the London School of **Economics** and **Political Science**

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN RESETTLEMENT:
AN ALTERNATIVE TO FORCED EVICTIONS

THE CASE OF MUMBAI, INDIA

Eric Dickson

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

MSc, INTERNATIONAL HOUSING AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Community Participation in Resettlement: An Alternative to Forced Evictions

Summary

International commentators have thoroughly documented the negative impacts of relocations on the lives of the poor. While most knowledge of resettlement is derived from the construction of dams, the issue of urban displacement remains relatively neglected. Michael Cernea of the World Bank contends that, "rehabilitation in the urban context is hardly understood and least realized to any satisfaction" (TISS, 2003). While evictions and relocations have largely been examined through a human rights lens, this paper will disaggregate the various components of resettlement and contrast the harsh realities of forced evictions with an innovative participatory approach adopted in Mumbai, India. The participatory resettlement of 60,000 people from along Mumbai's railway network draws attention to the importance of examining issues surrounding communities' involvement in their own relocation. Moreover, the fact that this resettlement occurred in response to infrastructure development, which annually displaces an estimated 10,000,000 people, further underscores its validity in the discourse on urban development (UNCHR, 1996). Although the subject matter is case specific to the experience of Mumbai's slum dwellers, the paper will draw links to the broader issues of evictions and resettlement within the developing world and highlight the capacity of community organizations to facilitate relocation processes.

CHAPTER I

1.1 – Introduction: Mumbai's Resettlement Policies and Practices

Investment in urban areas is largely dependent on a nation's rate of economic growth, technology, infrastructure and manpower. Given that many developing nations have a general lack of such attributes, governments' task of providing the needed levels of urban housing and associated services is often highly problematic. When governments do invest in housing construction, it is often financially unattainable for the urban poor and does little to address the existing problems of low-income settlements. The resulting perpetuation of 'squatter' or 'illegal' settlements within the urban context underscores the inability and/or lack of commitment of governments to adequately provide for a city's growing population. According to UNCHS (1982), three principle factors influence the formation of squatter settlements; the amount of available land, the quality of land and the nature of its ownership.

Mumbai serves as a unique example of these three interconnected factors. Representing one of India's most vibrant commercial centers, the growing economy of Mumbai has witnessed sharp

Eric Dickson

increases in land prices resulting in mounting pressure on Economically Weaker Sections (EWS). More specifically, it is estimated that over half of Mumbai's 12 million residents live in informal settlements or slums within the city's 437 square kilometer area, occupying approximately 6% of its land mass[1] (D'Cruz, 2001). Needless to say, Mumbai's continuing growth can be attributed to its functions as a transportation, financial and service center for global trade and for the adjacent hinterland.

Mumbai's physical geography has similarly contributed to land value escalations as the city lies on a peninsula and is bound by the Arabian Sea to the west, and various rivers and creeks to the north and east (see Map I). These physical limitations in turn restrict the growth and location of low-income settlements, causing a high degree of competitiveness for urban space and resulting in the growth of settlements in areas which are unlikely to attract public attention (UNCHS, 1982). It has been noted that, "residential proximity to port and railway facilities are prized locations because of the job opportunities they offer and because of the huge amount of potentially usable discarded materials" (Bartolome, 1984). The encroachment of illegal settlements on available land has become an increasingly complex dilemma, as the Central Government of India (GOI) is the largest urban landowner in the city.

| Encroachments along Mumbai's railway tracks. | Figure 1 |
| (Photo Credit: SPARC) | |

---

[1] See Appendix, Figure 1

Eric Dickson

<u>**Community Participation in Resettlement: An Alternative to Forced Evictions**</u>

The importance of these low-income settlements, specifically along Mumbai's railway network, is related to the economic geography of the city. Whereas northern Mumbai is primarily residential, the south exhibits high concentrations of domestic and foreign companies (Grant & Nijman, 2002). In this regard, the suburban railway system is fundamental to the daily functioning of the city as an estimated 7.4 million passenger- trips are made daily (Patel, 1999). Three suburban railway lines link the central business districts of Mumbai to the suburban regions of the north: the Central, Western and Harbour lines (see Map II). Sections of the railway network, however, came to be so heavily populated that by 1999, some 20,000 households had erected hutments within meters of the tracks (Patel, 2002). The increasing incidence of accidents arising from people crossing the tracks prompted the Commissioner of Railway Safety to impose a 15-kilometer speed limit on trains traveling through populated areas (Patel, 2002). As trains are capable of traveling at speeds exceeding 40 kilometers per hour, the presence of low-income settlements contributed to the delay of trains and general

disruption to daily commuters and their employment schedules. The decreased efficiency of the railway system and the associated decline in workers' productivity has been partially blamed for the Mumbai's stagnating economic growth in recent years. For this reason, a plan was put forth to create a Safety Zone of ten meters on either side of the tracks, which would be free of any encroachments.

Land adjacent to the tracks cleared of encroachments   **Figure 2**
to create a ten meter Safety Zone. (*Photo Credit: SPARC*)

Given that Mumbai's governing bodies have long since aspired to improve the city to levels comparable to global cities such as Shanghai, plans have been presented to develop six key areas - economic growth, transportation, housing, other infrastructure, financing and governance (Mckinsey & Co, 2003). More specifically, with a view to improve the public transportation of the city, the Government of Maharastra engaged the municipality of Mumbai and the Indian Railways (a national government agency) to improve bus and train transport in the city. The project developed some 14 years ago, whereby the Government of Maharashtra (GOM) sought a loan from the World Bank, which led to the creation of the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP). Other stakeholders

Eric Dickson

involved in the MUTP include the Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai and the Brihan Mumbai Electric Supply Undertaking (Patel, 2002). While encompassing a wide range of issues pertaining to Mumbai's transportation, the MUTP undertook the task of improving the suburban railway system by expanding station platforms, laying new tracks and increasing the number of rail cars so as to reduce overcrowding. For such development to take place, however, some 20,000 low-income households would have to be resettled from their dwellings located within the ten-meter target area along the tracks. This planned resettlement required under the MUTP should be considered in the historical and political context of the city to gain a more in depth understanding of its present day relevance.

While the war of attrition between the squatters and private and public landowners and government has been a historic subset of the city's development, each decade reflects the growing need of the formal city for the lands on which the poor have encroached (Patel, personal communication). There was a time when the city simply pushed the squatters away from the lands that the formal city needed, but global and local sentiments about such action have required a changing response to such a process. Responses by the Government of Maharastra have ranged from periodic evictions during the 1970s to large-scale evictions during the 1980s, largely arising from legislation "giving greater powers to the police to deal with 'unauthorised construction and settlement'" (Imprint, p.33). At the same time, however, the Maharastra Project Affected Persons Rehabilitation Act (1986) allowed the State to "acquire land for the purpose of public interest through purchase and exchange or compulsory acquisition, (and) requires the State Government to arrange to provide civic amenities in the area where it relocates affected persons" (COHRE, 2002, p.26). This gradual shift in policy stance has been explained by the recognition of politicians that the ever growing number of slum dwellers represented important voting blocs, and that a transition from slum clearances to improvement programmes was more likely to secure attentive constituencies (Chatterjee, G. 2002).

In preparation for the MUTP, World Bank guidelines stipulated that a specific relocation and resettlement policy be in place prior to the loan being issued. The National Housing Policy (1994) therefore provided "that the central and state Governments will take steps to avoid forcible relocation…and to undertake selective relocation with community involvement only for clearance of priority sites in the public interest" (UNCHR, 1996, p.26). The following year in 1995, the Slum Redevelopment Scheme was launched, which was a significant step in the direction of securing rights for slum dwellers and an indication that the State was beginning to look beyond evictions (Fernandes, 1998). All those who had residential proof of living in the city before January 1st 1995, were 'protected' which meant that if it was verifiable that they resided in the city before that date, they would have the right to get rehabilitated on site if possible. If the location they stayed in was not

5

Eric Dickson

safe or needed by the city for infrastructure, they would be provided resettled and rehabilitated at an alternative location. It is within this conceptual framework that the participatory resettlement of Mumbai's slum dwellers must be placed.

This paper will therefore discuss the mechanisms of community organization that were essential to the participatory resettlement of 60,000 slum dwellers from their homes along the railway tracks to permanent and transitory locations. For the purpose of this paper, participatory resettlement is defined as that which involves project affected households (PAH) in the decision making processes that serve to offset the traditional hazards of resettlement and that can be mutually beneficial for communities and the local economy (Cernea, 1997). It will focus on the diverse strategies employed by the urban poor to ensure a participatory approach to their resettlement and explore the manner in which these strategies were utilized to achieve a degree of steadiness in their control of resources.

The resettlement has been unique in the fact that it averted the impoverishment of the affected households, while ensuring that community participation was integral to the design, planning and implementation (Patel, 2002). The magnitude of this resettlement and rehabilitation is plausibly the first of its kind, and serves to set a precedent for future projects involving urban displacement.

