

Mayura Place: Expanding Social Justice In Upgrading And Resettlement in Colombo

Group 3



SEVANATHA Urban
Resource Center



dpu
Development
Planning Unit



By: Balint Horvath, Bingbing Chong, Christopher Robinson,
Daniela Muñoz, Hinddou Maïga, Gordon Jennings, Marwa Abdelbary,
Reina Kosugi, Tameem Emam, Qizhong Li, Yuqi Shi

Submitted On: 1st of June 2018

Module: BENVGPU3: Practice in Urban Development Planning

Acknowledgement

Before starting this report, we must recognize and appreciate the support that we received. We would like to thank Barbara Lipietz, Ruth McLeod, Stephanie Butcher and Timothy Wickson, our supervisors at the DPU. We also want to thank the staff of the Urban Development Authority for their collaboration. Special gratitude must be extended to Sevanatha for hosting, facilitating and collaborating with us in Colombo. Particularly, Ruchika Lall, Ayesha Madhuwanthi and H.M.U. Chularathna who were incredible supports through their knowledge and understanding during the project. Additionally, we would like to express our great appreciation to our facilitators and translators, Anton Sudharshan, Bishma Hettiarachchi, Kalpani Wijesinghe and Subanesh Santhakumar for their hard work in making this project successful. Finally, this research would not have been possible without the residents of Mayura Place who provided us with their time and incredible insights into upgrading and resettlement in Colombo through their thoughts and experiences.

Abstract

Driven by its world-class city vision, which aims to beautify as well as to liberate urban land for development under the government's Urban Regeneration Program (URP), the city of Colombo is rapidly transforming. In consequence, communities living on commercially valuable land within the Colombo Municipal Council (CMC) area are subject to resettlement into high-rise buildings, with 50,000 units expected to be built by 2025 under the URP. Lakmuthu Sevana (Mayura Place), a 12-storey apartment building, is one such housing project constructed in 2014 to house 118 of the 150 families who previously lived on nearby land occupied by the former Wellawatte Weaving Mills. Today, Mayura Place is considered a positive example of in-situ upgrading by the Urban Development Authority. However, findings obtained over the course of the research sheds light on how the shift from horizontal to high-rise living has had impacts on social capital, use of space, and the long-term sustainability of building management system, and the resulting implications for social justice. Lessons drawn from Mayura Place can therefore inform future phases of the URP. Following an analysis of the findings, two strategic recommendations, namely the creation of learning platforms and the piloting of a community-led building management system at Mayura Place, are proposed as ways to expand the room for manoeuvre for more socially just, people-centered urban development in Colombo.

Contents

I. Introduction	1
II. Theoretical Framework- Social Justice	3
III. Initial Diagnosis	5
3.1 Settlement Upgrading and Resettlement in Colombo & Planning of Mayura Place ...	5
3.2 Diagnostic Themes	9
3.2.1 Social Capital	10
3.2.2 Space Making	10
3.2.3 Management and Maintenance	11
IV. Methodology	12
V. Findings and Analysis	16
5.1 Social Capital	16
5.2 Space Making	20
5.3 Management and Maintenance	23
VI. Reframed Diagnosis – The Room for Manoeuvre	28
VII. Strategies	30
7.1 Learning Platform	30
7.2 Community Contracting	32
VIII. Conclusion	36
Reference	37
Appendix 1	40
Appendix 2	72
Appendix 3	74
Appendix 4	78

List of Tables

Table 1 Research Methods for Social Capital	13
Table 2 Research Methods for Space Making	14
Table 3 Research Methods for Management and Maintenance.....	15

List of Figures

Figure 1 Different forms and functions of relations for a household.....	17
Figure 2 Networks of relations in Mayura Place	17
Figure 3 Women Clubs in Mayura Place.....	20
Figure 4 Examples of Apartment Structure in Mayura Place	21
Figure 5 Intensity of Common Space Use.....	22
Figure 6 Comparison of the Size of Common Space.....	22
Figure 7 Laundry in common space (Source: Authors).....	26
Figure 8 Conventional Procurement System compared to Community Contracting (Source: Sevanatha 2017)	33

Abbreviations

CBO	Community Based Organisations
CMC	Condominium Management Committee
CPA	Centre for Policy Alternatives
DPU	Development Planning Unit
MHP	Million Houses Program
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
UCL	University College London
UDA	Urban Development Authority
UDP	Urban Development Planning
URP	Urban Regeneration Program
UNP	United National Party



I. Introduction

In the post-conflict period, Sri Lanka's capital city, Colombo, has witnessed rapid transformation driven by the vision of becoming a "slum-free, world-class city" (Fuglerud, 2017) as part of a strategy to establish itself as an important geopolitical and economic hub in Southeast Asia. This process raises important questions about the impact of these changes on the ability of urban inhabitants to achieve well-being in their daily lives. The following report is the product of collaborative research between postgraduate students at University College London's (UCL) Development Planning Unit (DPU) and local NGO Sevanatha. The research was conducted through comprehensive desk-based research and primary research undertaken during two weeks of fieldwork in Colombo. It explores the concept of social justice in the context of settlement upgrading and resettlement of underserved communities in Colombo, through the experiences of the Mayura Place community, in order to propose actions to expand social justice.

Sevanatha is an NGO whose main goal is to support urban poor communities by focusing on strengthening livelihoods and improving living conditions. The organization works with many national and international partners and stakeholders in order to achieve this goal. Throughout its 30-year history, Sevanatha has had a commitment to relying on community-based approaches designed to recognize and strengthen the capacity of local communities.

Mayura Place is a settlement in southern Colombo that was upgraded as part of the Urban Development Authority's (UDA) Urban Regeneration Program (URP) in 2014. Formally called *Lakmuthu Sevana Housing Complex*, it is commonly known as Mayura Place. Residents were moved from five horizontal tenement blocks into a 12-storey building built fifty meters from their previous settlements. The original site of the Mayura Place community was established almost a century ago as housing for the workers of the now closed Wellawatte Weaving Mill (Nagaraj, 2016). The mill employed people of all ethnicities and religions, with subsequent generations also being employed, resulting in the Mayura Place community becoming tightly knit (ibid).



The Building of Mayura Place (Source: Authors)

The UDA was established by an Act of Parliament in 1978 with the mandate to plan and implement urban development strategies (UDA, n.d.). Currently under the Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development, it is responsible for the implementation of the URP (ibid). The primary objective of this program is to “eliminate slums, shanties and other dilapidated housing from the city by relocating dwellers into modern high-rise houses”, which will liberate underused land for investment (ibid).

This report is divided into seven sections. First, the theoretical framework is developed to guide the analysis of social justice. In the next section, a brief history is presented through a timeline of the key events in Colombo’s urban development. Following, is the methodology and analysis of the fieldwork findings. Finally, entry points and strategies for the expansion of social justice are explored through a reframed understanding of upgrading and resettlement.

II. Theoretical Framework- Social Justice

The current market-driven process of urban development in Colombo opens a debate regarding social justice in the city. The URP is considered to be a tool for the redistribution of housing assets, however the UDA's strategies appear to ignore considerations for participation and recognition, impacting the scope for distribution. In contrast, certain more recent projects under the URP reflect the UDA's attempts towards a more people-centered approach to housing development, creating a tension point for what exactly social justice means in Colombo. In this context, a definition of social justice is conceived to serve as a guiding framework through which settlement upgrading and resettlement processes can be assessed. Drawing from the work of Young (1990) and Sen (1992; 1999), social justice is defined along the three intersecting principles of *recognition, participation and distribution*.

Recognition emphasizes the link between recognition and distributive equity, based on the notion that distribution must be understood not solely through material goods and resources but rather from the concept of domination and oppression. Young argues that social justice is about "the elimination of institutionalized domination and oppression" (Young, 1990, p.15) and that oppression and distributive inequity is created by a lack of recognition of identity and difference. In upgrading and resettlement, it is necessary to recognize that people of different identities, such as age, gender, religion or ethnicity, have different expectations, aspirations and ways of livings and that the communities which they form have some mechanisms and spaces in which they practice their agency and their capacity to realize these. This also draws from the capability approach proposed by Sen, which emphasizes what people are capable of doing and being. Sen argues for well-being in terms of capabilities related to the possibilities that a person has to achieve valuable "beings and doings" (Sen, 2003, p.11). This notion of agency highlights the idea that in order for a person to take action, he/she must be the principal agent responsible for his/her life. Therefore, social justice is first defined as the *recognition of gender, ethnicity, age, religion and other identities with different expectations, aspirations, and ways of living which influence the possibilities of people to exercise their capacity and agency to realize well-being*.

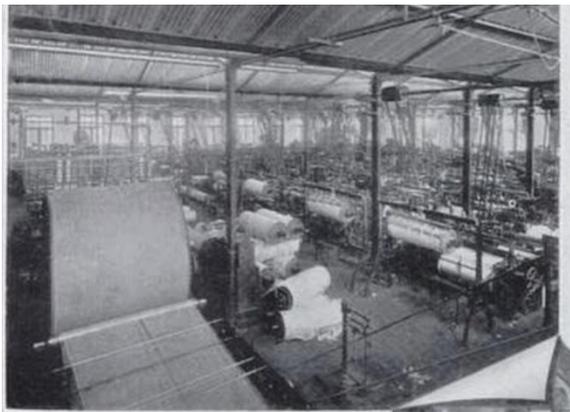
In connection to recognition, *participation* is understood based on different identities, as the process of people mobilising their capabilities in achieving the standard of well-being that they value. As the capabilities approach focuses on the abilities that people have to achieve the things that they value, the assessment of well-being becomes about people's freedom and opportunities to do so (Robeyns, 2016). The abilities that people have to achieve participation, and the freedom to do so (for which *recognition and distribution* are integral) is central to understanding the effects that settlement upgrading and resettlement processes have on them before, during, and after it occurs. Thus, the second aspect is defined as *participation that ensures individual and collective freedom in upgrading and resettlement as well as the management and maintenance over time.*

Distribution relates to the addressing of underlying deep distribution issues in Colombo, in this case, related to housing and the material fabric of the city. Integral for participation and taking into consideration the role that the recognition of identities plays in relation to this, it is about the distribution of the means through which people can achieve the standard of well-being that they value. The vision to transform the city into a world-class city primarily through the strategy of liberating land prioritizes land value and investment rather than the people and has meant that Colombo's urban development has disproportionately affected the freedom of communities to mobilise resources and achieve valuable well-being. Therefore, social justice is defined as the *equitable distribution of the economic, social and environmental benefits and costs within the Colombo city vision through prioritizing people-centered development.*

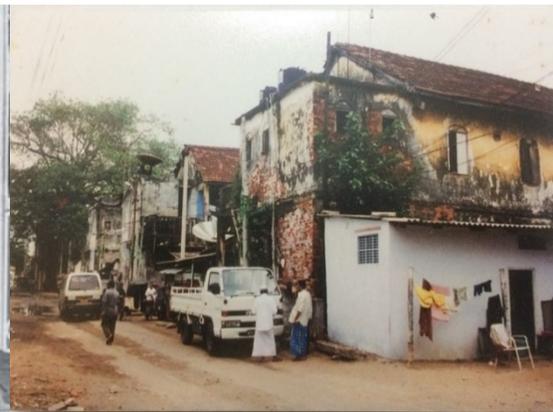
III. Initial Diagnosis

3.1 Settlement Upgrading and Resettlement in Colombo & Planning of Mayura Place

To introduce the context of Colombo, this section will highlight the urban development trajectory of the city through the experience of the Mayura Place community. It is important to recognize 1978 as a foundational year for planning in Colombo with the Third City Plan and Urban Development Authority Act, which created the Urban Development Authority (UDA), both of which laid the groundwork for all future planning interventions (Sevanatha, 2012). The 1990s mark the main point of departure for planning as it relates to social justice within upgrading and resettlement.



The Wellawatte Mill (Wright, 1907)



Former Settlement of Mayura Place
(Source: photo from one resident)

The first half of the 1990s saw a continuation of urban development interventions that prioritized people-centered approaches through specific site upgrading and land regularization under the 1.5 Million Houses Program (MHP) (Sevanatha, 2012). Key strategies in these programs included financing for self-help upgrading and regularization, and focused on strengthening community participation (ibid). It is during this period that the Wellawatte Mayura Place Community Development Society (WMPCDS), drawing on a long history of collective organization in the labour movements of the mill, began to negotiate for an upgrading project (Nagaraj, 2016). However, in 1993, the United National Party (UNP) lost the election and the program was abandoned (ibid). Urban interventions in this period focused their efforts on upgrading over resettlement and through participation, recognized the capabilities of urban inhabitants.



Aerial view of Mayura Place (Source: Google Earth, 2005)

It is in the late 1990s that urban planning shifts away from the people-centered approach towards an approach that meant that “the working-class no longer occupied land, but real-estate” (Nagaraj, 2016, p.432). This reconfiguration becomes integral for the new private sector and investment-focused urban development trajectory exemplified by the Real Estates Exchange Limited (REEL), under which underserved settlements were relocated into new high-rise complexes (Nagaraj, 2016 and Sevanatha, 2012). As a result of this shift, the government sold the old mill lands to a foreign investor to be developed into a new luxury community featuring the largest mall in Colombo, known as Havelock City (Nagaraj, 2016). Fearing under this new policy focus that the Mayura Place community could face eviction, the WMPCDS sought to negotiate a deal with the UDA to secure their tenure in the area (ibid). An agreement was reached with the UNP government for one tower of 100 units and two smaller buildings each with 30 units (ibid). However, the in-situ upgrading was initially put into question following the election of Mahinda Rajapaksa and his Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), but was eventually approved in 2007 (ibid). The urban development trajectory of the city begins to shift in the 1990s from a people-centered approach recognizing the social value of land and the capabilities of inhabitants, to one that prioritizes the investment value which would lead to the experience of resettlement characterizing Colombo today.

Following the end of the civil war in 2009, President Rajapaksa initiates a new post-conflict vision for Colombo, that is to become a “slum free, world-class, garden city” (CPA, 2014, p.8), which developments such as Havelock City and increased foreign investment across Colombo are synonymous with. Coinciding with this vision is the decision to bring the UDA under the Ministry of Defense (CPA, 2014). In order to realize the vision of a world-class city, the URP was launched in 2010 by the UDA. The goal of the URP is liberating underused land for investment and development by relocating underserved communities to new, modern housing (CPA, 2014; Nagaraj, 2016; Perera, 2017; Sevanatha, 2012).



Aerial view of Mayura Place (Source: Google Earth, 2010)

The Mayura Place upgrading project was incorporated into the URP and within the context of the liberation of land and the Havelock City luxury development, the UDA made the unilateral decision to only provide 118 units when completed in August 2014 (Nagaraj, 2016). This decision demonstrates the two key pillars of the “slum-free, world city” vision. First, the decision reflects the impact of the prioritizing of the financial value of land over its social value to people, by only providing 118 units in one tower block on a smaller piece of land. The existing site is made available for investment while erasing almost a century of use by a community. Additionally, building of only 118 units changed the allocation from one unit per family to one unit per house, which would result in the displacement of the remaining families when the original settlement was eventually demolished by the military (Nagaraj, 2016), negatively impacting the social capital

of the community. In the original settlement, a number of houses had been expanded to accommodate additional families, however these families were not allocated apartments in the new building, and the new high-rise structure does not allow for physical expansion. The second point to highlight is that the world-city vision requires, as Nagaraj states “aestheticized urban space” which is in tension with the existence of underserved settlements and thus, the UDA’s goal of a slum-free city is required (2016, p. 432). Therefore, the URP frames the moving of communities into modern high-rise towers as a way of “uplifting” them both socially and physically through the provision of amenities and services, in order to achieve the requirement of a slum-free city (Perera, 2017; Nagaraj, 2016). This reframing of communities as requiring “upliftment” removes the important recognition of communities having capacity and agency which was integral in the 1.5 MHP, and is exemplified by the reduced participation of the Mayura Place community and other communities in the current urban development trajectory implemented through the URP.

The next important moment came in January 2015 when the UNP won the election, defeating Rajapaksa’s SLFP. The election of the UNP government came with promises of change to the development trajectory. However, Perera (2017) highlights that thus far the UNP has failed to follow through on these promises. One change that was made is that the UDA was separated from the Ministry of Defense and moved to the new Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development (ibid). Further, it must be recognized that the experiences of communities in the URP and actions by the UDA are not homogenous. One example of this is the case of Station Passage, a project carried out in phase II of the URP. Here, the community leveraged the prime value of the land they resided on to negotiate for upgrading that would reflect the diversity of their needs and their agency, through the inclusion in the plan of three different apartment sizes and the ability to choose specific floors during the allocation process (Perera, 2017).



