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Ecole d'ingénieurs
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CITERES
UMR 6173
Cités, Territoires,
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Equipe IPA-PE
Ingénierie du Projet
d'Aménagement, Paysage,
Environnement

Projet de Fin d'Etudes

PERSPECTIVE ON SLUMS AND RESETTLEMENT POLICIES IN INDIA

The case of Kannagi Nagar
Resettlement Colony,
Chennai



2013-2014

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PERSPECTIVE ON SLUMS AND RESETTLEMENT POLICIES IN INDIA

*The case of Kannagi Nagar Resettlement Colony,
Chennai*

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Année 2013-2014

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La formation par la recherche inclut un exercice individuel de recherche, le projet de fin d'études (P.F.E.), situé en dernière année de formation des élèves ingénieurs. Cet exercice correspond à un stage d'une durée minimum de trois mois, en laboratoire de recherche, principalement au sein de l'équipe Ingénierie du Projet d'Aménagement, Paysage et Environnement de l'UMR 6173 CITERES à laquelle appartiennent les enseignants-chercheurs du département aménagement.

Le travail de recherche, dont l'objectif de base est d'acquérir une compétence méthodologique en matière de recherche, doit répondre à l'un des deux grands objectifs :

- Développer toute ou partie d'une méthode ou d'un outil nouveau permettant le traitement innovant d'un problème d'aménagement
- Approfondir les connaissances de base pour mieux affronter une question complexe en matière d'aménagement.

Afin de valoriser ce travail de recherche nous avons décidé de mettre en ligne les mémoires à partir de la mention bien.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to warmly thank:

Laura Verdelli, my supervisor who guided me and gave me the opportunity to realize this project. Thank you for your positive and enthusiastic response on my request to study slums in India.

Serge Thibault, Director of the Planning Department in the University of Tours, for his encouragements in doing a semester of exchange in Chennai,

Dr. Ranee Vedomuthu, dean of SAP Anna University, my thesis coordinator, for her warm and hospitable welcome and her precious advices,

Mili Maria Thomas, my supervisor in Anna University, who helped me a lot with this vast topic and was always available for me,

Ar. Kavitha Selvaraj, external faculty, for sharing her opinion about the project,

Rukumani Madam, for her anytime support and availability,

I am indebted too, to:

Ar. Durganand Basalvar, for supporting me in the project and continuously enlightening me about Indian culture,

Manimegalai, urban planner in the TNSCB office, for welcoming me and spending time to share with me her point of view on slums,

Thirupura Sundari Sevel, my inspiration, my role model and my friend. Your support and advices helped me to give the best of myself in this project. Thank you for always believing in me.

Renuka, resident in Attur Nagar, who adopted me as a sister and spent many days in doing the fieldwork with me,

The residents of Attur Nagar and Kannagi Nagar, for their enthusiasm and warm hospitality,

Karthik, for his help, and for being a driving force in projects on slums,

Nishan and Kumar, for their valuable help in conducting the survey.

I am especially grateful to:

Jean Paul Carrière, Luis de La Mora and Cynthia Lucienne, for their follow-up of my project, their precious support and encouragements,

Nathalie Brevet and Denis Martouzet for their advices,

Sophie Caratini, who inspired me a lot with her vision of life

Aziza Nesrine Siamer, for her follow-up,

Chandrakanth, urban planner in the TNSCB office, to have taken me to the slum the first time and to have given interest in my project,

Abhishek Gaurav, for his support and help,

Srivanthsan, redactor for The Hindu, for his precious information,

Lucy Vaseux, Florence Orillard, Mounia Salhi, for their support and the interest they have brought in my project,

Rääghav Chentur, for his help and support, his enthusiasm and positive energy,

The team of Adyar studio: Sumaya, Kaveen, Vijay, Ganesh, Lalith, for teaching me what a real team work is.

Also, I would like to thank the librarians Pascale Le Halper and Marie-Madeleine Talon, who helped me during my literature survey, for their patience and enthusiasm.

I also thank my roommates, my family and friends for their support and touches always arriving timely.
Jocelyn Georges, Ridjoe, my friends
Bhavani, my Indian mother, for taking care of me and sharing her vision of life,
Senthil, my senior and my friend,
My mother, who is always the one here to read my works and to guide me, supporting me in all my projects in life and who will always find the true words in tough times,
My aunt, Véronique, for her positivity and her encouragements.

“Be the change that you wish to see in the world”
— Mahatma Gandhi

SYNOPSIS

Enjeu majeur pour les villes du Sud, les bidonvilles sont aujourd'hui au cœur des politiques de développement. Au cours de ces dernières décennies, un certain nombre de programmes, reflétant les différentes approches des autorités d'aménagement envers les bidonvilles, ont tenté de résoudre le problème de la pauvreté urbaine. Dans la plupart des projets de développement des bidonvilles – le développement in-situ, la réhabilitation ou la relocalisation – les résidents, appelés “*bénéficiaires*” sont rarement impliqués dans le processus de développement. Résultat de la représentation sociale des habitants des bidonvilles, les approches *top-down* des gouvernements conduisent à un manque d'efficacité des politiques mises en œuvre. *"La mauvaise perception des pauvres de la part des non-pauvres conduit à des politiques et des décisions erronées, qui ne sont pas appropriées pour résoudre les problèmes."* (Ravinder 2001)

En Inde, les politiques mises en œuvre depuis l'Indépendance à l'égard des bidonvilles ont montré un manque de continuité ou de cohérence, en raison de changements fréquents de gouvernement à différents niveaux. *"Les bidonvilles ont oscillé entre l'illégalité et le rejet d'une part, et de la tolérance et de la reconnaissance de l'autre"* (Dupont, 2011), conduisant à des interventions contradictoires à l'échelle de la ville. Depuis les années 1990, marquées par l'intervention du secteur privé dans les projets de développement, le gouvernement a réorienté sa stratégie pour aborder le problème de la pauvreté urbaine. Depuis 2005, le gouvernement central a donné financements importants aux États afin d'améliorer les conditions pour les pauvres en milieu urbain, d'abord sous la Mission nationale de rénovation urbaine Jawaharlal Nehru (JnNURM) et plus récemment par le lent programme Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY). Dans ces programmes de modernisation, qui ambitionnent des “villes sans bidonvilles d'ici 2020”, la seule réponse du gouvernement aux bidonvilles a été indirecte : reloger les habitants des bidonvilles en périphérie au lieu de les reconnaître ou garantir leurs droits au logement dans la ville.

A Chennai, les récentes interventions du gouvernement envers les quartiers informels ont principalement consisté en la construction de quartier de relogement à grande échelle en périphérie de la ville (à Semmenchery, Kannagi Nagar, et désormais à Perumbakkam). Des logements non recensés, car dépossédés de droits fonciers, sont régulièrement expulsés, et les familles admissibles sont relogées dans les quartiers de relogement. Très peu d'études se sont penchées sur l'efficacité de ces programmes par rapport à la réalisation de leurs objectifs, et aucune évaluation du projet n'a été réalisée auprès des bénéficiaires. Néanmoins, **"les rapports de presse indiquent que près de 20 pourcent des logements attribués à Kannagi Nagar sont vacants et 50 pourcent des bénéficiaires initiaux n'y vivent plus."**

Sur cette base, nous pouvons considérer que les projets de réinstallation à grande échelle mises en œuvre dans la périphérie de Chennai connaissent un manque de succès. Cette étude vise à identifier les raisons de cet échec, en mettant en perspective les différents points de vue des acteurs locaux sur le projet. Etant donné que les résultats d'une politique sont évaluées différemment selon le point de vue d'un acteur gouvernemental ou un habitant de bidonville, des entrevues ont été menées avec les différents acteurs – des résidents aux autorités du gouvernement – afin de recueillir leur avis sur le projet de réinstallation. L'hypothèse de départ est formulée comme suit : **l'écart dans les représentations des bidonvilles entre les différents acteurs est un obstacle à une action efficace et durable.**

Les objectifs de cette étude sont alors les suivants:

1. Analyser la vision des autorités d'aménagement sur les bidonvilles et ses habitants,
2. Comprendre la formation, l'organisation socio-spatiale et le mode de vie dans un bidonville, en comparaison avec le site de relogement.

Afin d'étudier ces aspects, deux sites ont été choisis : un bidonville «naturel» et un site de relogement, Kannagi Nagar. Le bidonville étudié, nommé Attur Nagar, est situé le long de la rivière Adyar, à Saidapet, partie sud de Chennai. L'emplacement à proximité du fleuve était un critère significatif dans le choix du site, relevant de l'intérêt d'étudier la relation entre les espaces de vie et la rivière. En outre, cette zone est directement touchée par le projet de la construction du métro. Les travaux ont abouti à un certain nombre d'expulsions des familles logeant à proximité du pont, et la réinstallation des personnes dans le site de réinstallation de Kannagi Nagar.

Le travail d'enquête, à travers l'utilisation de questionnaires semi-directifs, d'entretiens (*key informant interviews*) et de *focus group discussions*, a fourni une évaluation du projet de Kannagi Nagar par les résidents, et a permis d'identifier les impacts du projet de relogement sur la qualité de vie des bénéficiaires. Les données sont alors confrontées avec les arguments énoncés par le gouvernement.

Les résultats démontrent qu'au-delà de la nette amélioration des conditions matérielles et environnementales ainsi que l'obtention des droits d'occupation du terrain, les résidents affirment devoir faire face à de nombreuses difficultés dans le quartier de relogement, en particulier en raison de l'emplacement et de l'absence des possibilités d'emploi, de la conception du logement et de la planification du quartier mais aussi de l'augmentation du coût de la vie. Tous ces facteurs contribuent à priver les résidents de leur indépendance et de leur liberté. Des entretiens avec les représentants du gouvernement révèlent que les évaluations négatives des habitants sont justifiées par l'affirmation d'un « projet expérimental », ou par le comportement des bénéficiaires eux-mêmes. La question de la consultation et de la participation est un point clé, ce qui reflète la représentation des autorités de planification sur les habitants des bidonvilles. Alors que le gouvernement assume la mise en œuvre d'un projet en consultation, les pratiques illustrent des expulsions et un relogement dans un site imposé, sans laisser d'autres alternatives. Enfin, la vision à court terme - légitimée par le caractère expérimental de du projet - constitue l'une des raisons de l'échec en terme de durabilité.

De l'hypothèse initiale, nous pouvons déduire que non seulement le décalage dans les représentations concernant les bidonvilles, mais surtout la représentation des autorités de planification sur les habitants conduisent à la mise en œuvre de projets top-down, constitue en cela un frein à une action efficace et durable.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
CDP	City Development Plan
CDS	City Development Strategy
CBO	Community Based Organization
CDW	Communitiy Development Wing
CMA	Chennai Metropolitan Area
CMDA	Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority
CMWSSB	Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DP	Development Plan
EWS	Economically Weaker Sections
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
GoI	Government of India
HIG	High Income Group
JnNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal
MIG	Middle Income Group
LIG	Low Income Group
MHUPA	Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
NSDP	National Slum Development Program
PUCL	People Union for Civil Liberties
RAY	Rajiv Awas Yojana
SJSRY	Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana
SNP	Slum Networking Project
TPS	Town Planning Scheme
UN- Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

NATIVE TERMS

Cheri: local name for slums in Tamil Nadu (in Chennai)

Coolies: an unskilled labourer, especially formerly in China and India

Jhopad pattis: local name for slums in Mumbai

Jhuggi jompri: local name for slums in Delhi

Kutcha: buildings, with the walls and/or roof predominantly made of materials such as unburnt bricks, bamboos, mud, grass, reeds, thatch, plastic/polythene, loosely packed stone, etc. (Census of India 2011)

Poromboke: waste land

Pucca: building, with the walls made of stones (duly packed with lime or cement mortar), G.I/metal/asbestos sheets, burnt bricks, cement bricks or concrete and the roof made of tiles, cement tiles, burnt bricks, cement bricks or stones (Census of India 2011)

Semi-pucca: building with the wall made of pucca materials and the roof made of kutcha materials.

INTRODUCTION

“What is a slum? It is something that mostly exists in the imaginations of middle-class do-gooders and bureaucrats; people who do not have to live in them in the first place and do not have to live in what they put up afterwards once they have pulled them all down. One person’s slum is another person’s community” May Hobbs

Slums are the new challenge of this century. According to the most recent and the only global estimate available to date, almost one billion people live in slums. That's one in seven of us. This number is projected to increase to 2 billion people by 2030 if adequate actions are not taken (UN-Habitat). Slum dwellers in Asian cities account for 60 percent of the World’s total slum dwellers. 158 million of these Asian slum dwellers, or 17% of the world's total, reside in Indian cities. In terms of the slum incidence rate, this equates to 55% of India's urban population, which means one in two urban residents of India live in slums –whereas the average slum incidence rate in many developing countries stands at 43% (UN-Habitat 2003).¹ Urbanization in India is taking place at a fast rate. The urban population has increased from 28.53% in 2001 to 31, 16% as per 2011 census. In this context, the global issue of slums represent then a significant challenge for authorities as well as planners and researchers. A plurality of approaches towards the informal settlements have been attempted, but none of them showed conclusive results.

As part of an exchange program last year, I had the opportunity to study urban planning in Chennai in the School of Architecture and Planning of Anna University. In a context marked by contrasts, this experience has clearly changed my perception of planning, continuously questioning European concepts. I discovered in Chennai the coexistence of two sub-cities: the city for rich and the city for poor. While spatially close, these two worlds seemed to be culturally and socially kept apart. As a planner, I wondered about the interactions between them and their practices in the city. The issue of urban slums and the social representation of these areas particularly grabbed my attention. The study of slum fascinated me, in the sense that the informal planning brings a new perspective on our ways of representing the space and the city. While the slum mostly conveys a negative image in the social and cultural representation, from a planning perspective, it is nonetheless interesting to see how it indirectly questions the formal planning system by proving its inadequacy to respond to the housing needs of the population. For the purpose of this research, I spent three months in Chennai, as an exchange student in Anna University, to realise the fieldwork.

The study focuses on the influence of the social representation on the quality and efficiency of the policies implemented. Aiming for a “slum-free Chennai”, the government has undertaken the eviction of urban slums located on the river margins. *“Waterfront development, beautification, and eco-restoration, along with high-end infrastructure serve multiple purposes – both as direct strategies for capital accumulation through real estate value, as well as idioms through which cities position themselves in the global arena” (Coelho, Raman, 2010).* People are then relocated in large-scale

¹ PATEL, Amit – Slumulation: an integrated simulation framework to explore spatio-temporal dynamics of slum formation in Ahmedabad, India – 271p.

Dissertation submitted to the graduate Faculty of George Mason University, 2012

resettlement colonies built by the government in the periphery of the city. These schemes, however, don't provide an efficient and sustainable solution to address the issue of slums.

The heart of the study is the analysis of different visions on the slum dwellers and to identify the reasons for the non-acceptance of the project from the beneficiaries through the analysis of the impact of a resettlement project on the quality of life of the beneficiaries. The idea is to compare the opinions of different stakeholders about the relocation project. Two sites, a natural slum and a resettlement site, are considered for the fieldwork, in order to bring a comparison on the quality of life of the resident before and after relocation.

What is the representation of slums by the planning authorities? What are the impacts of the resettlement on the quality of life of the slum dwellers? How does the representation of slums influence the policies and the methods in the implementation of slum development schemes? These are some questions raised during the course of the research.

In the first part, we will discuss about the definition of slums, the policies in India and introduce the methodology used for data collection. Then, the context of Chennai city and the cases of study will be illustrated. Finally, the analysis of the data and the conclusions deduced from the fieldwork are presented.

PART I GLOBAL REFLEXION ABOUT SLUMS

1. THE COMPLEX AND MOVING REALITY OF SLUMS

The multiplicity of ways to approach slums reflects the complexity of these settlements. There have been many attempts to define slums, using a large range of words and expressions but the definitions are continuously being questioned, highlighting the uniqueness of the slum and its socio-spatial evolving environment.

1.1. *What is a slum?*

This part discusses the definition of a slum and highlights the main features of these settlements.

a) A plurality of terms referring to poor housing conditions

The term *slum* qualifies in a very imprecise manner a complex and moving reality. Originally meaning "a bleak or destitute place", the word *slum* is generally used to designate an urban residential area marked by substandard housing and often developed **outside the legal or administrative planning frameworks** (Lévy and Lussault, pp 438-439). The phenomenon of *slums*, predominantly significant in metropolises of emerging countries, raises a major development challenge illustrating inequalities and a non-control of the urban growth. Initially derived from the lack of affordable housing near the job areas -or due to an inadequacy of the housing to the practices and constraints of the population with precarious living conditions- the slum is developed by its inhabitants and both the housing and infrastructure are constructed outside the usual market and public service mechanisms. These areas are often highly populated, tight and built by "non-skilled persons" in areas unsuitable for living, implying health, environment and social issues. Frequently illegal, the informal settlements appears to be a stigma of poverty associated with the informal sector. It is also sometimes considered as a form of contemporary vernacular architecture (Petropoulou 2007; Fathy, 1970; Berenstein Jacques, 2001).² Several terms are associated with poor housing conditions; most prevalent are the terms *slum*, *informal settlement* or *squatter settlement*. The differences between these words arise mainly from the nature of settlements to which they refer. The expression *informal settlement* emphasizes the unplanned nature of these settlements, whereas *squatter settlement* refers to the illegal occupation of lands or structures by the inhabitants. The expression *spontaneous settlement* is sometimes used to highlight the initiative of the populations who themselves have built their houses. These terms are increasingly synonymous for slums (e.g. UN-Habitat 2003). In addition, they are not mutually exclusive categories, i.e. an informal settlement could also be a squatter settlement (Patel, 2012).

Informal or clandestine settlement: residential area which does not meet the legal standards of the property, construction or equipment. (Le Tellier and Iraki, 2009)

Squatter settlement: residential area which has developed without legal claims to the land and/or permission from the concerned authorities to build; as a result of their illegal or semi-legal status, infrastructure and services are usually inadequate.³

Spontaneous settlement: hutting areas with huts erected in a haphazard manner without proper access, without protected water supply and drainage arrangements and so congested as to allow of little free

² GERBEAUD, Fanny - L'habitat spontané : une architecture adaptée pour le développement des métropoles ? Le cas de Bangkok (Thaïlande) – Résumé de la thèse : Urbanisme, société, 2012

³ Defining squatter settlements, Hari Srinivas: <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/define-squatter.html>

flow of air to get in. Although the term ‘spontaneous’ suggests no forethought or planning, many such clandestine settlements are the results of ‘planned invasions’ by the initial occupants, who subdivide the land on a pre-arranged cadaster and provide a basic infrastructure (Gerbeaud, 2012).

Many other appellations are used interchangeably with *slums*, according to the country and often referring to different aspects or characteristics of slums: *bidonvilles* in former French colonies (e.g. Cameroon), ghettos (e.g. United States), shantytowns, slums or squatter settlements in formerly British colonies (e.g. India), favelas (e.g. Brazil), etc. In India, the slums are often given local names: *jhopad pattis* in Mumbai, *jhuggi jompri* in Delhi, *cheri* in Chennai (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014, p20.). These terms usually reflect a pejorative content which contributes to stigmatize the areas and the population living in them. The diversity of terminology to name the zones of illegal occupation is significant of the historical and **local processes of stigmatization** (Racine, 1997). Basically, regardless of the term used, three criteria are attached to these areas (Racine *et al.*, 1999): their illegality, their unhealthy condition and their specific culture (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014).

In this report, the word “slum” is used only in reference to squatter settlements where the land is occupied illegally, and not in the broader sense of precarious forms of housing and poor shelters. It does not deal with Indian “unauthorized colonies” nor with the run-down formal dwelling that are numerous in the centres of megalopolises (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014).

a) Common characteristics of slums

Qualifying definitions, characteristics, quality and examples of squatter settlements vary widely, with the inherent danger of generalization, but an attempt has been made to identify key features which are common to such areas and distinguish them. Indeed, while the size and nature of the slum differ according to the place, the country and the culture, such characteristics of slums pertain to the location of slums, densities and overcrowding, the status of basic infrastructure, the affordability of housing in slums for urban poor, ownership structure, residential mobility and migration patterns of slum dwellers and community building and leadership. The characteristics of slum dwellers pertain to the economic conditions of the households, their migration behaviour and the demographic composition (Patel, 2012).

Visually, the slum is identified as an area of the city with **inadequate housing**, deficient basic requirements, overcrowding and congestion. The lack of durable housing refers to the self-built houses made of scrap materials or recovered materials, such as corrugated iron and plastic. The slum area is also mainly defined by its non-integration in the “formal” city. Indeed, in most cases, the servicing is not assured and the area lacks infrastructures such as piped water, electricity supply and sewage disposal facilities. Some common features are also identified in the location of these areas. The informal settlements grow on land without status, such as banks of rivers and canals, or on vacant because swampy or unhealthy and squatted land. These areas are usually found in the periphery of cities, public parks, or near railroad tracks, rivers, lagoons or city trash dump sites. In most cases, it is about lands which have been classified unsuitable by the planning authorities: the vulnerability of the territory, inclined to climatic hazards or industrial pollution, makes the place unfit for human living. So much less identifiable, informal settlements occupies some gaps in the urban fabric and participates in its densification.

The mode of access to land differs depending on the country and on the location. If the land mostly belongs to the public sector, the right to access to the land often has to be required from a person or a group of person which has illegally assumed the right to own the plot. As a result, the **insecurity of land tenure** is a major characteristic of slums and the threat of eviction is the every-day issue of the

population. The constructions are usually financed by the future residents' family or by a credit system integrated in a social network. The self-built plays a key role in the construction, however it is not automatic and sometimes private companies can contribute to build the dwelling. Even if the houses can be built by professionals, the materials used are in a poor quality and made by a nearby small crafty company. The price of the material is quite expensive because it is produced in a small quantity. By definition, this habitat therefore lies outside all the classic circuits of production and is characterized by specific responses to each situation according to the possibilities, opportunities for everyone. It is characteristic of urban poverty and is parallel to the poverty inherent social problems.

The settlement is inhabited by **poor people from outside the city**, generally from the rural areas and have migrated to the city to search for employment. These areas are often characterized by an active **informal economy**; many live from small work or parasitic activities, such as rag-picking, small services, and sale of cigarettes or sex work. Finally, the sense of community and solidarity is extremely developed and a strong attachment to the land from the people is perceived.

Despite the identification of common characteristics in these areas, there is no general agreement regarding the definition of the slum. It has been defined in different ways by town-planners, social workers, administrators, welfare agencies, and sociologists (Rao, 1990).

1.2. The divergences in the official definitions⁴

There have been attempts to find a broad consensus on what is considered a slum, nonetheless several definitions prevail both in theory and practice.

a) The Cities Alliance Definition

One relevant definition is offered by the organization - Cities Alliance, which is comprised of a global coalition of cities, national governments, non-governmental and multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and UN-Habitat. The Cities Alliance definition primarily focuses on the issue of slums as reflected in their mantra "Cities without Slums." In the "Cities without Slums Action Plan," Cities Alliance (1999) provided the following definition of a slum:

"Slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high-density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities. Some are more than fifty years old, some are land invasions just underway. Slums have various names, Favelas, Kampung, Bidonvilles, Tugurios, yet share the same miserable living conditions."

