

**Urban Development Induced
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URBAN DEVELOPMENT INDUCED REHABILITATION OF SLUMS IN BENGALURU: TRACING GENDER SENSITIVITY AND AGENCY

KC Smitha* and Barun Dev Pal**

Abstract

The study explores the impact of development-induced resettlement policy implemented by the Bengaluru Metro Rail Corporation Limited (BMRCL) metro project evicting two slums and eventually displacing them in the city of Bengaluru. The main objective of the study is to assess the impact of relocation on slum dwellers, particularly women. Some of the key parameters examined include socio-economic conditions, livelihood status, and employment and socio-economic mobility. The key focus of the study area includes two slums, namely Basaveshwaranagar and Jai Bheema Nagar, which were affected by the implementation of the BMRCL project (Phase I) in the city. The study applies the "before and after" framework to capture their socio-economic conditions, livelihood status, and mobility issues. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to collect the data. Findings from the study clearly show that spatial relocation to new areas has seriously affected women's occupational and economic mobility, particularly among those who are uneducated and elderly. As a result, women's contribution to the family's income has drastically reduced, thereby exacerbating the spatial reproduction of urban poverty. Hence, one can state that spatial relocation reinforces the economic and social marginalisation of urban poor and in particular women by curtailing their socio-economic mobility. Moreover, any changes in the relocation caused by developmental activities, such as the metro-rail project (infrastructure), perpetuate spatial inequality. An inescapable truth is that the gender dimension in governance, urban development, and planning stands virtually ignored. Embedding a gender perspective into urban governance is imperative for creating an inclusive city.

Keywords: Women, city, urban poverty, gender, slums, rehabilitation, Bengaluru

Introduction

The city of Bengaluru¹, is spread across an area of 1306 km² (Bengaluru Metropolitan Region) referred to as the "Silicon Valley of India," a million-plus city, is one of the fastest-growing cities in India. Since 1949, "the city has grown spatially by more than ten times" (Sudhira 2008: 119) and is the fifth-largest urban agglomeration² in the country (Narayana 2008: 5). The Bengaluru Metropolitan Region (BMR) covers an area of 8005 km² and the BMR is constituted by three districts namely Bengaluru Urban, Bengaluru Rural and Ramanagaram (BMRDA 2016).

The city's development paradigm is influenced by the spatial transformation it has undergone over the years. The city's urban agglomeration is spread over an area of about 151 km² (between the North and South taluks of Bengaluru), with an average population density of 16,399 individuals per

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¹ The Greater Bangalore, which includes the metropolis, neighbouring municipal councils, and outgrowths, was "notified" or established, in December 2006 by the Government of Karnataka (Sudhira 2008).

² Urban agglomeration refers to the area formally administered by Bengaluru City Corporation (BCC) and eight neighbouring councils (Sudhira 2008).

square kilometre (see figure 1). In 2019, registering a population of over 13 million recognised as a key engine driving the country's economic growth. As per the Census data, the present estimated Bengaluru population is 11.9 million, while the Bengaluru metro population alone is estimated at more than 12 million³ (BMRDA 2016). Such developments witnessed a growth of 49.4% in population, thus playing the role of a primate city. Based on the Bengaluru Metro Rail Corporation Limited (BMRCL) report, population projections for BMA range from 11.8 million to 24.7 million for 2031(BMRCL 2019).

The city registers an economic growth rate of 8.50% and is a destination for world-class infrastructure like housing, education & research, and transportation. Accounting for 98% of the software exports, the economy of Bengaluru registered a contribution of over 36% to the economy of the State of Karnataka. According to the 2001 Census, the city has become a hub of migrants⁴, numbered two million⁵ (Sudhira 2008: 124). As per the unofficial figures, almost half of Bengaluru's population (44.3 lakh) – a whopping 50% of the city's total population constitutes migrants (Times of India 2019)⁶. The city of Bengaluru, contributes an estimated GDP of \$83 billion to the overall estimated GSDP of \$230 billion from the state of Karnataka. From about 40% of India's IT revenue (\$167 billion) share, Bengaluru alone contributes IT revenue of about \$67 billion (BMRCL 2019). Peenya, Whitefield, Electronic City, and parts of Bommasandra and Jigani are identified as major industrial locations in the city. While local workers, particularly migrants, are pushed out of the old industrial areas like Rajajinagar, Indiranagar and Koramangala, which slowly converted into residential/commercial industries.

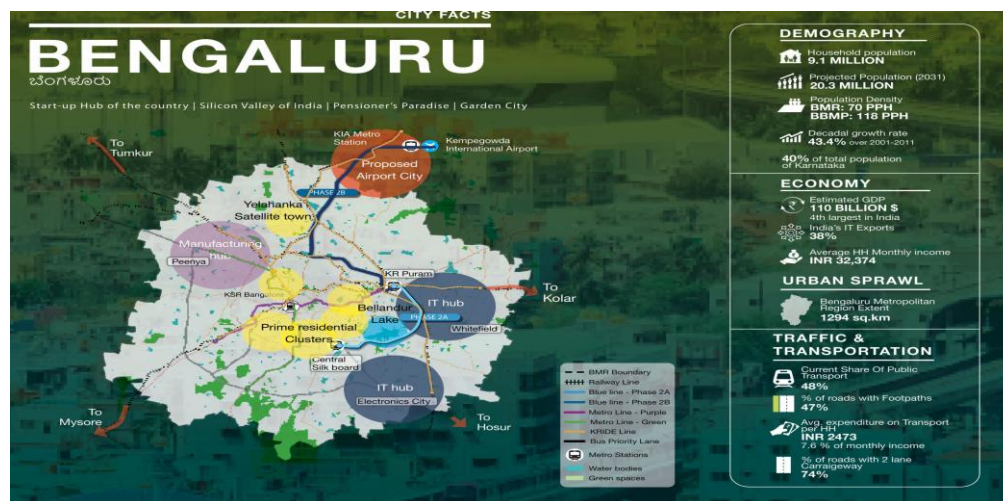
³ Details from Census data website (<https://www.census2011.co.in/census/city/448-bangalore.html#:~:text=Although%20Bangalore%20city%20has%20population,urban%20%2F%20metropolitan%20population%20is%20%2C520%2C435>).

⁴ Bengaluru city has the third highest number of migrants, comprising 6.2% of the total population for 2001 (Narayana 2008: 7).

⁵ Census 2011 has not yet released D series migration data. Bengaluru is home for 16% of state's population. In 2011, there were 4,378 people per square kilometre, up from 2,985, 10 years before, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/Bengaluru-population/>.

