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**Thesis**

Factors contributing to the failure of development induced  
resettlement projects: a case study of the “Sahasapura” slum  
relocation project, Colombo, Sri Lanka

**S.L. Dhammika K. Wijayasinghe, Sri Lanka**

Housing Development Strategies

Supervisor: Maartje van Eerd

UMD 6



## **MASTER'S PROGRAMME IN URBAN MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

**(October 2009 – September 2010)**

# **Factors contributing to the failure of development induced resettlement projects: a case study of the “Sahaspura” slum relocation project, Colombo, Sri Lanka**

**S.L. Dhammika K. Wijayasinghe**  
Sri Lanka

**Supervisor: Maartje van Eerd**

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## Summary

Rapid urbanization, lack of adequate affordable housing and lack of pro-active approach to development has contributed to proliferation of slums in most cities in the world. Colombo being the commercial capital of Sri Lanka has the highest demand for land and housing. The Sustainable Township Programme (STP) was introduced to address the housing issue of the urban poor by voluntary relocation and resettlement of them into compact townships. The STP has identified six compact townships within Colombo. The “Sahasapura” Slum Relocation project was implemented as the first phase of Sahaspura Compact Township under this programme. The objectives of this project were to resettle slum dwellers occupying several slum gardens in Colombo in a condominium and utilize the land thus liberated for urban redevelopment. Initially 651 families were relocated to “Sahasapura”, and 161 families refused to be relocated. It was reported that subsequent to resettlement, about 100 – 150 families have sold their houses in the project and created asset base to purchase a house from suburbs or sold their houses in the project and gone back to original settlements. This has made it impossible for liberated lands to be utilized for any purpose of commercial importance and hence, the entire development objective of the resettlement project was not achieved.

The main objective of the research was to identify the factors leading to the rejection of the “Sahasapura” slum relocation project by the target group and to draw conclusions about what needs to be improved for them to be able to improve their lives through resettlement and thereby also benefit from development causing their resettlement. The specific research objectives were to examine the factors that attract and keep slum dwellers in their original settlements, examine how the planning and implementation of the project was carried out and to identify perceived changes living in a high rise would bring about in the lives of the target group. The research was conducted as an exploratory descriptive type of research and “Sahasapura” resettlement project was treated as a holistic case study. A target group survey, focus group discussions and interview techniques were used to find out answers.

The research findings indicate that the livelihood assets of the target group had a strong relationship with the decisions they made. The most influential factors that made a section of the target group to refuse to be resettled and another section to sell off their housing units and move out were the perceived and experienced effects to the ability of obtaining basic services, tenure, social disarticulation in every aspect, loss of income opportunities and dissatisfaction with compensation. The study also revealed that there are certain aspects of project implementation that need to be changed in order for the target population to be more receptive to such projects. Therefore, it could be concluded that “Sahasapura” slum relocation project failed to achieve its objectives largely because the resettlement process did not address the disarticulation of community and other socio economic aspects.

Making sure that there is no social disarticulation and incorporation of livelihood restoration activities will ensure the success in the implementation of development induced slum relocation projects. A participatory approach throughout the process will reflect the aspiration of the target group and make the project and

compensation more acceptable to the target group. A conducive legal environment is of utmost importance for successful implementation of slum relocation projects to protect the rights of the target group while achieving the development objectives of the country.

**Key words: slum relocation, development induced resettlement, social disarticulation, livelihood restoration**

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## **Dedication**

To all the people who contribute to the economy of the city and thus to that of the country while living under impoverished conditions in the slums of Colombo.

To my mother and father who have supported me through every single step I took.

To all those who believe that I can bring about a positive change in the lives of the others.

## Abbreviations

A/L	General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level)
CMC	Colombo Municipal Council
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
GLTN	Global Land Tool Network
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IRR	Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction
LEI&CDP	Lunawa Environment Improvement and Community Development Project
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIRP	National Involuntary Resettlement Policy
NWSDB	National Water Supply and Drainage Board
O/L	General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level)
REEL	Real Estate Exchange (Pvt.) Ltd.
Rs.	Sri Lankan Rupee
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
SSIP	Slum and Shanty Improvement Programme
STP	Sustainable Township Programme
SUF	Slum Upgrading Facility
TEC	Technical Evaluation Committee
UDA	Urban Development Authority
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
US\$	American Dollar
USIP	Urban Settlement Improvement Programme

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Background

The rate of urbanization is the highest in developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America (World Urban Prospects, 2007). Rapid urbanization among other factors such as lack of adequate and affordable housing and lack of pro-active approach to development has contributed to higher population densities and to proliferation of slums and informal settlements in most big cities in these regions. Consequent scarcity of land makes land a very valuable commodity and encumbrance of these by slums and informal settlements is often regarded as highly undesirable. Therefore, in the course of development process, governments throughout the developing world respond to these “undesirable” slums and informal settlements in different manners. Most common responses to urban slums and informal settlements are forced evictions without considering any alternatives, and in other cases, clearance and relocation, on-site redevelopment and upgrading take place.

In Colombo which is the commercial capital of Sri Lanka the population has risen from 2,605 per km<sup>2</sup> to 3,305 per km<sup>2</sup> from 1981 to 2001. This is 10 times the national average of 308 per km<sup>2</sup>. In Colombo alone, there are about 65, 000 families living in sub-standard abodes without even the basic facilities. The pressure for lands has led to the encroachment of about 1000 acres (390 ha) of commercially valuable lands and reservation areas by urban poor. For the past five decades this problem had gradually aggravated in spite of many solutions tried out by the government of Sri Lanka. Then in 1999 the Ministry of Urban Development, Housing and Construction introduced the Sustainable Township Programme (STP) as a solution for the rapidly growing urban pressure.

The basic concept behind this programme was to address the housing issue of the urban poor by voluntary relocation and resettlement of them into compact townships thus avoiding problems such as livelihood problems, social unrest, further deterioration of urban living conditions, decay of infrastructure and environmental degradation due to congestion and overcrowding. Though it would not be the people’s choice to be relocated, the intention of the project proponents was to make them leave voluntarily by offering them an attractive compensation package. This new strategy envisages ensuring homes for people and lands for urban development identified under Colombo Metropolitan regional Plan.

In the Sustainable Township Programme, urban poor who have encumbered commercially valuable lands within the city of Colombo with no titles were to be re-housed in modern compact townships with necessary infrastructure and livelihood opportunities. The sale of liberated lands for residential cum commercial purposes was proposed to enable the re-housing programme to be self financed. Innovative concepts behind the programme are:

- Voluntary relocation and resettlement instead of forced eviction
- A modern apartment instead of a sub-standard abode
- Participatory decision making instead of top-down decision making

- Self financing instead of state funding
- Drawing urban poor into the mainstream of the urban economy instead of welfare
- Full ownership of the apartment instead of conditional tenureship.

It was expected to fulfil the shelter aspirations of the urban poor and to create socially acceptable, economically viable, technically feasible and environmentally friendly housing, urban and spatial development to benefit the Colombo Municipal Council (CMC) area in particular, and the nation as a whole.

STP introduced a concept of “land sharing” as a trading commodity to gain a new house for slum dwellers. Part of the identified population was from the location of the condominium built for resettlement while several other slum communities were required to be relocated. The programme was aimed to provide decent housing for Colombo city slum dwellers who occupy a shanty or slum with or without ownership. The occupant was to trade the occupied land to a new house leaving the land for urban development.

The government introduced Real Estate Exchange (Pvt.) Limited (REEL) as a “special purpose vehicle to implement this programme with the objective of functioning REEL as a private company in the corporate sector. It was supposed to provide space for land trading speedy house construction, and fund negotiations in a more flexible manner leaving out all traditional and rigid government financial and operational procedures.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

The objective of “Sahasapura” Slum Relocation project was to resettle slum dwellers occupying several slum neighbourhoods in Colombo in a condominium and utilize the land thus liberated for commercial purposes. Funds raised through such commercial ventures were to be invested in a revolving fund to be used in the other five projects identified under Sustainable Township Programme. Under the first phase of this programme, the government spent Rs. 600 million (approximately US\$ 6 million) as seed capital and a 14 storey housing complex consisting of 676 housing units was constructed to trade with slum dwellers who occupied several prime lands in the city. Preparatory work has been completed to commence 3 other projects to construct another 1532 housing units.

Out of 863 families identified to be relocated under the project, 651 families were relocated to “Sahasapura”, 52 families were relocated to another place and 161 families refused to be relocated. It is reported that subsequent to resettlement, about 100 – 150 families have sold their houses in the project and created asset base to purchase a house from suburbs or sold their houses in the project and gone back to original settlements. This has made it impossible for liberated lands to be utilized for any purpose of commercial importance and hence, the entire development objective of the resettlement project was not achieved (Annex 1 Problem tree). Therefore, it is important to investigate what makes these families to reject the project in order to correct any mistakes that could have been made.

### **1.3 Research objectives**

The main objective of the research was to identify the factors leading to the rejection of the “Sahasapura” slum relocation project by the target group and to draw conclusions about what needs to be improved for them to be able to improve their lives through resettlement and thereby also benefit from development causing their resettlement. Therefore, the specific objectives were;

- Examine the factors that attract and keep slum dwellers in their original settlements (pl. see definition in Chapter 3).
- Examine how the planning and implementation of the project was carried out.
- Identify perceived changes living in a high rise would bring about in the lives of the target group.

### **1.4 Main research question**

“What are the factors contributing to the rejection of the “Sahasapura” slum relocation project in Colombo, Sri Lanka by relocatees identified under the project?”

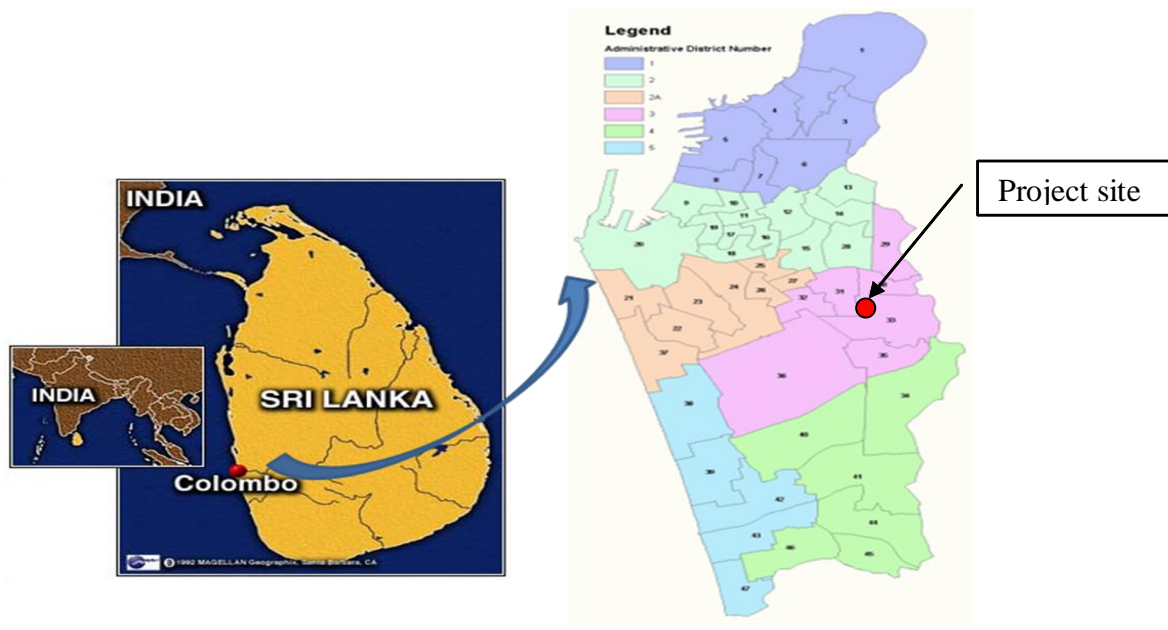
### **1.5 Specific research questions**

- I. What are the factors that attract and keep the inhabitants in their original settlements?
- II. What are the mechanisms adopted by the government to persuade the inhabitants to be relocated and resettled in “Sahasapura”?
- III. Which decision did the inhabitants make and why?

### **1.6 Description of the study area**

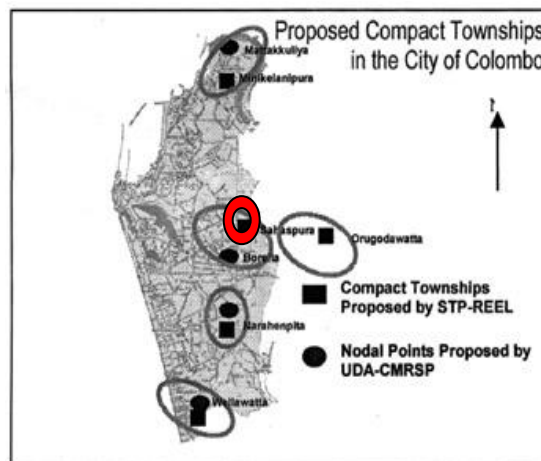
The study is carried out in Sri Lanka, an island in the Indian Ocean between 5 – 9 °N and 79 -81°E. Colombo used to be the capital of the country for centuries before it was shifted to Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte in 1982. However, Colombo is still the commercial hub and the centre of most government activities. This has brought a lot of pressure on the city through high rate of internal migration and resulting high intensity land use. This is reflected in the population density of 3,305 pa/km<sup>2</sup> in Colombo against the national average of 308 pa/km<sup>2</sup>.

**Figure 1: Map showing the study area**



Colombo Metropolitan Plan was developed with a view to provide opportunities for increased economic development, employment generation, improved living standards and quality of life of the people living in Colombo Metropolitan Region. Six locations in Colombo have been selected for urban re-development and they were to be developed as nodal compact townships. Liberated lands will be mainly used for three purposes, that is, for re-housing, urban development and as environmental reservations. Of the total extent of liberated land, 13% shall go for environmental reservations while another 19% will be utilized for housing constructions in the compact townships and the rest will be declared for urban development. The housing objective under the Colombo Metropolitan Region plan was to make available adequate serviced lands for new housing and to implement a comprehensive urban renewal programme to upgrade the existing low-income housing stock.

**Figure 2: Five nodal points identified for the compact townships**





It was expected to re-house 66, 273 families living in compact townships through the entire programme. An extent of 72.5 ha was designated for re-housing through land sharing so resettlement could be minimized while the rest of the land was to be developed under an integrated plan as shown in the following table.

Compact Township	Expected Housing Units (No.)	Extent of Land to be Liberated (Hectares)			
		Re-housing	Environmental Reservations	Urban Re-development	Total
Sahasapura (Borella)	20,371	25.9	9.7	78.9	114.5
Minikelanipura (Totalanga)	16,801	16.2	5.7	72.4	94.3
Kochchikade	5,850	6.9	-	15.8	22.7
Mayura Place (Wellawatta)	7,337	6.9	9.7	10.5	27.1
Narahenpita	7,454	8.1	16.2	42.5	66.8
Slave Island	3,284	3.2	6.9	24.7	34.8
Other Sites	5,176	5.3	2.4	24.7	32.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>66,273</b>	<b>72.5</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>269.5</b>	<b>392.6</b>

**Table 1: Summary of expected development under STP**

The relocation site under “Sahasapura” project is located within Colombo city in Zone 8 in a place called Wanathamulla in Borella. The families that were identified for relocation and resettlement came from several small patches of slums in Colombo Zones 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12 in Panchikawatta, Union Place, Keselwatta, Wanathamulla, Vajiragnana Mawatha, Sebastian Street, Bosevana watta and Johnson watta. This was intended to release an extent of 3.2 ha of commercially valuable lands in the heart of the city. Most of the small slums are called “wattas” meaning “gardens” with a cluster of poor quality houses with inadequate service facilities. Most of them share stand pipes that serve a number of houses. Houses are of poor quality without conforming to any standards constructed with improvised materials. Most of the families are poor, irregular income earners working in markets and street-side jobs.