This definition provides a general description of a slum. The definition's main parameters identifying slums are negligence and legal recognition, presumably, by city governments as legitimate and recognized parts of the city. Secondly, there are two parameters that the definition explicitly considers unimportant for defining slums: the location in a city, and the age of a slum (Patel, 2012).

⁴ PATEL, Amit – Slumulation: an integrated simulation framework to explore spatio-temporal dynamics of slum formation in Ahmedabad, India – 271p. Dissertation submitted to the graduate Faculty of George Mason University, 2012

a) UN-Habitat Definitions

The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UNHCP), now referred as UN-Habitat, is the United Nations (UN) agency for human settlements. The UN General Assembly mandated it to promote socially and environmentally sustainable cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for all. Thus, it may be worthwhile to discuss how the UN-Habitat defines a slum. One of the first UN-Habitat definitions (2002) of a slum is as follows:

“A slum is a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city.”

This definition emphasizes poor physical conditions of housing stock and a lack of basic services as important elements to identify slum areas. The definition is also explicit about spatial dimension of slums (e.g. "contiguous settlement"). The third element making this definition distinctive is the lack of recognition of these areas as legitimate constituencies (e.g. "not recognized and addressed by the public authority as an integral or equal part of the city"). Over time, this definition has undergone several revisions. The most current definition adapted by the UN-Habitat (2006) is as follows:

“UN-HABITAT defines a slum household as a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area who lack one or more of the following:

- i) Durable housing of a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions.*
- ii) Sufficient living space which means not more than three people sharing the same room.*
- iii) Easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price.*
- iv) Access to adequate sanitation in the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people.*
- v) Security of tenure that prevents forced evictions.”*

This definition is different from the definition discussed above in two important ways. First, it takes a depravity based approach in identifying slums. It recognizes that not all slums are homogeneous and not all slum dwellers suffer from the same degree of deprivation. The degree of deprivation depends on how many of the five elements are lacking within a slum household, which is a significant improvement over a dichotomous slum/non-slum approach of other definitions. For example, this definition can differentiate between the slums that lack only water and the slums that lack both water and sanitation. In contrast, a simple dichotomous approach will treat both these areas as slums without making any distinction based on the degree of deprivation. Secondly, this revised definition relies on a single household's living condition as opposed to that of a neighbourhood. This is an important distinction from the previous definition because it does not rely on a minimum contiguous area or population size to recognize a place as a slum. This definition also has a practicability in determining whether or not a particular area is a slum. For example, it is possible to objectively measure the overcrowding in a house or to determine whether the house has access to basic services or not.

b) Census of India Definition

The definitions suggested by international development agencies are not always universally accepted by their member countries. Many countries have their own slum definitions. Usually, they are developed for the purpose of conducting a census.

Under Section-3 of the *Slum Area Improvement and Clearance Act, 1956*, slums have been defined as *“residential areas where dwellings are in any respect unfit for human habitation by reasons of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements and designs of such buildings, narrowness or faulty*

arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light, sanitation facilities or any combination of these factors which are detrimental to safety, health and morals.”⁵

Three types of slums have been defined in Census, namely, Notified, Recognized and Identified:

For the purpose of Census of India, 2011, the slum areas broadly constitute of:

- i) All notified areas in a town or city notified as ‘Slum’ by State, Union territories Administration or Local Government under any Act including a ‘Slum Act’ may be considered as **Notified slums***
- ii) All areas recognized as ‘Slum’ by State, Union territories Administration or Local Government, Housing and Slum Boards, which may have not been formally notified as slum under any act may be considered as **Recognized slums***
- iii) A compact area of at least 300 population or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. Such areas should be identified personally by the Charge Officer and also inspected by an officer nominated by Directorate of Census Operations. This fact must be duly recorded in the charge register. Such areas may be considered as **Identified slums***

This definition relies on the legal recognition of various public authorities to determine the slum status of a specific place. In addition, it emphasizes density and overcrowding as important criteria qualifying an area as a slum (e.g. "compact area", "congested tenements"). It also stresses the poor housing conditions and a lack of basic services (e.g. "poorly built", "inadequate infrastructure"). The definition of Census of India does not recognize a place with 60 or less households as a slum. In this case, illegality is not part of the definition of “slum”, where only criteria related to the actual housing and layout of the area are considered. Yet, the designation “squatter settlements” does imply de facto illegal occupation. A distinction has then to be made between the criteria used in the official documents to identify the slums, and the perception of those slums. None of these definitions include a “cultural” criterion – nonetheless, how slums and squatter settlements are perceived by the planning authorities or the legal system is often biased by cultural prejudices (Dupont and Ramanathan, 2007).

Hence, the multiplicity of definitions poses a **challenge to researchers and policymakers** when trying to study slums. In particular, the choice of a specific definition has a direct implication on the estimation of slum population. Using one definition to calculate a city’s slum population can lead to an estimate that is quite different when using another definition. As an example, the Census of India (2001) reported 52.4 million people living in slums whereas a report from the Committee on Slum Statistics revised the definition and back-estimated the number of slum dwellers to 75.26 million in 2001 (MHUPA 2010). However, neither of these come close to the UN-Habitat’s estimate of 157 million slum dwellers.

The choice of definition is of particular interest for policymakers since the enumeration of slum dwellers has economic and political implications. For example, a greater number of slum dwellers may mean that a national government needs to allocate more resources for welfare programs. From the research point of view, the multiplicity of definitions across agencies makes it difficult to compare slum situations across places. Similarly, when the definitions are frequently changing within an agency, it complicates the process of analysing a slum situation over time.

⁵ Primary Census Abstract for Slum, 2011, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India New Delhi, 30-09-2013, <http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011-Documents/Slum-26-09-13.pdf>

1.3. Theories of slums

As a global and complex phenomenon implying a plurality of definitions and of social representations, slums have raised the interest of researchers, anthropologists, economist, sociologist, planners etc. Various approaches on slums have conducted to the elaboration of concepts and theories about slums and the population living in them. However, as pointed out by Anyana Roy in the article *Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning*, *Journal of the American*, “the study of cities is today marked by a paradox: much of the urban growth of the 21st century is taking place in the developing world, but many of the theories of how cities function remain rooted in the developed world.” (Roy, 2005)

a) The slum as a nuisance

Over the twentieth century, slums were mostly represented as a problem of the third-world cities, a product of dysfunctions and policies implemented were primarily the eradication of these precarious habitats. According to AR Desai and S Devadas Pillai, “*slum offends the eyes, nose and conscience but it exists all the same.*” (Desai, Pillai, 1990)⁶. Considering the hygiene and physical aspect, slums are the “bad side” of the cities and need to be cleaned. This trend is reflected in the representation of slums by the inhabitants of the city, as in the official documents; evidence of the stigmatization process. According to a government report on slums in Chennai, “*slum problem is not only a problem of shelter; it is a problem of health and hygiene. A number of widespread epidemic diseases emanate from the slums. These slums are not only a nuisance and danger to the slum dwellers but to the rest of the population.*”⁷ Odette Louiset, in her book entitled *L’oubli des villes de l’Inde*, explains that “*slums are usually presented as socially and politically intolerable growths, even dangerous. They are shown as the antithesis of accomplished urbanity, often apprehended through their desirable extinction.*” (Louiset, 2011)

Shlomo Angel claims that the “*informal housing contributes to the failure of land markets in developing cities.*” If the view that the informal sector is a limiting factor of economic efficiency is adopted, then the slums must be resolved (Angel, 2000).⁸ In the same sense, Pfeiffer and Hall pay particular attention to an urbanization category which they call the cities “informal hyper growth”. In the book *Urban Future 21: A Global Agenda for 21st Century Cities*, they explain that this phenomenon is not just restricted to southern cities but, through migration, “*developed world cities are overrun by the developing world*”, making them ungovernable (Pfeiffer and al.).⁹ In conclusion, these trends contributed to depict the slum as a “*tangle of pathologies*” (Roy, 2011), requiring actions for their removal.

a) The slum as an heroic entrepreneurship

In contrast, the slums were also studied through a positive vision, highlighting **the initiative of the residents**. Abrams (1964) illustrates the process of squatting as a “conquest” of city areas for the purpose of shelter, defined both by the law of force and the force of law. Turner (1969) takes a positive outlook and portrays squatter settlements as “*highly successful solutions to housing problems in urban*

⁶ <http://www.chs.ubc.ca/archives/files/HS-308.pdf>

⁷ Industrial and Economic Planning Division of TCPO, “Slums in Chennai”

⁸ BARTOLI Sarah, « " Eliminer les bidonvilles = éliminer la pauvreté ", ou les charmes pervers d'une fausse évidence », *L'Économie politique*, 2011/1 n° 49, p. 44-60.

⁹ ROY Ananya, “Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning, *Journal of the American*”, 2005, [online] Planning Association, 71:2, 147-158

areas of developing countries.”¹⁰ Similarly, “Koolhaas is taken with the inventiveness of its residents as they survive the travails of the megacity. He sees such experimental responses as generating ‘ingenious, critical alternative systems’, a type of ‘self-organization’ creating ‘intense emancipatory zones’ (Godlewski, 2010: 8–9).”¹¹ The informal settlement is perceived as a result of incremental building made from a spatial appropriation process. Indeed, spontaneous houses ensue of the materials, the land and resources available at a given time, without attaching importance to the origin, rules or architectural models. They are continuously adapted until assimilation into the urban fabric, hence the importance of considering the slum in their spatial context and through their evolution over time (Gerbeaud, 2013). Alfredo Billembourg asserts that “[the people] build their own house because then [they] are in touch very much better with [their] social spatial environment. And that’s what makes [slums] so interesting, that they are complex social spatial environments” (Alfredo Billembourg about Torre David).¹² According to Odette Louiset, “it is [in the slum] that best showed the crossing of three continuities: Indianness and urbanity are combined to make the city. [These areas] support a workforce needed to run the city “conventional” (Louiset, 2011).

Beyond the creative inventiveness of the people who self-built their house, the slum is seen as a result of the **incapacity of the state to provide housing** and as an evidence of the system failure. The economist Hernando De Soto suggests that “*informal economy is the people’s spontaneous and creative response to the State’s incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished masses*” (The other path, 1989). In Planet of Slums (2006), Mike Davis, urban theorist and political activist, discusses the slums as a “*spatial translation of the liberal economy and as a proof of its failure, slum dwellers while representing the contemporary figure of the lumpenproletariat*”. Illich even considers that “the slum people are challenging Western society implicitly putting in question our conceptions of work, freedom and consumption”.

b) An informal life?

According to Desai and Pillai, “*reduced to its basic features a slum is nothing but an area of sub-standard housing... and area of darkness, despair and poverty*” (Desai and Pillai). The definitions speak only about the place and the dwellings which the poor occupy and they speak very little about the people who occupy them (Rao, 1990). The slum is also a concentration of “*a population that has been developing and creating its own way of life, a counter-culture, to protect itself from the outside world*” (Lapeyronnie, 2008).¹³ According to Oscar Lewis, the slum dwellers develop a distinctive culture – a culture of poverty- as a means of both survival and self-respect (Lewis, Culture of Poverty). In the official report on slums in Chennai, it is asserted that “*slum is a way of life, a special character which has its own set of norms and values reflected in poor sanitation, health values, health practices, deviant behaviours and social isolation.*”¹⁴

¹⁰ <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/define-squatter.html>

¹¹ ROY Anyana, 2011, “*Slumdog cities: rethinking subaltern urbanism*” [online], International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, volume 35.2, 223-38, Joint Editors and Blackwell Publishing Ltd,

¹² <http://offcite.org/2012/10/19/interview-with-alfredo-brillembourg-about-torre-david-and-the-future-of-the-global-south>

¹³ SAGLIO-YATZIMIRSKY Marie-Caroline, LANDY Frederic, *Megacity slums, social exclusion, space and Urban Policies in Brazil and India*, Urban Challenges Vol.1, Imperial College press, London 2014 – 445p. (p12).

¹⁴ Industrial and Economic Planning Division of TCPO, “Slums in Chennai” pp URL: 159.<http://tcpomud.gov.in/Divisions/IEP/Urban%20Land%20Price%20Scenario%20Chennai/Slums%20in%20Chennai-5.doc>

Bayat argues that *“the slum may not be characterized by radical religiosity but it does engender a distinctive type of political agency: ‘informal life’. ‘Informal life’, typified by ‘flexibility, pragmatism, negotiation, as well as constant struggle for survival and self-development’ is the ‘habitus of the dispossessed’”*. (Bayat, 2007).¹⁵

Ananya Roy questions this relation between the space and people: do the **“slums make the slum dweller or the slum dweller the slums?”**

c) Informality as a planning tool

Understanding the complex phenomena of slums in the cities implies a study on the notion of informality. In this field, Anyana Roy has led an important research work, focusing particularly on the case of India. Her theories and work are the reference on the conception of informality.

In her book *“Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning, Journal of the American”*, Anyana Roy suggests that the informality is not a separate sector from the formality, *“but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another”* (Roy, 2005). The *“urban informality is not restricted to the bounded space of the slum or deproletarianized/entrepreneurial labor; instead, it is a mode of the production of space that connects the seemingly separated geographies of slum and suburb.”* In this sense, Roy’s statement differs from the previous approaches of slums, by introducing the **end of the dichotomy between formal and informal**; *“the site of new informality is the rural/urban interface, complex hybridity of rural and urban functions and forms.”* (Roy, 2005).

Moreover, she argues that informality can be seen as a planning tool to product space. As example, Delhi’s farmhouses, Kolkata’s new towns and Mumbai’s shopping malls, are no more legal than the metonymic slum. But they are expressions of class power and can therefore command infrastructure, services and legitimacy. Most importantly, they come to be designated as ‘formal’ by the state while other forms of informality remain criminalized. Weinstein (2008) shows how various shopping centers in Mumbai had been *“built illegally...by the city’s largest and most notorious mafia organization, on land belonging to the state government’s public works department”*. Or, in the case of Delhi, Ghertner (2008) notes that a vast proportion of city land-use violates some planning or building law, such that much of the construction in the city can be viewed as ‘unauthorized’. He poses the vital question of how and why the law has come to designate slums as ‘nuisance’ and the residents of slums as a ‘secondary category of citizens’, while legitimizing illegal and informal ‘developments that have the “worldclass” look’. As a concept, urban informality therefore cannot be understood in ontological or topological terms. Instead, it is a heuristic device that uncovers the ever-shifting urban relationship between the legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorized and unauthorized. Urban informality thus makes possible an understanding of how the slum is produced through the governmental administration of population (Chatterjee, 2004), as well as how the bourgeois city and its edifices of prosperity are produced through the practices of the state. As a matter of fact, these examples show how urban informality is produced by the state itself; *“the planning and legal apparatus of the state has the power to determine when to enact this suspension, to determine what is informal and what is not, and to determine which forms of informality will thrive and which will disappear.”* Thus, **“urban informality is a heuristic device that serves to deconstruct the very basis of state legitimacy** and its various instruments: maps, surveys, property, zoning and, most importantly, the law.” (Roy, 2011)

¹⁵ ROY Anyana, 2011, *“Slumdog cities: rethinking subaltern urbanism”* [online], International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, volume 35.2, 223-38, Joint Editors and Blackwell Publishing Ltd,

Number of theories have been elaborated on slums and informality, reflecting different approaches. The idea and the definition of the slum determine the policies and the type of interventions toward informal housing.

In conclusion, the slums, as unique socio-spatial complex entities, have raised the interest of researchers from various fields. If common features can be emphasized in the slums over the world, a broad consensus has still not been elaborated regarding the definition of these settlements, and each authority use its own local definition in estimating the slums. Theories on slums illustrate the plurality of approaches and representation, from the rejection, even the disgust, to the fascination and admiration.

2. SLUM POLICIES IN INDIA: THE OSCILLATION BETWEEN REJECTION AND RECOGNITION

Policies towards slums are closely interrelated to the representation on slums: policies influence social representation and social representation influences the policies. In India, the actions towards slums have been both comprehensive and exclusive, showing the contradictions faced by the government in addressing slums issue. A review of the different government's approaches on slums will be presented in this part.

1.1. Planning system in India

First of all, broad explanations regarding the organization of the planning system in India is required. Twenty-eight states and seven union territories together form India, and each State has his own government. Thus, decisions regarding planning orientations are taken at different levels, as illustrated in the figure1 below:

- the national level, the central government, represented by the Ministry of urban and rural development, launches a national scheme, which has to be approved by the Planning commission of India¹⁶,
- the state level, under the Directorate of Town and Country planning
- the district level, under the local government
- the city level: metropolitan cities have their own planning agency, like the Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) in Chennai

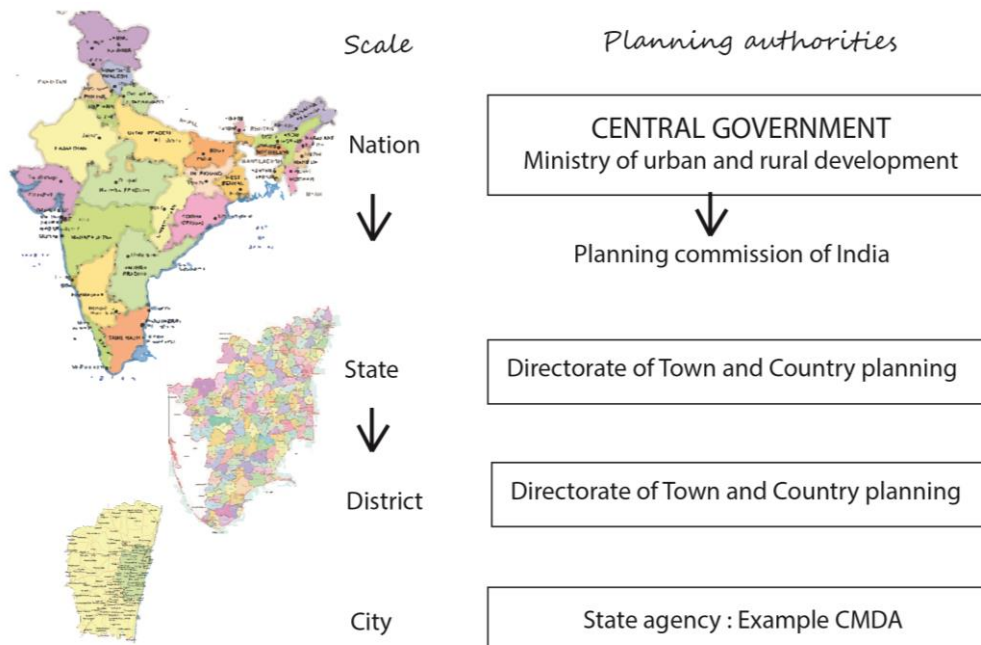


Figure 1: Different scales for planning in India- Source: K.Hochart, 2013

¹⁶ The planning commission of India is a central agency, under the Ministry of urban and rural development, set up in 1950. The biggest projects formulated by the planning commission of India, have to be approved by the Ministry of urban and rural development before implementation. The ministry gives the main planning orientations of the country.

The system of planning is elaborated on a five year plan basis. The economy of India is based in part on planning through its five-year plans, which are developed, executed and monitored by the Planning Commission of India. The first five plan has been elaborated in 1951; the twelfth plan is currently underway (2012-2017). In 1975, an important law for planning, the 73rd amendment of Town and Country planning Act, confides the power and the funds to the local bodies. This process of **administrative deconcentration** permitted to the local authorities to implement planning project. The urbanization policies and the choice in the industrial location are decided at the regional level. At the local level, the land use planning and the control of urban land values is managed, as well as the housing and slum upgrading or the policy in poverty reduction. Finally, the master plan¹⁷ for a city is elaborated at the city level.

2.1. Evolution of slum policies

The government's first initiatives to tackle the urban poverty issue were introduced after Independence but the specific schemes were implemented only by the 1970s. This first paragraph enumerates the actions of the government, whereas the second part highlights the limitations of these programmes. As a support for understanding, the Appendix1: policy timeline presents the schemes in a table and can be consulted.

a) Government's initiatives in reducing urban poverty

The National Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956 was a pioneering law that empowered the government to notify slums, including measures for improving the old housing stock under conditions, and demolition if dilapidated buildings under others. This Act was implemented first in Delhi and then extended to other big cities. It introduced a distinction between the notified and non-notified slums; likely to generate a new line of exclusion for the provision of basic services.¹⁸ In 1972, the Central Scheme for Environmental Improvement in Slum Areas was launched. It aimed at providing basic infrastructure in zones officially designated as slums (according to the 1956 Act) and by the same token some guaranteeing protection against eviction for 10 years. The government introduced the poverty issue in the Fifth five-year plan (1974-1979), without specifying distinction between rural and urban poverty. As part of this plan, the National slum development program was implemented in 1977. It included grants from the central government (from the Planning Commission) to the states as well as a loan component, in order to finance physical infrastructure, construction of community centers and primary health centers, social amenities and shelter up gradation.

The Sixth plan (1980-1985) then approached the problem in a more structured manner in three stages:

- a) Identification and measurement
- b) Developing realistic targets
- c) Formulation of specific programmes

This Sixth plan did not directly address urban poverty issues. However, it provided for moving nearly six million urban poor above the poverty line essentially through the provision of additional

¹⁷ Master plans are instruments used by urban local governments as forward planning tools by **anticipating urban development** and making provisions for the same in terms of the allocation of land for various uses, the regulation of land development and the provision of infrastructure.

consumption benefits and better and more equitable distribution of health, sanitation, housing, education, drinking water, slum up gradation and environmental programmes. The Seventh plan (1985-90) constituted the first attempt to address urban poverty issues directly. It took explicit note of the growing incidence of poverty in urban areas and overcrowding in relatively unskilled and low paid jobs in the informal sector. Several urban poverty alleviation programmes, were initiated during the latter part of the Seventh plan and continued during the eighth plan (1992-1997) also. The housing schemes, particularly, the policy guidelines of the National Commission on Urbanization in 1988 and the National Housing Policy in 1994 introduced a change in the role of the State: the State should only be a facilitator of housing, not a builder.