⁶ Times of India (2019). Bengaluru's migrant's cross 50% of the city's population. 4 August 2024. Accessed from: (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/bengalurus-migrants-cross-50-of-the-citys-population/articleshow/70518536.cms>).

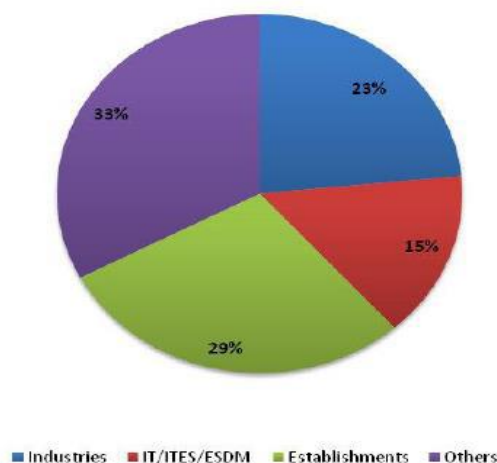
Figure 1: Facts of Bengaluru City



Source: ADB (2023)

For the year 2016-17, Bengaluru with its strong economic base, has contributed about 36% to Karnataka's GSDP. Due to a high concentration of major industries and related infrastructure facilities, Bengaluru has contributed much to the GSDP of secondary and tertiary sectors. For better employment and livelihood opportunities, the influx of migrant population to the city has increased from 6,24,215 in 1971 to 40,27,633 in 2011, wherein 47.7% of the city's population are in-migrants. All the decades except 1981-1991, indicate a high growth of migrants (BMRCCL 2019). Figure 2 presents the distribution of major employment sectors in Bengaluru Urban District.

Figure 2: Distribution of Major Employment Sectors in Bengaluru Urban District



Source: BMRCCL (2019)

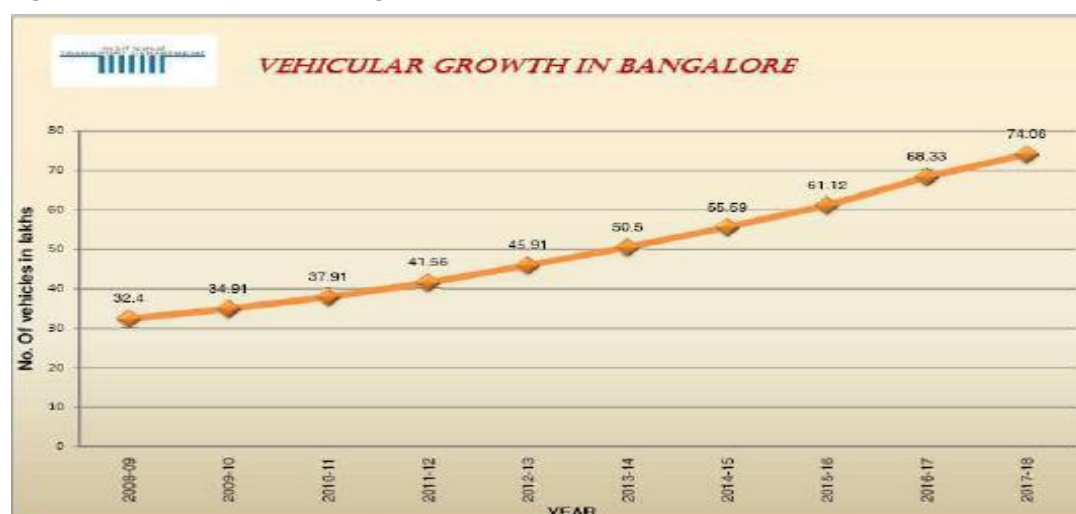
The urban poor in Bengaluru approximately account for 20% of the city's residents (Schenk 2001); however, some experts peg the figure between 35% and 45%. Recent studies reveal that, nearly one million poor live in the slums of Bengaluru and one-third of the slum dwellers fall below the poverty line (with monthly income of less than Rs. 2500) (Roy Chowdhary n.d.). A considerable number

of the poor live in the slums, scattered all over the city. The majority of the slum dwellers are employed in the unorganised or informal sector like migrants and construction coolies, resulting in illegal encroachments and slums. The term “world-class city/global city” signifies that the city must provide facilities of international standards, particularly concerning infrastructure, be it roads, airports, public transport, or open spaces.

The IT industry was initially concentrated in the south of Bengaluru -Electronic City area and the east - Whitefield area. With these areas getting saturated, the new stretch of Outer Ring Road (ORR) - between Central Silk Board and KR Puram - referred to as “economic growth corridor” has been a major attraction for the IT and BT industries (see figure 1). However, the tremendous growth of the IT sector along the growth corridor has led to a transportation bottleneck. To address the demand for improved transportation, an extension of the already sanctioned Phase 2 of the BMRCL metro-line, which is named as ORR (Phase 2A), along the route from Central Silk Board (CSB) to KR Puram -the ORR has been planned (BMRCL 2019).