1.2 - Research & Methodology

Operational research was undertaken in Mumbai between April and May 2004. With the assistance of the local NGO known as the Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC), interviews and focus group discussions were held at permanent and transitory resettlement sites of Mankurd and Kanjur Marg, with key informants of the community based organizations (CBO) Mahila Milan and the Railway Slum Dwellers Federation (RSDF). In addition interviews were conducted with leaders of the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) at their head office. Seven interviews and five focus group discussions were undertaken to gain first hand insight into the establishment of community organizations, the manner in which these organizations were involved in the resettlement process, and the on-going importance of community organization within their new colonies. Open discussions were similarly held with members of SPARC regarding the resettlement in order to gain perspective from those working within civil society.

Certain caveats concerning the research should be considered prior to commencing the paper. As a guest researcher, there was a degree of dependency on SPARC and voluntary community members to assist in the organization and translation of the interviews and focus group discussions. To this extent, the quality of information relayed was dependent on the language skills of the translator. It

6

Eric Dickson

must also be taken into consideration that community members participating in the focus group discussions may have refrained from voicing certain opinions in the presence of others. Finally, community members' employment and family obligations may have restricted the various categories of individuals attending the focus group discussions.

Despite the above, this paper is the product of a qualitative opportunity to gather observations of communities affected by the MUTP, in a manner that highlights their specific experiences of participation in the resettlement process. Taken collectively, the information provides an insight into the more effective mechanisms of organization and community management that are being utilized to mitigate the effects of displacement. However, given the time constraints on the international fieldwork imposed by academic obligations in London, and the level of funding resource available to its execution, no claim is made that the information obtained is exhaustive. To that degree, its conclusions may also be subject to revision in the light of additional information becoming available.

Eric Dickson

CHAPTER II

2.1: Forced Evictions on the Global Stage

The twentieth century was deemed by some to be 'the century of displacement' (UNCHR, 1996, p.5). Despite the fact that 119 governments have ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights of the United Nations in which the right to housing is declared a human right, many of those rights are consistently violated (Audefroy, 1994). Those who are most effected by forced evictions are, almost without exception, the sectors of society who are least economically and politically powerful. This may be explained by the emphasis that many governments of the developing world place on the development of sectors that generate economic output, income and capital – an example of which is transportation infrastructure (Massdorp, 1977).

Forced evictions of informal, low-income settlements have become a frequent phenomenon on the global stage to vacate land intended for "new industrial estates, improved transportation corridors, new water and sewage systems or other infrastructural equipment needed for economic growth and population agglomeration" (Cernea, 1993, p.13). These developments often result in high value land being transferred from the urban poor to the more affluent sectors of society, who are the primary beneficiaries of what Cernea refers to as "intraurban compulsory relocation" (Cernea, 1993, p.viii).

Regardless of terminology employed to describe the process, displacements commonly occur under threat of violence, coercion and the destruction of households' possessions through the use of bulldozers or fire. The United Nations defines forced evictions as "the removal of individuals, families or communities from their homes, land or neighbourhoods, against their will, directly or indirectly attributable to the State" (UNCHR, 1996, p.4). Moreover, forced evictions directly strike at the foundation of security of tenure, which is the basis of the right to housing under international law (COHRE, 2002b). What is evident is the inexistence or inadequacy of national policies related to forced urban displacement in many developing nations. Legislation such as the Slum Redevelopment Scheme or bodies such as the Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) in India, which protect the rights and entitlements of the poor, are commonly unenforced or entirely absent in the developing world. Cernea (1993, p.5) succinctly summarizes the situation with the statement that "the composite consequence of this neglect is that displacement and relocation in urban environments are frequently under prepared, under financed, proceed haphazardly, and have a host of disastrous effects".

Eric Dickson

<u>**Community Participation in Resettlement: An Alternative to Forced Evictions**</u>

National or state governments may seek to justify evictions in a number of ways. These can include the 'beautification' of the city, stigmatizing 'slums' as centers of crime and social problems inherent in their 'illegal' status, highlighting health related issues of informal settlements, and finally focusing on the future benefits to the city of redevelopment of land for the construction of public works[2] (UNCHS, 1996; Audefroy, 1994). While the first three justifications are often used to provide political leverage to evictions and can be disputed on a number of levels, it has been noted that evictions resulting from redevelopment are often characterized by a greater degree of legitimacy as in the case of the MUTP (UNCHS, 1996; Audefroy, 1994).

The adverse effects of forced evictions include not only loss of home, employment, income generating activities (for example local customers/markets) and food security, but perhaps more importantly the severing, or at best acute disruption, of informal social and economic networks. These networks serve the critical purpose of providing a 'safety net' against unforeseen predicaments, and disburse burdens of responsibility from an individual to a larger collective group (Cernea, 1993). Although non-quantifiable, the pressure exerted on these informal support systems by forced evictions puts them at risk of collapsing entirely, removing access to necessities such as exchange and borrowing capacities and child care arrangements, which result in a greater likelihood of ensuing impoverishment (Cernea, 1993).

To quote Scott Leckie (COHRE, 2003, p. 6) of the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) at some length;

> **"forced evictions have an ongoing negative effect because they so often serve to devastate communities: they contribute to the disintegration of key social ties and networks; they wreak havoc on the economic well-being of families; they leave a legacy of social insecurity; and they compromise the realization of other human rights, including the rights to health, education, work, social participation and social equality".**

<u>2.2: Women & Evictions</u>

While forced evictions have increasingly become associated with violations of human rights, a thorough understanding of its effect on women is only gradually emerging. Caroline Moser (1992) adeptly describes the triple role of women's responsibilities within the household and community as reproductive, productive and social organization. When such responsibilities are compounded by the

---

[2] See Audefroy (1994) for a full discussion on trends of evictions.

Eric Dickson

threat or act of eviction, female-headed households suffer disproportionately as a lack of "resettlement and evictions…particularly increase the vulnerability of women and children because women bear the brunt of traumatized and dislocated communities" (UNCHR, 1996, p.9). Being that women's traditional responsibilities lie within the household, while that of men's rest within the economic sphere (i.e. outside the household), it is often women who are most affected by the evictions.

Cases at Prakash Nagar and Bhabrekar Nagar in Mumbai revealed the extent to which forced evictions severely affected the female-headed households and the coping capacities of many single mothers (COHRE, 2002b). The lack of support within the household makes rapid flight from a dwelling more difficult, as a sole individual is responsible for the removal and protection of children, and the salvaging of any possessions possible (COHRE, 2002b). Following demolitions, women retain their role as care providers for the nourishment of their family and children despite the limited means at their disposal – which at times can place their personal safety at risk (COHRE, 2002b). The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights confirms this observation in that "women are particularly vulnerable due to the extent of statutory and other forms of discrimination they experience in relation to property rights (including home-ownership) or rights of access to property or accommodation as well as women's particular vulnerability to acts of violence and sexual abuse when they are rendered homeless" (COHRE, 2002b, p.10). With unequal access to information and the formal economic market, and because of cultural norms that diminish their social and economic status, women are frequently relegated to the periphery of remedial activities that take into account their respective housing and protection needs, resulting in an increased susceptibility to acute poverty. (COHRE, 2002b).

2.3: International Finance Institutions and Evictions

The role of international financial institutions in promoting the practice of forced evictions is a controversial issue. The funding of 'mega-projects', such as the MUTP for example, which are intended to improve infrastructure problems that developing cities are now facing, is frequently charged with encouraging the displacement of low-income communities.

World Bank funding for rural initiatives such as agricultural and hydropower projects, which in themselves have been responsible for large-scale displacements, have gradually declined in favour of increased funding for urban development, transportation, water supply and sewerage systems[3]. Of

---

[3] See Appendix, Figure 2

Eric Dickson

these various urban initiatives funded by the World Bank, transportation has been identified as the largest single cause of resettlement, accounting for one quarter of all projects that involved resettlement in 1993 (UNCHS, 2003). The Bank's policy, however, "explicitly states that all resettlement programs must be development programs as well, and that measures must be taken to improve the conditions of those dislocated and prevent them from becoming permanently impoverished and destitute" (Cernea, 1993, p.22). In situations where relocation is an unavoidable outcome of urban development, such as that occurring through transportation and infrastructure projects, this policy orientation is of particular importance and funding is made contingent on adherence to such guidelines.

Despite the existence of such policy, however, the Asian Coalition on Housing Rights (ACHR) (2003) points out the manner in which international finance institutions can *indirectly* influence forced evictions. First, the funding of certain projects in effect frees up alternative government revenues that are not bound, for example, by World Bank or the Asian Development Bank (ADB) resettlement guidelines. The ACHR argues that such revenue can then be utilized in other eviction causing projects that are not scrutinized by preventative and mitigatory measures. Secondly, the incorporation of conditions regarding international standards, international tendering and the use of international consultants can escalate project costs between 15-20 times the cost of labour and materials. In order to generate revenues to accommodate such high levels of financial debt, governments may opt to evict informal settlements from land for commercial development purposes. The development of such land, thirdly, will influence surrounding property values and begin a cycle of gentrification as low-income communities in the area become aesthetic 'eyesores' and are consequently evicted.

In attempts to mitigate the undue harmful effects of forced evictions, the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that "international agencies should scrupulously avoid involvement in projects which…promote or reinforce…or involve large-scale evictions or displacement of persons without the provision of all appropriate protection and compensation" (UNCHR, 1996, p.20). In addition, various guidelines have been adopted by the United Nations (UNCHR, 1996, p.11), one of which states that:

    (i)   "When relocation is unavoidable, a relocation/resettlement plan should be prepared and implemented which allocates sufficient resources to ensure that those affected are fairly compensated and rehabilitated. They should benefit from the development process on a sustainable basis. At a minimum they should be no worse off than before relocation."