Aerial view of Mayura Place (Source: Google Earth, 2018)

Overall, since the mid 1990s the urban development trajectory of Colombo has experienced an acceleration in the prioritization of the financial value of land, changes to the levels of transparent and democratic urban governance, and limiting strategies for upgrading and resettlement. This trajectory, characterized by the “slum-free, world-class city” vision, raises important questions about ways in which communities are living in different types of spaces, the importance of social capital, and the perception of communities’ capacity and agency to achieve well-being. It is within the limited opening for change created by a new government and the UDA making changes between URP phases, that the following research attempts to understand and propose actions to expand social justice in upgrading and resettlement in Colombo.

3.2 Diagnostic Themes

Having outlined the context of Colombo and Mayura Place, this section reflects on the key themes that developed out of the context discussion in the previous section, connecting it to the experiences at Mayura Place. The experiences of upgrading which preserved the community in the same location make Mayura Place a unique example that can be learned from in achieving people-centred housing development. Derived from questions raised by the transformation of upgrading and resettlement in Colombo and the uniqueness of Mayura Place, the themes of social capital, space making, and management and maintenance were identified for further exploration.

3.2.1 Social Capital

The 1.5 MHP was based on the recognition of inhabitants as agents with the capabilities to mobilise rights and resources. Drawing from the work of Bertin and Sirven (2003) *social capital* is defined as the network of norms and values through which people can mobilise resources and cooperate as part of a strategy to achieve a standard of well-being they value. However, the transformation of urban development interventions in Colombo has ignored this understanding, evidenced, in the case of Mayura Place, by the UDA's decision to change the plan to only provide 118 units in one high-rise, ultimately affecting the social capital existing in the community. Mayura Place's diversity, along with the preservation of a community that has lived together for many generations is key to the maintaining of strong social networks between residents. Hence, social capital becomes a central aspect in understanding issues of social justice in upgrading and resettlement.

3.2.2 Space Making

Due to the shift away from a people-centered approach towards an approach prioritizing financial and investment value, urban development has focused on the resettling of communities to new high-rise complexes (Nagaraj, 2016). This has led to a reimagining of the types of spaces for communities, demonstrated by the URP's process that "will be to select a more suitable land and construct multi-storied houses with all amenities and better facilities" (UDA, 2017, p. 3). Therefore, it is important to understand how this transition to different forms of space changes peoples' capabilities as well as how they are using, adapting and making space, intersecting with different identities.

In the context of this report, *space* is understood as the physical area that people occupy and use to carry out daily functions, while *space-making* refers to the process through which people occupy, adapt and use space. Additionally, common space refers to the area that is commonly owned or used by inhabitants of the building.

3.2.3 Management and Maintenance

The shift to different configurations of space entails changes to how this space is managed and maintained. The 1.5 MHP recognized the role of communities in the process of management and maintenance through community contracting mechanisms, which is also a reflection of the role played by communities in the system of urban governance. However, through the transformation of urban governance under the “slum free, world-class city” vision and militarization of the UDA, this recognition was diminished.

Management has been defined as “an integrated approach to maintaining, improving and adapting the building of an organisation in order to create an environment that strongly supports the primary objectives of that organisation” (Barrett and Baldry, 2003, p. xiii). Wood (2009, p. 4) defines maintenance as “the combination of all technical and administrative actions, including supervision actions, intended to retain an item in, or restore it to, a state in which it can perform a required function”.

Overall, it should be recognized that these aspects cannot be separated into unlinked distinct categories, but rather, as demonstrated above, they are interconnected and reinforcing in their impact for social justice.

IV. Methodology

The following is an overview of the research methods that were deployed to explore the themes outlined above in Mayura Place. Prior to arriving in Colombo, secondary research was undertaken to gain a preliminary understanding of both social justice, embedded within the context of upgrading and resettlement processes in Colombo, and of the Mayura Place community. The fieldwork aimed to fill in identified information gaps related to the specific experiences of Mayura Place. The principle behind the project's research methodology was to create dialogue with the residents of Mayura place and other actors involved in its upgrading process, and to enable the community members to define their own perceptions of the upgrading and how it has impacted them (Mikkelsen, 2005). Therefore, different methods are used to better engage with the research's diagnostic themes (see tables 1, 2 and 3). The purpose and methodology used are not meant to be representative but rather aim to provide insight into the upgrading and resettlement experiences of a specific community, which can highlight aspects of processes occurring within Colombo's wider context.

Table 1 Research Methods for Social Capital

Overall Objective	Method	Objective	Target Group
<i>To understand the significance of preserving social capital after settlement upgrading</i>	Unstructured interview;	To refine information gaps and narrow down research focuses;	Mayura Place Residents
	Observation	To note down demographic information and find potential households for further research; To obtain a better understanding of the existing social relationships and the roles these play in the daily lives of residents	
	Semi-structured interview	To understand the meaning of social capital to the residents of Mayura Place	Mayura Place Residents
	Social network mapping	To understand the significance of existing social networks and how residents reconfigure their social relations within and outside the community after upgrading	Mayura Place Resident Groups (e.g. women clubs, Welfare Society, etc.)

Table 2 Research Methods for Space Making

Overall Objective	Method	Objective	Target Group
<i>To understand how people can/cannot adapt different spaces and how this intersects with different identities including gender, age, religion, and ethnicity</i>	Unstructured interview; Observation	To refine information gaps and narrow down research focuses; To note down demographic information and find potential households for further research; To obtain a better understanding of how residents are managing and adapting both private and common spaces	Mayura Place Residents
	Semi-structured interview	To understand the current issues related to space use	Mayura Place Residents
	Sketching & common space mapping	To understand the spatial structure of the building and how people make use of common space	Users of common areas in Mayura Place
	Semi-structured interview; Daily activity schedule	To understand how families of different sizes manage space for their daily activities	Mayura Place Residents
	Participatory drawing	To understand households' spatial needs through their own idealized/reimagined apartment layouts	Mayura Place Residents

Table 3 Research Methods for Management and Maintenance

Overall Objective	Method	Objective	Target Group
<i>To understand the issues of management and maintenance and their impacts on residents' daily life; To recognise the community's aspirations about management and maintenance in Mayura Place</i>	Unstructured interview; Observation	To refine information gaps and narrow down research focuses; To note down demographic information and find potential households for further research; To better understand the mechanisms and existing relationships between residents themselves as well as with the UDA that relate to the management and maintenance of the building	Mayura Place Residents
	Semi-structured interview	To understand current issues and aspirations of management and maintenance in Mayura Place from different perspectives	Mayura Place Residents
	Semi-structured interview; Transect walk	To understand current issues and aspirations of management and maintenance in Mayura Place from different perspectives	Mayura Place on-site UDA Officer; Researcher

V. Findings and Analysis

This section will present an analysis of the fieldwork findings, by connecting the social justice framework and the diagnostic research themes.

5.1 Social Capital

The experiences of Mayura Place help in understanding social capital, and how it shapes people's capabilities and expands their room for negotiating their living conditions and their ability to cope with both socio-economic changes and changes to their physical environment.

The findings show that households are part of a network or multiple networks of social relations. These relations differ in their forms and intensities and help to facilitate different functions for the household. Fig. 1 provides an example of a household of ten people from three generations, of which two family members are chronically ill and disabled and two are children. Their relations in the building include family members, friends and neighbours who help with domestic work, babysitting and tutoring the children, driving them to school, exchanging of important news and updates, and lending of money in case of need. When moving into the new building, the family lacked enough space for everyone while their neighbours, a family of only two (a mother and daughter) had more space. The neighbours offered to host the grandmother, and she has been living with them since. In that sense, these relations expand their capability to achieve more in their everyday life and to adapt to change.

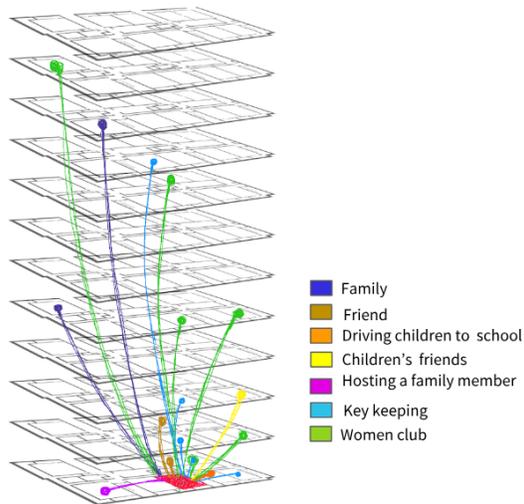


Figure 1 Different forms and functions of relations for a household

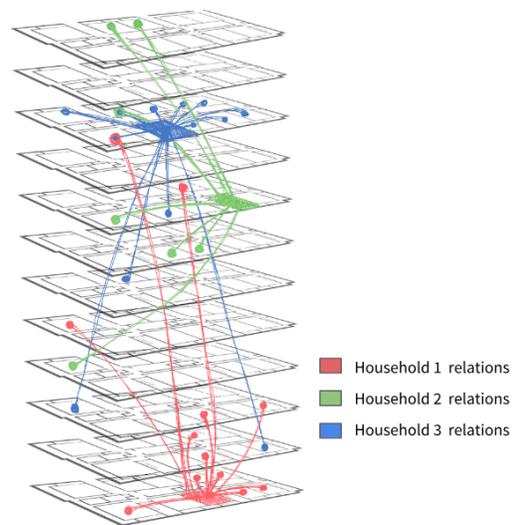


Figure 2 Networks of relations in Mayura Place

When the analysis is expanded to consider more households (see Fig.2), it shows that these networks of relations not only allow people more freedom and well-being; but they also provide them with forms of financial and social security. Through these relations, they build their sense of safety and belonging to the community. For example, some residents sleep in the common spaces outside their apartments and leave their keys with their neighbours, indicating a high level of trust. Community security and the prevention of crime are also considered to result from the existence of such strong social ties. The findings also indicate an impressive degree of social cohesion in this highly diverse community, as individuals from different ethnic and religious groups have strong social ties with each other, which is important in a post-conflict context.

These networks and organizations are not only contained within the building (or the former settlement), as residents stressed the importance of remaining in the same location for maintaining social relations they built with other communities in the surrounding area, such as at the mosque, temple, church and schools.

Another strong form of relations is people's engagement in community organizations, or "societies". One of the unique features of the Mayura Place community is its existing and past experiences with community organizing. This can be attributed to the historical bond that has been built within the community through living together for more than three generations, and also to the history of Mayura Place as an industrial community and its legacy of labour organisations. In addition to the active group (WMPCDS) that played a role in the negotiations for the new building, the field research identified other groups such as: the welfare society, the funeral society, and three women clubs. These groups are mostly recognized among residents as an important asset for this community, however, not every "society" is considered effective, representative or accountable for every member of the community. The networks that women and men create and engage with through these groups represent important social capital. In a direct way, these groups allow them to mobilise resources. For example, the funeral society allows residents to mobilise resources in the case of death of a family member (i.e. money and help in organizing the funeral), and the women clubs mainly act as savings groups, and sometimes as a rotating fund through which women can borrow money with a very low interest rate (1.5 percent). More importantly, through these organizations the community developed internal mechanisms to facilitate collective action and collective learning. Their organisational structures facilitated resistance and negotiations with the decision-makers for better living conditions and arrangements.

These groups also allow people to mobilise social resources (help exchange, companionship and civic engagement) by creating another platform for the people to interact and bond. The women who are members of women clubs (see Fig. 2) state that the club helped them to build their own capacity through exchanging help, skills and knowledge within the group. Another club created a business for homemade food where they collect money weekly for the ingredients, prepare the food in one of the member's apartment, sell it in the local area and distribute the profit equally between the fifteen members. Additionally, these women clubs operate under the umbrella of a city-wide Women Samurdhi (prosperity) Association, which gives the women opportunities to engage and interact with other women in the city.

Another interesting finding is how gender and age play a role in identifying social capital. Different social identities/groups recognise and value different organizations. Thus, mapping social capital requires an intersectional perspective. For example, men did not mention women clubs when asked about community groups and networks, despite their significant role in supporting the households that the women identified. They also tend to overlook the relations that facilitate the reproductive roles that are usually perceived as women's roles, such as helping with the domestic work and child-care or going to the market together.

Maintaining people's social capital, by resettling the community together as one community in a relatively small-scale development and within the same location, is one of the most celebrated aspects of the Mayura Place upgrading project. However, it is interesting to see how people reconfigured their relations within the new high-rise living, what they were able to preserve and what they lost in this process of resettlement. Some residents have become disconnected from previous networks after the move. This mostly relates to the families who were resettled to another building in Borella (Colombo 8). Although our research did not map the loss of social capital for this group, we mapped the disruption of some relations within the Mayura Place building as a result of this process. Some family members received apartments in Mayura Place while their siblings or relatives, who they rely on daily, were moved to Borella. The impact also manifests in the disruption of the activities of one women's group (the blue group in Fig. 3). For those who remained in the building, they may still have their relations, but they now lack spaces for socializing and gathering. The community room in the ground floor is too small and has controlled access (can only be used with permission and sometimes with a charge of 3000 LKR for a one-day private event). The mobility of old people and individuals with disabilities is now more limited in the high-rise building, affecting their ability to maintain their social interactions and relations.

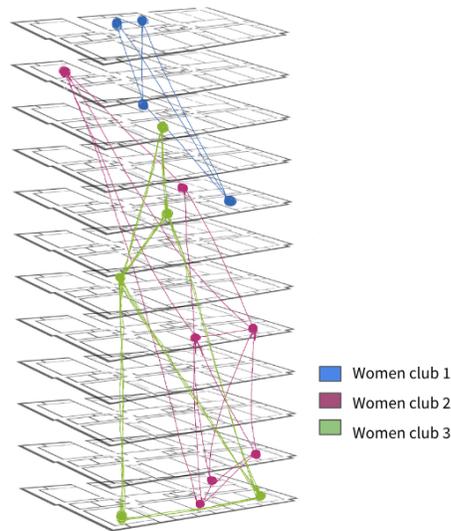


Figure 3 Women Clubs in Mayura Place

Exploring the value of social capital and the means to maintain and improve social capital for the people in the context of Mayura Place’s upgrading demonstrates strong links with social justice. Firstly, maintaining social capital shows the recognition of the people’s way of living, their norms and values, and the different forms of capital that they accumulate (social and cultural). Secondly, working to achieve distributional justice requires an understanding of how people use their social capital to access resources and mobilise them in the event of need, and how these social networks can act as a safety net for low-income families. Finally, the exchange of knowledge, resources and skills within these networks, and the organizational capacity-building that takes place through them, can be the initial push towards broader participation.

5.2 Space Making

Each apartment in Mayura Place has a standardised layout developed by the UDA (see Fig. 4). This standardised design creates challenges when intersecting with the diverse needs of different households. Firstly, the standardised flat design does not consider the various needs of families of different sizes. As shown in Appendix 2 which maps the daily activity schedule of three families of different sizes, Household A with two people can arrange their daily activities based on the

original function-related partitioning of the apartment; Household B, with six members, occupies the common space for dining and the children's studying needs; Household C, which has nine people, also occupies the common space but uses certain strategies to arrange their space to better accommodate their daily activities. For instance, they use one room for multiple purposes, and different family members carry out the same activities at different times. Secondly, the standardised structure neglects the impact of religious customs. During interviews, a number of women from Muslim families pointed out both pros and cons regarding privacy in comparison to their previous homes. They expressed that the new living layout is better because they now have a private bathroom however, the locating of the shower on the exposed balcony still poses a challenge (see Appendix 2).

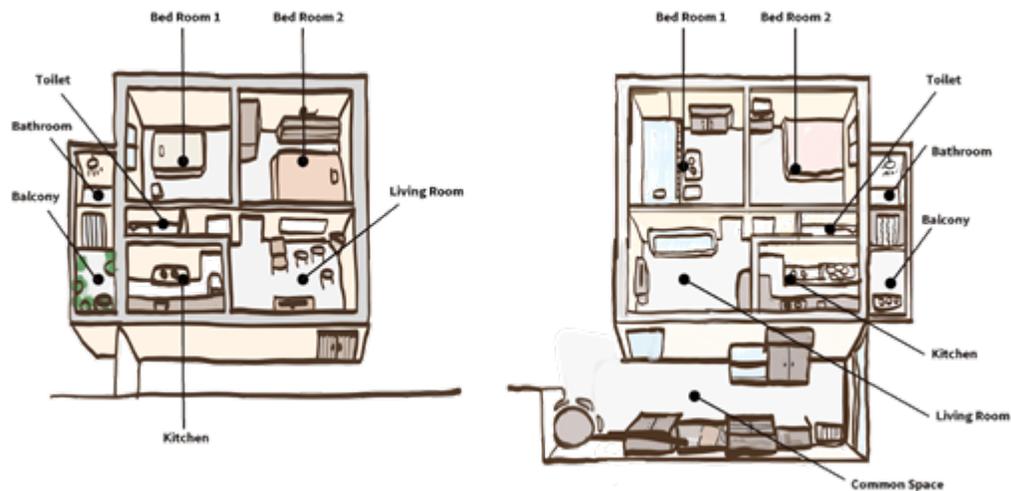


Figure 4 Examples of Apartment Structure in Mayura Place

Regarding common space, inequality exists in the design across different floors. On the ground, first and second floors, there are no corridors connecting all units. Without these corridors, people need to use the lifts or stairs to get to other units on the same floor. Additionally, residents' accessibility to common space is varied for two interrelated reasons. Firstly, referring to the UDA's management, there is a rule prohibiting the use of common space for private activities. However, this has not been applied in actual practice. Fig. 5 shows that there is a high incidence of common areas being occupied for private use. The different intensity of common use indicates an ongoing process of redistributing of space making.