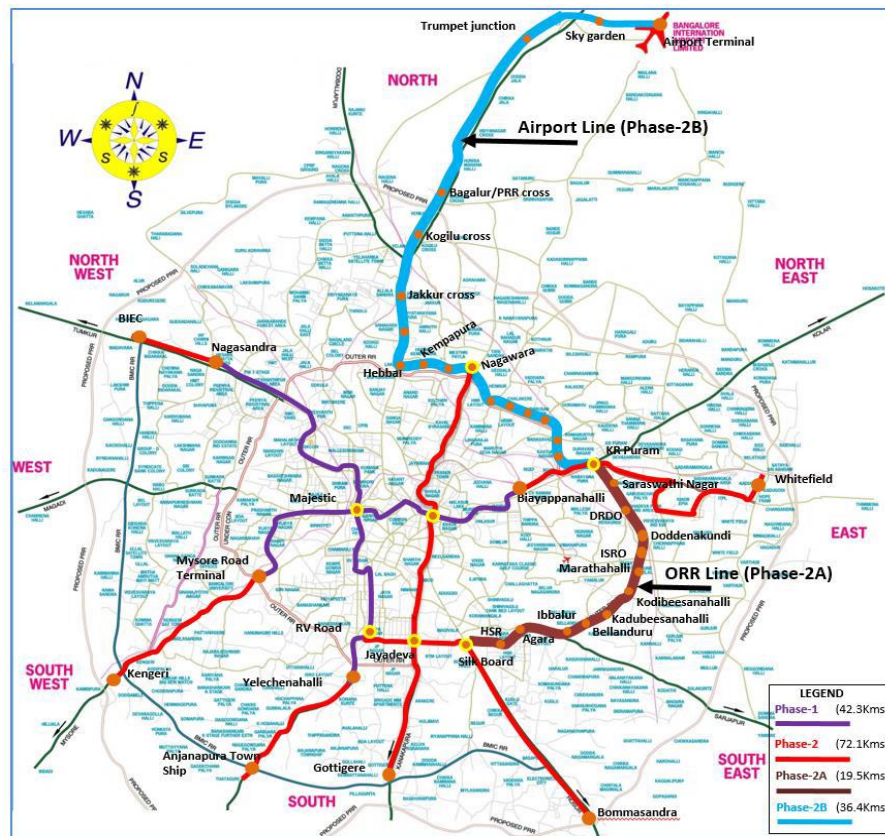
The city witnessed a phenomenal growth in vehicular population, leading to congestion and overload in many of its arterial roads and intersections. Over the past three decades, the vehicular population has grown at an average rate of 25% per annum. By 2003, the vehicles in the city numbered more than 2.5 million, 75% of which were two-wheelers and 5% were three-wheelers (BMRCL 2006). By 2016, the total number of vehicles crossed the 60-lakh mark, and each year roughly five lakh vehicles, are being added to the city’s roads (Deepika 2016). By 2018, a total registered vehicular count of approximately 74 lakh vehicles plied in the Bengaluru Metropolitan Region (BMR), with two-wheelers constituting the highest percentage of vehicular composition. Between 2008 and 2018, the city registered a continuous increase in vehicles from 32.4 lakhs to 74.06 lakhs (see figure 3). To meet the growing demand for efficient transport services and to ease traffic congestion, the Government of Karnataka constituted the Bengaluru Mass Rapid Transit Limited in 1994. Figure 4 illustrates a comprehensive network of the metro-rail that was implemented in Bengaluru.

Figure 3: Vehicular Growth in Bengaluru



Source: BMRCL (2019)

Figure 4: Comprehensive Metro Rail Network in Bengaluru



Source: BMRCL (2019)

The paper, therefore, explores gender and urbanisation on the one hand and gender and rehabilitation on the other to examine how gender insensitivity permeates into the 'rehabilitation package' that is mediated through the urban planning process via policies and programmes. In addition, the study illustrates how development-induced spatial restructuring (both physical and demographic factors) of the city produces and reproduces urban poverty drastically, influencing the livelihood and mobility of the resettled communities, particularly the women. The paper has been organised into sections, i.e., section I presents reviews of available literature on governance issues and the impact of resettlement in India in general and urban women and resettlement. Section II presents an analytical framework for examining linkages between gender and urbanisation and resettlement in particular. This is followed by the objectives of the study, and a brief methodology is presented. Section III highlights the socio-economic profile of the households like geographical origin, language, religion, caste, gender, and education. Section IV presents occupation and employment profile by gender, age, and education, followed by income by gender. Section V captures access to basic amenities (water, sanitation, and transportation) and explores the limitations caused by employment mobility (distance and travel) as well as the implications for income opportunities. Finally, Section VI profiles the factors affecting livelihood, employment and income mobility of women after rehabilitation.

Section I

Review of Literature

Studies mostly focused on the impact of resettlement and governance issues (Hellqvist and Bratel, 2011; Masta, Naik and Mukherjee, 2013), with least attention on the impact of rehabilitation on urban women. Some of the theoretical literature on women's agency has been explored here in relation to the impact of rehabilitation on women.

Governance Issues and Impact of Resettlement

Hellqvist and Bratel (2011) capture the importance of slum rehabilitation in the city of Bengaluru. While these slum dwellers were evicted from their homes for various reasons, they are undercompensated. The findings clearly reveal that problems, such as unemployment, poor outdoor and indoor environmental conditions, poor maintenance and high crime rates, are mostly faced by the rehabilitated households.

Similarly, Masta *et al* (2013) reveal that the advantages of improved housing and land tenure following rehabilitation exceeded the difficult problems they encountered, such as rising commuting costs, dearth of work options, and restricted access to emergency and medical services. Therefore, social welfare issues have been severely compromised after relocation, increasing the vulnerability of the resettled community.

The World Bank guidelines (OP 4.12) 2001 examined the displacements from a gender lens, which proposed four prolonged gender-sensitive strategies, i.e., (i) analytical work and lending instruments based on gender dimension, (ii) gender issues into operation, (iii) gender-sensitive strategies into resource and accountabilities and (4) gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation. Such guidelines and strategies were never practised by the WB (Report 2002). A study by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2003) categorically states that "lack of landownership and property rights denies women equal access to compensation". Traditionally, women have no legal rights to land and property, even though they enjoy 'usufructuary'⁷ rights or have been dependent on them. Such rights deny women compensation and other benefits that may be available.

Urban Women and Resettlement in India

At the governance level, in general, India lacks neither rehabilitation policy nor law. Similarly, as far as R&R regimes in India are concerned, they lack gender justice on displacement impact on women (IDS & Action 2002). In most urban cases such as development-induced resettlement and rehabilitation, packages known as 'Resettlement and Rehabilitation' (R&R) are implemented as a part of the 'Land Acquisition Act' (2007 or 2013)⁶ (Shaw and Saharan 2018), which is used for paying compensation in cash or physical relocation of affected communities or families entitling land with constructed houses.

Typically, the 'rehabilitation programme/packages' emphasise on 'displaced households' headed by men rather than 'displaced individuals,' ignoring the gendered perspective, i.e., 'gender-

⁷ Usufruct is a limited real right found in civil law and mixed jurisdictions that unites the two property interests of *usus* and *fructus*: *Usus* is the right to use or enjoy a thing possessed, directly and without altering it.

blindness permeates policy guidelines for resettlement where settlers are unproblematically assumed to be male' (Thukral, 1998; Pervez, 2008), reinforcing the existing gender discrimination on ownership and property. Though some states like Madhya Pradesh (1985), Karnataka (1987) and Maharashtra (1989) have enacted their respective rehabilitation laws, these laws are applicable to displaced families of state-led water projects. However, women are conspicuously absent from any forms of representation in the national policies addressing rehabilitation and resettlement of slum dwellers. (Meanwhile, the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 has been reconstituted during 1993 and 1994, respectively, and subsequently merged with the Land Acquisition Act, 2013 (Mishra 2009; Shaw and Saharan 2018).