**Figure 3: Conditions prevailed in the slums**



## **1.7 Significance of the study**

The government of Sri Lanka has ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966 and has become party to all its subsequent directives. Therefore the government has an obligation to ensure everyone's right to adequate housing and the right to be protected from forceful eviction. The project under study has gone through a community mobilization phase and attempted to follow the international guidelines on resettlements so as to ensure the lives of relocatees would not be disrupted. The relocation site is located within CMC area within one of the slum areas identified for redevelopment and not very far from the other original settlements and affected families were given the option of an apartment with a title deed or cash compensation. The success of the project became questionable when a large portion of the identified group rejected the apartments either at the inception or after being relocated. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate what are the factors that contribute to bring about this behaviour because those would be crucial for the success of any similar projects to be implemented. It is also important to establish these links in a proven manner acceptable and replicable elsewhere.

“Sahasapura” project was implemented with government seed capital with intention of forming a revolving fund through the income generated by developing land liberated by relocation. It has taken into consideration international recommendations for successful implementation of resettlement projects. The outcome of the project shows us that there could be other factors affecting choices of people that contribute to success or failure of such projects. It is also important to analyse factors that cause carefully implemented projects to fail in realising its development objectives. The answer to the proposed research question would lead us to understand what the factors that we have not considered are or failed to take into account in implementing the project for its sustainability.

## **1.8 Scope and limitations of the study**

The scope of the study is to study the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the slums that were identified for relocation and explore the factors that attract and keep slum dwellers in their original settlements. To understand the reasons leading to rejection of “Sahasapura” resettlement project by part of the target group, it is important to know how the planning and implementation of the project was carried out and to identify the perception of the target group about changes living in a high rise building would bring about in their lives.

The entire target group is 812 families in 8 locations. However, due to the time constraints, it will not be able to study all the slums. This makes it necessary to select the sample of location and respondents purposively. Another limitation is that it might be difficult to locate some of the families that left the project by selling out their properties.

The recent trend of government forced evictions of slum dwellers could have created tension and hostility among the evicted or threatened people which might have an adverse bearing on carrying out the research project.

## **Chapter 2: Literature review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter deals with existing knowledge that would assist and guide the research project. They would also provide a base to draw final conclusions and make recommendations to undertake relocation and resettlements projects that are acceptable to both slum dwellers and governments. The chapter looks at what are the globally accepted rights to housing, what is housing informality and what are the responses to it globally and in Sri Lanka, what is development induced resettlement and what are the Sri Lankan experience on it, what are the known consequences of development induced resettlement, and how to deal with it through the sustainable livelihood approach.

### **2.2 Right to housing**

Housing was first recognized as a right by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948. The article 25(1) of the declaration states that “Everyone has a right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control”.

This Universal Right was further strengthened by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966 which was entered into force in year 1976. While Article 4 of the Covenant state “The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize that, in the enjoyment of those rights provided by the State in conformity with the present Covenant, the State may subject such rights only to such limitations as are determined by law only in so far as this may be compatible with the nature of these rights and solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society”. Further, the Article 11(1) of the Covenant directly states that “The State Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. These State Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent”. By 2008, 160 countries had signed and ratified the Covenant while 6 other countries have signed but not ratified.

Being a signatory to these international Covenants or ratification alone does not necessarily ensure the rights of people to adequate housing or improved living conditions. It is essential for State Parties to take steps to domesticate these international guidelines in order to achieve precedent over prevailing legislations that may not be very favourable to shelter aspirations of the poor. Many countries have not taken this measure and thus, have not fully domesticated the right to adequate housing by the people.

Sri Lanka has domesticated the international guidelines through the Constitution. Chapter III of the Constitution of Sri Lanka deals with Fundamental Rights in

accordance with the Universal Declaration. While stating the Right of persons to the Freedom of thought, conscience and religion, Freedom from torture, Right to equality, Freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention and punishment, and prohibition of retroactive penal legislation and Freedom of speech, assembly, association, movement, it includes the Freedom of movement and choosing of one's residence within Sri Lanka. However, some of these Rights are restricted therein under the laws relating to public security, laws in relation to racial and religious harmony or Parliamentary privileges, law in the interest of national economy and other existing laws.

Chapter VI of the Constitution of Sri Lanka provides directive principles of State policy and fundamental duties. Article 27 (2) (c) specifies that the State is pledged to establish a democratic, socialist society in Sri Lanka by "the realization by all citizens of an adequate standard of living for themselves and their families, including adequate food, clothing and housing, continuous improvement of living conditions and the full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities". However, the Article 29 notes that these Principles of State Policy and fundamental duties are not justiciable and are not enforceable in any court or tribunal.

### **2.3 Housing informality**

Development of the informal housing sector is often a response to the increasing pressure on urban land and resulting scarcity of land and housing by the poor. What is collectively termed as "informal settlements" are referred to as "slums", "shanties", "squatter settlements", "favelas", "spontaneous settlements", "barrios" in various literatures. According to UN HABITAT (1982), slums and squatter settlements take different meanings. A slum is a settlement usually consisting of run-down housing in older, established, legally built parts of the city proper. On the other hand, squatter settlements are mainly uncontrolled low-income residential areas with ambiguous legal status regarding land occupation (UNCHS, 1982: pp 14-15). However, UN HABITAT revised this definition at its Twenty First Session of the Governing Council. Accordingly, a slum would be "a heavily populated urban area characterised by substandard housing and squalor". Twenty First Session of the Governing Council also notes that a group of UN experts had recommended that a more "operational definition" for slum should be considered. Accordingly, a slum is an area that combines in various extents characteristics such as inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (UN HABITAT, 2007). However, Viratkapan & Perera (2004) refer the term "slum" in the Thai context as both slum & squatter settlements described above. The most common shared features of all these despite their different names are run down condition, poor quality housing, overcrowding and inadequate basic services. Nawagamuwa and Viking (2003) relate the history of informal settlements to the employment bloom with western industrial revolution in late 1950s. This is supported by Payne's (2002) statement that "priority for the very poor is invariably to obtain access to livelihood opportunities, which are usually in prime, central urban locations where competition for urban land is greatest and prices correspondingly high". Informal housing sector could surpass the formal housing sector in certain countries. For example Payne and Majale

(2004) drawing on Kironde (2004) has stated that 83% of all properties in the city of Dar Es Salam of Tanzania are in informal settlements.

There are two basic approaches to informal settlements among experts on human settlements. They are viewed as a potential or an opportunity by one group of scholars while the other look at them as a problem or a negative Sector. Nawagamuwa and Viking (2002) state that some researchers such as Desai and Devadas (1990) advocate that informal settlements are like “cancers”, which presence and continued growth are destructive to the city.

On the other hand, if we view the city as an ecosystem that is comprised of different niches, informal settlements are an integral part of that city that serves a special function. It provides an affordable housing option in the absence of affordable formal housing, for low income categories that form an integral part of the labour market. In the recent years, the middle income earners have also opted to settle in these settlements due to high demand for affordable housing in cities resulted by rural – urban migration.

## **2.4 Global responses to housing informality**

Governments all over the world respond in different manner to housing informality depending on their perception of informal housing sector and the strength of democracy. Payne (2004) has showed that Agenda 21, the HABITAT Agenda, Cities Alliance and Millennium Development Goals set a platform addressing the problems of urban poverty and access to affordable, adequate and appropriate housing. However, the most common responses seem to be forced evictions, clearance and relocation, clearance and on-site redevelopment and upgrading.

Forced eviction is a completely anti-informal, anti-poor approach that does not consider any alternative for the poor that results their further impoverishment. The General Comment Number 7 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1997) defines “forced eviction” as the permanent or temporary removal against their will of individuals, families and/ or communities from their homes and/ or land which they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal other protection. Forced evictions are not carried out in response to housing informality in urban areas though Global Survey 11 of Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (2009) reports that 42% of all recorded forced evictions are urban. Globally, hundreds of thousands of people are uprooted from their living environment without their consent each year due to many factors such as ethnic cleansing, conflicts, political reasons, threat of disasters and development activities. According to Global Survey report of COHRE, over 4,312,161 people were affected by threatened and implemented forced eviction in 2007 and 2008. Usually it is the informal sector without security of tenure that is most vulnerable to forced evictions.

For instance in Africa, the same report predicts that 127,000 slum dwellers in Mathare and Mukuru slum areas in Nairobi, Kenya will be evicted without concrete plans of adequate rehabilitation if the Nairobi River basin Programme is implemented according to its current plan. In KwaZulu-Natal provincial government in South Africa declared in 2006 that all shack settlements would be irradiated. This could only mean forced eviction since a housing backlog of

250,000 units already existed and the government was not in a position to re-house all the families that were affected. In the large slum of Kibera, Nairobi alone, over 300,000 residents are faced with threat of forcefully evicted. COHRE report shows that in Abuja, Nigeria over 800,000 people living in informal settlements were forcibly evicted from 2003 to 2007.

Clearance and relocation could be carried out with due consideration to the original inhabitants depending on the policy environment of the country. Clearance and onsite redevelopment and upgrading are by virtue more original inhabitant favourable approaches that would either provide alternative accommodation or improvement of existing conditions. Naga City in Philippines and Montevideo in Uruguay have adopted innovative approaches involving affected communities thereby protecting the interests and rights of people while achieving planned development (COHRE Global Survey 2007 – 2008).

One factor that can have a great impact on government responses to housing informality is the organized civil society. Slum Dwellers International has demonstrated the capacity of affected communities and nongovernmental organizations to influence the decision makers.

## **2.5 Sri Lankan responses to housing informality**

Prior to 1950s, most of the public sector housing construction was mainly targeted on provision of housing to the workers of public sector institutions engaged in essential service delivery facilities. This resulted in the construction of a large number of houses within the CMC area and other urban areas. These houses were constructed to provide residential facilities for the workers of local authorities. Also organizations such as Colombo Port Commission, the Government Factory, Department of Health Services and Department of Public Works constructed houses for their employees. Then a large number of middle income housing was constructed during the period of 1950 to 1960 after the establishment of National Housing Fund. The period after the opening of the economy in 1977 marked a rapid growth of urban areas, especially in the western province.

The subsequent growth of the urban labour market resulted in the expansion of the housing informality in Colombo and other major cities. These informal settlements were characterised by high densities and poor infrastructure and services. By this time, most of the middle and low income housing areas constructed after 1950s were also in a rundown condition. Two urban upgrading programmes were initiated in late 1970s to improve the conditions of these urban areas and to legalize tenure. The Million Housing Programme that was initiated in 1978 sought to address the inadequacy of affordable housing for poor through several strategies such as construction of new houses and improvement of existing housing stock using aided self-help methodology. Financial and technical assistance were provided to the needy in rural, urban and estate sectors for construction of houses. Granting security of tenure was an important element of these programmes.

Major programmes and projects implemented to address the urban housing informality from late 1970s to date were Slum and Shanty Improvement Programme (SSIP), Urban Settlement Improvement Programme (USIP), Sustainable Township Programme (STP), Lunawa Environment Improvement and

Community Development Project (LEI&CDP) and Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF) under UN HABITAT. The common features of all these programmes and projects were tenure rights and improved infrastructure and service facilities. Sustainable Township Programme and Slum Upgrading Facility employs the principle of land sharing to enable housing for the informal settlers while LEI&CDP carried out participatory resettlement process.

## **2.6 Development induced population resettlement**

Development induced forced eviction has received increased prominence over the years with rapid urbanization most cities in developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, this is not a phenomenon that is exclusive to these areas. There are many examples of development initiatives forcing people out of their housing and native lands from both developing and developed world. According to Cernea (2002), development programmes result forced population displacement in the range of 10 million people each year, or some 200 million people globally within the past two decades.

We have to understand the meaning of several terms when we discuss this topic. We have previously discussed what forced eviction is. UN HABITAT Global Land Tool Network (GLTN, 2010:156) has defined “relocation” as the physical transfer of individuals or groups from their usual home (place of origin) to another location (place of relocation) voluntarily or involuntarily on temporary or permanent basis. Displacement is another term we encounter that needs to be clarified. This differs from relocation by the facts that it is involuntary and temporary (Muggah, 1998). Resettlement is defined by GLTN, 2010:156 as the provision of shelter, basic services and infrastructure, livelihood opportunities and security of tenure to displaced families in the place of relocation, or, on return, in their place of origin. Muggah (1998) claims that resettlement at its most basic, entails the planned and controlled relocation of populations from one physical place to another.

Mega projects like hydropower projects, urban renewal and transportation lead to displacement and resettlement of millions of people all over the world. Mega events like Olympic Games, Commonwealth games, Football World Cup have had adverse effects on millions of people. COHRE Global Survey 11 reports that over 1.5 million people were affected by eviction and involuntary displacement due to Olympic Games in Beijing, China. Authorities have reportedly used propaganda, harassment, repression, imprisonment and violence against those who resisted the involuntary displacement (COHRE, 2009: pp11).

Construction of dams for irrigation and hydropower generation has been one development initiative that caused mass scale population displacement in many countries. Inundation due to construction of reservoirs and canals as well as government’s densification plans has involuntarily relocated millions of people. In the case of Three Gorges Dams Project in China which is the largest electricity generating plant, over 1.3 million people were displaced in addition to flooding of many archaeological and cultural sites. The construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam across river Narmada in India was one of the most controversial dam projects. World Bank was the initial funder for the project but the bank later withdrew funding due to various issues. The estimated number of families that were

displaced due to the construction of the reservoir was 41,000 (Scudder, 2003). About 10,000 fisher families were left without livelihoods due to stoppage of downstream river flow during non-monsoon periods due the dam.

COHRE Global Survey 11(2007 – 2008: 10) notes that “Implementation of a master plan has been the cause of forced evictions in several cities including Abuja (Nigeria), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and New Delhi (India)”. The same report notes that implementation of Master Plan in Addis Ababa has rendered over 650 families homeless within the period of 2007 – 2008.

Annexure 1 of the report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living has given basic principles and guidelines for States on development based evictions and displacement. It clearly outlines general obligations and duties of States to follow in implementing development project that inevitably carry an eviction or displacement component.

## **2.7 Sri Lankan experience on development induced population resettlement**

The first recorded case of development induced forced resettlement is the case during British rule when the colonial rulers acquired land otherwise enjoyed by the locals under customary ownership for plantation development. This has displaced thousands of Sinhalese farmers living in the up country without compensation and Indian Tamils were brought into work in the plantations for cheap labour and settled in improvised row-housing called line rooms.

Muggah (1998) reviewed most of relocation and resettlement programmes in Sri Lanka including development induced population resettlement as well as people that were driven away from their properties due to the ethnic conflict. Gal Oya Irrigation Project implemented during the period of 1948 – 1952 was the largest and first post independent multipurpose development project implemented in Sri Lanka. The main objectives of the project were to provide irrigated land for agricultural purposes as well as to densify the area. Approximately 80,000 were settled into 40 colonies along irrigation canals during this period (Muggah, 1998). Then in more recent times large scale relocation and resettlements were carried out due to construction of reservoirs for agricultural and hydroelectric generation. During the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme (1980 – 2000) comprising several large reservoirs such as Kothmale, Victoria, Randenigala, Rantambe and Maduru Oya, entire cities had to be resettled due to complete inundation. This uprooted thousands of families from their traditional villages, social connections and fertile agricultural fields in the intermediate zone with a mild climate to irrigated new lands in the dry zone with harsh climatic conditions. Compensation was paid but it was limited due to the inability of most people enjoying traditional lands to produce legal title deeds to their properties (Muggah, 1998). According to him, the top-down planning and implementation of the project failed to address the wishes and needs of both resettlers and host communities bringing about impoverishment and social tension.