From 1950 to 2000, the in-situ up gradation or the rehabilitation are the interventions privileged by the government. These pragmatic and short term approach - improving the living conditions of squatters where they are based rather than relocation or rehousing them – does not, however, guarantee them the rights of occupancy or protect them from demolitions and eviction et the land owning agency comes up with other town-planning projects of “better” utility on occupied lands (Priya, 1993, P.829)¹⁹

b) Barriers in programmes for slums

In implementing the up gradation schemes, the government has nonetheless encountered different types of barriers, some being institutional, and other financial or operational. As a matter of fact, the activities were based on availability of central government grants with matching state funds, which were not released from time to time. This resulted in inadequate coverage of the population and encouraged a top-down approach at the national level on the basis of feedback from the functionaries directly working at the grassroots level. At times, *ad hoc* interventions were made, driven often by political and administrative, rather than economic, considerations and the actual situation in the field. This has resulted in a multiplicity of programmes with varying components directed to the same target groups and lack of convergence or proper coordination, sequences and linkages among them. There has also not been satisfactory feedback from the field, to initiate corrective mechanisms. In this context, the planning commission set up the Hashim committee, to review and rationalise these centrally sponsored schemes for poverty alleviation programmes and employment generation. In pursuance of these recommendations, the Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojana has been launched in 1997 and earlier programmes like Nehru Rozgar Yojana (NRY), Prime Minister’s Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Program (PMI UPEP) and Urban Basic Services for the Poor (UBSP) have been phased out.²⁰

The SJSRY is a centrally sponsored scheme applicable to all urban areas with expenditure to be shared in the ratio 75:25 between the Centre and the states/UTs. Two sub themes:

- Urban self-employment programme
- Urban wage employment programme

Shelter upgradation component has been merged with National Slum Development Programme (Ravinder *and al.*, 2001).

Globally, until 2000, the investment in the Government’s five year plans for city politics and housing has stayed very limited. Besides, the legislation on protection of the green spaces in urban suburb has been ignored (by the squatter settlements but also by some buildings built with derogation), reflecting the gap between the theory and the reality.

¹⁹ SAGLIO-YATZIMIRSKY Marie-Caroline, LANDY Frederic, *Megacity slums, social exclusion, space and Urban Policies in Brazil and India*, Urban Challenges Vol.1, Imperial College press, London 2014 – 445p.

²⁰ <http://www.mrc.gov.in/SJSRY>

2.2. Policy shift: the new strategy for “Slum-Free City Planning”

Under the slum improvement programs, the government was mainly focused on improving the conditions of life in the city’s slums, by providing basic infrastructure or by converting kutchha houses (hut made up of wood, mud, straw and dry leaves) into pucca houses (cement house).²¹ Recently, since 2000s, under the JnNURM, and today renamed under RAY program, the objectives have tend towards the redevelopment of the whole area, implying rebuilding of tenements or resettling of the residents.

a) The massive city-modernisation scheme JnNURM

The 2005 Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JnNURM) is a massive city-modernisation scheme launched by the Government of India under Ministry of Urban Development. Named after Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, the scheme was officially inaugurated by Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh as a programme meant to improve the quality of life and infrastructure in the cities. It was launched in 2005 for a seven-year period (up to March 2012) to encourage cities to initiate steps for bringing phased improvements in their civic service levels. The government has extended the tenure of the mission for two years, from April 2012 to March 31, 2014. JnNURM targets 65 strategic urban centers with strong economic growth potential. The aim is to create ‘economically productive, efficient, equitable and responsive Cities’ by a strategy of upgrading the social and economic infrastructure in cities, provision of Basic Services to Urban Poor (BSUP) and wide-ranging urban sector reforms to strengthen municipal governance in accordance with the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992. Improvement of road network, storm water drains, bus rapid transit system, water supply, solid waste management, sewage treatment, river and lake improvement, slum improvement and rehabilitation are the projects falling under the scope of JnNURM. The mission supports public private partnerships, and is accompanied by the creation of special economic zones (SEZ, under the Special Economic Zones Act, 2005), which gives the **initiative to the private sector** and aims to create optimal conditions to improve exportation, private investments and creation of jobs.

a) The RAY program: slum free cities by 2020

The recent housing policy Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) envisions slum free cities by 2020. Rajiv Awas Yojana (2013-22) is a scheme of the Government of India for the benefit of poor in urban areas. The Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs approved the launch of the Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS), to be implemented in mission mode during 2013-2022. The scheme aims to make India slum-free by 2022 by providing people with shelter or housing free of cost. It is currently running as a **pilot scheme** and will be launched shortly in mission mode. The government has earmarked Rs. 32,230 crore for the implementation of this scheme during 12th Five Year Plan. One million beneficiaries are proposed to be covered under Rajiv Awas Yojana.

Since the late 1980s, urban and housing policies in India evidence a major shift in the role of the state, from being a provider of housing and amenities to being an enabler, through the promotion of public-private partnerships, the reliance on market mechanisms and the use of land as a resource. The central approach of the new strategy for Slum-Free City Planning, initiated in 2010, is to redress the shortage of urban land, amenities and shelter that lead to the creation of slums. Its plan of action comprises two parts: the upgrading or resettlement of existing slums along with property rights; and actions to prevent the emergence of new slums, including reservation of land and housing for the urban poor. This “new

²¹ According to Census of India, houses have been classified as Pucca, Semi-pucca, and Kutchha according to the types of materials used in the construction of walls and roof of the house (cf PART II, II), 2) d) Housing)

deal for the urban poor” (Mathur, 2009) proposes a more comprehensive approach than the previous strategies, and further advocates strong community involvement, but the way in which it would be implemented, beyond its ‘good’ intentions, remains to be followed up.

There is a consensus to recognize that, till date, the poorest sections of the population gained very few benefits from the urban strategy implemented since the 1990s. There are however diverging views regarding the more appropriate way to overcome the housing shortage and the slum challenge. A key issue is the role conferred to the market, and the pros and cons of slum upgrading.²²

b) The right to the city in India?

In the light of the above, the question about the right to the city in the Indian context is worth to be raised. While speaking of the right to the city - a relatively recent European concept - it is important to keep in mind that the traditional society in India was based on the cast system, implying a **significant social segregation**. If the cast system has been abolished in theory, few practices remain still today, particularly in the absence of social interactions between rich and poor. The spatial segregation, exists as well in the Indian cities, but is much less perceptible.

On the other hand, NGOs and civil societies claim the Right to the city to defend the rights of the slum dwellers. The right to the city is an idea and a slogan that was first proposed by Henri Lefebvre in his 1968 book *Le Droit à la ville*. Lefebvre summaries the ideas as a "demand [for] a transformed and renewed access to urban life". A number of popular movements, such as the shack dwellers' movement Abahlali base Mjondolo in South Africa, the Right to the City Alliance in the United States of America, Recht auf Stadt a network of squatters, tenants and artists in Hamburg, and various movements in Asia and Latin America, have incorporated the idea of the right to the city into their struggles. The Right to the city concept has been applied to the Indian context. Researchers in planning, social or other fields have discussed the Right to the City in Indian conditions (Urban Policies and the Right to the City in India, UNESCO, 2011).

Hence, the conflict between **two contradictory notions** -an illegal but traditional way of planning and the recent idea of Right to the city- leads to a confusion in the practices. “As Carbonnier analyses, a repealed law can continue to exist in society. The old law retains its social effectiveness, not having been withdrawn (1979).”²³ Both the traditional exclusive system towards the poor and the universal theoretical idea of a social mix city accessible for all are effective in the facts.

In conclusion, the initiatives from the government in addressing the problem of slums since 1950s stayed very limited, and mostly focused on the improvements of living conditions of the dwellers. The notable shift in the policy is due to the liberalization laws of 1990s, introducing the intervention of the private sector in the projects. According to Véronique Dupont, “*the public interventions in slums treatment give an impression of confusion in the main objective and an absence of a precise long term vision*”. “*Slums have oscillated between illegality and rejection on one hand, and tolerance and recognition on the other.*” Additionally, the frequent changes of government at the head of the states

²²Chance2sustain,

http://www.chance2sustain.eu/fileadmin/Website/Dokumente/Dokumente/Publications/Publications_Sept_2012/Chance2Sustain_-_Policy_Brief_No_6_-_Urban_Policies_and_the_Right_to_the_City.pdf

²³ SAGLIO-YATZIMIRSKY Marie-Caroline, LANDY Frederic, *Megacity slums, social exclusion, space and Urban Policies in Brazil and India*, Urban Challenges Vol.1, Imperial College press, London 2014 – 445p.

has resulted in a lack of continuity or consistency in the policies that were implemented (Dupont, 2014).²⁴

3. METHODOLOGY: ANALYSIS OF A RESETTLEMENT PROJECT THROUGH DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

Under the JnNURM, the slum development projects have largely consisted in the construction of resettlement colonies in the outskirts of the cities. In Chennai, a few research works have noted a poor policy which has led to a failure of the rehabilitation schemes. The government's only response to slums has been indirect. Rather than recognising them and improving residents' access to services, the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board - the government authority responsible for the slum development- has built large-scale resettlement colonies in the periphery of the city on land it already owns (in Semmenchery, Kannagi Nagar, and now in Perumbakkam). More than 75 per cent of spending for the urban poor under the JnNURM has gone towards building these colonies. Unrecognised slums, since they have no land rights, are regularly evicted, and eligible families (those with the required paperwork) are housed in the resettlement colonies.

3.1. *Research question: understanding the reasons of the failure*

News reports indicate that nearly 20 per cent of allotted homes in Kannagi Nagar are vacant and 50 per cent of the original beneficiaries are no longer living in them (Raman, Narayan, *transparent Chennai*, 2013).²⁵

Research questions:

The large scale resettlement projects implemented in the outskirts of Chennai are not successful. This study examines the reasons of the failures, by putting into perspective the different viewpoints of local stakeholders on the project.

Hypothesis:

The mismatch in the representations on slums of the various stakeholders is an obstacle to an effective and sustainable action towards slums.

Objectives of the study:

1. To gather and analyse the representation on slums of the stakeholders;
2. To understand the formation, the socio-spatial organisation and the way of life in a slum area;
3. To compare the way of life and the every-day issues of people living in slum with the ones of people which have been relocated in a resettlement colony.

Thus, the project would provide some keys for understanding the failures in the large-scale resettlement projects, at the inhabitant's level. As the results of a policy are to be valued differentially, i.e from the perspective of a government actor or a slum dweller, the different stakeholders were interviewed about the Kannagi Nagar resettlement project.

²⁴ SAGLIO-YATZIMIRSKY Marie-Caroline, LANDY Frederic, *Megacity slums, social exclusion, space and Urban Policies in Brazil and India*, Urban Challenges Vol.1, Imperial College press, London 2014 – 445p. (p206)

²⁵ RAMAN Nithya V., NARAYAN Priti, "*India's invisible population*", The Hindu, published the 19/10/13: <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/indias-invisible-population/article5248725.ece>, visited the 09/03/14

a) Choice of the case study: the representative character of the slum

For the purpose of studying these aspects, two sites had been chosen: a “natural” slum, Attur Nagar, and a resettlement colony, Kannagi Nagar.

The slum studied, named Attur Nagar, is located along the Adyar River, in Saidapet, southern part of Chennai. The following criteria were used to choose the slum: easy accessibility, availability of quantitative data, size of the slum, whether the slum is an objectionable slum under scheme from the government, and one that shows representative character of the other slums along the river banks. Moreover, the location near the river was a significant criteria in the choice of the area, as it would be interesting to study the relationships between living spaces and the river. Besides, this area is directly impacted by the Metrorail project, as the metro ways are currently being built along the Saidapet Bridge. This work has led to a number of evictions of some of the houses located near the bridge, with the relocation of the people in the resettlement site of Kannagi Nagar.

a) A need for a qualitative approach

Most of the studies have tried to project a statistical picture of the slum areas, keeping a safe distance from the phenomenon of slum-living. However, in the recent past, some sociologists have tried to look at slums as areas where human beings live an organized life. Among the very few of such studies, two interesting ones are Wiebe’s ‘Social Life in an Indian Slum’, and Jocano’s ‘Slum as a way of life’. Compared to earlier studies which were satisfied with merely enumerating the size of the slum, i.e, number of inhabitants, their income, their duration of stay, occupation, religion, number of taps, lavatories per thousand inhabitants, etc., these studies are more fruitful. The approach is observational, i.e, observe the tenor and pace of slum life, the lines of cooperation and forms of interaction. The study attempted keeping a balance between the two, the objective and subjective approaches. (Rao, 1990)

Since the slums are mostly defined in terms of quantitative data, there is a need for a spatial, social, cultural, economic understanding of the slum. Besides, only very few studies have analysed the consequences of a scheme **in a comparative and qualitative way**, and the question of the representation hasn’t been raised so far. In addition, the **absence of feedback from the Kannagi Nagar** scheme adds a dimension practical of this research project.

3.2. Data collection methods: the gap between theory and reality of the ground

At the time of the field study, a gap between the initial methods and the reality of the ground appeared to me.

a) The theoretical idea: use of participatory tools

As the research focuses on the quality of life for the slum dwellers and the impact of their relocation, giving a voice to the inhabitants and involving them in the project was a key point. Thus, for the data collection, my will was to use different kind of participative tools, with a different approach, more open than the closed questionnaire. Few projects led in slums with use of PRA (participatory rural appraisal) reporting convincing results. The PRA method includes a workshop with a combination of different tools as the social mapping, the focus group discussions... which empower the inhabitants and contribute to make them active of their development. Using this kind of approaches was also for me a way of proving that it is possible to led projects WITH the people, as a partnership, and no longer FOR

or TO the “beneficiaries”, as they are commonly named. They are the best able to analyse their own need.

However, after my first field visit, I immediately realised that these methods wouldn’t be that easy to implement. First of all, it seemed difficult to involve the residents in a project which will not have a direct impact on their every-day life. The study of slums is a sensitive work that requires a lot of diplomacy. Moreover, they also express their weariness in answering to these surveys without seeing any improvements. “*Everybody comes and ask us lot of questions, but we see no improvement in our living conditions*”, Anthony, resident in Attur Nagar, Chennai (March, 2014). The second difficulty in implementing these participatory methods is the cultural gap and the language issue. I have been trying to implement a group discussion with broad questions in order to arouse a debate, but most of the time I faced a lack of understanding from my translator colleague firstly, and from the people also. The wish was to establish a relationship of trust with the people and to conduct informal discussions to understand their way of life and their needs. However, this proved impossible because I could not make a regular field work.

Research work has to be maintained over time, it is part of the long-term whereas inhabitants reason in the short-term and expect immediate results. I faced a cultural and temporal gap between my work and their way of living.

a) The adjustment in the practice: use of questionnaire and discussions

For this type of enquiry, although there are many techniques formulated by sociologists, we have made use of three techniques of investigation, namely direct observation, questionnaire, and focused group discussion, based on twenty broader questions. In order to compare the visions, the officials from TNSCB were interviewed with the same set of questions, by the mean of a semi-directive interview (cf Appendix 2: questionnaires).

The focus group discussions were used to understand the main issues of the people, according to their status. Thus, four categories of people were selected:

- Men
- Women
- Youths
- Elders

The questionnaires were aimed at three categories of people:

- The residents in Attur Nagar who hadn’t been in Kannagi Nagar,
- The residents in Attur Nagar, who have been relocated but are back from the resettlement site of Kannagi Nagar,
- the residents of Kannagi Nagar,

Since it is not possible to determine visually if a resident of Attur Nagar is back from Kannagi Nagar or not, only two categories were retained and 20 families each category – residents of Attur Nagar and residents of Kannagi Nagar- were interviewed with the questionnaire (cf Appendix 2).

b) The limitation

As a foreign national and women, several difficulties were confronted with at the time of field investigation. The main obstacle faced for data collection was the language problem. Since the language spoken by the inhabitants is the Tamil, I couldn’t communicate with them by myself and had to be accompanied by a colleague Tamil speaker. I encountered difficulties in finding human resources which

could escort and translate on the field, and felt very dependant to the others for the survey work. Finally, some English speaking inhabitants helped me in conducting the survey for few days. Furthermore, the help from a group of student made possible this study.

In analysing the data collected, few elements regarding the methods and the context have to be noted and taken in account. First of all, the information provided by the colleague translator has sometimes differed from the reality, the way of introducing me and my work was also not matching with my vision of the project. As an example, some colleagues introduced me as an “*american student, working for the government*”. Since the information was biased from the start, it might have given a certain orientation in the answers of the residents. Besides, this practice of lying in order to get more information from them, or to simplify the discussion, didn’t correspond to the philosophy of the study. Even if this false information might not have a significant consequence, it still contributes to consider people as uneducated and not worth to educate.

Moreover, the information provided by the people themselves could be biased. The difference of opinions among the people from the same area is a first significant observation: there is no homogeneity in the answers and the opinion of the inhabitants can easily change through time. Besides, the culture is a major element to consider in this kind of qualitative surveys. Relying on the traditional Indian culture and the Hindu philosophy, I could notice that the people are less attached to the material and physical objects than we are in Europe, even if this trend is evolving fast. This is an important information to keep in mind while analysing the answer from the inhabitants. What is considered as a problem for my view might not be a problem for them. In the opposite, by thinking that I am working for the government, the people may also tend to exaggerate their issues in order to be provided some improvements.

Besides, as the slum dwellers are really involved in the voting process and also subject to politic changes, it is possible that the context of election period in which the survey was conducted has turned the people more on the defensive side and may not have felt comfortable to share their real impressions on the situation. Another point which is important to raise is the fact that my presence may have modified their activities, and for this reason the direct observation is not always reliable.

Finally, the issues in translation of data between Tamil, English and French may have contributed to the alterations in the initial information. In the structure of the sentences, some information can’t be perceived in another language: some subtleties might disappear in the process of translation.

To conclude, the methods initially planned have changed facing the reality of the ground and according to the means and time available. A number of limitations have been identified. Nonetheless, what can first be perceived as a lack of reliability of the data or as an absence of coherence in the multiplicity of information has to be analysed in the study context, to understand it in order to include it in the results.

PART II CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDY

1. CHENNAI, A “VILLAGE” OF 8 MILLION INHABITANTS

Madras, renamed in 1996 as Chennai, is the fourth largest metropolitan area of India and the capital city of the south Indian State of Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu has become the most urbanized state of the Indian Union (44% of urban dwellers against 28% nationally), the three cities Chennai, Madurai and Coimbatore comprising one third of the urban population (Marius-Gnanou, 2010). In the 2011 census, Chennai's population was estimated to be 4,68 million within its municipal corporation. The urban agglomeration of Chennai has an estimated population over 8,69 million, making it one of the largest urban agglomerations in India (Census of India 2011).

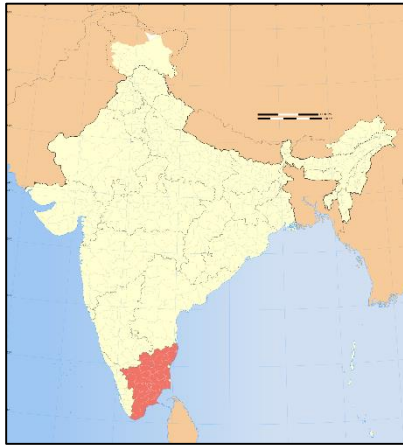


Figure 2 : Tamil Nadu state in the south east of India – Source: Wikipedia



Figure 3 : Chennai, in the northern part of Tamil Nadu– Source: Wikipedia, software: Illustrator

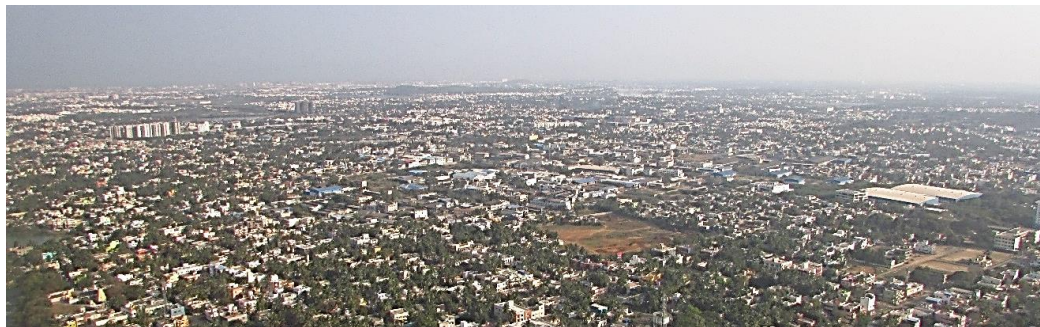


Figure 4: View of the Chennai sprawl – Source: K.Hochart

Chennai is located on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, in the north of Tamil Nadu and in the east southern part of India. Spread on a surface of more than 200 sq.km and still growing, the city is crossed by two main rivers, the Cooum River and the Adyar River. These two streams spread in the Indian Ocean. The Buckingham Canal, which is 4 km long, runs parallel to the coast, and links the two rivers. Marina Beach, the second longest beach in the World (13 km), is situated along the city's shoreline.

In 2011, the population density was 26,553 per sq. km (247 per hectare) for a metropolitan density of 5,922 per km².²⁶ The increasing of the population remains a big problem in Chennai and has generated many other problems like scarcity of electricity and water as well as traffic congestion.

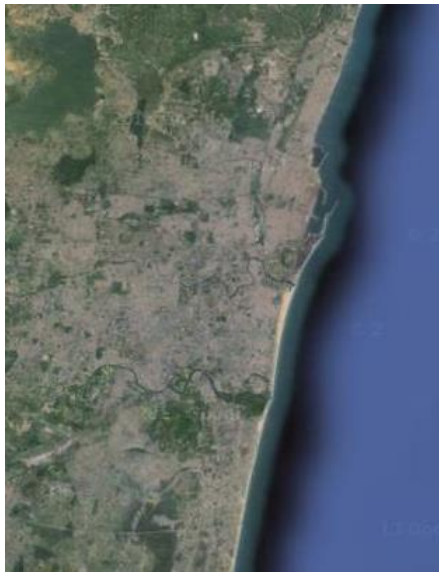


Figure 5: Satellite view of Chennai - Source: Google map



Figure 6: Chennai City Corporation zone and ward map - Source: <http://bitterscotch.wordpress.com>

1.1. The formation of Madras: merging of scattered settlements

Madras, historic land of ancient culture, is, surprisingly, a comparatively new city. It owes its genesis to Andrew Cogan and Francis Day of the East India Company, two determined men who, despite their superiors' pessimism, gratefully accepted in the 17th century a grant of land from the local Nayaks (governors) at Wandiwash and Poonamallee, Venkatappa and his brother Aiyappa, respectively. In 1639, they established in it a "factory" (a trading post) (Muthiah, 2008), the first counter of the East India Company and port in the Gulf of Bengal. Its privileged location on the Indian Ocean explains the interest it has generated among the colonial powers. In 1639, Madraspatnam was a sandy strip of 5 kilometres from north to south and 1.5 kilometers wide, on which lived approximately 7,000 inhabitants (Dupuis, 1960). Madras was formed of scattered settlements separated by long distances. Each settlement grew around a nucleus of a temple and has its own history. (Kalpana, Schiffer, 2003). The name *Madras* is derived from *Madraspatnam*, local name given to the site. Currently, the nomenclature of the area is in a state of controversy. The region was often called by different names as *madrapupatnam*, *madras kuppam*, *madraspatnam*, and *madirazpatnam* as adopted by locals.²⁷ Another village called *Chennapatnam*, in honour of Damerla Chennappa Nayaka, father of Damerla Venkatadri Nayaka, who controlled the entire coastal country from Pulicat in the north to the Portuguese settlement of Santhome, lay to the south of it. It is widely recorded that while the official centre of the present settlement was designated Fort St. George, the British applied the name Madras to a new large city which had grown up around the Fort including the "White Town" consisting principally of British settlers, and the "Black Town" consisting of principally Catholic Europeans and allied Indian

²⁶ <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-tamilnadu/chennai-is-the-most-densely-populated-city-in-tamil-nadu-according-to-census-2011/article4774624.ece>

²⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Chennai

minorities. Recently, according to the new party history, the city has been renamed as Chennai instead of Madras.