Eric Dickson

(ii)   "There should be full participation in the planning and management process by the parties involved, in particular the communities affected."

(iii)   "The parties benefiting from the development causing relocation should pay the full costs of the relocation process, including the socio-economic rehabilitation of those affected to at least their former level."

Placed within the Indian context, it has been estimated that between the 1950s and 1990s approximately 20 million people were displaced and involuntarily resettled as a result of development projects (Fernandes, 1991, in Cernea, 1997). More shocking still is evidence that only 25% of the resettled population were 'rehabilitated', indicating that the majority of people resettled in India have faced severe socio-economic hardships and are likely to have faced subsequent impoverishment (Cernea, 1997).

Eric Dickson

CHAPTER III

3.1: The Missing Link – A Participatory Approach

While the above discussion is meant to underscore the unfavorable effects of forced evictions, the manner in which they are perpetuated, and the steps being taken to mitigate against them, the intention is not to suggest that urban development that displaces people should not occur. In densely populated, and continuously growing cities, infrastructure development whether it be for water, sanitation, drainage, roads, railways, ports, airports and facilities for businesses will require land on which people live (Patel, 2002). Because urbanization rates are increasing at unprecedented levels and urgently require timely urban development projects to address the visible backlog of infrastructure, selected projects involving *participatory resettlement and rehabilitation* can often be justified. However, a frequent lack of dialogue among the various stakeholders and an abundance of cases where resettlement is not integrated with rehabilitation activities underscores the need to reconceptualize the methodologies commonly employed in the resettlement of displaced communities (Cernea, 1997).

The traditional arrangement where governments or implementing agencies maintain an "information embargo" (Cernea, 1997, p.22) regarding the project affected households' (PAH) rights and entitlements is a highly unproductive approach, as it bypasses the collective strength that communities can offer to the resettlement process. To be sure, Cernea's (1997) model for resettling displaced populations demonstrates the need to consider the known risks and prevent/minimize them from becoming reality. A crucial step involved in this is the active involvement of the community to plan for their future, discuss their options and make informed decisions.
Under such conditions, impoverishment is not an inevitability of relocation, particularly if accompanying such community participation is a high degree of government commitment, adequate resource allocation and the participation of local NGOs. The combination of such mutually reinforcing factors stands to prove that resettlement can bring about certain benefits including security of tenure, improved housing conditions, access to amenities, and better environmental conditions (Cernea, 1993). What is clearly needed is a reconceptulaization of the objectives of resettlement, the manner in which it is approached, and a realization that resettlement projects are in themselves development projects and should provide opportunity rather than hardship (Cernea, 1997).

Eric Dickson

3.2: Best Practice: Participatory Resettlement

In order to ensure that resettlement projects do not cause undue harm, a thorough understanding of how resettlement affects all stakeholders is essential. While not exclusive, primary stakeholders often include: project authorities, donor representatives, approving and implementing agencies, affected persons/households, local communities, and NGOs responsible for aspects of the resettlement (ADB, 1998). With appropriate consultation and involvement, community participation can increase the overall efficiency of resettlement for all stakeholders and reduce the aforementioned socio-economic implications traditionally associated with displacement.

Participation can be broadly understood as possessing two idiosyncratic features, firstly that of information exchange and secondly of varying forms of joint decision-making (Ministry of Lands, 2003). The exchange of adequate information regarding resettlement processes involves the dissemination of information from project officials to the affected community. This sharing of information must be made easily accessible to the affected population and be expressed in a manner that is understandable and tangible. This serves as a cornerstone to the resettlement process as it lays the foundation for trust between the community and project officials, and provides the opportunity for concerns to be voiced in an open dialogue.

Having undertaken this first step of the process, consultation must follow with the community as it allows information to flow in the reverse direction – from the people to the project officials. Emphasis should be placed on the importance of community consultation, as it encourages not only the identification and selection of alternative project designs, but also the planning and implementation of the resettlement amongst all stakeholders (Ministry of Lands, 2003). Not only will this process allow issues of health, education, livelihood and gender to be accounted for, but it should also ensure that relocation to peripheral sites does not occur, as residents are better able to negotiate accessibility through involvement in the selection of relocation sites (UNCHS, 2003). The collective pooling of thoughts and ideas that results from information dissemination and community consultation makes resettlement inclusive to all stakeholders and minimizes adverse socio-economic impacts within project parameters, and by extension possibilities of delay due to conflict (Ministry of Lands, 2003).

By allowing the project affected households (PAH) to become actively involved in the decision making process regarding resettlement, they are able to assume a degree of control over their lives, rather than having decisions dictated to them by outsiders. The Sri Lankan Ministry of Lands (2003,

14

p.2) highlights the importance of this:

> **"Problems associated with involuntary resettlement have been generally
> attributed to the sense of insecurity and opposition to the project by
> the affected people. A major reason for this state of affairs is that
> people have not been properly informed about the project, consulted
> about their economic and social situation and preferences,
> and not allowed to participate in key decisions that will affect their lives."**

In response to such observations, and widespread criticism for neglecting the influences of evictions, the World Bank Operational Directive 4.30 (now O.P./B.P. 4.12) describes the Bank's policy and procedure on involuntary resettlement, while also encompassing the requirements that borrowers must fulfill in projects involving forced displacement. OP/BP 4.12 places resettlement and rehabilitation at the center of project planning and implementation, and although being a highly contested document that even the Bank admits is rarely adhered to, it states (Patel, 2002; Ministry of Lands, 2003):

- Community participation in planning and implementing resettlement should be encouraged (Para. 3c)
- The involvement of involuntary resettlers and hosts in planning prior to the move is critical. The affected hosts and resettlers need to be systematically informed and consulted during the preparation of the resettlement plan about their options and rights. (Para. 8)
- Successful resettlement requires a timely transfer of responsibility from settlement agencies to the settlers themselves (Para. 10).

The use of community based organizations (CBO) has been proven, in multiple aspects of housing, to be an effective tool for project implementation as they are task specific and able to facilitate quick resolutions of problems, thus greatly reducing uncertainty and vulnerability of displacement (Ministry of Lands, 2003). To this extent, it holds that those organizations that are democratically oriented, and politically organized through a high degree of involvement from productive members, will be the least vulnerable to the effects of evictions (Bartolome, 1984; UNCHR, 1996).

The type and degree of cohesion within a community organization will influence the manner in which they are integrated into resettlement policy, and in turn influence how they are perceived by the authorities (UNCHS, 1982). To this extent, the role of women in CBOs is becoming increasingly important throughout the developing world. As women have greater knowledge of their local environment due to the time spent in and around the household, they may place greater emphasis on

Eric Dickson

obtaining the provision of adequate services, such as sanitation, electricity or basic infrastructure (Moser, 1992). For this reason, and due to the high levels of social mobilization most often required to successfully attain such services, women frequently take on the crucial role of organizing community groups in order to lobby local authorities for the needed infrastructure (UNCHS, 1996b). In specific, the role of savings and loans groups, such as Mahila Milan, has gained international recognition for their ability to mobilize women into well-organized collectives with substantial influence within their communities. Not only do such groups strengthen community understanding of development issues, but they similarly serve to formalize their role within urban development initiatives (Boonyabancha, 2003).

Eric Dickson

CHAPTER IV

4.1 - Foundations of Participation

In Mumbai, the roles played by local organizations Mahila Milan and the Railway Slum Dwellers Federation (RSDF) were imperative to an involuntary resettlement project of 60,000 slums dwellers being converted into one that was primarily based on community participation during the entire process. Not only is the resettlement unique by ensuring that the affected households are not further impoverished, but also serves as a model of community participation constituting an integral part of the design, planning and implementation (Patel, 2002). The magnitude of this resettlement and rehabilitation is plausibly the first of its kind, and serves to set a precedent for future projects involving urban displacement.

To explore the manner in which community participation in the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP) resettlement evolved, a retrospective analysis of the formation of the Railway Slum Dwellers Federation (RSDF) and Mahila Milan is provided below. Much of the following information was gathered from interviews and focus group discussions held in Mumbai at both permanent and transit sites, in addition to documentation prepared by SPARC.

In response to an impending eviction notice received during the mid 1980s, households living along the tracks at Govandi were mobilized with the assistance of SPARC to undertake a Baseline Socio-Economic Survey (BSES) of their community. The BSES was comprised of a hut counting, rough mapping of the area, numbering of households, and a cadastral survey that exceeded the specified target area, as community members expected future evictions to occur. In addition, a comprehensive collection of community residents' socio-economic information was undertaken, following which households were grouped into clusters of 50 who would later collectively relocate[4]. This ensured that neighbourly interaction would remain constant both prior to, and following the resettlement. It similarly allowed community leaders to better understand their neighbourhoods by the availability of detailed information that again served to consolidate the social fabric. The complete participation of the slum dwellers in undertaking surveys is a crucial aspect to the process of empowering communities to understand their own residential environment. It is an important tool that communities utilize in enhancing their ability to articulate knowledge of themselves to others (Burra, 1999).

---

[4] See Patel, (2002) for a full discussion of BSES.