Figure 5 Intensity of Common Space Use

Thus, the second cause of common space inequality is the redistribution of residential space by residents themselves. Compared to those living along corridors, households who were allocated corner units have more access to common space and are therefore better able to adapt or use it to meet their needs (see Fig. 6). This relates to how households were allocated apartments in the upgrading process. Through interviews, residents reflected on the lottery process undertaken by the UDA for allocation. In the flat allocation process, every household participated and had an equal opportunity to receive any apartment. However, there are at least two aspects indicating a level of injustice in this process.

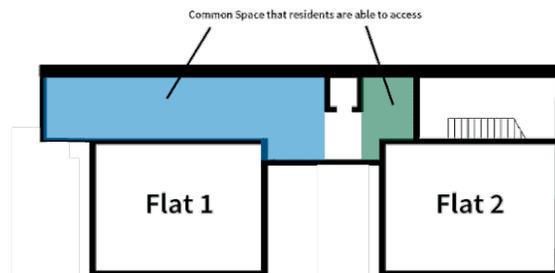


Figure 6 Comparison of the Size of Common Space

First, it does not provide any compensation for former livelihoods. One interviewee (see Appendix 1. I08) who lives with her seven other family members, who use their living space for multiple purposes, can be referred to as an example. They previously operated a licensed shop, but were not compensated for it, or provided space for a new one upon moving. Therefore, the living room is used as both a space for the operating of a small grocery shop during the daytime, and for the four grandchildren to sleep in at night. The resident highlighted that space for her family became more constrained after the move into the new building.

Secondly, it does not recognize concerns of accessibility for elderly people. Another resident (see Appendix 1. I21) who lives on the ninth floor expressed that living at such a high level hinders the mobility of her grandmother, who also lives with her. Due to concerns about moving between floors, the grandmother can only meet with friends living on the same floor. Additionally, during a sudden medical emergency, she was put at risk by the fact that the lift was not working at the time, resulting in her son having to carry her down the stairs.

The findings above not only reflect the extent of social justice in space-making, but they also indicate that residents have the ability to arrange their own spaces in a way that is better suitable for their ways of living. However, their capabilities of making space to achieve a standard of well-being that they value are not recognised by other actors in the upgrading and resettlement process.

5.3 Management and Maintenance

When researching the mechanisms involved in the management and maintenance of Mayura Place, two key problems were found. The first, is that there appeared to be a number of contradictions regarding the rules within the building; and the second, is the lack of clear

agreement over the ownership of the apartments. While there appears to be a tacit knowledge and understanding of some requirements and details with regard to both categories, there is an absence of any official or legal documentation. The only paperwork found with regard to either was a letter (Appendix 4) signed by the URP's Project Director. This document informs families that they are URP beneficiaries, and therefore they can own a housing unit if they comply with the required payments. Two payment schedules are set out: after an initial payment of 50,000 rupees, families can either pay 3,960 LKR monthly for 20 years, or 2,650 LKR monthly for 30 years. To become owners, residents must also pay 50,000 LKR for the maintenance fund managed by the UDA with the plan to transfer it to a management board in the future.

It is important to emphasise that this document is not a legal agreement and it clearly states that it does not confirm legal ownership. The UDA tried on two occasions - May 2015 and May 2018 - to redress this situation by asking the residents to sign a legal agreement. Through legal advice provided by external actors, residents refused to sign it despite the UDA's insistence. The recommendation and decision was made on the basis that the UDA violated their rights to equality and due process (Perera et al., 2017 p.18). On both occasions, the UDA did not provide them a copy of the document prior to requesting their signature, and only a Sinhala version was made available, although most residents living at Mayura Place are Tamil. This omission violates the constitutional mandate to translate all official communication and documents in both Sinhala and Tamil (Art. 22 of the Sri Lankan Constitution).

The agreement goes on to explain that a legal document will be issued in the future but that until then, the UDA will maintain ownership of the apartments. What it fails to include is information regarding when residents will have a legal document detailing either their full tenure of the apartment, or at which point tenure will be transferred. Complicating this, is the fact that one family has already paid the full 1,000,000 LKR needed to take ownership of their apartment. However, according to the on-site UDA manager, this family still has not been given the deed. This leaves them in a legal limbo and in a position that leaves them less able to exercise their

freedom, and also restricts their ability to mobilise resources. This limbo further applies to all residents, as there is no clear schedule for the transferring of deeds, and they are in a situation in which they are without secure tenure and are perceived as tenants rather than owners.

Regarding the lack of clarity on rules for who is responsible for the maintenance of the building, and on conduct within the building by both the residents and UDA staff members, two contradicting stories were found. During an initial interview with the UDA assistant site manager at Mayura Place and with various residents, the research team was told that there are no written rules regarding the management and maintenance of the building. Although, when the site manager was interviewed, he stated that written rules do in fact exist, and that each resident would have been informed of them when they moved into the building. However, it became apparent that whether these written rules existed or not, adherence to a set of rules was based upon a complex and iterative collection of negotiations between residents, and also UDA representatives. For example, the rules included that the common space within the building should not be used for private activities such as storing of private possessions or for income generating activities, yet it was discovered that residents do use these spaces for these purposes.

While it may have been ‘against the rules’, the UDA site manager and assistant site manager did not enforce it, as no complaints were being made to them from the residents. This shows that although not formalised and explicit, negotiations over the use of public space is happening among all residents internally, and also within the UDA at an implicit level, demonstrating the recognition element of the social justice framework. This was highlighted when the UDA site manager was asked about laundry drying outside of apartments and in front of the stairwells and fire exits, and his response was “it’s their laundry, where else can they dry it?” (UDA Assistant Site Manager, Appendix 1. I25) (see Fig. 7). It should also be noted that during numerous interviews with the residents, there were no negative comments made about other residents using the common space of the building in this way, therefore complimenting the analysis of existing internal negotiations and potential links to social capital.



Figure 7 Laundry in common space (Source: Authors)

Both the contradictions surrounding the clarity of the rules within the building and the lack of clear agreement over the ownership of the apartments leads to a situation that puts into doubt the viability and sustainability of the model in the long term. At present, the tacit rules within the building, some being adhered to and others not, is, as mentioned, the result of a complex set of iterative negotiations. However, this is possible due to the history that the residents share from their families having lived together for generations, combined with a flexible and understanding

UDA site manager. The question that this raises however, is what happens over time in a situation where the UDA replaces their current staff, or policy at the site or social capital within the building changes? Also, regarding ownership, the UDA appears to act outside of many established institutional and legal structures and has already delayed in transferring the deed to a family that has paid for their apartment in full. How this process can be sped up or made more efficient in the future, especially considering the many convincing arguments such as those made by researcher Iromi Perera (Appendix 1. I23) that the UDA does not have the staffing or legal capacity nor the regulatory framework to manage and maintain the building, is vital to the question of the long-term sustainability of its current system.

VI. Reframed Diagnosis – The Room for Manoeuvre

The findings analysed in the previous section present a reframed diagnosis of settlement upgrading and resettlement processes in Colombo. To assess the space for action that exists for achieving more socially just approaches to urban development in the city, opportunities and challenges at both the local and city-wide level have been identified. These serve as entry points for the development of potential strategies towards expanding social justice in Colombo's urban development.

One opportunity, highlighted through discussions with its senior officials, is that the UDA recognizes the need for learning and adjusting of the URP between its different phases. The example of Station Passage reflects an adjustment to the URP's approach to upgrading and resettlement between phase I and II, and the UDA's efforts towards a more people-centred approach to housing development. Contrasting with projects developed in the previous phase, Station Passage benefited from a housing allocation process that took into account the existing floor area of residents' property with a requirement that the area of the new house would be either of similar or greater value to the original, as well as a consultation process that allowed the community to provide some input regarding the layout design of their future apartments (Perera, 2017). While this recognized the need for learning and adapting, the opportunity to expand social justice is limited by the prevailing strong political will that is behind the current trajectory of urban development led by the world-class city vision. The space for action in this case is therefore for making small adjustments rather than for radical change.

A second opportunity, manifested through fieldwork findings, is that both residents and the UDA recognize the need for a long-term management and maintenance system. Mayura Place's current system in which both actors engage in a process of negotiation of the rules and regulations puts residents in a vulnerable position and raises questions about long-term sustainability. This recognition is however challenged by the UDA's current lack of mandate and capacity to create such a system, due in large part to its dominant function being land acquisition

thus limiting its expertise regarding building management; and the existing tendency of the UDA to regard its residents as tenants rather than owners.

Another opportunity relates to the existence of knowledge and capacity for collective action, which could lead to transformative change in which the community participates and is considered a partner in the upgrading or resettlement process. In the case of Mayura Place, this potential lies in both its history of community mobilisation, and the presence of community-based associations such as savings groups. Station Passage is again an example, drawing from its community's ability to organise and advocate for themselves and their needs during the process (Perera, 2017). The challenge however, is that there is limited scaling up of collective action across the city due to a lack of a wider cross-city organisation of residents. This means that mobilisation tends to occur in different parts of the city at smaller scales, limiting the extent to which social justice can be expanded at the wider scale.

Finally, there exists an opportunity in the fact that Mayura Place is recognized as a positive example of upgrading by the UDA, due largely to the maintaining of the community in the same geographical area. This places it in a position to be learned from in subsequent projects under the URP. On the other hand, however, this could potentially have the opposite effect if it is considered to be exceptional or unique to the point where it cannot be replicated elsewhere.

While the associated challenges outlined here must be taken into consideration, these opportunities nevertheless provide useful entry points through which the room for manoeuvre for making Colombo's settlement upgrading and resettlement processes more just can potentially be expanded through the implementation of the proposed strategies detailed in the next section.

VII. Strategies

7.1 Learning Platform

Justification

Urban learning platforms are ways of generating and sharing knowledges of city life with the intent of forging new relationships between civil society, communities, academia, the private sector and the state, and to prompt collective action. In Colombo, such learning platforms can be instrumental towards achieving people-centred urban development because of the decreased participation under the militarized UDA. Recently there has been a shift in attitude of the state towards more democratic practices, offering opportunities for local and translocal learning.

Sevanatha is well positioned to organise and coordinate such exchanges of knowledges based on its past experiences, and its established relationships with community groups, NGOs, academia, the UDA and other authorities.

Proposal

Urban learning platforms could contribute to the building of capacity for communities, and advocacy for people-centred development (Eade, 1997). Participatory learning could facilitate sharing of lessons from grassroots experiences to induce change horizontally among actors. Secondly, it can enable project-based learning through monitoring and evaluation of projects within and between organisations across time. Thirdly, policy-related learning draws from local experiences, in order to challenge norms and explore the alternatives. Fourthly, advocacy-related learning strengthens a particular topic by gathering supporting arguments and sources from other campaigns. Lastly, research and critical thinking is a way of developing and sharing methods of research and practice with academia and organisations.

One challenge to achieve a learning platform is the low number of organised communities in Colombo (Sevanatha, 2012). Therefore, to effectively learn from grassroots experiences at URP sites and elsewhere it requires the strengthening or creation of CBOs. This process of capacity-building and participatory learning could be coordinated by Sevanatha and could take various forms, from workshops to exchange visits. Moreover, CBOs could play an active role in training, monitoring and evaluating potential community contracting and other experiences to support project-based and URP-related learning. This could create a sense of power and control for organised communities through which their experiences and knowledges are heard (Levy, 2018).

Equally important to the learning platform is that Sevanatha continues to deepen and widen its relationship with local and international universities. Sevanatha could initiate a regular practice of voluntary engagement with local planning students and placement for students from both Moratuwa and Colombo University. This could be part of both collaborative research for people-centred development, as well as an opportunity for CBOs to access specialised knowledge and services from legal/financial advice, to documentary filmmaking, or to marketing/PR consultancy (UDP/BUDD Fieldtrip, 2012). Meanwhile, Sevanatha's future work with the UDP fieldwork as well as 'Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality' coordinated by DPU, could offer an opportunity for connecting findings on resettlement and upgrading internationally and gather evidence from partners' research for its advocacy (KNOW, 2018).

Through these various learnings and knowledge production, there would be growing evidence of community perspectives and knowledges that could expand the space for people-centred planning practices in Colombo.

To expand the space for action, learning must transcend boundaries between state organisations and decision-makers at the national, city and local level. The purpose of public learning in this respect is to create recognition for diverse communities in the state and consolidate a reciprocal

relationship with the UDA and other authorities. For example, the lack of official legal documentation regarding ownership in the different languages that exist in local communities is a pertinent issue that these learning platforms could propel the UDA to address. Collective learning could induce changes to the dominant narratives around underserved settlements underpinned by the world-class city vision through critical debate. Furthermore, this could lead to more just discourses on the city's future and transform planning practices (Davila and Levy, 2017). Therefore, Sevanatha could play a role in disseminating key findings to authorities and decision-makers, for instance on how apartment design could change between phases I, II and III. Moreover, in the case of the community contracting, Sevanatha could facilitate multi-stakeholder meetings where direct learning and trust-building could take place between the state and residents, informing both the project as well as the URP at large. This final point leads to the second strategy on community contracting as a way of addressing management and maintenance.

7.2 Community Contracting

To address the critical issue of the management and maintenance system discussed previously, it is necessary to expand residents' participation within the governance structures affecting the provision of housing. The extent to which residents can exercise their power on decision-making regarding the management of the building has the potential to improve, both materially and institutionally, their living conditions (Levy, 2008, p. 2).

At present, the residents do not own the units in which they live in and therefore cannot legally form a Condominium Management Committee (CMC) and register the Condominium Plan with the Condominium Authority (Perera et al., 2017, p.27). Therefore, the proposal seeks to fulfil the absence of a CMC throughout the period during which residents pay off their apartments, by introducing community contracts for the building's management. Community contracting is a procurement system recognized by the Sri Lankan Government as a standard procedure (see Fig.7), that empowers communities by guaranteeing their executive role in the planning and implementation of development initiatives (ILO, 2007, p.3; Joshi & Sohail, 2014, p.6).

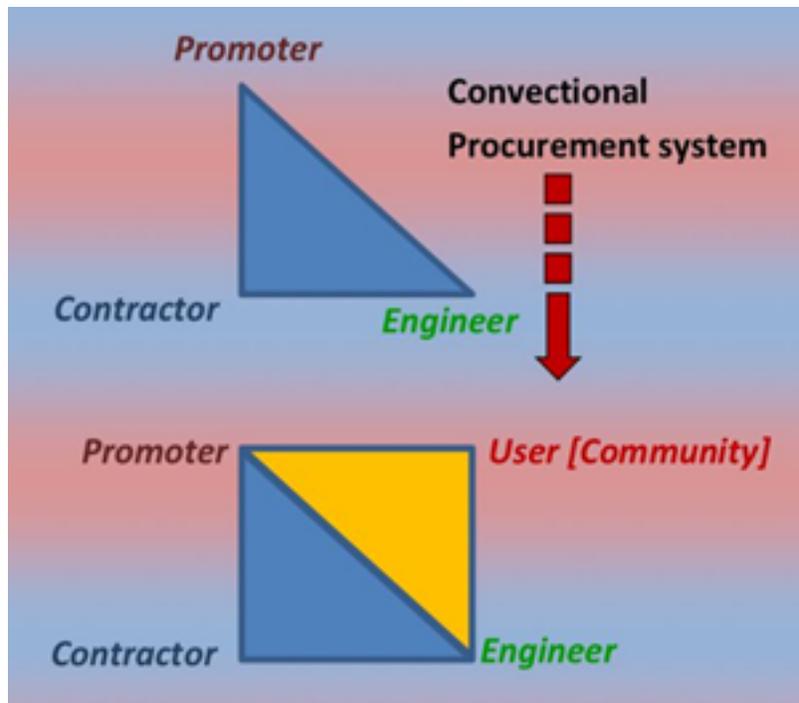


Figure 8 Conventional Procurement System compared to Community Contracting (Source: Sevanatha 2017)

This system has a long history in Sri Lanka, especially for completing of infrastructure projects in the 1.5 MHP (UN 2005, p.50). Moreover, Sevanatha itself has largely promoted this contracting procedure within the Colombo Community Empowerment Project and other initiatives (Sevanatha, 2017; UN 2005, p.52). Those examples, have led to the identification of community contracting for the management and maintenance of buildings as a feasible strategy that can expand and secure the role of communities as partners in the URP.