The Global Survey on Forced Eviction by COHRE (2009: pp98) reports that 1,770 people were evicted from the state lands they were residing on by the Urban Development Authority, the Ministry of Defence and the police in 2008. This



eviction had been carried out despite a Supreme Court stay order under the reasoning of national security and un-authorized occupation. It was also noted that the residents were offered relocation previously which they had refused to inadequacy.

A breakthrough attempt to domesticate international guidelines on housing rights was the development of the National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP) of 2001. Under NIRP, people adversely affected by development projects are to be:

- Fully and promptly compensated
- Successfully resettled and provided assistance to:
  - i. Re-establish their livelihoods
  - ii. Deal with psychological, cultural, social and other stresses caused by compulsory land acquisition
  - iii. Make the affected communities aware of processes available for redress of grievances that are easily accessible and immediately responsive and
  - iv. Have in place a consultative, transparent and accountable involuntary resettlement process with a timeframe agreed to by the project executing agency and the affected people

The government has further instructed that NIRP should apply to all development-induced land acquisition or recovery of possession by the state, a comprehensive Resettlement Action Plan is required if 20 or more families are affected, the policy applies even the number of families affected is less than 20 but the plan could be of lesser detail and should apply to all projects regardless of funding source.

This policy eliminated most of the pressing issues regarding relocation and resettlement in earlier programmes by introducing an approach that is more responsive to the needs and expectations of people living in the relevant area. The Guiding Principles of the Policy are to avoid or minimize involuntary resettlement by reviewing (a) alternatives to the project and (b) alternatives within the project and fully involving affected people at the earliest opportunity in the selection of relocation sites and livelihood improvement and development options ensure that the wishes of the affected people are not ignored (NIRP, 2001).

## **2.8 Consequences of development induced population displacement**

Various aspects of relocation of slum and squatter settlements have been studied by many veterans of the subject. Cernea (1997) argues that most development forced resettlement programmes lead to further impoverishment of low income, informal sectors. He identifies eight key impoverishment risks as follows:

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>Landlessness</i> | Expropriation of land thus removing the foundation upon which productive system, commercial activities and livelihoods are based, |
| <i>Joblessness</i>  | Loss of wage employment or other income earning work or   |

	business
<i>Homelessness</i>	Loss of housing and shelter
<i>Marginalization</i>	Together with loss of financial and physical capital comes a loss of social status creating lack of self confidence and esteem and feels a lack of belongingness
<i>Food insecurity</i>	Insufficient food supply resulting in chronic undernourishment
<i>Loss of access to common properties and services</i>	Loss of access to common properties like play grounds, open areas, burial grounds and public utilities such as water supply, electricity and access roads reduces the asset base
<i>Increased morbidity</i>	Serious health implications related to post resettlement psychological stress or trauma as well as poor preventive and curative health care could result in high morbidity and mortality
<i>Community disarticulation</i>	helplessness due to loss of support of kinship groups, informal social organizations and inter personnel ties

Cernea's theoretical Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model suggests that such resettlement projects should be carried out through explicit and sound strategies to reduce impoverishment risk backed by adequate financing.

Scudder (2009) makes a comparative discussion of existing resettlement theories taking into account Cernea's IRR model and his own four stage framework. The four stage process he consider important in ensuring successfulness of resettlement projects are planning for resettlement before physical removal, coping with initial drop of living standards, initiation of economic development and community formation activities necessary for improving living standards and handing over a sustainable resettlement process to a second generation of resettlers. Scudder takes the case of Kariba Dam between Zimbabwe and Zambia for theory testing. Cernea's model deals with all kinds of development forced displacement and resettlements while Schuder concentrates more on displacement due to dam constructions. Cernea's model explains how to reverse the risks of impoverishment and convert the identified risks into proactive reconstruction. However, he concludes that both theories need more testing through case studies to come up with a model that would address the issues of all kinds of development forced displacement and resettlement.

Viratkapan and Perera (2004) have investigated the factors that contribute to the success or failure of slum relocation projects in Bangkok. Their analysis dealing with three stages of a relocation project, which are eviction stage, transition stage and consolidation stage, reveals there are two types of factors that contribute to success or failure of such projects. They are the external factors and internal factors. According to them, external factors are convenience of new location in terms of proximity to a main road, sub centre and local market and award of compensation. The internal factors they have come across are unity of the community, strength of leadership, participation of community members and the attitude of community members to the new location. They conclude that only award of compensation out of the external factors has an effect on successfulness

of relocation projects while all the above mentioned internal factors could affect the development performance of such projects.

In the mean time, Koenig (2009) argues most resettlement theories need reviewing since they have an implicit bias towards rural resettlement and they do not pay due attention to the significant aspects of urban living. However, her inference that displaced urban populations will be invariably more economically, socially and culturally diverse than those in rural areas is correct and hence addressing issues in urban areas become more complicated.

Mutamba (2009) in her MSc thesis has investigated what kind of link there is between successfulness of the resettlement project and the level of participation of the affected community in the Ubumwe - Bastinda slum relocation project in Rwanda. The author has concluded that there is a strong link between the level of community participation and the project successfulness if the project is to work for the good of the beneficiaries. However, she fails to establish this link through inferential statistics.

## **2.9 Dealing with resettlement through the sustainable livelihood approach**

Payne (2004: pp70) describes the sustainable livelihood approach as a way of thinking of the objectives, scope and priorities for development to enhance progress in poverty reduction. Chambers and Convey (1992 in Payne, 2004, pp 71) defined livelihood as “..comprises of capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living; a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term”. According to Ashley and Carney (1999), people living in a vulnerability context of dynamic physical, socio-economic and political environment are constantly exposed to external shocks and stresses.

Livelihood assets comprise of tangible and intangible resources that help people to cope with the external shocks and stresses. Livelihood assets include following capitals.

- i. Natural capital: The natural resources that are useful for livelihoods such as land, water, biodiversity
- ii. Social capital: The social resources such as networks, relationships, group memberships, access to institutions
- iii. Human capital: Knowledge, skills and capabilities of an individual, access to information, good health
- iv. Physical capital: Housing, basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation, energy, transport
- v. Financial capital: Financial resources available to people such as wages, pensions, access to credit, savings and liquefiable assets

Livelihood strategies are all the livelihood activities that people undertake to achieve their livelihood outcomes. These strategies should be dynamic in order to deal with dynamic vulnerability context.

There are four basic types of livelihood strategies, namely, survival strategies, coping strategies, adaptive strategies and accumulation strategies.

## **2.10 Conceptual approach**

Cernea (1997 and 2002) has made significant contribution to the study of impacts of population displacement and risk of impoverishment as a consequence and come up with the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model. In this model, he explains how to reverse the eight key impoverishment risks he has previously identified and reconstruct the livelihoods. He recommends that reconstruction process should target on developing from landlessness to land based reestablishment, from joblessness to reemployment, from homelessness to house reconstruction, from disarticulation to community reconstruction, from marginalization to social inclusion and from expropriation to restoration of community assets.

The current study intends to combine sustainable livelihood theory and impoverishment risk and reconstruction model (Annex 2 Conceptual framework) where resettlement is treated as an external threat to the livelihoods of people carrying the eight key elements of impoverishment risk. The coping and survival strategies of poor to such external shocks are largely dependent on their social capital in the absence of significant strength in other four capitals.

Therefore the primary assumption in the study is that the key factor to success of slum relocation projects such as the current case study would be how the resettlement process addresses the disarticulation of community and the social fabric. It is therefore of utmost importance to investigate how this issue was addressed in the implementation of the project.

## **Chapter 3: Research design and methodology**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This section gives an outline of what was done and how it was done to find answers to the research questions. The research was conducted as an attempt to find out the factors that contribute to rejection of the “Sahasapura” slum relocation project in Colombo, Sri Lanka by the target group identified under the project.

Therefore, an exploratory descriptive type of research was carried out to answer the research question. “Sahasapura” resettlement project was treated as a holistic case study and a target group survey and interview techniques were used to find out answers.

### **3.2 Terminology used**

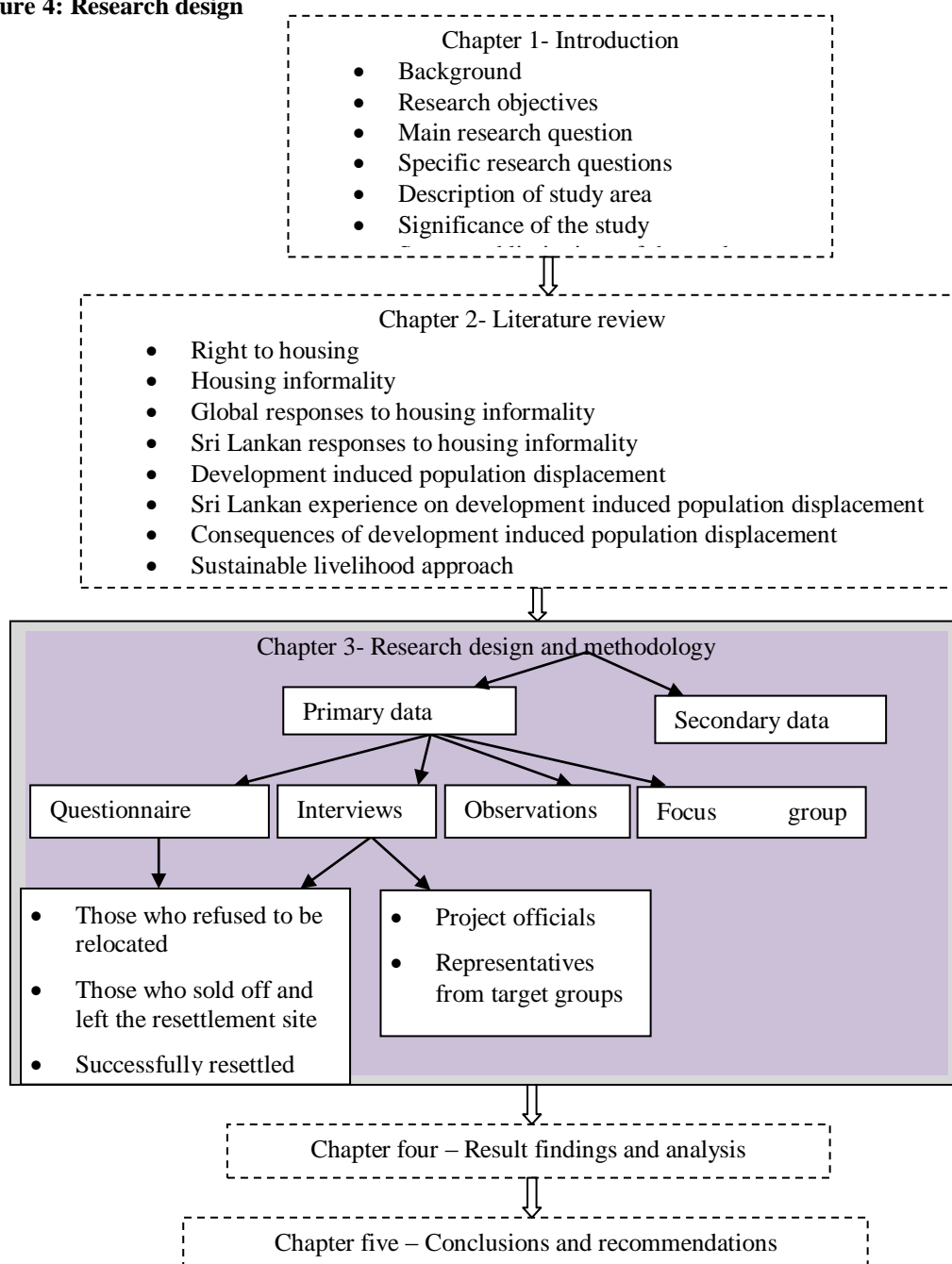
As mentioned in Chapter 2, according to UN HABITAT, slums and squatter settlements take different meanings. A slum is defined as a heavily populated urban area characterised by substandard housing and squalor , or a slum is an area that combines in various extents characteristics such as inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (UN HABITAT, 2007) (UN HABITAT, 2007). The squatter settlements are mainly uncontrolled low-income residential areas with ambiguous legal status regarding land occupation (UNCHS, 1982: pp 14-15). However, Viratkapan & Perera (2004) refer the term “slum” in the Thai context as both slum & squatter settlements described above.

Similarly, the term “slum” encompasses both slum & squatter settlements above under the present study in Sri Lanka. This term should not be confused with illegal settlements because part of the slum dwellers has legal entitlements. Therefore the terms “slums” will be used for the settlements identified for relocation and “slum dwellers” for the target groups of this study. Sometimes, these slums in Sri Lanka are called “watta”’s meaning “slum gardens”.

The term “original settlement” is used in this report to identify slum settlements where the resettled people and those who resettled and subsequently sold off used to live before the implementation of the project and where those who refused to be resettled continue to live.

## 3.2 Research design

Figure 4: Research design



## 3.3 Data collection

### 3.3.1 Primary data

Primary data was gathered using a questionnaire in Sinhala (Annex 3; translated version). Inhabitants of slums in 8 locations in close proximity were identified for relocation. Therefore, a representative sample of those who refused to be relocated from the beginning was selected. A sample of those who sold off the housing unit

they received at “Sahaspura” to move back to their original settlement or elsewhere were taken with the assistance of their friends in the original settlements. A sample of the people successfully resettled in “Sahaspura” was also surveyed. Questionnaires were administered by the researcher and one field assistant. Several random in-depth interviews of people who have chosen to live in “Sahaspura” were taken and two focus group discussions with a group from people who refused to be resettled and a group of people that were successfully resettled were taken as a form of validation of primary data collected through the questionnaire survey.

In addition, a few purposive semi structured interviews of several officials from stakeholder institutions were taken (Annex 4). This was primarily done to understand how the project was implemented and to determine shortcomings if any.

### 3.3.2 Secondary data

Secondary data were obtained from various project documents and reports of the project and the Ministry of Urban Development and the Urban Development Authority. Previous studies or news items regarding the project were also utilized to collect information on the implementation and outcomes of the project.

## 3.4 Sampling

Sample selection of the research was purposive random sampling for the affected communities. Approximately 10% sample of the total population was taken for the study.

Category	Population size	Sample size
Resettled	500 - 550	60
Sold off and moved	100 – 150	10
Refused to be resettled	161	16

**Table 2: Size of the population and the sample**

In the case of resettled population, sample selection was done as per the every 10<sup>th</sup> housing unit in the condominium starting from the top floor. The snow balling technique was employed to select samples from the group that refused to be relocated and those who sold off and left the resettlement site because of the difficulty to trace them otherwise.

In the case of in-depth interviews of community as well as for project officials, snow balling method was used to select respondents.