Acknowledging gender insensitivity in the present state institutions, structures and policies with respect to resettlement and rehabilitation, Parmar (2009), while examining the role of women in the rehabilitation programme at Jaipur, Rajasthan, clearly points out that women are passive recipients and often excluded from 'urban redevelopment and planning programmes'. As a result, the gender perspective of urban planning and development is the most ignored. Similarly, Dhagamwar (Report 2002) argues that the role of women in decision-making, employment opportunities and specific spatial problems faced due to displacement is unexplored. Women remain 'subsumed' within the family and eventually ignored in the resettlement process. While examining the role of women in displacement in the urban context, Amita Baviskar's (Report, 2002) study on New Delhi slums reveals that 3-4 million slum people are displaced, which is propelled by bourgeoisie environmentalism. In the process, women bear the brunt of emotional stress that arises from economic hardships.

Infact, women are grouped as 'vulnerable community' by the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill, 2007, which eventually fails to address the issue of gender equity and empowerment of women (Byrne and Baden 1995 in Pervez 2008: 59). The most recent bill 'The Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2013', has clearly missed the women component at every level of the decision-making process, i.e., planning, execution, monitoring and evaluation. Thus, the bill has clearly ignored the gender analysis on how to determine access and control over the resources, site selection, location, suitability of physical area, identify potential direct and indirect benefits of the bill. Most importantly, the bill reveals gender bias by reinforcing the existing situation of lack of ownership of land and property.

While exploring the process of production and reproduction of urban poverty due to urban resettlement, Coelho *et al.* (2012) reveal that unskilled women were severely impacted by relocation. The women had access to work but were mostly unskilled and under-educated, resulting in limited occupational and economic mobility. Some of the factors such as location, travel distance and time have tremendous impact on occupational mobility, and therefore, men seem to have withstood the stress of location shift as compared to women. Majority of the women were casual workers; the movement of women in and out of the job market was partly influenced by the uncertain jobs in the factory. Therefore, due to forced resettlement, women become victims of the fluctuating employment, and thereby 'perpetuating the vicious cycle of 'working poverty'.

Women's Agency and Development

Many studies have captured the essence of women's agency from differing perspectives (Kabeer (1999); Sen (1999); Rowlands 1995; Oxaal and Baden 1997; Narayan 2002 Malhotra, Schuler, and Boender (2002); Ibrahim, Solava, and Sabina Alkire (2007). Sen (1999) considers development as 'a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy' – such as access to social economic arrangements (education & health), political and civil rights (liberty to participate in decision-making and discussion). In other words, the 'constitutive' part of development can be achieved through the agency of people. Few studies have conceptualized 'agency' as one of the key indicators of women's empowerment, i.e., women have to be recognised as key agents of change in the process rather than as mere recipients (Malhotra, Schuler, and Boender 2002). In the development discourse, agency has been recognised as a measure of 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down' approach (Oxaal and Baden 1997; Rowlands 1995; Narayan 2002). From the institutional perspective, agency emphasises the importance of participation and 'social inclusion' (Friedmann 1992 in Malhotra, Schuler, and Boender 2002). Besides, both access to resources (basic amenities) and agency are critical inputs to foster the empowerment process (Malhotra, Schuler, and Boender 2002). For the study, some of the key indicators of women's agency considered are: education, skill, employment, income, access to health and travel and distance.

Objectives & Rationale for the Study

The main objective of the study is to assess and examine the impact of the two relocated slums, namely Basaveswaranagar and Jai Bheemanagar affected by the BMRCL metro project on women in terms of their socio-economic conditions, livelihood status and mobility (employment and income mobility, and thereby improved standards of living) in the city of Bengaluru. The study captures the difference in terms of 'before and after relocation' framework by exploring their socio-economic characteristics, livelihood status and mobility factors.

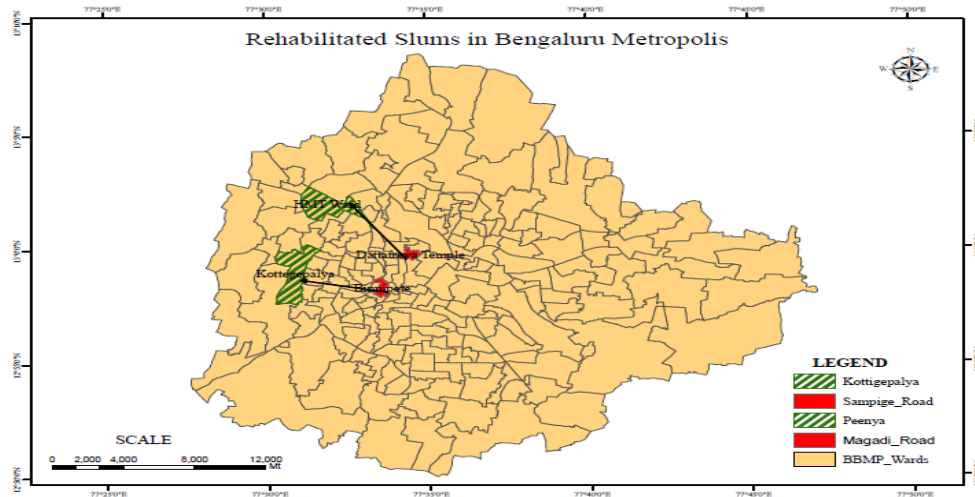
Methodology

The methodology comprises both quantitative data through structured questionnaires, and qualitative ethnographic data. Semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted with representatives of the BMRCL metro project and local community leaders. The study focused on two slums namely, (i) Basaveswara and (ii) Jai Bheemanagar, affected by BMRCL's rehabilitation package (see figure 5). Both the slums were relocated to different geographical locations, i.e., while Jai Bheemanagar was relocated from Sampige Road, Malleswaram to Peenya II Stage in 2010, Basaveswara slum was relocated from City-Railway station-Magadi Road to Srigandadakavalu, Magadi Road, in 2009.

A field study was conducted from May to June 2014 for two months. Initially, our target sample included 'eligible households', comprising 80 HHs from Peenya II stage and 178 households from Srigandadakavalu, Magadi Road. However, we could interview only 50 households at Peenya and 52 households at Srigandadakavalu, Magadi Road during the primary survey. A total of 102 relocated households were interviewed. The interviews were restricted to only those households with proper 'eligibility proof' such as those who have occupied the dwelling and possess the ownership/registered

document. We were able to analyse the impact of the resettlement on a particular group of individuals, such as women, with reliability by comparing the two groups of relocated homes. Additionally, a qualitative discussion was held to comprehend the project's origins, overall profile, and effects of relocation.

