CHAPTER VI

SLUM IMPROVEMENT STRATEGIES

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Urbanization plays a vital role in the economic progress of the developing as well as developed countries. Urban centres are the engine of growth. Both push and pull factors of migration, from rural areas to cities, are reasons for people’s concentration for greater livelihoods and bigger life opportunities, which are absent in rural areas and are scanty in small towns. Rapid urbanization has already outpaced infrastructure development and has been accompanied by a proliferation of slums, increased homelessness, growth in urban poverty and crime, and an increase in pollution and ecological change. Until now, efforts to address urban problems have focused on the planning and implementation of various development projects and programmes.

The Government of India, having acknowledged and identified the challenges of urban poor, is making every possible effort through some programme or the other to make the urban cities inclusive, productive, efficient and manageable with the support of the State governments. It has also been rightly planned and implemented with a policy that the sustainability of urban development is achieved only when there is shelter for the urban poor, urban basic services, financing urban development, governance and micro level planning.

In this chapter, the major National Urban Poverty Alleviation Programmes and the Tamil Nadu Slum Development Strategies and few of their implementation in Chennai city are conferred. The recent major schemes implemented to improve water and sanitation services for the urban poor of Chennai are the main focus of discussion. Apart from these programmes and schemes, the present chapter has also focussed on the negative impacts of relocation, taking two selected resettlement colonies of Chennai city.
6.2. NATIONAL URBAN POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES

The Urban Poverty Alleviation programmes of the Government of India are briefly reviewed in this chapter to acknowledge that the Government machinery has been making constant efforts at alleviating poverty in the country. The reviewed policies and programmes of the government give us an understanding that they are designed to tackle three main vulnerabilities: occupational, residential and social vulnerability. However, there is a lack of enough direct policies or schemes to develop the basic services of water and sanitation for the urban poor, especially, women and girls. Though initially these programmes were designed and implemented in isolation, later the importance of the community-centric implementation and social mobilization has been identified as the key to success. The Government in the recent period has introduced convergence of social development programmes on one end and also tried to achieve convergence and coordination between the State Government Departments so as to achieve the vision of ‘inclusive growth’ as envisioned in the 12th Plan (Planning Commission, 2007). The Urban Poverty Alleviation programmes that are introduced from the year 1974 to till date, which directly or indirectly intended to develop the infrastructural facilities for the urban poor, are presented only in a nutshell. It is pertinent to mention here that most of these programmes were formulated with the support of various International Organizations like the ODA/DFID and UNICEF. The following are the prominent among the programmes implemented:

Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS)

Since 1974, the EIUS scheme has been made as an integral component of the Minimum Needs Programme and has been transferred to the state sector. Components of water supply, drainage, community latrines and baths, widening and paving of lanes and street lighting are taken up under this scheme to improve the environmental conditions in slums. The State Governments have not been able to provide adequate funds for this scheme and as such the
improvement and upgradation work in the slums has not been taken up widely under this scheme (MHUPA, 2013).

**Urban Basic Services (UBS)**

In 1981, the Community Development programmes were merged into a new service called the Urban Basic Services (UBS). The principal aim of this programme was to improve and upgrade the quality of life of the most vulnerable sections of the population – women and children, who tend to get neglected in the urban setting.

**Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP)**

The UBSP Programme was implemented as a centrally sponsored scheme during the Eighth Five Year Plan with the specific objectives of effective achievement of the social sector goals, community organization, mobilization, empowerment and convergence through sustainable support system (MHUPA, 1996).

**Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme (PMIUPEP)**

The programme (PMIUPEP) was launched in 1995 to improve the quality of life of the urban poor. The objective of the scheme was the effective achievement of social sector goals, community empowerment, employment generation and environmental improvement. The programme was applicable to 345 Class II towns and 79 specially identified district headquarters and hill areas. The abysmally low allocations for this programme to States and Urban Local Bodies ensured that this programme has got the minimum priority both in the State Governments as well as with the Urban Local Bodies (MHUPA, 2013).

**National Slum Development Programme (NSDP)**

The Government of India introduced a centrally-assisted scheme called the National Slum Development Programme in 1996 with the major components as provision of physical amenities, community infrastructure, community primary health care centre buildings and
social amenities. Under this scheme, not less than 10 per cent of the funds allocated to the State were to be utilized for construction and/or upgradation of houses for the urban poor. One of the MHUPA studies revealed that even though it included provision for housing upgradation, the scheme did not have much emphasis on the housing component (MHUPA, 2013). In the absence of a well-defined scheme structure for recovering cost of infrastructure provision under the scheme, the agencies which implemented this scheme operated it more as a total subsidy scheme.

**Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna (VAMBAY)**

Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna was launched on 15th August, 2001 as a national level housing to ameliorate the conditions of the urban slum dwellers living below poverty line. The main objective of the VAMBAY was primarily to provide shelter or upgrade the existing shelter for people living below the poverty line in urban slums on a march towards the goal of slum-less cities with a healthy and enabling urban environment. This centrally sponsored scheme was shared on a 50:50 basis with the State and the State Government was given the option to obtain resources from any other sources. The availability of drinking water, sanitation and drainage facilities should be ensured under these programmes. On an average, 25 per cent of the funds under the scheme is spend for providing water and sanitation facilities including approximately 20 per cent of the amount for Community Sanitation Project, the Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan. No provision is made for land acquisition in the VAMBAY. Under this scheme, a portion of 20 per cent of the funds may be used for upgrading the existing dwelling units in the slums.

**Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM)**

Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), launched on December 2005, was the single largest initiative ever launched in the country to address the
issues of urban infrastructure and basic services to the urban poor. JNNURM aims to modernise selected cities and make them ‘world class’ (Banerjee-Guha, 2009; Darshini, 2006). The mission was implemented over a period of 7 years (2005-2012). The JNNURM comprises of two components: an Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) and Basic Services to the Urban Poor (BSUP), covering 63 identified mega, metro, capital and cities of heritage and historical importance. Chennai city is one among them. The IHSDP and BSUP aimed at the integrated provision of the basic amenities and services, in particular, security of tenure at affordable prices, improved housing, water supply, sanitation, education, health and social security to the urban poor and slum-dwellers. To complete the ongoing projects, the JNNURM has now been extended for two years, up to March 2017 for both the sub-mission of JNNURM.

**Integrated Low Cost Sanitation (ILCS) Scheme**

The ILCS scheme basically aims at the conversion of dry latrines into pour flush latrines. The guidelines for this scheme were comprehensively revised by the Ministry in 2008. The scheme provides a subsidy of 75 per cent of the cost for a complete two-pit pour flush unit with superstructure. For states falling in the category of difficult and hilly areas, an extra cost of 25 per cent has been provided for each two-pt pour flush latrine. The scheme is limited to Economically Weaker Section (EWS) households.

**Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)**

Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY), a path breaking scheme announced by the Government of India for the slum dwellers and urban poor, envisages a ‘Slum-free India’ through encouraging States to tackle the problem of slums in a holistic manner. The Slum Free City Plan of Action (SFCPoA) planning exercise of RAY leads to systematic data gathering and analysis for structuring a city-wide strategy for the urban poor housing, which could further
lead to city level proposals: zone, ward and slum level proposals, as well as proposals which
would help to address structural issues, which have constrained the access to affordable
shelter solutions for the urban poor in the city in the past.

**National Urban Livelihoods Mission (NULM)**

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation has restructured the Swarna
Jayanthi Shahari Rozgar Yojana as the National Urban Livelihoods Mission with effect from
September, 2013. The Mission of the NULM is to reduce poverty and vulnerability of the
urban poor households by enabling them to access gainful self-employment and skilled wage
employment opportunities. The Mission also aims at providing shelter equipped with
essential services to the urban homeless in a phased manner and would also address
livelihood concerns of the urban street vendors.

**Rajiv Rinn Yojana**

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MHUPA), Government of
India has designed a Revised Interest Subsidy Scheme – renamed as Rajiv Rinn Yojana, has
been effective from October 2013. The RRY is an additional instrument for addressing the
housing needs of the EWS/LIG segments in urban areas. The scheme envisages the provision
of a fixed interest subsidy of 5 per cent on interests charged on the admissible loan amount to
the EWS and LIG segments to enable them to buy or construct a new house or for carrying
out addition (of a room/kitchen/toilet/bathroom) to the existing building.

**Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana (PMAY) – Housing for All (Urban)**

The Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation has launched a comprehensive
mission called the ‘Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana – Housing for All (Urban)’ that has been
implemented for the period of 2015-2022. The main vision of this scheme is housing for all
by 2022 when the nation completes 75 years of its independence. The mission seeks to
address the housing requirements of the urban poor including slum dwellers through the various programmes. As the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation has launched this new mission of ‘Housing for All by 2022’, the earlier schemes of RAY, AHP and RRY have all been discontinued.