### 3.5 Operationalisation of concepts

Research Questions	Variables	Indicators	Questions	Analysis
I. What are the factors that attract and keep the inhabitants in their original settlements?	Natural capital	Availability of land Proximity to environment resources	Do/ did you own land in the original settlement? Were there any forests/ lakes from which you can collect resources?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
	Social capital	Relatives and friends in the area, Membership in associations, Relationship with NGOs & political groups Level of safety	How long have you/ your family been living in the settlement? Where did your family originally come from? Do/ did you have other family, friends living in the settlement? Are/ were you a member of any social organization? Are/ were there any NGOs/ political groups active in the area? What is/ was the level of community participation in your settlement? What is/ was your role in the community? Do/ did you feel safe in the settlement? Do/ did you encounter problems such as drugs, alcoholism or armed gangs in your area?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
	Human capital	Level of education, Available skills, Health	Who are the other members of the family? What are the educational levels of family members? Are you trained in any occupation? What are the special skills you have? How often do/ did you or family members suffer from diarrhoea? How often do/ did you or family members suffer from mosquito borne diseases?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
	Physical capital	Housing Basic services (water, sanitation, health facilities, electricity, drainage), Proximity to city centre & transport, Proximity to knowledge institutions,	What is the type of house you have/ had? What is the method of obtaining water for drinking and other purposes? Do you have electricity connection? Do/ did you have health clinics? Did your settlement have drainage facilities? Do/ did you pay for above services? How often are/ were you subjected to flooding? How far is/ was it from the settlement to the city centre? How far are the school/ technical college/ University from the settlement?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
	Financial capital	Sources of income, Individual saving, saving groups, Availability of credit facilities, Home based/ informal business activities	Where do you work? What is/ was your income source/s? How much did you earn a day/ month? Did you have any personal savings? Do/ did you have any saving groups among your friends/ family members? What are/ were the available sources of credit? Are/ were you involved in any home based business activities?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)



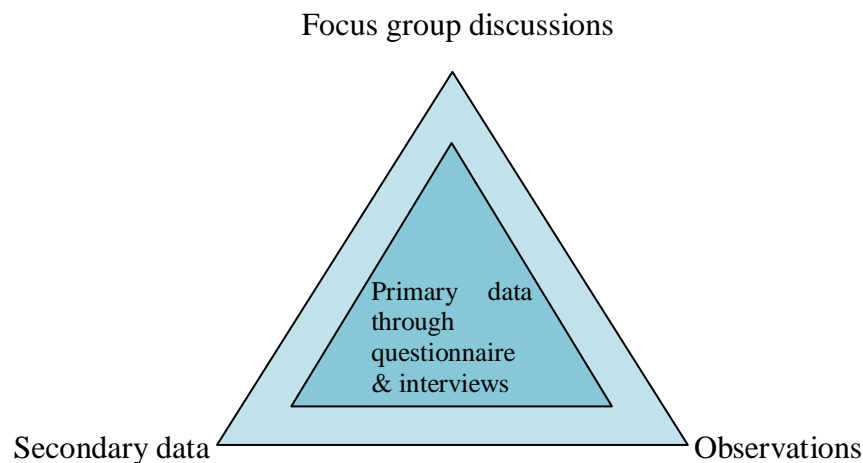
II. What are the mechanisms adopted by the government to persuade the inhabitants to be relocated and resettled in “Sahasapura”?	Planning, information provision and implementation of the project	Timing of information provision, Availability of project information Method of information provision	When were you informed about the project? Were the project details made clearly available to you? How was the information provided to you?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
		Participation in decision making & planning, Participation in implementation Compensation	Were you involved in making decisions regarding the project? If yes, what were they? Were you implemented in any implementation activities? If yes, what was your contribution? What compensation package were you offered?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
III. Which decision did the inhabitants make and why?	Perceived risk (by those who refused to be resettled) Experienced risk (by those that were resettled and those that sold off) Perceived opportunities/improvements Experienced opportunities/improvements	<u>Natural capital:</u> Change in tenure, Change in proximity to resources	Would the project give you land/ home ownership? How would your moving to “Sahasapura” change your access to natural resources?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
		<u>Social capital:</u> Change in social fabric, Change in political, NGO connections Change in safety	Would the project have separated you from your friends/ relatives? Would moving affect your connections with NGOs/ politicians that supported you? Would you feel safer in the condominium or the former settlement?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
		<u>Human capital:</u> Change in education, Change in skills, Change in health	How would the project change the level of education? Did the project involve in skill development for target group? Do you think moving to “Sahasapura” would improve your health?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
		<u>Physical capital:</u> Change in housing condition Change in access to basic services Change in distance to facilities	What is the housing type you prefer? How do you feel about living in a condominium? Do you think the project would provide better basic services than the settlement? Do you think moving to “Sahasapura” would change your affordability of services?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
		<u>Financial capital:</u> Changes in employment Changes in savings Changes in access to credit Compensation	How would the project change the state of your employment? How far is it “Sahasapura” from your place of employment? Would moving to “Sahasapura” affect your savings? How would moving to “Sahasapura” affect your ability to access credit? Were you satisfied with the compensation package offered?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)
		Compensation New housing New living environment Restoration of livelihoods	Do you think the project reflects your requirements? How do you rate living in “Shaspura” compared to original settlement?	Qualitative and descriptive statistics (SPSS)

**Table 3: Variables and indicators**

### 3.6 Reliability and validation

It is important to cross validate information collected through the questionnaire survey and semi structured interviews. This would be done using triangulation of observations, analysis and cross check with secondary data and focus group discussions. Statistical methods are employed to test the reliability of data where necessary.

**Figure 5: Triangulation of data for validation**



### 3.7 Data analysis and interpretation

Primary, quantitative data collected through questionnaire was analysed using SPSS to produce frequency tables and graphs. A coding system was used to give value to answers in multiple choice questions. Further inferential statistics such as correlations and cross tabulation were required to establish the relationship between the development performance of the project and beneficiary factors that ensure sustainability. However, qualitative data from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were ranked for analysis. Information collected from various documents and reports were found to be very important in cross validation of results and arriving at conclusions.

## **Chapter 4: Research findings and analysis**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents findings from the questionnaire survey on target groups identified under “Sahaspura” project, interviews of selected officials and target groups. It also literally and graphically reports information collected from various secondary sources and through observations. It also analyses these findings using statistical package SPSS to derive relationships among different variables. This analysis is instrumental in determining what the factors that contributed to the decisions made by the target group are.

### **4.2 Physical conditions**

It is interesting to examine the physical conditions of this area since it is located in the heart of the city. From outside, it is difficult to imagine that this state of neglect exist behind the development. “Sahaspura” was constructed at the location of one of the urban slum settlements identified to be relocated. Land sharing principle was applied to 13 families living in the slum. Since only a part of the slum dwellers consented to be relocated, “Sahaspura” complex is surrounded by remaining slum settlements and those that have appeared since that time. Looking at the physical conditions of both original settlements and “Sahaspura” will give the reader an idea under what conditions the target population lived and what were they offered in the new location.

**Figure 6: View of “Sahaspura” across one of the original settlements**



#### **4.2.1 Physical conditions of the original settlements**

Total number of slum settlements identified to be resettled in 8 locations was 17. It was only possible to study 6 settlements in 2 locations due to the time constraint. All these slums are located in the heart of Colombo city within walking distance from the main road and city. Services like shopping, education are within walking distance and hospitals and other medical facilities are within 2 km range. However, these areas have a general appearance of neglect and unkemptness.

There were no demarcated land plots in most cases and thus nobody seemed to take care of their surroundings. Stray dogs and cows had their own way in the neighbourhood where open garbage dumps provide them food. Most of the

constructions in these settlements are of poor quality and deteriorating and the environment is a good breeding ground for mosquitoes and rats with open gutters and drains and ponds of dirty water. Most of the drains looked blocked leading to flooding during monsoon seasons. However, detailed discussion about original settlements follows in the section on livelihood assets.

**Figure 7: Physical conditions of two informal settlements identified for relocation**



#### 4.2.2 Physical conditions of “Sahaspura”

“Sahaspura” is a high rise condominium with 14 storeys and it stand out above the surrounding informal settlements. This building contains 676 housing units in 13 floors. The ground floor consists of 42 commercial units of which all are in operation (Annex 4). The car park can accommodate 62 vehicles at a time are being charged by the hour for usage.

**Figure 8: External view of the “Sahaspura” condominium building**

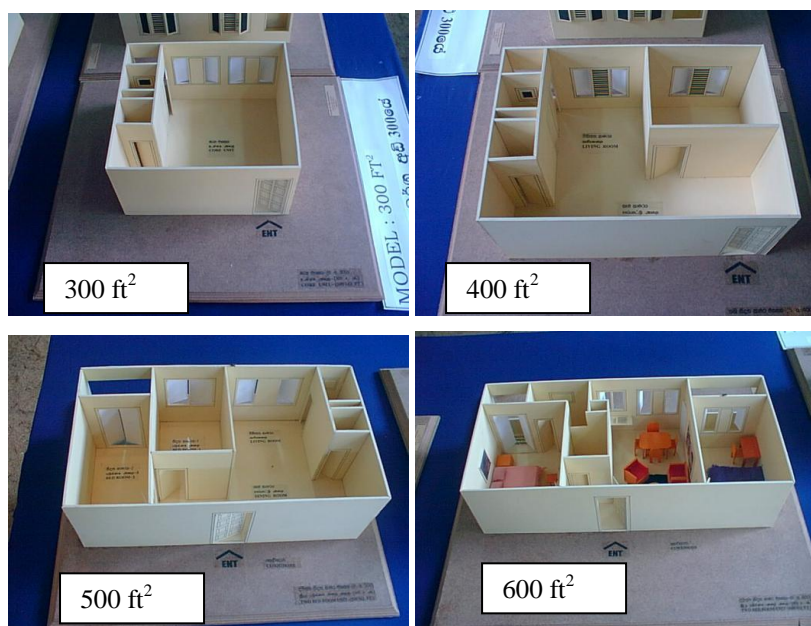


The 676 housing units constructed for the relocatees in the complex are of four size categories. However, their value differed according to the final finish depending on whether the entire house was tiled (super deluxe), only the front area was tiled (deluxe) or completely un-tiled.

Floor area	300 ft <sup>2</sup>	400 ft <sup>2</sup>	500 ft <sup>2</sup>	600 ft <sup>2</sup>
Available categories	Normal	Normal, Deluxe	Normal, Deluxe, Super deluxe	Super deluxe
Internal arrangement	No internal partition	1 bedroom	2 bedrooms	2 bedrooms
No. of units	278	284	104	10

**Table 4: Housing options at “Sahaspura”**

**Figure 9: Different types of houses offered**



There is a community centre located on the ground floor and there are space designated for recreational activities. The community centre can be hired for any functions the residents wish to have. However, it was observed that these areas are not being used for the designated purposes. Instead, they are primarily being used as dumping areas. The shopkeepers on the ground floor are primarily responsible for this. But there are some residents who did not use the garbage collection duct and instead, dump them out into these courtyards from upper balconies. This will not be collected immediately by the Municipal truck and thus damage the scenic quality as well as create an un-healthy environment. Dogs and cows were seen feeding among these and some residents complained about the bad odour and mice because of this bad practice.

**Figure 10: Garbage dumps in area designated for recreation**



### **4.3 Demographic profile of the respondents**

The surveyed sample of target group consisted of 86 respondents belonging to three categories. The largest group surveyed was from families that were successfully resettled in “Sahaspura”. A demographic profile of the sample is given in the following table.

	Parameter	Frequency	Percentage
		86	100
1	Category		
	i Resettled in “Sahasapura”	60	70
	ii Sold off	10	11
	iii Refused to be resettled	16	19
2	Age (Years)		
	i 15 -29	1	1
	ii 30 - 44	30	35
	iii 45 - 59	26	30
	iv 60 - 74	20	23
	v 75 - 90	9	11
3	Gender		
	i Female	43	50
	ii Male	43	50
4	Ethnicity		
	i Sinhalese	48	56
	ii Tamil	19	22
	iii Moor	19	22
5	Marital status		
	i Married	66	77
	ii Divorced	3	4
	iii Separated	1	1
	iv Widowed	14	16
	v Single	2	2
6	Family size		
	i 4 or less	43	50
	ii 5 - 8	40	47
	iii 9 - 12	2	2
	iv More than 12	1	1
7	Educational level		
	i 5 <sup>th</sup> or below 5 <sup>th</sup> grade	27	31
	ii Above 5 <sup>th</sup> but below O/L	27	31
	iii O/L or above but below A/L	20	24
	iv A/L or above but below degree	12	14
8	Average monthly household income (Rs.)*		
	i Below 10,000	2	2
	ii 10,000 & above but below 20,000	28	33
	iii 20,000 & above but below 30,000	25	29
	iv 30,000 & above but below 40,000	20	23
	v 40,000 & above	11	13

\* 1US\$ = Rs. 114

**Table 5: Demographic profile of the respondents**

## 4.4 Livelihood assets in the original settlements

The study looked at the status of the five livelihood assets prevailed in the original settlements to get an idea of the factors that attracted and kept the dwellers in these slums.

### 4.4.1 Natural capital

These inhabitants of urban slums in Colombo had very little in the form of natural capital. There are no live lakes or forests from which they can harness any resources. The only thing they can make use of is un-occupied government land if any. Only 14% of the respondents said that they had some access to natural capital, which was the usage of state land, in their original settlements. They simply collected firewood, planted some banana trees or a few plants of vegetables or keep their cows in these state lands. There are some lakes and water bodies but they are polluted and devoid of fish or any other resources.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	12	14	14	14
No	74	86	86	100
Total	86	100	100	

Table 6: Access to natural capital in the original settlement

### 4.4.2 Physical capital

Indicators considered to determine the physical capital were housing, basic services such as water, sanitation, health facilities, electricity and drainage, proximity to city centre & transport and proximity to knowledge institutions.

#### 4.4.2.1 Housing

One of the major components of physical capital considered in the study was housing. There were four major types of housing available in these slums. They were single, detached housing units, low cost flats, line rooms and temporary constructions. Any single slum settlement would have a combination of two or more of these housing types.

The low cost flats and line rooms were constructed more than 30 years by the government for their labour force. Some of them were constructed as far back as 1950s. The units in the flats and line rooms are rather small, ranging from 300 ft<sup>2</sup> to 450 ft<sup>2</sup>. They are poorly maintained and poorly serviced. Since some of the inhabitants of the low cost flats have moved out, some families are using additional space of the vacant units.

The individual detached houses and temporary constructions are self built. Temporary constructions were very small and were made of either wooden planks or metal sheets without a foundation. They did not have windows or any mode of ventilation other than one or two doors.

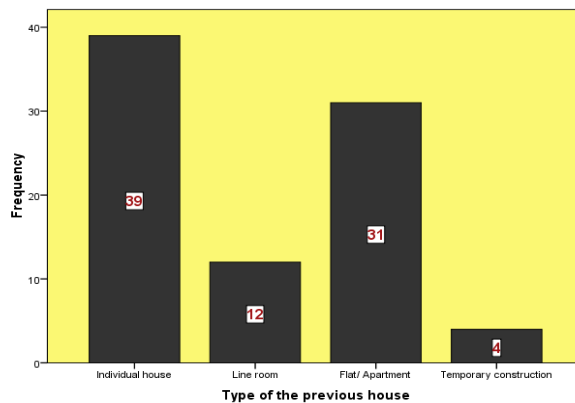
On the other hand, people who had individual detached houses seem to be better to do. Most of these houses were over 700 ft<sup>2</sup> in area and had better furniture. Most of them even had individual toilets. A few people had small plot of land that they had used to plant vegetables and fruits. They were able to keep animals.

**Figure 11: Housing conditions at original settlements**



The largest portion of the respondents had lived in individual, single detached houses. They preferred this type of housing because they can be expanded with the changes of their requirements or income. In most cases when a son or a daughter gets married, they simply make an extension to their house and both families live there. Only 4 out of 86 families lived in temporary constructions in their original settlements.

**Figure 12: Type of houses in original settlements**





Only three types of tenure options were available in the original settlements among respondents. The largest category marked “other” had what is called a permit for occupation. This also had legal entitlement and most of the others had title deeds for their houses.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Owned	33	39	39	39
Rented	2	2	2	41
Other	51	59	59	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 7: Housing tenure in original settlements**

#### 4.4.2.2 Water supply

All the respondents in these slums had safe water supply provided by the National Water Supply and Drainage Board (NWSDB). Water was provided as a communal service by the local authority. Most of them did not have individual connections and thus did not make any payment for the service. Only 11 families out of 86 respondents said they have individual connections with meter reader and made payments for the service.

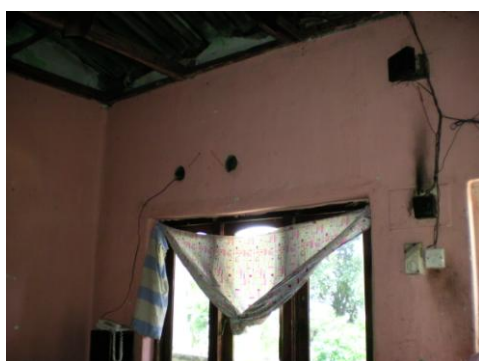
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	11	13	13	13
No	75	87	87	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 8: Payment for water**

#### 4.4.2.3 Electricity

Similarly, 74% of the respondents did not make any payment for the electricity supply though all of them obtained the service. Instead they made an illegal connection from the supply grid. This seemed very risky and unbecoming but, they preferred that to having to pay for electricity.