Proposal

Connecting the research findings to the history and understanding of communities having capacity and agency, the model of community contracting becomes attractive for expanding social justice both at the building level but also at the scale of city-wide governance. Below are recommendations on how the community contracting model could be applied in the URP context, adapting from the current model used by Sevanatha and throughout Sri Lanka.

Initially, it is important to assess the current situation, which could be done by a Sevanatha project promoter visiting the URP building to assess the needs and capacity of the residents who could undertake the management. As part of this, CBOs which can represent the community should be identified and as required, be strengthened through training or, in cases where there is no CBO support, the creation of one. The next component would be the formulation of a management board comprising residents and UDA representatives. At this moment it is important to have the UDA represented as until they transfer ownership to residents, they remain responsible for the building. Through the management board an agreement should be negotiated and reached on the administrative and reporting requirements including how the funds will be managed, one way being through a sinking fund managed by the board. A sinking fund was already created by the UDA with the 50,000 LKR payment by the residents, therefore the potential exists for transferring its management to the board or creating a co-management system. The management board then becomes the decision-making body for the management and maintenance of the building. This process should also include training and workshops potentially facilitated by Sevanatha with the entire community to facilitate the transfer of information and learning about the community contracting model. This aspect of the strategy is critical for not only ensuring the participation of the community, but also to open up new opportunities for community participation at different scales of city governance through close collaboration and interaction.

Once the management board is established, the focus is turned to the daily and ongoing management and maintenance of the building. Here it is important to point out that following a community contracting model is only one model for this, and that each building/community should have the ability to decide which model is best for them. Under a community contracting model, the next phase would be to award and sign contracts for the maintenance of the building. Preference should be given to community members; however, the community can also choose to contract a private service. Finally, the board should determine procedures and schedules for regular reporting, inspections and payments, and this should also include feedbacking to the community and ongoing review and adjustment.

Community contracting is a tested model in Sri Lanka which can respond to the challenges of long-term management and maintenance, as highlighted in the findings. However, it should be recognized that the model proposed above is an intermediate solution required due to the lack of clarity regarding the ownership rights of residents. In Colombo, and in other housing projects, there already exists a model of management and maintenance under the Condominium Management Law and in the long-term, shifting URP projects to this legal framework should be the priority. However, this model would require further consideration in regard to its compatibility with the specificities of buildings and communities under the URP. Finally, reflecting on the expansion of social justice, community contracting can ensure the space for community participation in local buildings and as noted, has the potential to open up new spaces at different scales of urban governance. Additionally, through involving communities in the decision-making and management of funds, there can be a positive impact on transparency and accountability within the URP.

VIII. Conclusion

Colombo's transformation has followed the logic of its world-class city vision, which has forced underserved communities to accept involuntary resettlement to high-rise buildings. These actions were prompted by the aim of beautifying the city and liberating occupied land for development under the URP. This vision sets a rigid development trajectory, however, our findings at Mayura Place suggest that there is room for more socially just urban development under the URP.

Based on our findings, this report argues that the upgrading of Mayura Place has had mixed results for social justice in terms of distribution, recognition and participation. Mayura Place, as a site for learning, shows how the URP can be effective for social development by paying attention to preserving communities' livelihoods and social capital. Yet, it also demonstrates the effect of not fully considering how a different arrangement of space in a high-rise can negatively impact a community with a diversity of identities, needs and aspirations. This impact has been aggravated by the lack of participation in the upgrading process and it will persist due to uncertainties around future management and ownership.

The report's two strategies acknowledge how the UDA's recent willingness for dialogue and institutional learning is an opportunity for expanding social justice. This would require setting up learning platforms through which local, translocal and international knowledges could be co-produced and shared between stakeholders. Simultaneously, a community-led management model through community contracting could be introduced for the management and maintenance of Mayura Place. This would create multiplier effects for capacity-strengthening of underserved communities, as well as reinforcing synergies for collective action towards more socially just urban planning in Colombo.

References

- Barrett, P. and Baldry, D. (2003). *Facilities management: towards best practice*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Bertin, A., and Sirven, N. (2003). "Social Capital and the Capability Approach: A Social Economic Theory". *Bordeaux: Centre d'Economie du Développement–Ifrede, Université Montesquieu–Bordeaux IV, France*. Available online at: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.624.1589&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- CPA (2014). "A Brief Guide to Land Rights in Sri Lanka". Colombo: Centre for Policy Alternatives Available online at: <http://www.cpalanka.org/a-brief-guide-on-land-rights-in-sri-lanka/>
- Davila, JD. and Levy, C (2017). *Planning for Mobility and Socio-Environmental Justice: The Case of Medellin, Colombia*. In: Allen, A., Griffin, L., and Johnson, C. (eds). *Environmental Justice and Urban Resilience in the Global South*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 37-55
- Eade, D (1997). *Capacity-building: An approach to people-centred development*. London: Oxfam GB
- Fuglerud, Ø. (2017). *Manifesting Sri Lankan Megalomania: The Rajapakses' Vision of Empire and of a Clean Colombo*. In: Kuldova T., Varghese M. (eds) *Urban Utopias*. Palgrave Studies in Urban Anthropology. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES), 2016. "Experiences of a Relocated Community in Colombo: Case Study of Sinhapura, Wanathamulla". Available online at: <http://ices.lk/publications/6002/>
- International Labour Organisation (2007). *Community Contracting Approach. Somalia Programme. Employment for Peace and Development*, Available at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_emp/@emp_policy/@invest/documents/genericdocument/wcms_asist_8000.pdf
- Joshi, S. and Sohail, M., (2014). *Housing futures: housing for the poor in Sri-Lanka*. IN: Bredenoord, J., van Lindert, P. and Smets, P. (eds). *Affordable Housing in the Urban Global South: Seeking Sustainable Solutions*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 192 - 201
- Levy, C (2018). *Knowledge, Data Collection and Diagnosis for Strategic Action Planning. Urban Development Planning, Policy and Management: Strategic Action in Theory and Practice. Session 7*
- Mikkelsen, B. (2005). *Methods for development work and research: a new guide for practitioners*. Sage.
- Nagaraj, V.K. (2016). "From smokestacks to luxury condos: the housing rights struggle of the millworkers of Mayura Place, Colombo". *Contemporary South Asia*, 24:4

Network, Social Capital Initiative, Working Paper No. 2, June.

<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/111741468767413539/pdf/292800PAPER0In1defining010sci0no-02.pdf>

Perera, I. et al (2017). “The Making of a World Class City: Displacement and Land Acquisition in Colombo”. Colombo: Centre for Policy Alternatives Available online at: <http://www.cpalanka.org/the-making-of-a-world-class-citydisplacement-and-land-acquisition-in-colombo/>

Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Putnam, R. (2001). Social Capital: Measurement and Consequences. In J.F. Helliwell (ed.), *The Contribution of Human and Social Capital to Sustained Economic Growth and Well-being: International Symposium Report*, Human Resources Development Canada and OECD. <http://www.oecd.org/site/worldforum/33703702.pdf>

Robeyns, I. (2016). Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. In Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Winter 201. pp. 1–19.

Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality Re-examined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sen A. (2003). *Development as Capability Expansion*. In: Fukuda-Parr S, et al. *Readings in Human Development*. New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press.

Sevanatha (2012). “Profile of Underserved Settlements: City of Colombo – Sri Lanka”. Colombo: Sevanatha Urban Resource Centre

Sevanatha, (2017). Colombo Community Empowerment Project http://www.sevanatha.org.lk/downloads/The_CC_Process.pdf

UDA (n.d.). ‘*Urban Development Authority*’. Available at http://www.megapolism.gov.lk/web/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=52&Itemid=218&lang=en. (Accessed: 30 May 2018).

UDP/BUDD FielWE Trip Project (2012). *Co-Production of Housing at Scale: Collaborative People-Centred Partnership for Slum Upgrading in Bangkok, Thailand*. London: DPU

UK Research and Innovation. 2017. *Knowledge in Action for Urban Equality*. [ONLINE] Available at: <http://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=ES%2FP011225%2F1>. [Accessed 31 May 2018].

UNITED NATIONS (2005) *Improving the lives of the urban poor Case studies on the provision of basic services through partnerships*.

Wood, B. (2009). Building maintenance. Technology and Engineering. <http://irma-award.ir/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/BS-EN-13306-2010.pdf>

World Bank (1998). The Initiative on Defining, Monitoring and Measuring Social Capital Text of Proposals Approved for Funding. Environmentally and Socially Sustainable Development

Young, I. M. (1990). Justice and the Politics of Difference. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Appendix 1 Semi-Structured Interview Summaries

Interview I01

Summary

Small Tamil Hindu family living here with just an elderly mother and her adult son. The mother is retired but the son works at a clothing factory, and apparently enjoys his work. She said that the place is smaller than at the previous site, but she thinks that this place is nice. They feel comfortable here and have installed their own front door that is a different design to anywhere else in the building, and they also use public space for drying clothes and grow plants on their balcony. She also uses the shops being run on the 3rd and the 6th floor buy things to make dinner, providing a connection to the rest of the building.

Main interview

Social networks:

- Only knows of Funeral Society.
 - Pays LKR 100 per month.
 - Cost of funeral LKR 15,000.
- People speak of other associations, but she doesn't know if they exist.
- She thinks that the welfare society and the funeral society are the same so members speak to each other.
 - She doesn't attend any meetings though.
- She often buys snacks from the shops on the 3rd and 6th floor.
- She often go to the Hindu (temple) to pray, which is located nearby Mayura Place.

Space making:

- Uses space outside apartment for drying clothes.
- She said that they had more space in the old place, but this place is nice.
- It is just her and her son so that means they have pretty much enough space to use their own bed room and living room as well.
- One issue is that there is no playground (although she has no young children).

Management and maintenance:

- Paid LKR 100,000 down payment.
 - Then they are paying LKR 2,600 for 20 years.
 - If she had money to buy now, she said ownership would be transferred.
- Has plants on her balcony next to their kitchen.

- UDA inspected them and said that they were OK.
 - From conversation, the restriction of plants in flats may have something to do with prevention of dengue fever.
- They have a different front door to others in the building (comment based on UDA policy of no alterations)
 - They changed it to traditional Hindu design, but without permission from the UDA, however the UDA site manager has said it was nice and it doesn't matter as long as the public space is clean and not used for private activities.

Additional comments

- CMC (Colombo Municipal Council) collects waste 2 x per week
 - Separate food and other waste
- Son was at work – he works in a factory (and apparently likes it, although we didn't speak with him)
- Likes living here

Interview I02

Summary

Muslim family with six members living in the apartment. There are mother; father; mother's brother; and three children. The brother didn't originally live at the previous mill site as he was an orphan and lived in a children's home, but moved in with the family one year ago and he was the one that did most of the talking. Overall, they prefer it the previous place as it is bigger, and they like living on the first floor. They also emphasised the fact that there is no UDA involvement in the funeral society.

Main interview

Social networks:

- Only aware of the funeral society
 - Meetings every month
 - Community members only – no UDA involvement
 - People can complain to the funeral society
 - They go to UDA on their behalf

Space making:

- Like living in the place
 - Nicer and bigger than before
- The common area outside the front door is a place where the children play (limited space)
- Due to no playground at Mayura place they go to a playground/park 1km away
- One big thing that they like about the new building is that they have a private washroom where their original site was shared washrooms
- Like living on the first floor

Management and maintenance:

- Paid LKR 100,000 down payment
 - LKR 2,600 per month for 30 years
- Painted inside, it's only outside that permission is needed from the UDA to alter
- Think the building is well maintained

Additional comments

- They mention that as the park is so far away it isn't safe for the children to go by themselves.

Interview I03

Summary

A Tamil Muslim husband and wife live in this apartment, they have children but it is unclear where they are living. They prefer living in this apartment compared to their previous place, especially the wife who feels much safer and is glad that she doesn't have to share a shower with other families. They have also maintained their support network as many of their family and friends from the old site were moved in to Mayura Place too.

Main Interview

Social networks:

- They have many relatives and friends in Mayura place
- She feels good that they can rely on the community when they need help.

Management and maintenance:

- He paid LKR 100,000 for the down payment on the apartment, LKR 50,000 for the deposit and LKR 50,000 for the management and maintenance fee.
- LKR 60,000 deposit came back after 6 months of payments had been paid.
- They pay LKR 3,000 per month for 20 year as their leases, after which they will gain ownership.
- UDA only manage the ground floor, and they have never been to the upstairs levels.
- They pay LKR 100 for the funeral society per month. When the funeral needs to be arranged, they will get LKR 10-20,000. It's not a mandatory payment but it is expected.
- When there is a maintenance issue, such as broken lights, they normally to go UDA office individually not as a community.
- He has the payment receipt, (but not the legal document) which is in his name followed by his wife's and children's names as next in line for ownership.

Additional comments

- The wife feels safer here rather than at the previous place, since now she has private space and cannot be seen from the outside. (See the difference between the previous place and the current room plan)
- She is also happy to have their own shower, rather than sharing with other families.

Interview I04

Summary

Tamil Hindu family of 7 occupying the apartment. They include the grandmother, her 3 daughters, one of which is a postal worker, and one of the daughter's 3 daughters. Further to this, there are two sons living in France and Canada who send money back to help support the family. This additional money is very helpful as two of the family members are ill and have limited mobility. The limited mobility is one of the reasons that they like living on a low floor. In general the older members of the family seem to like living at Mayura Place, although one of the younger daughters preferred the old site due to space available for playing.

Main interview

Social networks:

- Money is sent home from Canada and France by the two sons. They only come back to Sri Lanka, once in 10 years.
- Support is needed, especially due to two ill family members. The doctor comes to the house and the neighbours help too.

- They are not members of 'samati' (government subsidy).
- Not members of funeral society, they believe it is there to attract young people.
- Neighbour takes children to school on tuk-tuk for money, together with other families.

Space making:

- Happy for ground floor because household has elderly, plus two less abled/ill members.
- They used to share common toilets at old place, but now prefer having their private bathroom.
- However, girls only play inside the house due to lack of space. The old place was better according to one of the younger daughters daughter. Boys can play outside (no boys in this family though).
- Once/week, mom takes the younger children to the park.
- Apartment is dark and doesn't have very good ventilation
 - This means they need to use fans, but this adds additional costs to the electricity bill.

Management and maintenance:

- The family decided to take the 30 year lease option.
- On the ground floor, no playing is allowed inside the court due to noise and that apartment windows overlook it.

Additional comments

- The husband and father used to work at the mill.
- Because they were 9 members, plus they had worked there for a long time, they were supposed to get priority in relocating to 2 apartments.
- Their old house was legalised/regularised because of the election.
- Despite being on a low floor they feel safe, and sometimes leave their door open so fresh air can run through the apartment.

Interview I05

Summary

Tamil Hindu family of 3 living in the apartment. They include, father, mother who works as part of the welfare society, and a son who is a local medical doctor. There is a sister living on the 8th floor (unsure whose sister) and the sister's daughter is studying in London. In the previous site

they ran a shop but since moving to Mayura Place they've been unable to continue with this due to lack of space, also they weren't compensated for the loss of the shop.

Main interview

Social networks:

- The lady is the only female leader of the welfare society, which includes 10 leaders from the building.
- She said the other female do not concern about the activities organized by the origination because they do not want to take the responsibility.
- Sister living on 8th floor.
 - Sister's daughter is living and studying in London.

Space making:

- The UDA promised a playground for the children, but this has not been built.
- They used to run a shop before the move, but now there is no room for them to run one in their apartment and they received no compensation from the UDA.

Management and maintenance:

- The lady said the UDA does not allow them to keep their stuff in the public or common areas, but a lot of the residents do anyway, and the UDA turns a blind eye to this.
- If residents do not pay their rent for 3 months, the UDA will cut off the water.
- Her family chose to pay the rent monthly for 20 years to get the ownership.
- They were told by the UDA that if a family pay the full LKR 1,000,000, they can get the ownership immediately, but the deed to the house won't be passed on for 20 years.
- There is no legal document or formal contract about transferring the title.
- The rent for every month depends on how long you decided to pay.