6.2.1. BENEFITS OF THESE (NUPA) PROGRAMMES

The National Urban Poverty Alleviation programmes range from the EIUS to PMAY, covering infrastructure development to that of livelihoods promotion and provision of education, vocational training and health for all. It is worth mentioning that all these programmes sponsored by the Central Government of India with a state share in some cases have been implemented in all the states, including Tamil Nadu. Further, the programmes mentioned above had not been able to provide basic livelihoods, education, and health for all in the slums. However, there were some missing links in the implementation which needed to be rectified with the past experience, redesigned strategies and redoubled interest. Nevertheless, the unfulfilled agenda relating to the urban poor such as rising demand for the urban basic services (in particular, water and sanitation facilities) and development of inclusive, sustainable cities have to be addressed through the effective programmes but focusing on the major users or victims.

Yesudian of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, in his report of social audit on poverty alleviation programmes in India has stated that many were living in poverty and narrated the relevance of poverty alleviation programmes to that of the national economic development. He strongly observed that the fruits of economic growth had not benefitted everyone uniformly and some of them were left behind and some had not at all been touched by the benefits of economic growth of the country. While rightly analyzing that the urban poverty alleviation programmes in the country were running in isolation both in the urban and rural areas alike, he identified that the urban poverty was the outcome of rural spillage of
poverty, leading to migration from rural to urban areas. He categorically stated that in the absence of community involvement, the programmes were implemented with the bureaucratic muddle and corruption at every level (Yesudian, 2007). The present study which briefly examined the Urban Poverty Alleviation Programmes also identified similar drawbacks which were working as tentative blocks for the emancipation of the poor.

Though the government had taken a major step in the direction of poverty alleviation and suggested certain mandatory reforms, the action in reality on-field appeared to be still in the budding stage, remaining on the planning boards. Therefore, debate on the poverty in India remained mostly in the domain of economists and poverty was defined in terms of income, expenditure, and nutritional value, forgetting the real focus of social dimension of poverty and this was being neglected from every angle. The goal of poverty alleviation programmes should aim not only at increasing the income level of the individual but should always focus at mainstreaming the marginalized in the development process of country as part of inclusive growth and to make the poor as contributors to the national economy rather than retaining them under subjugation of poverty as vote bank. It has been identified during this study that rapid economic growth process would however accelerate only when services like water, sanitation, health and quality living are provided to every citizen, particularly, the marginalised, who are in ignorance, poverty, ill health and without identity. Poverty alleviation programmes should address the issue of poverty from the broader social and economic perspectives as it is a complex phenomenon, well accepted universally.

6.3. SLUM DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES OF STATE GOVERNMENT

The Government of Tamil Nadu has also taken up various measures to improve the living conditions of the urban poor living in the slums and has also rehabilitated the urban poor living on the river margins and in objectionable places. For instance, some of the measures included the formulation of slum policy for the State of Tamil Nadu, formation of
the TNSCB, to act as a nodal agency to implement various housing, slum improvement, rehabilitation and resettlement programmes to improve the living conditions of the urban slum families. Various development programmes have also been implemented to improve the living conditions of the urban poor living in the slums. The State Government has also effectively implemented various National UPA programmes in the state.

6.3.1. TAMIL NADU SLUM CLEARANCE BOARD

The institutional responsibility for slum improvement vests with the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board, the apex policy making and monitoring agency for urban areas of the state. Its main objectives are to prevent the growth of slums and encroachments; to prevent the eviction of slum dwellers by private owners; and to provide the slum families with security of tenure, basic amenities like water supply, street lights, storm water drains, and sewer lines to the slum areas of Tamil Nadu. The TNSCB has been implementing various schemes for the development of the slums in the form of housing, slum improvement initiatives and other resettlement measures. It executes various government schemes for urban renewal/development under the Tamil Nadu Slum Policy to improve the living conditions of urban poor or slum dwellers.

6.3.2. SLUM POLICY OF THE TAMIL NADU GOVERNMENT

The Tamil Nadu Slum Policy briefly outlines the following (TNSCB, 2010):

- **In-situ Upgradation:** The slums located in congested, unhygienic areas of the urban areas wherein equitable distribution of space is not feasible shall be cleared and tenement schemes put up.

- **In-situ Development:** Wherever *in-situ* development is feasible, such slums shall be identified and taken up for *in-situ* improvement for the provision of basic facilities to make the areas habitable.
• **Relocation:** Wherever neither tenement scheme nor *in-situ* development is feasible, rehabilitation and resettlement in tenements of the nearby locations is followed.