**Figure 13: Illegal electrical connections**



The fact that they do not have metered connections enabled them to refrain from paying for the electricity though they used electrical appliances such as televisions, setups, fridges, fans etc. in addition to illumination.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	22	26	26	26
No	64	74	74	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 9: Payment for electricity**

#### 4.4.2.4 Sanitation

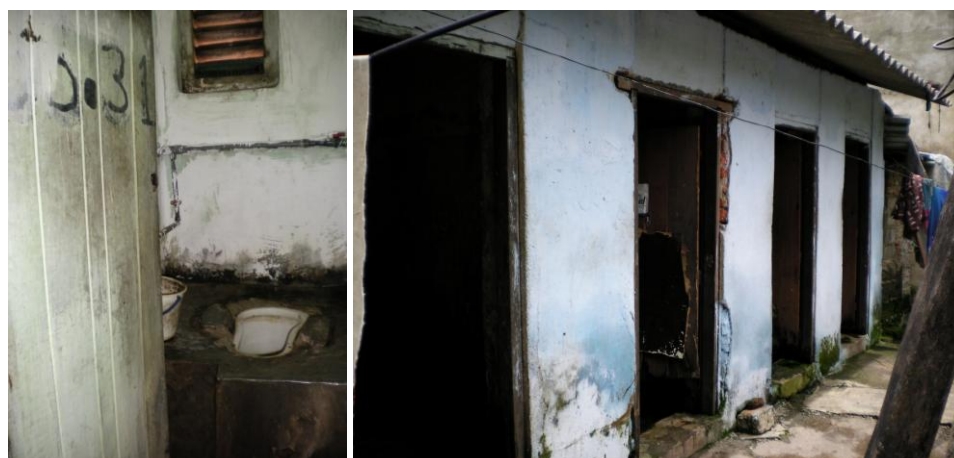
Only a few families in the original settlements had individual toilets. Instead they shared the facility with a few other families or the facility was common. But they have arrangements made to collect some money from the user families to pay for a person to do the cleaning. That person is most of the time a resident of the same slum.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Individual	18	21	21	21
Shared with a few families	43	50	50	71
Common	25	29	29	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 10: Availability of sanitation facilities**

This system seems to be working well for them though the facilities are not of very good quality. But the people said that they do not spend any money on necessary repairs because they have been told that there is a possibility of evicting them from their settlements in the near future.

**Figure 14: Shared and common toilet facilities available in the slums**



#### 4.4.2.5 Solid waste disposal

Most of the slums did not have a proper system of solid waste disposal. The municipality regularly collected the solid waste from the slums in Panchikawatta area. But in the slums in Baseline road, most people are used to dump their garbage in open dumping yard close to their settlements. All the four respondents that said they use garbage for composting were the people who bought houses in “Sahasapura” from the people who sold off.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Dump outside	45	52	52	52
Garden pit	3	4	4	56
Composting	4	5	5	61
Municipal collection	34	39	39	100
Total	86	100	100	

Table 11: Method of solid waste disposal

#### 4.4.2.6 Drainage

Some areas of the slums did not have any drainage facilities at all. The drainage systems when present, in all the slums are in very bad condition.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	63	73	73	73
No	23	27	27	100
Total	86	100	100	

Table 12: Availability of storm water drainage

As much as 63% of the respondents said they have drainage facilities. However, the condition of the available facilities was very poor. In some of the settlements the drainage lines were completely or partially blocked by polythene and other types of garbage. Some of the slum dwellers have made an attempt to keep the drains clean.

Figure 15: Condition of drainage facilities in original settlements



Blocked drainages have put some of the low lying areas at risk of floods during monsoons and some of the houses get inundated. Some of the respondents complained that all their furniture get damaged due to this causing them economic damage in addition to creation of un-healthy living environment.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Once a year	2	2	2	2
	Twice a year	19	22	22	24
	Several times a year	17	20	20	44
	Never	48	56	56	100
	Total	86	100	100	

**Table 13: Incidence of flooding in the original settlements**

#### 4.4.2.7 Distance to the city

All the slums are located within walking distance of the city. All the respondents that have said that their previous settlement were more than 2 km from the city were those who bought houses at “Sahaspura” from original recipients. The transport lines were also within reach and there are many transport options available for the slum dwellers such as bus, train and three wheelers. Railway stations are also within 1 km from most of the settlements.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 1km	79	92	92	92
	More than 2 km	7	8	8	100
	Total	86	100	100	

**Table 14: Distance from original settlement to the city centre**

#### 4.4.2.8 Distance to knowledge institutions

There are several schools located in close proximity to the slum areas. They offer education in all three language media. However, most of these schools do not belong to the “popular school” category. Therefore some people prefer to send their children to schools that are considered to be popular schools located at some distance from the settlements. Those who have their children attending schools farther than 2 km from the settlements have chosen those popular schools over places closer to their settlement due to prestige.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 1km	67	78	78	78
	1km - 2km	11	13	13	91
	More than 2km	8	9	9	100
	Total	86	100	100	

**Table 15: Distance from original settlements to knowledge institutes**

### 4.4.3 Human capital

This section discusses about the strength of the settlers of the informal settlements due to their personal attributes such as the level of education, available skills and health conditions.

#### 4.4.3.1 Level of education

The study revealed that majority of the respondents had low level of education. Most of them had given up their education before the Ordinary Level exam due to various problems.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Fifth or below fifth grade	27	31	31	31
Above fifth and below O/L	27	31	31	62
O/L or above O/L and below A/L	20	24	24	86
A/L or above without degree	12	14	14	100
Total	86	100	100	

Table 16: Level of education of the respondents

#### 4.4.3.2 Special training & skills

Respondents did not have any significant training or skills. 72% of the respondents said they don't have any special training or skill. Ten people used their driver's training for their livelihood. There are two persons each trained in masonry, welding and motor mechanics in addition to 3 persons who have special training in martial arts. All these have assisted them in livelihoods.

#### 4.4.3.3 Health conditions

The most abundant threat to health in the slums was noted to be mosquito borne diseases. Only 20% of the sample said they or their family members do not get subjected to mosquito borne diseases. The rest contacted mosquito borne diseases once a year, twice a year or several times a year.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Once a year	31	36	36	36
Twice a year	33	38	38	74
Several times a year	5	6	6	80
Never	17	20	20	100
Total	86	100	100	

Table 17: Incidence of mosquito borne diseases in original settlements

However, in spite of the poor condition of drainage and resulting floods, the incidence of diarrhoea was found to be low in the original settlements. As much as 84% of the sample said they or their family members never contacted diarrhoea.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Once a year	10	12	12	12
Twice a year	2	2	2	14
Several times a year	2	2	2	16
Never	72	84	84	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 18: Incidence of diarrhoea in original settlements**

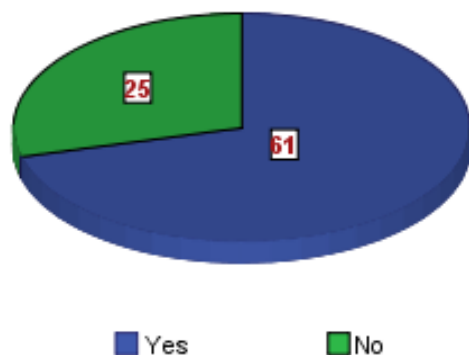
#### 4.4.4 Social capital

Several indicators were used to measure the social capital of the dwellers in these informal settlements. They were kinship groups and political support available, membership and relationships with political groups, associations and NGOs, and level of safety they felt in the original settlements. Most of the respondents answered in affirmative to the inquiries about social capital.

##### 4.4.4.1 Kinship groups

The majority of the respondents had relatives and friends in the settlement that they treated like their own family. It was these people who helped them out of any problem ranging from financial to security.

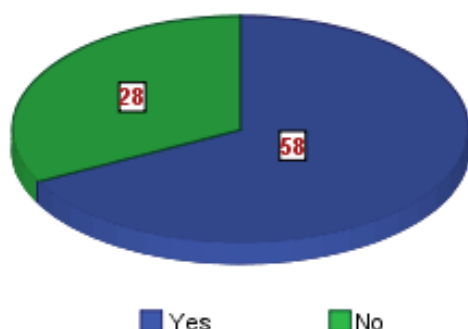
**Figure 16: Availability of kinship groups**



##### 4.4.4.2 Sense of security

Though there are issues such as drug dealing and theft in the original settlements, the respondents felt safe because all the people around them were “our people” according to them. They said that they were sure that no harm would come to them.

**Figure 17: Feeling of sense of security in the original settlement**



#### 4.4.4.3 Political support

Political support was also highly ranked assets as far as social capital was concerned. Most of the respondents were members of such groups and had leaders/ politicians that represented their interests. In-depth interviews with some of the respondents revealed that these politicians had considerable influence over their decision making. Many respondents said that they are sure that “our leader” will take care of us and give us a better solution. They are in constant consultation with these political leaders that represent them.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	57	66	66	66
No	29	34	34	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 19: Availability of political support in the original settlement**

#### 4.4.4.4 Membership in various groups and associations

People in the slums had strong connections with political parties. But they said that there were no NGOs or any other welfare association that were concerned about them.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	46	54	54	54
No	40	46	46	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 20: Membership in various groups and associations**

#### 4.4.5 Financial capital

Financial capital includes all those financial assets that support their livelihood. This includes their income, additional savings, availability of credit facilities including saving group memberships, and home based enterprises if any.

#### 4.4.5.1 Previous income

The study looked at their household income as a whole and found that it showed a wide range from Rs. 4,500/month to Rs. 43,000/per month.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Below Rs. 10000	12	14	14	14
Rs. 10000 or above but below Rs.20000	30	35	35	49
Rs.20000 or above but below Rs.30000	23	27	27	76
Rs.30000 or above but below Rs.40000	15	17	17	93
Rs40000 or above but below Rs.50000	6	7	7	100
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 21: Range of previous household income of the respondents**

Most of the target group were engaged in informal livelihood activities. Only 26 out of 86 respondents were engaged in regular waged employment.

#### 4.4.5.2 Availability of savings

Not everybody in the settlements had additional savings. They said since most of them were daily income earners, they usually consume what they earn the same day.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	53	62	62	62
No	33	38	38	100
Total	86	100	100,	

**Table 22: Availability of savings**

#### 4.4.5.3 Sources of loans

People who were engaged in wage paid work were able to raise loans from their respective work places. 27 out of 86 respondents belonged to this category. But the largest number of the respondents said they obtain loans from friends, family or both. Only 8 had access to credit facilities from banks.

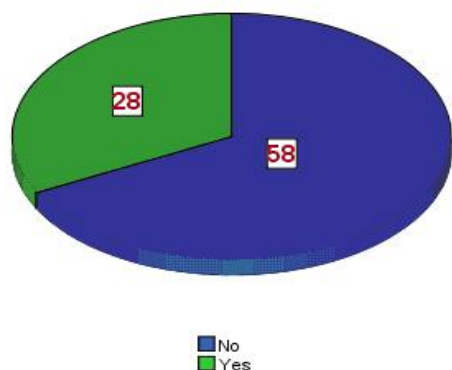
#### 4.4.5.4 Availability of home based enterprises

Some families had home based enterprises in the original settlements. Some of them produced home based food. They had their own customer bases around their settlements. Some of them provided food to various canteens and some had small hotels that purchased items like string hoppers from them. They said the ability to use firewood hearths in the original slums because usage of gas is not affordable



to them. Some people had workshops for carpentry and welding. Some of these activities depended on the space they can utilize.

**Figure 18: Availability of home based enterprises**



## 4.5 Project implementation

The mode of project implementation was studied in order to see what are the mechanisms used to persuade inhabitants to leave the original settlements. This study was conducted using interviews with relevant government officials and examination of various documents and reports. The information was cross checked and validated with the information provided by the target group. The planning and implementation of the project has taken 5 years from 1998 to 2002. Though resettlement was done in 2001 and 2002, consolidation took longer than that.

The project was implemented through the special purpose vehicle called REEL formed for speedy implementation of the project. At the initial stage REEL was under the Ministry of Housing, Urban Development and Construction. However, this came under several changes under different political regimes.

According to the information, project was initiated with a survey of slum dwellers in Colombo. Then some none-prime lands within the city were identified as suitable locations for resettlement of slum dwellers. After a rough calculation was made as to determine the number of housing units to be constructed under Phase 1 of “Sahasapura”, interests were called from developers by advertising in newspapers for design and build assignment.

### 4.5.1 Information provision

Information about the project was taken to the people for the first time in 1999 during the initial planning stages of the project. During the period of developer short listing, REEL Trading Flow, or negotiations with target group were held. Several strategies and methods were used to inform the target group about the project. Initially, meetings were held at selected settlements to explain about the project to the target group. The meetings were held in the slum itself or a place easily accessible to them such as the neighbourhood school. At the end of this

process, all the families that consented to be resettled entered into an agreement with REEL.

**Figure 19: Meetings and street dramas held in settlements to inform the target group**



There were also street dramas to explain the about the project and the benefits of leaving the slums for a condominium. It was easier to reach some of the slum dwellers that had lower educational level through this medium. Most of the respondents were able to relate to messages conveyed by dramas than that of the meetings and workshops.

Upon short listing the developers though a Technical Evaluation Committee (TEC), they were asked to present their models and options to beneficiaries where they could express their preference. An exhibition was arranged to display models of all the options so that the target group could vote to select the developer according to the model they preferred. Project officers explained the available options to the target group in both Sinhala and Tamil languages. However, respondents said the models looked good and they did not realize the houses were so small until they were constructed.

**Figure 20: Exhibition to explain about the project options**



An extensive awareness creation programme was conducted for the target group because condominium living was a totally alien concept to them. REEL officers had community awareness workshops. A booklet was printed and distributed among them in both Sinhala and Tamil languages to educate them on matters concerning living in a condominium and expected behaviour and practices. This explained a range of things from how to use lifts, how to use proper toilets, how to use common areas without becoming a nuisance to other neighbours and use of

proper electrical connections. It also provides guidelines about keeping ornamental plants or pets. Basically, it is a manual of things to do and not to do when living in a condominium.

**Figure 21: Extracts from the handbook produce in Sinhala & Tamil languages to create awareness on condominium living**



#### 4.5.2 Community participation

The project was primarily centrally planned and implemented though an attempt was made to involve the people in decision making. The only instances they were consulted was when they were requested to vote for developer selection. However, the people did not recognize that as giving them a real choice of deciding what they wanted for themselves. Out of the 86 respondents, 100% said they were not involved in decision making or implementation of the project. Their perception was that the project was planned without due consideration of their needs.

#### 4.5.3 Compensation

The interviews with relevant officials and examination of documents revealed that the target group was not involved at all in the determination of compensation. The potential effect to their livelihoods by way of being distanced from their places of employment, effect on their income was not considered at all. The reason given for this was that such socioeconomic calculations would be time consuming and thus could affect the project implementation.

The project officers admitted that only the physical assets over which the claimant had a legal right were considered for compensation. This only included houses with legal ownership or the occupation permits. In the case of low cost flats, any

additions occupants had made were regarded as un-authorized constructions and were not included in calculating compensation. The grievance of the slum dwellers was that they have spent money and labour on that essential construction and thus they should be considered in determining compensation.