In 1901, the city of the area of 70 sq.km had a population of 540,000 inhabitants. Madras owes its growth in the early twentieth century, modernization of its port and new industries (textile, tannery) located in some villages near the centre. Industries have developed subsequently along the great Northern Railway (between the station and Ennore) and the Buckingham canal.²⁸ In the 1920s, the city was already considered as the military and administrative commercial centre across southern India. As such it attracted many migrants from Tamil Nadu (Marius-Gnanou, 2010).

1.2. Chennai: the gateway to South India

Chennai is a blend of historic and modern, traditional and advanced urban agglomeration, mingled in a unique way. The growth of Chennai into one of the major cities in India is attributed to its uniqueness in geographical location at the seaboard of the Palar delta. The extent of its hinterland, its easy accessibility from the sea route along with accelerated development of railways has contributed to develop Chennai as the largest commercial and industrial centre in South India. With an extensive network of transportation facilities including the largest seaport in South India, an international airport, well-laid roads and rail facilities, the city is also referred to as the "Gateway to South India".

a) The Detroit of South Asia

Chennai is one of the fastest growing metropolitan economies, due in considerable measure to its skilled manpower, its FDI-friendly environment and the flourishing IT/ITES related industry in the city and its hinterland.²⁹ With 60 per cent of the country's automotive exports and the presence of the all three major manufacturer's (Ford, Chrysler, GM) plant, Chennai is often called the "Detroit of South Asia". A major chunk of India's automobile manufacturing industry is based in and around the city.

a) A significant migration

The majority of Chennai population is Tamilian and Tamil is the primary language spoken, even if English is widely spoken in business and education. The presence of industries in Chennai -with a broad industrial base in the automobile, technology, software services, hardware manufacturing, healthcare and financial services industries- has attracted a large number of migrants from other parts of Tamil Nadu and from the rest of the country. The significant migration flow occurred during the post-independence and industrialisation period, between 1961 and 1971. As shown on the figures below (figures 7 and 8: Population growth of Chennai city), the population of the city has increased of 47% in a decade, rose from 17,49,600 in 1961 to 25,72,967 in 1971.

²⁸ The Buckingham Canal is a 421.55 kilometres long water navigation canal, running parallel to the Coromandel Coast of South India from Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh to Villupuram District in Tamil Nadu. The canal connects most of the natural backwaters along the coast to the port of Chennai (Madras). It was constructed during the British Rule, and was an important waterway during the late nineteenth and the twentieth century.

²⁹The Experience of Slum Dwellers in Chennai under the Economic and Environmental Insults of 2008-9

The growth of Chennai population due to the migration flow in 1960s

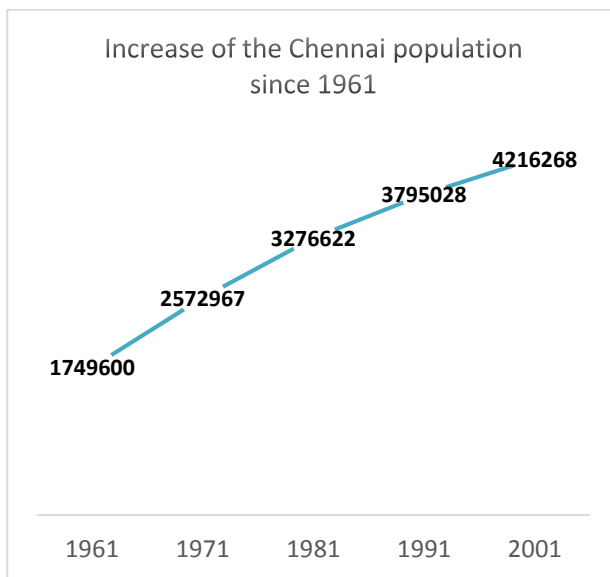


Figure 7: Population growth in Chennai from 1961 to 2001 - Source: Census of India; 1961-2001, Realisation: K.Hochart

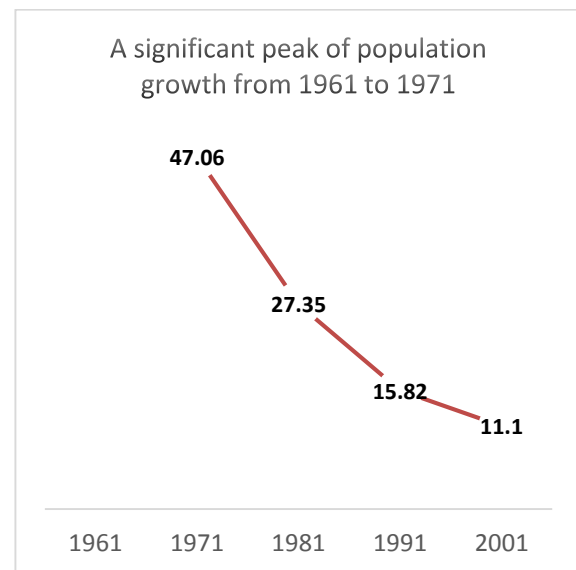


Figure 8: Evolution of the decennial variation of the population in Chennai City - Source: Census of India; 1961-2001, Realisation: K.Hochart

Since 1980s, the migration flows remained significant in Chennai, with a decennial variation exceeding 10%. The demographic transition is well under way in the city of Chennai as the natural growth rate is only 1.4% in 2001 against 2.6% in 1971. The population of the city (CMC) has then increased substantially in the effect of migration. However, there was a significant decrease of migration that contribute more than 21% growth of the population of the city of Chennai in 2001, against 37% in 1971. It is also estimated at about 225,000 people commuting to the unregistered commuters who arrive daily by bus and by train to Chennai (Master Plan, p. I-25). People migrate mainly to search for work (21.5%), to follow the family (19.9%) and to get married (12.5%) (Master Plan, p. I-14.) (Marius-Gnanou, 2010).

In 2001, out of the 937,000 migrants in the city -which represents 21.57% of its population- 74.5% were from other parts of the state, 23.8% were from rest of India and 1.7% were from outside the country. This migration flow, combined with the absence of affordable housing has resulted in the formation of slum areas in the urban gap of the city. Chennai has the fourth highest population of slum dwellers among major Indian cities, with about 8,20,000 people living in slum areas. This number represents about 19% of Chennai population and 5% of the total slum population of India.

The significant migration phenomenon has gathered a diversity of population and a variety of religions. According to the 2001 census, Hindus constitute about 82.27% of the city's population, and Muslims (8.37%), Christians (7.63%) and Jains (1.05%) are other major religious groups.³⁰ A majority of the migrants coming from villages of Tamil Nadu, the culture of Chennai has resulted from this mix of migration.

³⁰ DAUDU, Solenn - Analysis grid for the integration of heritage in a moving context: case of study of Chennai Central Station and its surroundings, India - 138p. Thesis project: Planning department, EPU-DA, 2012-2013

1.3. A polycentric urban development

Chennai is sub-divided into four parts, which globally have different functions:

- The North is an industrial area,
- The Centre is the commercial heart of the city, with a business district,
- The South and the West were previously mostly residential, but this is changing quickly with the addition of malls, which gives a commercial use to these areas, and the increasing number of Information Technology firms (Chennai is India's second largest exporter of software), financial companies and call centres. The city is expanding quickly, because of the growing population, to the South-West, reaching the heritage town Mahaballipuram.³⁰

Since 1971, the growth of the peri-urban areas are significantly higher than the one of the city and its suburbs, with an annual growth of 3.6% between 1991 and 2001, although the density is still low in the periphery (18 inhab/ha against 247 inhab/ha in the inner city of Chennai) (Marius-Gnanou, 2010).

1.4. A multiplicity of agencies for planning

A plurality of authorities are responsible for the development of the city of Chennai at different levels. Then, Chennai has two administrative boundaries, the inner boundary is the Corporation boundary, which include only the urban area; the outer one is Chennai metropolitan boundary (CMA), which encompass the suburban areas.

a) The Corporation of Chennai

The Corporation of Chennai represent the first inner boundary of the city. It has extended its boundaries since 2011 and has integrated Municipalities and Panchayat (division of village). In this move, the area has been taken up by 140% to 426 km² from the earlier 176 km².

The city is divided into 15 zones, consisting of 200 wards. As of September 2011, the new wards are yet to be named. Out of the 200 wards, 26 were reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and 58 were reserved for women.³¹

The civic body is responsible for the maintenance of infrastructure such as roads, streetlights, and flyovers across the city and maintains also the city's cleanliness and hygiene levels. The removal of solid waste within city limits, the maintenance of parks and the building of health and education centres also come under their authority.

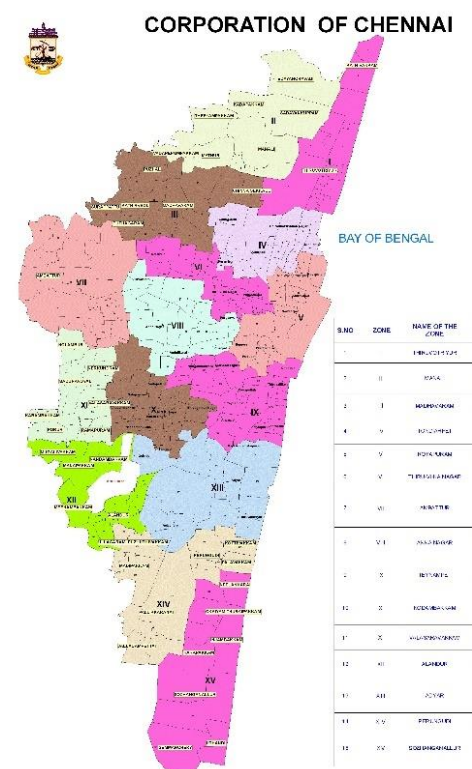


Figure 9: Extension of the Corporation boundaries in 2011
Source: www.chennaicorporation.gov.in

³¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chennai_Corporation

Beyond the Corporation of Chennai boundary, the CMDA has been created to ensure the development of the area at a larger scale.

a) The Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA)

In order to give an administrative framework and to control this urban growth, the Government of Tamil Nadu constituted the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority (MMDA, now CMDA), responsible for providing the planning strategies and the elaboration of Master plans.

The Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA), constituted in 1974 under the Tamil Nadu Town and Country Planning Act, 1971, is the nodal planning agency within the Chennai Metropolitan Area (CMA). This area extends over 1189 km² and comprises of Chennai Corporation, 16 Municipalities, 20 Town Panchayats and 214 villages covered in 10 Panchayats Unions. It then falls in three districts of the Tamil Nadu State: Chennai district, part of Thiruvallur district (58 % of the population of the district) and part of Kancheepuram district (38,6% of the population).³²

The authority controls and guides the development of the area by the elaboration of Master Plans. In parallel, it ensures the maintenance and development of the transportation system, the regulations in the plot allocation and the construction permissions. A branch of the CMDA, the CMSWA, is responsible for sewerage system.

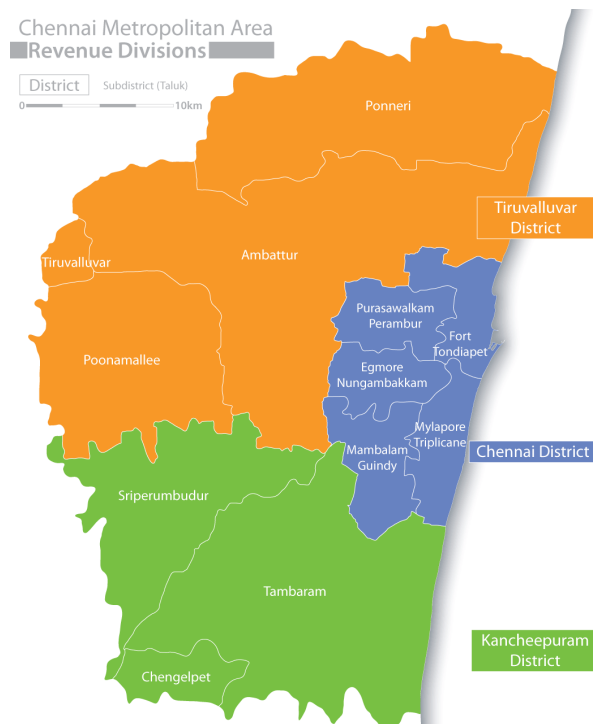


Figure 10: Districts and Taluks in the Metropolitan Area -

Source :

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chennai_Metropolitan_Area

b) The state government authorities

The government of Tamil Nadu includes different departments responsible for urban planning. Two branches, under the Department of Housing and Urban Development (Tamil Nadu) have been created to address the housing issues in the state.

- The Tamil Nadu Housing Board (TNHB) was formed in 1961 to cope up with the increasing demand in housing sector all over the state of Tamil Nadu due to urban growth leading to migration to urban areas in search of employment opportunities. It is also the principal town planning and city & Suburb development arm of the Tamil Nadu Government.³³
- The Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) was formed by the Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement & Clearance) Act in 1957 to address the specific problem of slums. The main function of this board is to eradicate the slum and provide hygienic tenements in Tamil Nadu.³⁴

³² Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority, <http://www.cmdachennai.gov.in/>

³³ Wikipedia, Tamil Nadu Housing Board, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_Nadu_Housing_Board

³⁴ Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board, <http://tnscb.org.in/History1.htm>

The competence of urban planning comes under different authorities, from the city level to the state level. The city is run by multiple agencies, i.e mainly an urban planning development, a housing department including a special branch for slums (TNSCB), different agencies for public transport, electricity and water supply, etc. Thus, possible conflicts, overlaps, misunderstandings and contradictions may emerge between these institutions, since the Urban Planning Department may be a state institution competing with a municipal branch in charge of the same area, not to mention decentralization and the public-private partnerships that have multiplied the number of actors and make their interrelationships more complex. (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014, p20)

1.5. A recent urban sprawl

In the first 1975 Master plan, the CMDA planning strategy was to promote the development corridors along the main axes of communication radiating from the heart of the town and link to satellite towns in order to decongest the inner centre. The second Master Plan in 1995 set the objective for 2011. The planning authorities considered that the implementation of the plan from 1975 was not effective enough, Chennai experienced excessive population growth and poles stagnated compared to what was expected, even if the centre urban growth was lower in percentage than the one in the periphery. It is mainly the economic liberalization policies of the 1990s that are the origin of the current metropolitan reconfiguration. “This growing internationalization, along with an incentive urban planning, participates in the process of decongestion and redeployment of both economic and residential functions, from the city center to the urban fringe and contributes to a polycentric urban development” (Denis, Marius-Gnanou, 2011). The spread of the city towards the south accentuates this mix of urban and rural form, along with the multi-centralities pattern.

In India, “urban segregation traditionally happens at a lower scale, at the neighbourhood rather than the agglomeration level”. (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014, p29). But present “beautification” processes tend to create homogenous areas at higher scales, expelling slums from the areas surrounding affluent neighbourhoods in order to create large “clean” section of city. Resettlement colonies in Delhi – as in Chennai - are located at a further distance from the centre than the destroyed slums. New “peripheral centralities” (malls and business centres established in suburbs) tend to aggravate this centrifugal movement by pushing the poor further away (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014, p29).

Formed initially by the merging of few scattered settlements along the sandy strip, the city of Chennai has known a significant development very recently to become now the fourth city of India in terms of population. The migration flows of these last decades have contributed to create a proper mix culture, between traditional and modernity. Despite its large number of 8 million inhabitants, Chennai sometimes retains “village” features. From a European mind, the similarities with rural context are particularly perceptible through the social interactions and behaviours of the Chennaiite. Even if the comparison between Chennai and the Indian rural conditions is not conceivable, the significance of the social interactions within the city, and the multi-centred development questions our conception of the dichotomies urban/rural and centre/peripheries; and even the concept of a city itself.

2. SLUMS OF CHENNAI

Referred to locally as *cheri* or *kuppam*, the Chennai slums usually consists of self-built huts, made of mud wall and thatched roof. These constructions reflect the traditional habitat found in the villages of Tamil Nadu. “The tamil word *kupam* itself, meaning initially a village, has been given a pejorative direction and is nowadays commonly used to designate a slum.” (Srivathsan, planner and journalist in *The Hindu*, February 2014). In Chennai, some areas are officially designated by the suffix *kupam*: as Nochi kupam, Nadu kupam... Despite the uniqueness of each slum, this chapter attempts to provide a profile of Chennai slums, through the history of the formation of the informal settlement and the identification of their main features.

2.1. *The early development of slums*

From 1930s, the important migration flows combined with the absence of planning, particularly the lack of affordable housing within the city, has led to the formation of slum areas in Chennai.

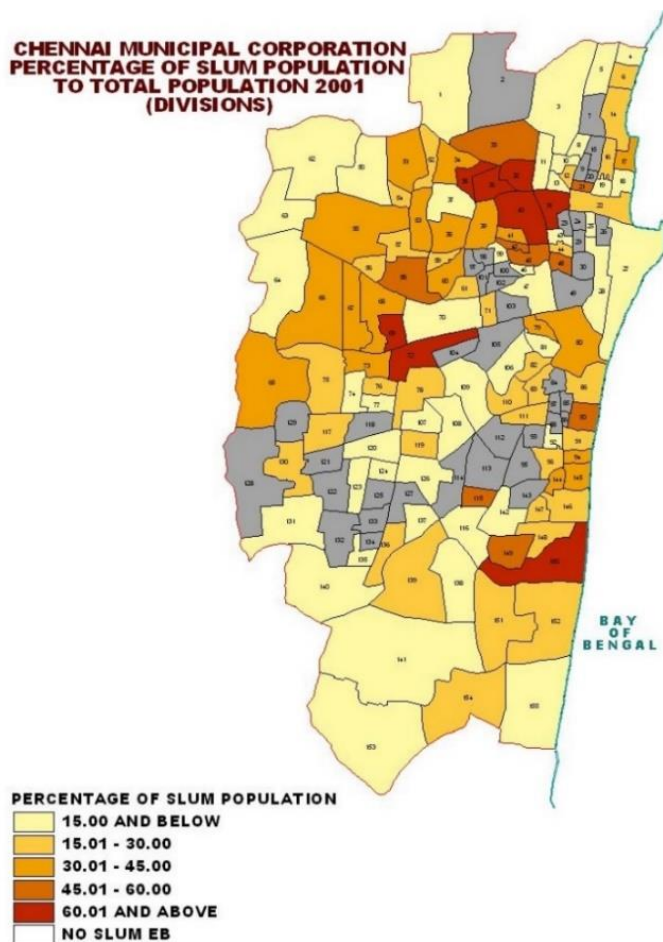
a) From 1930 to 1970: development of slums near the industrial zones

The origin of the development of slums areas in Chennai dates from the early beginning of the 20th century, before Independence in 1947. Already in 1933, 189 areas and 15,942 huts were reported within the city, according to the Corporation. In the years 1953-1954, 306 slums were identified, representing a number of 57,436 families (Nambiar, 1966). From 1933 to 1953, a large number of slums have appeared due to the active movement of population towards city during the Second World War. (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014, p20). In 1970, the city counted 548 slum areas, or 59,573 huts; which represented 23,8% of Madras population (Nambiar, 1966). Other reports than more than a third of the city population lived in more than 1,200 slums in the 1970s. The years **1960s marked a significant growth of slums**: in a period of fifteen years, the number of slum areas has doubled. This increase of the number of informal dwelling is correlated to the important migration movement to the city.

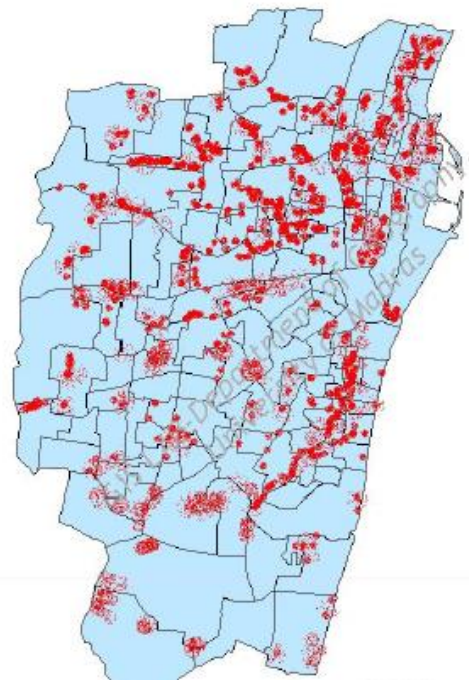
Until 1960s, the location of slums were mostly confined to areas of employment opportunities. Therefore many slums were found located near industrial zones (Ranee, 1988). Since the squatters take to lands of least resistance, the peripheral areas were attracting new slums and this continued till 1971 near the industrial zones.

a) Since 1970s: formation of slums along the river margins

In 1970, only one fifth of the slums of the city were located on the seashore and banks of water courses. However, the lack of further industrial growth during 1971-81 and rapid development of South Madras, through acquisition of land by the Tamil Nadu Housing Board (TNHB) and other institutions gave a flip to the growth of slums in South Madras. Consequently low lying lands, river margins, road margins and some of the lands along railway lines which were close to transportation corridors were areas sought by the squatters (Saglio-Yatzimirsky, Landy, 2014, p20).



*Figure 11: Repartition of slum population in Chennai
Source: Census of India*



*Figure 12 : Slums in Chennai city,
Source: R. Jaganathan and G. Bhaskaran,
assessment and mapping of water and sanitation
facilities in slum areas of Chennai Metropolitan
City: India*

The above figures 11 and 12 both show the repartition of slums in the city of Chennai and highlight a larger percentage of slums in the northern part of the city. The reason being the presence of industries in the old northern part of Chennai, which has attracted a number of migrants in the 1950s. The figure 12 stresses the linearity and continuity of the settlements along the rivers and transportation ways.

The Census report of 2001 has revealed that 42.16 lakh persons are living in Chennai and among them, 7,47,936 persons are living in slums. **Slums account for 17.7% of Chennai City's population** (Chennai Corporation Area - CCA). (Report of PUCL) Chennai district has 1230 slums in which 1.8 million people live in about 3 lakh households - giving an average household size of 4.5 members (Census of India, 2001).³⁵

³⁵<http://www.southasia.ox.ac.uk/sites/sias/files/documents/Oxford%20University%20CSASP%20-%20Work%20in%20Progress%20Paper%204%20The%20Experience%20of%20Slum%20Dwellers%20in%20Chennai%20under%20the%20Economic%20and.pdf>

2.2. A profile of Chennai slums

In Chennai, like in most of the cities, the slums are built on the unoccupied, dangerous (floods, pollution...) or/and unwanted lands. The slums are spatially centred, situated along the river banks, Adyar river, Cooum river and the Buckingham canal, by the roadsides, near to the railways or along the seashore (fishermen hamlet)... These lands are equally government lands, temple lands or owned by private. The land can be qualified as either objectionable or non-objectionable. 'Objectionable land' covers areas such as government land, *poromboke*, canals, waterways and footpaths on which habitations are not permitted.

a) The encroachments on public lands

The total number of "recognized" slums in Chennai city is 1473 of which 1231 are classified as "developed slums" and 242 slums in CCA (Chennai Corporation Area) with an additional 202 slums in the proposed CMA (Chennai Metropolitan Area) are classified as "underdeveloped". A survey entitled "Identification of Environmental Infrastructure Requirement of Slums in Chennai Metropolitan Area" under the World Bank funded TNUDP II (Tamil Nadu Urban Development Project) clearly states that of the 242 slums within the Chennai Corporation Area, 122 slums (41,683 families) were classified under 'Objectionable Slums' and 120 slums (30157 families) as 'unobjectionable slums.' (Report of PUCL). Objectionable slums are those situated on river margins, road margins and the seashore, and are those whose lands are required for 'public purposes.' It is specified clearly by the Government that, "as the areas occupied by them are to be retrieved and handed over to the land owning department and further to implement programmes like road widening, delisting, and strengthening of bunds etc. to be carried out."

