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Last but not least, we thank Eleni Kyrou for her support and friendship during the work carried out and for her extremely useful comments.

2 Abbreviations

BMC Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation

CBO Community Based Organisation

CHS Cooperative Housing Society

DPU Development Planning Unit

KRIVIA Kamla Raheja Vidyanidhi Institute for Architecture

MHADA Maharashtra Housing and Development Authority

MM Mahila Milan

MMRDA Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority

MN Milan Nagar

NGO Non Government Organisation

NSDF National Slum Dwellers Federation

PD Pavement Dwellers

R&R Resettlement and Rehabilitation

SPARC Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres

SRA Slum Rehabilitation Authority/Act

ToR Terms of Reference

UCL University College London

WOI Web of Institutionalisation

3 Executive Summary

Purpose

The purpose of this report was to provide the Alliance (SPARC, MM and NSDF) with practical recommendations on how to improve the process of relocation, to better facilitate a transformation of pavement dwellers (PD) lives.

The project focused on the comparison of two different relocation sites, Milan Nagar and Laloobhai, and the processes of relocation. The intention was to highlight problematic areas and the opportunities for improvement.

Methodology

A baseline analysis was carried out in London using secondary research. From this, information gaps were highlighted, preliminary strategies formed, and a fieldwork plan established.

A 14 day fieldtrip was undertaken in Mumbai, which consisted of a combination of presentations by officials, roundtable discussions with key stakeholders and fieldwork.

Findings

The need for secure tenure was met; nevertheless post-relocation challenges emerged including: loss of livelihoods, increased cost of living, and loss of social networks. The city of Mumbai is becoming fragmented and there is a possibility of ghettoisation. There is political will to support pro-poor policies despite the builder-politician nexus. However, there is a lack of coordination and cooperation between different levels of government.

Strategies

The strategies look at increasing spatial understanding of the site pre-relocation; cooperative housing societies and how they can play a new role within relocated communities; and the integration of evaluation and continuous learning throughout relocation.

4 Introduction

4.1 Background to the case

4.1.1 General Introduction

PDs are the poorest and most vulnerable people; often migrating from rural areas in search for work and better lives, but seen as a nuisance to their city¹. They live on the pavement of roads, and are deprived of basic services. Although PDs contribute to the city's economy, they are relatively invisible as far as policy and planning are concerned².

4.1.2 The Alliance

The Alliance is a major actor in the project, it is made up of three different entities. The first is The Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC). SPARC is a Non Government Organization (NGO) that was formed in 1984 with the aim of developing solutions for tenure security and safe housing. SPARC attempts to tackle the issue of safe housing by interacting with PDs and determining their housing needs. They facilitated a census in 1985 to stress to the government of Maharashtra the importance of relocation and rehabilitation (R&R) for PDs. The second actor within the Alliance is the National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF). NSDF is an organisation of slum dwellers created in 1974, with the aim of securing tenure and basic infrastructure for the poor. The final member of the Alliance is MM; a federation of women's collectives that is made up of women PDs. MMs' primary concern is to obtain recognition for the role of women in communities and build the credibility of their collectives within the community through support and training³.

¹ D'Cruz, C. (2008) R.Afework Lecture notes: Celine D'Cruz 14/03/08, UCL, DPU.

² Ibid

³ Ibid

4.1.3 The Projects – Milan Nagar

In 1998, after 20 years of land negotiations by the Alliance, Slum Rehabilitation Authority (SRA) and Maharashtra Housing and Development Authority (MHADA) agreed to give land to the PDs of Byculla. This land was assigned for the construction of MN where PDs could build houses for 536 households.

The final design of the project (Appendix I-a) consisted of the construction of five buildings. In 2006 one of the five buildings was completed and 82 out of 536 families were relocated. The construction works in MN ceased due to the occupation of other slum dwellers on the allocated site, thereby stalling the relocation⁴.

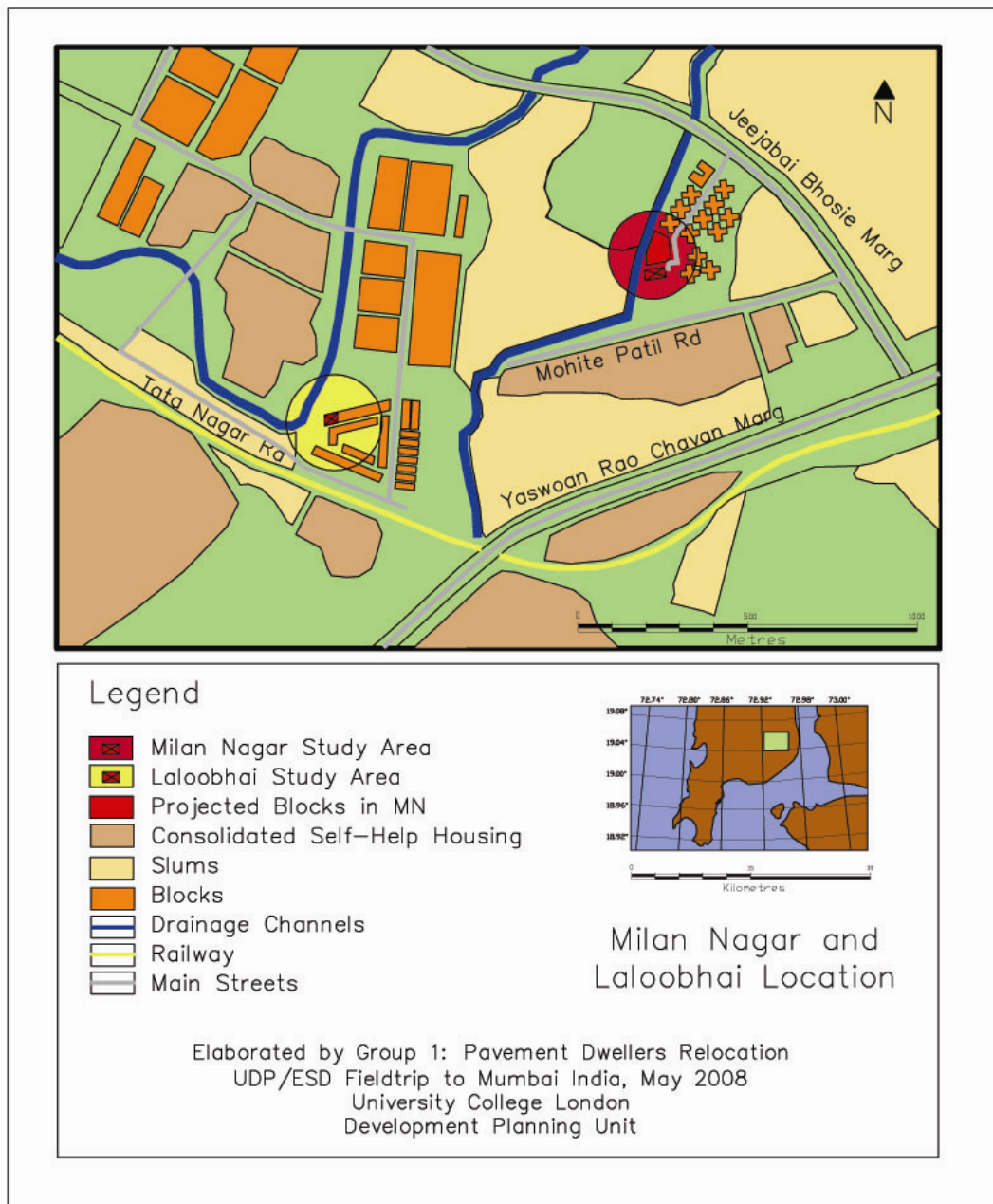
4.1.4 The Projects – Laloobhai

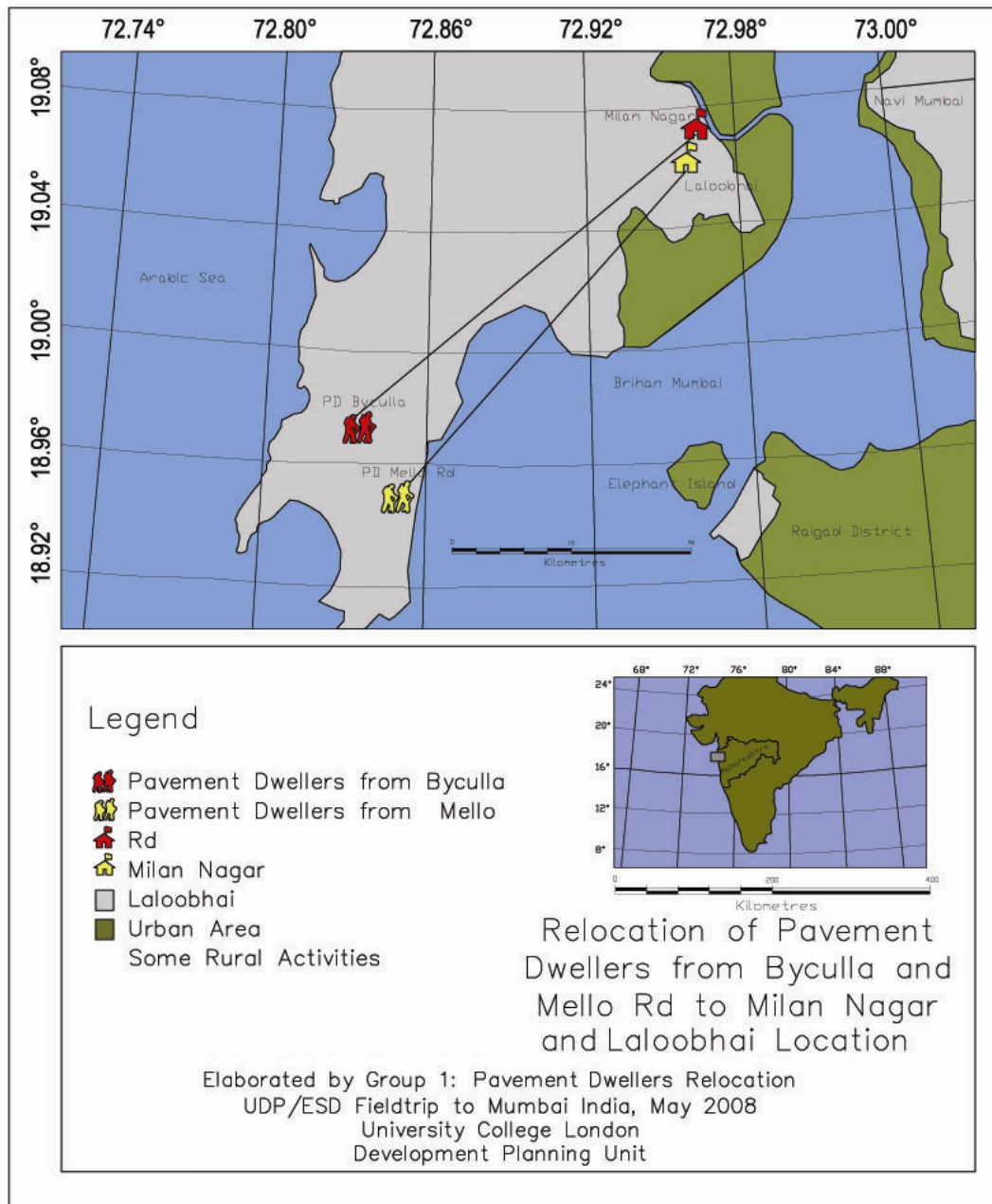
The Laloobhai project (Appendix I-b) was designed for the R&R of persons affected by development projects; this included PDs coming from P.D. Mello Road. The physical relocation was carried out by the Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) and unlike MN, did not involve a participatory process⁵.

Our project included undertaking an analysis of the benefits and shortcomings of the two relocation processes; this resulted in the formulation of strategies to address these issues. The analysis is essentially based on the comparison between an expert-led and community-led relocation process.

⁴ ToRs, ESD/UDP Field Trip (2008) 'Community-driven housing policy and planning, Partnerships of Co-operative Conflict in Mumbai, India', UCL, DPU, London.

⁵ Burra, S. (April 2008) Worksheet: 'A Note on Field Visits', SPARC.





4.2 Objective of exercise

Appendix II

5 Theoretical Framework

5.1 Defining transformation

In order to assess the transformation of the lives of PDs, transformation was defined. Criteria and subsequently indicators for measuring transformation emerged from the definition.

Definition of transformation is:

An ongoing process in which PDs organize to achieve a dignified and sustainable existence and claim their right to the city⁶.

Unpacking the definition

- 'An ongoing process': it was important to emphasize that transformation does not end at relocation, but rather involves the continuous development of PD rights and actions.
- 'PDs organize': increased political and social rights of the urban poor will not be possible if individuals do not unite, through some common purpose, to achieve joint objectives. By increasing their political rights, they also increase their political representation in institutional structures⁷.
- 'Dignified': relocated PDs should have a feeling of citizenship. This is enhanced by access to basic services and infrastructure, as they reduce their exposure to hazardous and humiliating situations.
- 'Sustainable': This concept comprises five dimensions: physical, social, political, economic and ecological, and relocation should follow this holistic approach.
- 'Right to the city': Relocated PDs must have the right to use and shape their own urban space. For this, power relations need to be redefined in favour of PDs and away from a neoliberal vision of a world-class city⁸.

⁶ Case 1 (2008) Collaborative notes/discussions: ESD/UDP Field Project (Pavement Dwellers), UCL, DPU, London.

⁷North, D. (1990) "Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.4

⁸ This takes into account the dynamics of the urban processes, the uneven distribution of money, space, time and capital accumulation with its dominant class and gender relations and its inner

5.2 Criteria

- Increased community influence in decision making within institutional structures
- Improved social network
- Improved access to and quality of basic services
- Improved personal security
- Increased sustainable livelihood opportunities
- Improved environmental conditions

For indicators Appendix III

5.3 The Web of Institutionalisation (WOI)⁹

- The WOI was used as a tool throughout the project. First, it was used to prioritise information gaps that surfaced during preliminary research and find the most effective way to address them.
- The WOI was used to note possible opportunities and constraints in the relocation process. This allowed us to focus on a particular area of contention and reframe the diagnosis accordingly.
- The WOI then allowed opportunities to be noted and form preliminary strategies, which could be tested in the field.
- The WOI was returned to throughout the process and, by updating it, questions and strategies were reworked accordingly.

political and social tensions Harvey, 1989, *The Urban Experience*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Maryland, pp. 198

⁹ Levy, C. (1998) "Institutionalisation of Gender through Participatory Practice" in Guijt, I. and Shah, M.K. (eds.) *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development*, Intermediate Technology Publications: London.

6 Methodology

The present exercise was conducted in three phases: pre-field trip research, field trip data collection, and post-trip processing of data and analysis of information.

Before going into the field secondary research was performed, comprising academic readings, lectures from experts, which increased the knowledge on Mumbai, issues about slums, land, housing, and how governmental organizations and NGOs, such as SPARC are addressing problems.

From this initial understanding, a preliminary diagnosis was formulated, which was reshaped during the field trip.

In order to identify the key findings (section 7), the above mentioned work was complemented by primary research in four afternoons of fieldwork. Several presentations were attended about slum and housing policies, R&R, and microfinance. Thus, contact with different stakeholders took place: members from the communities of MN and Laloobhai, MM, NSDF, SPARC, and representatives from MMRDA, MHADA, academia and the media.

The following tools were used in the field for data collection:

- Round-tables
- Informal interviews
- Transect walks and direct observation
- Post-presentation questions
- Structured interviews
- Semi-structured interviews
- Workshop with teenagers

Further explanation is provided in Appendix IV.

6.1 Sample determination

Appendix V

6.2 Limitations

Limitations faced in the field were:

- Our own assumptions and biases as 'outsiders' to the context of Mumbai vis-à-vis our understanding of poverty, culture (i.e. class and castes) and society (i.e. state and grassroots capabilities).
- Inconsistencies of information within members of the same location and with statements from different stakeholders in regards to the same topic.
- Time constraints, only four afternoons were spent in the field, which is a short period of time to grasp the context of the situation to evaluate PD transformation.
- Language barrier especially in the interaction with the community during the transect walks. Also, details from the interviews were sometimes lost in translation.
- All the actors could not be met, specifically the BMC, which plays an essential role in the process of PD relocation.

7 Findings

Quoting Sagina Ansari: "I moved in MN 2 years ago. I moved in Mumbai in 1972 [...] I met Sheela Patel. I became a member of MM. I was one of the first two members with Lakshmi. We started savings; we were going from locality to locality encouraging people to save. I was also part of the search team for land. MN was the only place where 536 families could be relocated all together. I'm also part of the women's group that was designing this building[...]."

Connecting the 'formal' and 'informal' findings to the WOI; and keeping in mind that our strongest role is to give "voice to the voiceless"¹⁰, our story of the key-findings begins in the citizen sphere (Appendix VI).

In MN and Laloobhai the relocated PDs got what they wanted, the house changed their lives: "On the street, no one respects you. Here, you have your own house, it's yours and they have to respect you. You have a right to the city", a 30 years old man told us in MN. Even younger residents feel part of the city since relocation. The access to water, for a girl 14 years old in MN, was her right to the city: "water is life, life is city". In Laloobhai a boy said that on the pavement his dream was to live until the age of 10, now 17 years old, in a house, he wants to become a cricket player.

The need for secure tenure has been met. Residents in both locations are drawing back from community organizations. Collective solutions are harder to achieve. Also livelihoods have been affected. Women are more vulnerable in losing city jobs, because of household responsibilities, while men tend to keep their jobs in the city. Furthermore, households face reduced income and challenges to meet costs.

As the relocation processes were different, there are some contrasting results with community organization:

In MN the process was based on participation of the MM leaders and the core leadership remained. The community was relocated together, so some social

¹⁰ Patel, S. (May 2008) C.Grecco Lecture notes: 'Sheela Patel defining transformation' 5/05/08, SPARC office, Mumbai, India.

cohesion is ongoing, although most of the community had weaker levels of involvement in the process.