Additional comments

- The UDA promise a CCTV system, but they haven't installed any cameras.
 - The young boys usually bring their friends from outside the community into the building at midnight, and she feels is unsafe for her family.
-

Interview I06

Summary

A Muslim husband and wife occupy this apartment. It is just the two of them living here but they have other family members living in the building, and also maintain a connection with their friends and family that were displaced to Borella. Their children have moved out, they have 1 son in London, 1 in Qatar and the remaining 2 both live in Colombo. They have strong connections with others in the building and rely on both family and friends as their support network. They have mixed feelings about the new place, on the one hand they had more opportunity to modify their space at the old place as well as outdoor space, but for the wife the privacy in the new place makes her happy.

Main interview

Social networks:

- Most of their relations were settled in the building.
- For those that were not they maintain a strong connection, but the other location is not as good.
- Wife – will spend time visiting with her friends but there is no specific place, so they informally gather around or in each other's apartments.
- Important information will be spread throughout the building within 5 mins.
- The people who were not moved to Mayura Place are the people who had built additional temporary structures.
- They used to live three families in the one structure, but they only received only apartment.
- Their children have moved elsewhere, 1 son in London, 1 son in Qatar, 2 sons are still in Colombo.
 - Their family will visit very often including on the weekend when the family will stay with them.
- If they need help in a crisis they would ask their children but if they are not available, then they will ask their neighbours.
- Family relations in the building:
 - Husband perspective: Floor 5 -niece of husband, floor three – not blood brother but incredibly close and strong relationship, Floor 1 – Sister, Ground floor – nephew.
- Funeral Society exists but there is no welfare society.

Space making:

- At the old houses they had more space and they were able to modify the space and expand it if needed.
- They miss the ground floor of the old site the most because they were able to expand their space and they have outdoor space at the front of their homes.
- For the wife the new house is better because the rooms are separate, so it makes it easier to arrange sleeping and it is more private.

Management and maintenance:

- UDA is only maintaining the ground floor, the water and the surrounding parts of the site.
- Individual families are responsible for the care of the common spaces.
- Complaints are made individually.
- For complaints to the UDA usually they are directed through 5 to 6 people.
- Agreement details:
 - LKR 100,000 deposit with guarantee but no legal contract.
 - LKR 50,000 is returned.
 - Standard is LKR 3,000 for a 20 year lease but this is flexible, therefore they can pay LKR 6,000 for a 10 year lease.
- Illegal to sell the apartment.
- No legal contract.
- UDA owns the apartment until the complete fee is paid.
- Apartment is in the husband's name but they sign a document outlining who the apartment is transferred to in the event of death.
- Apartments were allocated through a random lottery.
- There aren't necessarily any responses from the UDA when they report the problems to UDA officers.

Additional comments

- During construction of Havelock City, the old houses were damaged because of the pilings, therefore they had to move.
 - Privacy for women at the old location was not good because of communal bathrooms but also because of the way the houses were designed.
 - Youth – mix of behavior and some can cause problems, but it depends on their employment and experiences.
-

Interview I07

Summary

Muslim family of 3 living in the apartment. They include the husband, wife and wife's sister. The husband is retired now but used to work in a shop in Colombo while his brother worked at the mill. They prefer living in Mayura Place compared to the old site. He goes to prayers at the mosque next door 5 times a day.

Main interview

Social networks:

- Mr Mulla goes to mosque 5 times a day.
- They are part of the funeral society >
 - They have received the LKR 10,000 for the funeral but donated the money to buy plastic chairs for the common room.
 - Their contribution is LKR 100 a month.
- One member of household goes to the meetings of funeral society (it is ad-hoc, but they go often)
 - Funeral society has a secretary and chair.
- They don't know of the welfare society.

Space making:

- Best way of living because there are only three of them in the apartment, so they have a lots of space and privacy.
- The resident has difficulty to walking and needs to use a walker. However, he goes to the mosque 5 times, using the elevator so tries not to have any issues with mobility.
- They can use the common room for festivity and funeral, for example Ramadan.

Management and maintenance:

- He thinks that rotating lift is a good idea and works well.
- Paying for water, but now having to pay for electricity has made it more expensive for them to live here.
- The family have taken the option of the 20 year lease.

Additional comments

- They feel it is safer to live here than on ground floor because on the ground floor young people get drunk at night.
- They also feel that it is less noisy on the 4th floor
- Old area was worse, they much prefer Mayura Place.

Interview I08**Summary**

Muslim family with eight people sharing the apartment across three generations. These include; grandfather (interviewee); grandmother (interviewee); daughter (interviewee); daughter's husband; four children between 5 years old and 16 years old who are all at school. They run a shop out of the window of their apartment, but they prefer the old place as the shop they had there was independent from their house and they could stock a lot more things. They were promised a shop by the UDA before moving but this didn't materialise, which meant that the shop they run now is much smaller and the grandfather had to become a 3 wheeler driver to make up for the lost income. They also mentioned that some Muslim and Hindu families, if they didn't have LKR 100,000 available for the down payment needed on the apartment, were given donations from either somebody at the mosque or from foundations.

Main interviewSocial networks:

- They have other family members that live abroad
- Hindu residents receive some donations from foundations.
- Muslim families were able to take donations of the LKR 100,000 from someone at the mosque to cover their down payment for the apartment.
 - Mohammed said that his family didn't take the donation.
- Hindu residents receive some donations from foundations.
- The daughter prefers the previous place
 - She found it easier to cooperate with her neighbours
- Members of the funeral association
- The grandfather used to be president of the Welfare Society at the previous place (1995 – 2003)

Space making:

- Space is a big problem for them
 - Living room sleeps 3 plus also shop operated from there.
 - Toilet inside
 - Shower outside
- At their previous place they used to live in a situation where there were 2 bathrooms between 6 or 12 households
 - The daughter didn't mind the communal washrooms at the previous place as they collectively decided on a timetable.
- Run a small grocery store out of apartment
 - Opening hours are 7am to 10pm
 - Used to have a shop in previous place but due to lack of space the shop is now smaller and the father is now a 3 wheeler driver
 - Wishes for more space to open another shop
 - He has a business administration certificate
- Thinks that it was bad planning in design of the building
 - Floor 1 – 4 have no corridor
 - From floor 6 and up more space
 - But thinks floor 5 is better than floors 1 – 4
- No space for children to properly play

Management and maintenance:

- LKR 50,000 down payment and LKR 10,000 for electricity
 - LKR 2,600 per month for lease over 20 years
- They said that it is possible to switch apartments with other residents (although we didn't have confirmation of this from anybody else)
- He said that the UDA doesn't mind them running the shop through their window as long as it doesn't use the public space

Additional comments

- As well as being president of the welfare society between 1995 and 2003, he was also a fees officer and able to certify documents
 - This responsibility was given to him by the government
- Not sure if relevant but the daughter spent much of the interview sitting in the doorway with a fabric screen, and peering out from behind it when she wanted to join the conversation, possibly due to an unfamiliar male being present.
- They think that the lottery system by which apartments were allocated was OK, but also said that some people managed to by-pass the system and choose the apartment they wanted (this is only an opinion and his daughter disagreed with him about it)
- Floors 1 + 2 he thinks there is no big problems as there are no big families living there

- The playground where the children used to play when living in the previous place is where the tower block now stands and the other playground is too far away
 - The children play football and cricket along the back of Mayura Place where 3 wheelers are parked and sometimes their windows get cracked
- Apparently, some people use the UDA land next to Mayura Place for drinking and smoking

Interview I09

Summary

Muslim family that originally had 12 people sharing the apartment. Unfortunately, when we interviewed this lady her father had only just passed away and, for obvious reasons, weren't comfortable with us coming into their apartment to conduct the interview as they were in a period of mourning. She did say that she didn't mind speaking to us in the corridor though. Her family used some of the public space to keep a sofa as a place to read the Quran, and her and her sister's children were playing in the area between the lift and their apartment.

Main interview

Social networks:

- Originally 12 people in the apartment.
 - Some moved out.
- They have friends and connections throughout the building.
 - Muslim – Hindu – Christian all mix together.

Space making:

- They keep a sofa in the hallway for reading the Quran.
- Their children used to use the original playground before the Mayura Place flats were built on it.
 - Would like another playground to be built.
- The original place was smaller.
 - She prefers it here.

Management and maintenance:

- The length of the lease for a flat is down to how much you pay monthly.

- Father's name on the lease.
 - To inherit you must have your birth certificate as proof.
- If problems happen the people in the building work together.
- She believes the building is well maintained.

Additional comments

- Their monthly bills come to LKR 6,000 but this excludes the lease payments.
- Both her brother and husband work as 3 wheeler drivers.
- They close the internal doors between their apartment and the public walkways at 10pm, but she didn't say if they locked the doors.
- As the family were grieving we didn't want to take up too much of her time and ended the interview early.

Interview I10

Summary

Tamil and Christian family with 4 members living in the apartment (grandmother, mother, son, daughter in-law). The mother works as house cleaner and the son works in a call centre. They preferred the old site for its open space although it was unsafe due to fire hazards. They also provided information on UDA's management, the quality of maintenance and the role of resident's societies.

Main interview

Social Networks:

- Brother lived at the old site but was not moved to the new building.
- The old community had less amenities but was much more social, in the evening people would hangout outside chatting with the other people.
- Here there is less support especially when there is an emergency, used to just call out if help was needed and everyone would rush to the place in need, that is not the case anymore, largely due to the high-rise design, and units being more soundproof.
- Because of the building and lack of communal space visiting friends is more difficult.

Space Making:

- The old site was better because there was much more space
- Ground floor is the only place that is available to gather as community.

- Do not like having the shower outside and the bathroom inside, would prefer the other way around.

Management and Sustainability:

- 100,000 Rs –
 - 50,000 Rs for maintenance
 - 50,000 Rs as deposit
- Two options 2600 plus taxes 3000 for 30yr or 4000 for 20 yr
- Total value of 1,000,000 Rs
- Used to be a welfare society with Mr. Duan connected to the UDA
 - Changed with the political parties
 - Maybe talk of restarting the welfare society
- Funeral society has taken over the responsibilities of the welfare society
 - Were responsible for having the letter boxes installed and the main gates at each of the apartment entrances.
 - Don't connect much with the UDA.
 - Funeral society stated by supporters of UNP
- UDA is supposed to maintain the communal spaces, but they have not been taking many actions.
 - E.G. for more than two months they have not replaced a broken light bulb in the corridor after requested by a resident, therefore the resident says that they will take action themselves to fix the problem.
 - Further, the neighbour across the hall painted the doors outside door a different colour for a funeral but they have not been asked to repaint it the standard colour.
- They pay 1 person to take care of the ground floor, but the residents take care of the stairs.
- If they don't pay rent, then the water is cut
 - This has only happened a few times in the building.

Additional comments:

- At the old site six houses were destroyed by fire.

Interview I11

Summary

Six members Hindu and Tamil family living in the. A grandmother, grandfather, mother, 3 children (27 y/o male, 19 y/o female, 6 y/o female). Two of the children are still at school, while the eldest is working. The main sources of income for this household are the grandfather's job as security guard in Havelock and the mother's as a house cleaner.

Some of their family members live in another apartment within Mayura Place: mother's sister with her 3 children and husband. Children go to international schools; they are fluent in English.

Main interview

Social network:

- The mother's cousin and best friend is living in the 6th floor. The two households meet daily, depend on each other in many things and exchange help and support in different ways: in everyday household work, in crisis and in need for money or advice.
- Teenager is currently studying in a private-international school and is a violinist. She plans to go to university to study art.
- The 27 year son plays football and practices with other local young men in a vacant land close to the building.

Space making:

- The interviewees expressed their satisfaction of the new apartment in comparison to the old situation when the same number of family members had to share smaller space.
- They especially appreciate the private bathroom and toilet . As before they used to share a semi-public bathroom outside the house with other 5 houses.
- The Mothers sleep in one bedroom, the daughters in the other, and the son in the living room. The grandfather has an accommodation in Havelock City spends 2 days and nights in there and 2 days with the family, and usually sleeps in the day.
- The youngest daughter plays in the common space outside the apartment sometimes. There is a small park close to the building but the mother doesn't feel it is safe for the daughter to play there for 2 reasons: 1) she can't watch her from the building; 2) the teenage boys and young men gather in this park and sometimes have "inappropriate" behaviours.

Management and maintenance:

- The main issue was the promised 'playground'. The UDA promised them that the building will have it but they didn't provide it until now. However, the residents are still negotiating this with the UDA
- They must pay rent for 20 years to own the apartment. They pay around 3000 each month for the rent.
- The UDA is responsible for the maintenance of the building and they are responsible for their apartment, but they can't change the structure (walls) or the colour of the paint
- The funeral society is a resident's association. Membership and payment is compulsory for all residents. They collect money on monthly bases and help families organize funerals when someone dies.

Interview I12**Summary**

Tamil and Hindu family with 3 members living in the apartment (husband, wife, son). Husband works as logistics manager at an import and export company and used to live in Canada. He used to be involved with the building management but didn't worked out. He would prefer a community management board rather than the current UDA's management system. Currently the maintenance of the building is failing due to resident's behaviours. In terms of space making, when comparing the previous site to the high rise living, the biggest loss was open space.

Main interviewManagement and Sustainability:

- Currently people are not taking care of the building.
 - E.x storing personal items in the public areas and putting clothes drying in the fire stairs posing a hazard.
 - People must be educated on how to take care of the building
- The ideal would be to have a condominium management board which he learned about while living in Canada for 9 years.
 - The board would then be made up of community members and the community should be responsible for the maintenance of the building
 - For him this is important to ensure the future for his son
- He used to be a member of a urban development community which was working with the UDA to manage the building but it never worked properly and now is inactive.

- Perceives tension between people for the organization of the community.

Additional comments:

- Old houses built in 1921 so when construction started on Havelock City the pilings caused damage to the houses that is why they wanted to get new houses.
 - The residents house at the old site was burnt down as well as 6 others.
 - The playground was important for having a space to play cricket and football, was important for staying out of trouble, otherwise engage in alcohol and drugs.
 - Therefore the biggest loss from the previous location was the space for playing.
 - Put bars on the windows because of security, worried about son playing on the couch and potentially falling out.
 - Perceives tension between people for the organization of the community.
-

Interview I13

Summary

Muslim and Tamil family of 11 members living in the apartment. The grand-mother inherited the apartment from her father who used to work in the Mill, but she shares it with her brother who got divorced. She is the widow of a prominent Tamil writer K. Vijajayan. They also have a sister living in Borella, that couldn't be relocated in Mayura Place because she lived in an informal house on the former site. The rest of the family members are her daughter with three children and husband, her son with three children and wife. They are one of the few families interviewed having access to a communal space. They only share it with one other apartment, and its mainly used by man.

Main interview

Social networks:

- 5 relatives are living in the building (5th, 10th, 1st floor)
- Funeral society helped with 10.000Rs for funeral of husband. Everyone came to the funeral
- They don't know about of any other association in the building.
- Their sister lives in Borella and worst conditions, specially because people do not know each other.

Space making:

- The common area is closed down with a door, and only used by them and the facing apartment.
- Mainly use this common space for napping due to breeze, although “others could use it too if they ask”.

Management and maintenance:

- UDA document is on her name, following inheritance
- One of the daughter answers: Are there any ways for you the building could change? > cleanliness

Interview I14**Summary**

Hindu family with three members living in the apartment: two sisters and one sister’s son. The interview was done with the eldest sister. They used to work in the Mill and now they rely on remittances sent by an another who lies in the Middle East and the women’s saving group. She narrated how the hard was the forced eviction process and the process to cope with high rise living. She also explained the disruption in the community when some of the households were sent to Borella; however, the community living in Mayura remains strong and supportive.

Main interviewSocial Networks:

- Friends with all the community that moved over.
 - Also, still friends with many of those that moved to Borella (see below for other details on this).
- Used to work in the mill
 - Parents moved over from India in the 1920s to work in the mill
- Member of women’s society.
 - 4 or 5 members in Mayura Place but also 8 or 9 members in Borella (they all had a meeting at Mayura Place on 05-05-18).
 - Members are all religions
- Her friends who moved to Borella aren’t happy with the settlement, it’s not a good place to live

- Would like to live with the other members of the previous community that moved to Borella, but NOT in Borella.
- Very limited social activities due to “busy people who work” (translated by Bishma)
 - This is possibly not helped by the long hours that people work
- “Main” thing that they need is more space.
 - Specifically mentioned that the children have nowhere to play
- As a community they are always looking out for each other and checking on one another
 - Friends with everyone on her floor (all faiths).
- She has no option to move and doesn’t know what the process is to go about doing it
 - She also doesn’t want to think about it.

