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A Study On Impact Of Relocation On The Livelihood Of Resettled Urban Poor In Chennai, Tamilnadu

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ABSTRACT

Over 41 percent of India's urban population lives in slums. A slum is defined as an area unfit for human habitation because of dilapidated buildings, overcrowding, faulty arrangement and design of buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities or any other combination of these factors, as per the Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act 1956. Resettlement of urban poor from slums to affordable housing is one of the important poverty eradication measures taken by the Government. Resettlement includes in situ rehabilitation into better houses as well as relocation to tenements constructed in another locality. There are over 1.7 lakh storied tenements constructed in Tamil Nadu for resettlement of urban poor. Relocation involves a major shock to the resident, as they face loss of habitat and livelihood, along with their social circle and traditions linked to the locality. Loss of livelihood and reduction in income can leave the resettled urban poor even more vulnerable. This study aims to identify and study the major factors that have the most impact on the loss of livelihood among relocated urban poor. These factors include distance from the previous workplace, loss of social network and connections, local competition from relocated area, reduction in economic opportunities as they shift to periphery of the city from the city centre as well as any infrastructure constraints in the tenement complex. A convenience sample of 127 residents of storied tenements in Chennai were randomly selected as the sample for study and descriptive research design was used to gather primary data for analysis. Percentage analysis, mean scores and one way anova were used to analyse the results and arrive at conclusions about what factors were impacting their livelihood the most when they relocate to their allotted tenements, with an analysis of gender variations in the impact of each of the factors.

INTRODUCTION

The 2023 Multidimensional Poverty Index Report states that over one third of the poor people in the world live in South Asia, with India contributing significantly to the number, with 4.5-5% of its population living in poverty. The poverty line for rural is at Rs 1622 and for urban it is at Rs 1929 as per SBI research (based on Suresh Tendulkar Committee recommendations), whereas World Bank keeps its poverty line at Rs 181 per day. As per SBI research and HCES, rural poverty is at 7.2% (25.7 in 2011-12) and urban poverty is at 4.6% (13.7% in 2011-12). Tamil Nadu is one of the most urbanized states in India, with over 53% urban population as of 2021 and an expected 57% in 2030. The Tamil Nadu Slum Areas (Improvement

and Clearance) Act, 1971 (Tamil Nadu Act 11 of 1971) was enacted with the view of improvement in slum areas by way of providing the requisite amenities and also providing access to affordable housing for urban poor, and clearing out the slums where in situ improvement and development are not possible. The revenue department undertakes encroachment eviction and clearing of slums from objectionable poramboke, whereas the Tamil Nadu Urban Habitat Board is enstructed with the resettlement of urban poor including construction and maintenance of tenements. More than 4.40 lakh tenements / houses were constructed / reconstructed by the Tamil Nadu Urban Habitat Development Board in Tamil Nadu. The Madras Urban Development Programme / Tamil Nadu Urban Development Programme has been implemented by the TNUHDB to provide developed plots to 1.31 lakh families in Tamil Nadu. Currently, TNUHDB is maintaining 1,73,607 storied tenements in Tamil Nadu, of which 1,15,500 are in Chennai. When relocated from their original dwellings, there is a risk to the livelihood of the urban poor. The relocated tenements are often in the outer edges of the city whereas their original dwellings and workplaces were in the city centre. This shift can impact their ability to find and maintain work. Resettlement goes beyond mere relocation and focuses also on ensuring that the relocated poor are able to get back on their feet economically.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

. As per the resettlement manual, relocated urban poor are stressed and potentially traumatized by 4 types of losses, of which a prominent one is the economic loss of livelihood. Resettlement often involves a shift from the city centre to the periphery, which means that the distance to the workplace is increased significantly, and accessing the workplace involves heavy transportation costs which may even make the job no longer viable. A lot of relocated tenement residents have to start their job search afresh in a new and unfamiliar locality with no support system, competing with the existing residents of the area for limited jobs, with reduced scope for work in outskirts of the city. It is important to identify what factors contribute the most to loss of livelihood so that policy interventions can be made to mitigate their impact.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study are