Laloobhai's relocation has separated communities, and social networks were lost. Moreover MM presence in Laloobhai has faded out and the CHS is male dominated.

Policy Sphere (Appendix VII):

Mumbai is an exposed city where inequalities are visible.

A resident in Laloobhai said the BMC "is not removing poverty but removing the poor". Mumbai as a world-class city results in the political will for slums to be tackled. The housing policy and the pro-poor approach of MMRDA mean that this process has the potential to favor PDs. Yet strong pressures arise from politicians-developers-bureaucrat's nexus in urban planning issues.

Confusion of jurisdiction and delays in changing addresses in the electoral roll are reasons why some residents do not vote at the moment. Since relocation, relations with politicians have become more distant. However, the rising urbanization around MN and Laloobhai will be increasingly important for political parties.

Organizational Sphere (Appendix VIII)

SPARC is the official surveying body, but in the case of Laloobhai BMC did not respect that. Therefore there was no consultation within the relocation process. Families were assigned apartments randomly. Also, there are conflicts with BMC over the proof and cut-off date for eligibility, which is in the process of being updated to 1/1/2000 from 1/1/1995¹¹.

The state has many difficulties in supporting community-led relocation. Transformation is far from being mainstreamed. New policies taking into account the needs of PDs face a lack of coordination at different levels of governance, which has created problems of implementation. According to MMRDA

¹¹ Gaikwad, R. (May 2008) C.Grecco Lecture notes: 'The Role of MMRDA' 6/05/08, MMRDA, Mumbai, India.

commissioner Mr. Gaikwad¹² the challenge is to organize the available resources to deliver coherent solutions.

Delivery Sphere (Appendix IX)

Two different relocation models have been followed. In MN the model fell between expert-led and community-led. There was participation in the design of the units, but neither in the building nor its integration into the site, and participation was limited to active MM members. For Laloobhai the procedure was entirely expert-led by BMC.

In both relocations the buildings are disconnected from the surrounding area and ignore the existing potential of the context.

The understanding of this situation leads to the belief that a process of ghettoisation is happening, leading to the fragmentation of the city. This will only be increased with the drive for Mumbai as a world-class city.

¹² "Perhaps the lack of resources is a myth to provide basic amenities to the urban poor" Ibid

8 Strategies

From key findings, areas have been pinpointed within the relocation process that do not adequately fulfil our criteria of transformation.

Therefore, three strategies have been formulated that tackle these areas and address different time periods within the relocation process. Each strategy listed below highlights the current situation, why the change is needed, and how it should be achieved. At the end each strategy is discussed in relation to where it appears in the relocation process and how the strategies link to each other.

8.1 Strategy 1: Spatial understanding as potential for transformation

8.1.1 Diagnosis of the current situation

- Focusing on comparing community-led design and expert-led development is limiting, instead there is a need to fully explore the potentials of each of these approaches.
- For example, in MN, only the household was designed with community participation, whereas decisions on the building and its location within the site were expert-led. The outcome was a relocation site that does not fully meet the needs of its new residents.
- There is no real knowledge (on the part of planners and implementation agencies) of the communities and activities taking place around the relocation site.
- Laloobhai, for instance, appears isolated from its surroundings. However, it is actually surrounded by neighbourhoods and livelihoods that have existed for more than thirty years. Moreover, Mankhund area is becoming a more middle-income area that is developing quickly and attracting a lot of investment. However, the Laloobhai compound is spatially secluded from these happenings.

The conclusion of our diagnosis is that there is no spatial understanding as a potential for transformation.

8.1.2 Why?

- The spatial inclusion of different communities is important in securing and sustaining livelihood opportunities for relocated PDs, and establishing new social networks. The mixed-use of buildings is also an essential component in this.
- Ultimately, spatial inclusion is vital in preventing the fragmentation and ghettoisation of Mumbai.

The criteria for transformation addressed in this strategy are: 'social networks' and how they are consolidated and improved, and 'increased sustainable livelihood opportunities'.

8.1.3 What needs to be done?

In order to explain what needs to be done and how, three scales have been addressed: that of the household, the building, and the area.

The scale of the household:

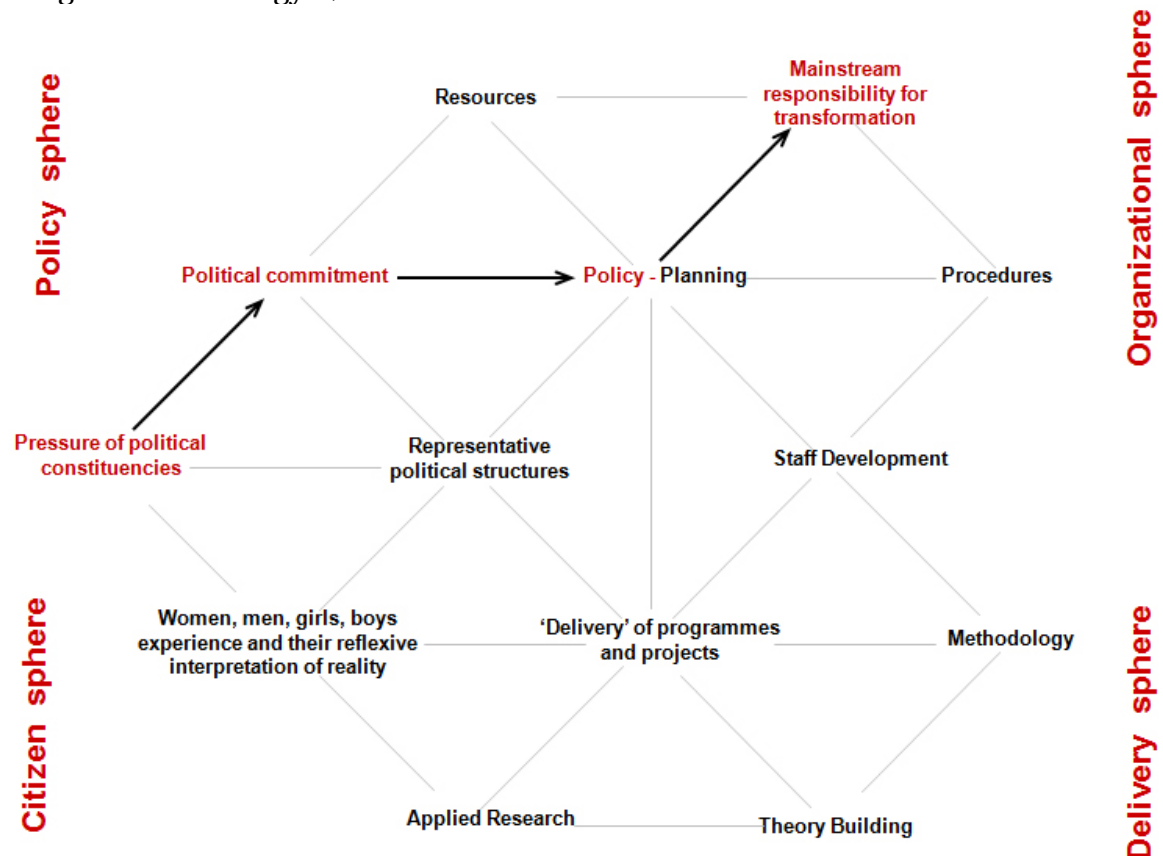
What?

- There is a need for flexibility for the residents to change and transform their homes with time.
- The poor build incrementally over time and make changes to accommodate their livelihood and social practices. However, currently, making changes to the home (i.e. adding a window) is a long costly process.

How?

- To tackle this, BMC needs to facilitate the transformation of the house. SPARC, through its alliance with MMRDA, must place pressure on BMC to address and encourage this type of transformation.

Diagram 5.1: Strategy 1, Method 1 illustrated on the WOI¹³



¹³ Levy, C. (1998) "Institutionalisation of Gender through Participatory Practice" in Guijt, I. and Shah, M.K. (eds.) The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development, Intermediate Technology Publications: London.

The scale of the building:

What?

- The provision of housing must follow an area mixed-use approach.
- SPARC as a main actor, through their engineer or implementation/construction agency, can address spatial flexibility in building design to accommodate for the creation of livelihoods over time, and allow for temporary structures for shops and markets on the ground floor.

How?

- To do this, SPARC must set guidelines for construction engineers to ensure that they factor in spatial planning as part of their thinking and delivery.
- In the case of MN, the recommendation is capacity building and guiding principles for Nirman, set by SPARC. An additional possibility is the help of academic institutions, using the precedent set with KRIVIA in Dharavi.

The scale of the area:

What?

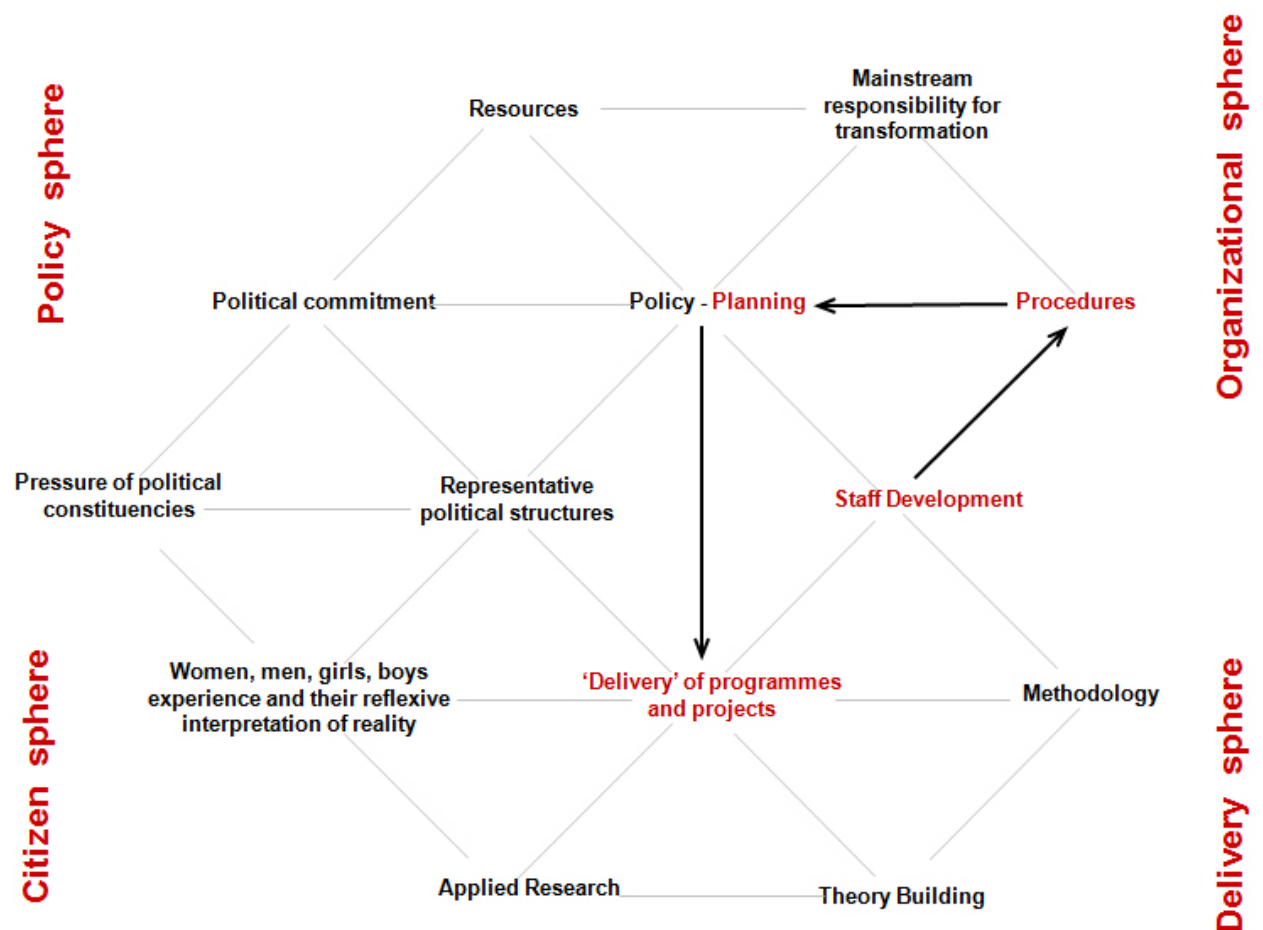
- The implemented project must interact with its surroundings to promote social integration and connections with new markets and livelihoods.

How?

- SPARC engineers can achieve this by enforcing the prerequisite of urban analysis of communities and spaces around the site, open space and communal areas.

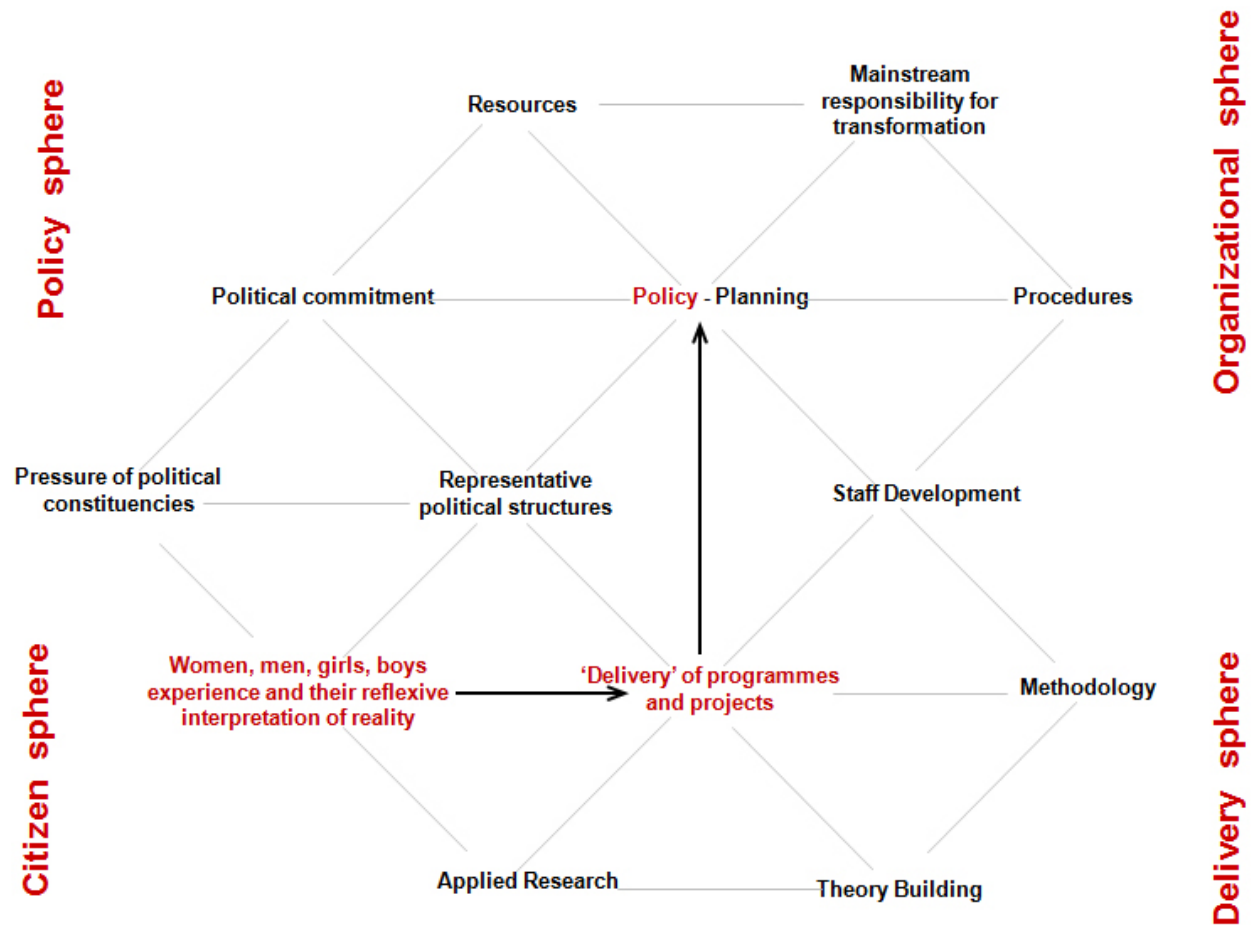
- There must be capacity building and guiding principles for Nirman, set by SPARC. Again, there is the possibility of help by academic institutions.
- The State of Maharashtra can ensure public space and less density through the implementation of more setbacks in building regulations.

Diagram 5.2: Strategy 1, 'Building' and 'Area' Method 1, WOI¹⁴



¹⁴ Levy, C. (1998) "Institutionalisation of Gender through Participatory Practice" in Guijt, I. and Shah, M.K. (eds.) The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development, Intermediate Technology Publications: London.

Diagram 5.3: Strategy 1, 'Building' and 'Site' Method 2 illustrated on the WOI¹⁵



Monitoring

SPARC and the academic institutions involved monitor the planning and construction team (i.e. Nirman), to ensure that site and urban analysis take into consideration the context potentials and social-spatial practices of communities.

Criteria for evaluation

Flexibility of residents to change their homes

A mixed-use approach to housing

Interaction of implemented projects with their surroundings

¹⁵ Levy, C. (1998) "Institutionalisation of Gender through Participatory Practice" in Guijt, I. and Shah, M.K. (eds.) The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development, Intermediate Technology Publications: London.

8.2 Strategy 2: Redefining the role of Cooperative Housing Societies (CHS)

8.2.1 Diagnosis of current situation

MN is currently run by 3 MM women, whose actions are transparent. The tenants do not complain about the maintenance fees, although there were some complaints by men about the female-dominated leadership.