The main objective of this policy is the improvement of socio-cultural, economical and environmental needs of the slum dwellers which directly leads to their livelihood. In the present scenario, *in-situ upgradation* is considered as one of the best approaches because of its advantages. The upgradation of slums has positive impacts and has reported remarkable changes in housing conditions with all households having permanent structures with basic amenities, which has resulted in the development of their life without affect in their routine life in that place (Khosla, 2009). Also the option of *in-situ upgradation* is economically viable (Kapse et al., 2012). People who live in low-income communities are often neglected when it comes to the provision of public services and amenities. The component of the scheme *in-situ development* is construction of the toilet, bathrooms and other basic amenities in the clusters irrespective of status of the encroached land. This scheme has been implemented at very lower rate and rare places (Kapse et al, 2012).

The third policy states ‘Relocation’ is most concentrated one in recent years. At global level it is commonly believed that the relocation of urban poor habitats (slums) are due to the forceful evictions, reservation of land uses and security of tenure. In many studies it is found that relocation of slums which is one of the approaches of slum development have some degrees of negative impact on livelihood of the slum dwellers, which in turn worse the situation of slum dwellers (Kapse et al, 2012). This is also observed in the current study, which investigated two sample resettlement colonies, namely: All India Radio Nagar and Semmencherry. There has been a pointed focus on the house construction in resettlement colonies at greater distances rather than on *in-situ* environmental improvements as the means to deal with slums in spite of the large financial and social cost involved. As per the government estimates, the relocation of a slum family costs 90 times more that the provision
of environmental improvements in the slums. It appears that the government has however chose the expensive (Transparent Chennai, 2012), almost always.

6.4. CHENNAI SLUM IMPROVEMENT PROGRAMMES

Until 1971, there was no clear slum policy. The City Improvement Trust, formed in 1946, and Tamil Nadu Housing Board, formed in 1961, did provide some so-called ‘open developed plots’ to evicted slum dwellers, but otherwise slums were pretty much left alone. The Government of Tamil Nadu enacted the Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act 1971 and formed the nodal agency Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board in charge of implementation of slum policies and legal status and powers to improve or redevelop/clear slums. Before the World Bank’s loans, the main task of the TNSCB was to demolish all the existing illegal settlements and resettle their residents into Government tenements constructed at the cleared sites. It was supposed to be achieved in an ambitious seven-year plan between 1971 and 1987. In fact, it was not possible to reach the target and about 2,500 tenement units were constructed per year till 1990 (De Wit, 1996: 116). A major reason for the partial failure of the ‘clearance-cum-tenements’ approach concerned finances as building tenements was very costly, while the rents were low and only 40 per cent of the yearly payable rents were recovered (Sivashanmugam et al, 1988: 30).

The first upgrading programmes emerged at that time is in 1972, the Five-Year Environmental Improvement Scheme (EIS) and was continued by the Accelerated Slum Improvement Scheme (ASIS) afterwards. Both the schemes were ‘free schemes’, being fully granted by the Government of India and no recovery of the costs from beneficiaries was ever made (De Wit, 1996; Sobotova, 2011). In 1974, the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority (MMDA) was established (MMDA, more recently CMDA – Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority), and its task was to channelize external funds and coordinate,
monitor and evaluate the activities of other implementing agencies like the TNSCB and TNHB and also paved for the entry point for the World Bank loans.

Between the years 1977 and 1988, large-scale upgrading programmes and Sites-and-Service Schemes were implemented. Madras Urban Development Project I (MUDP I) represented the first generation of upgrading programmes co-financed by the World Bank. At the initiation, there was a considerable policy change. Instead of the Government constructed tenements, self-help housing was emphasized together with services provision and infrastructure improvements. In contrast to the initial slum policies, the MUDP I stressed cost recovery and legalization of the ‘irregular’ settlements, and so the eligible households obtained the provisional title deeds known as the *pattas* (De Wit, 1996: 118). The Madras Urban Development Project II (MUDP II) was logically built on the completed MUDP I between the years 1983 and 1988. The ‘improvement loans’ to low-income households were provided under the scheme (*ibid*).