Eric Dickson

"The process of deciding what information is needed, for what purpose, and collecting and processing data about a community by the community itself give self-knowledge to the community and helps to develop the understanding that many problems can only be dealt with through collective effort. Thus data gathering and analysis are not detached, mechanical exercises to be done by third-party professionals but they become important activities in the process of building the self-awareness of community groups".

(Burra, 1999 p. 10)

As threats of evictions were not exclusive to any single part of the railway network, societies were formed in different communities in response to the difficulties experienced by living along the tracks and similar baseline socio-economic surveys (BSES) performed. Each society was assisted through the contributions of the women's savings and credit groups – Mahila Milan. Dependable members of each community were then chosen to form a larger housing society. This process lead to establishment of the Railway Slum Dwellers Federation (RSDF) in 1987, at which time they held a housing exhibition of various designs and costs that reflected the slum dwellers aspirations and economic capacities (Patel, 2002). With approximately 20,000 people attending the exhibition, interest in the RSDF took root to the point that today approximately 80 percent of those people living along the railway tracks are members of this Federation (Patel, 2002).

Although there was initial skepticism about Mahila Milan owing to the failure of previous savings schemes, the degree of transparency and clear accountability espoused by the women's group provided the necessary basis of legitimacy for its operations. For many slum dwellers, it proved to be the first time expenses were recorded, stamped receipts were provided for savings contributions and accounts were made available to community members. Since its inception, membership to Mahila Milan has grown to over 300,000 households throughout India (Burra, 1999). Such an accomplishment can be explained by the operational mandate under which the group operates.

ROLES OF MAHILA MILAN

1. **Instills a habit of saving in women of low-income communities**

2. **Runs and operates credit societies or savings groups**

3. **Provides loans to members in times of need**

4. **Plays an active role in the empowerment of women**

Figure 3

In addition to focusing on concrete outputs of their savings and credit scheme, Mahila Milan also places greater emphasis on examining issues from a woman's perspective and heightening members'

Eric Dickson

capacities to learn more about personal financial management. The end result has been to build self-confidence and an improved sense of self-direction. Sundar Burra (1999, p.3), of SPARC, suggests "Mahila Milan thus represents both an opportunity to satisfy the credit needs of poor women and a strategy to mobilize them towards taking a more pro-active role in relation to their own poverty".

4.2 - Resettlement and the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP)

Such levels of community organization lead to the Railway Slum Dwellers Federation (RSDF) and Mahila Milan becoming more involved in talks with government officials during the initial planning phases of the MUTP in the mid 1990s. Earlier, the Indian Railways had prevented the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) from providing basic amenities to the dwellings along the tracks in fear that such actions would regularize their illegal existence there. As part of the negotiations with the State Government of Maharastra, the RSDF stipulated that the resettlement process incorporate a suitable relocation site in addition to ensuring security of tenure (Patel, 2002).

As a result, the Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy (1997) was formulated through the collaborative discussions among the State Government, SPARC, president of the National Slum Dwellers Association (NSDF), and the affected communities. Four objectives were critical to the policy in relation to the resettlers (Yanes, 2000):

(i)   That their relocation be in relative proximity to the existing locations, so as to maintain their economic activities
(ii)   That complete security of tenure be granted
(iii)   That the resettlement result in an improvement in their living standards.
(iv)   That the resettlement not disrupt their social networks.

4.3 - Demolitions in Mumbai Squatter Settlements

When demolitions took place along the Central and Western lines in 1999, the high levels of community mobilization evident in Mahila Milan and the RSDF was crucial to the participatory and voluntary resettlement of those displaced. The evictions arose from the construction of a rail corridor between Kurla and Thane on the Central railway line (see Map II). As the targeted slums had previously conducted their own BSES, and exhibited proficient organization, the State Government collaborated with Mahila Milan and the RSDF to organize the resettlement. This collaboration between the community organizations and government provided the RSDF and Mahila Milan leaders an important understanding of land acquisition processes and relevant legal issues such as land titles

19

Eric Dickson

and zoning regulations.

The fact that the 1,980 affected households were informed of the pending eviction allowed the community to plan the relocation. Surveys were undertaken of land in and around their community in search of a suitable resettlement site. Having located a site in close proximity to their original location along the tracks, Mahila Milan and the RSDF negotiated with the government that the terrain at Kanjur Marg be filled prior to their resettlement, as its original state was marshy, saltpan land. Following the fulfillment of this obligation, a preliminary shift of 900 households took place *voluntarily*. Not only did the PAH visit the site prior in their housing societies to arrange households'

**Members of Mahila Milan discuss their resettlement.
Figure 4**

land plot allocations, they also organized a date and the means with which to make the move, and had the ability to pack their belongings in a timely fashion rather than seeing them demolished (Burra, 1999). The housing societies can therefore be viewed as institutionalized mechanisms that empower communities to take on responsibilities in their places of residence, thus greatly facilitating the resettlement process (TISS, 2003). In stark contrast to earlier discussion on the effects of

forced evictions on women is the fact that the resettlement to Kanjur Marg was almost entirely organized by women of Mahila Milan. Some 80 percent of the housing society leaders were women who had been involved with Mahila Milan for some time, and had been consistently saving towards their future housing needs (Burra, 1999; Patel, 2002).

Moreover, the societies have since played a large role in the management of various aspects regarding their resettlement. For example, the societies took it upon themselves to initiate the processes required to secure a water supply at Kanjur Marg which involved the construction of an access road, while also assisting in the construction of the original transit housing. Since then they have been closely involved in the design of the permanent housing and accompanying infrastructure, road networks, provision of community facilities, management of open spaces, and taken on responsibility for the purchase of materials and supervision of the contractors involved in the permanent housing construction (Burra, 1999; Patel, 2002). This has been facilitated by the use of local committees for maintenance, finance, grievances, and community security (Patel, 2002). The efficiency of the MUTP resettlements, in both permanent and transit sites, can therefore be partially accredited to the active involvement of community residents in the running of their colonies (TISS, 2003).

Eric Dickson

Community Participation in Resettlement: An Alternative to Forced Evictions

The Kanjur Marg resettlement tangibly exhibits the potential that Cernea's aforementioned model holds. The degree of community mobilization that exists within a neighbourhood or area can serve to reverse the conventional order of control of information (Burra, 1999). The knowledge held by the slum dwellers residing in the target area proved a powerful tool in their ability to plan the resettlement and negotiate its various terms. The aggregation of information regarding the extent of encroachments on the railway, available land suitable for relocation, and the willingness of the community to relocate, collectively assisted in the formation of an acceptable solution to the issue of resettlement. By reversing the "information embargo", as termed by Cernea, the traditional balance of power between governments and low-income communities is altered in favour of those who commonly lack political clout.

4.4 - Overcoming the Hurdles

In sharp reversal of the positive process outlined above was the sudden and indiscriminate demolition of huts along the Harbour railway line which occurred on February 28th 2000, thus breaking the growing bond of trust that existed between the state government and Mumbai's railway slum dwellers and "rendering moot the ongoing negotiations about relocation" (COHRE, 2002, p.29). In their actions, Indian Railways violated not only state government policy but also the guidelines set forth by the World Bank under the Mumbai Urban Transport Project (MUTP) (Patel, 2002).

Although Indian Railways claimed to have targeted only dwellings constructed after the January 1st, 1995 cut off date, there appeared to be little planning in the demolition and the interconnected nature of the housing caused thousands of households to be affected (Patel, 2002). With no information provided regarding resettlement plans, the 2,300 now homeless families remained living on the demolition sites in makeshift structures. During this time it was noted that high levels of theft were prevalent and many children failed to perform well in school. Of particular note, however, was the continuing role that community housing societies played in attempts to mitigate the social disruption caused by the demolitions. As members of numerous societies were experiencing similar problems, the housing societies assisted those evicted households in any way possible. Mahila Milan held regular meetings in and around the demolition sites, while the RSDF and NSDF held weekly meetings where the information collected from the community regarding their circumstances was disseminated.

Over a period of several months, the alliance between SPARC and NSDF served to enhance the

Eric Dickson

collaboration with government officials and thus to secure satisfactory relocation sites for the evicted households. This in turn resulted in the NSDF (with support from SPARC) being given the responsibility of overseeing the resettlement process. Data from numerous surveys (BSES) was again fundamental to the smooth organization of the resettlement process designed to place evicted households in permanent housing sites at Mankurd 98A and Wadala, Antop Hill and Dharavi and in transit housing at Kanjur Marg, Wadala, Turbhe Mandale and Mankurd 138A/B[5].

A second event that greatly influenced the timeframe of the resettlement was a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) against the Indian Railways, the Government of Maharashtra and the Mumbai Municipality by an NGO seeking to evict slum dwellers from the track to expedite services. With the intervention of SPARC and the NSDF, the High Court ordered a time constrained relocation so all those that were not already relocated to permanent housing would be moved into transit accommodation (Patel, 2002).