Contrastingly, Laloobhai is run by 11 men, at this site a common reluctance to pay maintenance fees was observed. Tenants are uninformed about maintenance spending, which adds to the mistrust and lack of cooperation within the building.

Both buildings have problems with basic services but on different scales.

Both sites lack communal spaces. Laloobhai also lacks a space for CHS to meet, whereas MN has a room for MM.

These situations prevent both communities from developing collective solutions to their problems. A more effective, formal system of governance needs to be put in place to address the current and future situation.

8.2.2 What needs to be done?

- The role of CHS needs to be redefined to encompass more than maintenance problems. It should be a formal place where residents can develop collective solutions to problems, including basic services.
- A system of CHS should be organized between buildings on an area scale. Many problems with services would be solved if more cooperation between buildings occurred.
- This would empower the area by making it more recognisable to politicians, government agencies and the private sector.
- Female roles in CHS should be maintained, with a second space for men. The ideal combination is a mix of 7 women and 3 men, as recommended

by SPARC; this should be mainstreamed in communities and institutionalized in policy.

- CHS should have a formal relationship with municipal government, to further strengthen the rights of the relocated PDs and ensure that their demands as citizens are met.

8.2.3 Why?

- This strategy is a new way for the Alliance to mobilise community groups so that they can voice their demands and develop collective solutions to problems.
 - MM has previously played this role, but less have joined since relocation; there is less incentive, new strains on finances, and old communities have been divided. This strategy is a way of uniting the new communities through shared interests and concerns.
- A formal relationship between CHS from different levels and the government can be established.
 - By securing a house, relocated PDs have started to recognize their rights as citizens and now need a system of governance through which they can interact with officials and have their demands met.
- The importance of mainstreaming gender roles can be seen in the success of MN's women-run maintenance group; female leadership should be maintained, but a space for men is equally important.

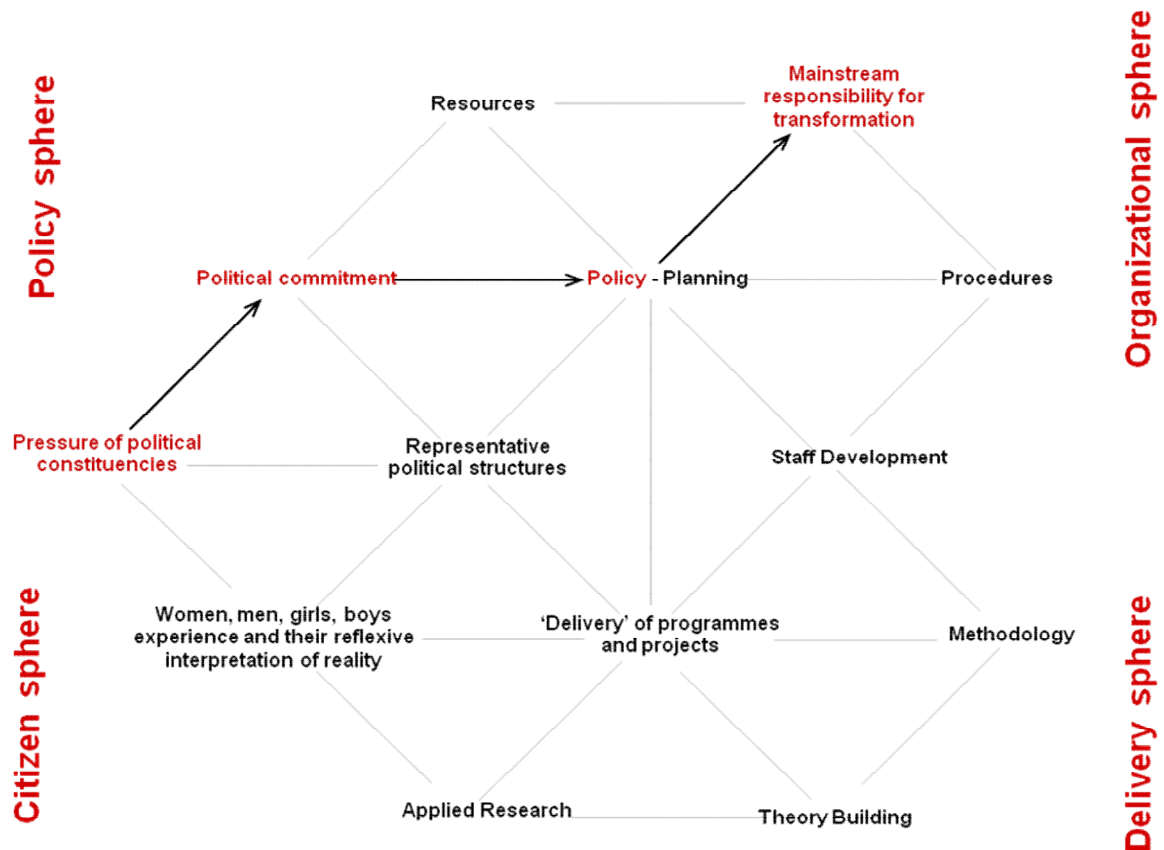
The criteria for transformation addressed in this strategy are: "Increased community influence in decision making within institutional structures", "Improved social network", "improved access to and quality of basic services", improved personal security", and "improved environmental conditions" .

8.2.4 How?

The Alliance must work at two levels:

- SPARC must tackle the legislative framework and lobby to change the CHS policy, in order to mainstream both gender in CHS and the role of CHS on differing scales.
 - The Alliance will need to discuss and lobby the idea with the Chief Minister and Housing Secretary
 - Support from MMRDA for these changes should be gained

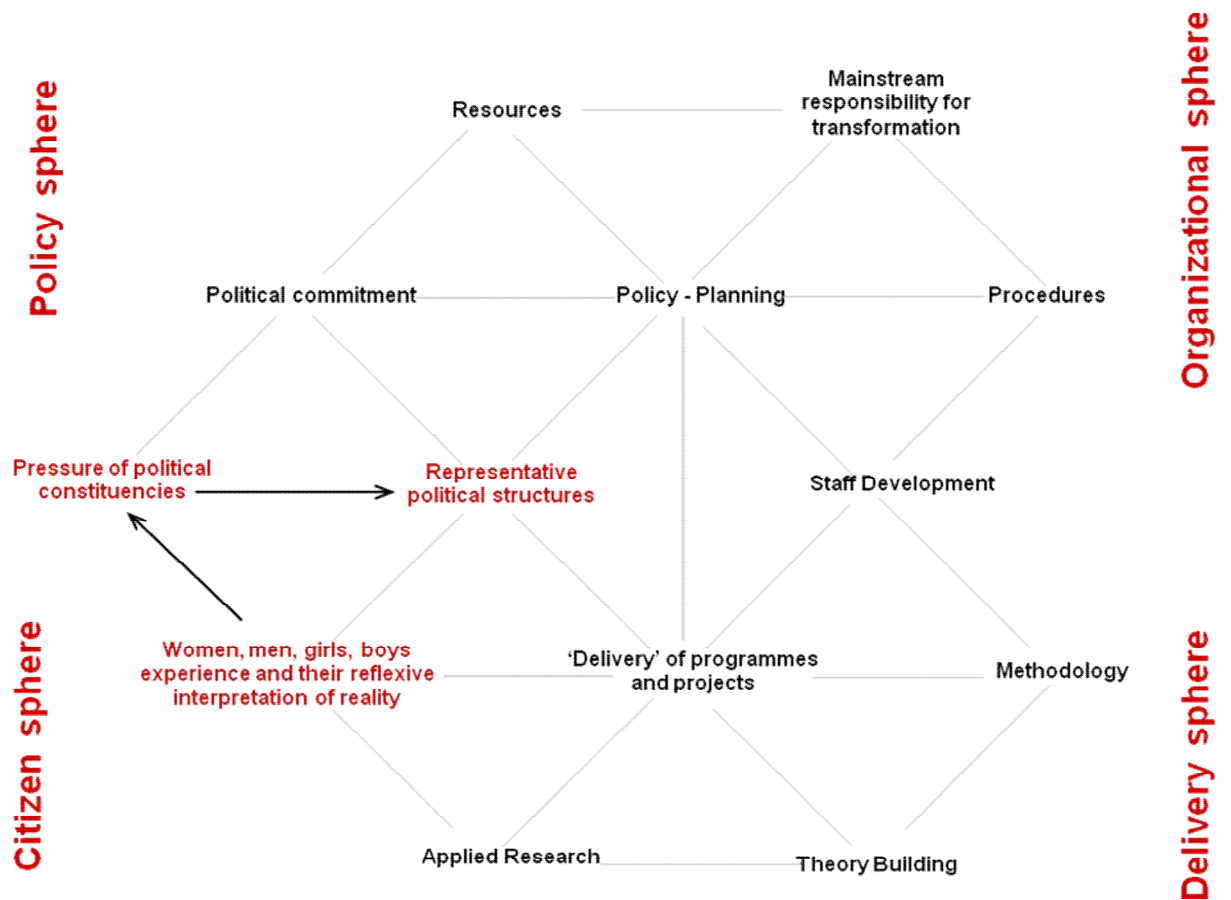
Diagram 5.4: Strategy 2, Method 1 illustrated on the WOI¹⁶



¹⁶ Levy, C. (1998) "Institutionalisation of Gender through Participatory Practice" in Guijt, I. and Shah, M.K. (eds.) The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development, Intermediate Technology Publications: London.

- NSDF and MM should work with communities to raise awareness of the gender makeup of the CHS and the importance of their role in changing the hierarchy between PDs and the government.
- The proposal is that representative political structures are transformed by the communities to become more accessible and accountable.

Diagram 5.5: Strategy 2, Method 2 illustrated on the WOI¹⁷



¹⁷ Levy, C. (1998) "Institutionalisation of Gender through Participatory Practice" in Guijt, I. and Shah, M.K. (eds.) The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development, Intermediate Technology Publications: London.

Monitoring and evaluation

of CHS will be done by the community itself, as a system of accountability should be in place.

Criteria for evaluation:

- Increased influence in decision making

- Improvement in the provision and maintenance of services

- Gender equality within CHS

- Changes within the representative political structures

8.3 Strategy 3: Evaluation and Continuous Learning

8.3.1 Diagnosis of the current situation

- There is little evaluation of the relocation processes and any available knowledge does not seem to be used to improve current sites or future plans for relocation.
- There is a lack of coordination between all relocation-implementing agencies and an absence of formal mechanisms for sharing information.
- An identified opportunity is SPARC's interest in getting feedback on their work, illustrated by their partnership with DPU for what Sheela Patel called a "reality check".

8.3.2 What needs to be done?

- A regular participatory evaluation of relocations to be facilitated by staff and students of a Mumbai university and staff and students of DPU who could bring a fresh outlook.
- Information gathered should be shared not only with SPARC but also with MMRDA and the State Government (particularly the Chief Minister and the Housing Department). The entities were selected because of their support to the Alliance (especially NSDF) and because they could be interested in the evaluation of relocation processes.
- The findings should be used to improve both future relocations and existing relocation sites.

8.3.3 Why?

- A continuous learning process will be created to ensure that relocation is improved each time, not just replicated.
- The findings led to the recognition of the advantages of the Alliance's bottom-up approach; regular and comprehensive evaluation on the results could be the basis for a common and improved methodology for relocation of PDs.

- This system of evaluation encourages linkages across disciplines and institutions to produce knowledge about relocation processes.
- PDs will have a greater role in decision making, as their opinions will be taken into account when planning future relocation programmes.
- This strategy links the poor and middle-classes of Mumbai and raises awareness of the poor and their capabilities.
- It would encourage a new generation of practitioners that understand and respect the role of the poor in their own relocation.
- Also, the process could change the perception of government stakeholders about relocation and might, in the long term, contribute to mainstreaming transformation among all agencies implementing relocation.

The criteria for transformation addressed in this strategy are: "Increased community influence in decision making within institutional structures" and "Improved social network".

8.3.4 What needs to be done?

- A regular participatory evaluation of relocations to be facilitated by staff and students of a Mumbai university, with a link to staff and students of DPU who could bring a fresh outlook.
- Information gathered should be shared not only with SPARC but also with MMRDA and the State Government (particularly the Chief Minister and the Housing Department). The entities were selected because of their support to the Alliance (especially NSDF) and because they could be interested in the evaluation of relocation processes.
- The findings should be used to improve both future relocations and existing relocation sites.

8.3.5 How?

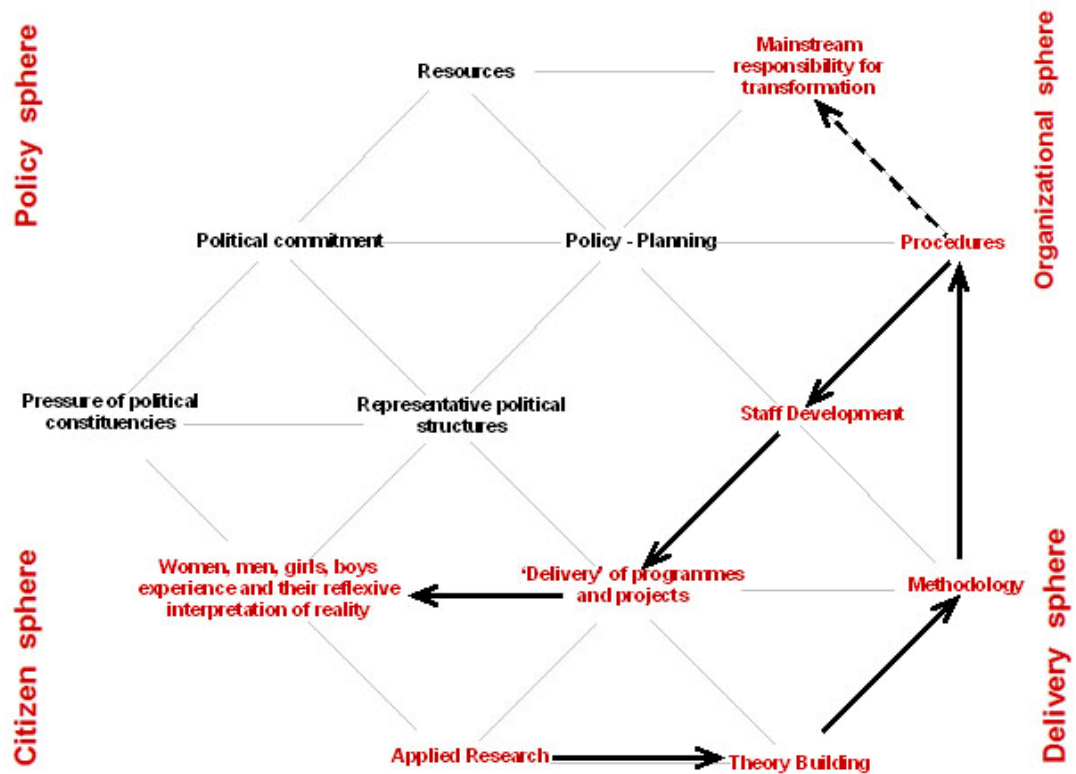
- The first step is to produce knowledge about relocation. The main actors involved in the evaluation are women, men, girls and boys of the community. The process could be facilitated by NSDF, MM and potentially the CHS (see section 5.2: Strategy 2).

Because community organisations have limited capacities and time available, the proposal includes the involvement of academics: staff and students of a Mumbai university and the DPU.

- The second step involves sharing and using knowledge. From the reality of relocated PDs, a common language should be created with the Alliance and government entities. SPARC and NSDF would be responsible for diffusing information. Information is currently being shared informally, but the suggestion is to create a more formal platform.
 - There is a risk, as this could make the process heavier and might actually reduce levels of communication. However, if integrated into the routines of organisations, information sharing would become more sustainable and would not depend on a good interpersonal relationship.
 - The process would give more visibility to the issue of relocation. If the platform is kept flexible, it could also integrate other actors over time.
- Ultimately, the process should be integrated into the procedures of relocation and contribute to mainstreaming transformation among all agencies implementing relocation, specifically SPARC and MMRDA.
- Possible funding for this strategy could be research grants for the evaluation component, and funds from MMRDA for the sharing component.

Diagram 5.6: Strategy 3, Illustrated on the WOI¹⁸

¹⁸ Levy, C. (1998) "Institutionalisation of Gender through Participatory Practice" in Guijt, I. and Shah, M.K. (eds.) *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development*, Intermediate Technology Publications: London.



8.3.6 Monitoring and evaluation

The proposal includes cross monitoring. SPARC would monitor universities to ensure that the evaluation process is participatory, and universities would examine the process of information sharing and integration of knowledge into delivery.