- To identify the factors which are affecting the livelihood of relocated urban poor
- To study the impact of each factor on the livelihood of the affected populace
- To study the gender-based differences in factors affecting the livelihood loss of relocated poor
- To identify the demographic profile of resettled urban poor
- To offer suitable policy suggestions for improving the livelihood and earning potential of resettled urban poor to ensure their socioeconomic upliftment

NEED FOR THE STUDY

In a highly urbanized and rapidly growing state like Tamil Nadu, it is vital that the shock of relocation doesn't further lead to economic weakening of the already vulnerable urban poor through loss of livelihood. Suitable policy interventions and a holistic approach can only be possible with reliable data provided by studies that can identify the factors that contribute the most to the loss of livelihood. It is important to note that women, men and transgenders might be differently impacted by these factors, and policy interventions must understand this distinction so as to arrive at optimal policies.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study was taken up in a large storied tenement housing 20,000 families of resettled urban poor in Chennai. A convenience sample of 127 residents was selected and after open ended discussions and questionnaire, primary data was gathered. The scope was limited to identifying factors leading to loss of livelihood and their impact with a focus on gender-based variations in the effect of these factors. The study aims at identifying potential factors that can affect the livelihood of the residents and as such can be a guide for policy making in the field.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A sample of 127 residents who were resettled from various areas of Chennai were studied, from a total pool of around 20000 families in the tenement. Responder bias towards questions cannot be ruled out. Only 3 transgenders were included in the study which might skew the results of the gender analysis when it comes to transgender issues.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Descriptive research design with convenience sampling was used with open ended discussions to identify the factors initially and then a quenstionnaire to identify the impact of each factor in loss of livelihood among resettled urban poor. Open ended questions were used to gather more insight into the reasonings for the choices exerted by the individuals.

Sampling Techniques

A sampling unit is taken as an individual who is a resident of one of the resettled tenements constructed by Tamil Nadu Urban Habitat Development Board.

Sampling Size

A convenience sample of 127 individuals residing in a large multistory tenement of resettled urban poor were used for this study.

Sampling Type

Convenience sampling was adopted for this research. It is a non-probabilistic sampling referring to a sample selected on the basis on convenience.

Data Collection

Primary data was collected by gathering the factors affecting the livelihood and further interviewing the tenement dwellers with questionnaire schedule regarding the perceived impact of each factor in their loss of livelihood. Secondary data was collected using Government policy documents in public domain, journals, magazines, newspapers, etc.

Sampling Framework

Tools used for the study	Attributes of the study
Percentage analysis	Demographic profile of the respondents
Mean score analysis	Distance from previous workplace Loss of social networks Competition from local workforce Reduced opportunities in periphery of city Lack of infrastructure
One way anova	Relationship between gender and factors affecting livelihood loss among resettled urban poor

Analysis and Interpretation

Table 1: Demographic profile of the respondents

Demographic Variables	Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	60	47.24
	Female	64	50.39
	Transgender	3	2.36
	Total	127	100
Age	18-35	42	33.07
	36-50	71	55.90
	51-70	14	11.02
	Total	127	100
Marital Status	Single	41	32.28
	Married	86	67.72
	Total	127	100
Education	Below 8^{th}	45	35.43
	8^{th} to 12^{th} Grade	65	51.18
	College Degree	17	13.38
	Total	127	100
Income Level	0-20000	116	91.33
	20000-40000	11	8.66
	40000 and above	0	0
	Total	127	100

Interpretation

Among 127 respondents, 89 percent are in their productive age and have the potential to be a part of the workforce of the country. This shows that their loss of livelihood, if any, is a loss to not just the individual but the society as a whole. Half of the respondents are female and 3 transgenders participated as well. 67% of the respondents are married, whereas the remaining included unmarried persons, widowed and separated persons. There are several women headed households including those headed by destitute widows, some of who took part in this study. Their education levels are mostly only school level, but the small children are all enrolled in school and there is a great interest in their education up to college level. The respondents belonged to low income groups and most of them earn at or below Rs 20,000 per month. The women are primarily domestic workers, and are also engaged in small trades like tailoring, selling various wares, etc. The men are unskilled labourers or technicians like plumbers, electricians etc. Several of them work in construction or as street vendors. Four of the responding residents were differently abled. Wheelchairs, hearing aids were provided to them through Government. All are in possession of Aadhaar card and ration card. Social welfare schemes for widows, transgenders, differently abled and other most vulnerable sections of the population are extended to the residents here as well.