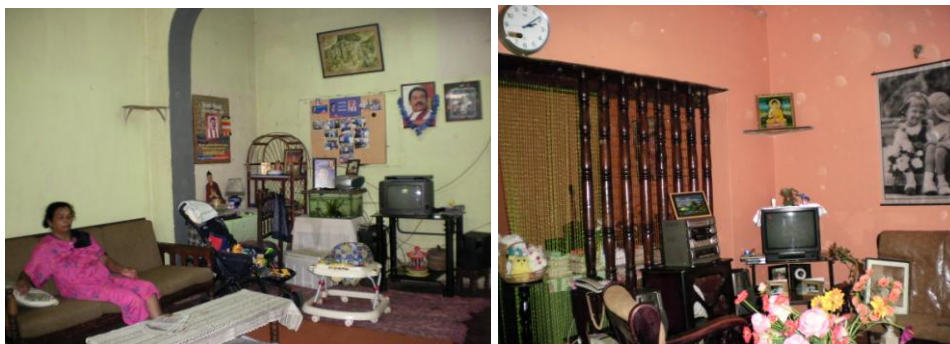
**Figure 22: Un-authorized additions to low cost flats**



It was also revealed that it was only the physical unit that was considered for determining compensation. In other words, the compensation was just “a house for house”. The quality of the house, construction materials and finish was considered in allocating a normal, deluxe or super deluxe housing unit in the “Sahaspura”. Wherever there were two or more households living within one housing unit, they were considered as a single unit and thus allocated one house. Since the maximum size of houses available at “Sahaspura” was of 600 ft<sup>2</sup>, this posed problems for extended families living in the same house.

Similarly, people owning larger houses felt they were not sufficiently compensated. One factor that de-motivated them to resettle was that they received only a 600 ft<sup>2</sup> house in maximum at “Sahaspura”. They mentioned that they would have agreed to move if they were given larger houses or, in the absence of larger houses, the ownership of two units. Those with heavy wooden furniture in the original settlements were discouraged to move to “Shaspura” because they were instructed to sell all the heavy wooden furniture and instead buy lighter plastic furniture. None of the officials were able to justify why people were given such instructions but most of the target group insisted that was what they were instructed to do.

**Figure 23: Larger houses in the original settlements**



The study revealed that more than half of the respondents were not satisfied with compensation. They mentioned that the compensation was not adequate and even if some of them agreed to resettle due to lack of another option, they are not happy with what they have got.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	31	36	36	36,0
No	49	57	57	93,0
Not applicable	6	7	7	100,0
Total	86	100	100	

**Table 23: Satisfaction with compensation**

## 4.6 Relationship between livelihood assets and project outcome

Statistically analysing all the results above, it was possible to derive some interesting relationships among certain variables. These relationships shed light to the question of what decisions the target group made and why. Different indicators under 5 livelihood capitals were tested with the decisions made by the target group.

### 4.6.1 Relationship between decision made and natural capital

There was no significant relationship between availability of natural capital or the perceived changes to them and the decisions the target group made. This could be attributed to the fact that the level of natural capital was very low at their original settlements to influence their decision.

### 4.6.2 Relationship between decision made and physical capital

Effect on physical capital in the original settlements seemed to have some relationship to the decisions made by the target group.

#### 4.6.2.1 Effect of housing tenure

The analysis shows a highly significant relationship between housing tenure in the original settlement and the decision they made. The fact that the graph takes a negative gradient means that the higher they had ownership of their properties, the higher the incidence of their decision of not to be resettled. Most of the families that resettled had occupation permits.

		Category	Housing tenure
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,352**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,001
	N	86,000	86
Housing tenure	Pearson Correlation	-,352**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,001	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 24: Correlation between decision made and perceived effect on housing tenure**

### 4.6.2.2 Effect on services

Similar to effect on housing tenure, effect on services and decision made also had a very significant negative correlation with the decision made by the target group. That is more they perceived that moving to “Sahaspura” would make obtaining services more expensive, the more they decided not to be resettled.

		Category	Effect on services
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,540**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	86,000	86
Effect on services	Pearson Correlation	-,540**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 25: Correlation between decision made and perceived effect on effect on services**

### 4.6.2.3 Effect on improvement of facilities

The perceived improvement of facilities has the opposite effect on decisions made from the two indicators above. The relationship here is a highly significant positive correlation which means that the higher the perceived improvement of facilities, the higher the chance of them moving to “Sahaspura”.

		Category	Improvement of facilities
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	,476**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	86,000	86
Improvement of facilities	Pearson Correlation	,476**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 26: Correlation between decision made and perceived improvement of facilities**

### 4.6.3 Relationship between decision made and human capital

The relationship between decisions made and components of human capital is not very strong. Both education level and special training and skills do not show any significant correlation with the decisions made by the target group.

#### 4.6.3.1 Effect on improvement of health conditions

Perceived improvement of health condition was the only component of human capital that had a very significant relationship with the decisions made. This relationship suggests that the more they perceived that moving to “Sahaspura” would improve their health conditions, the more they consented to be resettled.

		Category	Improvement of health
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	,406**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	86,000	86
Improvement of health	Pearson Correlation	,406**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 27: Correlation between decision made and perceived improvement of health**

#### 4.6.4 Relationship between decision made and social capital

Different components of social capital seem to have a very strong effect on the decisions made by the slum dwellers. Most of the components of social capital show highly significant negative correlation to the decisions made by the target group. That is, perceived changes to the social capital had a negative effect on the target group agreeing to be relocated resettled in “Sahasapura”. It could be explained by looking at the following relationships.

##### 4.6.4.1 Effect on kinship groups

The perceived effect on kinship groups has a very significant negative correlation with the decisions made. The more they thought that moving to “Sahasapura” is going to break their social links the more they refused to be resettled. The people who agreed to be resettled had relatively low bonds with their neighbours and kinship groups.

		Category	Effect on kinship group
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,466**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	86,000	86
Effect on kinship group	Pearson Correlation	-,466**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 28: Correlation between decision made and perceived effect on kinship groups**

##### 4.6.4.2 Sense of security in the original settlement

Sense of security in the original settlement also has a very significant negative correlation to the decisions made. The safer they felt in their original settlements the more they refused to move to “Sahasapura”. The sense of security they felt was closely related to level of connections they had with the kinship groups. Most of the people who refused to be resettled and sold off their houses at “Sahasapura” felt more secure and safe in their original settlements.

		Category	Sense of security at previous settlement
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,304**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,004
	N	86,000	86
Sense of security at previous settlement	Pearson Correlation	-,304**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,004	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 29: Correlation between decision made and sense of security at previous settlement**

#### 4.6.4.3 Political support in the original settlement

Presence of political support in the original settlement also shows a highly significant negative correlation to the decisions made. The stronger the political support people had in their original settlements they the more they did not want to leave the settlement. This effect is more pronounced in the cases where the original settlement is not in the same local authority area as “Sahaspura”.

		Category	Political support
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,286**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,008
	N	86,000	86
Political support	Pearson Correlation	-,286**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,008	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 30: Correlation between decision made and political support**

#### 4.6.4.3 Memberships in associations in the original settlement

The correlation between decisions made and the memberships in associations at the original settlement is also found to be significant and negative. This means that people who agreed to be resettled had relatively low level of connections with various associations in the original settlement. However, the correlation is not as strong as it was with the previous ones.

		Category	Membership in association
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,223*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,039
	N	86,000	86
Membership in association	Pearson Correlation	-,223*	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,039	
	N	86	86,000

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Table 31: Correlation between decision made and membership in associations**



### 4.6.5 Relationship between decision made and financial capital

There seems to be a significant relationship between the financial capital and the decisions made by the target group.

#### 4.6.5.1 Relationship with previous income

The correlation between the income levels at the original settlements and the decision to be resettled is significant and negative. But this relationship is not very strong. Still it shows that the higher income levels increased the probability of the target group agreeing to be resettled.

		Category	Previous income
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,247*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,022
	N	86,000	86
Previous income	Pearson Correlation	-,247*	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,022	
	N	86	86,000

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Table 32: Correlation between decision made and previous income**

#### 4.6.5.2 Relationship with the effect on income

There is a very significant negative correlation between the effect on income and the decision made. If the income was perceived or experienced to be reduced by moving to “Sahaspura” the slum dwellers decided not to be resettled. Those who had fixed sources of income seem to be more willing to settle down in “Sahaspura”.

		Category	Effect on income
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,402**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,000
	N	86,000	86
Effect on income	Pearson Correlation	-,402**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 33: Correlation between decision made and perceived effect on income**

#### 4.6.5.3 Relationship with the effect on sources of loans

The correlation between the decisions made and the effect on sources of loans is also highly significant and inverse. The respondents either refused to be resettled

or sold off their housing unit at “Sahaspura” if they felt that being resettled reduced their chances of obtaining loans.

		Category	Effect on sources of loans
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	-,280**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,009
	N	86,000	86
Effect on sources of loans	Pearson Correlation	-,280**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,009	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 34: Correlation between decision made and perceived effect on sources of loans**

#### 4.6.6 Relationships between decision made and other factors

The study revealed that the effect on livelihood assets of the target group was a decisive factor in their decision making. However, there are other factors in addition to the effect on livelihood assets that could have an effect on the decisions made by the target group.

##### 4.6.6.1 Relationship with satisfaction with compensation

As to be expected, satisfaction with compensation had a very strong correlation with the decisions made. Those who were highly dissatisfied with the compensation offered chose not to be resettled at all. The people who were satisfied with compensation offered resettled in “Sahaspura” more readily though this does not mean that all the people that agreed to do so are satisfied with what they received.

		Category	Satisfaction with compensation
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	,306**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,004
	N	86,000	86
Satisfaction with compensation	Pearson Correlation	,306**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,004	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 35: Correlation between decision made and satisfaction with compensation**

##### 4.6.6.2 Relationship with ethnicity

Another highly significant direct correlation was found between the decision made and the ethnicity. It was found that Muslim families had a higher tendency to refuse moving to “Sahaspura” than Sinhala or Tamil families. Most of the families that sold off their housing units at “Sahaspura” and moved back were also found to be the Muslims.

		Category	Ethnicity
Category	Pearson Correlation	1,000	,292**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,006
	N	86,000	86
Ethnicity	Pearson Correlation	,292**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,006	
	N	86	86,000

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

**Table 36: Correlation between decision made and ethnicity**

Category	Percentage			Total
	Sinhalese	Tamil	Muslim	
Resettled	67	20	13	100
Sold off	20	20	60	100
Refused to be resettled	38	31	31	100

**Table 37: Percentage of ethnic groups in each category**

Category \* Ethnicity Cross tabulation

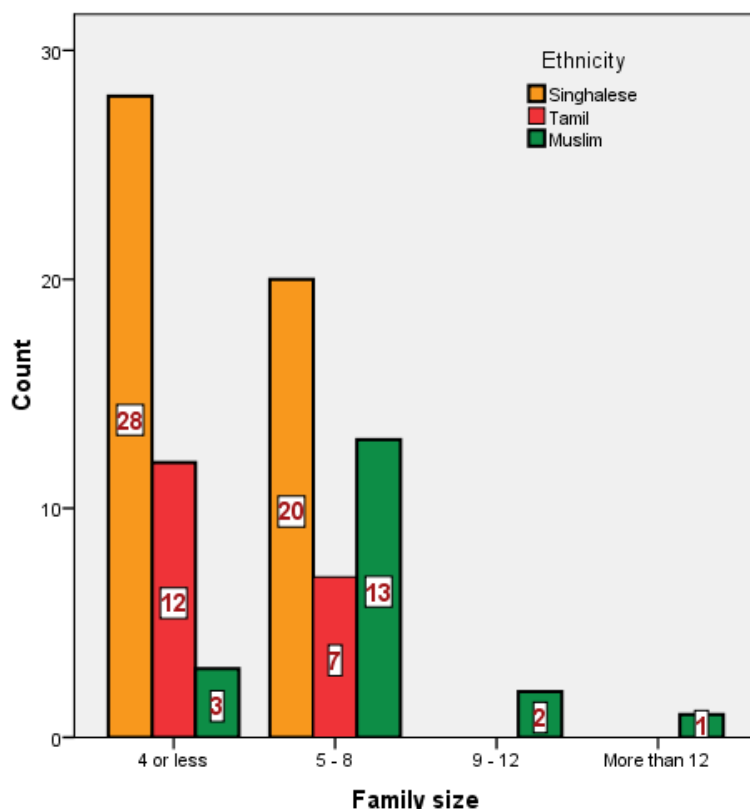
Category		Ethnicity			
		Sinhalese	Tamil	Muslim	Total
Category	Resettled	40	12	8	60
	Sold off	2	2	6	10
	Refused to be resettled	6	5	5	16
	Total	48	19	19	86

**Table 38: Relationship between decision made and ethnicity**

The relationship between the decision made and ethnicity shows a connection between the family sizes of different ethnic groups. As the following figure indicates, the average family size of Sinhalese and Tamil families was found to be in the range of 4, while that of a Muslim family is in the range of 8. Family sizes of Sinhalese and Tamil respondents did not exceed 8 members, 3 out of 19 Muslim respondents had relatively larger families with the largest being a 20 member family.

According to most of the respondents, the houses at “Sahaspura” are “extremely inappropriate” and they would have agreed to be relocated if there were sufficiently large houses or in the absence of that, if they were given two adjoining housing units. In the original settlement, they had the ability of making an extension to their house with metal sheets or wood panels to accommodate the expanding family.

**Figure 24: Family size and ethnicity**



The study investigated the effect of target group participation in decision making and implementation of the project. However, the fact that 100% of the respondents said that they did not participate in decision making or implementation of the project did not have any statistical correlation with the decisions made by the target group.

## 4.7 Discussion

The questionnaire and observations provided information on the livelihood assets the target group had in their original settlements. This information was sufficient to answer the first specific research question on the factors that attract and keep the inhabitants in their original settlements. The interviews with officials and examination of project documents and reports were helpful in understanding the project implementation and the mechanisms of persuading inhabitants to be relocated to “Sahaspura”. Finally, statistical analysis of data derived relationships between decisions made by the inhabitants and various indicators used to test the variables. However, focus group discussions and in-depth discussions with respondents were able to explain the behaviour and the decisions made by the target group better.

### 4.7.1 Strength of livelihood assets

According to the results, natural capital, human capital and financial capital rank low among the inhabitants of the original settlement. In the case of physical capital, apart from two tenants in rented premises, all the other respondents have entitlement to their houses through ownership or occupation permit. But the

condition of most of those houses is poor and deteriorating. Some of the respondents said that they prefer to live in the same place. They said that they are willing to invest in upgrading their housing and sanitation if the government gives them an assurance that they will not be evicted or relocated, and provide them with some concessionary loan scheme. Most inhabitants in these slums enjoy free water supply guaranteed safe by the NWSDB. It is a community service provided to them. In addition, most of them admitted to obtain electricity without metered connections and thus do not pay for it. However, the poor physical conditions of the slums are largely due to the carelessness of the inhabitants. For example, dumping garbage in the open areas and letting the drains get blocked are simple things the inhabitants can avoid.

All the indicators of social capital scored high and had very strong relationship to the decisions the respondents made. For example, one of the respondents said *“They (the project implementers) take us from here and put us together with people that are coming from various other places. Then all my neighbours will be people I don’t know, not our people. Then I will be like a prisoner in my own home because I can’t sit outside my house, smoking with my friends in the evening after a tiring day”*. It indicates lack of consideration of disintegration of social fabric in project implementation. Most of the respondents were concerned about having to change their place of worship (Buddhist and Hindu temples and mosques) in the case of relocation and resulting damage to their social networks. The allocation of housing units has been done in accordance with the calculated entitlement of the relocatees and the availability of housing units. It did not consider whether there are any social links among people who are allocated houses on the same floor or the preferences of recipients. The sense of security the respondents have about “Sahasapura” is not very high. They complained that anybody can come up to any floor without the knowledge of the police guards in the ground floor and gave several examples of robbery and drug dealings within the building. Personal observations confirmed that the guards were sitting in their room on the ground floor and did not even notice the movements and actions of the people.