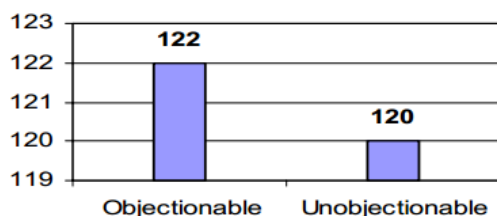


Figure 13: Categorisation of slums in Chennai Corporation Area- Source: Report of PUCL 2010

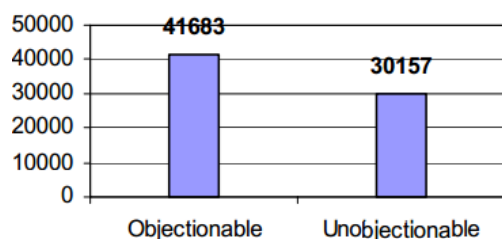


Figure 14: Categorisation of slum families in Chennai Corporation Area – Source: Report of PUCL 2010

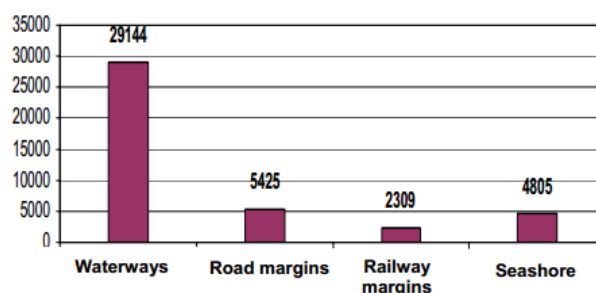


Figure 15: Location of objectionable slums in Chennai Corporation Area - Source: Report of PUCL 2010

Among the objectionable slums in Chennai, most of them are located along the waterways: out of the 122 'objectionable slums,' 33 slums (5425 families) were found along the road margins, 6 slums (2309 families) along the railway margins, 73 slums (29144 families) along waterways and 10 (4805 families) along the seashore.

The pictures below illustrate the different locations of slums in Chennai, along waterways and on the seashore.



Figure 16: Slum along the Buckingham canal, Lighthouse, Chennai - Source: K.Hochart, march 2014



Figure 17: Slum in Marina beach, Santhome, Chennai - Source: K.Hochart, march 2014

The location of a slum on a particular land depends on the land ownership. Indeed, since the public sector defends the least, people occupies public waste lands, i.e along the seashore, the rivers and the roads.

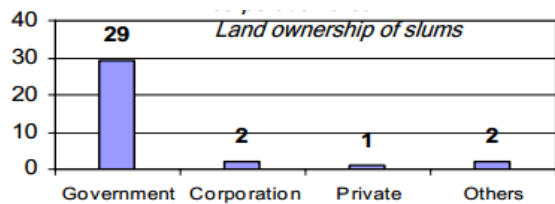


Figure 18: Land ownership of slums along river margins in Chennai Corporation Area - Source: Report of PUCL 2010

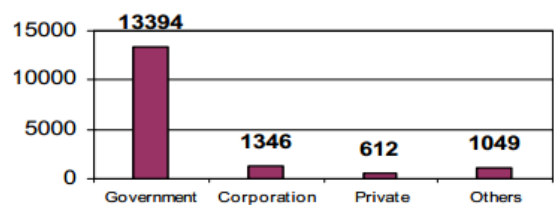


Figure 19: Land ownership of slum families living along river margins in Chennai Corporation Area - Source: Report of PUCL 2010

The left figures (figure 18 and 19) show the repartition of slums -and slums families- within Chennai according to the land ownership. It deals with the slums situated along river margins, i.e Adyar and Cooum river. These graphs clearly highlight the predominance of the settlements on lands belonging to the government. The slums are even referred to as “encroachments” on the public land.

The figure 20 indicates the distribution of the two categories of slums –objectionable and unobjectionable- in the Corporation area. The unobjectionable slums are then mostly owned by the public sector – the Government or the Corporation.

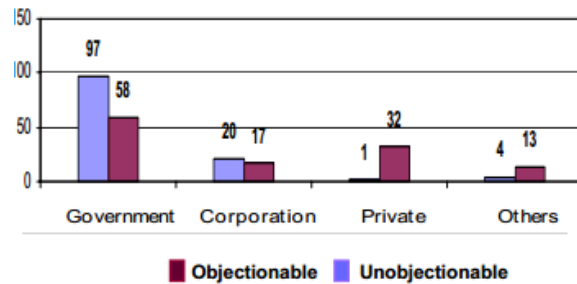


Figure 20: Distribution of the land ownership status of slums in Chennai Corporation Area - Source: Report of PUCL 2010

Furthermore, regarding the tenure status, if in most cases, the residents don't have the right for occupying the land, they nonetheless may own the house or the structure: some own the house, some don't have any rights over the dwelling and others are partial owners (superstructure belongs to them) (Nambiar, 1966).

b) The housing: evolution in pucca houses

Beyond the land tenure, slums may sometimes be visually identified through the physical aspect of the dwelling.

In India, three types of houses are commonly identified, according to the materials used for construction:

- **Katcha house:** traditional house made of mud or dried brick used for walls and/or dry stone masonry. The roof is usually built with thatch leaves. 80% of the katcha houses have timber frame (columns and beams). If both walls and roof are made of katcha materials, the house is classified as Katcha;
- **Semi-pucca:** houses without RC frame (columns and beams) but with good masonry work with cement mortar and RCC/CGI Roof. There is no universal agreement of what is the percentage of the material that could define semi pucca.
- **Pucca house:** consolidated house made up of cement, bricks, wood, iron rods and steel. Such houses are also called permanent houses;



Figure 21: Katcha house, Saidapet, Chennai - Source: K.Hochart



Figure 22: Semi-pucca house, Chetpet, Chennai - Source: K.Hochart



Figure 23: Pucca house, Lighthouse, Chennai - Source: K.Hochart

A study on Chennai slums realized in 1966 revealed that 79% of the slum houses were huts made of cheap materials –thatched roof and mud walls or poles and kerosene tins and canisters beaten flat and

nailed across. The houses were constituted of only one dark room and the roof was from 4 to 10ft height, meaning that the people couldn't stand erect but had to crawl (Nambiar, 1966). According to a 2008 report, 67 percent of the households in slums live in one-room tenements.³⁶ One characteristic feature of the kutcha house is the temporary aspect and the need for renewal of the thatch.

Over time, the type of the house tends to **evolve in a permanent structure**. According to the 2001 census, around 65% of the houses alone in slums are pucca houses while semi-permanent and temporary dwellings take an equal share of 17% each. (Chandramouli, 2003)³⁷



Figure 24: A traditional hut in a village in Tamil Nadu - Source: Thamizhparithi Maari, wikimedia



Figure 25: A hut in Attur Nagar, Saidapet- Source : K.Hochart, april 2014

The kutcha house incorporates the traditional methods of construction in villages, but the materials used may differ in the urban condition, where the thatch and the mud can be replaced by recycled materials such as sheet metal, fabric or plastic waste.

The adjacent pictures (figure 25 and 26) present two kind of katcha houses in a slum, whereas the figure 24 shows, in comparison, the traditional type of house in a village in Tamil Nadu.

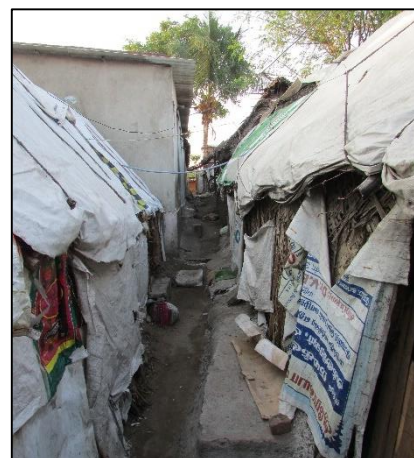


Figure 26: A use of mixed materials, Attur Nagar, Saidapet - Source:K.Hochart, april 2014

c)

³⁶ R. Jaganathan and G. Bhaskaran, Presentation from the 2008 World Water Week in Stockholm, assessment and mapping of water and sanitation facilities in slum areas of Chennai Metropolitan City: India: A GIS Approach

³⁷ VYDYANATHAN Lakshmanan, "A Statistical Insight into Health & Education in Chennai Slums", CCS Working Paper No. 177, Research Internship Program 2006-07, Centre for Civil Society

d) The environment: bad hygiene conditions

The economic, physical and political pressures on the inhabitants of the slums have major impacts on their lives.

The conditions in slums are marked by a bad quality environment, often dangerous or polluted. The lack of access to infrastructure such as sanitation or sewerage system increase the risk of disease. The health insecurity is then higher than in other parts of the city.

Among the lack of basic amenities, the **absence of drainage system** represents the major problem, and the public sanitation demands next priority. “As of 2000, 65.7% of slums had sanitation facilities (both urinals and toilet seats inclusive) while the rest 34.3% were defecating in the open, causing health concerns” (Chandramouli).³⁷

The **availability of safe drinking water** is equally important when it comes to securing the health of slum dwellers. While easiness in access to drinking water and the actual consumption of drinking water are themselves two different things, data on the latter is not readily available.

According to a 2008 study, “only 26 percent of the Slum population has access to drinking water within their premises.” The main source of drinking water in slums is **hand pumps and tap water** (42 and 31 percent).³⁸ Hand pumps are the most common source of drinking water to slum dwellers and are largely accessible within half a kilometre distance in most slums. The figure 27 illustrates the use of water tank in Chennai whereas the figure 28 shows the water collection from the hand pump in an Indian slum.

However, the assumption that hand pump water is safe is itself arguable. Contamination of water, effluent mixing, ground water becoming saltier, and sewage seepage, are all but issues of proximate relevance to the quality of drinking water. Slum dwellers are more vulnerable to the dangers that lie here because of the fact that many households have improper cooking facilities, leading to direct consumption without boiling (Vydyanathan, 2006-2007).



Figure 27: Metro Water Bore Well Facility At T.Nagar, Source: Chennai Plus, 2013



Figure 28: Children collect water from a hand pump in an urban slum in Agra, Uttar Pradesh. Photo Credit: Sukhminder Dosanj Source:Usaid

³⁸ R. Jaganathan and G. Bhaskaran, Presentation from the 2008 World Water Week in Stockholm, assessment and mapping of water and sanitation facilities in slum areas of Chennai Metropolitan City: India: A GIS Approach

The figure 29 below is a scheme realised during a 2002 workshop about urban health. It illustrates the hygiene and environmental conditions of slums, with the relation to the external factors, such as the river, the presence of amenities, the political influence etc.

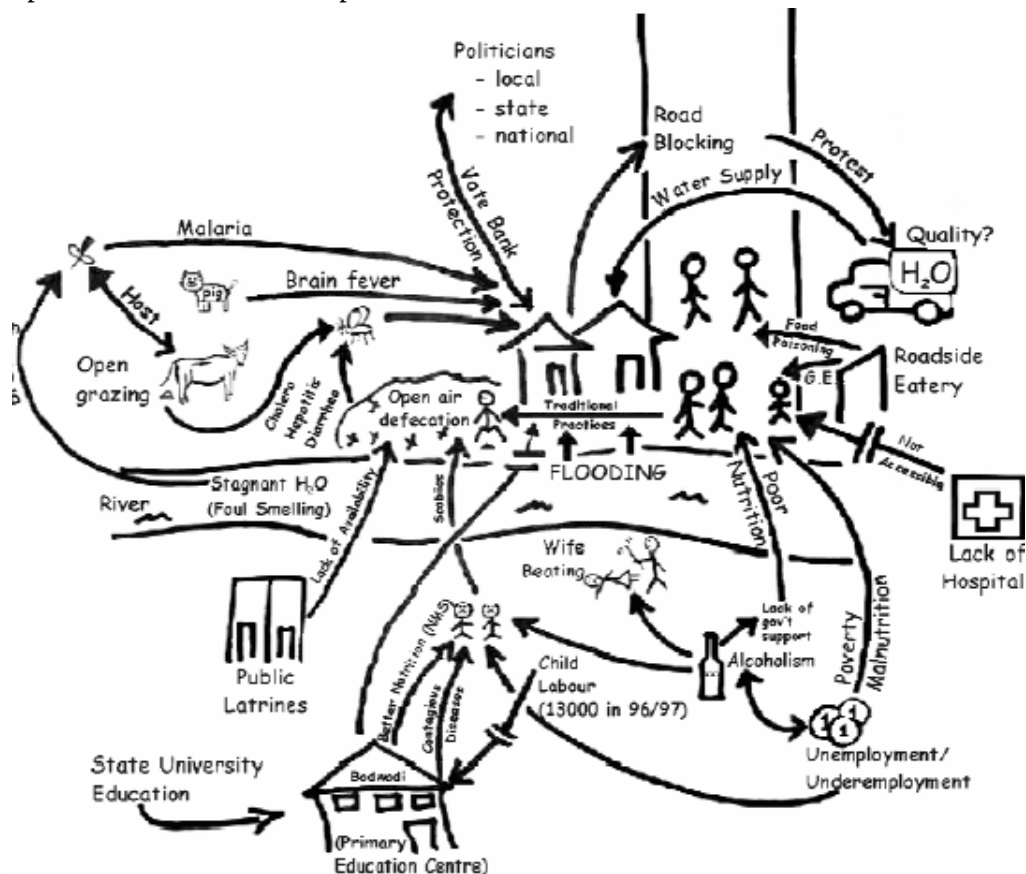


Figure 29: The environment and health conditions in slums – Source: Workshop on “An Adaptive Ecosystem Approach to Managing Urban Environments for Human Health” Martin J. Bunch, August, 2002, Chennai”

As a result of the bad quality environment, the lack of infrastructure and the poor hygiene conditions, the average life expectancy in the slum is roughly 57 years old, i.e seven years less than the life expectancy in Chennai.³⁹

2.3. The misperception and neglect

Through the statistical data which assess the dangerous position and the difficult conditions of life of the slum dwellers, the image depicted of the slum is very negative and this lead to a wrong social representation on slums.

a) Culture of poverty and stigmatisation

First of all, the slum is often seen as an area of high unemployment rate, it is nonetheless a place of very active informal economy. Most of the slum dwellers do small jobs in the city: they work as coolies, construction workers, auto rickshaw drivers and the women often work as domestic support. It

³⁹ The problem with megacities, Forbes, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/megacities/2011/04/04/the-problem-with-megacities/>

is important to emphasize that they usually do not have any fixed place for work and that this place may be distant from their home. The slums are the place of migrants, support of the workforce of the city.

These areas and the people living in them are often subject to a significant stigmatization, from the authorities or from the city people. In the official report, the slums are described as a source of problems “such as environmental problems, especially pollution in air and water, various social disorders, unhygienic living conditions etc.”, and as an unsafe area. The document states that “the latest crime report in India shows the fact that majority of the crimes in urban areas are either directly or indirectly linked with slum population.” Besides, the social problems and bad habits of the residents tend to be generalized. It is said that the “majority of the male population in slums have a habit of smoking, drinking, snatching, gambling, and lazy for working etc. leading to anti-social elements in the system. Actually, female members of the family manage the household functions of the house. They are mainly involved in household activities of neighbouring and high-income groups. Children in these slums are compelled to rag-picking some items for maintaining their own house.” (Report on Chennai slums)

This rejection of the slums is also felt in the every-day discussions with people in Chennai. Indeed, many people, from any age, students or not, and even some students in planning, couldn't understand the interest of studying slums.

“Why did you chose to study the slums, the bad side of Chennai?”
“Slums dwellers are dirty people who spoil the city. The government makes lot of efforts by giving lot them lot of things but they don't use it properly”
“You could study anything anywhere... So why coming to India to study slums?”

These were the questions spontaneously asked to me at the presentation of the research topic. Thus, this kind of comments only proves the misperception, the disinterest and even sometimes the repulsion of the people of the city towards the slum people.

b) A large number of unrecognized slums

The presentation of the characteristics of the slums in Chennai wouldn't be complete without speaking about the lack of documentation on these areas, and about the debate on the unrecognized slums.

In point of fact, it seems that no slums would have come up in the city since the last 26 years, if we refer to the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board records. “Sources told City Express that Tamil Nadu had been a forerunner in bringing out the Slum Clearance Act in 1971, but it had not declared any new slums since the last 26 years. Also, the baseline data of Tamil Nadu on urban poverty and slums is inadequate, the sources added. Chennai alone is estimated to have over 2 lakh families living without proper shelter.”⁴⁰ However, research studies demonstrated that “in the nearly three decades that have passed, hundreds of new slums have come up in the city.” (Raman, Narayan)

“Unfortunately, because the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Act states that you must recognise a slum before you can intervene in it, government programmes to increase access to services for the poor, including the JNNURM, have not directly intervened in these areas — with predictably tragic results. **Very little reliable information** actually exists about these unrecognised slums.” Nonetheless one study

⁴⁰ <http://ibnlive.in.com/news/no-new-slums-in-chennai-since-last-26-years/245538-62-128.html>

on them was found, commissioned by the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board in 2002. The study found a total of **444 unrecognised slums** within the Chennai Metropolitan Area, with nearly half a million residents at the time, and an average of 620 people relying on a single public water facility in unrecognised slums within the city, far more than the norm of 75 people per water facility. These unrecognised slums have effectively become an invisible Chennai, not counted in the official statistics of slum-dwellers used in the Master Plan and by the Slum Clearance Board, and largely ignored by the service provision agencies.⁴¹

In relation to the previous paragraph, we can suggest that the disinterest in the urban slums is the consequence of the social representation of the slum. On the opposite, the misperception is a result of a lack of documentation and awareness.

Overall, there is a crucial lack of recent and reliable data regarding slums in Chennai. As noted by R. Jaganathan and G. Bhaskaran in 2008, “one of the major obstacles for efficient planning in urban India is a **lack of up-to-date, comprehensive attribute** and spatial information about urban systems. This lack of information is a major reason behind the failure of metropolitan cities to include slums in city wide planning and urban development.”

To sum up, despite the difficulty of providing a profile of Chennai slum, few characteristics at the visual, legal, statutory and social levels have been underlined and permit to understand the context of slums within the city. Furthermore, the lack of documentation has to be noted and the deficit of reliable and up-dated data remains an obstacle in the estimation of slums and then in the implementation of effective slum clearance schemes.

⁴¹ RAMAN Nithya V., NARAYAN Priti, “India’s invisible population”, The Hindu, published the 19/10/13 : <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/indias-invisible-population/article5248725.ece>, visited the 06/03/14

3. ACTIONS TOWARDS SLUMS IN CHENNAI: A POLITICAL INTEREST

In Chennai, there has been a succession of various schemes, implying mainly two different approaches towards the slums. On one hand, slums Improvement and Rehabilitation programs have been set in order to ameliorate the living conditions of the slum dwellers, and on the other hand, the current policies have shifted towards Resettlement and Rehousing interventions. This chapter presents a review of the government's interventions since 1970s.

Objectives and strategy of the TNSCB

The government agency responsible for developing slums in Chennai is the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB). The agency has been created as a branch of the Tamil Nadu Housing Board in 1971. The stated objectives of the TNSCB are:

1. To clear all the slums in Chennai & to provide self-contained hygienic tenements.
2. To prevent the growth of slums & encroachments
3. To prevent the eviction of slum dwellers by private owners and to provide the slum families with security of tenure.
4. To provide basic amenities like water supply, street lights, storm water drains, sewer line, etc to the slum areas.

For this purpose, the government agency followed three pronged strategies:

1. **In situ Development** – whereby the basic infrastructure/amenities like water supply, road and sanitation facilities are made available in the slums on site. Wherever in-situ development is feasible, such slums are identified and taken up for in-situ improvement for provision of basic facilities to make the areas habitable and for provision of tenurial rights to the occupiers after getting the land transferred to the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board.⁴²
2. **In situ Reconstruction** – the dwelling units (multi-storied tenements) are constructed at the same location without any relocation of inhabitants. The slums located in unobjectionable poramboke areas, wherein equitable distribution of space to all is not feasible, are cleared and tenemental schemes put up.
3. **Rehabilitation and Resettlement** - provision of houses at alternative locations along with infrastructure, livelihood programmes with a holistic approach. Wherever neither tenemental nor insitu development is feasible, (as in the case of objectionable porambokes like water ways etc.,) Rehabilitation and Resettlement in tenements in nearby locations with necessary infrastructure is taken up. The cleared site is then restored to its original use.

Source: TNSCB

The type of interventions to tackle slums issues is a result of the political incentives and is subject to political changes. In Chennai, the two major parties alternatively ruling the State since 1970s are DMK and AIADMK. The AIADMK allied with the Congress and swept to power in 1991, under the leadership of Jayalalithaa, who became the Chief Minister of the state

3.1. The early years of TNSCB: the catch of votes

The 1971 Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Act regulated the slum upgrading in Madras: slum dwellers who had been living in Madras before 1971 were in principle granted against eviction, they would eventually **be given pattas or the ownership** deed of their plot and the basic infrastructure of the

⁴² TNSCB website: <http://www.tnscb.org.in/History1.htm>

slum would be installed or improved. However, slum dwellers living in “objectionable” slums as slums in dangerous or flood prone areas were given the right to be relocated to other areas or to tenements. The aim of TNSCB was to fully clear the city of slums within seven years, to prevent new slums from taking shape, and to provide basic amenities for slum-dwellers until their huts could be cleared and replaced with tenements. The initial years of the TNSCB were dominated by the priorities of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), which came to power in 1967, the state-level political party that created it. “The objective of the policies was clearly **to attract votes by distributing state goods and services** to a wide spectrum of the population and to win the support of key groups of slum-dwellers.” “Shelter policies in the state had a formal orientation away from eviction and resettlement and towards in situ tenement construction, and an informal tendency to protect and reward those groups of the urban poor (for example, fishermen) that the ruling party was trying to court for votes” (Raman, 2011). Until the mid to late 1980s, evictions and relocations were largely avoided by an established tradition that interpreted “slum clearance” as in situ improvement of slums through tenement construction or sites-and-services schemes. This tradition was established through a dialogic process of negotiation and accommodation between **the electoral strategies of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), the official policies of the TNSCB, and anti-eviction struggles in the city**. However, a concatenation of processes through the 1980s and early 1990s led to the collapse of this anti-eviction “compact” and inaugurated an era of negotiations over slum relocation and resettlement (Coelho, Raman, 2010).

