughly disregarded in the case of MUIP and MRDP.
			Mixed and large sites like Vashi Naka, Mankhurd and Tunga are distant from stations, connectivity by buses is poor and sometimes non existent
7.	Cultural Adequacy	Norms, design and layouts in keeping with culture of the community	Site layouts are congested, and not conducive for community bonds
			Tenement designs are not in keeping with the joint household structure of people

Table 3: An analysis of the MUTP and MUIP Rehabilitation sites on the basis of the Principles of Adequate Housing

The table thus shows that while on one hand the PAPs have acquired an asset in terms of a pucca tenement, there are several issues about its adequacy as a house that enables the poor inhabitants to pursue a secure existence and good quality of life.

- The MUTP Policy follows the norm of minimizing the distance in relocation. The table below maps the distance of relocation across the three projects-

	MUTP	MUIP	Mithi River
Less than 5 kms	32.8%	23.1%	17.6%
5 – 10 kms	29.6%	36.7%	81.2%
11 – 20 kms	33.2%	35.3%	1.2%
21 – 40 kms	4.4%	4.8%	0
Total	274 (100%)	847 (100%)	85 (100%)

Table 4: Relocation Distances across three projects

The table shows that in fact it is the Mithi River Project that has managed to minimize the relocation distance for most of the PAPs while the MUTP and MUIP have almost a third of the PAPs being shifted over 11 kms away from their original sites. This has implications for the retention of livelihoods.

- The adequacy of resettled housing is further exemplified to the actual availability of amenities in the new sites. The following tables analyse the availability of some key amenities

Original Community	Rehabilitation Site
75% had a shared water supply	All have individual water connections
81% received water for more than 1 hour everyday	59% receive water for more than 1 hour everyday
66% perceived that the quality of water was adequate	77% perceive that the quality of the water is adequate
13% had problems with their water such as pressure problems and purity	51% have problems with their water such as pressure problems and purity
The average cost of water was Rs67.04/- per month.	-

Table 5: Water Facility

The new sites thus give individual water connections, however adequacy of water is an issue for especially those living on higher floors. In fact, slum living offered better availability of water for more than three fourth households.

Original Community	Rehabilitation Site
75% used public toilets	All have individual toilets
The average cost of using the toilet facility was Rs20/- per month	-
77% of the respondents had inadequate toilet seats 12% of the toilets were located away from the community 3/4th of the toilets did not have any water facility	56% of the toilets have problems such as leakage in the toilets, choking, and bad construction 62% have no water in the toilets

Table 6: Toilets

The resettled tenements give a higher level of service but it is distressing to note that more than half the households

face problems vis-vis toilets. It is also pertinent to note here that the problems with toilets are now located much closer to home than earlier.

Original Community	Rehabilitation Site
36.14% of the respondents had problems with their drainage	39.42% of the respondents have problems with their drainage
28.57% of the respondents complained that their garbage was disposed irregularly	29.05% of the respondents complain that their garbage is disposed irregularly
23.14% of the respondents were not satisfied with their street sweeping	28.12% of the respondents are not satisfied with their street sweeping

Table 7: Municipal Services

The table shows that in the case of solid waste management too, there is not much difference in the quality of services; rather there is a slight increase in dissatisfaction levels.

- Average Maintenance Cost per month in the original community was Rs137/- and now in the rehabilitation site the average monthly maintenance cost is Rs183.25/-
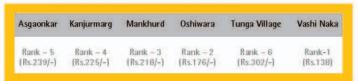
Asgaonkar	Kanjurmarg	Mankhurd	Oshiwara	Tunga Village	Vashi Naka
Rank – 5 (Rs.239/-)	Rank – 4 (Rs.225/-)	Rank – 3 (Rs.218/-)	Rank – 2 (Rs.176/-)	Rank – 6 (Rs.302/-)	Rank-1 (Rs.138)

Table 8: Rehab Site Ranking on Maintenance Costs

The table thus shows that Tunga Village has the highest maintenance costs.

- Livelihoods have been significantly affected by the relocation.8.6% earners have changed their job

after shifting to the rehabilitation site. Traveling time to work has increased for more than 26% households.The table below further shows that the impact has been highest in sites like Vashi Naka, Tunga and Oshiwara.