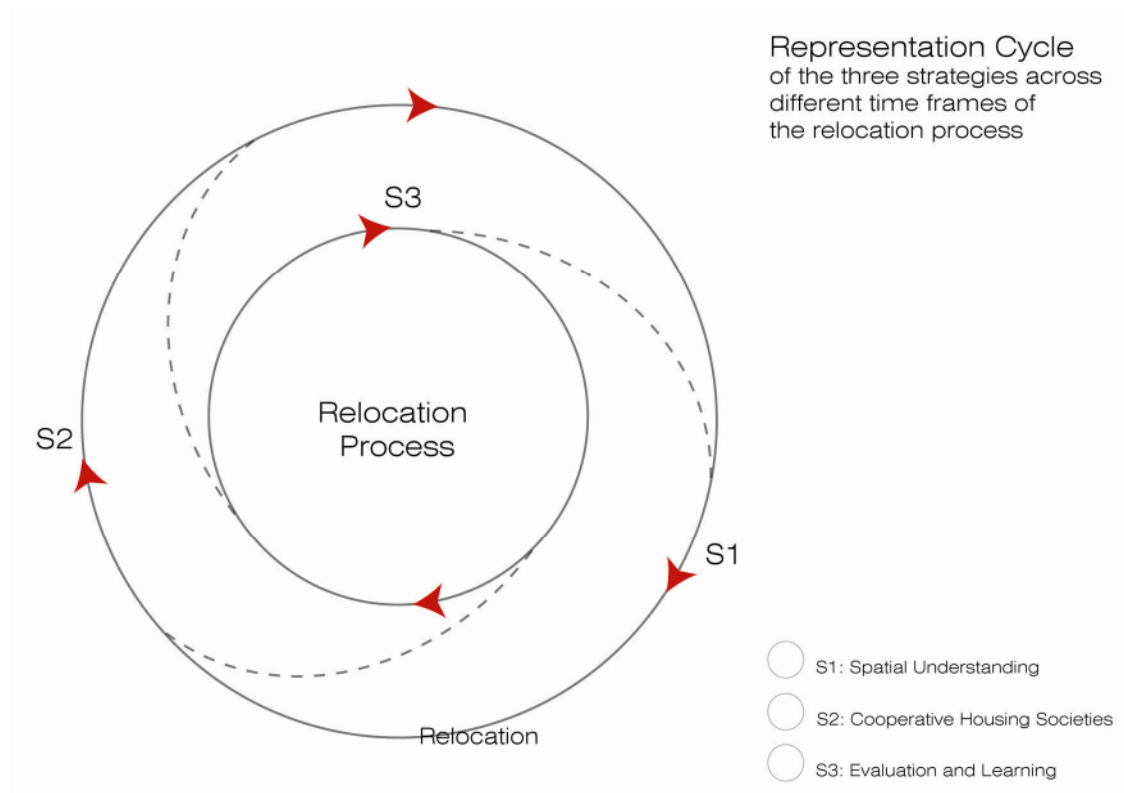
8.4 How strategies relate

While all the strategies presented need to work simultaneously, each strategy falls within a different timeframe within the relocation process. Strategy 1, Understanding spatial potential and contextualising the new site, needs to take place pre-relocation. This is so the space can be understood on the level of the site, building and household before relocation occurs.

The second strategy falls within post-relocation because it deals with CHS and bringing communities together in new ways. Strategy 2 continues back into the first strategy to continue the cycle and better relocation.

Strategy 3 comes into both strategies, which is why it is located inside the main cycle. The dotted line connecting the outer cycle with the inner cycle symbolizes the constant knowledge sharing and continuous learning that must go on throughout all three strategies.

In order for relocation to continue to get better each time the cycle goes around it is essential for the past experiences to be shared and integrated into the new relocation programs so that the same mistakes are not repeated. Having all three strategies work together will hopefully allow for relocation of PDs to improve each time.



9 Conclusions

This project has not only been an academic process of analysis and research, it has been a journey of personal growth and learning for each team member. We have had a unique opportunity to assess ourselves as development planners and as individuals, constantly being critical of our positions within the field.

We recognised that our strongest role within the project was to share the stories and the words of the people; in hope that these words will be taken into account within relocation processes. We hope that the comparisons we conducted led to the formulation of strategies that will be useful in future processes of R&R.

Finally, we know that our report is not the end of the process, but we hope it will feed positively into the work of future DPU students.

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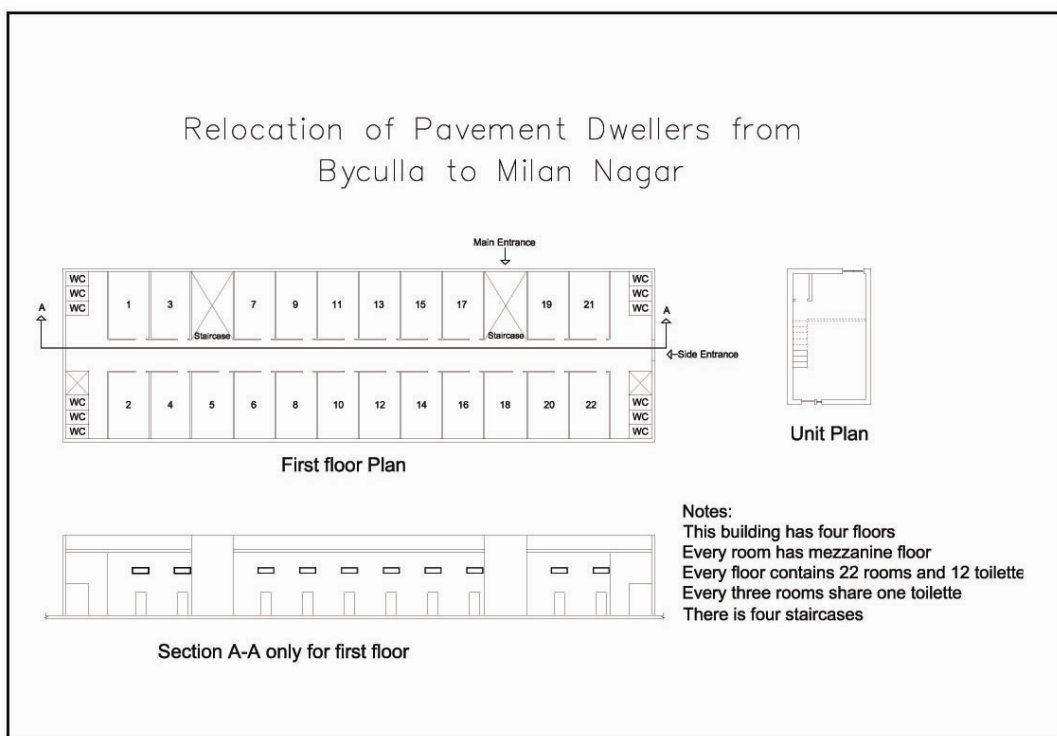
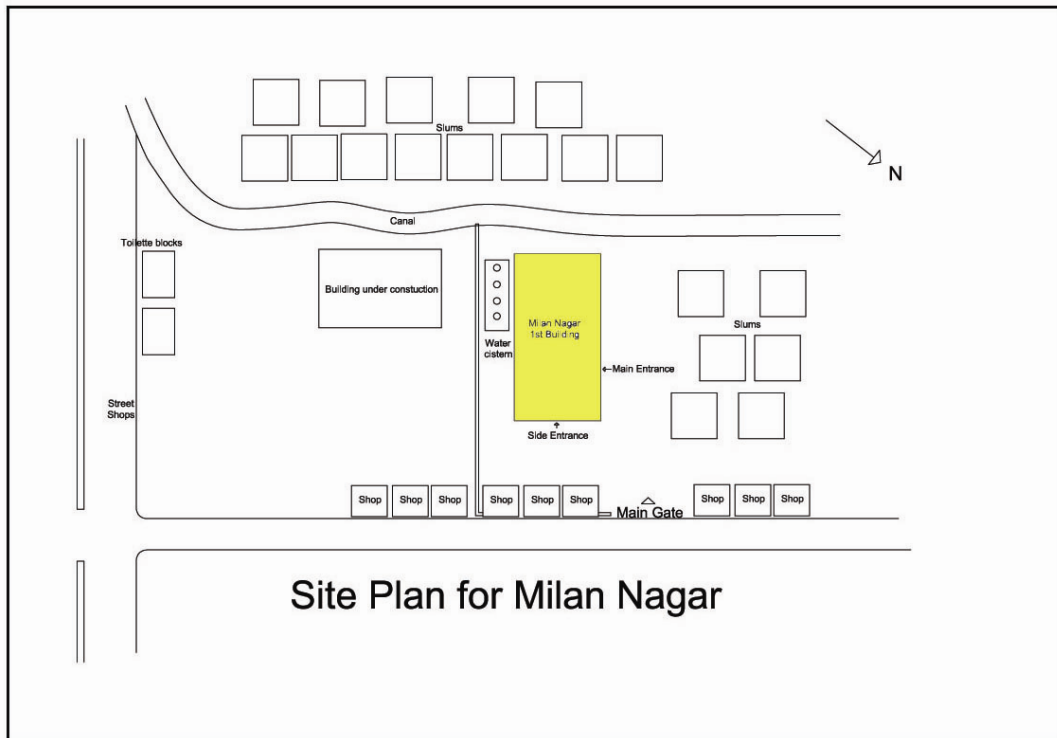
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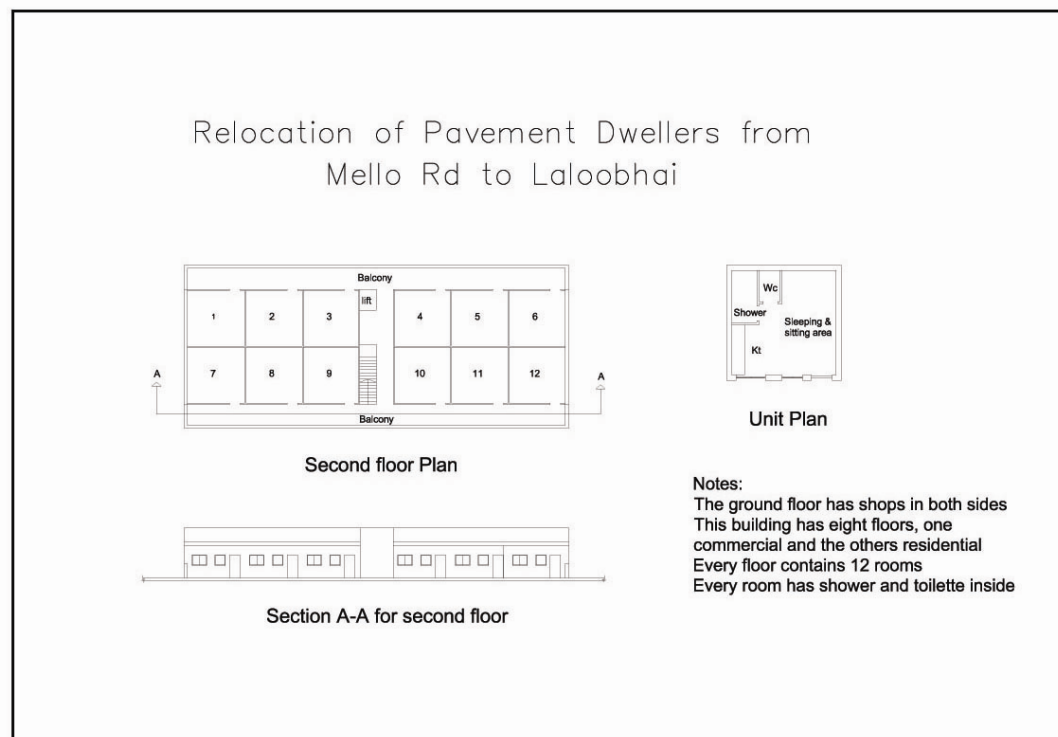
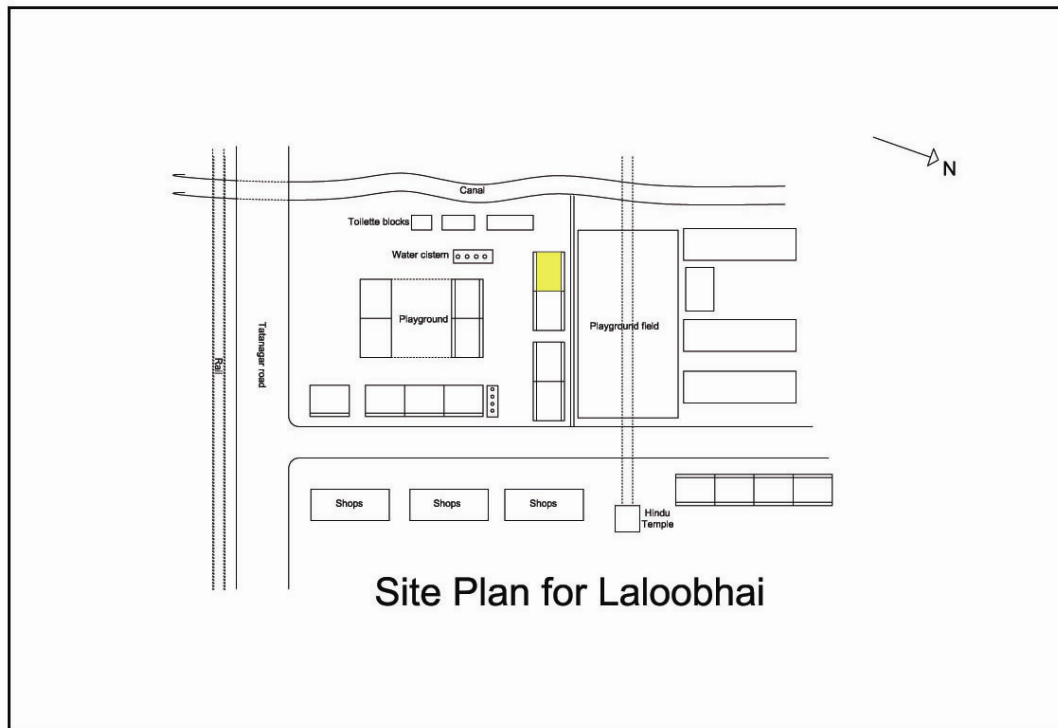
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11 Appendices

Appendix I-a



Appendix I-b



APPENDIX II – Objectives of Exercise

1. Assess transformation by developing a definition to measure the current R&R process.
2. Explore the economic, social, physical and environmental outcomes experienced by PDs (women and men, girls and boys) of their relocation.
3. Identify and assess the strengths and weaknesses of the strategies pursued by the different actors involved in this case.
4. Explore with different actors involved, proposals, which will strengthen the relocation of PDs.
5. The overall task was to contribute to the work of the Alliance by understanding and analyzing the living conditions of PDs and their relationships with the state and the private sector¹⁹.

¹⁹ ToRs, ESD/UDP Field Trip (2008) 'Community-driven housing policy and planning, Partnerships of Co-operative Conflict in Mumbai, India', UCL, DPU, London.

APPENDIX III

CRITERIA	INDICATOR
1. Increased community influence in decision making within institutional structures	a. More representation in decision making bodies b. Increased confidence to interact with government officials c. Community initiated programs
2. Improved social network	a. Increased networks between people within same social setting b. Increased networks between groups with different social settings c. Increased networks with people in positions of power with influence
3. Improved access to and quality of basic services	a. Increased access and quality of sanitation facilities b. Increased transport availability, cost, and frequency between homes and jobs c. Increased access to affordable quality education d. Increased access to affordable quality health system e. Increased access to clean and affordable water resources f. Increased access to affordable electricity
4. Improved personal security	a. Increased safety of personal belongings b. Decreased number of accidents in home c. Security of tenure
5. Increased sustainable livelihood opportunities	a. Increased availability of jobs b. Increased types of jobs (diversify income) c. Increased jobs security d. Decreased distance from jobs e. Income to cover costs and savings
6. Improved environmental conditions	a. Adequate land (not near hazards, proper drainage, etc.) b. Decreased exposure to pollution c. Increased waste disposal

APPENDIX IV

The following tools were used in the field for data collection:

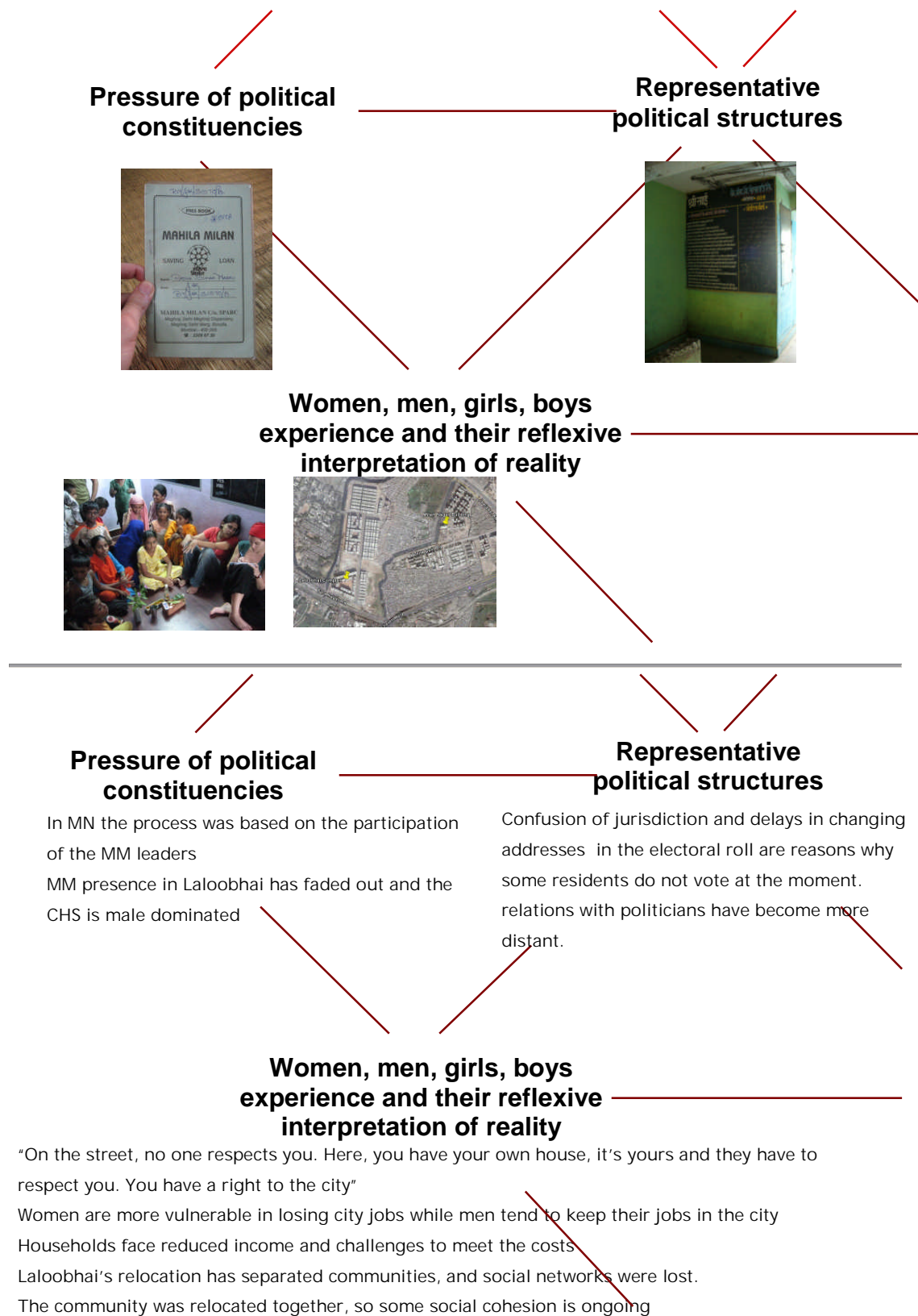
- Round-tables with leaders of MM that offered an insight of the organizational perspective of the process of relocation of PDs in the case of MN.
 - Random Informal interviews in both locations with different members of the community that helped to fill gaps of information and obtain a general perception of the context.
 - Transect walks and direct observation in each location for understanding the spatial relations between our subjects of study and their surroundings. Linked to the criteria, these techniques helped to assess the following:
 - 'Improved access to and quality of basic services'
 - 'Improved personal security'
 - 'Improved environmental conditions'
 - Post-presentation questions in order to deepen knowledge and understanding of the subject and actors involved in the processes of relocation.
 - Structured interviews with key members of SPARC in order to triangulate information and test the strategies explained later (section 5.0).
 - Semi-structured interviews in each location. In order to prepare the interviews the criteria was referred to, which allowed for the formulation of five different topics to measure:
 - a. Shift of location. The actual move from the pavements to the new location
 - b. Influence in the decision of the design of the building
 - c. Political organization and relationship with the government
- These last three are connected with the criteria 'Increased community influence in decision making within institutional structures'
- d. Maintenance of social networks, linked with the criteria 'Improved social network'
 - e. Livelihoods, related with our criteria 'Increased sustainable livelihood opportunities'
- Workshop with teenagers. One per location. The teenagers were asked to bring objects that, for them, represented: the city; what they liked the most and the least about their new homes, and in Laloobhai, they drew what would make their new homes the best that it could be. This was an interesting approach since it allowed for an understanding of teenagers' experiences and perspectives from a different point than that of an adult.