Figure 5: Rehabilitated Slums in Bengaluru Metropolis



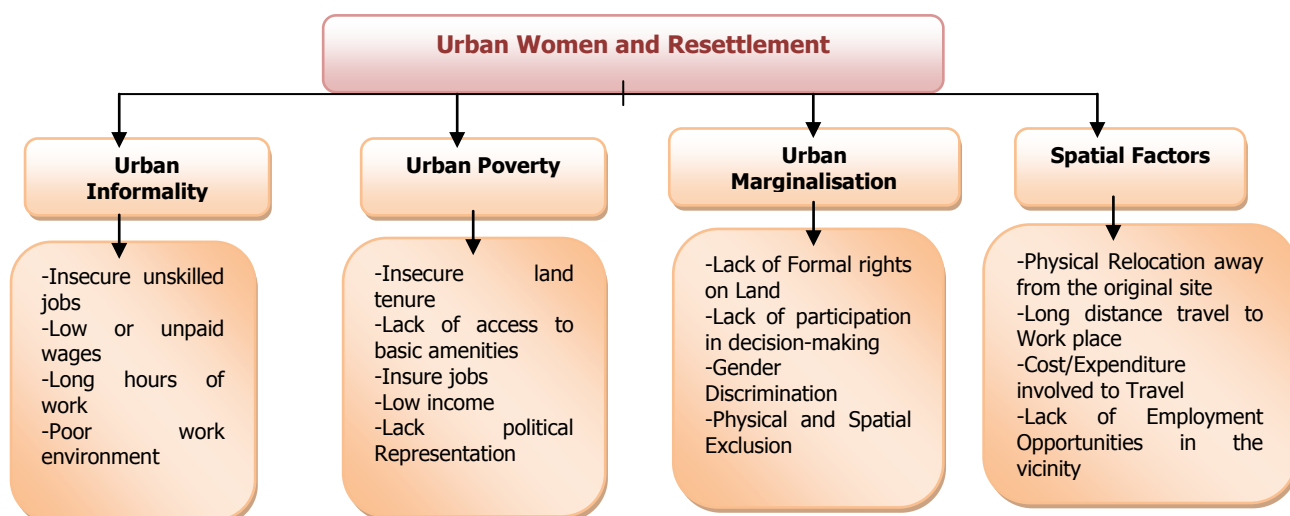
Source: Author

Section II

Analytical Framework

In developing countries, urban governance and development has been strongly influenced by neo-liberalising the 'urban' realm, which is predominantly defined in terms of physical and spatial expansion, inextricably linked with issues like transport, housing, land and huge infrastructure building (Banerjee-Guha, 2009). Living conditions of women intersecting 'urban', therefore, address the form and structure of the city, affecting day-to-day 'processes', which unfold livelihood and mobility issues. Obviously, the process of urban planning and development does not occur in isolation but is inextricably linked with the institutional shifts and changes that influence livelihood and mobility. As far as urban planning and development is concerned, most often, urban women's priorities have been consistently ignored while selecting a location for resettlement and in the provision of basic amenities (Beall, 1995).

Figure 6: Framework for assessing Urban Women and Resettlement



Source: Author

Themes Examining: Urban Informality, Urban Poverty and Spatial Factors impacting the Urban Poor and Women

Studies on women in 'urban' are related to the issues of informality, urban poverty and marginalization (see figure 6). These issues have direct or indirect bearing from rapid urbanization process in India, which has further accentuated the complexities associated particularly with the urban resettlement and rehabilitation. Urban women are likely to engage in various informal jobs or the unorganized sector, particularly those undereducated or uneducated. Especially in the service and manufacturing sector, women are employed in a large scale, which corresponds to the implementation of SAP since the 1980s, i.e., in India, there is a great deal of research on the consequences of the gendered character of "adjustment processes" and their detrimental effects on women (Moser and Peake, 1994). Following neo-liberalisation, extensive research has been done on the presence of women in the informal sector³ and income-generating activities, particularly in urban India (Roychowdhury, 2003, 2005; ADB 2003; Chen, Vanek and Heintz, 2006), stressing the obstacles that women face, such as unfavourable work environments, unstable employment, and low pay. These conditions are argued to be based on the structural changes of the city, i.e., a phenomenon of global industrial production processes concomitantly restructuring women's work.

Earlier study by NIUA (1991) reveals the women were employed in the unorganized sector, with the greatest concentration in trade and production, piece-work in garments and casual wage workers in construction industries (50% as against census 8%). By 2010, 48% women workers were self-employed, earning very low wages in India (Ghosh, 2010). Studies on informality and women, particularly as piece rate workers in the 'garment industry' in Calcutta⁴ and Bengaluru⁵ (Banerjee, 1985; Roychowdhury, 2003, 2005) reveal that women work without social protection and with meagre income, resulting in 'casualisation of labour' or 'feminisation of labour'. In fact, informalisation of labour (see figure 6) is connected with the interrelated processes of urbanisation such as internationalisation of production and trade, privatisation of basic services, withdrawal of public welfare services, increase in

the cost of living, rising levels of education, particularly among the second and third generation of women, which has severely impacted the uneducated and unskilled women (Kabeer, 2007 in Tacoli, 2012).

In a similar vein, the concept of urban poverty has been reframed to take into account the unique dimensions of gender and income (Rakodi, 2002; Chant, 2011), which are frequently linked to poor living conditions and limited access to necessities. Despite the fact that urban women provide vital services that significantly contribute to the "prosperity of the city, "there is a notable gender gap in labour and employment, tenure rights, access to and accumulation of assets, personal security and safety, and representation in the formal structure of urban governance in developing countries"(Beall, 1996; ADB 2003; UNHSP, 2013). Those households from low-income with meagre wages from unskilled and semi-skilled jobs from the informal sector in urban areas are trapped in poverty (Horn, 2011). Particularly during the post-1990s, there is concern about the emergence of 'feminisation of poverty' (as shown in figure 6) based on the arguments that incidents of poverty among women is considerably growing, particularly in urban areas. Those households headed by women are considered to be disproportionately poorer than men (Beall, 1996; Tacoli, 2012). Arguing further, livelihood of women in households with poor or inadequate provision of basic services and lack of favourable environmental conditions is disproportionately affected (Chant, 2011; Tacoli, 2012).