Table 2: Mean scores related to factors affecting livelihood after resettlement

Sl No	Factor	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Mean
1	**Distance**	15	30	24	33	25	2.82
2	**Loss of Network**	33	31	12	24	27	3.15
3	**Local Competition**	40	49	28	9	1	3.93
4	**Less Opportunity**	34	47	32	14	0	3.80
5	**Infrastructure**	0	1	30	49	47	1.88

Interpretation

Through discussions, distance to previous workplace, loss of network, local competition, less opportunities for economic activity in outskirts of the city and infrastructure constraints including lack of stalls or shops inside the tenement to sell their wares were identified as primary factors affecting the livelihood of resettled poor. Lack of stalls and shops was a complaint limited to a smaller cross section of the respondents and has the least correlation to loss of livelihood, as evidenced from the mean value of 1.88. Since the resettled location is in the periphery of the city and their original dwelling was in city center, there is a greater distance to be commuted daily to the workplace after relocation. This results in increased transportation costs which make it difficult for the families as their budget is stretched thin, and several have quit their old jobs to find new ones in the new locality. This was the second least impactful factor. Great correlation is found between the loss of network and loss of livelihood. Several residents used to find employment through references and connections in their previous locality. Resettlement has caused them to start from scratch and lose out on their informal placement system. Relocating to the periphery has also meant that there is less market for their wares and fewer avenues for economic activity. This has a strong correlation to the loss of livelihood as evidenced from the mean value of 3.80. The new locality already has its own workforce, shops and stalls, and this gives stiff competition to the newly resettled residents, as their competitors are already well established and trusted in their community. This was identified as having a very high impact on their livelihood, as they seek to engage in economic activity in their new surroundings.

Analysis of Variance

When gathering the impact of the factors, it was noted that there were gender based differences in the perceived impact of these factors in their loss of livelihood. Therefore, to determine whether gender differences are statistically signifant, one way anova was done on each of the identified factors with respect to the three genders.

One way anova of perceived impact on resettled urban poor's resettlement for each of the 5 factors – Distance from previous workplace, Loss of Network, Local competition, Less opportunity and infrastructure constraints; with respect to gender (Group 1 male, Group 2 female and Group 3 transgender) is calculated as below:

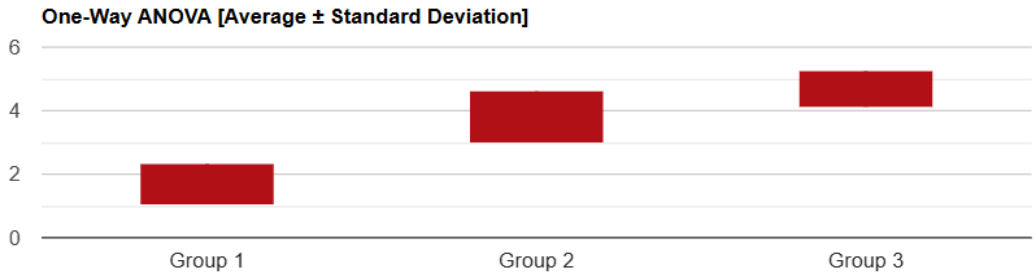
Gender and Distance from previous workplace:

F-statistic value = 131.81325

P-value = 0

Data Summary				
Groups	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error
Group 1	60	1.6833	0.6507	0.084
Group 2	64	3.7969	0.8391	0.1049
Group 3	3	4.6667	0.5774	0.3333

ANOVA Summary					
Source	Degrees of Freedom DF	Sum of Squares SS	Mean Square MS	F-Stat	P-Value
Between Groups	2	148.8333	74.4167	131.8133	0
Within Groups	124	70.0056	0.5646		
Total:	126	218.8389			



Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer

Pair	Difference	SE	Q	Lower CI	Upper CI	Critical Mean	p-value
x1-x2	2.1135	0.09548	22.1367	1.7932	2.4338	0.3203	7.245e-11
x1-x3	2.9833	0.3143	9.4911	1.9288	4.0378	1.0545	1.917e-9
x2-x3	0.8698	0.3139	2.7713	-0.1831	1.9227	1.0529	0.1267

Group	x2	x3
x1	2.11	2.98
x2	0	0.87

Interpretation: One Way ANOVA test, using F distribution df(2,124) (right tailed)

1. H0 hypothesis - Since p-value<α, H0 is rejected.Some of the groups' averages consider to be not equal. In other words, the difference between the sample averages of some groups is big enough to be statistically significant.