APPENDIX V – Sample determination

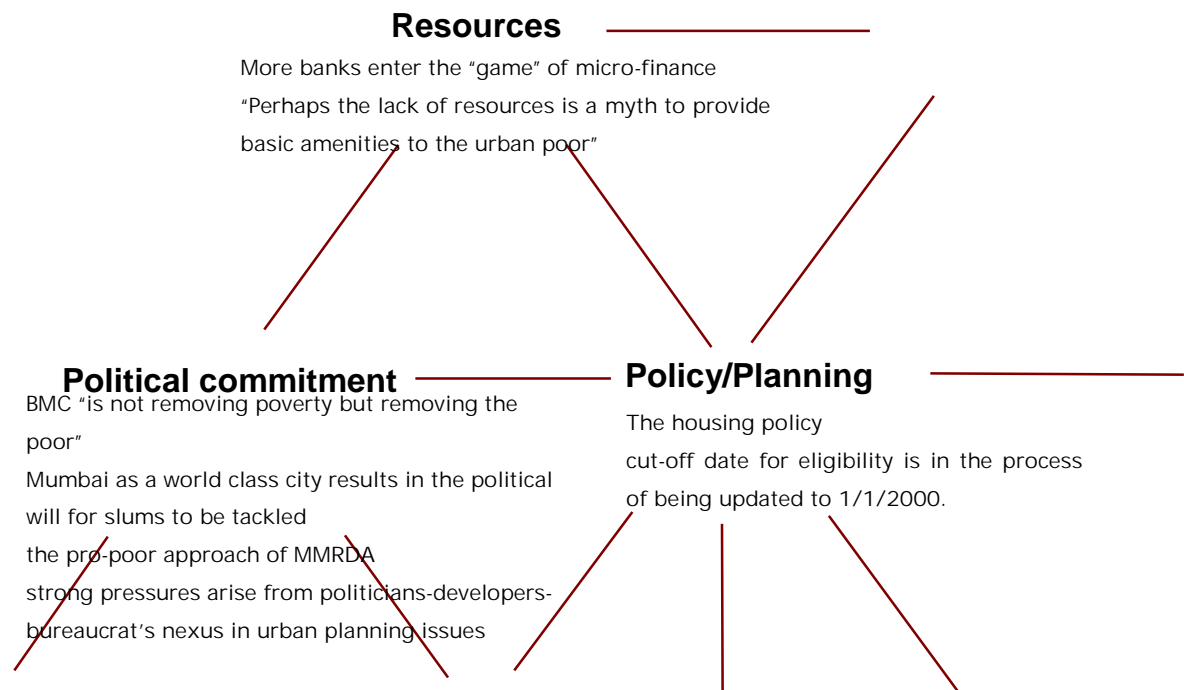
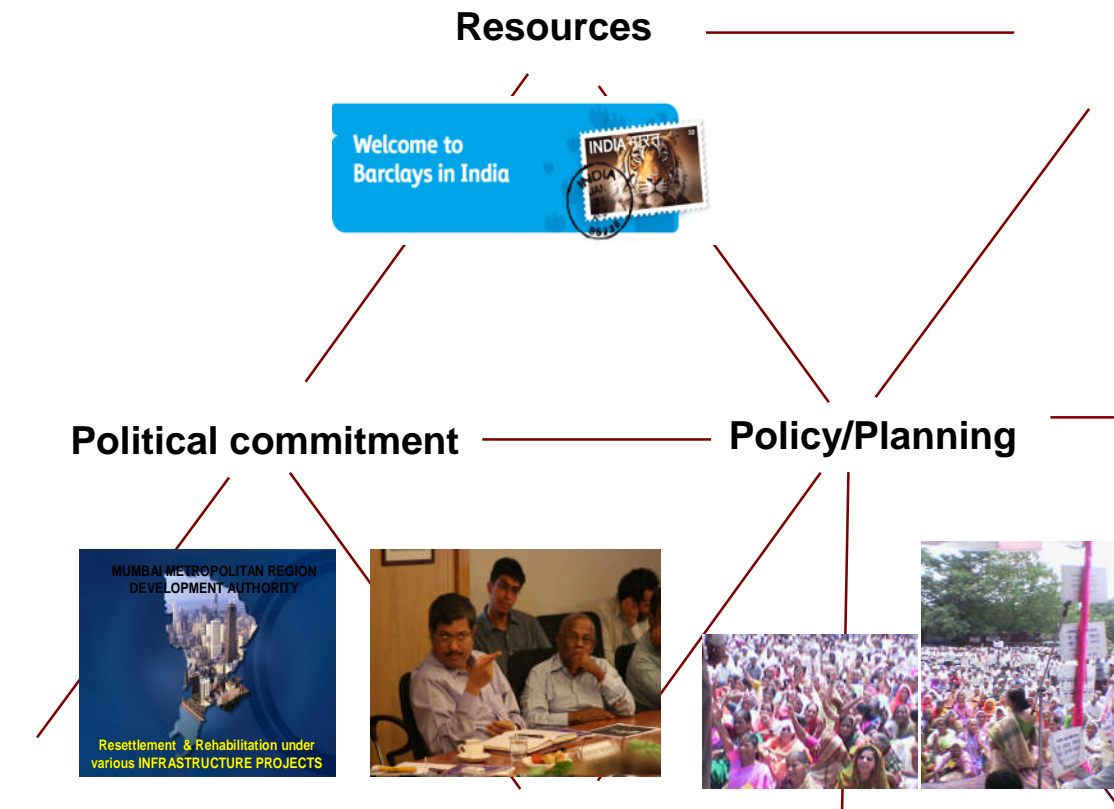
The determination of the sample was aimed to be holistic, with equal gender representation trying to cover different ages:

- Semi-structured interviews with a 10% sample of PDs relocated from each location:
 - o MN: 8 women and 4 men (ages 30-50)
 - o Laloobhai: 9 women and 5 men (ages 30-60)
- 4 transect walks at each location
- 1 workshop with teenagers (ages 14 to 18) at each location with equal gender representation

APPENDIX VI – citizen sphere



APPENDIX VII – policy sphere



APPENDIX VIII - organisational sphere

**Mainstream responsibility
for transformation**



Policy/Planning

Procedures



Staff Development



**Mainstream
responsibility for
transformation**

Transformation is far from being mainstreamed
lack of coordination and cooperation at different
levels of governance

Policy/Planning

Procedures

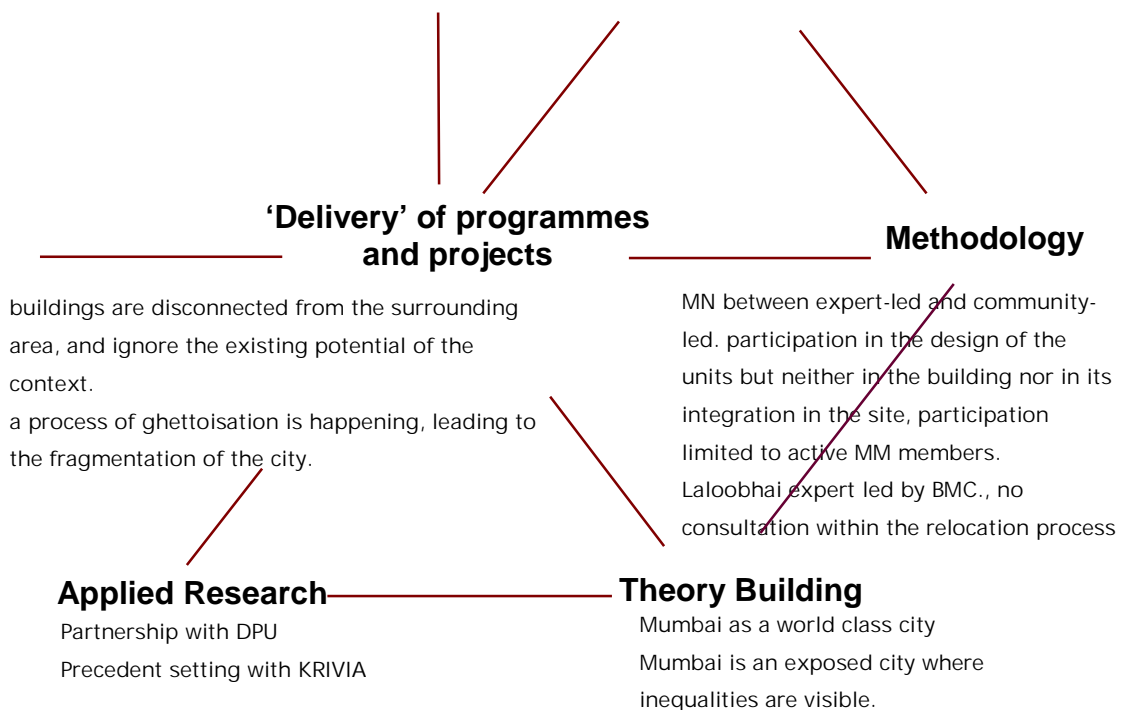
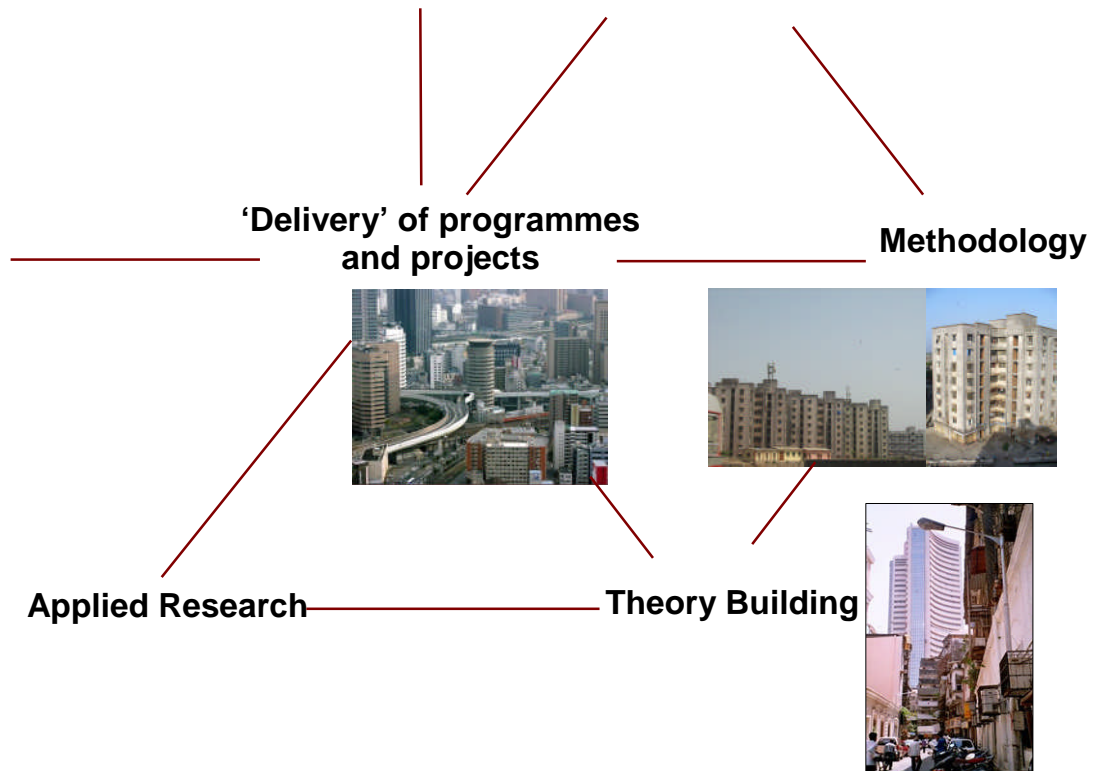
the challenge is to organize the available
resources to deliver coherent solutions

Laloobhai BMC did not respect SPARC as
the official survey body
conflicts with BMC over the proof and cut-
off date for eligibility

Staff Development

SPARC is the official surveying body

APPENDIX IX - delivery sphere



APPENDIX X – Interviews and meetings schedule

Day 1

- Introduction to the programme by Mr. Sundar Burra (Adviser, SPARC)
- "The work of the Alliance" by Mrs. Sheela Patel (Director, SPARC)
- Presentation by Mr. V.K. Phatak on "Metropolitan Planning in Mumbai and Slum Policy"

Day 2

- Presentation on "Housing Policy of the Government of Maharashtra" by Mr. Swadheen Kshatriya (Principal Secretary of the Housing and Special Assistance Department, Government of Maharashtra)
- Presentation on "Mumbai Transformation" by Mr. U.P.S. Madan (Project Manager, Mumbai Transformation Support Unit)
- Field visits to Milan Nagar / Laloobhai

Day 3

- Presentation on "The Role of MMRDA" by Mr. Ratnakar Gaikwad (Metropolitan Commissioner, MMRDA)
- Presentation on "Resettlement and Rehabilitation under MUTP and MUIP" by Mr. Milind Mhaikar (Project Director, MUTP and Joint Metropolitan Commissioner, MMRDA)
- Presentation on "Pavement Dwellers' Rehabilitation" by Mr. A. Jockin (President, NSDF)
- Field visits to Milan Nagar / Laloobhai

Day 4

- Meeting with Ms. Kalpana Sharma (Author and Journalist)
- Meeting with Mr. D.R. Hadadare (Chief Engineer, MHADA)

Day 5

- Presentation on "Housing Policy" by Mr. Shirish Patel (Structural Engineer and Urban Expert)
- Presentation on "Principles of Slum Rehabilitation and Transfer Development Rights" by Mr. S.K. Joshi (Adviser, SPARC)
- Field visits to Milan Nagar / Laloobhai

Day 6

- Presentation on "Mills Lands in Mumbai: past, present and future. Exploring power relations across actors over land redevelopment process" by Ms. Neera Adarkar
- Presentation on "Lending to the poor" by Mr. Abhisek Khanna (Microfinance Expert, Barclays Bank)
- Field visits to Milan Nagar / Laloobhai

Day 7

- Meeting with Ms. Aseena Viccajee (Manager, SPARC)

APPENDIX XI – Themes for questions for the Semi-Structured interviews

Shift of location

- What involvement did you have in the location of the buildings did you have?
- What involvement did you have in choosing the location of this flat?
- Did you choose / participate in the decision on who was going to live with you?
- How long did you wait to be relocated?
- Where you prepared for the move?
- Were there any major problems during the relocation?

Influence in the decision of the design of the building

- Did you see your flat before you moved?
- What do you like about your flat?
- What would you change from your house?
- Are you happy with the location of the toilet?
- How many people live in the flat?
- Where do your children play?
- Do you feel safe in this area?
- Do you lock your doors?
- Did you request for a praying space or food shop before you moved?
- What is the frequency of the water supply?
- How do you pay the services bills? Alone or together with neighbours?

Political organization and relationship with the government

- Are you a member of Mahila Milan? If not, why?
- If yes, what are the good and bad aspects about it?
- If you have complaints, whom do you go to?
- Do you feel well informed about the decisions and procedures within Mahila Milan?
- Are you part of the building committee?
- If yes, when does it meet? Do you go to the meetings?
- Do you vote?
- Have you tried to address your elected representative?
- Are you involved with another community organization?
- What is your relationship with the government?

Maintenance of social networks

- Do you know your neighbour?
- Do you have friends or family that supports you?
- If yes, did the relationship with them change when you moved?
- Who do you go to when there is an emergency?
- Do you still see some of the persons from your previous location?
- How often you meet with your neighbours?