Space making:

- She said that when the eviction from the mill was first being prepared, the community told the government that they all wanted to stay there and as a community
- Wishes somebody would start a shop close to her flat.
- When she goes to the market it cost LKR 50 by 3 wheeler but sometimes it costs her LKR 100 to come back with her goods

Management and maintenance:

- LKR 100,000 down payment.
 - LKR 2,400 per month for 20 years (Not sure why only LKR 2,400 per month) – UDA stated that they had to pay this
 - At the previous place they only had to pay for electricity but now have to pay for the rent and water as well now, so it is harder.
 - Electricity paid separately to the combined rent and water payment

Interview I15

Summary

Three members family living in the apartment: an old retired man who worked 34 years in the Mill, with his son (3wheeler driver) and daughter (with a handicap). He also has a daughter living in the 5th floor. Overall, they are happy to live in Mayura Place although they used to have more space in the previous settlement.

Main interviewSocial Networks:

- Pays LKR 100 to funeral society per month.
- Maintains friendships and relationships from the previous place.
- UDA has a form that needs to be filled in to detail whom inherits flat after the lease holder passes away.
- Has a daughter on the 5th floor.
 - She has a problem with there being no space for her children to play.
 - Her husband works in a wedding shop.

Space making:

- In terms of space there is not enough, had more space before.
 - Uses public space to keep chairs as there is less space after moving
- They installed a blind on the public balcony outside their house, but the UDA haven't asked them to take it down.

Management and maintenance:

- Maintenance under previous government was better.
 - They came regularly to inspect.
 - Under this government there is inspections.
 - Unsure which government he was referring to, whether presidential elections from 2015 or most recent local elections in February 2018.
 - When he was talking about this he lowered his voice and looked around to see if anyone was there.
- Pays LKR 2,600 per month for lease over 30 years.
- There is also a problem with having nowhere to park outside.

Additional comments:

- The common washrooms at the previous place were a problem for him and his family in terms of safety and security.
 - But now they have a private washroom he feels much better

Interview I16

Summary

This household is made up 3 generations: a couple and their two kids, and the couple's aunt and her son. The mother is a housewife; the father works from 9AM to 5PM; the aunt remains mostly in the bedroom, as her age limits her movement; and her son works three shifts in a hotel but does not have a regular working schedule. The family is constrained by limited living space, with the dad having to resort to setting up a study space for children in the common area outside of their unit. This issue of space has also had consequences for their social relations, as the lack of space to socialise has resulted in less friends visiting them at home, compared to where they lived previously.

Main interview

Social Networks:

- The couple's son has a friend that lives in the building

Space making:

- They had more space in their previous house, and expressed that since moving the frequency of their friends visiting them at home has decreased due to a lack of space to socialise
- The father expressed that the family needs more bedrooms in their house. He has put a desk in the common space area outside their apartment for his children to use while doing their homework

Management and Maintenance:

- The family decided to repaint their apartment's interior walls

Additional Comments

- The father expressed concern about his children going downstairs to play with other youth
-

Interview I17

Summary

This household consists of three generations: a couple, their two children, and their grandmother. Their main source of income is through the father's work as a three-wheel driver. The family's main concern is regarding a lack of space for the children to play, and the absence of an affordable supermarket/shop nearby.

Main interview

Safety and Security:

- The parents are very concerned about space needed for their children to play, because they no longer have a playground next to the building, as was the case in the previous settlement; the nearest playground is 1km away

Additional Comments

- The community was promised a Sathosa (state subsidized food store) in the building which was never delivered, and therefore they have to go Pettah market (8km away) to buy their supplies

Interview I18

Summary

Muslim family living in Mayura Place. There are 3 generations living in the same apartment; a grandmother; mother; and 4 children (the father works abroad). 2 of the children are still at school, while the other 2 are working, 1 as an account and the other as a 'computer teacher'. They have a few family members and friends living in Mayura Place, however some of their family got displaced to Borella when the original mill housing was demolished, also their previous neighbours are no longer next door but elsewhere in the building. The children go to nearby schools, plus they shop locally.

Main interview

Social networks:

- Lots of family within Mayura Place
 - Brother and aunt had to move 9km away to Borella due to not having a formal residence
 - They built units attached to the formal residence, but UDA does not consider them formal and would not give them an apartment in Mayura Place.
- Family (assuming adults) have friends on the same floor
 - They go to each other's apartments
- Neighbours from previous place are now both 2 floors up and 3 floors down.
- If they or their neighbours are unable to pay the lease payments and their water is cut off, the residents help each other out with water.

Management and maintenance:

- Lease payments include water rates so if payments of lease go unpaid UDA cuts off water

Additional comments

- Apparently if a resident gets injured and it impacts their work (and therefore earnings), the UDA will send someone to assess the situation and possibly allow a stay in lease payments for a while so that the household isn't affected as much financially.
 - Didn't say if payments are then added onto the end of the lease.

Interview I19

Summary

Muslim family with 3 generations living there. We spoke with the 15 year old daughter as she spoke English. Other than her, there was the grandmother, mother (who is a housewife) and her two sisters living in the apartment, and her father is working abroad in Qatar. She initially found it hard to move to Mayura Place as she had grown up in the old site but after two or three months she got used to it, but her sisters weren't born then, although she said that she thinks five people is the most amount that can live comfortably in the apartment. They have other family members that were living in the previous site and moved to Mayura Place too.

Main interviewSocial networks:

- Most of the Muslim children at Mayura Place go to the same school
 - She goes to school with her sisters
 - Need to take taxi to get there.
- Father works abroad in UAE and sends money back
- Other members of her family live in Mayura Place

Space making:

- Not many places for girls to play/hangout
- Boys play football at the back
- Uses library at 2 x per week
 - Walking distance

Additional comments

- It felt hard for her moving to the new place as she had lived in the old place for 10 years
 - After 2 or 3 months she had gotten used to it
- She wants to become a business woman
 - She believes the qualities needed are honesty and luck
- Aspirations – to continue education as far as possible and maybe work abroad.

Interview I20**Summary**

This is a Christian family of Tamil ethnicity, made up of a mother and her children. Having paid a total of LKR 100,000 upon moving into the building, half of which was considered a deposit and the other half towards maintenance, they continue to pay LKR 2,600 on a monthly basis towards the apartment's full value of 1 million LKR, AND LKR 400 for their water bill, which gets cut off if payment is received late. The mother's main concerns are related to a change in the space available for her ability to socialize. She previously used to socialize with her neighbours under a nearby tree in the old settlement, but living in a high rise means that this is no longer a feasible option.

Main interview

Social Networks:

- The mother sometimes feels lonely in the building, particularly in the evenings. In the previous settlement, she enjoyed hanging out with her neighbours under a nearby tree, but now feels isolated and unable to carry out these same socializing activities due to the reduced proximity of a similar setting (more effort to reach, by having to take the elevator) and the lack of a designated common space in the building for this purpose

Space making:

- The mother expressed a concern about having to shower outside (shower is only accessible through the balcony) while the toilet is indoors
- The difference in building structure from now living in a high-rise means that if she [mother] were to fall down and injure herself, there is a risk of nobody noticing due to the separation of rooms in the layout

Management and Maintenance:

- The family paid LKR 10,000 upon moving into the building; LKR 50,000 as a deposit payment and LKR 50,000 towards maintenance. The apartment is worth LKR 1 million in total
- They pay LKR 2,600 monthly for the apartment, and LKR 400 for the water bill. When the payment is made late, their water is cut off
- Previously, the welfare society worked to connect the community with the UDA. Now, the funeral society exists, however it does not have a connection with the UDA; it is however responsible for providing financial help for funerals through a community savings group system, and for certain projects in the building such as the mailboxes and the main entrance gate

Interview I21

Summary

A Tamil Hindu family of 9 people living in the apartment. Not everyone was there, but the person being interviewed is a teacher. They had a couple of issues with the building, including that it isn't designed in a way that is friendly to disabled or elderly people, and also that some of the boys drink and bring friends from outside the building in at midnight. They have family and friends throughout the building.

Main interviewSocial network:

- Only one of her grandmother's friends lives on the same floor, but the rest of her friends live on different floors.
- They know the welfare society and give a name of one member.

Space making:

- The lady said their family lacks space to living. They asked for two apartments because they have 9 persons, but they failed.
- No playground or play area for the children.

Management and maintenance:

- They think the building isn't designed well for disabled or elderly people.
- In one instance the grandmother had a medical emergency and the lift was not working which forced the uncle to carry the grandmother down the stairs
- Before being given the key they had the chance to talk with UDA and discuss some things that they may need, but now this is not possible.

Additional comments:

- The teacher thinks this building is unsafe, because boys usually drink a lot and bring their friends entry into this building by the left at midnight.

Interview I22 [Iromi Perera Interview A]

Date: May 4

Interviewers: Balint, Marwa

Q1: If the housing association would still exist, what would people organise for?

A: A playground; and a Housing agreement

Q2: What was the significance of the local elections for Mayura Place?

A: The ward representative to CMC [comes from the Mayura community. S/he has a good relationship with the current mayor as well as the UNP [currently governing in Colombo]. However, the UDA is a separate non-representative body, thus elected democracy does not have formal relations with UDA. The ward representative is nevertheless an ally.

Q3: How does the community in Mayura Place see you?

A: I work hard and they understand and accept my support in the past 5 years. The chairman of UDA is close to the Minister of Megapolis, thus he has limited autonomy. My role is to make sure people are given an informed choice as it is laid down in the constitution. I also maintain a good relationship with the welfare society.

Q4: Where do people's power lie at Mayura Place?

A: Formally, the housing association was strong, but it was crushed by the military bullying and could not deliver or protect the promises made to the community. Nowadays, there is no such coherent social mobilisation.

Q5: What happens after 20-30 years?

A: There is no long-term vision from the UDA, they set up the URP in a rush. The housing agreement could be a step towards guaranteed full ownership, however the UDA is not applying the Condominium Act. The world class city vision speaks not only to the middle class, but to working classes too. Their aspirations are to get jobs, skills, and capacity. But the question is, how are working classes getting ready for the Port City? When reality sets in, the working class will recognise that the world class city is not for them and then the disenchantment will come. Until then, Mayura Place will support this aspiration.

Interview I23 [Iromi Perera Interview B]

Date: May 4

Interviewers: Balint, Marwa, Daniela, Bishma (Facilitator)

On transfer from old to new Mayura Place site:

- It was public land, so no 40-year 'adverse possession' counts, therefore no legal ownership, and therefore the people were not entitled to compensation

On social mobilisation:

- People are not united as they once were under the housing association. Why? Because under pressure from the militarized UDA, the housing association could not achieve its objectives, could not mobilize their political connections, and therefore lost support and cohesion
- Nowadays, only 20-25% of the people are mobilised/united, leading to the division, partly due to vertical living and partly due the lack of effective organisation

On reform:

- Make relocation/upgrading a voluntary process; give choices: compensation, money, or alternatives
- Allow for a change of design and change of floor layouts (gives more agency in the process)
- Condominium management: sinking fund's interest rate pays for maintenance. But the UDA gave the LKR 50,000 (of the LKR 100,000 initial payment) back to people. So in the future, a new fund needs to be set up and people need to be trained on how to use it.

On aspirations:

- Low-income/working class groups have similar aspirations to the middle-class
- In-situ upgrading can deliver this aspiration, in the same way as Mayura Place apartments (which is an in-situ upgrading) did, if the quality of the houses is good

On upgrading:

- Mayura Place is an upgrading because of:
 - a) its closeness to the old location;
 - b) crumbling houses were replaced by new apartments
- Upgrading can help to make people better, and give them better aspirations. Parents report that their children are different following an upgrade such as in the case of Mayura Place.

On strategy and incentives for change:

- Little political room for changing the UDA
- Human development, despite rhetoric, is not priority of UDA. The lack of translation of documents to Tamil at Mayura Place is an example
- Money is not an incentive, because a lot of public institutions are running in debt
- Privatisation means losing voters, so that's not an option
- Land is the biggest asset of the UDA, so don't put buildings on the market for sale

On the future of Mayura Place's development:

- Gentrification will drive up land value and put high pressure on selling out

On housing agreements (2015, 2016, 2018):

- Early 2015: 6-page long agreement. [Iromi] advised residents not to sign it and it eventually got annulled by the Prime Minister and the CMC, due to its illegality
- Late 2016: People signed it, it was okay. It contained 11 clauses, however due to a change in the UDA chairman, [Iromi] never received a copy
- May 2018: Document not fully read yet [by Iromi]. But the process is more important than the content; there was no Tamil translation, no explanation, and no deed provided, therefore no serious legality to it. Payments will not change, but 31 clauses suggest that the UDA wants to push more responsibilities onto the people, without acknowledging its own responsibilities for maintenance, etc. According to the Condominium Management Authority, it is illegal to have a condominium (commercial law) without being registered under a Condominium Management Committee, thus the UDA is technically engaging in illegal activity if this kind of agreement is signed.

On the UDA as a landlord:

- UDA cannot be a landlord because:
 1. no legal staffing capacity;
 2. no regulatory framework
- UDA, as owner, must have more responsibilities until the “renters” (residents) get their deeds, thus becoming owners and hence responsible

Interview I24 [Interview with UDA Officer at Mayura Place]

Date: May 5

Interviewers: Balint, Chris, Daniela, Bishma (Facilitator)

On Safety and Security:

- No reported damage, or security issues

On Management:

- UDA cannot control the long-term management because it is difficult
- Ill-design of basic services > cheap water meters, which water board did not approve > pumping station > high electricity cost and wastage
- Construction was carried out by Sri Lanka Land Reclamation and Construction company, which wanted to save money

- No written rules exist for the maintenance (eg. water), or for regulations within the building (e.: use of common areas)
- New legal framework is needed in the future
- One apartment's household has paid the full LKR 1 million for their apartment. [The officer singled this it out because it shows how the UDA could recover its revenue faster] However, no official deed was given to that family/person
- Ownership can only be transferred when the full LKR 1 million is paid, and until a housing agreement (letter) is in place setting out its conditions
- UDA dilemma: households cannot sell their apartments because people would go back to live where they previously where. Once the CMC delivers 50,000 new units, residents will be able to sell

On Social Capital:

- The funeral society is part of the welfare society. However, UDA cannot form these societies because they need to be independent; treasurer; the local UDA office cannot collect money
 - Welfare society = *Subasadana* (this is probably coming from the Wellawatta community development)
 - Funeral society = *Maranadara*
-

Interview I25 [Interview with UDA Assistant Site Manager at Mayura Place]

Date: May 3

Interviewers: Balint, Chris, Tim, Ayesha (Facilitator)

On Safety and Security:

- There is a large field directly behind the building, it is owned by a government school, but it is not allowed to be used by the community.
 - There is a park less than 1km away that people can use for playing.

On Management:

- Began discussing the waste management system – CMC does not have a specific time scheduled so when the garbage collectors arrive they come in and call out for the residents to bring their waste to the ground floor, therefore this causes problems with the lift because everyone trying to bring their waste down.
- Only two lifts work at any onetime due to the electricity costs of running all three lifts.

- Back alley way is used by the young boys to play cricket and football as well as hangout but they also park three-wheelers in the back.
 - This space was not originally planned for vehicle parking
 - Assistant Manager noted that he believes there is an increase in three-wheelers.

UDA is responsible for the complete care of the building.

- For satellite dishes to be installed they are to receive permission from the UDA.
- UDA hired one of the residents who is the full-time caretaker responsible for cleaning the ground floor, and the stairs once a week.

If there are personal items in the corridors then the procedure is for the UDA to request that the items are moved inside, if they are not then the head office is informed and additional actions may be taken including cutting the water.

- On observation of common spaces being used for personal uses – when asked the Assistant manager said that they don't make an issue about common spaces being used for certain private activities e.g. clothes drying, however if there is a complaint then they will send a request for the activity to be stopped.

The UDA is connected to the Welfare society (WS) and the WS will bring problems to the UDA.

- The WS will inform the UDA of changes to members and major decisions of the taken by the WS.
 - The UDA manager commented that there are fewer issues/problems at Mayura Place than at the previous UDA resettlement (check name) that he worked at.
 - At the other location many residents would bring personal problems to the UDA office including conflict with neighbours, these kinds of issues are not brought to UDA at Mayura Place.

The community hall may be used for communal building purposes and funerals but if residents want to use it for a private event such as birthday party then they must pay LKR 1,000 for the day.

Lease/Rent

- In order to take possession of the apartment residents signed a document clearly showing who would be responsible for the apartment if the holder were to die.
 - This was a concern for the UDA as they would need to know who would be responsible for paying for the apartment.

UDA comes every Friday to collect rent.

- Residents must make the minimum payment of LKR 3,000 for the month, but it does not have to be paid all at once or in specific instalments.
- The payments are very flexible, and the residents can pay any amount they like or have the capacity to.
- Getting behind in rent only becomes a problem when a Resident is LKR 25,000 behind, if they continue not to pay then the water is cut.
 - Asst Manager not sure what happens if they continue not to pay.
 - Partly because this has never happened before, and the water has only been cut a few times but once that happens people pay.