Studies on women and urban marginality (see figure 6) in India meanwhile argue that new forms of urban poverty in the global south are inextricably linked to the massive spatial transformation and urban informalisation (Hossain, n.d). The process of urban marginality, is therefore, linked with structural marginality associated not only with 'political, economic and social' factors on one side but also with 'physical and spatial' exclusion on the other.

Section III

Key Findings

Socio-Economic Profile:

This section presents an analysis of the socioeconomic profile of the two slums that were relocated and rehabilitated. Due to the limited size of our sample, conventional techniques are employed to extrapolate findings to comprehend the basic socio-economic attributes of the households in both slums.

Distribution of Households by their Geographical Origin

The majority of households in both slums—72% from Magadi Road and 65% from Peenya II Stage—share a common geographical origin with Karnataka, according to chart 1. Two factors could be at play here: (i) these two slums are old settlements that date back 30 to 40 years, meaning that the original migrants are no longer alive; and (ii) two generations of family members were born in Bengaluru city, but their ancestors can be traced back to our neighbouring states like Tamil Nadu or Andhra Pradesh. However, Tamil Nadu is the origin of more than 32% (PeenyaII stage) and 22% (Magadi Road).respectively, of these households.

The mother tongue of the majority of households in both slums is Tamil , accounting for 54% in Magadi Road and over 90% in Peenya II Stage. The data indicates that Hindus make up the majority of households in both the slums. In other words, Hindus make up more over 90% of the households in both slums.

Distribution of Households by Caste

The majority of households in both slums belong to Scheduled Caste (78% in Magadi Road and 90% in Peenya II stage). Following them, are the Scheduled Tribe with 6% in Magadi Road and about 4% in Peenya II Stage. Merely 8% (Magadi Road) and about 4%, respectively, are members of the backward castes. Similarly, in the two slums, 8% (Magadi Road) and about 2% (Peenya II stage) are classified as unreserved category.

Distribution of Respondents by Gender

From our pool of respondents, 46% are female and 36% are male, and they are from Magadi Road. Approximately, 54% at Peenya II stage were male, while 46% were female. In the overall slum population, 46% are women. However, employment status at the dwelling is not determined by this gender distribution of respondents. Since the majority of the household members—male and female—were employed and away from their homes, the survey was primarily carried out on the weekends and in the late evenings.

Distribution of Households by Age and Gender

The age group of 31–45 years (male 19% and female 18%) is followed by the age group of 19–30 years (male 34% and female 38%), which makes up the majority of household members (male and female). Employment status and population in each of these age groups are directly correlated, with the female population. It can be deduced that the majority of employed household members may fall in the 19–45 age range.

Distribution of Households by Education

One of the factors influencing the job prospects and income mobility is education, which helps to enhance households' living standards. Therefore, education is an enabling factor or catalyst for women's agency. In Srigandadakavalu, Magadi Road, the majority of female members are illiterate (almost 23%) compared to male members (only 11%). In the same way, somewhat fewer women than men (37% of men and almost 34% of women) have completed high school education. There are slightly more men (7.48%) than women (only 3.54%) among graduates. At least one woman among them holds a postgraduate degree. However, the percentage of women with diplomas is higher (almost 16%) as compared to male (only 10%).

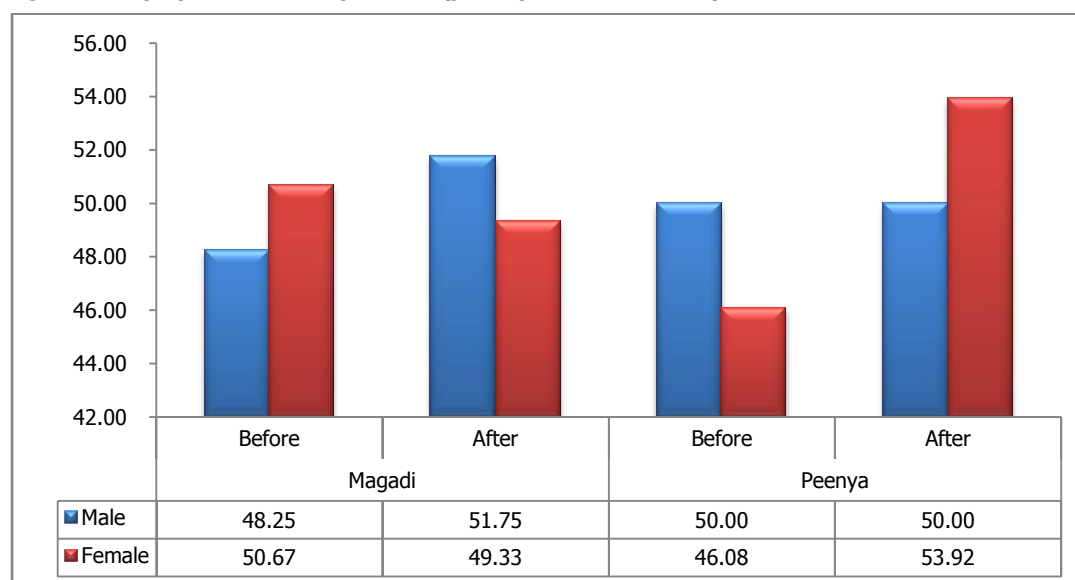
Similarly, it can be noted that in Peenya II stage, females who are illiterate (38%) are more compared to males (22%). The percentage of females who have completed primary, middle, and high school (10%, 8.5%, and 22%, respectively) is lower than the percentage of males (16%, 16%, and nearly 31%, respectively). However, women are more likely than men (11% and 5%, respectively) to

hold higher-level degrees such a diploma and graduate. This tendency is most noticeable among households with younger members, or the second generation, who are more likely to pursue higher education and are between the ages of 16 and 22 years. One of the encouraging trends is that females who have attained higher and vocational degrees have more opportunities for better employment and thereby higher income.

Section IV

Education and skill have differential impacts on women and men for securing better employment opportunities and climb the ladder of occupational and income mobility. Employment can be characterised as a manifestation of women's agency- and the benefits accrued as a result of income and expenditure. In this section, we present the status of employment, patterns of occupation, and by gender, age, and education. Figure 7 reveals that at Srigandadakavalu, Magadi Road, the percentage of females employed after resettlement reduced (from 51% to 49%) as against the percentage of employed males, which has increased slightly (from 48% to 52%) after resettlement. While at Peenya II stage, women employed after resettlement are more (54%) as compared to those employed during pre-settlement (46%). However, male employment remains unchanged (both 50%) and unaffected by resettlement. Such an increase in women's employment post-rehabilitation leads to greater control over resources (health, education, housing, transport, amenities, and so on), contributing to economic mobility and thereby women's agency.