4.5 - The Resettlement

In light of the circumstances under which the demolitions took place, the World Bank stipulated that all project-affected households (PAH) would satisfy requirements outlined in the State of Maharastra's Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy. Households that would normally have been ineligible for resettlement because of the January 1st. 1995 cut-off date, were now forcibly included in the process. The result of this inclusive orientation was that some 10,000 households were determined to require alternate housing, while the availability of housing stood at 4,000. To this end, the allocation process of deciding which households would be placed in permanent accommodation or

| Permanent housing site at Mankurd. | Figure 5 |

transit sites was clearly one fraught with potential problems. To address this issue, use was made of the BSES household clusters. It was decided upon by the NSDF that of each cluster, 35-40% would

---

[5] See Figure 7

Eric Dickson

be allocated to permanent housing, while the remaining 60-65% would be placed in transit accommodation. Criteria for the allocation included family size (families of seven or more were given priority), household age structure, health, female-headed households, and vulnerability (Patel, 2002). This criteria was provided to the household clusters that were responsible for making the collective decision on a points based system. Extending this organizational structure, one group that was to move into transit housing at Mankurd 138A, divided themselves into three sections in accordance with their relative proximity to the railway tracks, and staggered their resettlement to the colony as the tenements became available over several months.

However, several members of Mahila Milan and the RSDF, protested that length of residence along the railway tracks may have informally influenced housing allocation – those who had resided in the area prior to January 1st 1995 were more likely to be placed in permanent accommodation, while those arriving after would be allotted transit housing. Similarly, concerns regarding preferential treatment to those with long standing involvement in the community savings groups were voiced. The President of the NSDF (Mr. Jokin Arpurtham), however, confirmed that decisions were entirely transparent and not influenced by the Federation or an individual's savings. Mr. Jokin attests that such treatment would contradict the Federation's values by imposing their will on others, and that regardless of savings, the people being resettled were all poor and all needed assistance. It is also worthy of mention that some 60-70% of those households allocated to permanent accommodation

**Transit housing at Mankurd 138A.** **Figure 6**

were *not* savers, and in contrast it is now estimated that 90% of *all* people who have been resettled *are* involved in the community savings groups.

Accompanying this increase in the proportion of residents involved in savings groups, however, has come a greater sense of pride and belonging to the Federation. Through discussions with members of the RSDF and Mahila Milan at Mankurd 138A in regards to the upcoming allocation of permanent housing, the position was made clear that those who had supported the Federation *should* have a degree of priority in housing allocation over those who have not. To ensure that this standard is met, members of this specific transit colony stated that a household could not suddenly make a large deposit into their accounts and expect preferential allocation.

Eric Dickson

LOCATION OF THE RESETTLEMENT SITES

Greater Bombay
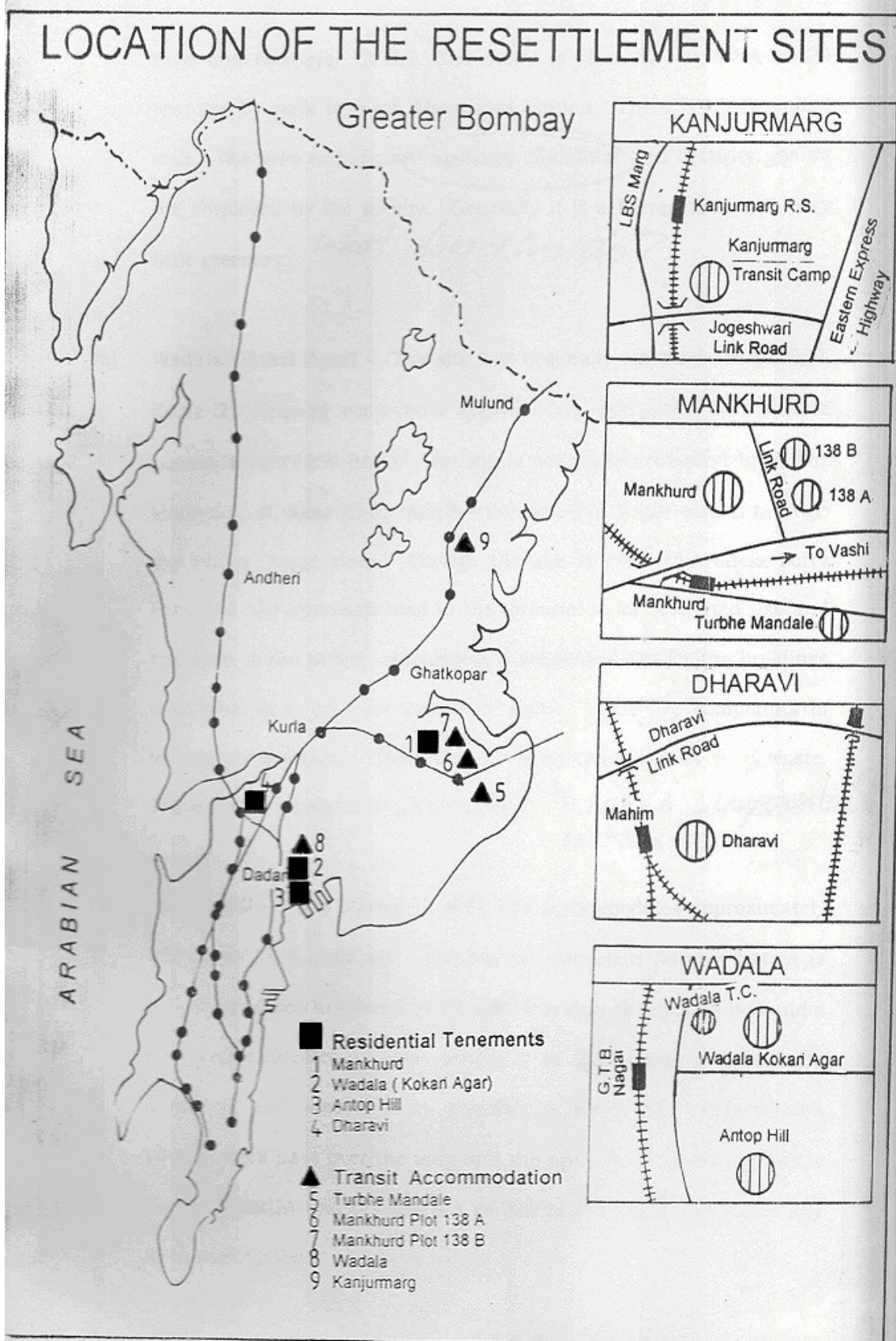
Source: Tiss, 2003   Figure 7

Eric Dickson

4.6 - Community Participation Today: Lessons Learned

It is inevitable that the resettlement of 60,000 people will give rise to various problems. Some of the concerns raised by individuals in both permanent and transit colonies include: reduced employment opportunities; distant location of schools; smaller living space and lengthy commuting. A widespread issue has also been the increased cost of living as formal members of society. For instance, prior to their resettlement away from the railway tracks, many households had acquired illegal connections for their needed amenities. The subsequent household resettlement has demanded a significant change in their societal responsibilities such as the need to pay charges for use of water and electricity, and maintenance fees.

One member of Mahila Milan who had moved from transit accommodation at Kanjur Marg, to permanent housing at Mankurd, pointed out an important variation between the two colonies. Noting that dwellings at transit camps lack individual taps, 12-14 households share access to a water source. In contrast, households at permanent locations have individual taps and toilets inside their houses. This increased ease of access and convenience results in such amenities being used more frequently, and understandably at greater cost.

Communal water taps at Mankurd 138A.   **Figure 8**

The President of the RSDF at Mankurd confirmed this observation, by stating that charges run between double and quadruple the cost they had incurred for their illegal connections along the railway tracks. A limited understanding of the legal responsibilities associated with meeting bill payments has resulted in certain problems for some residents at both permanent and transit housing sites.

In recognition of the increased costs of living, and, in some cases, of a loss of livelihood that has occurred as a result of the resettlement, Mahila Milan has taken various steps to ease the economic transition. Ration shops that operate at a zero margin of profit have been established at all relocation sites, and sell a wide range of products (including government provided kerosene) at subsidized

Eric Dickson

prices. Similarly, the Mahila Milan of Mankurd 138A (transit site) took the initiative to establish a nursery for the children of the community. It accommodates approximately 50 children, aged 2-4, where they offer classes in English and the locally spoken Marati. Not only do these measures assist households in their consolidation of economic assets, they also promote community involvement in Mahila Milan and the savings and loans scheme they operate. These actions are proving to be essential preventative measures against speculative (distress) selling of new houses arising from unforeseen economic pressures. Although distress selling is prohibited according to regulations of the resettlement, its secretive nature makes it a difficult issue to accurately measure.

Typical housing society savings chart. Figure 9

Mahila Milan's presence is strongly felt at the relocation sites, as each colony has an office where representatives are available throughout the day to address individual issues. While members can access their savings at any time and withdraw needed amounts, loans can similarly be applied for. To regulate the ability of individuals to access loans, however, certain criteria must be met. For example, if an individual has over 1,000 Rs. in savings and is a regular saver, her informal 'credit rating' will allow a loan of up to 5,000 Rs. to be issued depending upon on her assessed needs.

There are no restrictions on how the loan can be used, and at times they are put towards bills or dowries; however, most often they are issued to cover school fees, uniforms, books etc. at the beginning of each scholastic year. In the event that an application for a loan is submitted when the Mahila Milan committee is absent, the RSDF is granted authority to issue loan approvals. Finally, a 24-hour emergency loan of 2,000 Rs. is available to Mahila Milan members without a requirement of an application or credit check. These funds are largely intended for medical emergencies or to cover the costs incurred for childbirth.