2. P-value - p-value equals 0, [p(x ≤ F) = 1]. It means that the chance of type1 error (rejecting a correct H0) is small: 0 (0%).

3. The test statistic F equals 131.81, which is not in the 95% region of acceptance: [0 : 3.0693]

4. Effect size - The observed effect size f is large (1.46). That indicates that the magnitude of the difference between the averages is large. The η2 equals 0.68. It means that the group explains 68% of the variance from the average

5. Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer - The means of the following pairs are significantly different: x1-x2, x1-x3.

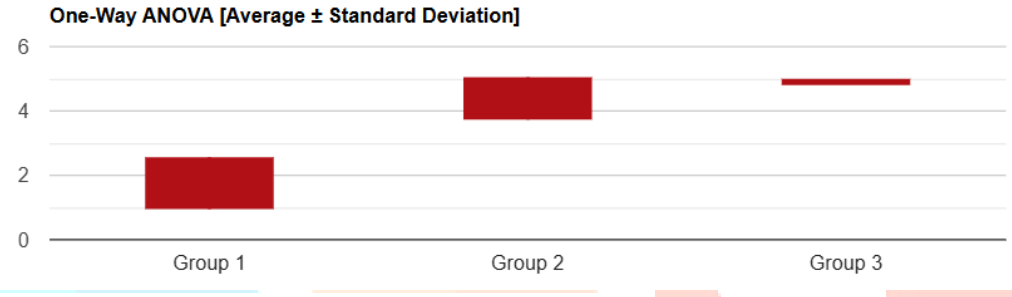
Gender and Loss of Network

F-statistic value = 203.40367

P-value = 0

Data Summary				
Groups	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error
Group 1	60	1.75	0.8156	0.1053
Group 2	64	4.375	0.6785	0.0848
Group 3	3	5	0	0

ANOVA Summary					
Source	Degrees of Freedom DF	Sum of Squares SS	Mean Square MS	F-Stat	P-Value
Between Groups	2	223.9075	111.9537	203.4037	0
Within Groups	124	68.2498	0.5504		
Total:	126	292.1573			



Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer

Pair	Difference	SE	Q	Lower CI	Upper CI	Critical Mean	p-value
x1-x2	2.625	0.09427	27.8457	2.3087	2.9413	0.3163	7.245e-11
x1-x3	3.25	0.3104	10.4719	2.2088	4.2912	1.0412	1.251e-10
x2-x3	0.625	0.3099	2.0168	-0.4146	1.6646	1.0396	0.3307

Group	x2	x3
x1	2.63	3.25
x2	0	0.63

Interpretation - One Way ANOVA test, using F distribution df(2,124) (right tailed)

1. H0 hypothesis - Since p-value<α, H0 is rejected. Some of the groups' averages consider to be not equal. In other words, the difference between the sample averages of some groups is big enough to be statistically significant.

2. P-value - p-value equals 0, [p(x ≤ F) = 1]. It means that the chance of type1 error (rejecting a correct H0) is small: 0 (0%).

3. The test statistic F equals 203.403, which is not in the 95% region of acceptance: [0 : 3.0693]

4. Effect size - The observed effect size f is large (1.81). That indicates that the magnitude of the difference between the averages is large. The η2 equals 0.77. It means that the group explains 76.6% of the variance from the average

5. Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer - The means of the following pairs are significantly different: x1-x2, x1-x3.