In 1988, the Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project (TNUDP) was begun and was intended to operate with a similar design as the MUDP I/II, which entailed the private land as well (De Wit, 1996: 119). A selected private slum was supposed to be improved under the land readjustment method, whereby the land owners were supposed to share their property with the encroachers (TNSCB, 2009). The Slum Board negotiated the purchase and transfer of the land, but the owners were unwilling to sell their property at low prices offered. Illegal settlers were also reluctant to move to the rear side of the slum in the readjustment scheme. The land sharing failed to succeed and the Slum Board dropped the programme.

As a recent initiative, Tamil Nadu adopted RAY scheme for implementation with a vision to build 100 thousand houses during 2014-22 at a cost of Rs. 75,000 million and nominated the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board as the State Level Nodal Agency for RAY. A Slum Free City Plan of Action is an important instrument for cities to attain the objective
of RAY. As the preparation of the SFCPoA for Chennai city required massive data and collection of the same consumes a long time. Therefore, the TNSCB has prepared the SFCPoA for each zone separately and aggregated them for the whole city. Also the TNSCB has addressed the curative strategies plan by zones and preventive strategies plan for the whole city. Based on the socio-economic survey of February 2014, as many as 2,173 slums were identified, for which 1,131 slums were surveyed by February 2014 and the SFCPoA draft was also prepared. Using the Rajiv Awas Yojana scheme, 266 thousand households were built so far in Tamil Nadu (TNSCB, 2014). Most recently, Tamil Nadu has brought out its own vision for “Tamil Nadu Vision 2023”, which aims at making Tamil Nadu as India’s most prosperous and progressive state with no poverty, and where its people enjoy all the basic services of a modern society and live in harmonious engagement with the environment and with the rest of the world (TNIDB, 2012).

Apart from the programmes co-funded by the World Bank, there have been a number of improvement schemes through the years financed by the Tamil Nadu Government Housing and Urban Development Corporation and the international agencies such as the UNICEF, Asian Development Bank or the others. For the last four decades, Tamil Nadu slum policies were balancing between resettlement, clearance and improvement programmes. Many slums were resettled in incomplete alternative tenements in the same area or, what is worse, far from the city, but also lacking basic amenities. Its residents often sold their housing unit illegally and/or returned to the place which used to be their home or joined in a ‘more stable’ settlement, informally renting a room or constructing their own house. Inadequate maintenance remains an issue both in the upgraded settlements and in relocation sites.

**6.5. WATER AND SANITATION PROGRAMMES IMPLEMENTED IN CHENNAI**

Chennai has always been a water scarce city and often faces problems of satisfying the water demand. The Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board (CMWSSB)
operate under the control of the State Government and regulate water supply and sewerage services in the Chennai Metropolitan Area. A statutory body called the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) governs the slums and resettlement colonies in the State and is responsible for providing/facilitating the provision of basic services in these areas. The fragmentation of authority between the CMWSSB and TNSCB makes basic services provision a complicated task, where the responsibility for managing water is spread over several Government departments, which sometimes find it difficult to coordinate with each other (Janakarajan, working paper on ‘Unequal power, unequal contracts and unexplained conflicts’). The need for the TNSCB intervention in order for slum dwellers and residents of resettlement colonies to access the municipal services marginalizes them from the mainstream supply that middle and high income sections of the city access.

The Government of Tamil Nadu has not laid any particular programme for the development of water and sanitation for the urban poor in the past decades but recently it has launched the “Tamil Nadu Vision 2023”, which aims to develop water and sanitation facilities for the urban slum dwellers. It is not possible however to comment on the implementation and the status of this vision at this stage. Though the Government has not laid any particular programme for water and sanitation facilities for the urban slums, it has successfully implemented the JNNURM scheme, which aimed at providing basic services for the urban poor under its broad sub-mission BSUP. Not only that, the JNNURM through UI&G sub-mission laid water and sewerage projects for the development of Chennai. The Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UI&G) sub-mission, facilitates investments in the whole city in water and sewerage networks, storm water drains, solid waste management, urban transport, and the development of heritage areas, while the BSUP sub-mission focuses on housing, tenure security and basic service provision only for the urban poor (CMWSSB, 2010). Out of a total of 35 UI&G projects, 6 water supply and sewerage projects have been
sanctioned for Chennai at a total cost of Rs. 5,467.3 million. After the Corporation of Chennai expanded to include 42 urban local bodies in October 2011, 13 water supply and sewerage projects, at a total cost of Rs. 8,293.8 million, were included in the city boundaries. The UI&G component of the JNNURM includes one sub-project to extend water supply network to the urban poor. These projects are being implemented by the CMWSSB.