Asgaonkar	Kanjurmarg	Mankhurd	Oshiwara	Tunga Village	Vashi Naka
Rank – 3 (28.12%)	Rank – 1 (19.23%)	Rank – 2 (27.60%)	Rank – 4 (31.13%)	Rank – 6 (45.65%)	Rank-5 (43.19%)

Table 9: Impact of Relocation on Livelihood

- Education is another area that has suffered during relocation.27.44% children had to change their school or dropped out of school.31% children reported that their travel time to school has increased. As shown in the table below, Tunga Village has the worst impact followed by Mankhurd and Kanjurmarg.

Asgaonkar	Kanjurmarg	Mankhurd	Oshiwara	Tunga Village	Vashi Naka
Rank – 1 (43.75%)	Rank – 4 (60.25%)	Rank – 5 (61.08%)	Rank – 2 (50.29%)	Rank – 6 (63.04%)	Rank-3 (59.14%)

Table 10: Impact of Relocation on Education

- It is expected that with the shift from 'slums' which have poor environmental conditions to 'pucca buildings' that are more hygienic, there would be a reduction in illnesses and lesser expenditures on health care. However, 21.41% households reported that illnesses have increased after shifting to the rehabilitation sites.20.39% households reported an increase in health expenditure.Tunga, Vashi Naka and Mankhurd are the sites with the most adverse impact.

Asgaonkar	Kanjurmarg	Mankhurd	Oshiwara	Tunga Village	Vashi Naka
Rank – 2 (21.87%)	Rank – 1 (20.51%)	Rank – 4 (48.41%)	Rank – 3 (25.74%)	Rank – 6 (56.52%)	Rank-5 (51.16%)

Table 11: Impact of Relocation on Health

• The Development Plan as a document that identifies the current and future amenities that could be developed in a locality is of prime importance for prospects of future livability of the sites. It needs to be also seen in relation to the issues also being faced at some of these sites. The following table identifies the amenities charted in the development plan in the vicinity of select resettlement sites.

S No	Name of the Rehab site	Reservation on the plot	Amenities
1	Mankhurd – Lallubhai Compound	Special Industrial Zone	1. Public Housing 2. Garden 3. Municipal Primary School 4. Secondary School 5. Maternity Home 6. Municipal Dispensary 7. Market 8. Children's Home 9. Play Ground – across the railway line
2	Asgaonkar	Residential	1. Municipal Housing 2. Primary Municipal School –1 3. Secondary School – 2 4. Recreational Ground 5. Housing for the dishoused
3	Oshiwara	BMRDA District Centre	1. Commercial Zone – Adjacent Plot 2. We know that there is a maternity hospital
4	Tunga Village	Residential	3. Service Industrial Zone 4. I3 Special Industrial Zone – Present a school Private 5. Recreational Ground 6. Play ground
5	Kanjurmarg	District Centre and Commercial Complex	1. Welfare Centre 2. Hospital 3. Fire Brigade 4. Municipal Primary School 5. Shopping Centre 6. Ground 7. NDZ 8. Secondary School 9. Play Ground 10. Cinema Theatre
6	Vashi Naka	Recreational Ground	1. Municipal Primacy School 2. Secondary School 3. RG 4. BP Housing Colony Service Industrial Zone

Table 12: Development Plan Reservation on the Rehabilitation Sites and Reservation for Amenities

Note:

Plots reserved in approximately 2 kms circumference have been identified in the table

Sites like Asgaonkar, Nirlon, Nesco, Durga Nagar, Majas are located in areas of fairly good infrastructure, and hence the

question of distinct amnities for them is not very significant. However in the case of large sites like Mankhurd, Mandala, Vashi Naka; the critical absence of facilities can have a serious impact, especially given the fact that these are sites with poor connectivity. The Tunga site faces adverse impacts in education, health and livelihood. The proposed developments in the vicinity do not do justice to these. Vashi Naka is another site with considerable issues in livelihood and health, the relevant provisions are missing. In the case of Mankhurd, there are tremendous issues of education, there are proposed developments of schools , however these will need to be enhanced and actually developed, keeping in mind the already increased population of the area which also has other R7R sites.

CONCLUSION

The MUTP project has provided a framework for R& R in the city. It has demonstrated that it is possible to relocate people within the city and provided a feasible financial and institutional model for the same. However it needs to be also borne that these projects have displaced considerable numbers of people and that these are not resettlement projects alone. The impact of relocation on people shows that while there has been considerable asset generation, the sustainability of the assets so created is suspect as the process has caused considerable disruptions in the life and networks of people. Further it also demonstrates that the planning of R&R has not been done, keeping a long term development and planning trajectory in mind. The restructuring of the geography of the city through R&R is one that has deepened the spatial inequities in the city

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