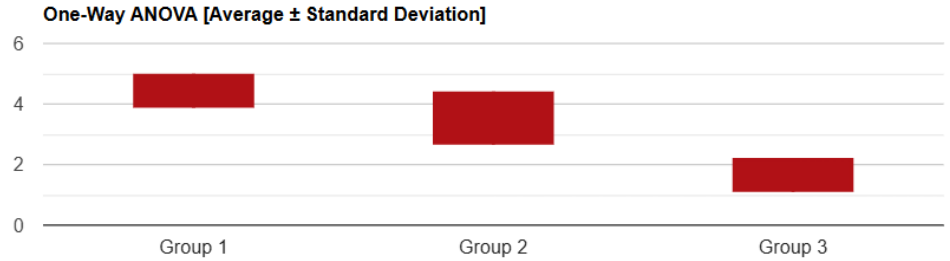
Gender and Local competition

F-statistic value = 35.60043

P-value = 0

Data Summary				
Groups	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error
Group 1	60	4.45	0.5945	0.0767
Group 2	64	3.5469	0.8896	0.1112
Group 3	3	1.6667	0.5774	0.3333

ANOVA Summary					
Source	Degrees of Freedom DF	Sum of Squares SS	Mean Square MS	F-Stat	P-Value
Between Groups	2	40.9845	20.4922	35.6004	0
Within Groups	124	71.3766	0.5756		
Total:	126	112.3611			



Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer

Pair	Difference	SE	Q	Lower CI	Upper CI	Critical Mean	p-value
x1-x2	0.9031	0.0964	9.3681	0.5797	1.2265	0.3234	2.925e-9
x1-x3	2.7833	0.3174	8.7696	1.7186	3.8481	1.0648	2.299e-8
x2-x3	1.8802	0.3169	5.9329	0.817	2.9434	1.0632	0.0001516

Group	x2	x3
x1	0.9	2.78
x2	0	1.88

Interpretation - One Way ANOVA test, using F distribution df(2,124) (right tailed)

1. H0 hypothesis- Since p-value<α, H0 is rejected. Some of the groups' averages consider to be not equal. In other words, the difference between the sample averages of some groups is big enough to be statistically significant.

2. P-value - p-value equals 6.05072e-13, [p(x ≤ F) = 1]. It means that the chance of type1 error (rejecting a correct H0) is small: 6.051e-13 (6.1e-11%). The smaller the p-value the stronger it support H1

3. F equals 35.60, which is not in the 95% region of acceptance: [0 : 3.0693]

4. Effect size - The observed effect size f is large (0.76). That indicates that the magnitude of the difference between the averages is large. The η2 equals 0.36. It means that the group explains 36.5% of the variance from the average

5. Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer - The means of the following pairs are significantly different: x1-x2, x1-x3, x2-x3.

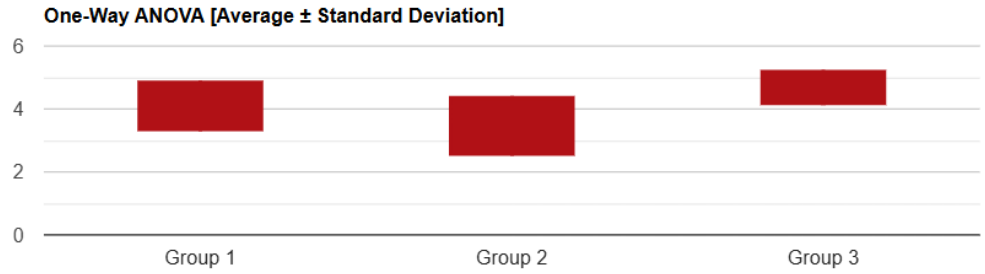
Gender and Lack of Opportunity in city periphery

F-statistic value = 9.83106

P-value = 0.00011

Data Summary				
Groups	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error
Group 1	60	4.1167	0.8253	0.1065
Group 2	64	3.4531	0.9748	0.1218
Group 3	3	4.6667	0.5774	0.3333

ANOVA Summary					
Source	Degrees of Freedom DF	Sum of Squares SS	Mean Square MS	F-Stat	P-Value
Between Groups	2	15.9703	7.9852	9.8311	0.0001
Within Groups	124	100.7177	0.8122		
Total:	126	116.688			



Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer

Pair	Difference	SE	Q	Lower CI	Upper CI	Critical Mean	p-value
x1-x2	0.6635	0.1145	5.7945	0.2794	1.0477	0.3842	0.0002201
x1-x3	0.55	0.377	1.4589	-0.7148	1.8148	1.2648	0.5584
x2-x3	1.2135	0.3764	3.2237	-0.04933	2.4764	1.2629	0.06246

Group	x2	x3
x1	0.66	0.55
x2	0	1.21

Interpretation - One Way ANOVA test, using F distribution df(2,124) (right tailed)

1. H0 hypothesis - Since p-value<α, H0 is rejected. Some of the groups' averages consider to be not equal. In other words, the difference between the sample averages of some groups is big enough to be statistically significant.