26

Eric Dickson

THE ROLE OF SAVINGS

- Savings and loan activities regularly draw people together, and provide the opportunity for members to gradually strengthen their individual capacities to deal with household and community issues, resulting in a process of collective empowerment.

- Financial mechanisms are linked to daily needs of the urban poor, and are thus defined by them, allowing for rapid access to funds should the need arise.

- Savings and loan activities allow the urban poor to address their needs with their own resources.

- The continuous learning process of the community as a cohesive unit enhances their understanding of formal sector mechanisms that affect their lives. When combined with a degree of financial security, it facilitates the participatory nature of urban development.

(Adopted from Boonyabancha, 2003)   **Figure 10**

Recognizing the complex and variable nature of individuals' needs and requirements, savings and loan activities can be seen as individualized processes sheltered within the collective efforts of many (Boonyabancha, 2003).

In addition to the savings and loans functions undertaken by the Mahila Milan in the resettled communities, a Central Committee takes on maintenance and security responsibilities, while similarly facilitating coordination and communication of the project affected households (PAH) with the implementing agencies of the resettlement (primarily SPARC). At Mankurd Permanent, for example, in addition to undertaking weekly pest control, the Central Committee established a vigilance team three years ago in order to prevent and address crime. While the Central Committee attends to smaller infractions, more serious issues are redirected to the police. This arrangement has lead to the establishment of an amicable relationship between the police and the community at Mankurd – and the Federation often extends invitations to police officials to important community events.

4.7 - The Levels of Participation

The preceding discussion serves to highlight issues surrounding the importance of community participation in resettlement projects. There clearly exists, however, a broad variation in community participation ranging from a complete inability to influence decision making (such as in the cases of forced evictions), to cases such as the MUTP resettlement where communities have exhibited tremendous degrees of involvement.   While Sheila Arnstein (1979) suggests there are eight 'rungs' on the ladder of community participation, Satterthwaite (1996) has more recently outlined seven.

Eric Dickson

DIFFERENT LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION

Self-mobilization	Communities possess the capacity to initiate projects themselves through contacts with external agencies that provide resources and technical guidance. The community retains control over decision-making processes.
Interactive Participation	External agencies initiate projects while working in conjunction with the local population. Communities undertake responsibilities in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of institutions for implementation and management.
Functional Participation	External agencies use community participation to realize predetermined project objectives. Power of decision-making rests largely with the external agency.
Participation for material incentives	Communities participate in project implementation in return for material benefits such as cash, food, housing, land, amenities.
Consultation and information giving	Community opinions are obtained through consultation in order to understand their needs and priorities. Data is collected by external agents who define the information gathering process and control analysis, resulting in external solutions being designed to externally perceived problems. Characterized by a lack of community decision making powers and accountability of the external agency to the community.
Passive Participation	Communities are informed of future events and lack the ability to voice their position or change what will happen.

(Adapted from Satterthwaite, 1996)   Figure 11

Placing the MUTP resettlement in Mumbai within the above framework is helpful to understanding its uniqueness. To begin with, the initial resettlement of PAH to Kanjur Marg contradicts passive participation in that the existence of Mahila Milan and the RSDF allowed the community to express their needs and concerns regarding their resettlement. Although the outcome of resettlement was inevitable, the community did possess the capacity to highly influence the manner in which it evolved, thus demonstrating characteristics of genuine self-mobilization. The MUTP resettlement similarly challenges characteristics of data collection and information giving through the use of community led BSES, and that the Government of Maharastra and the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (MMRDA) were in fact accountable to the project affected households (PAH).

Eric Dickson

Community Participation in Resettlement: An Alternative to Forced Evictions

Insofar as material incentives are concerned, focus group discussions held at both permanent and transit sites revealed a strong consensus that living conditions had improved in many respects compared with their former dwellings along the railway tracks. In this sense, it could be argued that the MUTP resettlement falls within the participation for material incentives category given that the project affected households (PAH) were resettled to improved housing with better amenities. It is important to recognize, however, that involving CBOs in the MUTP resettlement process went far beyond simply providing material assets and security of tenure. It made use of the social networks and decades of knowledge collectively held within the communities to accomplish project objectives, and allowed for the establishment of an institutional framework built on the principles of interactive participation. It may be useful then, to categorize the participatory approach adopted under the MUTP resettlement as *'Inter-Functional Participation'* – a combination of interactive and functional participation.

Eric Dickson

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 - Conclusion

Since the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in Vancouver (1976), a gradual recognition of the complexities related to low-income settlements within the urban context has emerged. Governments have largely responded to the issues through '*laissez faire*' (officially ignoring), restrictive policies (eg. excluding low income areas from the provision of services), evictions, and relocation to periphery sites (UNCHS, 1982). The problem associated with evictions and relocation to peri-urban or rural sites, is that it removes people from their employment opportunities, disrupts the social networks that take years to create and thus greatly reduces their capacity for economic survival. These characteristics wholly contradict the theories and practices espoused by successful development initiatives, thus perpetuating the creation of urban poverty (Cernea, 1993). This having been stated, however, the concept of urban development is inherently linked to the reorganization of city spaces and at times requires community relocation.

In the growing cities of the developing world, the relocation of low-income communities can serve to make space for much needed infrastructural developments. The methodology employed to carry out relocations, however, will factor strongly into its success or failure. In a city like Mumbai, where there are a plethora of interest groups and a range of forces that might impinge upon the successful resettlement of slum dwellers, it is a remarkable accomplishment that 60,000 people have been relocated. More important, however, is the participatory approach adopted that allowed community based organizations to become involved in the planning and implementation of the entire resettlement process.

Given that there are few (if any) other success stories of resettlement within the urban context, the community led relocation of the MUTP may provide invaluable clues to understanding such a process. Of similar importance is the fact that a resettlement and rehabilitation policy has been put in place that "not only looks into the entitlements of demolished structures comprehensively, but also has provision for rehabilitation…(and) recommends a participatory approach" (TISS, 2003, p.107).

Eric Dickson

ADAVANTAGES OF INTEGRATING PARTICIPATION PROCESSES

1. **Helps to identify impacts of the project and the people affected by them.**
2. **Assists in more accurate surveys and assessments of assets to be acquired.**
3. **Exposes groups that are especially vulnerable to the impacts of the project.**
4. **Supports formulation of resettlement options to meet the needs and capabilities of the affected people.**
5. **Brings to the fore existing modes of social organizations.**
6. **Makes delivery of entitlement and services more transparent.**
7. **Provides means of reaching consensus on issues not subject to technical solutions.**
8. **Encourages greater acceptance of the resettlement and rehabilitation efforts, increasing the likelihood that resettlement programmes will operate satisfactorily and sustainably.**

(Adopted from Ministry of Lands (2003), p.3) **Figure 12**

Although the resettlement process has been criticized on a number of levels, most notably by the Tata Institute for Social Sciences (TISS) (2003), the fact that eviction was an inevitable outcome of the MUTP, and that there has been a notable improvement in the living standards of the 20,000 project affected households (PAH) appears to have been lost. For those households allocated to permanent housing, the improved conditions have also been accompanied by a steep learning curve where some "struggle to merge the informality of their previous lives with the formality that is now required" (Boonyabancha, 2003 p.23). In contrast, those households allocated to transit housing, while admittedly inhabiting dwellings of lower quality, have had the opportunity to gradually understand the intricacies of becoming part of formal society as a cohesive community. In this sense transit accommodation can be viewed as 'training wheels' for subsequent relocation to permanent housing as the communities learn to work together and overcome obstacles collectively.

Participation in resettlement is not only vital to sustaining social networks and the safety nets they provide, but it also provides a medium through which the beneficial possibilities of genuine partnership between key stakeholders can be understood. Collaboration between the RSDF, Mahila Milan, SPARC, the Government of Maharastra (GOM) and the Mumbai Metropolitan Regional Development Authority (MMRDA) has set an international precedent in resettlement and rehabilitation through the success of the MUTP relocations. What is evident then, is that the basis for community participation is open communication between stakeholders that is inclusive of information dissemination and consultation (Cernea, 1997).

While the fundamental approach adopted under the MUTP resettlement can feasibly be replicated in other international cases of relocation, it is equally imperative to recognize that every resettlement is characterized by unique features depending on the community, their level of organization and the cause of displacement. In this sense a verbatim replication of the Mumbai experience is neither necessarily realistic nor desirable, as each case of resettlement must be examined within its particular

Eric Dickson

context (Yanes, 2000).

The approach adopted in Mumbai situates the numerous shortcomings of government-sanctioned evictions in a clearer light. It has been shown that residents of low-income communities have the capacity to organize, collectively plan logistics and fully engage with implementing agencies in developing acceptable courses of action in their own resettlement (Patel, 2002). Moreover, the integral role played by women of Mahila Milan in their communities prior to, during and following their resettlement is testament to the fact that women need not be most vulnerable to evictions, and rather that it is women who can assume crucial roles of leadership. Their knowledge of the local community and ability to efficiently manage personal finances, if well trained, places them in a position to confidently take on responsibilities associated with resettlement.

There is still much to understand about the effects that resettlements have upon a city as a whole. The MUTP resettlements in Mumbai are, however, well positioned to serve as an international example of sustainable relocation practices. If the active involvement of communities is more regularly sought as a cornerstone to successful relocation policies, the objectives, approach and methodologies employed will reflect sustainable urban growth that is inclusive of the urban poor and serve to promote development within low-income settlements.