The project on strengthening the water distribution system in Chennai has several components, which include the improvement of water distribution stations, the improvement of water distribution systems in some areas, the extension of the water supply and sewerage network to the urban poor and so on. The component on extending water supply and sewerage to the urban poor involves laying water mains under unserved streets, erecting public fountains and granting water connections to families below the poverty line. However, the total cost approved for this component to the urban poor is only Rs. 213.4 million. This is 6.62 per cent of the total cost of the project, that is, only 7 per cent of the project investment is extended to the urban poor population. Also, the Corporation of Chennai has been implementing various schemes under the BSUP. In its first phase (2008-09), a project for improving infrastructure and upgrading individual houses in 236 slums was sanctioned at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,274.3 million. In its second phase (2009-10), a project for providing basic amenities to 186 slums was sanctioned at a total cost of Rs. 727.5 million. This project involved the laying of cement-concrete (CC) roads, construction of storm water drains, anganwadis, kitchen sheds, gymnasium buildings, community centres and street lights. Notably, this project does not include water and sewerage components.

In spite of the name of the sub-mission, the BSUP programme invested far more in housing than specifically in increasing municipal services for the poor. A circular issued by the Commissioner of Municipal Administration to urban local bodies implementing the BSUP in the state ordered that they include provisions for water supply and underground
drainage in their Detailed Project Reports (DPRs). The circular also stated that for slums under the BSUP, water supply connections could be provided free of cost or at a subsidized tariff after a council resolution. The circular referred to a Government Order (G.O.Ms.No.161, MA&WS (MA.II) Dept dt.30.12.2006) that mandated the provision of the underground drainage for least cost toilets and extended the orders to housing projects under the BSUP. The BSUP sub-mission was supposed to guarantee access to basic municipal services for the urban poor. The mission was progressive in that it envisaged the provision of legal access to water, sanitation, electricity and sewerage to the slum dwellers. As a result, the Government would recognise the urban poor as “lawful citizens”, something that would empower them to take active part in the city processes (JNNURM primer, 2011). However, while both the JNNURM and the BSUP sub-mission have highlighted the importance of providing basic municipal services, there has been a lack of implementation to achieve the fulfilment of these goals. In Chennai, the sub-mission has primarily focussed on facilitating investments in housing and in building large resettlement colonies in the outskirts of the city.

6.6. A CASE STUDY OF SAMPLE RESETTLEMENT COLONIES

In Tamil Nadu the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Programme was adopted as part of the Master Plan (CMDA, 2008). The Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board has created many resettlement colonies of which two have been selected as sample colonies for the study, namely, Semmenchery and All India Radio Nagar. These resettlement colonies emerged due to beautification of the Chennai city (‘Singara Chennai’) by clearing the objectionable slums. There are various other development projects such as the Metro Rail, Elevated Expressways and so on, which resulted in mass eviction of the urban poor and dumping them in the relocated colonies in the outer fringes of the city.

Semmenchery and All India Radio Nagar are two different resettlement colonies raised for the rehabilitated and relocated people from different slums of Chennai Corporation, where
more than 12,000 families, with an estimated population of over 50,000, are resettled. In all the phases, these resettlement colonies have noted for a steady growth, and are still under expansion, construction and allocation. The tenements constructed either under the Emergency Tsunami Reconstruction Project (ETRP) or under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). The study interviewed women in the resettlement colonies to identify and analyze the living conditions of the people and, in particular, basic services of water and sanitation at the resettlement sites. The study revealed the following major issues of the resettlement colonies:

1. **Forced Evictions:** The slum dwellers have not been issued any legal notices of the eviction. They received only vague verbal information from the officials. The information was given either one day before the eviction or on the day of eviction. Thus, most families had very little time to collect their belongings before the Government relocated them. The people were neither consulted about the process nor were their choices heard.

2. **Denial of Land ownership and Tenure insecurity:** The Government has not provided any long-term legal security of tenure in the form of sale deeds over housing or land to any of the residents. The sad plight is in both the resettlement colonies, the people have been given houses under the ‘Hire Purchase Scheme’ of the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSBC), which provides residents with an ‘allotment order’ for which they have to pay Rs. 150 to Rs. 250 on a monthly basis for a period of 20 years. These allotment orders are subject to cancellation on various conditions, including non-payment of monthly dues. This creates a financial burden and also insecure feeling of tenure for the people living in relocated slums. At the end of the 20 years, residents have been promised ‘sale deeds’ over the flats.