2. P-value - p-value equals 0.000108945, [p(x ≤ F) = 0.999891]. It means that the chance of type1 error (rejecting a correct H0) is small: 0.0001089 (0.011%). The smaller the p-value the stronger it support H1

3. The test statistic F equals 9.83, which is not in the 95% region of acceptance: [0 : 3.0693]

4. Effect size - The observed effect size f is large (0.4). That indicates that the magnitude of the difference between the averages is large. The η2 equals 0.14. It means that the group explains 13.7% of the variance from the average

5. Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer - The means of the following pair are significantly different: x1-x2.

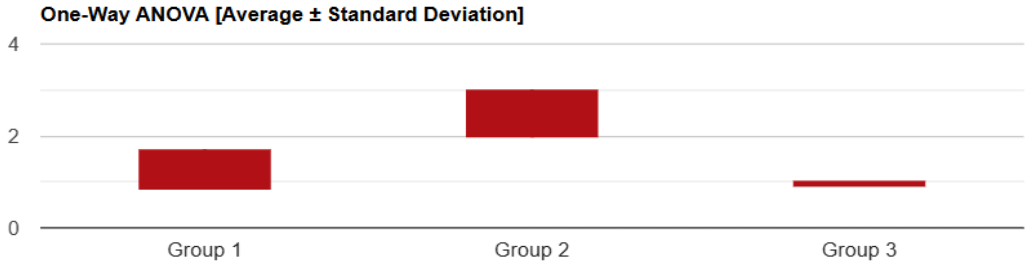
Gender and infrastructure constraints in resettlements

F-statistic value = 103.21607

P-value = 0

Data Summary				
Groups	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error
Group 1	60	1.2667	0.4459	0.0576
Group 2	64	2.5	0.5345	0.0668
Group 3	3	1	0	0

ANOVA Summary					
Source	Degrees of Freedom DF	Sum of Squares SS	Mean Square MS	F-Stat	P-Value
Between Groups	2	49.4926	24.7463	103.2161	0
Within Groups	124	29.7293	0.2398		
Total:	126	79.2218			



Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer

Pair	Difference	SE	Q	Lower CI	Upper CI	Critical Mean	p-value
x1-x2	1.2333	0.06222	19.8216	1.0246	1.4421	0.2087	7.245e-11
x1-x3	0.2667	0.2048	1.3018	-0.4205	0.9539	0.6872	0.6284
x2-x3	1.5	0.2045	7.3335	0.8138	2.1862	0.6862	0.000002536

Group	x2	x3
x1	1.23	0.27
x2	0	1.5

Interpretation

One Way ANOVA test, using F distribution df(2,124) (right tailed)

1. H0 hypothesis - Since p-value<α, H0 is rejected. Some of the groups' averages consider to be not equal. In other words, the difference between the sample averages of some groups is big enough to be statistically significant.

2. P-value - p-value equals 0, [p(x ≤ F) = 1]. It means that the chance of type1 error (rejecting a correct H0) is small: 0 (0%) The smaller the p-value the stronger it support H1

3. The test statistic F equals 103.21, which is not in the 95% region of acceptance: [0 : 3.0693]

4. Effect size - The observed effect size f is large (1.29). That indicates that the magnitude of the difference between the averages is large. The η2 equals 0.62. It means that the group explains 62.5% of the variance from the average