The perceived and experienced effect on financial capital was more pronounced for informal income earners than for the regular waged employees. The people engaged in business by the street or supplying home based food for their regular customers would have lost their business. There are designated areas in the for three wheeler drivers to operate. This was also a decisive factor because it affected livelihoods of many families in the target group.

#### **4.7.2 Point of view of the target group**

The project implementation has provided information about the project from an early stage and employed several methods to reach people. Community meetings, street dramas, exhibitions and printed materials were used to inform the target group and create awareness among them.

Though an elaborate market strategy was used, inhabitants were not consulted about their preferences and requirements. The target group was not involved in decision making at all apart from developer selection which they said they really did not have much choice. Some of the ladies at the focus group meeting had very

good suggestions to construct more appropriate condominiums for the low income groups.

One suggestion was to construct up to maximum ground + 4 instead of very tall buildings and replace elevators with walkways up the building. Her justification was that it is easy to maintain as well as cheaper, less congested and gives a sense of security because it is more open.

Another suggestion was that the building should have included a simple shade over the windows to prevent rain from coming into the housing units. Most residents of “Sahasapura” complained that due to this design failure of the building, rain water gets into the houses and corridors alike. Some people have already added this feature to their houses.

**Figure 25: Houses with and without rain shade**



The project implementation had not paid any attention to the reluctance of the target group to live in a high-rise building. This was brought into notice at the interviews with the individuals as well as during focus group discussions. One factor was the difficulty of transporting goods to upper units. They mentioned the difficulty in carrying a gas cylinder or any other such heavy thing to their units. Though there are six elevators in the building, only two of them are in operation. Therefore the residents of upper floors had to wait for a long time during peak time.

Some of the respondents simply did not like to live in a high rise building. Their reasoning was that the wind is strong in upper floors, they feel as if they are imprisoned in a tower, it's difficult to go about their livelihoods and they do not trust lifts. Those who had home based enterprises had strong objections to the high rise living because it limits the space they can use and it does not allow them the use of affordable fuel options such as firewood or paddy husk. Some of the respondents who refused to be resettled cited the example of a lift being struck up in the middle of the building and it was required to break it open to rescue the people in it to justify their fear of lifts. They mentioned that several small children were seriously affected by the incident.

These aspects of the preferences of the target group would have been revealed if they were consulted in planning and designing of the project. Though the target group of the project was largely in the low income category, the resettlement option given is more suitable for the middle income earners. Therefore, there is a mismatch between the demand and supply. Another example for this is the

relationship between the previous income and the decision made. The trend observed was that the higher the previous income levels the higher their decision to be relocated and resettled in “Sahasapura”. This could be attributed to the costs involved with the resettlement. A management corporation called “Sahasa” was formed by collecting a lifetime fee of Rs. 25,000 per housing unit for the management of the common facilities of the building. Some of the respondents had to pay approximately Rs. 1150/= per square foot of excess space in the allocated house to what is legally entitled to them according to the calculation. Most of the people who refused to be resettled said that compared to their monthly income, this was a considerable amount for them to pay.

A major shortcoming in “Sahasapura” is that the condominium title deed given was not accepted by banks as collateral. Those who refused to be resettled and sold off said that their deed or occupational permit is more valuable to them in that sense than the condominium title deed.

One of the other grievances of the respondents in all three categories was that “Sahasapura” does not reflect their aspirations and life styles. Some respondents said that design of the interior is not appropriate to their culture. Having the kitchen right next to living area makes them very uncomfortable in the presence of a visitor. They also grieved the inability to use firewood hearths at “Sahasapura”.

Some of the respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the way compensation was determined. Their claim was that some of the people with occupation permit were compensated higher than them when they have full title deeds. They said that they do not understand or appreciate how the project determined the compensation and accused the project officers of favouring people with personal connections. The response of officials to this issue was that the compensation was determined by a team of experts without any personal connections with the target group after assessing the value of the properties of the family including the size of the house and condition of the house.

### **4.7.3 Other sustainability issues of the project**

The study also revealed that “Sahasapura” project has become quite a burden to the government for its maintenance. Only a fee of Rs.25,000 per housing unit/lifetime maintenance was collected from the residents. The only additional income of the management corporation is approximately Rs. 150,000 per month from renting the shops and the car park. However, electricity bill for the common areas alone is in the range of Rs. 180,000 per month. In addition, lift maintenance cost Rs. 394,000 per year and the salaries of lift operates costs Rs. 40,000 per month. The fee for the cleaning service is Rs. 34,000 per month.

Aside from research objectives, the study revealed that there are other reasons for the project to fail realising its development objectives. Two locations out of the 8 selected were already completely cleared of slums. However, they have not been utilized for any development activity so far. The legal status of REEL is not strong enough to deal with acquisition and development of land. According to the classified information, the government has already taken initiatives to rectify this situation by the formation of Urban Settlement Development Authority and amalgamating REEL into it to overcome aforementioned problem.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations**

The primary assumption in this study was that the key factor to success of slum relocation projects such as the current case study would be how the resettlement process addresses the disarticulation of communities and the social fabric.

The research findings and subsequent data analysis have enabled us to draw conclusions about the factors that have led to rejection of the “Sahasapura” project by its target group. This chapter presents the conclusions thus drawn and attempts to relate them to the existing literature. It also tries to give some recommendations to avoid shortcoming in the development initiative in any future projects.

### **5.1 Conclusions**

Conclusions drawn from the research will be presented here under five sections. The first three sections will correspond with the three specific research questions while the fourth section will summarize them to draw final conclusions. The fifth section examines how the study conclusions related to the existing literature.

#### **5.1.1 Factors that attract and keep the inhabitants in their original settlements**

Physical conditions and aesthetic quality of the original settlements are poor. Despite this fact, these slums have a strong attraction to the inhabitants. The respondents were not very rich in their natural, human and financial capitals. They did not have any natural resources they could use as a capital. The largest portion of the group was in the two lowest categories of education and did not possess any considerable skills. The physical environment was not very conducive for good health as the inhabitants were frequently subjected to mosquito borne diseases. However, they had opportunities of small home based enterprises and had their own customer base.

The respondents were in a better position with regards to their physical capital. All of them, except the two tenants, had housing tenure though the condition of housing was not optimal. Some serious consideration should be given to improve the condition of the low cost flats and line rooms before they crumble down on the inhabitants. It is because they are reluctant to invest on upgrading their properties in fear of being evicted. All these slums are located in the heart of the city, making the city centre and knowledge institutes within walking distance. However, the fact that most of them were able to enjoy safe water supply and electricity at no cost to them or at a very low cost was a strong attraction for the target group to prefer living in these slum gardens.

The strongest livelihood capital of the target group in their original settlements is social capital. They have a tight bond with what they called “our people”. Their lives, their values and activities were interwoven with those of their kin. Most of the inhabitants had connections with various community groups and political parties. The local political leadership also has a strong connection with these people and thus most of their actions are influenced by the “their” politicians. In spite of the issues like drugs, the inhabitants had a sense of security in their original settlements that came with a sense of belonging. The respondents were



sure they could depend on “our people” to come forward and protect them in any event.

The target group was not very strong in their financial capital. Only 30% of the respondents had regular income and the livelihoods of others were vulnerable to changes.

### **5.1.2 Mechanisms adopted by the government to persuade the inhabitants to be relocated and resettled in “Sahaspura”**

The project implementation has included a comprehensive target group information and marketing programme. But in the essence, that is exactly what it was; a marketing programme to sell to the people what the project was ready to give them. The satisfaction of the target group with the project could have been increased if they were consulted about the type of housing, design and allocation of housing units during project planning. However, this extensive programme was successful in convincing most of the target group that their lives would be better in “Sahaspura” than in their original settlements.

One of the shortcomings of the project is that its implementation was done without any involvement of the target group. Therefore, the target group did not have a clear idea of what they would be getting until the project was completed and they were handed over the keys of the housing unit they were allocated. The project does not reflect the requirements and aspirations of the target group and includes many features that are not agreeable to the target group.

The method of determination of compensation was not transparent enough to win the trust of the target group. When the people are not involved in the process and they are shown some complicated calculations, they cannot decide whether they are being treated fairly and equally. The compensation was purely based on physical assets and no consideration was given to socio-economic aspects of the people involved. The fact that number of households living in the same housing unit was not considered in compensation is another shortcoming in determining compensation. Therefore, most of the target group including some of the people who have been relocated and resettled at “Sahaspura” are not satisfied with the compensation they were offered or have received.

No forced evictions had taken place during the implementation of this project and effort had been made to persuade target group to voluntarily relocate and resettle in “Sahaspura”.

### **5.1.3 The decisions made by the inhabitants and why**

The decisions taken by the target group were influenced by a number of factors. One of these is the changes they perceived or experienced in their livelihood assets. Out of the five key livelihood assets, effect on natural capital did not have any effect on the decisions they made. This could be explained by the fact that they did not possess any significant livelihood assets in their original settlements.

The changes perceived or experienced by the target group to physical capital played a role in their decision making. Those who had full title deeds in the

original settlements felt more strongly against being relocated while those with occupation permit agreed more readily to move to “Sahaspura” in the hope of getting a house with full title deed. However, when they found out that the condominium title deed was not acceptable to the banks as collateral, it prompted them to leave “Sahaspura” and move back to their original settlement, or when they were able to sell the unit to a good buyer, to another better location. However, the fact that they had to pay for water and electricity that they enjoyed at no cost in the original settlements was a reason for most of the respondents to decide against moving to “Sahaspura” and those who first resettled to move back to original settlements. The changes perceived to facilities had the opposite effect on the decisions made by the target group. They moved to “Sahaspura” expecting better facilities than in their original settlements.

The perceived changes to human capital had some effect on the decision making of the target group. Expected positive changes to health conditions encouraged target group to be relocated and resettled in “Sahaspura”. However, perceived effect on education and skills did not influence their decision making. The reason for this could be that the “Sahaspura” is centrally located with many knowledge institutes at a walking distance.

Social capital had influenced the decisions made by the target group in every aspect. Perceived adverse effects on the kinship groups, political support, memberships in various groups and associations and the sense of security had negative effects towards being relocated and resettled in “Sahaspura”. They did not feel the sense of belongingness, leadership and safety they felt in their original settlements here. The perceived or experienced breakdown of social, political and religious networks affected the decisions made by the target group because they made the respondents feel vulnerable. They do not trust the level of security at “Sahaspura” any more compared to the original settlement and feel even more vulnerable without the strength of their own people.

The perceived changes to financial capital though reducing income opportunities and sources of loans made the target group decide against being relocated. People with regular income earning jobs more readily agreed to move to “Sahaspura” because that relocation did not have a significant effect on their income. The location of “Sahaspura” is acceptable to most of the target group since it is approximately the same distance from the city centres and the main transport lines as the original settlements. But in the case of non-regular income earners, the perceived and experienced effect on their income was a decisive factor because loss of their designated “spots” and clientele resulted in reducing their income.

The other factors that influenced the decisions of the target group were satisfaction with compensation and ethnicity. However, the link with ethnicity could be grouped under social factors because it depends on the desire of certain groups to stay together as extended families and the lack of adequate space and flexibility in “Sahaspura” housing units. However, the inherent dislike of elevators among some of the respondents and the fact that they were instructed to get rid of their valuable furniture also had a certain influence on the decisions they made.

#### **5.1.4 Final conclusions**

Finally, it could be concluded that the most influential factors that attract and keep the inhabitants in their original settlements are the free or very cheap services, occupation permits and other forms of legal tenure and their strong social fabric.

The project implementation did not include forced eviction and employed a marketing strategy to persuade the target group to be relocated and resettled in “Sahasapura”. However, the projects implementation was not participatory and adequate compensation was not provided.

The factors that influenced a section of the target group to refuse to be resettled and another section to sell off their housing units and move out were the perceived and experienced effects to the ability of obtaining basic services, tenure, social disarticulation in every aspect, loss of income opportunities and dissatisfaction with compensation.

The project has provided title deeds but it falls short in fulfilling the expectations of the people. The consideration given to socioeconomic aspects of the target group in the project implementation is inadequate. Therefore, it could be concluded that the “Sahasapura” slum relocation project failed to achieve its targets largely because the resettlement process did not address the disruption of social fabric and did not incorporate strategies to prevent social disarticulation. Also, it did not address other socio-economic aspects such as livelihoods of non-regular income earners and their access to credit.

#### **5.1.5 Compatibility with existing knowledge**

The external and internal factors that contribute to the success or failure of slum relocation projects in Bangkok as studied by Viratkapan and Perera (2004) could be identified in the present study. However, the influence of most of the external factors they discuss are not applicable in this case because the relocation site is also located within the city in close proximity to services and transport systems though award of compensation could improve. Therefore, the findings of the current research are in agreement of their final conclusion that only award of compensation out of two external factors they have discussed has an effect on decision making of the target group. The research findings also agree with their conclusion that all the internal factors such as unity of the community, strength of leadership, participation of community members and the attitude of community members to the new location could have an effect on successfulness of relocation projects while affecting the development performance of such projects. Mutamba (2009) has also concluded that there is a strong link between the level of community participation and the project successfulness if the project is to work for the good of the beneficiaries. Though the present study did not find a significant relationship between community participation and decisions made, better project outcome could be expected if the community was involved in decision making and implementation of the project.

Cerneia’s IRR model (1997 and 2002) is more applicable to the present research than Scudder’s Four Stage Framework (2009) because Scudder’s model is more appropriate for displacement due to dam construction than for development

induced slum relocation projects. If research findings are tested with Cernea's IRR model, it could be said that this project did not pose any risk of landlessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, or loss of access to common property and services. However, there was a risk of decreased income opportunities though not exactly joblessness and a very high risk of community disarticulation. Therefore, success could be achieved in this kind of development induced slum relocations projects through following Cernea's recommendations by converting these risks into proactive reconstructions.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Drawing upon the research conclusions, it is necessary to make some recommendations to both project implementing agencies as well as to target groups in order to make such development induced slum relocation projects successful.

### **5.2.1 Recommendations to project implementers**

The study revealed that there are certain aspects of project implementation that need to be changed in order for the target population to be more receptive to the project.

- i. Involve project affected communities from early stages of planning and designing to reflect their requirements and aspirations.
- ii. Inform and involve local level political leadership also in the project planning and implementation process. Otherwise they feel threatened and disturbed because their voter base could be affected. They have a lot of influence over the inhabitants of slums.
- iii. The plans and designs should reflect the cultural identities of the target group and should be within their affordability. High rise buildings are not suitable for low income people because maintenance of lifts is costly and height from ground level poses problems for livelihoods of non-regular income earners.
- iv. Incorporate socio-economic aspects of people in determination of compensation. Take the number of households living in one housing unit into consideration when allocating houses.
- v. The determination of compensation should be carried out in a participatory manner. Community nominated representatives from each original settlement should have been included in the team to determine the compensation.
- vi. Make sure there's no disarticulation of social fabric due to project implementation. It is better if allocation of housing units could be carried out with consideration to their existing social connections.
- vii. Amend Condominium Law in Sri Lanka to change the status of condominium title deeds and facilitate formation of condominium management corporations. Empower condominium management

corporations and let the residents handle maintenance in their buildings. This will make them more mindful of costs involved and the safeguarding the property.

- viii. Provide a title deed that is accepted as collateral to obtain loans when necessary because that is one of the basic expectations of these people in investing in housing.
- ix. Make arrangements for better security for such housing schemes with community participation.
- x. Adhere to National Involuntary Resettlement Policy in all development interventions.
- xi. Incorporate livelihood restoration activities with capacity building of target group as an integral component of development projects. There should be some space that could be utilized for their.

### **5.2.2 Recommendations for further research**

The present study was one case study from Sri Lanka where the government spends a lot on welfare activities such as supply of safe drinking water and universal free education and health. Therefore the decisive factors could be different under different ground conditions and there is no universally acceptable single answer. But more research and case studies from different parts of the world would be able to provide a better answer as to how to implement development induced resettlement projects without impoverishment of affected communities.