Livelihoods

- What job did you have before the relocation?
- Do you still have that job?
- Do you commute to your work?
- If yes, for how long? How much you pay?
- How easy is finding a job in this neighbourhood?
- Have you tried to find a job in the area or start your own business?
- Do you save?

APPENDIX XII – Semi-structured Interviews in Milan Nagar

These are the words (translated on site and noted by the interviewers) of people we met and talked to during field work. The sequence of the categories follows the sequence of topics discussed during the interviews, and hence might vary from one to another.

1)

Location: Milan Nagar

Date of interview: 08/05/08 at 14:30

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Female in her thirties

Background

They are 3 families of 3 brothers living in the flat, 20 people. Interviewee has 7 kids. On the pavement they were living one close to the other and moved to MN 2 years ago. On the footpath they had a space of 5x5 ft.

Relationship to MM: The mother in law of the interviewee is a member of MM. They have lots of friends in MN. They consider the MM leader as a sister, for every problem such as loans, registered name for ration cards, they ask her for help.

She is from Bihar, another Indian region, has married 14 years ago and is living in Mumbai since then. In Bihar she was living in a house. In Mumbai her family was shifted from a place to another and ended up on the street. She feels to be part of Mumbai now, she likes the city, feels more free, she likes the food, the atmosphere, people are more educated than in Bihar.

Livelihoods

They mostly earn a livelihood from doing bracelets. 4-5 people produce 2 boxes per day, which gives an income of 32 Rupees per box. The husband works as an auto rickshaw driver, while one of the brothers of the husband is a truck driver. When asked what she would like to change in her life, she answered that she would like to change her husband's job to have him closer, he leaves at 7am and comes back only at 11pm. Her children go to the municipality school, she drops them to school.

It's difficult to commute because the trains are crowded. They have obtained one room for the 4 brothers and it is impossible for them to leave in such a reduced space. They had given 10,000 extra Rupees as savings and expected to get two flats. This has not happened, but she still expects it to happen.

Relocation Process

Her mother in law, a member of MN, has been involved in the process. She had visited the flat before moving.

2)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 08/05/08 at 14:45

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Female aged 16

Background

She moved with all the others almost two years ago. She is happy with the flat, 10 people live in it. She considers it a nice place to live.

Basic Services

She failed the 10th grade and does not want to go back to school; she speaks little English, learnt in Narkpara. When asked about toilets, she said they are clean, does not fear to get diseases, 3 households share 1 toilet/bathroom. They clean them on a rota system, but this is not one of her duties.

Livelihoods

She does not work and do not want to. CONTRADICTION: She would like to work and she does not have any preferences. She thinks that her family can afford living there and does not feel any pressure from her parents to do a job. Her plans, "Everybody wants to get married!"

She handles the household. Her mother buys food around the corner

Social Networks

All her friends moved in here. She meets her friends inside the building, has a TV and watch it, she most like to be with her family. No need to go back to pavement area since all here friends have move where she is now.

MM

She does not know about it. None of her family is involved in MM and she is not interested. She does not know how the place works; she has no choice but would like to have higher walls for the kid's safety.

3)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 08/05/08 at 15:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Irfan aged 16, man

Setting: corridor

Other Comments: MM leader listen to it sometimes and so he cannot answer sincerely and his mum and grandmother often answer instead of him.

Background

He was born on the pavement of Byculla, lived there since two years ago when he moved to MN. He got used to MN after two months, he knows his neighbours, he likes the flat because it is well built and has a nice construction, and he does not think there is something to change. 15 people live in his household. Byculla had a lot of traffic and dust. In MN he has a better future than on the pavement.

Basic Services

The flats in front of his are empty because the people did not pay any deposit. They have therefore the toilet for their own.

Livelihoods

He makes bangles. It is very difficult to find a job close-by. (His cousin agrees) He never addressed the employment problem to MM.

MM

He tried to ask for a basketball facility but the leaders did not listen to his voice.

Social Networks

He has some friends in MN, some are around his age, but most of them live still in Byculla. He still goes out in Byculla. He misses to play basket, he used to do it in Byculla, and he misses his friends.

4)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 08/05/08 15:10

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Shafiqullah aged 30, man

Background

It is 2 years and a half that he lives in MN. Before he was born and lived all his life on the pavement of Nag Pada. His father has lived 35 years on the pavement. His whole family moved. He has two sons and one daughter

He had a chance to see the building when the construction started, when the building was finished and the day he moved. The day they all moved, one truck used to bring over the belongings of 3 households. All the pavement dwellers of Nag Pada moved on the same day.

He asked for the first floor and obtained it.

MM

Talks started in 1992 and that's when he started the saving. He has never been in a rush to move, he is happy that it took long time so that he could have the time to save enough. He trusted MM that it would happen and it happened. There is anything negative he has to say about MM. He is very happy, he lives in better conditions.

Basic Services

His children go to the municipality school. He is part of a group of 12 who are promoting a Muslim school, where the kids can learn the Koran. 70 children attend this school; it is something that is pushed forward by SPARC. They are working on let it run on a rota system.

Considering that he was born and grew up on a pavement he is very glad that his children do not have to go through the dirty conditions he had to experience. The wall of the upper floor is too short and he would like making it higher. His daughter once fell and went into coma and only because of a miracle she survived. MM told him he has to wait that 10 years have passed and he will be the owner before he can make some changes to the structure of the flat.

Livelihood

He can afford the bills. The bills arrive to the corporate society, which distribute them to the flats. There exist facilities such as paying two months in advance. He uses his maintenance money (saving 20,000 rupees plus 20,000 rupees from government = TOT of 40,000 rupees are on his name). In summer the fans are more used therefore the bills are higher. The same with water. To reach his job he needs 100-200 rupees for his travel pass which means that he can save less now. When there is much work he stays there and needs to pay for food. If before his costs were around 5000 rupees now they have doubled to 10,000.

He is in the carpet business. They work with hotel, wash the good ones, repair and sell the old ones. Earlier the market was across the street, now he needs to travel. FRIENDS

All his friends moved to MN. The same people who used to live one beside the other are now in MN. He chose to live beside his friend, asked for it because in case of an emergency they can easily help each other.

Other

Religious facilities: There is a mosque nearby where he goes to pray.

Vote: He votes; he knows to have a right to the city and to stay where he is.

5)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 08/05/08 at 14:30

Interviewers and Note takers: Sandra, Marie, Eleni

Interviewee: Woman in her 40s-50s (3AA). Her husband (3BB) is resting upstairs and takes over after a while. The daughter and daughter in law are present but do not speak.

Other comments: when the husband starts speaking his wife goes upstairs to do some housework and finally sits behind him. Lakshmi arrives half way through the interview. She observes and occasionally intervenes.

Background

3AA lived on the pavement for 40 years. She started saving with MM, and they were told they would move. Jockin encouraged them to save.

There were a lot of difficulties on the pavement, but today they still have to move back there for employment. She used to cut clothes for a factory. Now she is too old, but her children still go back for the same job. She works at home; she paints bangles, and gets very little money for it.

Process of relocation and building

They were brought to see MN before the construction started.

She knows all her neighbors.

There is nothing she likes or dislikes about the flat.

3BB takes over:

Compared to the pavement it is much bigger now. They have a place to rest after work. Before, there was always the threat of evictions. They got help from Jockin and MM. Pavement dwellers are all from different origin in India. Jockin said: "whatever you do, you should be united".

They were shown the map and the blueprints. Some locals helped with the construction.

Household

There are 6 people living in the flat: the parents, one daughter, two sons and a daughter in law.

3AA lived on the pavement for 35 years. He used to work in a dairy factory, and then started a small business for more flexibility. Now he has to travel to Mumbai to go to work there.

His daughter used to go to school, but now she stays at home to read the Holy Scriptures. Girls stop going to school after they reach puberty. There is no need for her to go, as she won't work after she gets married. She has to learn how to cook instead.

The sons were sent to school in his native village but they came back to work. The women work inside "to pass the time".

Livelihoods

3AA asked a loan to MM. He first says he did not get it, then Lakshmi intervenes and he says he got a very small amount.

He continues saving, about the same amount as before moving. But now he has to pay for maintenance, for transport. Costs have increased.

At the very beginning the bills were in the name of Jockin and they all paid together, about 200 Rs each for everything. After two or three months they paid separately in their own names, although collective taxes to the municipality are paid together. When they

were paying 200 Rs they thought it was too much, but after paying separately they realized that 200 Rs was better. But now it is still more affordable than on the pavement. When there is a problem, no one asks for help and no one gives. "You have come here, now you have to pay for yourself".

Management of the building and collective facilities

There is no cooperative; only three women are responsible for management. About 15 days ago there was a meeting about forming a committee.

There is an empty room downstairs that is used for kids aged 5 to 7. Everybody is ready to pay for that. They teach them the Scriptures. Religion is important.

Relations with politicians

He supports the politicians that will do good things for them. On the pavement they never really did anything but now that they are in a building they care more. They will deliver.

When they were handed the keys to the house, people from twelve different countries came to learn about their experience.

6)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 08/05/08 17:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Sandra, Marie

Interviewee: A young woman about 18, she is the daughter-in-law of the household (3CA), and her neighbor, a woman in her 40s (3CB).

Other Comments: The daughter of the household is also present but does housework in the back. The neighbor keeps coming in and out.

Background

3CB moved here two years ago. She did not know the family of 3CA well before. Her aunt who lives on the 2nd floor knows them. They are related.

There are 5 people living in the flat. 3CA and her husband live upstairs on the mezzanine. 3CA used to live in Byculla before she got married a month ago. Her parents still live there. She used to work before she got married, but not anymore.

Household

3CA is happy about the flat and the bathroom. Her mother-in-law deals with savings with MM. 3CB is also saving with them.

3CA does not know many people in Milan Nagar as she arrived recently. Her mother-in-law does the shopping. She still goes back to work where they used to live, as a maid.

3CA does not vote.

She cannot say if Milan Nagar is safe or not.

3CB: the people around are nice. She likes the house. She was shown the flat before moving. If there is a problem she does not know if MM can help. She paid a deposit sum to get the house. Her father and others worked on the construction.

Her husband pays the fees.

7)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 09/05/08 at 15:40

Interviewers and Note takers: Sandra, Marie, Eleni

Interviewee: woman in her 50s

Other comments: she is holding her grandson (about 3 years old) in her arms.

Background

Relocation process and design of the building "I used to live in Nampara. I moved in MN 2 years ago. I moved in Mumbai in 1972 and I was working as taking care of kids in a crèche. I was pushed in Jhula Maiden. Four years before I had met Sheela Patel. We used to get together and have meetings. I became a member of MM. I was one of the first two members with Lakshmi. We started savings; we were going from locality to locality encouraging people to save. I was also part of the search team for land. Here there used to be a creek, it was a mushy area. Now it is better. But MN was the only place where 536 families could be relocated all together. I'm also part of the women's group that was designing this building. We were measuring with sarees and making models of cardboard."

She is satisfied with the way their design was built.

"People are only concerned with relocation when their houses are being demolished".

She is happy with sharing the toilet with two other families but having the toilet inside the house would have been the best. Accidents can happen to children in communal toilets.

Household

She lives with one of her sons, her daughter-in-law and their six children (three girls and three boys). She has another younger son who does not live here. Now the flat is empty because they have gone on vacation. They all have jobs.

One of her grandsons is 16, he learns computing. Her granddaughters are in 5th, 9th and 10th grade. They go to a private school nearby. After the 5th grade the fees get cheaper.

Management of the building and savings

She doesn't save anymore but she encourages people to save and collects money.

She says there was no meeting about forming a committee. They do not need a CHS. The maintenance fees go to the bank in the name of MM. She is one of the three women in charge of management.

Relations with government and politicians

She votes. The government does not help them even if she votes. In 1991-92 there were riots. The government does not give them rights; they had to do everything for themselves. Now she just votes to keep her name on the electoral roll, but politicians do not keep their promises. Back when they lived on the footpath, everybody would ask whom they should vote for, but she would always say it makes no difference.

Social networks and security

She knows the people living in the surrounding buildings, they are all from Nampara. She does not know the squatters well; she only knows those who come to the meetings with Jockin in Dharavi.

The environment is safer than before. There are no goons.

Livelihood

They were promised a big ground to have businesses by Jockin but this has not been done.

They have a carpet business in Nampara, she goes there everyday. Usually she leaves at 6 am and comes back at around 10-11 pm. sometimes when her son works in the bazaar he has to stay overnight. She is in heavy debt to MM. She still has 30,000 Rs to pay back, out of 50,000. She borrowed the money for her business.

8)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 09/05/08 at 17:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Sandra, Marie, Eleni

Interviewee: Female, Lakshmi

Other Comments: closing comments about livelihoods and the role of MM

MM gives out loans when people are in need of money. When she knows they earn enough, she refuses.

There is a lack of solidarity and she feels that people are not grateful for the work she has done with MM.

Regarding livelihood issues, the only way MM can help is through loans. Jockin is very busy now; he does not come as often as before. When they did the survey before the relocation people demanded shops. They were promised that some would be built in the future buildings, but the construction has been stalled.

Some women still go to work in town, but they can also do work at home. Often it is the husband who is unemployed and stays at home, and the wife runs the household and does small work. It pays the bills. Both men and women earn in their own way.

9)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 08/05/08 at 15:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Sandra, Marie

Interviewee: Old woman (3BA) then working daughter in law (3BB) walks in

Other Comments: niece lives on pavement was visiting

Background

3BA lived on the pavement for over 20 years. She was saving with Milan Nagar even though her wage was bad. She used to wash utensils as a job.

Now she doesn't do it anymore because she is old and her daughters do the same job now.

Household and building

The house has four members.

The apartment next to hers is her sisters. That house houses 36 members and they don't fit in the house so they moved out. They didn't ask to live together but they were given rooms next to each other.

They asked for a house and work but only got house. Her son and daughter in law still work and have to go to the city on daily basis.

If you wanted a shop you had to rent one and ask for one in advance in addition to paying. If you have to pay rent like electricity bill but you might not get money every month from the shop then what good is it?

3BA doesn't save anymore because has no money. Her daughter in law 3BB continues to save though.

3BA says that they have a lot of problems especially in paying transportation and the bills but their life is so much better with a house.

3BA says the problem is that her daughter in law is sick (lost 3 babies) and her sons job is not stable so cannot afford any type of monthly payments especially for renting a shop they want.

She takes care of the little boy and plans what they eat for the whole month so that they always have something.

They don't borrow money from anyone.

Her grandson goes to a school close by

She feels safe in the building and they don't have a lot of fights. The main fight is around the toilets because some families don't clean after them and so they fight among themselves. "I would have preferred to have my own toilet but it is ok"

She only knows people in the building and not in the area.

[3BB walks in]

Background (for 3BB)

It takes her 1.5 hours to get to work and same to come back. She works for fewer hours now, but she saves with Mahila Milan.

They got luggage and packed before they moved calmly. They were very happy but it was very hard much harder than they thought.

3BA says that good people come to bad places sometimes and they should try to make the places better but sometimes the leaders should help them.

Household and Building (for 3BB)

For men house is great but it is women's loss to live so far and have no access to stores and so on.

But the house is good it's not bad. Her sister lives in another compound and they have more people in the house no water supply and more safety. Less people also use the toilet here but she wasn't asked about the design of the house and would have asked for other things.

There are some criminal activities here but mainly outside the building so they prefer staying in now.

Her son is only allowed to play in the building and not downstairs because was scared in the beginning because there were some dogs and they bit a few kids. He used to play on the street when he was born but she could watch him now she couldn't if he goes down and he is too scared because she scared him before anyways. There is nowhere for them to play anyways so better in the corridor.

When asked about Cooperative housing society, the answer was "No I haven't heard of this but I now the men are meeting but don't know about it and have not joined".

They pay the fees and maintenance to Lakshmi and she takes care of things.

"I don't know what they use it for exactly ...I have asked and they said to light corridor, sweepers and motor guy things like that"

Relationship with Politicians

"Rahul Gandhi is a politician and they told us that everyone should and needs a house"

3BA votes and her son but 3BB doesn't.

3BA hard work is not a problem but where the hard work is the problem.

10)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 09/05/08 at 17:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Sandra, Marie

Interviewee: apartment/shop 4BA is the husband while 4BB is the wife that runs the shop

Background

4Ba starts by saying he was living in a slum and so Milan Nagar is a bit mixed. They are from Nagpada* slum about 25 km away from Milan Nagar. 25 families have been relocated from there the others remain. He lives with 10 people in the house. They are five kids, the in laws and a brother in law and his wife.

They have children of varying ages: 13 years, 17 years, 15 years, 11 years . ?years

This is problematic for the family because the schools that are close by are only till 7th grade and so the kids have to go to different places.

The kids play downstairs its safer than the slums he states.

Livelihood

He is a taxi driver and earns about 100 RP / day while his wife and kids run the shop in the building.

He states living in slums was cheaper because no bills.

Now the taxi is not enough to cover their expenses so they had invested and take the risk in opening the shop.

They don't save with Mahila Milan even though they have enough money

Relocation Process

They only know people in the building and don't know anyone around.

They have been in Milan Nagar for 2 years

They were not consulted in the design and only a part of the group was favored.

He doesn't understand the layout of the house and would have defiantly preferred and fought for something else

They wanted the apartment with the 2 levels not the three because it's very problematic and uncomfortable

They asked to live next to people from same area but were not given the choice

Organization

The leaders are very protective of their building and don't give them the papers of the house or let them bathe their dead in the house.

He says "the people running the building are all women it is hard to communicate with them, they are not so friendly"

He has not heard of the CHS meeting in the building that we were informed of by another interview (male) and Lakshmi.

"We can't help it though we have to live here"

"The problem here is that politicians and governments interact sometime with people but it is only the leaders so if the leaders of the community don't represent you then you have no voice at all. Its like you don't exist.