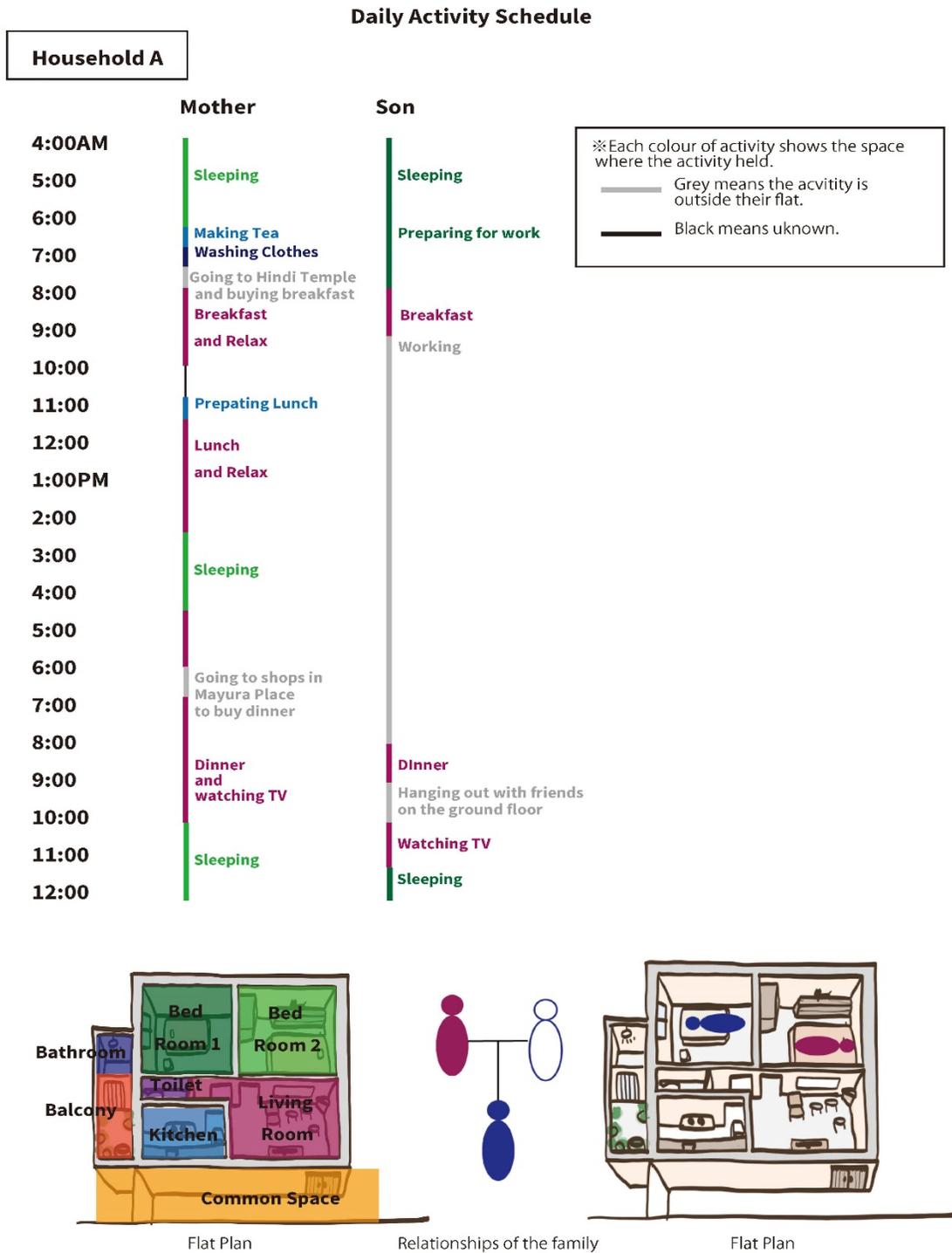
- Asst Manager also expressed that the rent is very reasonable for residents. Regarding the building rules, believes that Residents were informed when they moved in, but nobody has a written copy, UDA head office would have a copy.

Other:

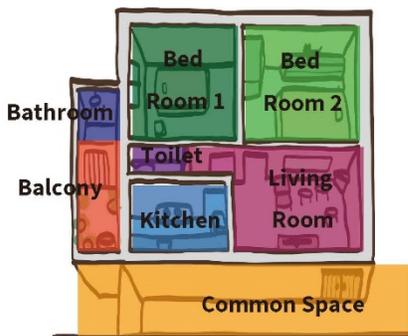
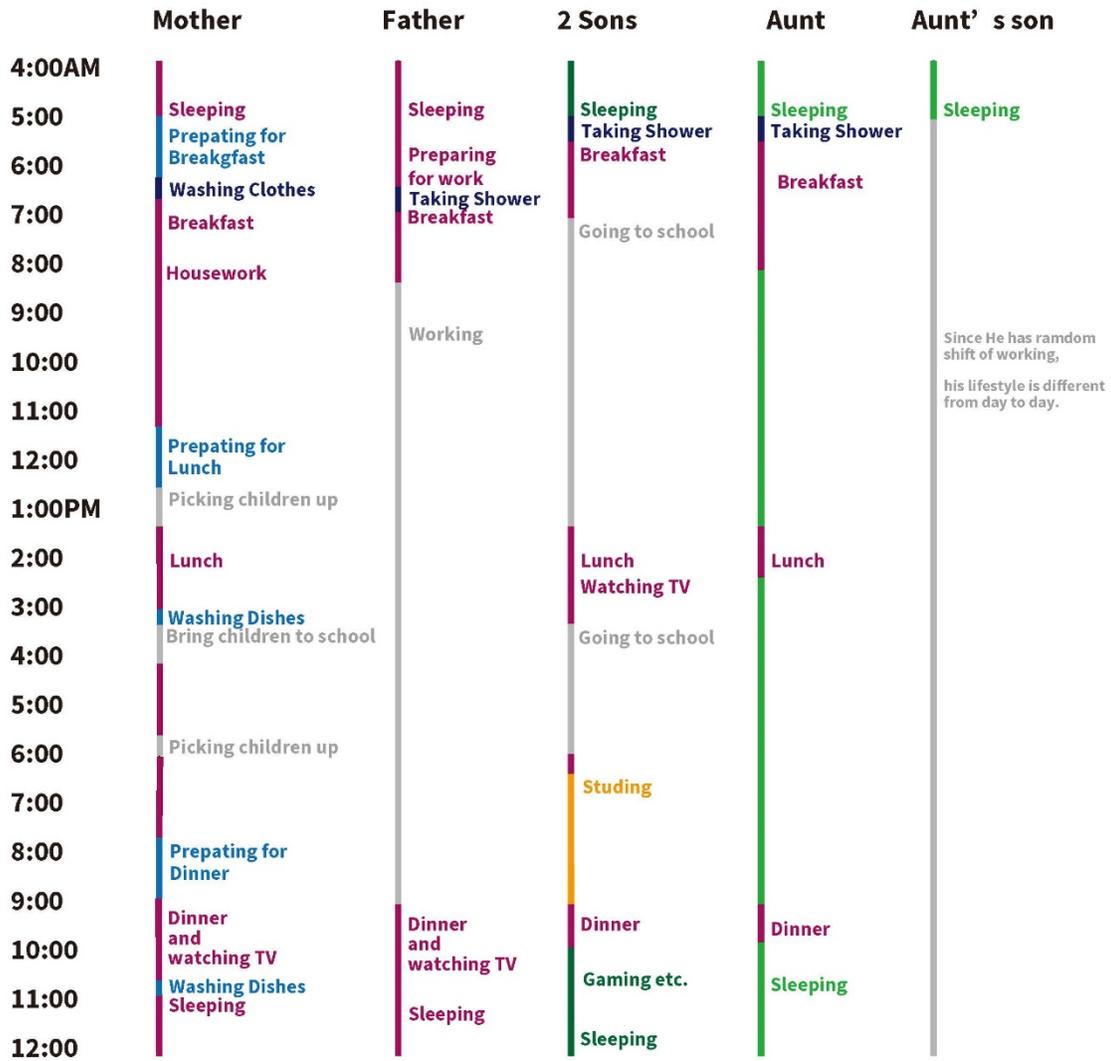
- Original site of the community has been transferred by the UDA to private developers (Asst. manager not sure of the details).

Appendix 2 Daily Activity Schedule and Floor Mapping

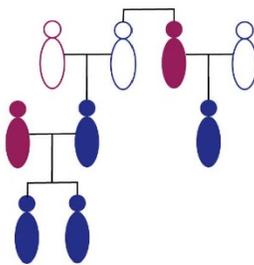
Daily Activity Schedule



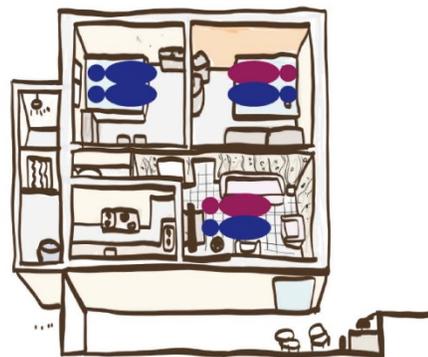
Household B



Flat Plan

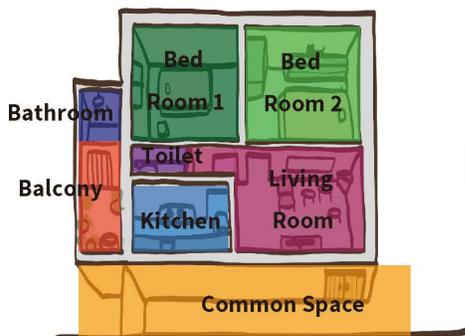
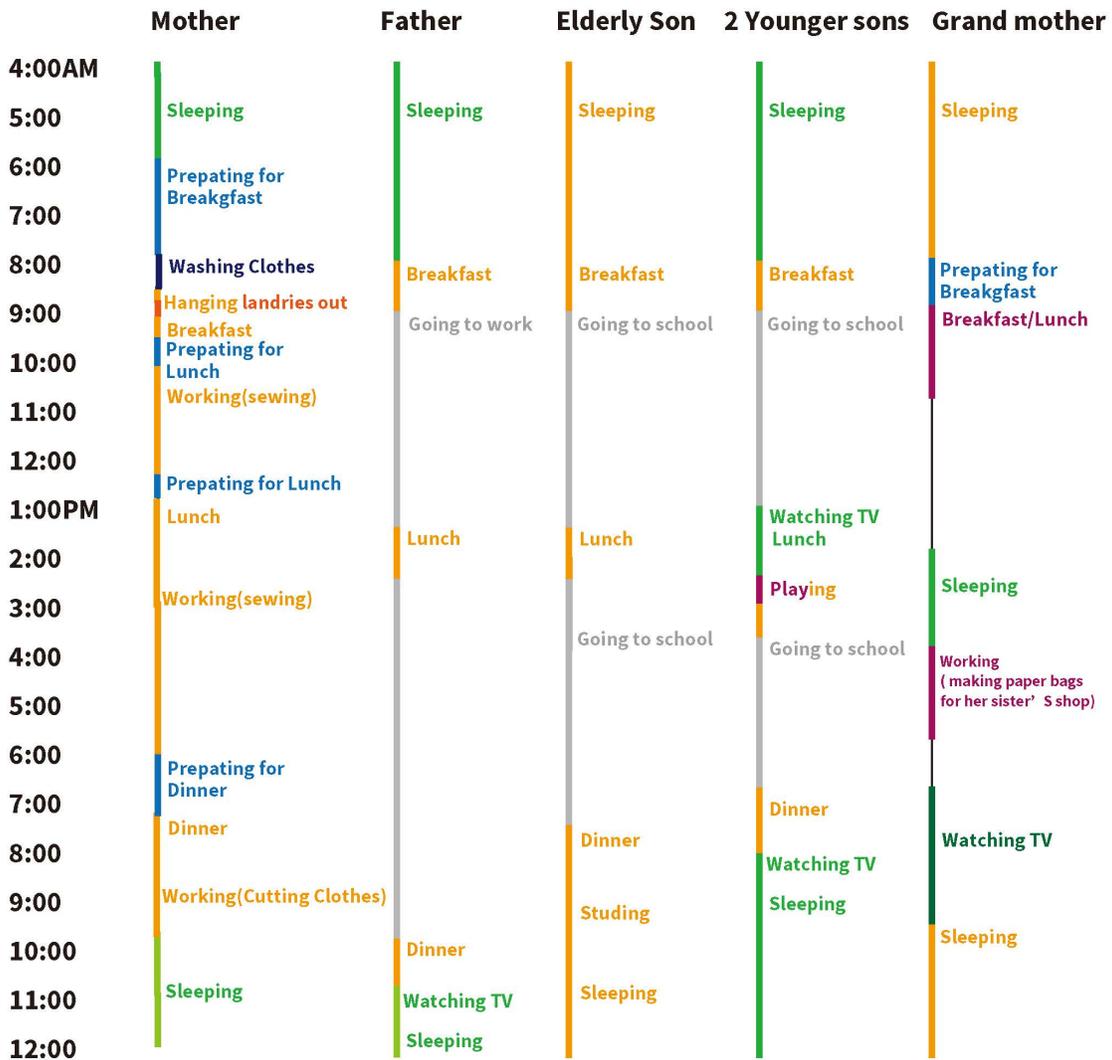