3.2. The World Bank intervention in housing policies

The World Bank’s funding of urban development programmes in Tamil Nadu from the late 1970s, particularly in the housing sector, brought about a “**restructuring of the TNSCB**, primarily through **dissolving its formal connections with the political sphere and loosening its dependence on state budgets**” (Raman 2008; Coelho and Venkat 2009). The World Bank attempted to change local policies with their focus on costly in situ construction to a model based on cost recovery and giving tenure, in which slum-dwellers were relocated to what were called “sites and services” developments, usually on the then outskirts of the city. In its early years, the TNSCB primarily built a small number of tenements in the same places that slum clusters stood (Raman, 2011). The 1990s also saw a gradual weakening and eventual collapse of slum-based, struggle-oriented collective action against evictions, once again resulting from a convergence of several interconnected trends. The hardening stance of state agencies towards squatting in the inner city and the strenuous outreach and persuasion efforts by the trained social workers of the TNSCB’s Community Development Wing resulted in relocation becoming an acceptable option among slum dwellers in the 1980s. The growth of the state-sponsored self-help group movement in slums, mediated through non-governmental organisations (NGOs), fostered relations of patronage and co-optation between the state and NGOs and between NGOs and slum associations. Gradual changes in the occupancy of slums, a strengthening grip of divisive party politics in slum communities, and the gentrification of TNSCB tenements, combined with the state’s persuasive tactics, weakened the cohesion needed to stand up to eviction drives (Raman 2008; Coelho and Venkat 2009).

3.3. The “slum-free Chennai”: construction of resettlement colonies

The TNSCB from the 1990s began to focus its energies on large-scale construction of resettlement colonies on the urban peripheries, financed substantially by money from the central government’s flood alleviation programme, World Bank sponsored post-tsunami projects and the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM), which also funds water body

restoration projects in Chennai. 75% of the funds of the JnNURM went to the construction of large-scale resettlement sites: Semenchery, Kannagi Nagar and now Perumbakkam.

a) Beautifying the city

It was not until the 1990s that the water officially came into its own in Chennai, as the concept of “ecological value” began to figure in official planning documents, and increasingly to overlap with commercial value. More serious attention to flood alleviation, water harvesting and rainwater conservation through water body reclamation and restoration began to be articulated, for instance in Chennai’s Second Master Plan (2007) and in the planning documents of the Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board, also known as Metro Water. These policies were also seen as **opportunities to clear the poor out of the city** and from prime locations in adjoining municipalities is clear from the convergence that began to emerge, both discursively and in funding schemes, between these flood mitigation/water harvesting programmes and the increasingly forcefully articulated **visions of a “slum-free Chennai”** (Coelho, Raman, 2010).

These rationalities explain, at least in part, the seeming incoherence of the simultaneous proposals to restore the Cooum and to build an elevated highway into its banks. Indeed, all waterways in Chennai are currently being viewed as potential hosts to elevated road corridors. The ambitious integrated Chennai High Speed Circular Transportation Corridor (HSCTC) plan comprises nine corridors along the Adyar and Cooum rivers and the Buckingham and Mambalam canals (Division of Transportation Engineering 2009). The figure of the “corridor” is another powerful symbol of the globalising city, an idiom that integrates structure, ecology, commerce and governance. Information Technology (IT) corridors, hi-tech corridors, metro corridors and elevated corridors are emblems of new urban visions in which flows are channelled and strategically optimised for mobility connectivity and speed. The river corridor thus both engineers the landscape and signals a new paradigm of urbanisation. More than 36,000 families, or close to two lakh people, are expected to be evicted from slums along these waterways to accommodate these high-speed corridors (Coelho, Raman, 2010).

a) The non-availability of urban lands

Recently, the TNSCB argued facing issues in implementing in situ development as well as reconstruction schemes because of lack of adequate open space in the urban areas for planned housing initiatives. It also states that in the event of in situ development and in situ reconstruction the TNSCB is unable to claim the houses at alternative locations as holistic rehabilitation because these sites lack space for establishment of public and social infrastructure. TNSCB also admits the fact that the process of relocation has been complex because of various critical factors like non availability of urban land, inadequate finance resulting in the high cost of construction, lack of capacity of the local body to accommodate the additional population, lack of people’s participation in maintenance and finally the non-protection of land by the land owning departments that further encourages encroachment” (PUCL Report). Reasons for relocation include displacement due to land acquisition for public projects as well as disasters or accidents such as the tsunami or a slum fire.⁴³

“The construction of houses at alternative locations has been further justified by the TSNCB stating that there is non-availability of urban lands in the proximity of original housing and that the provision of infrastructure facilities along with the housing is not possible in the ‘objectionable slums.’ They also

⁴³<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/Slum-dwellers-face-tough-times-after-being-relocated/articleshow/16228277.cms>

highlight the fact that the houses constructed at alternative sites are of ‘holistic nature’ as the houses are provided with all infrastructure facilities, planned habitation with open space, access to education in the neighbourhood, livelihood activities to make the people economically independent with availability of extended transport facilities.

**In Chennai, people from 78 urban settlements relocated to 2 sites (Kannagi Nagar and Semmenchery)
22,390 multi-storied tenements have been built, and house 1,03,774 people
(PUCL Report)**

Slum eviction drives have thus recently received a special impetus by being located in two convergent strands of apparently progressive “salvage” discourses: one of ecological restoration and the other of slum resettlement with promises of “secure tenure”. “Waterfront development, beautification, and eco-restoration, along with high-end infrastructure serve multiple purposes – both as direct strategies for capital accumulation through real estate value, as well as idioms through which cities position themselves in the global arena.” (Coelho, Raman, 2010).

4. CASE STUDY: NATURAL SLUM AND RESETTLEMENT SITE

This part presents the socio-spatial context and the main characteristics of the two sites studied in this research project.

4.1. Attur Nagar: a spatially central slum along the Adyar River

Attur Nagar is a slum situated along the Adyar River, near the Maraimalai Adigalar Bridge (also commonly named Saidapet Bridge) in Saidapet, Chennai. The location of the slum in Chennai is presented on the maps below (figures 30 and 31).

This site has been chosen due to its representative character of riverfront slums within the city. Indeed, the area is characterized by the illegal occupation of the land and a significant risk of eviction due to a current government resettlement policy (riverfront rehabilitation program). The slum is also subject of significant environmental issues, caused by its proximity to the polluted river.

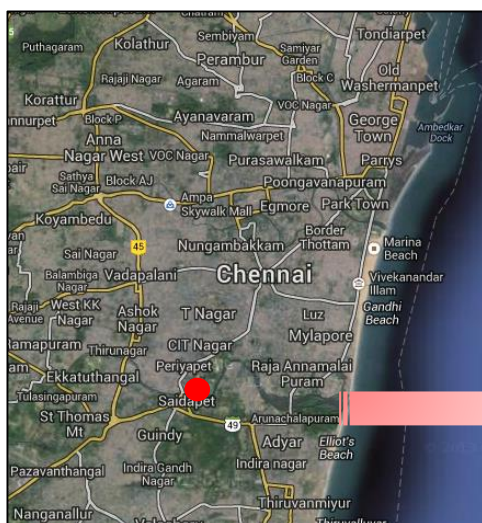


Figure 30: Satellite view Location of Attur Nagar in Chennai – Source : Google earth

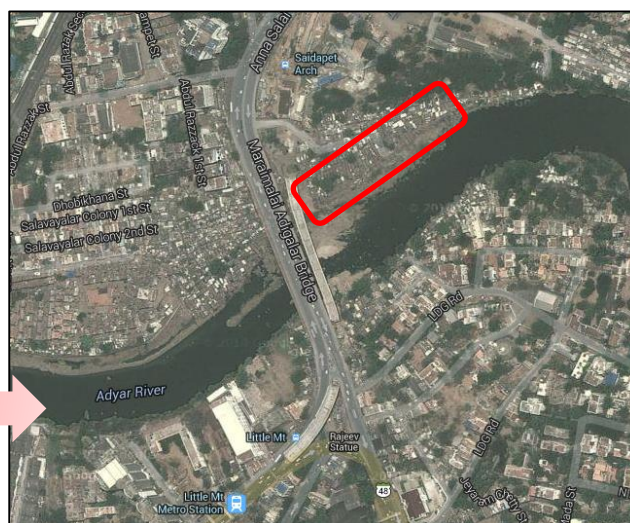


Figure 31: Location of Attur Nagar in Saidapet – Source : Google earth

This slum is located on the land owned by the Government and is categorised under objectionable category, covering an area of about 0.96Ha (2,36 acre/ 9551,28 sq.mt) accommodating 822 families, i.e. a population of 4110. (Source: TNSCB survey, (2008)). The population density of the site is then around 4,000 per hectare; **sixteen times more than the city population density** (247 persons per hectare).



Figure 32: Aerial view of Maraimalai Adigal Bridge, previously known as Marmalong Bridge, across Adyar River in Saidapet – Source: Wikipedia, Saidapet



Figure 33: View of the metro bridge across Adyar River with Attur Nagar in the background – Source: K.Hochart, April 2014

a) The evolution of the relationship to the river

Originally named as Attorrama Nagar -meaning the place near the river- the settlement is estimated to be formed 30 years ago (as per the TNSCB data) by the dhobi wallah⁴⁴ community, who needed the proximity to the river for their work concern. The picture 34 shows the occupation of the river margins in Saidapet in 1905. A large number of migrants, from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and other states who came to Madras in search of job settled in the slum. Once the river water got polluted, the initial community shifted from the place and other people started to occupy the land. Nowadays, Attur Nagar accommodates a mixed population doing any kind of petty jobs in the city. Mainly, the men work as coolies, drivers, painters or do construction work whereas the wife is housewife or is domestic worker.



Figure 34: The work of dhobi wallahs in Saidapet, Chennai, 1905 – Source : Wikipedia, Dhobi



Figure 35: The actual river front in Saidapet, Chennai: no connexion between river and the settlement - Source : K.Hochart, April 2014

The link between work place and living space was strong and clearly established at the formation of the settlement, with the people maintaining a close relationship to the river. It has evolved through times

⁴⁴ Dhobi (English: washerman) is a caste group primary belong to India and Pakistan and are said to specialized in washing clothes. The word Dhobi is derived from the Hindi word dhona, which means to wash. They are found throughout North India, Gujarat, Maharashtra as well as the Punjab province of Pakistan. A dhobi is likely to be of many different origins, with those whose ancestors took the occupation of washing clothes evolving over time into a distinct caste bound by rules of endogamy. (Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhobi>)

and nowadays the residents of Attur Nagar don't have any link with the river, except for the children playing in it. The river is not used anymore and has even become a source of problems for the inhabitants, as it brings pollution, bad smell, mosquitoes, floods etc.

a) The physical conditions of the place

The site has a gradual natural slope towards the river. The slum is characterized by the non-consolidation of the housing and infrastructure, i.e narrow mud roads, absence of proper sewerage treatment and solid waste disposal and the lack of facilities (electricity, toilets, water supply). The picture 36 shows the view of the roofs and the slope of the site whereas the illustration 37 present the water tanks of the area and the consequences of the absence of solid waste disposal.



*Figure 36: View of the site from the top of the slope-
Source: K.Hochart, May 2014*



*Figure 37: Solid waste and water tanks in Attur Nagar -
Source: K.Hochart, April 2014*

As per the survey conducted by the government, out of the 344 houses, 92 are in the semi-pucca type and 252 are kutcha houses. Moreover, to accommodate all the families, 478 new houses would be required in the area. This data indicates that a significant number of resident of the area don't have any shelter.

In the case of the kutcha houses, the walls of the house are built with mud, the roofs are made of thatch on casurina frame supported on thatch roof. This method of construction is suitable for the warm humid climate in Chennai since it facilitates ventilation through the gaps between the wall and the roof, and the thatch roof keeps the interior cool.

A specificity of the housing in slums is the multifunctional character of the living spaces. Often, only one multipurpose room is used for all activities relating to the household.



Figure 38: Sketch of a street in Attur Nagar - Source: Vijay, 2014

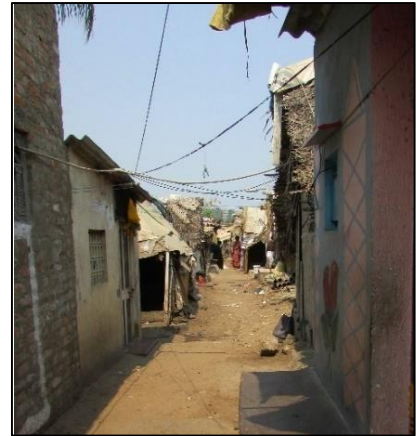


Figure 39: Cement and mud main roads in Attur Nagar- Source : K.Hochart, May 2014

There is no existing toilets or urinals, no solid waste disposal (estimated waste generation: 2,47 Tonnes), There are no surface roads provided and there are 19 streetlights as against the need of 50. Few improvements have been introduced by the government (water supply, street lights etc.), nonetheless the area still lacks infrastructure and basic amenities. The pictures below (figure 40 and 41) present the people 'solutions for the absence of toilets: open defecation or construction of temporary bathrooms.

The absence of bathrooms and toilets



Figure 40: Open space behind Attur Nagar, use for open defecation - Source: K. Hochart, May 2014



Figure 41: Construction of temporary bathroom in Attur Nagar - Source:K.Hochart, April 2014

However, due to its central location, Attur Nagar benefits from the civic buildings around it. People have access to amenities such as government schools (Corporation), Saidapet market, government hospital, police station and ration shops⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Public distribution system (PDS) is an Indian food security system. Established by the Government of India under Ministry of Consumer Affairs, Food, and Public Distribution and managed jointly with state governments in India, it distributes subsidized food and non-food items to India's poor. The Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation is responsible for providing food grains, commodities for the people under Public Distribution System through Ration shops. Source: wikipedia

4.2. *Kannagi Nagar: a resettlement site in the city's outskirts*

Kannagi Nagar is a housing settlement developed by the TNSCB in 2000 under the Okkiyum Thoraipakkam Scheme. The site is a suburban area located in Thoraipakkam, along OMR⁴⁶ in the southern part of Chennai. It is approximately 20 kilometres from Saidapet.

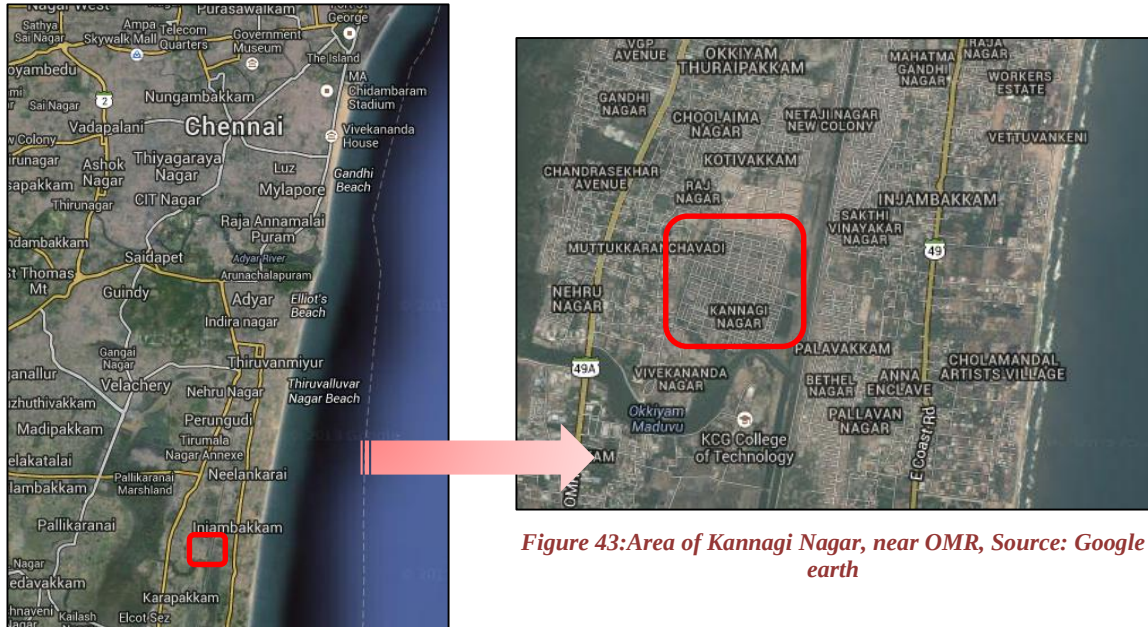


Figure 43: Area of Kannagi Nagar, near OMR, Source: Google earth

Figure 42: Location of Kannagi Nagar, Okkiyum Thoraipakkam, in Chennai - Source: Google earth

a) The origin of the Relocation Settlement:

The massive housing plans of the TNSCB at alternative locations are Kannagi Nagar and Semmenchery. The emergence of these settlements could be traced back to the year 2000 when three thousand houses were constructed in Kannagi Nagar at Okkiyum Thoraipakkam. The resettlement site of Semmenchery was initiated in the year 2004. These settlements were constructed in a phased manner, for instance, Kannagi Nagar is constructed over a period of 10 years.

More than 15,000 families, with an estimated population of over 100,000 on a 40 hectare land, Kannagi Nagar is a colony raised for the rehabilitated and relocated people from different slums of Chennai Corporation. The density of the area is then 2500 persons per hectare.

⁴⁶ OMR: Old Mahabalipuram Road (OMR) or IT Corridor is a major road in suburban Chennai

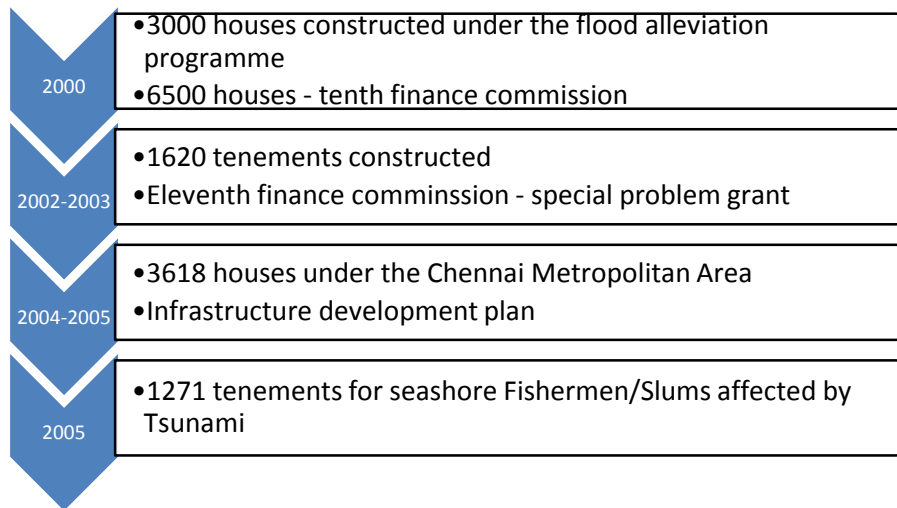


Figure 44 : Development of the area of Kannagi Nagar – Source: PUCL report

a) Three different types of housing

The site presents three different types of housing, built successively. 162 sq.ft one-room apartment.

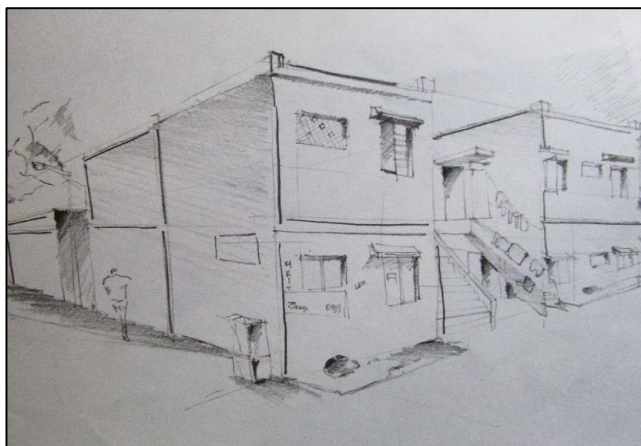


Figure 45: Ground+1 tenement - Realisation: C.Raaghav, 2014



Figure 46: The Ground+2 tenements - Source: K.Hochart April 2014

The Ground +1 buildings were built in 2000. The above sketch (figure 45) provides an illustration of the building. Apartments are of the size of 9m² (3x3 meters), minimum as per the regulation; the restroom is shared between two families.

The Ground +2 tenements were built later in 2004. The figure 46 presents the buildings.

The adjacent picture (figure 47) shows the Ground+3 buildings, constructed recently and not allotted yet. These apartments provide separate kitchen, bathroom and a separate room.



Figure 47- The recent Ground+3 tenements – Source: K.Hochart, April 2014

PART III FEEDBACK AND ANALYSIS OF THE RELOCATION PROJECT

1. IMPACT OF THE RELOCATION ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE SLUM DWELLERS

During the fieldwork, direct observations/field notes, questionnaires and focus group discussions were used to gather information on Attur Nagar and the resettlement site Kannagi Nagar, and the opinion of the government officials (through the agency TNSCB) on various aspects of the relocation project. From these feedbacks, the improvements or degradations in the quality of life of the beneficiaries was analysed to understand the impact of the relocation scheme.

a) Defining quality of life

Quality of life is a concept relying on cultural and personal criteria. The definition of the quality of life was studied through review of existing research. Parameters that seemed significant for the context of slums that are studied, (list below) were chosen for analysing the quality of life in the original slum and the resettlement colony:

- Environment
- Housing
- Access to infrastructure and public services
- Access to amenities and accessibility
- Livelihood and cost of living
- Stability and safety
- Sense of place
- Degree of independence
- Social relationships
- Social recognition and participation

The information obtained from the residents have been summarized in a tabular format for comparative analysis of the slum with the one after relocation. Thus, the improvements or degradations in their quality of life after relocation have been highlighted. Also, for each parameter, the official from TNSCB has been interviewed and their opinion has been compared to the resident's point of view. The response of the people for the particular criteria is marked by plus and minus signs. The plus sign indicates a positive scenario/ improvement and the minus sign shows a negative opinion about the situation, and the number of signs (from one to three) indicates the intensity. Moreover, a colour code has been used on the table to emphasize the changes from their previous situation: green represents the "gain" whereas the red colour indicates a "loss".

This grid then permits to analyse the impact of the relocation project on the quality of life of the residents, and the vision of government on these positive or negative effects implied by the resettlement scheme.

1.2. *Environment quality & security*

a) The issue in the slum: environment quality

One of the main issues in Attur Nagar appeared to be the lack of security of housing, with a majority of houses in the types *kutchra* or *semi-pucca*.