No one interact with you on a personal level. There is no way to protest...don't work with organizations either or give them money we will never get it ...it all goes into their

pockets...we don't protest here but we should be able but it still feels that we are given a house by the leaders as a favor...we are not given importance."

He believes that some parties in the government listen to him but he has been told to wait for five years and all his problems will be solved.

He believes he was better provided for in the slum and that leaders listened to him

All the family votes every election

They have not voted since they moved

Household

It is much cleaner, more water so it is better now in those terms and more comfortable...at first they didn't have water but Jockins solved this problem for them

Transportation is still a problem

He uses someone else's cab to work and works from 8am to 9 or 10pm

He walks to station for about 20 min and then takes the train for an hour to get his cab

Same process at night

Wife: He states that she does different little things like painting bangles that a man gets for her to do

Also she goes out around Milan Nagar and gets things from wholesalers to sell in the shop

4BB(wife) starts speaking about cost of books for schools which the municipality in the slum was doing so now that we are protected from the monsoon because of the house we have less money to do things.

When asked if he would like to ask or tell us anything

"the house is more comfortable and we do have more space but the leaders are dictators" and now that he has been recently sick he has been staying home and would have liked to find something to do that is close even though he is sick and it has been impossible.

Then he says "don't give donations loose the middleman come here and talk to us that's what we ask you and all leaders and politicians".

11)

Location: Milan Nagar

Time of interview: 09/05/08 16:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Sandra, Marie

Interviewee: apartment/shop on ground floor

Other Comments: the wife is sitting on the floor behind the husband with her kid and a lot of mice running around the house)

Background

Moved to Milan Nagar in 2006

6 people live in the apartment

Livelihood

He is a tailor and is the only member of the family that works. His work is not good now and only works for manufacturers. He has to go to them to get the job, which takes him one hour one way. So he wastes 3 hours per day on transportation.

He doesn't take more than 1 job at a time.

In his past place it was easier to move around plus he had a good location and so people would walk in and ask him to do things for them....walk in clientele was very beneficial. Now people in the building ask him to do things for him but it is so small and a waste of time

Before he lives on a main street and that made all the difference.

He has higher bills and the school for his 4 kids was more expensive but he could pay it now he has wasted two years spent his saving and his earnings aren't covering their costs.

He has taken loans also and has not paid any back.

He has too many financial tensions he can't meet ends.

Before he also had students that he taught and they would help him in return. He used to sleep only four hours per day because of work and was satisfied with his life.

His wife helps by painting bangles in the house and gets 12000 RP/3month and so pays for the maintenance.

He states that before his wife used to clean houses.

He feels indebted to Jockins for the house but asks what about being able to live in the house?

Household and building

His neighbors are all new and doesn't know them just knows some on different floors.

He has no problem with sharing toilet and they use shower to wash laundry and dry it in the house.

When he shifted with his family to this building he used to go back to get job from same people but now they don't give him anymore work

His wife says he was promised a shop

The husband says that he tried to get one for a long time in Jockins name but now he gave up

He was not consulted for the design but his wife helped in the construction phase.

He likes aspects of the apartment specifically the 2 levels because 2 families can live in it and they were two families but has fought with his brother.

Organization

He has voiced complaints to Mahila Milan but his main one is that he needs a shop and they have told him that he will get one once the other buildings are built. He always votes and asks politicians for things. His voting card is not transferred yet so now he stopped voting because nothing happens for him.

APPENDIX XIII – Semi-structured Interviews in Laloobhai

1)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 06/05/08 16:50

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Female, Mariabubi/ Ashida in her 30s.

Other Comments: Address is Shri Sai Co-op Society; Bldg 20 B; Laloobhai Compound; Mankhurd; Mumbai- 43

Background

Was born and has lived on the pavement for 30-35 years.

Positive changes: Do not have to pay for toilets any more.

Relocation Process

One day they bulldozed their houses and had to move to Laloobhai. It took them three days to clean the place it was very bad maintained.

She likes nothing about Laloobhai. The kids learn bad habits and bad language.

Livelihoods

They live 12 people in the flat; only one earns money by washing buses.

It has been about 7 months now that they are not paying maintenance bills. She has to take care of the kids and cannot work.

Safety: No safety. Men drink a lot. There are frequent fights and discussions.

When asked about what she wishes to be changed, she said that she is a Muslim and does not like men that drink and fight, throw bottles to the building.

2)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 08/05/08 15:15

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Female, around 25 years old

Background

They came from PD Mello road. She living with her father and mother in law and her immediate family, and they also moved here with her.

She doesn't know whom to approach when in need for help. Her father in law looks at these matters. She doesn't work. Her father and sister in law and also her husband work. 12 people live in the house. She lives here with her family in law. One sister in law has 4 kids and the other 1. She likes living with the whole family. She has a very good family here.

Her kids play downstairs. Usually they don't go very far away because the son of her sister has been missed and never found. That happened 2 months after the relocation, when he was 11 years old.

She spends all her time in the house, taking care of the kids and the household. She doesn't go anywhere, not even at her mother's place. She wants to be here when her husband comes back.

Basic Services

There is a water problem. Water does not come regularly, every 2 days. The kids did not take bath today because of no water. In this case, they go to the slum area nearby where there is water.

There are some meetings arranged in the building to deal with the water problem. They complain many times but nothing really happens.

When asked about what happens in these meetings, her answer was that she is not allowed to go out of the building, so her father in law and her husband go. Each building discusses the water problem individually. When there is no water, toilets do not operate, so they use the public toilets.

When asked what she would like to change in her house, she said she would like to have a wall inside the house and a better floor, but now they don't have money in the family.

For treatment of her son's burnt hand, she went to a private hospital nearby. It was expensive, 150 rupees, but her grandmother takes care about it. The hospital provides good services, it treats them well.

3)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 08/05/08 16:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Female, around 45 years old

Background

She moved here 8-9 months ago. 8-9 people are living in the flat. Her brother is also coming soon.

When in need of help before relocation, she had friends there. Now, in this place most of the people that used to live there, live here as well. But, there is no much socialization because they live in a building.

Livelihoods

There are no job opportunities in this area. She works; she has a snack shop downstairs. It is not possible to save money. She doesn't have savings at all, unfortunately. She is in debt because of her shop.

After she came here, she couldn't afford paying the maintenance costs, but she had to give every month. In the last few years, she takes loans from local moneylenders to pay the bill.

In the evening I prepare all the snacks for the next day. I stay in the shop until 2 o'clock in the afternoon and then I shift with my children. I don't want my children to work in the evening because people drink and it is dangerous for them.

There are security problems in the area. It was safer in the pavements. The house is very good but not the surrounding environment.

Basic Services

There is water problem and people are not organized properly. The water is on in one building and off in the other. There is no coordination and we have to go far to take it. People do not listen to each other, they quarrel and fight.

Toilets are good. She likes that they are inside. They don't have good environment in the building. There is no security, people are drunk...How will we progress by only being provided by a house? Also, there is a big garbage problem at the back of the building. The municipality does not clean this open space, which is full of garbage. Skin allergy problem is the result of the garbage and there is also a fear of malaria. The area can be much improved if there is good availability of water and job opportunities.

Social Networks

In general life became better after relocation. During the monsoon they always had to change roads and pavements. Now, they have settled down and they are happy for that. The main limitation is unemployment; there is no food to put in the stomach.

Relationship to MM

Mahila Milan helped them to get this house. She used to be active but now there is no much time, even though she wants to. Because of the shop, she earns money and she is

happy for that. She can't just lock it and leave it for meetings.

4)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 08/05/08 16:45

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Male, around 20 years old

Background

He moved here one year ago.

All the people moved with him and they are still in contact.

They go to each other's houses and socialize around the building.

Livelihoods

He is a driver. He earns around 4000 Rs, which are not enough, so his brother works as well.

Social Networks

They have problems in communication with their neighbors. They refuse to pay electricity and maintenance. The society people do not do work properly and they do the calculation wrongly. The amount of work is not enough of what they pay for maintenance. But they have to pay because if they don't, they cut the electricity or the water.

5)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 08/05/08 17:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Luis, Elisa

Interviewee: Female, around 50 years old

Social Networks

They did not move here with their friends from their previous neighbourhood, they were separated.

Basically there are some people but there is no need. It is her that usually helps the others. In general she is not doing well with my neighbours. She keeps staying in the house because she wants to avoid arguments. The building has also so many floors that it makes it difficult to meet people.

She takes part in society meetings. When she hears something wrong, she makes questions. Otherwise, she stays silent. When she says something right, people often support it and we discuss it further. Other times it is solved and others not (it is forgotten).

Livelihoods

Mainly the high maintenance costs and the water problem are the problems discussed. Now, because of the heat, the water problem is more intense due to irregularity.

Typical day: "I am not working. I take care of the children and the household. I take them to school and at 2 o' clock I rest. Then, I start the cleaning activities. Now I am working, but I have to spend much money for transportation. I am willing to work nearby the neighbourhood. When I first came here, I looked for job but my son in law did not allow me. He said that I should stay at home and take care of the household."

6)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 09/05/08 15:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Loai, Abir

Interviewee: married couple in their 30s (Lakshmi and Joseph Murugan) in their house surrounded by their 3 children

Background

Moved from P.D Mello Road, and did not see the building before moving here.

On pavement since childhood so they know how to earn their money. Since they got here, most of their earning is spent on transport.

Here water is not good.

Even though they give them houses, they have not bothered to check on them.

She used to work as a maid, but now not.

300 Rs maintenance not doing anything. If they ask the committee, the answer is that not all families are paying the fee.

Relocation Process

On the footpath, there were always people coming to tell us about leaving.

Then one day BMC came with their bulldozers telling us that we will be shifted to Mankhurd. We were given a one month notice. Then we were given the key. We hadn't seen it before. This house is not ours. It's for the brother-in-law.

We had an accident in which we lost our ration card. So when we were to move from the pavement, the BMC told us that we were not eligible. The cause of the accident was the wall of the compound, shared with our house, falling on us.

A lot of car accidents also took place on the pavement.

Livelihoods

The husband works as a mechanic. This house is not their permanent resident.

BMC refused to give them a house, although they managed to get a new ration card.

They are now still on PD Mello Road.

4 people – 9 people. They come to take care of older brother (unstable)

But outside the building, the BMC should clean. But they don't care about us, they don't care if we die here.

In Mello, they used to work close by, here they didn't think about it. She worries about her children. For them, the place is still new.

They don't feel safe here, they don't know the kind of people here, a lot of fights, police doesn't interfere.

If they go back to pavement, they can't, so their priority would be to find a house, not school for their children. They can't afford rent. They manage on one or two day salary.

Social Networks

Houses were not allotted in the order they lived in. So they only interact when they happen to be downstairs. Before in Mello they interacted all day long on the street. Now each emerged in their own house and self. Since they came here, people's problems

increased, so people became emerged in solving their own issues, so not interacting like before.

When asked about living here or on pavement (with each location having its own problems)

They would rather live on pavement for earning. But Lakshmi said that Laloobhai is better for the house, because everybody in the end wants a house.

BMC says that they want to remove poverty, but what they actually did is remove the poor.

The house here is not a good condition. We don't even know how long the building stand.

Question about Mahila Milan

First they worked with people on PD Mello Road, but then BMC came in and all they cared was to clear the road.

They hope that whatever happens no one will go through what they went through.

7)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 09/05/08 16:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Loai, Abir

Interviewee: man in his 50s sitting on the balcony on the floor in the presence of his wife

Background

Each one here is so poor that they are not able to help each other.

We are 7 people living in the house.

Our children (2 boys) do random work, not permanent.

The kind of atrocities that happen against poor people is very much.

Livelihoods

When we lived on the pavement, we had a grocery store. Now not anymore, but even if we did, the transport is a lot. What is the use of being here if we have nothing to eat for a poor person, a house is not important. We can live anywhere. We need jobs. We have been here for one year.

People here are literary hungry.

We had a shop there with a license but they did not give us another shop in compensation.

I haven't been working for the past year.

Relocation process

We think that the government put us here probably because they were going to make good money for the price of land where we were. Also the bills here come differently for different people. The construction is bad as well. In the near-by building there is a hole near the column, and might collapse anytime.

The paper the BMC gave us to relocate was not even official. There is no stamp on it. We were not given the option of staying. And there are many crooks, so when the BMC said they are shifting us, all the people came, even those who have never had jobs.

The relocation documents also make us feel that we could be kicked out from here at anytime. There is very little we can do about it because we are uneducated.

I have taken loans but I can't give them back. So the bank had put my house as a mortgage.

We had asked the BMC to give us a shop instead of a house, but they refused.

8)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 06/05/08 16:45

Interviewers and Note takers: Abir, Carlene, Juan Pablo

Interviewee: Four women in their 30s - 40s, another one in her 50s. The majority of them are housekeepers

Other Comments: General conditions of the apartment are good, main renovations have taken place, nice tiles on floor and walls, ceiling decoration, 2 fans, DVD recorder. These general conditions were contrasted with the rest of the apartments. For example after the interview we were driven by interviewee #5, an old lady of 50 or 60 years old, which showed us her apartment from the outside, which was in general in very bad conditions.

Background

#1: She mentions that she has been in Mumbai since 1970. When SPARC and MM came to Laloobhai they never really believed in them. There is no connection or interaction with MM leaders. They don't feel safe here and around the area aren't good people. She is quite fine in her new home, she doesn't work, it's more easy for her but she recognizes that it's more difficult for others. They weren't involved in the process of relocation and they never believed in it. One day a notice arrived from the municipality which told them to move here. She doesn't believe she had a choice. There are people educated but most of them don't have a job, at least not a permanent job, her husband is a taxi driver.

#2: Her husband is a drunk and she needs to work, she used to sell plastic bottles back in Mello Rd. now she is unemployed. It's become difficult for her. There are no hospitals, schools are far away, and there is not enough money. In Mello they were not united, they had no concern for everyone else; some were threatened of eviction by BMC. They were just notified and then had to move.

#3: She can't just send her children to school because there is a railway track you have to cross, so she crosses the railways with the children every day. In their old homes they used to use wood in order to cook, which was free, now they need to pay for kerosene.

#4: Since they weren't united every time they had a problem they went to leaders of political parties that helped them. For example they asked them to file cases when their relatives were in trouble. They don't feel safe in Laloobhai, there are people who fight and threaten them- so there is more police. It's difficult kids don't go to school because of security reasons. In Mello kids used to go to school here they don't. Their biggest loss is the opportunities they had in Mello. They still send their kids to the school where they used to live and she is more worried about her girls growing into puberty. They travel by train. A good thing about their new homes is that they don't have to rebuild their homes every year after monsoon time.

#5: She has an eye operation, her husband is a drunk. She lived with her in-laws in the pavements, that's why she was eligible to move.

9)

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 09/5/2008 15:54

Interviewers and Note taker: Abir, Loai

Interviewee: Jehangia Khan, Akim Shaikh

Location: Laloobhai - man in his 50s-60s (2AA). His friend (2AB), is a neighbor for the family, used to live with them in PD Mello. So now he is living with them, sleeps out of the house. He has two children but they live in boarding school. He is resting inside the house and then takes over after a while. The daughter is present but do not speak.

Other comments: the house is in a good condition. The owner seems a religious man.

Background

The municipality conducted a survey and consider them as eligible candidate for relocation. 2AA moved here not with his previous neighbours. He has problem in water and electricity in his new flat. The condition of the building from the beginning wasn't good. 2AB said

Household

They are seven people living in the flat: the parents, two sons, two daughters, their neighbor. 2AA used to work in Mello road, but now he is an old and sick man so he can't work anymore. His wife still go to work there. He said when they lived in pavement they can gain 1 hour and half more, because they don't need to think of transportation and go back home early. But now it's difficult to her to work for a late time. His daughters used to go to school, but now they stay at home. Girls stop going to school after they reach puberty. His two sons go to municipality school.

Costs and livelihoods

They have problem in water and electricity services. They don't have so much money to improve these services for themselves, so if the municipality helps them will help all the residence.

Relation with the neighbors

He said that his relation with his neighbors good, but they still not knowing each others, maybe after some time will be a good friends.

Is he feel isolated here or not?

He hopes that will settle here properly, knowing the surrounding, families, and have an opportunity to work near by.

2AB intervene in the interview and he talked about:

Basic Services

Sewage line is not proper, bad, not clean, children play with it, the municipality not helping with this. Only themselves try to solve the problem.

Relations with politicians

Here there is no politician lives to address their problems to government. So no leader in this community. When they lived in pavement they used to have a leader that come and communicate with them. Now this is not the case. There is a confusion of jurisdiction of the place. So if they go to anyone to complain it's difficult to know who is responsible of their area.

MM

2AB said: MM used to work with them and then BMC became in charge so they are not that responsible or provide them with houses like in Milan Nagar.

BMC did not agree about the proof or photo that he gave to them that he has family and he should have a right to have or to move from PD Mello to the new building. So BMC not considering him as eligible of the house.

Other

2AB has a suggestion for the municipality. It can employ people from the same area to do the municipal work, such as cleaning, sewage , etc...

He is suggesting if the municipality can hire people to work as employees from Laloobhai area. This will reduce the cost of salary that the municipality will pay for them. Because it doesn't need to pay the transportation cost, and they can maintain their area in a better situation.