Eric Dickson

APPENDIX

Eric Dickson

Figure 1: Location of slums in Mumbai, Census 1976
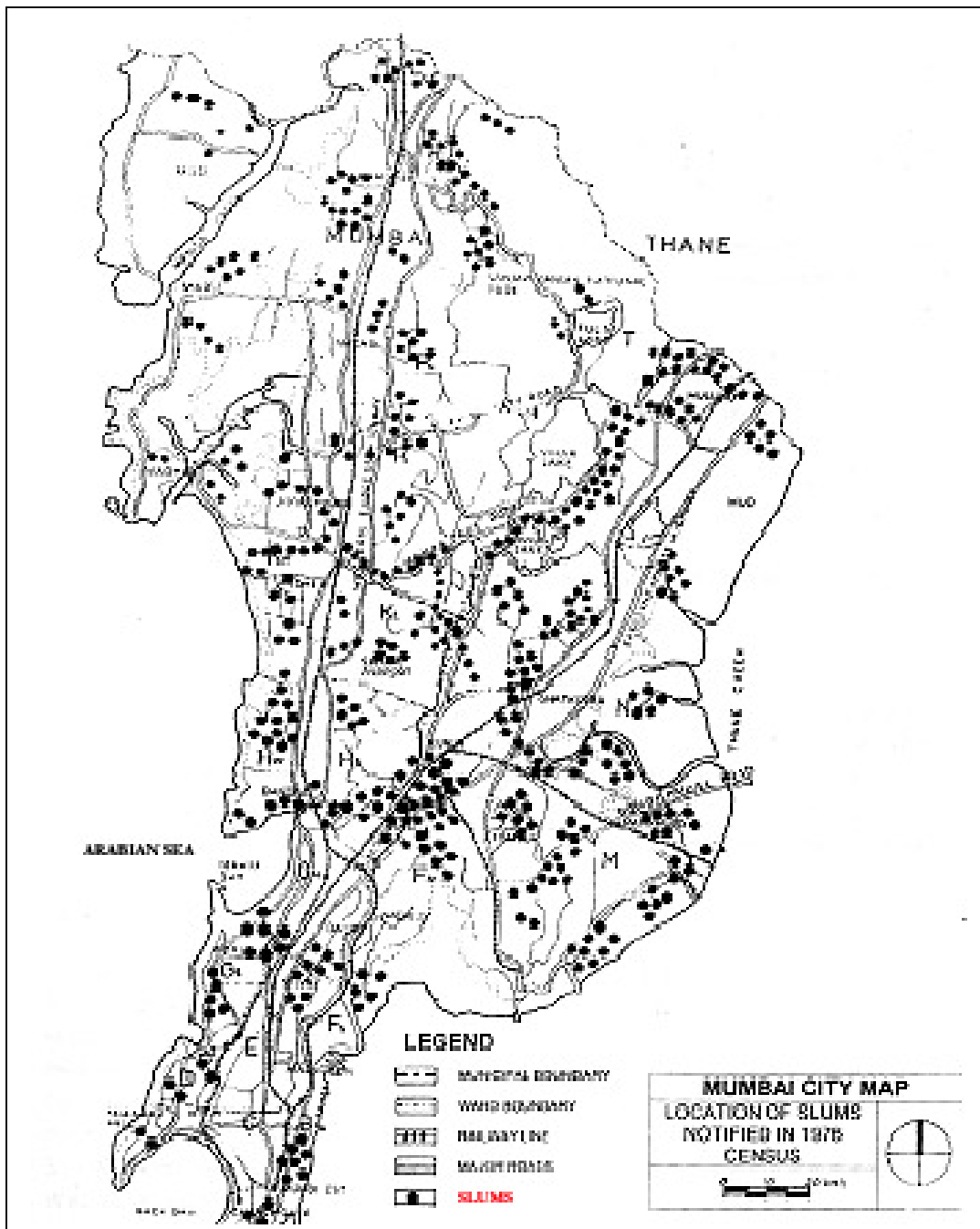
Source: Unkown, appeared in Risbud

Eric Dickson

BANK-FINANCED URBAN AND INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS
ENTAILING INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT

Project Title	Fiscal Year	Land Acquisition[6] (ha/cost US$)	People Affected by Displacement[7]
Jakarta-Cikampek Highway Project – Indonesia	1981	4.4 million	5,000
Water Supply Project – Korea	1981	n.a.	5,000
Third Urban Development – Tunisia	1982	-	3,100
Yacyreta Dam I – Argentina and Paraguay	1982	-	50,420
Urban Development – Cameroon	1983	200 hectares	15,000
Regional Cities Development – Philippines	1983	384 hectares	11,250
Karachi Special Development	1985	225 hectares	2,000
Dhaka Water Supply and Sanitation	1987	n.a.	20,000
Regional Cities Urban Trans. Project – Indonesia	1987	51 hectares	7,915
Shanghai Sewerage Project – China	1987	3 million	5,000
Second Urban Infrastructure – Cameroon	1987	120 hectares	8,000
Izmir Water Supply – Turkey	1987	1,000 hectares	13,000
Urban Rehabilitation – Mozambique	1988	n.a.	3,040
Rio Flood Reconstruction – Brazil	1988	12.6 million	41,400 (55,000)
Urban Development Project – Bangladesh	1988	3 hectares	50,000
Jabotabek Urban Development I – Indonesia	1988	80 hectares	50,000
Taegu Urban Trans. – Korea	1988	384 hectares	10,625
Sichuan Provincial Highway Project- China	1988	n.a.	22,250
Jiangxi Provincial Highway Project – China	1989	n.a.	6,352
Shandong Provincial Highway Project – China	1989	n.a.	26,844
Arun III Access Road Project – Nepal	1989	n.a.	10,000
Hyderabad Water Supply and Sanitation - India	1990	13,122 hectares	50,000

Figure 2   **(Recreated from: Cernea (1993) p.25)**

---

[6] The available information on land acquisition given in project reports is not uniform: sometimes it refers to areas to be expropriated, other times to the estimated cost of expropriation.

[7] The data about people affected available in project files refer sometimes to individuals, other times to families. A conservative average size of 5.5 persons per family was used in computing the number of individuals affected for some (not all) projects, with full awareness that family/household sizes vary widely across cultures and countries. Some figures are still preliminary estimates and may understate the size of relocation.

35

Eric Dickson

FIGURE 3: SUPPLEMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHS

Photo 1

Photo 3

Photo 1: Creek diving Mankurd Transit 138A and 138B.
Photo 2: Sewer system at Kanjur Marg.

Photo3: Small business at Kanjur Marg.
Photo 4: Drying chilies at Mankurd 138A.

Issues of sanitation still remain prevalent at transit sites.

Livelihoods continue following resettlement.

Photo 2

Photo 4

Eric Dickson

FIGURE 4: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION TOPICS & PROMPTS

1) Project effectiveness and overall delivery

Question	Prompts
Why do you think you were moved?	Was it necessary? Was it needed?
How has the resettlement improved your living standards? (How does living here compare to living on the railway tracks?)	Housing quality, space, safety, children?
What services do you receive now that you did not before? Was the connection on the RR tracks legal or illegal?	Water, electricity, waste collection, sanitation? To what degree are these services different? Degree of effect?
Tell me about your moving experience?	Have these problems been solved or are some still remaining? How would you go about solving these problems? Did you help others move?
How does SPARC assist you now that you have been resettled?	Communication with local government? Mobilization of funds for community projects? How is distress selling dealt with in the co-operative?
Do you have contact with any government agencies? Bureaucraices vs. politicians? What have you been promised in this election? What do you think you will get?	How does the government help you? Are there things that the government should be doing to help you more?
How were decisions made regarding who went to permanent vs. transitory housing?	How were the agreements made? How was your confidence built? How were internal politics/social relations maintained?

2) How resettlement has impacted communities?

Question	Prompts
What community organizations exist now? Is everyone still saving? How do you manage open spaces?	Savings groups, revolving funds, ration shops, were the organizations important in the past, what did they do, have they become more important?
Do you have many of the same friends now that you had before you moved?	Have you lost touch with many people, impact on community organizations, safety?
Are your children happy here? How are you managing with schools?	Friends, school, playing areas, what problems do they have?
Are there problems of personal safety in the area? Do you feel safe here?	What safety concerns did you have before? What can be done to improve these problems?
What changes would you like to see within your community?	Schooling, services, community centres, income earning opportunities, green space?

3) How resettlement has affected households?

Question	Prompts
Are there many jobs available in the area?	What sort of jobs? Have you had to change your employment since the resettlement?
Do you have to travel much farther to your job now than you did before?	How long does the journey take? How much does it cost?
Do you find things more expensive here?	Services, bills, are you able to save as much now as you did before?
Is it easy to find things you need here?	What kinds of shops would improve the area? Are shops convenient/easily accessible to you?
Has the resettlement affected your health in any way?	What health threats are there now that you did not have before? What health threats have been removed? Is the area clean enough?
What changes to your houses would you like to see in the future?	Security, services, space?