Figure 48: Kutch house in Attur Nagar – Source: Karine Hochart, March 2014



Figure 49: Pucca house in Attur Nagar - Source: Karine Hochart, March 2014

Indeed, the most residents felt that their living environment is unsafe. During the monsoon season, they face floods and their houses get destroyed by the current and high level of the water river. In this case of flood, which occurs almost every year, they are forced to find shelter in the nearby college, hundred meters away from the area. After these cyclones or floods, the destructed houses have to be rebuilt by the residents. Besides, during summer season, the houses made of thatch roof easily catch fire. “The number of fire accidents increases between March and July, because the thatched roof becomes dry in the heat and fire spreads rapidly,” an official said. Poor accessibility and narrow lanes make it harder for the vehicles to enter and put out the fire.⁴⁷ The proximity of the houses leads to a rapid progression of the fire, representing a significant problem for the whole area. In May 2013, a fire broke out and more than 100 huts were gutted.⁴⁸



Figure 50: Huts destroyed by floods in Attur Nagar- Source: K.Hochart, March 2014



Figure 51: Huts destroyed by a cyclone in Attur Nagar- Source: K.Hochart, May 2014

Thus, the main problem faced by the people in Attur Nagar- and by most of the slums dwellers living on the river banks- is the need of permanent structure. Moreover, the location on the river margin increases vulnerability to some health problems, particularly due to the presence of mosquitoes and also because of the pollution of the river water. Indeed, the Adyar River has nowadays become a drainage

⁴⁷ <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/dog-days-and-chennais-slum-fires/article4492215.ece>

⁴⁸ The times of India, “Fire breaks out in slums”, 25/05/13, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshowpics/20259386.cms>

channel, emanating stench and is source of pathogens and disease causing vectors. In addition, the accumulation of solid waste the area due to lack of proper solid waste management, increases the risk of diseases and epidemics in the area in comparison to other parts of the city.

a) The access to a durable house

The relocation project provides each beneficiary a cement house, which is emphasized as an advantage by the residents. The lack of security of housing faced previously in the slum is solved by the provision of a durable apartment. Moreover, the location of the resettlement site, the access to basic infrastructures (roads, toilets) and to public services such as waste management or sewerage treatment are factors contributing to the improved environment quality. Thus, the entire environment, in a broad sense, and the hygiene conditions have significantly improved.

		Slum (Attur Nagar)	Resettlement (Kannagi Nagar)
General aspect and environment	Urban form/rest of the area	dense housing, difficult access, non-integration in the whole area	integration in the area
	Street form	narrow mud streets not linked to the main road (Anna salai) ---	wide concrete roads +++
	Environment	environment issues: pollution (river and road), waste, risk of flood during monsoon season, mosquitoes ---	healthier environment +++

Table 1 : Impact of Kannagi Nagar relocation project in terms of physical aspect and environment – Source: K.Hochart 2014

		Slum (Attur Nagar)	Resettlement (Kannagi Nagar)
Infrastructure and public services	Toilet	no toilet, open defecation or selfbuilt unsanitary toilets ---	toilet attached to the dwelling unit of share between two houses +++
	Bathroom	no bathroom, lack of privacy --	bathroom attached or one for two houses +++
	Water supply	poor access to water --	water scarcity due to intermittent supply/insufficient supply --
	Electricity	Illegal connections/ powercuts (generic problem in Chennai) -	powercuts (generic problem in Chennai) -
	Sewage treatment	no sewerage connection --	connection to the city sewerage system ++

	Solid waste disposal	no waste disposal	--	waste collection system	++
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Table 2: Impact of Kannagi Nagar project in terms of access to infrastructure and basic services – Source:K.Hochart 2014

In Kannagi Nagar, the residents stressed the amelioration of their comfort, due to the presence of bathrooms and toilets attached to the apartment or outside the house. In the survey, few persons complained about the scarcity of water and electricity problems. Nonetheless, these are not specific issues to the area of Kannagi Nagar but are general problems within the city.



Figure 52: Tenements type 1 in Kannagi Nagar - Source: K.Hochart, April 2014



Figure 53: View of a the tenements and the street in Kannagi Nagar - Source: K.Hochart, April 2014

Overall, the comfort of the inhabitants has improved due to the relocation in a healthier and more stable environment, the access of infrastructure and services.

b) Strengthening of the security

Beyond the ameliorations of the physical environment, the people have gained in security and safety. On one hand, the permanent structure protects them from any type of damage or failure of the building and on the other hand, they acquired rights of land tenure. They are legally recognized as owner of the house and hence there is no fear of eviction. The residents have an increased feeling of more stability and safety in their every-day life. However, the financial security and the stability in employment remains the same, as they still work as daily wage workers. The financial security is low, and is even slightly affected by the relocation, as the cost of living has increased in Kannagi Nagar (cf: 3)b))

		Slum (Attur Nagar)	Resettlement (Kannagi Nagar)
Stability and safety	Land tenure	illegal settlement: no land tenure rights; constant risk of eviction ---	legal settlement: own the house after a period of 20 years +++
	Disaster risk	risk of hazards like fire, flood, storms ---	Hazard resistant and durable house +++
	Security of employment	daily wages -	change of occupation - daily wages -

	Financial security	less financial security -	less financial security -
	Social issues: crime	crime rate is less +	initially crime rate was more (no street lights, no police station) +
	Health security	High risk of disease --	risk of disease is less +

Table 3: Impact of Kannagi Nagar relocation project in terms of security and safety- Source : K.Hochart, 2014

In conclusion, the residents benefit of a better and safer environment, with an enhanced stability in terms of housing and land tenure. The visual aspect of the area is also notably improved, with wider roads, cleaned spaces and a complete integration of the tenements in the landscape.

1.3. Planning and housing design

The survey revealed a satisfaction of the beneficiaries towards the gain of security and of durable housing, the resettlement site and the tenements. However, the facilities don't seem to suit the life style needs of the people. At the planning and architecture level, residents expressed a number of problems due to the poor housing design and the inadequate planning.

a) A lack of space and privacy

Regarding the apartment itself, people find difficult to live in because the space is very limited. Most of them emphasize that the living space is not sufficient. Moreover, the size of the family (nucleus family or joint family) is not taken in account in the allocation of the house and all rooms have the same minimum size (3x4m).

"Two persons can't even sleep inside" Anitha, resident of Kannagi Nagar.
"When relatives come to visit me, I have to remove all the furniture outside of the house to make some space for them" Danham, resident of Kannagi Nagar

Besides, a need for separate spaces in the house is also expressed by the residents. The house is designed as one single room including bedroom, kitchen, and living room. The toilets are either kept apart or attached to the apartment. The people complain about the lack of privacy in the living space; a separation of spaces within the house is required. Moreover, according to the residents, the design of the tenements doesn't provide for sufficient ventilation.

a) A need of open spaces

In the slum, the physical delimitation between interior and exterior spaces is very light and sometimes almost imperceptible. Infact people largely use the open spaces for their work, household chores, and as a place of social interaction. The quality of the streets and open spaces is as important as the quality of the housing design.

Attur Nagar : the appropriation of the open spaces as places of social interaction



Figure 54: Use of the open space under the bridge as a place of social interactions, Attur Nagar - Source: K.Hochart, April 2014



Figure 55: Appropriation of the space by the children, Attur Nagar - Source: K.Hochart, May 2014

In Kannagi Nagar, the residents face a lack of these open spaces for their various activities: work, social interactions, household chores, cooking etc. Since the housing space is very narrow and confined, without privacy, the dependence of the people on the outdoor spaces is even more significant.

The roads as the open spaces in Kannagi Nagar



Figure 56: Use of the road as a laundry place, Kannagi Nagar - Source: K.Hochart, April 2014



Figure 57: Cement road in Kannagi Nagar- Source: K.Hochart, April 2014

The table below illustrates the gains or losses regarding the housing conditions of the residents:

		Slum (Attur Nagar)	Resettlement (Kannagi Nagar)
Planning and Housing	Type of house	individual houses, kutch house (traditional) or semi-pucca +++	tenements --+
	Self building	yes +++	no -
	Structure of the house	non consolidated house ---	durable and consolidated house +++
	Building materials	thatched roof, mud wall, reuse of materials (banners) --	cement +++
	size of house	3x3m -	4x3m ---
	seperate spaces	no (lack of privacy) ---	no (lack of privacy) ---
	ventilation	good ventilation: traditional way of building +	less ventilation, design doesn't permit a good ventilation ---
	open spaces	significant use of open spaces: street is the place of social interactions and activities since the houses are small	lack of open spaces ---

Table 4: Impact of Kannagi Nagar relocation project in terms of planning and housing design – Source: K.Hochart 2014

If the relocation process itself breaks the community, the lack of open spaces and of privacy also affects the types of interaction within the community. The community then doesn't have a specific place of social interaction, as it used to be in the slum.

b) The TNSCB opinion: an old scheme

During the interview with Manimegalai, planner in the TNSCB office, about the housing design in Kannagi Nagar, she justified this design by the age of the scheme:

“Kannagi Nagar is an old scheme, it has started in 1997-1998...15 years back, so the plots were designed earlier. Now the new tenements are bigger (400 sq.ft) and they have separate bathroom, kitchen and bedroom.”

Indeed, the new built tenement (G+3) – which has not been allotted yet – is designed differently, with a separation of spaces within the apartment. As a matter of fact, she also explained that there is no architect in the Board. The team consists of engineers and planners, but the project has been outsourced to an architect.

To the question regarding the type of house required for them, Manimegalai replied: *“I think that ground +3 is fine for them. The area should have a lot of open space, so that they can also work in that place. They like to be with the community also. The flats are only 400 sq.ft, so they should have space outside.”*

Conscious about the importance of open spaces for the people, the TNSCB official added: *“A park is missing on the site. A space is reserved for the park but the local body didn’t develop it yet. The landscaping should be taken over by the local body.”*

Thus, the TNSCB officials seem to be aware of the inadequacy of the housing design and the planning of the site. Even if they suppose that a lot of open spaces have to be there, they excuse the bad planning by the age of the project and blame the local bodies responsible of the development of the park.

In conclusion, the design of the place add to the impersonal character of the settlement, making it difficult for the inhabitants to appreciate the spaces and to live with the community.

1.4. The location issue: separation of work place and living place

a) The absence of job opportunities

The most pertinent difficulty faced by the resident remains the location. The relocation in the outskirts of the city, far away from their initial dwelling place (20 kilometres away from Saidapet) implies changes in their way of life and particularly in their livelihood. “News reports described that the proximity to the place of work is a key to the survival of the slum dwellers. Therefore, moving them to far flung areas can result in loss of employment and livelihood” (PUCL Report). Majority of slum dwellers earn their living as daily wage labourers, construction workers and roadside vendors in locations close to their place of living. They consider the relocation as a big blow to their livelihood”.⁴⁹

An article in *The times of India* also denounces relocation: “people in the city’s slums are increasingly being relocated in concrete ghettos on the fringes of the city, disconnecting them from their social circles, sources of livelihood and education, say activists. For instance, with projects in Kannagi Nagar and Semmencheri, relocation has raised concerns about employment options, law and order problems, child labour, and social unrest.”⁵⁰

The primary survey also indicates that the residents of Kannagi Nagar are facing reduction of job opportunities after relocation; and find difficult to commute every day to their previous place of work.

“I was happy before, but the government shifted me. I find it difficult here. I had a meat shop in the city, I was earning 8000 rupees a month. After they shifted me here, I couldn’t carry the meat in the bus, so I had to change my occupation. Now I am doing domestic work and earning only 3000 rupees per month”, Dhanam, resident of Kannagi Nagar since 12 years

According to the TNSCB official, the area is developing very fast, creating job opportunities for the inhabitants. *“The area is developing, the population is increasing and they have more job opportunities...”* However, to the question regarding the possible improvements of the relocation

⁴⁹New Indian express, “Slum Dwellers Face Agony of Relocation”, 30/01/14

⁵⁰The times of India, “Slum-dwellers face tough times after being relocated”, 03/09/12

project, Manimegalai still confides that *“the location [of the site] should be where there is lot of job opportunities, based on their occupation.”*

The officials are also conscious of the difficulties faced by the residents regarding the distance to the workplace; nonetheless the peripheral location of the resettlement site is justified by the non-availability of land in the city. *“Land is not available in the city. Some private lands are there but the government can’t purchase it; people will not realize that.”*

a) The difficult access to amenities

Furthermore, due to the peripheral location of the site, the access to amenities as education services or health centres has been disrupted. “News reports also described that the education of the children was affected due to the constant fear of eviction and that children who have moved to Semencherry after the recent evictions have been forced to drop out of schools because of the distance.” *“In Kannagi Nagar, according to activists, about 40 per cent of the children have dropped out of school, while a few others travel all the way to schools in Triplicane every day.”* (January 2014)⁴⁹

Sharing these data with the government official, she told me that she wasn’t aware of these: *“You should confirm [these results] with the residents. The 12th or 10th standards students may not shift from their schools because of their exams... But otherwise the government school in Kannagi Nagar is good.”* She also adds that government is providing free transportation to facilitate their commuting and to permit the children to keep going to their previous school if needed.

The table below shows the impacts on the accessibility to the site and to the different amenities such as education centers, health centers, religious places and recreational places.

		Slum (Attur Nagar)	Resettlement (Kannagi Nagar)
Accessibility	Pedestrian	good pedestrian access to nearby amenities (schools...) +	difficult access by walk -
	Two wheelers	narrow roads and no parking -	good access +
	Car	bad access and no wide roads inside the area -	access by car facilitated +
	Public transport	yes +++	yes: commuting is not a problem anymore ++
	Temple or religious places	yes +++	temple but no church or mosque --
	Education services	yes +++	yes +++
	Health services	yes +++	yes +++
	Consumer goods	yes +++	yes +++
	Recreational places	yes: cinema, beach +++	no ---

Table 5: Impact of Kannagi Nagar relocation project in terms of accessibility - Source: K.Hochart 2014

Whereas the residents indicate an absence of recreational places nearby and some problems to commute to the city, Manimegalai refutes: *“They have a cinema nearby. It might not be accessible by walk but it*

is located within 2 kilometres. The beach is situated 1 to 2 km from OMR. Even the city is now accessible at 30-35 minutes by bus. Infrastructure is too good so the site is now easily accessible.”

b) The increase of the cost of living

Due to the location in the periphery of the city, the cost of living for the residents have increased after resettlement. Indeed, the survey shows that their expenses are more in Kannagi Nagar, due to the transportation cost and the house rental.

“It is difficult to go to work and come back because the travelling expenses are also high. In the morning, the share auto asks for 7 rupees and 10 rupees in the night. We can’t manage the bus fare also.” - Anitha, resident in Kannagi Nagar

		Slum (Attur Nagar)	Resettlement (Kannagi Nagar)
Livelihood	Employment	petty works: painters, coolies, construction workers	petty works: vendors, drivers
	Place of work	anywhere	anywhere in Chennai
Cost of living	Transportation	less expenses in transportation	expense in transportation is more --
	Rent	no rent +	50rps/month or 350rps/month -

Table 6: Impact of Kannagi Nagar relocation project in terms of livelihood and cost of living - Source: K.Hochart 2014

Besides, the residents have to pay to the government for owning the house after 20 years. The rent is 50 rupees or 350 rupees per month, depending upon the programme under which they are relocated (Tsunami Rehabilitation Programme or River front programme).

“Although rental housing is envisaged, the focus on home ownership and its financial modalities raise concerns: the contribution and regular monthly instalments to pay back housing loans, which are expected from the slum families, put forward the issue of access to credit for the poor and may eventually result in excluding the poorest from the programmes, with a capture of the housing schemes by higher income groups.”⁵¹ Chance2 sustain

“I came back here. Only the rich could stayed there”, Anthony, resident in Attur Nagar who relocated back to the slum from Kannagi Nagar

The Managing Director of the TNSCB (Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board) pointed out that when such huge resettlement projects are taken up there is a need for service delivery; otherwise it brings a bad name to the government as well as renders the entire process in-fructuous given that these people are the most disadvantages sections who have been deprived of their livelihood and also have been moved out of their homes within the city...

⁵¹ Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Focus on the Right to Adequate Housing in India – Policy Brief 6, October 2012

1.5. Deprivation of the resident's independence

In the different experiences of the residents, the notion which is expressed directly or indirectly is the deprivation of their independence. This loss of freedom is felt to them on different aspects: the location of the resettlement area, the design of the tenements, the availability of work opportunities and also the rigidity of the relocation process.

b) The aggravation of the resident's vulnerability

First of all, the distance between their living place and the basic amenities, work places or religious places is one criterion which increases their dependence on transportation system.

The design in a vertical building adds a new constrain for them, as there is no lift for reaching the upper floors. This has revealed to be a major problem for elders or disabled, who has been shifted indifferently to the upper floors. They can't have access to their house without help. Concerning this issue, Manimegalai, from the TNSCB, maintains that a percentage of tenements on the ground floor was allotted for disabled or elders (according to the people identified as physically challenged in the survey). According to her, it is the only thing which can be done: *"unfortunately this problem is there everywhere... We can't help it! We don't provide lifts for G+3 buildings."*

Furthermore, the housing design in vertical elevation increases the dependence of the resident on the others or on the government, particularly in case of malfunctioning of the services, as the water supply. *"People don't like vertical building. Because if there is water supply problem, they can't go and get it,"* explains Manimegalai, planner in TNSCB.

The design of the building itself increases the vulnerability of the fragile people, making them even more dependant to the others, as there is no other solution for them to manage by themselves.

"Everything is a problem here" Anitha, resident in Kannagi Nagar

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"Everything is a problem here" Anitha, resident in Kannagi Nagar

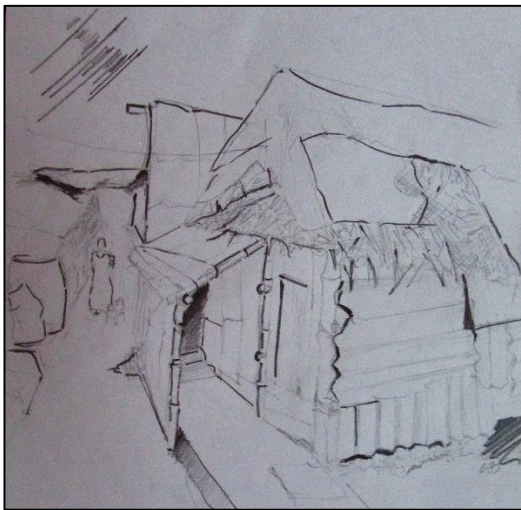
		Slum (Attur Nagar)	Resettlement (Kannagi Nagar)
Degree of independence (personal freedom)	Job opportunities	more +++	less --
	Transportation	easy ++	difficult -
	Location	spatially centered +++	outskirts of the city (20km from initial location) ---
	Choice of the living place	yes +++	no: it is illegal to sell or rent the plot - the become owner only after 20 years of rent paid ---
	Possibility of extension	yes, open spaces available +++	no possibilities of extension (vertical building) ---

Table 7: Impact of Kannagi Nagar relocation project in terms of resident's independence - Source: K.Hochart 2014

According to environmentalists, “Chennai’s notorious Kannagi Nagar, a slum resettlement colony housing 15,000 families, built on land reclaimed from the Pallikaranai marsh, has contributed to the recent intensification of flooding in that area as well as the significant reduction of groundwater. For residents of Kannagi Nagar, their continued susceptibility to floods is now exacerbated by the added vulnerabilities of livelihood loss, severe liquidity crunches and chronic indebtedness, consequences of their distance from the economic opportunities of the city” (Coelho, Raman, 2010).

a) The limitation of their personal freedom

The limitation of the personal freedom of the residents is expressed at different levels, from the interaction with their living space, the possibilities of evolution in their occupation to the choice in their home places.



*Figure 58: Sketch of a dwelling in Attur Nagar-
Realisation : Ganesh Babu, 2014*

In the slum, the space is the support of creativity and flexibility. The connexion to the ground is an important aspect as it permits to extend the house in case of the increasing of the family size (marriage, births). The figure 58 on the left side is a sketch portraying a small extension of a house in Attur Nagar and the encroachment on the street in the front. The appropriation of the space is then an important factor.

In Kannagi Nagar, the type of housing, in a vertical block, contributes in reducing the leeway of the resident: the design leaves no opportunity for flexibility, extension and even for the appropriation of the space.

Similarly, the place is also evolving, according to the current needs. For example, the figure 59 depicts a women serving a meal from her kitchen, showing how the place can be adapted to the conditions, here the house has been transformed in an informal restaurant.

People in the slums benefit of a certain form of freedom, manifested by the possibility to open a small shop or to start a small business. The flexibility and adjustment of the slum dwellers in the every-day life is very significant.

Thus, the relocation project affects the people on their personal freedom.



*Figure 59: An informal restaurant in Attur Nagar-
transformation of the living place into a working space,
Source:K.Hochart Avril 2014*



Figure 60: A view of the residents in their balconies in Kannagi Nagar - Source:K.Hochart

On the contrary, this possibility of changing the occupation is less in Kannagi Nagar, due to the reduction of job opportunities and the social pressure which is higher. Finally, the current standards and legislation adds a new constraint to the resident. The introduction of a biometric system has changed the legal process. In order to avoid the people to sell or rent their house and go back, the government has implemented a biometric system. *“If they get a house, they can’t be eligible for another house.”* This modification of the legal aspect, in addition to the cut-off dates (on which the TNSCB base the survey for the allocation of the plots), reduce the own freedom of the residents, by indirectly forcing them to stay in the resettlement colony.

The combination of various factors, such as the location, the design of the tenements, and the legislations led to a deprivation of the resident’s freedom and independence. “Although policies may mention inclusiveness in their objectives, they generate **new forms of exclusion**, especially through eligibility criteria including cut-off dates of arrival in the settlement.” (PUCL report)

If the resettlement project undeniably implies a number of improvements in terms of physical infrastructure, quality of environment and guarantees the rights of occupation of the land for the residents, the difficulties faced by the residents on the resettlement site have been identified as the location, the planning and housing design, the cost of living. While the TNSCB official claims that some people might be unsatisfied with the scheme and come back to the city’s slum due to the change of livelihood or driven by a financial interest, the survey illustrates that the dissatisfaction of the resident is a result of a combination of various parameters, leading to a deprivation of their independence and freedom. The survey shows that the degree of comfort is not equal to the quality of life, leading at the same time to a questioning of the importance of the material comfort.

2. THE GOVERNEMENT'S OPINION: AN EXPERIMENTAL PROJECT?

The discussions with Manimegalai, from the TNSCB office, have put forward the government's approach on the relocation project. This part presents the key elements for the understanding of the vision of the authorities on the Kannagi Nagar project, described as an experimental project. Furthermore, the influence of the representation of slums and slum dwellers by the authorities on the way of conducting the relocation projects is emphasized.