Figure 7: Employment Status by Gender (pre-& post-resettlement)



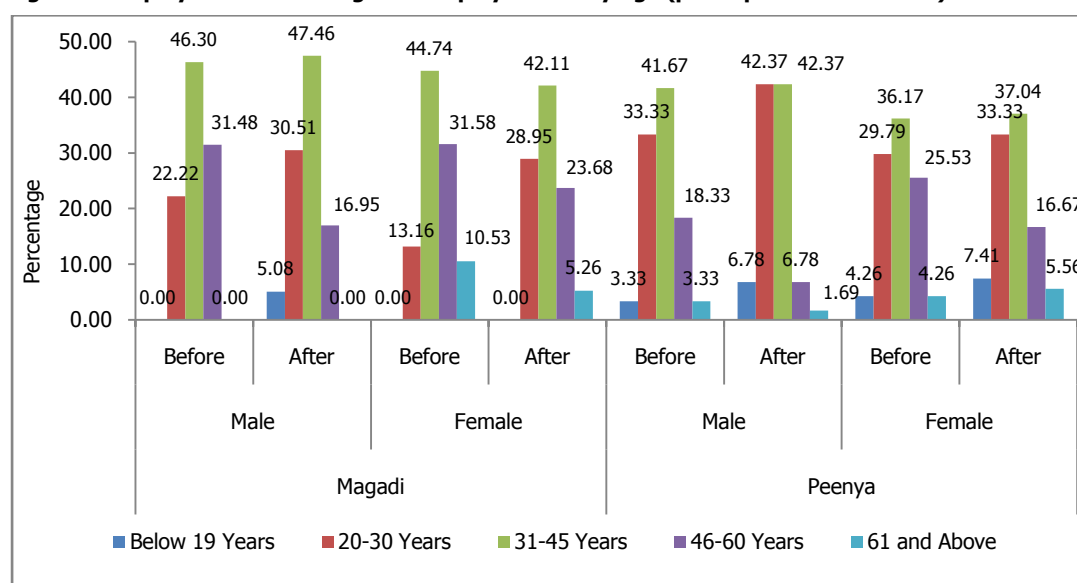
Source: Field Survey

Employment by Gender and Age

There is significant variation in the distribution of employed women and men by their age (from pre- to post-resettlement). Figure 8 clearly reveals that post-resettlement, at Magadi Road, majority of employed women (42%) belong to the younger age group of 31-45 years, which is followed by nearly

29% from the age group of 20-30 years. After resettlement, there has been significant increase in the employed women aged 20-30 years (from 13% to 29%). However, as the age progresses, percentage of women who are employed has drastically reduced from nearly 32% to a mere 24% in the age group of 46-60 years. A similar effect can be observed among those women aged 61 years and above (reduced from nearly 11% to 5%). At Peenya II stage, after relocation, there is slight increase in employed women aged between 20-30 years (nearly 30% to 33%) and 31-45 years (36% and 37%). However, there has been drastic reduction in the percentage of employed women belonging to the upper age group of 46-60 years (from nearly 26% to a mere 16%).

Figure 8: Employed Women as against Employed Men by Age (pre-& post-resettlement)

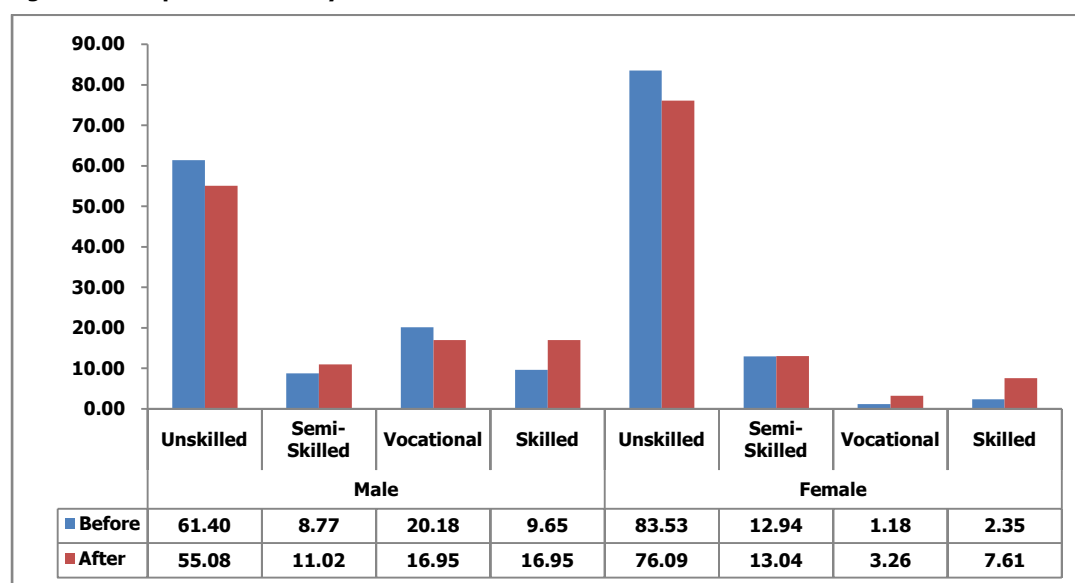


Source: Field Survey

Occupation Profile by Gender

Due to the resettlement process, changes in the demographic structure have a significant impact on how the urban employment profile evolves in terms of access to a variety of job options (the labour market). One of the key variables enabling women's agency is job profile as the essence of empowerment and inclusion. Additionally, there is a clear link between this process and household quality of life and economic mobility. To comprehend the differences in effects on gender, i.e., for both male and female and before and after rehabilitation, the occupation profile of the households is examined (see figure 9).