5. Tukey HSD / Tukey Kramer -The means of the following pairs are significantly different: x1-x2, x2-x3.

SCHEMES

Resettlement of urban poor is undertaken by the Tamil Nadu Urban Habitat Development Board, including in situ rehabilitation in unobjectionable poramboke and relocation into newly constructed tenements, developed as integrated townships, from objectionable poramboke. Skilling programs through TN Skill Development Corporation and Tamil Nadu Urban Livelihood Mission is undertaken. Reconstruction of dilapidated tenements is also undertaken by TNUHDB for older tenements. Under Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, Affordable Housing in Partnership (AHP) scheme is used for in situ construction of tenements in slums, with 1.5 lakh by Government of India and 7 lakhs by Government of Tamil Nadu given as grant to each beneficiary. Under Beneficiary Led Construction (BLC), grant of 2.1 lakh is given to the beneficiary for construction of houses by the Government. Maintenance of tenements is also undertaken by TNUHDB through schemes such as Nam Kudiyiruppu Nam Poruppu. Affordable Rental Housing Complexes for migrant workers is another scheme envisaged by the board, to provide tenements for rental accommodation of migrant laborers. World Bank and Asian Development Bank are also providing financial assistance for construction of affordable housing for urban poor. Higher education scholarship of 30,000 per head is given to poor students living in the tenements by TNUHDB. Sports training and various coaching and training classes to augment school studies plus awareness campaigns are conducted in each tenement.

FINDINGS

1. Resettling often involves shifting people from their original dwellings in city center to the periphery.
2. Going to original workplace becomes difficult due to distance, and this causes some residents to leave their job or reduce their expendable income due to added costs of commutation. This affects women and transgenders more, especially as many women were domestic workers.
3. Loss of social network and references and connections makes it difficult for the relocated urban poor to find new work. This affects women and transgenders much more than men.
4. Competition from the local workforce negatively impacts the ability of relocated poor to find work. This affects both genders equally and significantly.
5. Shifting to the periphery of the city results in reduced economic avenues and markets. This lack of opportunity is perceived as more impactful by men and transgenders.
6. Provision of shops and other infrastructure within the tenement is seen as a lower impact factor, with women being more affected by lack of such provisions.
7. The community engages in the various skilling and training programs provided by the Government but strongly wishes for placement support post training.
8. There is limited community participation in the initial stages of resettlement and as such, there is a lamentable lack of sense of ownership of the public property and hygiene. Better engagement and awareness are required to ensure that the community feels a sense of belonging in their new environment.
9. The tenement as a whole is not unified as one identity, and the identity is still fractured to blocks, and cooperation and meaningful engagement with the association is lacking. In order to build new networks, stronger community feeling needs to be developed.
10. NGO presence is noted in the areas of skilling, training, awareness creation and to a limited extent for employment generation.

SUGGESTIONS

Resettlement efforts must be a multidimensional process that goes beyond just matching beneficiary to tenement. In order to reduce the impact of distance from their previous workplace and habitat, public transport networks must be extended and made easily available from the vicinity of the tenements to the heart of the city. The vulnerability of the relocated poor as they are in a new environment must be understood fully, and formal placement assistance must be given to domestic workers and others in lieu of their lost social connections which used to help them find work. In order to assimilate to the new environment fully and compete with the established workforce, conscious drives must be made through NGOs or government departments in each settlement. The settlements are currently developed as integrated townships, and other departments must be roped in and schemes dovetailed to revitalized the suburban economic scene for employment generation. Where feasible, stalls and shops can be provided within the settlements. Resident associations within the settlement must be strengthened to rebuild social capital, and the specific needs of women and transgenders must be kept in mind while designing livelihood generation programs.

CONCLUSION

Resettlement of urban poor, when it involves relocation especially from city center to the periphery, brings with it economic losses including loss of livelihood. This may be due to various factors, including distance from previous workplace, loss of informal placement setup through social connections, competition from established existing workforce in the new area, lack of economic avenues in the suburbs and even infrastructural constraints. These factors affect the genders differently, with women and transgenders feeling the loss of social network and distance to previous workplace more keenly. The policies for resettlement must be holistic and continuous engagement with the resettled residents is essential to ensure that their added vulnerability due to livelihood loss is quickly addressed. This can be done through efficient formal placement systems, increased public transport networks, infrastructural development in and around the tenements, fostering of new social networks within the settlement, conscious engagement with the larger populace and community surrounding the tenements, etc. Thus, resettlement must be a long term and holistic endeavor that goes beyond beautification of the city and meaningfully redresses the vulnerabilities of the relocated poor.

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