APPENDIX XIV – Workshop with teenagers: drawing explanations

Location: Laloobhai

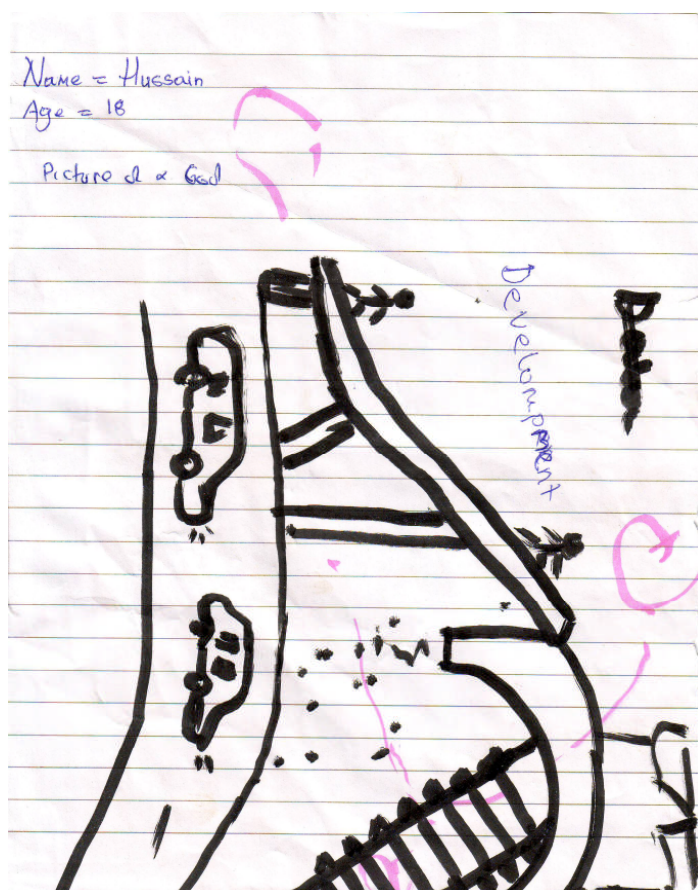
Time of interview: 09/05/08 16:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Juan Pablo, Angeliki, Carlene

Interviewee: Hussain 18, Ganesh 20, Sushil 16, Yusuf 17, Ravi 17, Sanjay 17

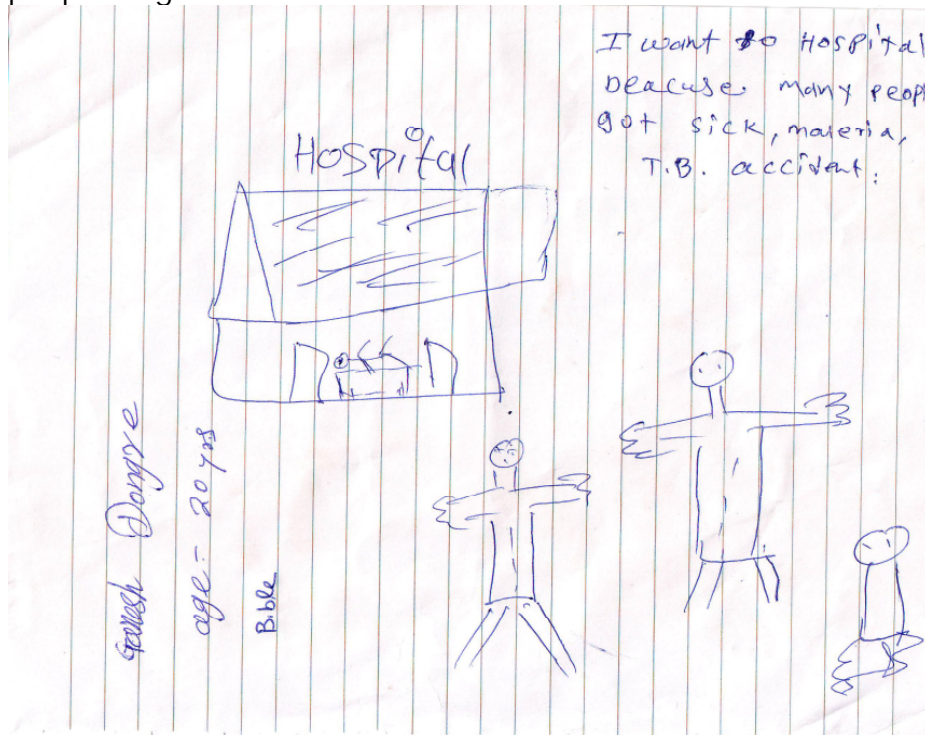
Hussain

He wants infrastructure; roads and a bridge to cross the railway for a better safety and security. He wants this area to become famous in the future.



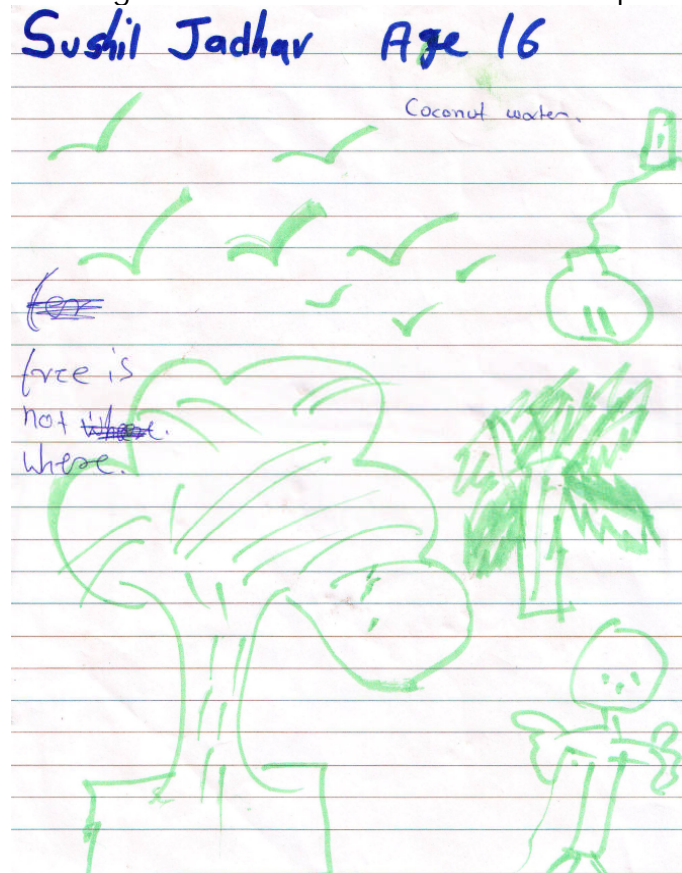
Ganesh

He said that the hospital does not have good doctors. He expects poor people to go there and be able to afford it.



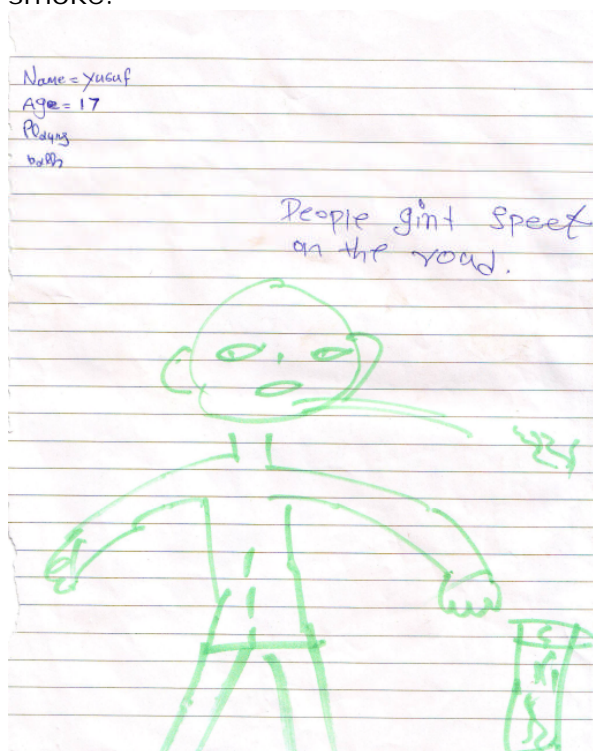
Sushil

He said that there are not many trees in the area. There is no oxygen. He will be happy if he can breathe comfortably. He also wants more lights, the neighbourhood is dark. He asked for professional gardens!



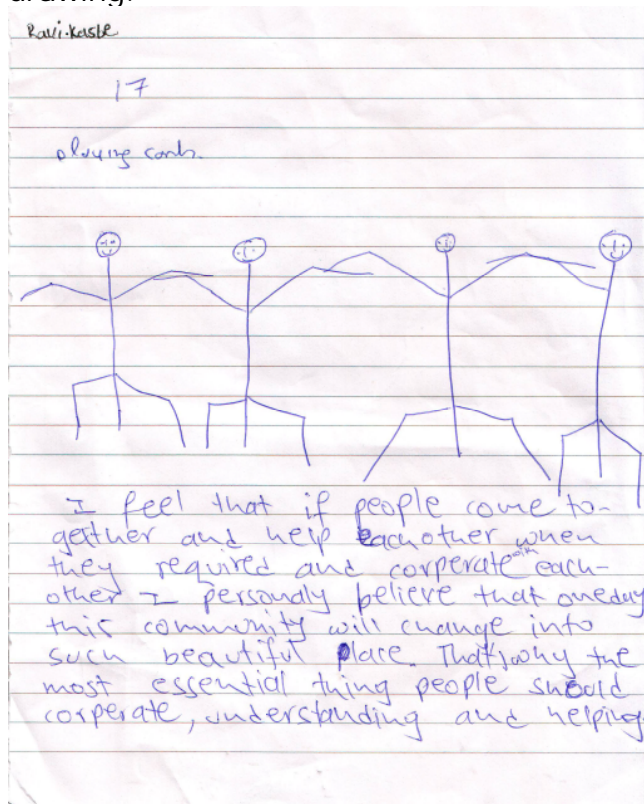
Yusuf

He wants people not to spit on the road. At least they can do in a bin. He does not understand why people do not realize the harmfulness of the smoke.



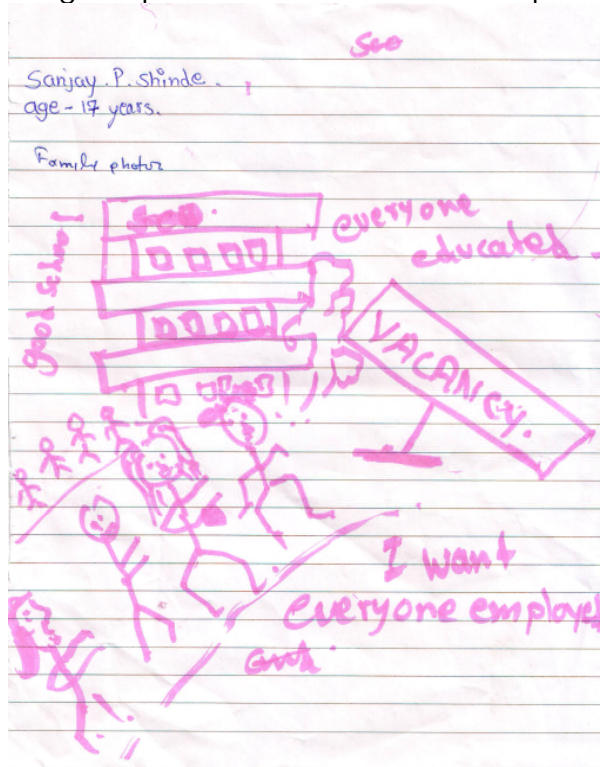
Ravi

He wants people to get together. He explains more in his text under his drawing.



Sanjay

He wants job and good school. He said that there are no companies around and he is aspiring to find an office job. He emphasized the need for good private schools and the importance of job opportunities.



APPENDIX XV – Workshop with teenagers

Location: Laloobhai

Time of interview: 09/05/08 16:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Juan Pablo, Angeliki, Carlene Grecco

Interviewee: Teenagers of the age 14-18

Name of participant	Sex	Age	Task	Item	Answer to "WHY"?
Ravi-Kasbe	M	17	Bring us an item that reminds you of your old location	Playing Cards	He used to play cards when he was living on pavements. Now, when he plays, it reminds him of living on Melo Str.
Yuguf	M	17	Bring us an item that reminds you of your old location	Playing stones	When he plays with them, he remembers his old neighbourhood
Sushi Jadhar	M	16	Bring us an item that reminds you of your old location	Coconut	He used to drink coconut water
Ganesh Dongre	M	20	Bring us an item that reminds you of your old location	Bible	He used to read the Bible. It is an item that reminds him the most his old place
Hussain	M	18	Bring us an item that reminds you of your old location	Picture of a God	He used to pray in the temple
Sanjay P. Shinde	M	17	Bring us an item that reminds you of your old location	Family photos	He misses the festivals that they had on the Pavement in the City

Name of participant	Sex	Age	Task	Answer
Ravi-Kasbe	M	17	What is your favourite thing here, in your new area	Playing cricket
Yuguf	M	17	What is your favourite thing here, in your new area	Playing cricket
Sushi Jadhar	M	16	What is your favourite thing here, in your new area	Playing cricket
Ganesh Dongre	M	20	What is your favourite thing here, in your new area	Playing cricket
Hussain	M	18	What is your favourite thing here, in your new area	Playing cricket
Sanjay P. Shinde	M	17	What is your favourite thing here, in your new area	Playing cricket

Name of participant	Sex	Age	Task	Item	Answer to "WHY"?
Ravi-Kasbe	M	17	Bring us an item that represents what you like the least here, in your new area	Rubbish	It is smelly and make mosquitoes come
Yuguf	M	17	Bring us an item that represents what you like the least here, in your new area	Cigarettes	He knows it is bad for you and doesn't like when others pressure him to do it
Sushi Jadhar	M	16	Bring us an item that represents what you like the least here, in your new area	Rubbish	He does not like it when people throw trash outside and don't clean it up
Ganesh Dongre	M	20	Bring us an item that represents what you like the least here, in your new area	Gudka (tobacco)	He does not like people spit on the floor
Hussain	M	18	Bring us an item that represents what you like the least here, in your new area	Alcohol bottle	He does not want people to drink alcohol in front of him
Sanjay P. Shinde	M	17	Bring us an item that represents what you like the least here, in your new area	No item.	He explained that he does not like mosquitoes

APPENDIX XVI – Workshop with teenagers

Location: MN

Time of interview: 09/05/08 16:00

Interviewers and Note takers: Christina, Elisa, Luis

Interviewee: Teenagers of the age of 11- 18

Three students of the group carried on a workshop with teenagers who moved from the status of pavement dwellers into residents of Milan Nagar.

Four girls of 12 to 14 years old and five boys of 11 to 18 years old participated.

(The young age of the girls is justified for religious purposes; Muslim girls of 15 years and over are not allowed to leave the floor they live in and could therefore not attend the workshop, which have taken place in a common room of Mahila Milan on the ground floor of the building.)

With the help of a translator the aim of the workshop was explained to its participants. The participants had to fulfil three tasks:

1. Individually come up with something that symbolically represents for them the city
2. Individually come up with something that symbolically represents what they like most since they live in the new location
3. Individually come up with something that symbolically represents what they dislike most since they live in the new location

The first task was carried on his own, while the following two tasks were asked to be fulfilled simultaneously. After bringing the items, the participants were asked to give an explication on why they had chosen the items.

The aim for the students was to understand better how teenagers, who all were born and had lived most of their life on a pavement, see things, what they consider relevant in a city like Mumbai, what they are satisfied with and what they do not like since having moved to a proper building.

The results of this exercise are summarised as follows:

Name of participant	Sex	Age	Task	Item	Answer to "WHY?"
AISHA	F	13	City	Bangles City= Trade	She makes and sells them in the city and so they become part of the city.
AFREEN	F	12	City	1 Rupee	Everything runs around money if you have no money you die from hunger
KORESHA	F	12	City	Water bottle containing coloured pieces	It represent different things; not only food and money, but also places to play, games as catch and run, etc.
KALAM	M	16	City	Flowers	Trees represent the city, apart from giving them good health; they make the city more beautiful.
NASRAMA	F	14	City	Glass of water City= life	If you do not drink water you won't survive; water is also very important not just for drinking but also to water the plants, for having a bath.
IRFAN	M	16	City	Bottle of Petrol/Oil City= life	When you have petrol a car can run, without cars you cannot reach places and if there is nothing around you, you are blocked. He likes the noises of cars because they represent the city
FAROUK	M	11	City	Brick	With bricks you can build houses and houses represent the city, it's difficult to live without a house
MOHAMMED HUSSEIN	M	18	City	Bettergourd	Everyone eats it, it is known for its property to clear the blood from oxygen, he likes to eat and look at it
IRFAN	M	17	City	Mobile phone	Mumbai is a mobile phone. It is synonymous to the city, since the city runs on mobile phones. All, rich and poor, go through mobile phones to share information.

"Transformation or ghettoisation? The tale of two sites of relocation for pavement dwellers in Mumbai, India"

Name of participant	Sex	Age	Task	Item	Answer to "WHY?"
AISHA	F	13	What he/she likes since living in building	book	She can study more here and likes it
AFREEN	F	12	What he/she likes since living in building	booklet	She can study more and therefore her life is better now
FAROUK	M	11	What he/she likes since living in building	Paper boxes	He makes boxes from paper, now here they have more work and more money
KORESHA	F	12	What he/she likes since living in building	Torch	She likes using a torch when there are electricity cuts, she likes to bright the darkness
KALAM	M	16	What he/she likes since living in building	money	Since he is here he has more money- everyone likes money
NASRANA	F	14	What he/she likes since living in building	booklet	She learns from it and gets information
AISHA	F	13	What he/she dislikes since living in building	Red pepper	She does not like the taste, since she lives here her family has more money, before red pepper was too costly for her family
AFREEN	F	12	What he/she dislikes since living in building	Matches	She is afraid of burning; it's a phobia she got since she lives in an apartment.
FAROUK	M	11	What he/she dislikes since living in building	Candles	Since he lives here the electricity goes away often and he is afraid of burning
KORESHA	F	12	What he/she dislikes since living in building	Matches	She is afraid of burning
KALAM	M	16	What he/she dislikes since living in building	Hennè Malandi designs	Now people have more time and draw more often their hands and he hates it.
NASRANA	F	14	What he/she dislikes since living in building	Lipstick	Lipstick is a sin

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