Relationships of the family

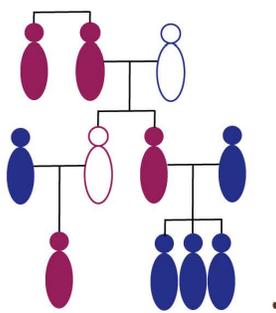


Flat Plan

Household C



Flat Plan



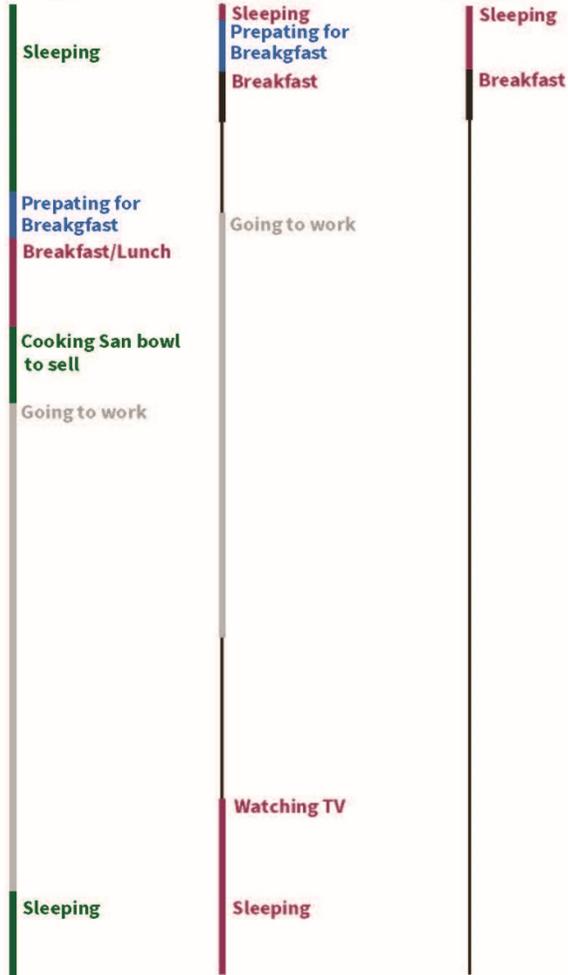
Relationships of the family



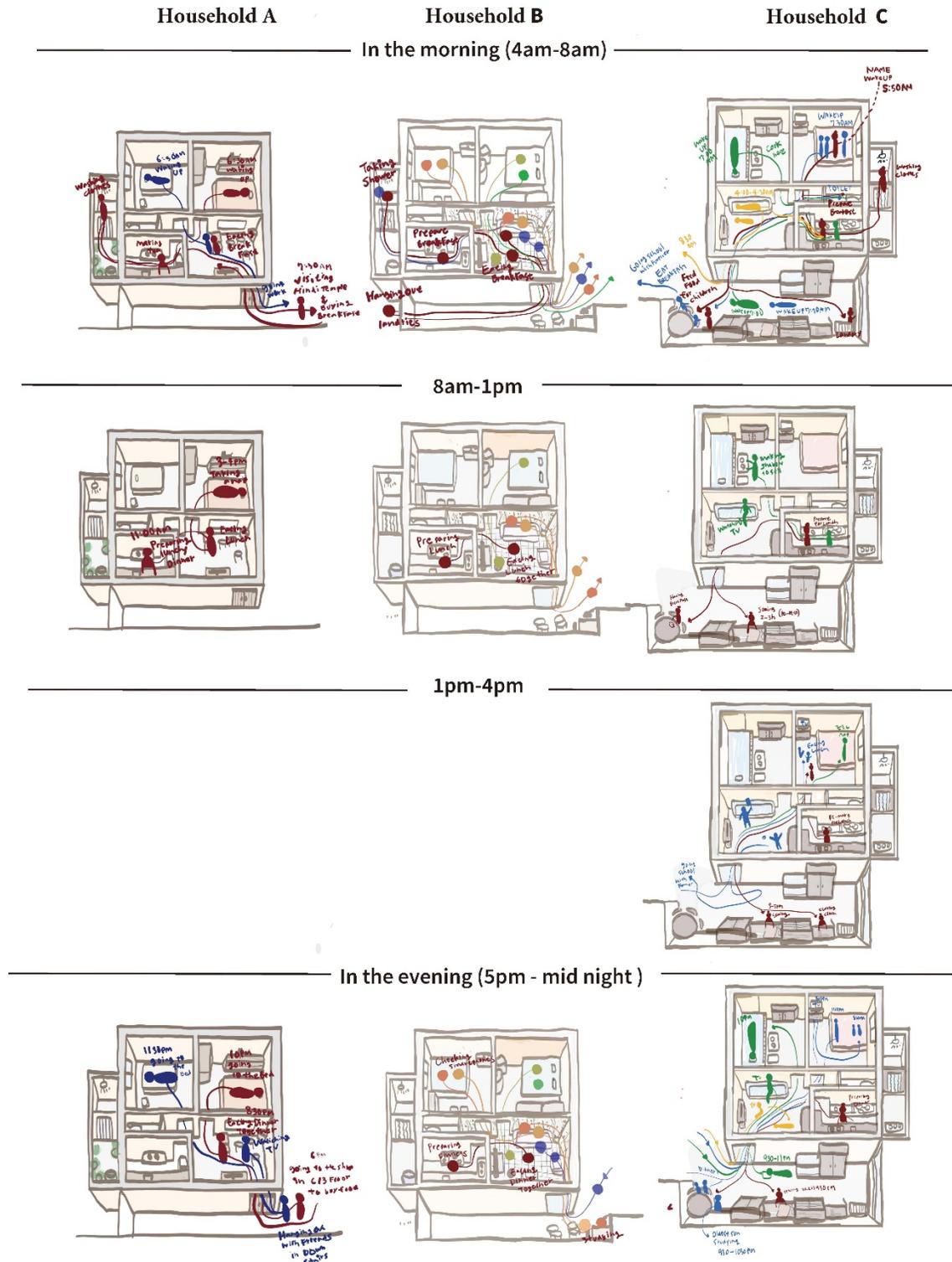
Flat Plan

Household C

Grand mother' s elderly sister s Younger sister' s Husband s Younger sister' s Daughter

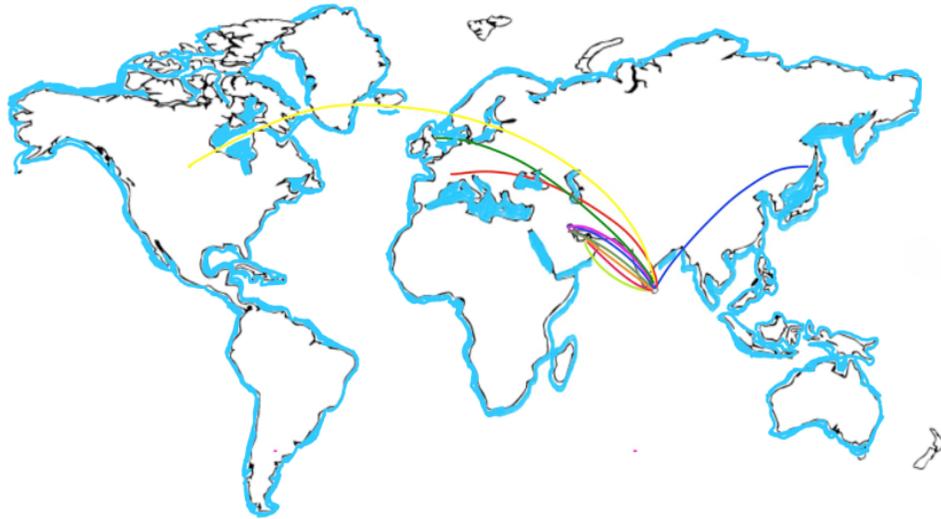


Floor Mapping

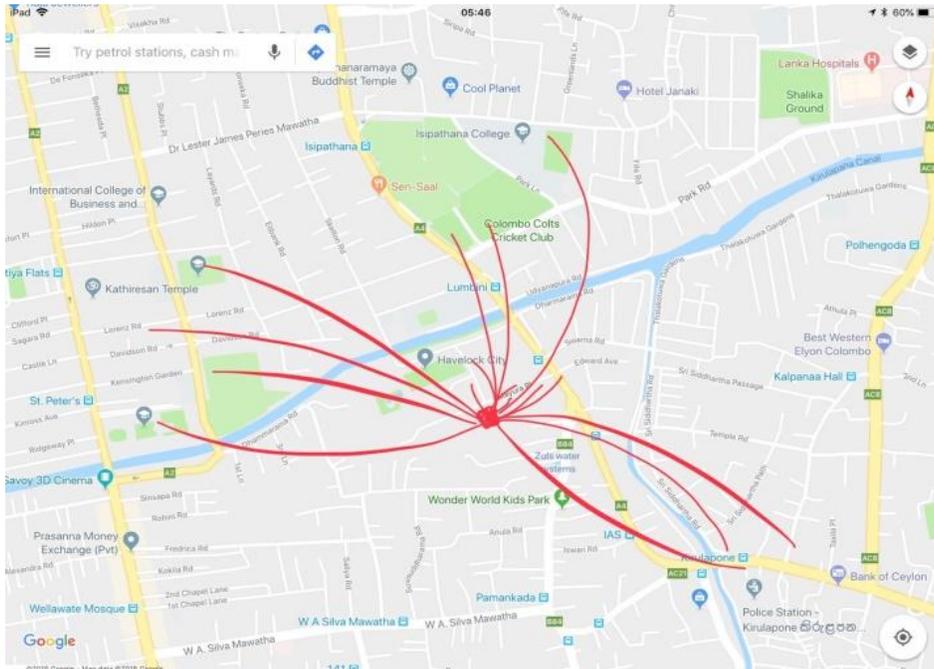


Appendix 3 Social Capital Mapping

Appendix 3.1 The social capital of the Mayura Place residents around the globe - family members who transfer money and exchange information.



Appendix 3.2 The social capital of Mayura Place residents in the surrounding area.



Appendix 4 Translated “Letter” and Copy of the letter in Sinhala

Translated “Letter”

*This is an unofficial translation done by the research team. The document was only provided in the Sinhala language (Fig xx).

** This letter is NOT a legally binding document and it is not a proof of property rights.

Urban regeneration project – City of Colombo

‘Lakmuthu Sewana’ new housing project, Mayura Place, Wellawatta.

The ‘Lakmuthu Sewana’ housing apartment with all facilities in Mayura Place, Wellawatta North was already constructed with 118 housing units which will be going to hand over to the people who are having less facilities within the city of Colombo. It was constructed according to the vision of Mahinda Chinthanaya, under the theme of “Apema apema ape geyak” (Our owned house), under the direct supervision of the ‘Ministry of Defense and Urban Development’ by the ‘Urban Development Authority’.

With the aim of providing a permanent shelter the unit number (number of the housing unit) is handed over to you and your family members with pleasure.

This unit which is worth around seven million (LKR 7,000,000) is including two bed rooms, kitchen, living room, bathroom and a balcony. As because this housing project was done to upgrade the living condition of the people who are having less facilities within the city of Colombo and considering the income levels of those people, it is difficult to recover the same amount of money and due to that reason it was decided to recover only one million (LKR 1,000,000) from the total valuation of the housing unit within 20 or 30

years without any interest. The following consolatory conditions will be applied.

1. LKR 50,000 should be pay at once and the remaining LKR 50,000 from LKR 1,000,000 should be pay as a LKR 3,960 monthly payment for 20 years.

OR

The remaining LKR 50,000 should be pay as a LKR 2,650 monthly payment for 30 years.

2. The long term maintenance of this apartment will be done by the condominium management committee and LKR 50,000 should be pay by three installments in three months. And it will be deposited as a trust.

To have the ownership of the housing unit, it is needed to pay the applicable charges before settle in the new house. Within three days after you settle in the new house it is need to commit the possession of house (House number) you are at present. Further, it is a responsibility of yours to pay all the electricity, water and other taxes of your current house.

Before signing the agreements of the new house, you need to pay all the above mentioned fees to the finance division of the Urban Development Authority and bring the copy of the pay sheet. According to the said agreement you cannot sell, rent-out, lease, pawn or transfer the ownership of the new house or part of it.

It is emphasizing that this letter is not to confirm the legal ownership the house and until you will have the legal ownership by a tittle, the ownership of the house and the right to take any decisions regarding the house is having by the Urban Development Authority.

Thank You,

..... (Signature)

Brigadier,

Project Director,

Urban Regeneration Project – City of Colombo,

Urban Development Authority.

Copy of the letter in Sinhala

රාජ්‍ය ආරක්‍ෂක හා නාගරික සංවර්ධන අමාත්‍යාංශය
 அரச பாதுகாப்பு மற்றும் நகர அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சு
 MINISTRY OF DEFENCE & URBAN DEVELOPMENT

දුරකථන
 தொலைபேசி
 Telephone } 2875916-20 2873651-2
 2873644 2873647
 2873649 2875333
 2797200

වෙබ් අඩවිය
 இணையத்தளம்
 Web Site } www.uda.lk

ලේකම්
 தொலைநகல்
 Fax } 2873637



නාගරික සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය
 நகர அபிவிருத்தி அதிகாரசபை
 Urban Development Authority
 6 හා 7 වන මහල, සෙත්තිරිපාය, බත්තරමුල්ල
 6 மற்றும் 7ஆம் மாடிகள், செத்திரிபாய், பத்தரமுல்லை
 6 & 7 Floors, Sethsripaya, Battaramulla

රොනු අංකය : (37)

මගේ අංකය: URP-CC/01/Mayura Place /Ge.
 2014 ජූලි මස 22 වන දින

එම්.එම්.එම්.එස්. ඊදිරි
 අංක 23/38
 මගුරුගොඩ
 මාතලේ 06

නාගරික පුනර්ජීවන ව්‍යාපෘතිය - කොළඹ නගරය
 වැල්ලවත්ත, මයුර පෙදෙස "ලක්මුතු සෙවන" නව නිවාස ව්‍යාපෘතිය

මහින්ද චින්තන ඉදිරි දැක්මට අනුව " අපේම අපේම අපේ ගෙයක් " නේමාව යටතේ කොළඹ නගරයේ පිහිටි අඩු පහසුකම් සහිත ජනාවාස සඳහා සියලු පහසුකම් සහිත අංග සම්පූර්ණ නිවාස ලබා දීමේ ව්‍යාපෘතිය රාජ්‍ය ආරක්‍ෂක හා නාගරික සංවර්ධන අමාත්‍යාංශයේ සෘජු අධීක්‍ෂණය යටතේ නාගරික සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය මගින් ක්‍රියාත්මක කරමින් පවතී. ඒ අනුව, නිවාස 118 කින් යුත් "ලක්මුතු සෙවන" මහල් නිවාස සංකීර්ණය වැල්ලවත්ත - උතුර, මයුර පෙදෙසෙහි ඉදිකර ඇත.

හිසට තිරසර සෞචණ්‍ය උරුමය ඔබ සහ පවුලේ සාමාජිකයින් වෙත ලබා දීමේ අරමුණින් මයුර පෙදෙස "ලක්මුතු සෙවන" නිවාස ව්‍යාපෘතියෙන් අංක [redacted] දරණ නිවාස ලබා දීමට තීරණය කර ඇති බව සතුටින් දන්වා සිටිමි.

නිදහ කාමර 2 ක්, මුළුතැන්ගෙය, විසින් කාමරය, නාන කාමරය සහ සඳුළුකලයකින් සමන්විත මෙම නිවාස රුපියල් මිලියන 7 ක පමණ වටිනාකමකින් යුක්තය. මෙම නිවාස වැඩසටහන හුදෙක් අඩු පහසුකම් ජනාවාස වල පදිංචිකරුවන්ගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය උසස් කරලීමේ අරමුණින් ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන විශේෂ ව්‍යාපෘතියක් බැවින් හා නිවාසලාභීන්ගේ ආදායම් තත්ත්වය සලකා නිවාස ලබා දීමේ දී අදාළ මුළු වටිනාකම අයකර ගැනීමේ අපහසුතාවය සැලකිල්ලට ගෙන නිවාසක වටිනාකමින් රුපියල් මිලියන 1ක මුදලක් පමණක් වසර 20 හෝ 30ක කාල සීමාවක දී කිසිදු පොලී මුදලකින් තොරව පහත සඳහන් සහනදායී පදනමකින් අය කර ගැනීමට තීරණය කර ඇත. ඒ අනුව,

- 1) රුපියල් මිලියන 01ක මුදලින් රු. 50,000.00 ක මුදලක් එකවර ගෙවිය යුතු අතර, ඉතිරි මුදල මාසිකව රු.3,960.00 බැගින් වසර 20 ක කාල සීමාවක් තුළ ගෙවීම හෝ ඉතිරි මුදල මාසිකව රු. 2,650.00 බැගින් වසර 30 ක කාල සීමාවක් තුළ ගෙවිය යුතුය.
- 2) මහල් නිවාස ව්‍යාපෘතියේ දීර්ඝ කාලීන සියළු නඩත්තු සහ අළුත්වැඩියා කටයුතු සහායිතව කළමනාකරණ කමිටුව විසින් ඉටු කරන බැවින් ඒ සඳහා රු. 50,000.00ක මුදලක් වාරික තුනකින් මාස 03ක් ඇතුළත ගෙවිය යුතු අතර, එම මුදල මෙම ව්‍යාපෘතියේ දීර්ඝ කාලීන නඩත්තු කටයුතු සඳහා අරමුදලක් ලෙස තැන්පත් කරනු ලැබේ.

ඔබ වෙත වෙන්කර ඇති නව නිවසේ හිමිකම් භාර දීම සඳහා ඊට අදාළ ගෙවීම් නිවසේ පදිංචි වීමට පුළුම සිදු කළ යුතු අතර, නව නිවාස ලබාගෙන දින 3 ක් ඇතුළත ඔබ දැනට පදිංචි [redacted] දරණ නිවසේ හිස් භුක්තිය අප වෙත බාර දීමට කටයුතු කළ යුතුය. තවද, දැනට ඔබ පදිංචි නිවාස සඳහා ගෙවිය යුතු ජල, විදුලි බිල්පත් සහ වරිපනම් බදු අදාළ ආයතන වෙත ගෙවා නිම කර තිබීම ඔබගේ වගකීමකි.

ඔබ වෙත නිවාස ලබා දීම සඳහා ගිවිසුම් අත්සන් කිරීමට පුළුම ඉහත දක්වා ඇති මූලික මුදල් නාගරික සංවර්ධන අධිකාරියේ මුදල් අංශය වෙත ගෙවා එම ලදුපත්හි පිටපතක් මෙම අංශය වෙතට ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලෙසත්, එකී ගිවිසුම අනුව ඔබ වෙත පැවරෙන නිවාස ඒකකය හෝ ඉන් කොටසක් බදු දීම, අතුරු බදු දීම, කුලියට දීම, උකස් කිරීම හෝ විකිණීම හෝ අන් කවර වූ අකාරයකින් හෝ අත්සතු කිරීමට හෝ ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් එකඟතාවයකට එළඹීම ද තහනම් වේ.

මෙම ලිපිය නිවසේ නිත්‍යානුකූල අයිතිය තහවුරු කිරීමේ ලේඛනයක් නොවන බව මෙයින් අවධාරණය කරන අතර, නිවසේ අයිතිය නිත්‍යානුකූල ඔප්පුවක් මගින් පවරා දෙන තෙක් නිවසේ හිමිකාරත්වය හා ඒ පිළිබඳ තීරණය ගැනීමේ අයිතිය නාගරික සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය සතු වන බවත් කාරුණිකව සලකනු මැනවි.

[redacted]
 බී.සේනරත්න එස්.ඒ.ආර්.සමරසිංහ,
 ව්‍යාපෘති අධ්‍යක්ෂ,
 නාගරික පුනර්ජීවන ව්‍යාපෘතිය - කොළඹ නගරය
 නාගරික සංවර්ධන අධිකාරිය.