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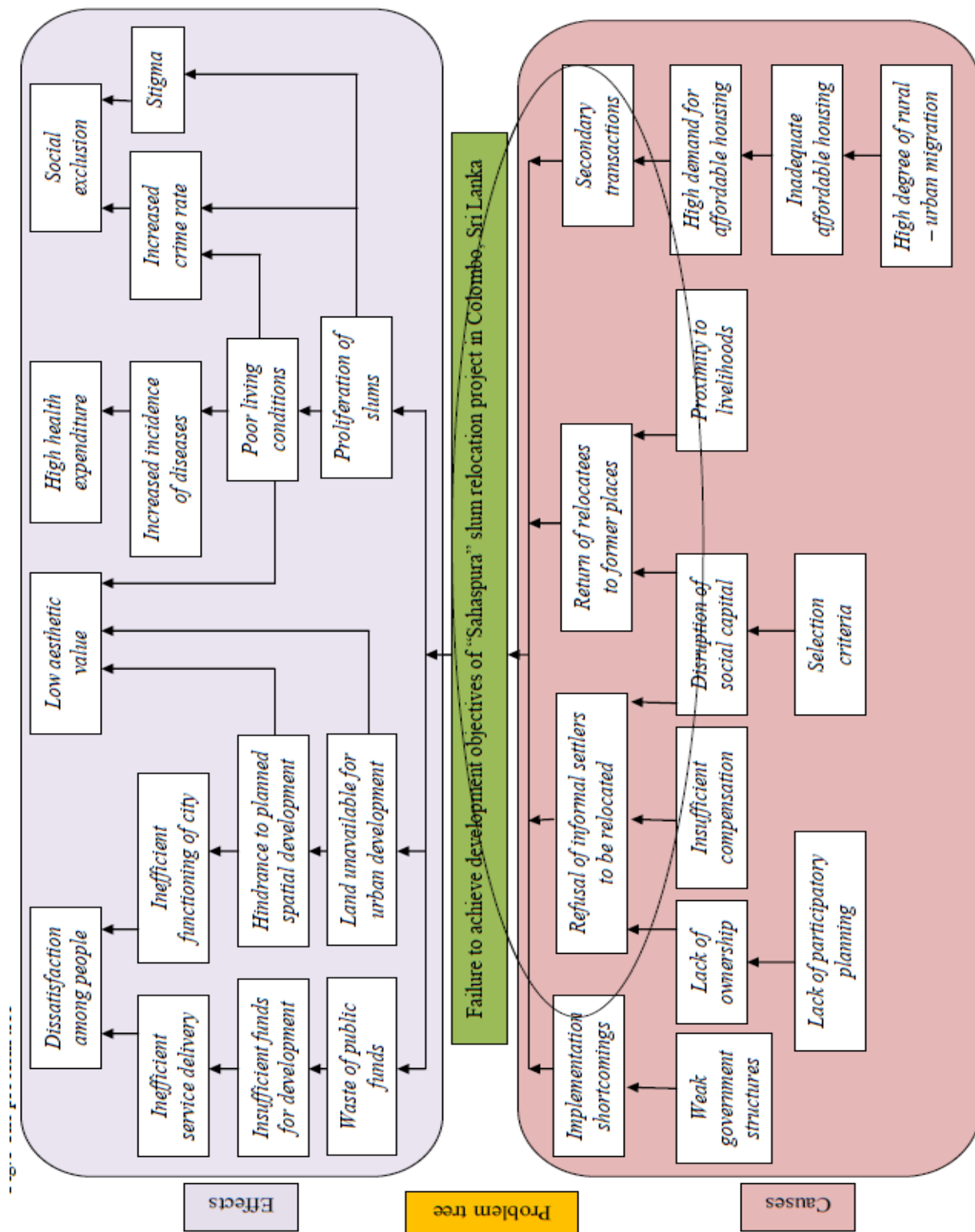


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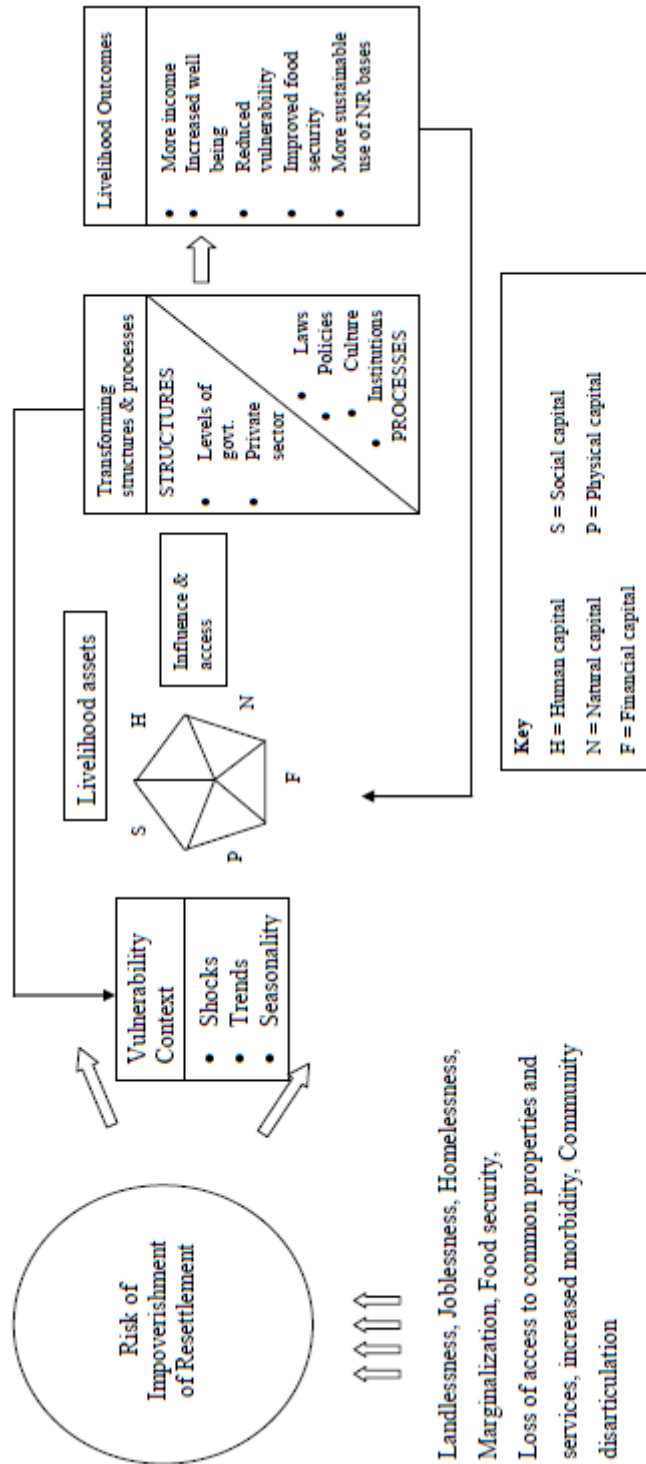
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# Annexes

## Annex 1 Problem tree



## Annex 2 Conceptual framework



Adopted from Ashley & Carney, 1999

### Annex 3 Questionnaire for target group survey

Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS)

Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

#### Questionnaire for the Target Group Survey of the “Sahasapura” Slum Relocation Project Colombo, Sri Lanka

Resettled  1 Sold off  2 Refused to be resettled  3

##### A. General information

1. Name of the respondent:

2. Current address:

3. How long have you been living in this address?

4. Previous address:

5. Age:

6. Sex: Male  Female

7. Ethnic Group:

8. Religion:

9. Marital Status: Married  Separated  Single

Divorced  Widowed

10. Household Information:

Family members	Age (Yrs.)	Educational Background	Occupation	Household income
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				

11. Did you have any other special training/ skill? If yes, what were they?

B. Socio-economic conditions of the original settlements (prior to the project)

12. To which category of houses below did your home belong?

Individual house	<input type="checkbox"/>	Line Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Flats	<input type="checkbox"/>	Temporary construction	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (Please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>		

13. Tenure of the house:

Owned	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rented	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leased	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (Please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Extent of the land on which the house is located

15. Were there any forests/ lakes from which you can collect resources?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

16. How did you obtain water for your purposes?

Pipe borne	<input type="checkbox"/>	Well	<input type="checkbox"/>
River/ stream	<input type="checkbox"/>	Any other	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Did you pay for it?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
-----	--------------------------	----	--------------------------

18. Toilet facilities available

Toilet Type	Individual	Shared with a few other families	Common with the community
i Water seal			
ii Pit toilet			
iii Bucket			
iv Any other			
v No facility			

19. Did you have electricity connection?  
 Yes  No
20. Did you pay for it?  
 Yes  No
21. Did you have drainage facility?  
 Yes  No
22. How often did you experience floods in your area?  
 Once a year  Twice a year   
 Several times a year  Never
23. How often did you/ members of your family suffer from mosquito borne diseases?  
 Once a year  Twice a year   
 Several times a year  Never
24. How often did you/ members of your family suffer from diarrhoea?  
 Once a year  Twice a year   
 Several times a year  Never
25. How did you dispose of your solid waste?  
 Dump outside  Dump in the water   
 Pit in your garden  Burn   
 Compost bin  Municipal collection
26. How far is it from your place to the city centre?
27. How far is it from your home to your/ your child's place of education?
28. Where did you work?
29. What was your occupation?
30. What was your daily/ monthly income?

31. Did you have any personal savings?
32. Were you a member of any saving group in the settlement?
33. What were the available sources of credit?
34. Were you involved in any home based business activities?
35. Did you have any other family members/ friends living in the settlement?
36. Were there any NGOs/ political groups active in the area?
37. Were you a member of any such organization?

38. What was the level of community participation in community activities?

Very low	<input type="checkbox"/>	Low	<input type="checkbox"/>
Moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	High	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very high	<input type="checkbox"/>		

39. What was your role in the community?
40. Did you feel safe in the settlement?
41. Did you encounter any problems such as drugs, alcoholism, armed gangs in your area?

### C. Project implementation

42. When were you informed about the “Sahaspura” project?
43. Were the project details made clearly available to you?
44. How were you informed?
45. Were you involved in making decisions regarding the project? If yes, what were they?



46. Were you involved in any implementation activities? If yes, what was your contribution?

47. What was the compensation package offered to you?

D. Decision making factors

48. Would/ had the project give you land/ home ownership?

49. How would/ had your moving to “Sahaspura” change your access to natural resources?

50. Would/ had the project have separated you from your friends/ relatives?

51. Would moving affect your connections with NGOs/ politicians that supported you?

52. Would you feel safer in the condominium or the former settlement?

53. How would the project change the level of education of your family?

54. Did the project involve in skill development for you?

55. Do you think moving to “Sahaspura” would improve your health?

56. What is the housing type you prefer?

57. How do you feel about living in a condominium?

58. Do you think the project would change provision of basic services than the settlement?

59. Do you think moving to “Sahaspura” would change your affordability of services?

60. How would the project change the state of your employment?

61. How far is “Sahaspura” from your place of employment?

62. Would moving to “Sahaspura” affect your savings?

63. How would moving to “Sahaspura” affect your ability to access credit?

64. Were you satisfied with the compensation package offered?

65. Do you think the project reflects your requirements?

66. How do you rate living in “Sahaspura” compared to original settlement?

A lot worse	<input type="checkbox"/>	Worse	<input type="checkbox"/>
No change	<input type="checkbox"/>	Better	<input type="checkbox"/>
A lot better	<input type="checkbox"/>		

**Annex 4 Interview format**

Date:.....

Time:.....

Place:.....

Name of the interviewee: .....

Current occupation:  
.....  
.....

Role in “Sahaspura” project:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Process of project implementation:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Opinion on the outcome of the project:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Recommendations for future:  
.....  
.....  
.....

Other remarks:  
.....  
.....  
.....

## Annex 5 Ground floor plan of “Sahaspura”

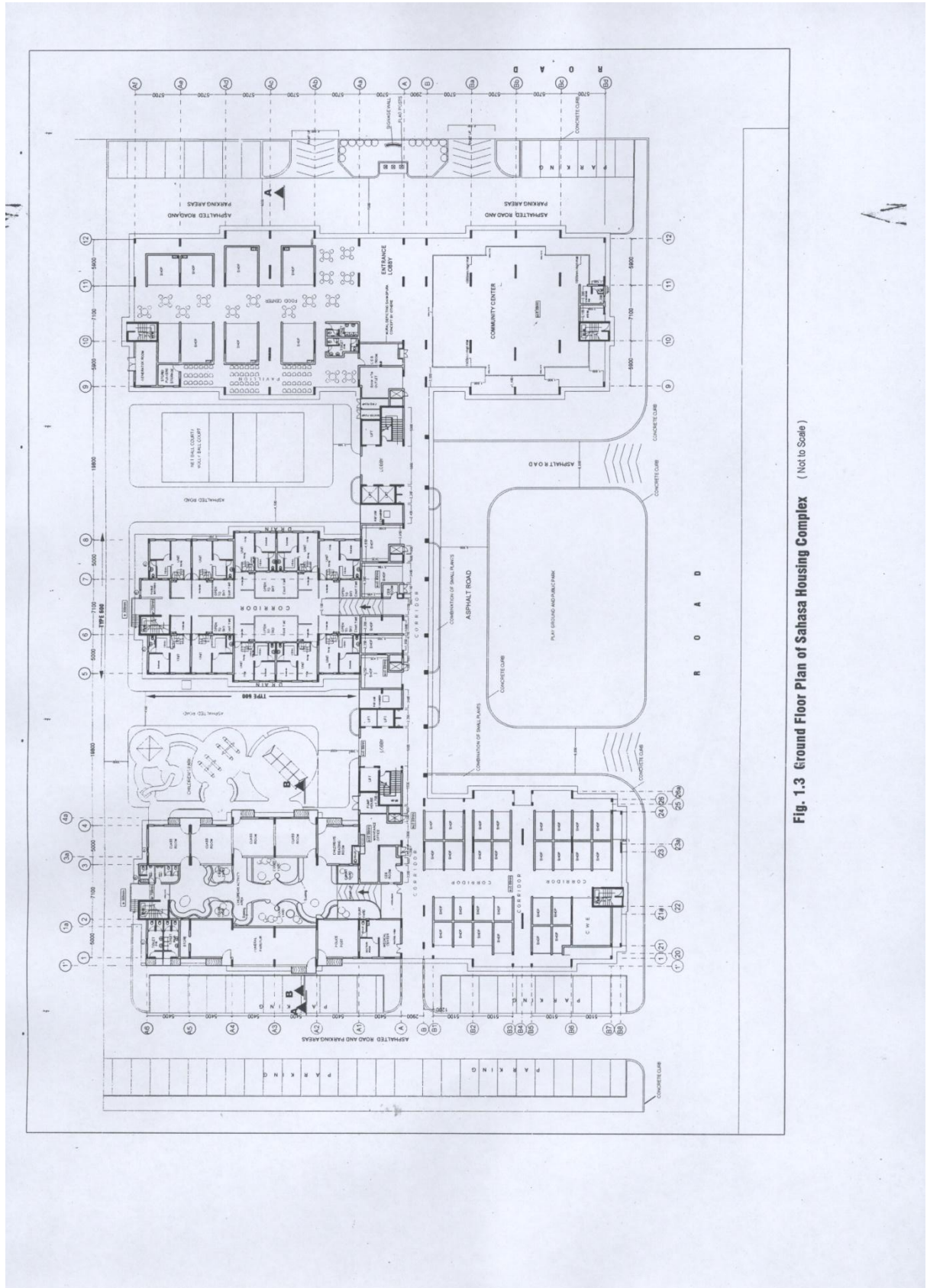


Fig. 1.3 Ground Floor Plan of Sahasa Housing Complex (Not to Scale)