2.1. *A short term approach*

The interviews with the TNSCB officials suggest several reasons of the failure of the project. First of all, the striking information is the absence of anticipation from the authorities.

a) The unanticipated problems

Beyond the lack of anticipation, the straightforward way in which Manimegalai expressed it was even more surprising. The development of the area of Kannagi Nagar was explained as follow:

The three types of housing in Kannagi Nagar were built at different times:

- The Ground +1 type was the first tenement built in 2000. *"At that time, a large tract of land was available and the number of people to relocate was less important."*
- Later, in 2004, the second type of tenement - Ground +2 type – was designed. The government opted for a denser tenement *"because the population to resettle has increased and the land was required"*.
- Recently, the new constructions were designed as a Ground +3 type: *"less land is available and the people are more."* The type of tenement has been selected to host the maximum of families at a minimum cost. Indeed, Ground +3 level is the limit below which the providing of lifts is not compulsory.

As a result of this situation – a large number of people to resettle – the site in Perumbakkam, currently under construction, is planned for tenements Ground+7. *"It is also experimental. It is the first time that this kind of housing is built... We don't know how the people will react."* *"All the problems will come later"*, Manimegalai

This illustrates the short-term vision of the government and the lack of anticipation of the problems. As a matter of fact, the government shift the people in the building without any idea of the state of development of the area. After protests and complains from the residents, the authorities responsible for the planning in this area implement the actions.

In Kannagi Nagar, people rose their voice in protestation, seeking for amenities and basic services and proper transportation system. The residents struggled for several years without an adequate transportation network and without roads.

Number of protests: people fighting for their rights



Figure 61: CIVIC STIR: Residents of Kannagi Nagar participate in a protest seeking better amenities in their area
- Source: M. Karunakaran, *The Hindu*, November 2008



Figure 62: Scarcity of water in Kannagi Nagar, -
Source: V. Ganesan, *The Hindu*, June 2013

a) The issue of incremental concept

Over all, the resettlement project has not been planned on a long-term and doesn't include the possible evolution of the settlement. It doesn't provide solution for the need of housing of the next generations. Manimegalai explains that *"The incremental concept is not possible there because the land is not available and the density is too high. If ten years back we had built denser buildings it would have been possible... Unless we demolish the first buildings to build some higher density tenements, there are no possibilities. The next generation will have to find another place to stay."*

As there are no anticipatory schemes for the next generation, the problem of slums –the reason why the tenements were built - will continue to be a recurring problem. Following this model will only create catastrophe. In this context, the project can't be considered as a proper sustainable solution to tackle the slum issue and to ending urban poverty in the long-term.

In the theory as well as in the facts, the planning authorities show a clear lack of foresight, leading to complications on the site. The short term approach of the government is one of the reasons of the project's failure, as the beneficiaries have to face all the unanticipated problems at their arrival. People explained that when they were shifted in Kannagi Nagar, no facilities and services were implemented. If the officials easily use the expression "experimental project" to justify the lack of studies and projections, the result in the practice raises the question whether experimentation can neglect the anticipation.

2.2. The social mix question

Resettlements projects of this nature and size imply a raise of new issues at the social level. The first threat is the modification of the social pattern involved by the gathering of a large number of poor people in one place. Besides, the methods are also to be reviewed: the issue of mixing people from different backgrounds rather than relocating the entire community arises.

The Principal Secretary to Government, Home Department felt that this kind of concentration of slum population in one place is not desirable and that future programmes should ensure that they are more distributed and there is a mixed development. He requested that “smaller extent of land may be provided to TNSCB for Rehabilitation and Resettlement schemes at different places for this purpose”- Minutes of the meeting held by the Chief Secretary to the Government in the Chief Secretary's Conference Hall, in March 2010, regarding the infrastructure facilities to be provided in Okkiyum Thoriapakkam, Semmenchery and Perumbakkam Schemes of TNSCB.

The government officials are not the only ones to be worried about the consequences of such programs. Alfredo Billembourg, American architect, recalls that “we know the results [of putting the slum dwellers] on ghetto blocks like in India [...] that will create more social problems, so the best thing we could do is retrofit.”⁵²

Concerning the question of the community and the social mix, the government has responded for now by relocating the people as the entire community. Manimegalai admits that they probably prefer to stay within the same community. However, she concedes not being personally satisfied with the relocation of the entire community on one site, *“because if the same people have been shifted, only the housing conditions have improved. This won't help to improve their cultural background and the social problems will perpetuate.”*

To the question of the preference of the residents for being rehoused as a community or as a batch, the totality of the people interviewed answered that the community-based resettlement was a key condition of their satisfaction. Indeed, in the slum, the people know each other and live as a community. The sense of belonging is extremely significant. The safety is often maintained in a slum by the high degree of social interaction between the people.

Since the resettlement programs gather people from 67 locations in the city to 2 sites, it inevitably breaks the community's initial structure.

According to the TNSCB official, the social mix is implemented in the ongoing projects: *“we try to mix EWS with LIG or MIG. But the hierarchy should be conserved”*

This concept of moderate social mix can be seen as an alternative approach to a traditional social segregation system and to a complete social mix. Manimagalai supports that the social improvements should be done step by step.

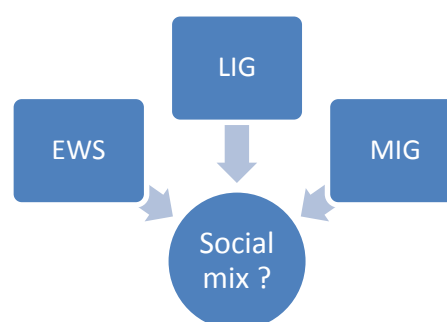


Figure 63: The social mix issue in Indian context- Source:K.Hochart

⁵² Offcite, “Interview with Alfredo Brillembourg about Torre David and the Future of the Global South”, <https://offcite.org/2012/10/19/interview-with-alfredo-brillembourg-about-torre-david-and-the-future-of-the-global-south>

2.3. *The relative notion of a successful project*

The success of a project differs according to the perspective of the stakeholder group – government, beneficiaries, NGOs, politicians-. The definition of a good project has then to be considered in relation to the interest of the stakeholder.

a) An exemplary project

Despite the fact that the residents face a number of difficulties in the resettlement site that some of them prefer to go back to the slum, the TNSCB officials maintain that Kannagi Nagar is a successful project. In the year 2002 Okkiyum Thoraipakkam Scheme (Kannagi Nagar Settlement) was awarded the third prize in the All-India Low Cost Housing Competition on Squatter Settlement. Chairman and Managing Director of Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) stated that “The TNSCB model was selected for the scale of its effort, a fairly good people’s participation and convergence of Government department and NGOs... Importantly, it is a solution that can be replicated in terms of cost and benefits for the people and the government” (PUCL Report). Thus, the Kannagi Nagar resettlement colony has been considered **as benchmark model for replication** time and again, taken as an example for the design and the implementation of the large-scale resettlement colony in Perumbakkam.

If a good project is a variable concept, involving the sustainability, the social equity, the reversibility, the cost efficiency, **the satisfaction of the beneficiaries** is nonetheless a good indicator to measure the effectiveness of a scheme.

Recalling the authorities that 20 percent of the beneficiaries have left the area to go back to the slum, they claimed that this statistical data is not a criterion for judging the quality of a project, because “in any scheme, 20 to 30% of the beneficiaries will come back to the slum.” Thus, the project is considered as a successful intervention by the government, who argues various reasons to this statistical result, blaming the people – emphasizing their interest for money in selling the flat – rather than questioning the effectiveness and sustainable respond of the project.

a) The participation: key to success?

From a European and right’s based development perspective, the consultation and participation process is perceived as one of the key point of a good planning project, as it implies a better acceptance of the project by the people. The trend is the implementation of sustainable project with a bottom-up approach.

Officially, the slum dwellers are consulted during the government’s survey. Regarding their involvement in the decision process, the TNSCB official assets that a participatory approach is implemented. She explained that “*once [they] decide of the scheme, the people are informed... [They] get their opinion also, through the Community Development Wing.*” As a result, she said that “*usually, when they are relocated more than 5 kilometres away from the previous place, they are not satisfied.*” In term of participation, the gap between the theory and the practice can be measured. Indeed, if the resident’s opinion is collected, it is however not considered in the project. The method is more akin to a semblance of consultation and participation.

Moreover, in order to improve the methods, the officials suggest opting for a biometric system, which would avoid the people to be eligible for another house in case they sold an allotted house. The cut-off dates are also considered as a positive method to select people eligible for the new house.

It seems that instead of questioning the project and trying to improve it, the government implemented new regulation systems, leading to a rigidification of the process and an exclusion of a part of the population.

b) The absence of feedback

While considering the resettlement project as a successful model to replicate, the interesting and contradictory point arose during the interview with the TNSCB official is the absence of feedback on the field. *“No feedback has been done by TNSCB... some researchers, scholars would have gathered some data about that, but we didn’t get it”*, said Manimegalai. Nonetheless, she added: *“Kannagi Nagar is a very big scheme and the target is too high. We’ve learnt lessons on that...We have inter-departmental meetings about relocation or rehabilitation.”*

Talking about the feedback possibly done by researchers and scholars, the question whether a collaboration work was implemented was raised. It seems that **no collaboration** exists with the research world; Manimegalai explains that they had few meetings but didn’t collaborate for now. *“Whenever the researchers need any details we share information with them. We take their suggestions also. Mostly they come and ask details but the report will not come to us.”* There is no submission to the government. Furthermore, *“a report on Okkiyam Thoreipakkam would have been useful for the Perumbakkam project.”* Indeed, Perumbakkam resettlement scheme has been implemented with Kannagi Nagar model, without questioning the effectiveness of the project. This disinterest in the feedback seems then to be in real **contrast with the claimed concept of experimentation**. The government affirms with certainty the success of the project, without inquiring on the satisfaction or acceptance of the beneficiaries. We can only regret this **lack of follow-up** in the implementation of the project. How can a project be an experiment and an example, without evaluating the success of the intervention? If the project has to be an experiment, comments and feedbacks, from residents, NGOs or from researchers, have to be gathered and considered to avoid repetition of the same mistakes and to tend towards an effective and sustainable action.

Besides, the neglect of the government in collecting resident's opinion reflects the approach towards slum dwellers, i.e considering them as uneducated and cause of the problems on the site. *“When they [the slum dwellers] come to Kannagi Nagar, it is a new place for them...they need to adjust. If something is missing there, they will raise the flag immediately.”*

The **responsibility** appears to be the key point in this complex interplay. The authorities justify the consequences of the project by rejecting the fault on the residents, or on the other planning agencies. The example of the park in Kannagi Nagar illustrates well this introduction of spurious excuses and the rejection of responsibility on other components: *“in the layout made by the TNSCB, a space is reserved for the park but they [the local body] didn’t develop it yet. The landscaping should be takeover by the local body.”* TNSCB. Each stakeholder, at each level, pass off the responsibility to another agency or local body. *“We initiate the project and build the tenements. Then the infrastructure on the site will have to be taken up by the local bodies. The Corporation is responsible of roads, parks, street lights, and garbage removal, whereas the CMDSWB is responsible for water supply and sewerage system.”*

If the government seems to have a quiet clear vision of the situation, being aware of the problems inherent to the relocation project, the feedback – basis for questioning a project – is however lacking. This is particularly disturbing when the project is qualified as experimental and then put forward as an

example for the following schemes. Finally, the lack of follow-up in the project desinvolve the Government in its responsibilities.

In conclusion, resettlement and rehabilitation programmes may strengthen the right to a secure place to live, but they “tend to erode the rights to economic and socio-cultural opportunities.” (Chance2sustain report). The combination of plurality of difficulties on the resettlement site reduces the independence and choices of the residents, making them more vulnerable, both financially and socially. This ensues from a restricted approach that treats housing in isolation, whereas there is a need to integrate it with socio-economic and livelihood issues.” Besides, the Government seems aware of the problems faced by the beneficiaries, but the age of the scheme, other agencies ‘mistakes or delays are all excuses used to dismiss their responsibility for the project failure. In addition, the description of the Kannagi Nagar project as an “experimentation” can it justify the absence of studies and anticipation? An experiment can be defined as “a course of action tentatively adopted without being sure of the outcome.”⁵³ In this case, feedback from the residents would be required before claiming the project’ success and extending the model to other schemes. The approach of the government is largely influenced by the misunderstanding and the biased representation on the slum dwellers. The authority’s consideration on the people influences the methods, leading the implementation of a top down project without questioning the reception of the project by the beneficiaries.

⁵³ As per the Oxford Dictionaries, www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/experiment

CONCLUSION

The study then highlighted various reasons for the failure of the resettlement project, from the location to the planning and housing design of the site. Unless a truly inclusive and integrated approach is implemented, slum clearance policies will remain limited to being policies for the eradication of the symptoms of housing poverty in the most visible urban spaces, without reducing urban poverty.

As assessed initially, the representation of slums by the planning authorities, and especially of its residents, is one of the reasons for the project failures. The representation of slum dwellers, as poor, non-educated and demanding people leads to a lack of means in the implementation of project. The absence of participatory approach, of time spent on studies along with the absence of architect in the board all illustrate this question: “why should we spend time and money for the poor people?” Besides the absence of feedback from the resettlement project, the absence of question on the implemented project, and the blame of the beneficiaries in case of dissatisfaction refer to the idea that “people should be satisfied with the project, because it is provided for free.” Finally, the lack of follow up of the study and the multiplicity of agencies responsible for some parts of the project lead to a denial of responsibility from the government.

This research work brought me a lot, both at the personal and professional level. Every day spent in Chennai was an opportunity of strengthening my knowledge about Tamilian culture. The contact with the residents was a very enlightening experience, charged with emotions. The positivity and creativity of the slum dwellers was very inspiring and motivating. From a planning and architecture perspective, the study was more than interesting, involving a multiplicity of stakeholders and dealing with the social issues related to planning. Furthermore, it led me to expand my thoughts about the criteria defining a successful planning project, as well as the conception of the quality of life. Beyond this, I personally feel that this research, with the conclusions brought, questions the materiality of the city, and the very concept of the city itself.

Finally, an extension of the study could be a review of the impact of the resettlement policies at a larger scale, leading to a research on the measurement of the socio-spatial integration or exclusion of the urban poor in Chennai. In a broader sense, it would be interesting to study the current schemes in perspective with the evolution of the city, in terms of social pattern, interactions, and economic changes.

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APPENDIX 1- POLICY TIMELINE

	National level		State level : Tamil Nadu
	Main regulations	Slum	
1947	Independence <i>Shelter policies in India were led by the central government's initiative</i>		
1950	1947-1948 : laws on freezing of the rent 1950 : Development of the institutions and urbanism regulations tools : Master plans Social housing law Urbanism law Slum rehabilitation regulations Urban Land Ceiling Act	1956 :National Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act <i>Identify slums- standards for housing and infrastructure set very high</i>	
1960			<i>A large number of migrants moved to Chennai (then Madras) during the 1960s and housing for the poor became a pressing issue</i>
			1961 : creation of the Tamil Nadu Housing Board (TNHB) manage all government housing construction projects in the state (Wiebe 1981: 51).
1970		<i>1970 : focus on the “amelioration of living conditions of slum-dwellers as an immediate measure” self-help housing and in situ slum upgrading</i>	1967 : DMK took over Redistributive policies 1971: Chief Minister M Karunanidhi created the TNSCB as an agency separate from the TNHB to deal specifically with the problem of slums.

		1972 : Central Scheme for Environmental Improvement in Slum Areas <i>The Bustee Improvement Scheme in Calcutta (provide basic amenities in all slums in major cities in the country)</i>	<i>1977: Madras Urban Development Project (with the world's bank)</i> DMK lost power in Tamil Nadu to MGR's splinter party, the AIADMK
1980			1980-1988; 2 nd MUDP <i>1985 estimate had it that a third of the population of the Madras city lived in slums</i>
1990	1991 : Economic reforms- liberalisation	1988 : National Commission on Urbanisation 1992 : National Housing Policy <i>concepts of decentralization, deregulation and privatization</i> <i>state should only be a facilitator of housing, not a builder</i>	TNUDP : 1988-1997
	1992: 74 th Amendment of the constitution : promoted participatory democracy	1999 : Draft National Policy	
	2005: SEZ special economic zones	2005: JnNURM <i>Shift in the role of the government from being a provider of housing to being an enabler, while promoting PPP</i>	
2010		Dec 2010- 2022: Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) slum free cities ⁵⁴	

⁵⁴ http://mhupa.gov.in/ray/Ray_index.htm

APPENDIX 2 - QUESTIONNAIRES

Semi-directive questionnaire Kannagi Nagar

Name:		Picture nb	
Surname:		Door number:	
Nb family members		Religion	

1. What is your native place?
2. Did you live to other places before?
3. When did you arrive in Kannagi Nagar?
4. Did you come alone or as a community?

	Before (in slum)	After relocation
5. Occupation		
6. Place of work		
7. Mean of transportation		
8. Time of transportation		
9. Monthly Income		
10. Monthly Expense		
11. Main issues		
12. Do you pay tax to the government?		
13. Do you have a ration card?		
14. Do you go to nearby public spaces?		
15. Do you travel in Tamil Nadu, or India?		
16. If yes, for which purpose?		

Housing
17. Type of house (1, 2, 3)
18. Nb of rooms
19. Size of plot
20. Do you own the house?
21. Do you prefer this house than the one before?
22. Advantages of the house
23. Disadvantages
24. What type of house do you prefer? (tenement or individual house)
25. How could the living space be improved?
26. Is it important to have open spaces?
27. Is the connexion to the ground important? If yes, why?

28. What are your main issues living here?
29. How could it be improved

Focus Group Discussions

- Youths
 - Elders
 - Women
 - Men
-
- What do you think about the Metro rail project?
 - How could your everyday life could be improved?
 - Are you satisfied with some actions implemented by the government?
 - Which ones?
 - Are you dissatisfied with the projects going on?
-
1. What is the main reasons of settlement here: location, shortage of houses
 2. What are your main issues?
 3. What do you expect from the government?
 4. What are the priorities for the government? (which land are given the priorities)
 5. What kind of intervention is privileged? (in situ rehabilitation, up gradation, relocation)
 6. Are you aware of the schemes? Consultation?
 7. How do the government authorities do the survey and allocate houses?
 8. Who is the intermediate between you and the government?
 9. Do you feel belonging to the city?
-
10. What is the state of development of the KN area?
 11. Do you think the resettlement colony in Kannagi nagar is a good project?
 12. Why do the people come back from Kannagi Nagar?
 13. How to avoid people to sell the given houses?
 14. Would you prefer to be relocated as a community or as a batch?
 15. What do you think about the vertical building: do you like it or is it a problem?
 16. Would you prefer to live in a tenement?
 17. If you are relocated, do you think that you would prefer to stay there?
 18. Do you think the connexion to the ground is important?
 19. What kind of house do you feel is required?
 20. How could the housing design and planning of the resettlement colony be improved?
 21. How could the method used for consultation of the dwellers, and allocation of the houses in the resettlement project be improved?
 22. Do you consider that KN is part of the city?

Questionnaire TNSCB-1

1. Why do the people live in slum? (because they don't have enough money to afford a house, because the process to rent a house is too rigid, or there is no house available?)
2. What are their main issues?
3. What do they expect from the government?
4. What are the priorities for the government? (which land are given the priorities)
5. What kind of intervention is privileged? (in situ rehabilitation, up gradation, relocation)

6. Are the people aware of the schemes?
7. How are the people consulted for the implementation of the scheme?
8. How do the government authorities do the survey and allocate houses?
9. Who is the intermediate between the slum dwellers and the government?
10. Do you think that the slum dwellers are part of the city?

11. Do you think the resettlement colony in Kannagi Nagar is a good project?
12. Why do the people come back from Kannagi Nagar?
13. How to avoid people to sell the given houses?
14. Do you think it is better to relocate people as a community or as a batch?
15. What do you think about the vertical building: do the people like it or is it a problem?
16. Do you think the connexion to the ground is important to them?
17. What kind of house do you feel is required?
18. How could the housing design and planning of the resettlement colony be improved?
19. How could the method used for consultation of the dwellers, and allocation of the houses in the resettlement project be improved?
20. Do you consider that KN is part of the city?

Questionnaire TNSCB- 2

After the fieldwork in both sites, I would like to discuss with you the data I got from the residents, and have your opinion about it:

1. Some people have left Kannagi Nagar and have gone back to the slum. What are their main reasons?
2. During the survey, people told me that they were not satisfied with the **housing design**. They find the house very small and there is no separate spaces (lack of privacy) (lack of ventilation). What do you think?
On what did the architects based on to design the buildings?
3. They also felt that the design was not suitable for disabled or elders, as they can difficultly reach their place when it is on the upper floor. Is the plot equally allotted to physically challenged people and others?
4. Mostly, resident complained about the **location**, which they find too far from their place of work. This separation of place of living and place of work is the main problem. On the other hand, my supervisor said that the area of OMR is getting developed now and that employment should be available there. Do you think they have as much job opportunities in Kannagi Nagar as in their previous place?
5. Due to the location, their reliability on **transportation** is more important. Do you feel that the transportation system is sufficient for the residents?
6. Last time, you told me that the government has implemented bus free of cost, but they told that it is difficult to commute. Why?
7. They also said that they couldn't afford the share-auto rates?
8. What are the amenities present or missing on the site?
9. Is there recreational or public spaces nearby?
10. Many people said that the area of Thoreipakkam is getting developed. What are your **projections for this area** in 10 or 20 years? (*job, activities, amenities...*)
11. With the growth of the families, how will the area evolve? (*where will they stay?*)
12. Last time we discussed about the **social issues** in the slums. Do you think that the awareness and the access to education has improved after relocation?

13. In January 2014, news report that 40% of the children have left schools whereas some others kept going to their previous schools? Why don't they go to the government school in Kannagi Nagar?
14. What are the advantages of disadvantages of this relocation project? Did you get feedback from the resident and what was it?
15. Finally, do you think a participatory approach or the consultation of the slum dwellers while implementing the project would help improving the relocation projects?
16. From my point of view, the city planning can be responsive and well implemented if the **researchers and politicians** work together. Is the department in touch with researchers or planners? Do you work in collaboration?
17. What are the ongoing government projects along the waterways: PhD Anna University
18. Work for the government?

CITERES

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Ingénierie du Projet
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Environnement*

Directeur de recherche :
Verdelli Laura

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Projet de Fin d'Etudes
DA5
2013-2014

Perspective of slums and resettlement policies in India

Case study of Kannagi Nagar Resettlement Colony, Chennai

Résumé: In India, diverse type of approaches have been attempted to address the issue of slums. In Chennai, the recent interventions of the government have mainly consisted in the construction of large-scale resettlement colonies in the outskirts of the city. Very few studies have looked at how effective these programmes have been in achieving their objectives, and no feedback has been done with the beneficiaries. Nonetheless, news reports indicate nearly 20 per cent of allotted homes in Kannagi Nagar (resettlement colony launched in 2000 and ongoing) are vacant and 50 per cent of the original beneficiaries are no longer living in them. This study aims to identify the reasons of the failure, by putting into perspective the different viewpoints of local stakeholders on the project. On one hand, this research assesses the impacts of the relocation programme on the quality of life of the beneficiaries. On the other hand, it highlights the representation of planning authorities on slums and analyses the influence of this social representation on the methods implemented and on the quality of the schemes.

Key words: slum, relocation, resettlement policies, quality of life, representation, slum dwellers,