3. **Loss of Education:** Without considering their needs and desires of the slum dwellers, they were relocated and in most cases the eviction was carried out in the mid-academic year.
The dwellers also reported that untimely relocation had disturbed the children’s education and they were given false hopes that their children could continue their education in the nearby places. So, the children were forced to commute long distances by bus to their schools, which are located close to their original sites of habitations in the city. The dwellers were unhappy about this and were also concerned about the provision of lesser number of schools in the new sites and longer distances to the old schools. There were also cases of children drop out of the schools for the above said reasons.

4. **Loss of Employment:** Many people had lost their jobs after the relocation due to the increased distance of resettlement colonies from their work places. In Semmenchery, the people had to travel 2 to 3 km to reach the main road to board a bus, if they miss the timings of the buses in the depot of their sites. In All India Radio Nagar, most of them were fishermen and they had to travel more than 5 km for their work. Relocation of fishing communities, far from the coast, had completely altered their lifestyles, including their food habits and nutritional intake (Jayaseelan, Premraj & Carter 2014).

5. **Additional cost on Transportation:** The work place, schools, higher educational institutes, hospitals and other services were/are located very far from the sites. So, the people are made to spend costs on this transportation expenditure. On an average, the people were spending Rs. 50-75 alone per day for travel. This makes their financial situation a great burden.

6. **Lack of Basic Facilities:** There is a gross violation of Human Rights, including their human rights to adequate housing, food, water, sanitation, education, health, work/livelihood and security of the person and home. A family of five or a family with adolescents is forced to cram into a 162 sq ft (one-room apartment) and also leading to difficulties in living as joint families. The people reported of not enough space in the house as one of their major issues.
a) Looking into the aspect of water facilities, in All India Radio Nagar, the drinking water is supplied only once a week while in the Semmenchery dwellers access it on daily basis. In both the resettlement colonies, women are getting water for domestic purposes daily, which is supplied only for two hours during the mornings and evenings on a daily basis. In these resettlement colonies, water is provided by the Metro Water Board in tankers but is distributed amongst the community by the TNSCB. While the Slum Clearance Board constructs standpipes and other infrastructure for water supply in the resettlement sites, the ownership and maintenance of the infrastructure is vested on to the urban local body. Also, the fact finding report conducted by the Forum for Securing Land and Livelihood Rights of Coastal Communities (FLLRC) and the Citizens Rights Forum (CRF) revealed that residents of Semmenchery receive only 20 lpcd water (FLLRC and CRF, 2012). Residents also complained that the water and sewerage infrastructure was poor, and the contents of the sewer often mixed with their water, which smells foul due to the contamination of sewerage. In All India Radio Nagar, there are no taps and instead the project is laid with tube well, which leads to women’s struggle to pump the water. Though the dwellers were allotted a tap or tube well in the ground floor of each apartment or flat, they were not happy with it. Because, women were worried about carrying heavy containers over the floors daily, this made them sick. Even some women reported in these colonies that it was far better in slums where they did not carry the water up to several floors but instead they walked only on plain surfaces.

b) Taking into the consideration of the sanitation facilities, in Semmenchery, it is sharing toilet, which is shared between two houses of an apartment, while in All India Radio Nagar it is individual toilet. The women also reported of not having water connections in the toilet. Though women don’t seem to be much worried about toilet facilities because the toilets were far better compared to the previous living place (slum), whereas they were
more concerned about the stagnation of the sewage water and piles of garbage at various places of the tenements particularly, these problems are more prominent in All India Radio Nagar.

7. Poor Safety for Women and Girls: Many of the women respondents stated that the resettlement sites are unfit for safety. They reported that they feared to leave the children, especially girl children, alone in the flats and to go the work due to isolation of houses and poor social relationships. Mothers who were very afraid to leave their young daughters alone were taking them to work. These situations lead to school dropouts and also triggered the phenomenon of early marriages for girls (Jayaseelan and Premraj, 2014).

8. Conflicts and Violence: The dwellers reported of quarrels and abuses over accessing limited basic facilities and services in their living quarters. The conflicts happened here were stronger than those in slums as the people in resettlement colonies were from different slums who lacked unity between them. So, due to their difference of opinions and behaviours, the conflicts were increasing over accessing facilities like water, health care units, and ration shops and led to a poor social network.