Eric Dickson

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACHR (2003) *Housing by People in Asia.* Newsletter No.15. October.
http://www.achr.net/ACHR%2015%20with%20photos.pdf

Asian Development Bank. (1998) *Handbook on Resettlement.* ADB. Manila

'A City and its Builder' (2003). *Frontline Magazine* 20(25). India. pp.89-92
http://www.flonnet.com/fl2025/stories/20031219002808900.htm

Arnstein, S.R. (1979) *Eight Rungs on the Ladder of Citizen Participation* in Journal of the American
Institute of Planners.
http://www.muirbeachcsd.com/documents/SKAttach1.pdf

Audefroy, J. (1994). *Eviction Trends Worldwide*, in Environment and Urbanization. Vol.6, No.1. IIED.
London

Bartolome, L.J. (1984). *Forced Resettlement and the Survival Systems of the Urban Poor* in Ethnology XXIII,
No.3.

Bombay First – McKinsey. 2003. 'Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a World-Class City'.
Bombay.

Boonyabancha, S. (2003). *A Decade of Change: From UCDO to CODI in Thailand.* IIED. London.

Burra, S. (1999). *Resettlement and Rehabilitation of the Urban Poor: The Story of Kanjur Marg.* SPARC.
http://www.sparcindia.org/documents/sparcclicdocs/resettle.doc

Cernea, M. (1993). *The Urban Environment and Population Relocation.* World Bank. Washington D.C.

Cernea, M. (1997). *The Risks and Reconstructions Model for Resettling Displaced Populations.* World Bank.
Washington D.C.

Chatterjee, G. (2002) Consensus Versus Confrontation. *Habitat Debate June 2002.Vol.8 (No.2.* p.11-
12*).* Habitat. Nairobi.
 http://www.unhabitat.org/hd/hdv8n2/page11.pdf

COHRE (1998). *Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights – Global Survey No.7.* Geneva. Switzerland.

COHRE (2000). *Women and Housing Rights.* Geneva. Switzerland.

COHRE (2002). *Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights – Global Survey No.8.* Geneva. Switzerland.

COHRE (2002b). *Violence: The Impact of Forced Evictions on Women in Palestine, India and Nigeria.* Geneva.
Switzerland.

COHRE (2003). *Forced Evictions: Violations of Human Rights – Global Survey No.9.* Geneva. Switzerland.

Fernandes, K. (ed). (1998). *Forced Evictions and Housing Right Abuses in Asia – Second Report 1996-97.*
City Press. Karachi.

Grant, R. & Nijman J. 2002. Globalization and the Corporate Geography of Cities in the Less-

Developed World, in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*: 92(2). 320-340.

Leckie, S. (1995). *When Push Comes to Shove: Forced Evictions and Human Rights.* Habitat International Coalition. Mexico City.

Massdorp, G. (1977). *Alternatives to the Bulldozer.* Department of Economics, University of Natal. Durban.

Ministry of Lands, Sri Lanka. (2003) *Guidelines for a Participatory Resettlement Process.* Ministry of Lands. Colombo.
http://www.adb.org/Resettlement/PRP_guidelines.pdf

'National Housing Policy: Future Shock'. (1988). *Imprint Magazine.* September p.28-34. Unkown.

Patel, S. (1999). Revisiting Participation: "Win-Win" Strategy in Negotiations with Railway Authorities and Squatters, Mumbai, India. *Transport and Communications Bulletin for Asia and the Pacific (No.69).* p.79-87. UNESCAP. Geneva.
http://www.unescap.org/tctd/pubs/files/bulletin69_d.pdf

Patel S. (*et al*) (2002). *Beyond Evictions in a Global City: People Managed Resettlement in Mumbai* in Environment and Urbanization. Vol. 14. No1. IIED. London.

Risbud, N. *The Case of Mumbai, India.* School of Planning and Architecture. New Delhi.
www.ucl.ac.uk/Global_Reports/pdfs/Mumbai.pdf

Sharma, K. (2000). *Rediscovering Dharavi: Stories from Asia's Largest Slum.* Penguin Books. New Delhi.
Sattherthwaite, D. (*et al*) (1996). *The Environment for Children.* Earthscan Publications Ltd. London.

Tata Institue for Social Sciences (TISS) (2003). *A Review of the Initial Phase of R&R Implementation for the MUTP.* Tata Institue for Social Sciences.Mumbai.

UNCHR (1996). *Forced Evictions and Human Rights – Fact Sheet No. 25.* UNCHR. New York.

UNCHS (Habitat) (1982). *Survey of Slum and Squatter Settlements.* Tycooly International Publishing Limited. Dublin.

UNCHS (Habitat) (1996) *An Urbanizing World: Global Report on Human Settlements.* Oxford University Press. Oxford.

UNCHS (HABITAT) (1996b) *Gendered Habitat: Working with Women and Men in Human Settlements Development.* www.unchs.org/unchs/english/women/content.htm

UNCHS (Habitat) (2003) *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements.* Earthscan Publications Ltd. London.

Yanes, M. (2000). *Rehabilitation and Resettlement of 10,000 Slum Dwellers Families in Mumbai.* UN-Habitat Best Practice Database.
http://database.bestpractices.org/bp_display_best_practice.php?best_practice_id=1146

Eric Dickson

Community Participation in Resettlement: An Alternative to Forced Evictions

SPARC Publications: (available at www.sparcinda.org)

Burra, S. (2003) *Changing the Rules: Guidelines for the revision of regulations for urban upgrading.*

D'Cruz, C. (2001) *The Promised Land! Land, more than just a right.* SPARC. Mumbai. www.sparcindia.org/documents/THE%20PROMISED%20LAND.doc

Patel, S. & Sharma, K. *One David and Three Goliaths.*

Beyond The Beaten Track: Resettlement Initiatives of People Who Live Along the Railway Tracks in Bombay. 1988.

Kanjur Marg Resettlement and Rehab.

The Story of Dharavi: Credit Where Its Due

Resettling the Pavement Dwellers: The Milan Nagar Sagaof Byculla pavement slums.

Enumeration of Households/Settlements.

Demolitions to Dialogue: Mahila Milan – learning to talk to its city and municipality

Evolution of Slum Policy in Mumbai

Cities Alliance Project on Pro-Poor Slum Upgrading Framework for Mumbai, India

We, the Invisible: A Census of Pavement Dwellers (1985.)

Tools and Methods for Empowerment Developed by Slum Dwellers Federations in India.

SPARC (2004). Response to TISS Report. Unpublished.

Interviews & Focus Group Discussions

15.04.04: Mr. Sheker (NSDF Administrative Officer). Byculla Resource Center, Mumbai. Origins of the NSDF.

17.04.04: Mr. Mohan S. Devkule (RSDF/President, Mankurd 98A). Mankurd 98A, Mumbai. Foundations of RSDF and their role in the resettlement process.

18.04.04: Mahila Milan (various locations). Rajiv Indira, Dharavi. General discussion regarding resettlement.

20.04.04: Mr. Mohan S. Devkule (RSDF/President, Mankurd 98A). Mankurd 98A, Mumbai. Foundations of RSDF and their role in the resettlement process.

22.04.04: Mr. Mohan S. Devkule (RSDF/President, Mankurd 98A). Mankurd 98A, Mumbai. Foundations of RSDF and their role in the resettlement process. Current problems/concerns within the colony. Changing role of RSDF.

25.04.04: Mahila Milan (Mankurd 138B), Mr. Babu Bhai (RSDF/President, Mankurd 138B). Mankurd 138B, Mumbai. Ascertain opinions of those residents shifted to transitory accommodation regarding the resettlement process.

28.04.04: (Mahila Milan, Mankurd 138B). Mankurd 138B, Mumbai. Ascertain opinions of those

Eric Dickson

residents shifted to transitory accommodation regarding the resettlement process.

28.04.04: Ms. Sharmila (SPARC field officer), Mr. Digambar Gaonkar (RSDF/President, Mankurd 138A). Mankurd 138A, Mumbai. Processes of community mobilization involved in establishment of Kanjur Marg and 138A.

29.04.04: Mr. S.H. Mansuri (RSDF), Ms. Antonette (Mahila Milan). Kanjur Marg, Mumbai. Exploration of issues pertaining to transit sites and the processes involved in their establishment and current existence.

01.05.04: Mahila Milan (Mankurd 138A), Mr. Digambar Gaonkar (RSDF/President, Mankurd 138A). Mankurd 138A, Mumbai. Ascertain opinions of those residents shifted to transitory accommodation regarding the resettlement process.

03.05.04: Mahila Milan (Mankurd 98A), Mr. Mohan S. Devkule (RSDF/President, Mankurd 98A), Mr. Pandian (President of RSDF, Mankurd 98A). Mankurd, 98A, Mumbai. Issues of resettlement for members of Mahila Milan.

03.05.04: Mr. Jokin (President NSDF), Mr. Sheker (NSDF Administrative Officer). Byculla Resource Center, Mumbai. Housing allocation & distress selling.

05.05.04: Mahila Milan (Mankurd 98A), Mr. Mohan S. Devkule (RSDF/President, Mankurd 98A), Mr. Pavel (RSDF/Society President, Kanjur Marg). Mankurd 98A, Mumbai. Issues of resettlement relating to those households who relocated from Kanjur Marg to Mankurd. Exploration of roles of Central Committee and Mahila Milan.

Eric Dickson