9. Spatial and Social exclusion: The urban poor were treated as experimental objects and forced to the outskirts of the city without understanding the adverse and long term socio-economic impacts. The dwellers were relocated very far from the city and their original place which excluded them from the city, both socially and spatially. In order to access any service in the city, for instance, the Government hospitals, the relocated dwellers had to travel long distances and spend extra cost over transportation and lost their valuable time. To avoid this kind of situation, many dwellers stopped accessing the services in the city, which made them excluded and more vulnerable.
The primary responsibility of any city is to provide its people with a decent and habitable shelter. A standard housing does not mean merely land and building, but includes basic services like the water supply, sanitation and access to roads. As per the law of Human Rights, it a duty of authority to relocated the poor people on new sites with basic infrastructure so that, the livelihood is not disturbed (HLRN, 2013; Kapse et al, 2012). But in relocation projects, the degree of satisfaction in terms of improved living conditions and quality of life of the urban poor is unsatisfactory. The study sees uniformity on the issues in both the resettlement colonies. Most of the urban poor have henceforth returned to their original places or settled nearer to work places and have lead to the mushrooming of new slums.

6.7. SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

In the context of urbanization, adequate space and opportunity for the urban poor is inclusive and hence the economically weaker sections to grow themselves become imperative. However, given a chance to livelihood opportunities, they would be able to improve their position economically to begin with and socially later on. India’s urban planning has however been undergoing a revolutionary change. The current Government at the Centre has embarked upon an ambitious plan of modernising India’s urban areas through 100 Smart Cities and a revamped urban renewal mission, named AMRUT, for another 500 cities, taking over from the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). The Swacch Bharat Mission has already become an important programme. To facilitate all these programmes, the Union Cabinet has announced in April 2015 that over Rs. 2,000,000 million will be invested in the urban areas over the next five years. Apart from the direct schemes of the urban infrastructure development, where urban poor concentration is at very small rate, the programmes like the Health of the Urban Poor and the National Urban Health Mission concentrate on the activities to promote safe drinking water, clean and affordable
sanitation and hygiene, along with it better health among the urban poor. All these new developments are huge opportunities for the urban poor, who constitute almost half of the urban population.

The Tamil Nadu State Government is trying to implement all the national and other state schemes and policies effectively to reach the urban poor equally and to achieve its own vision of a prosperous state by 2023. Chennai city comprises of huge population despite its small extension (space). Rapid urbanization has attracted inflow into the city for various reasons, leading to the pavement of booming of slums. The Government is taking steps to control the proliferation of new slums and upgrading the existing ones. Chennai has always been a water scarce city and often faces problems of satisfying the water demand. The Government of Tamil Nadu has not laid any particular programme for the development of water and sanitation for the urban poor in the past decades but recently it has launched the “Tamil Nadu Vision 2023”, which aims to develop water and sanitation facilities for the urban slum dwellers. Though the Government has not laid any particular programme for water and sanitation facilities for the urban slums, it has successfully implemented the JNNURM scheme, which aimed at providing basic services for the urban poor under its broad sub-mission BSUP.

The Government has been evicting large number of slum dwellers from the city to make way for new infrastructural projects and as a part of the city beautification projects. A research on it has found that at least 20,000 households have been evicted from the city between 2005 and 2009 alone, and more evictions have taken place since them (Transparent Chennai, Raman, 2012). The relocation of slum dwellers from objectionable places to somewhere away or far from the city has been impacting negatively on the livelihoods of slum people. The main issues raised by the relocated dwellers are about the lack of job opportunities in the new places and long distances to commute to their work places and
schools and an extra expenditure on transportation, which has lead to stress in their daily lives. The people also have reported of financial burden due to paying instalments on the housing and land availed. The colony dwellers have reported that the basic facilities provided have not been sufficient and good. The irregular and insufficient water supply, poor water quality and no water service in toilets have been their major worries in access to water and sanitation facilities (Cummings, 2012). But, besides providing shelter, the Government has to provide other civic facilities to the slum dwellers. Otherwise, they will continue to live in unhealthy conditions as they do now.

Thus, a diagnosis of National, State, and Municipal policies and frameworks implemented, may have to be investigated where the gaps, overlaps, and inconsistencies are existing. Some policy changes and legal amendments will undoubtedly be warranted. However, in many cases, while current policies themselves may be adequate, their implementation is however weak and they may not be understood and appreciated by the key actors. In those cases, strategies to improve the implementation of policies may be highly required. From the study, it may be concluded that the efforts by the Government in poverty alleviation must not only be coordinated but also be channelled in the proper direction in the sense that there may be better managed poverty reduction through an understanding of the multidimensional nature of poverty and differences in the urban settings. Then, there might be efficient, effective and equal development.