Figure 9: Occupation Profile by Gender



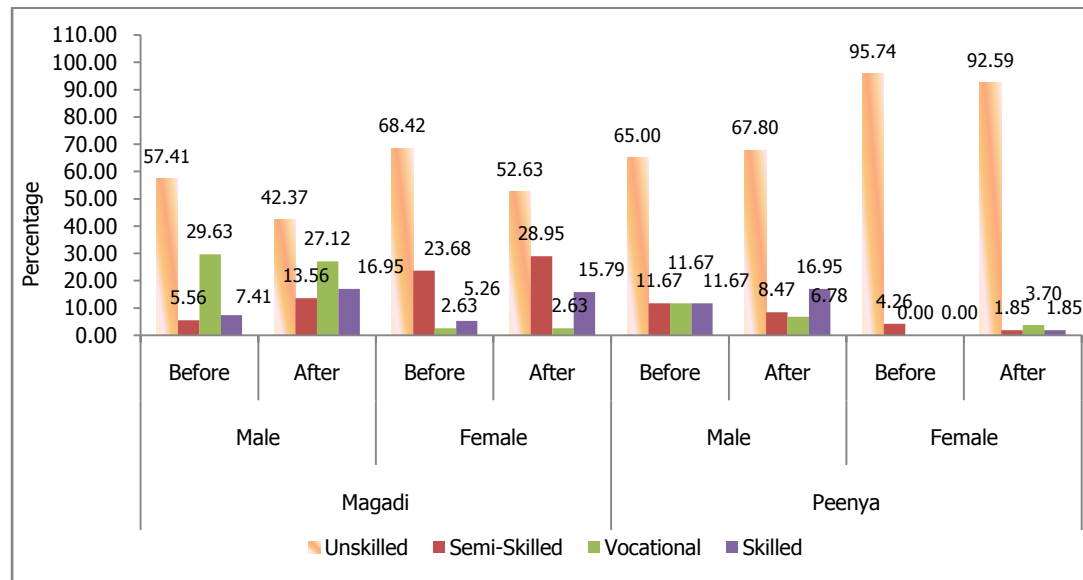
Source: Field Survey

Our findings show (see figure 9) that the slum dwellers' occupational pattern has certainly been impacted by their "rehabilitation" to a newer region. Following the move, the percentage of male members who work mostly in the informal sector, especially in unskilled jobs, has drastically decreased (from around 62% to 55%). Conversely, there has been a rise in the number of men working in "semi-skilled and skilled" jobs (from 8.77 to almost 11% and 9.65 to nearly 17%, respectively). Conversely, after resettlement, the percentage of women working in unskilled employment decreased (from 84% to 76%). Similar to this, after relocation, the percentage of those working in "skilled" jobs increased significantly (from 2% to nearly 8%).

Occupation Profile by Gender and Location

At both the relocated slums, though majority of women are employed in casual jobs or the unorganized sector, which is often referred to as 'urban informal sector' (refer to figure 6), there is a differential response to dealing with relocation. On close observation (see figure 10), one may find that at Sriganadakavalu, Magadi Road, the percentage of women employed in unskilled jobs has drastically reduced (from 68% to 53%) as against at Peenya II stage, the percentage of women in unskilled jobs has slightly changed (from 96% to 93%), but has not significantly reduced. This demonstrates that despite spatial relocation impacting the families, in general, women have made adjustments and have demonstrated a willingness to continue in the same jobs.

Figure 10: Occupation Profile of Women as against Men (Pre-& Post-Resettlement)



Source: Field Survey

Women have relatively increased (24% to 29%) engaging in semi-skilled jobs at Magadi Road as against those women who have reduced (from 4% to 1.85%) at Peenya II Stage. However, women in vocational jobs have increased at both Magadi Road and PeenyaII Stage (2.63% and 3.70%, respectively). Similarly, women employed in skilled jobs have significantly increased (from 5% to nearly 16%) at Magadi Road, and their presence has been felt (nearly 2%) at PeenyaII Stage.

Occupational Profile by Gender

It is evident from the results (see Table 1) that the geographical relocation process affected the occupational profile of both men and women in both positive and negative ways.

Table 1: Occupational Profile by Gender

Occupation Profile		Before Resettlement			After Resettlement		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Unskilled	Domestic Work	1.75	48.2	21.6	2.5	51.1	23.8
	House Keeping	2.63	1.2	2.0	0.0	3.3	1.4
	Construction-coolie	32.46	20.0	27.1	25.4	14.1	20.5
	Daily wage	0.88	0.0	0.5	0.8	1.1	1.0
	Cleaner-helper	5.26	14.1	9.0	7.6	8.7	8.1
	Painting	18.42	0.0	10.6	16.9	0.0	9.5
	Security	0.88	0.0	0.5	0.8	0.00	0.5
	Self-employed	0.00	1.2	0.5	0.00	1.1	0.5
Semi-Skilled	Tailoring	2.63	1.2	2.0	3.4	0.0	1.9
	Factory work	2.63	4.7	3.5	5.9	1.1	3.8
	Garment work	3.51	7.1	5.0	2.5	9.8	5.7
	Street Vendor	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.0	0.0
Vocational	Mason	0.88	0.00	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.5
	Driver	12.28	0.0	7.0	11.9	1.1	7.1
	Carpenter	1.75	0.0	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.0
	Construction-Mestry	1.75	0.0	1.0	1.7	0.0	1.0
	Electrician	1.75	0.0	1.0	1.7	0.0	1.0
	Plumber	0.88	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Skilled	Office work	6.14	2.4	4.5	8.5	3.3	6.2
	Sale assistant	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Business	1.75	0.00	0.00	1.7	0.0	1.0
	Other salaried job	1.75	0.00	1.0	6.8	4.3	5.7
Total		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey

Differential impact of slum **rehabilitation** includes the following:

- First and foremost, the Peenya is one of Bengaluru's biggest industrial belts. Households from Peenya II stage, in particular, benefited from relocation since small, medium, and large-scale companies were situated in areas where they could find work. In the "garment industries," women with competence, in particular, had the chance to work in semi-skilled jobs like tailoring (9.8%). In small and medium-sized businesses like motors, electrical or plastic products, engineering (iron-metal manufacturing), and so on, even men had a variety of job opportunities.
- Second, data confirm that a small percentage of women and men, especially those from second-generation families, **have experienced professional upward mobility**. These individuals work in better-paying positions like office and administration (males 8.5% and females 3.3%) and other salaried/white-collar jobs (males 6.8% and female 4.3%).
- One of the most interesting outcomes of the resettlement process appears to be the relative relief for women from day-to-day household chores (such as fetching water and gathering fuel wood), coupled with improvements in basic infrastructure and tenure security. This has led to a sharp

increase in the number of women entering the labour force, especially those of the younger generation.

The rehabilitation process has produced significant negative implications on the occupational profile of women, particularly those employed in informal jobs such as the **unskilled and semi-skilled categories**. In other words, the social and economic impact of resettlement tends to affect women more than men.

- i. Majority of the women were either uneducated or undereducated as compared to men; they are employed mostly in unskilled or unorganised jobs. These unskilled jobs are often cloaked under the construct of 'dynamics of location' to offer multiple job opportunities per day, particularly for uneducated women.

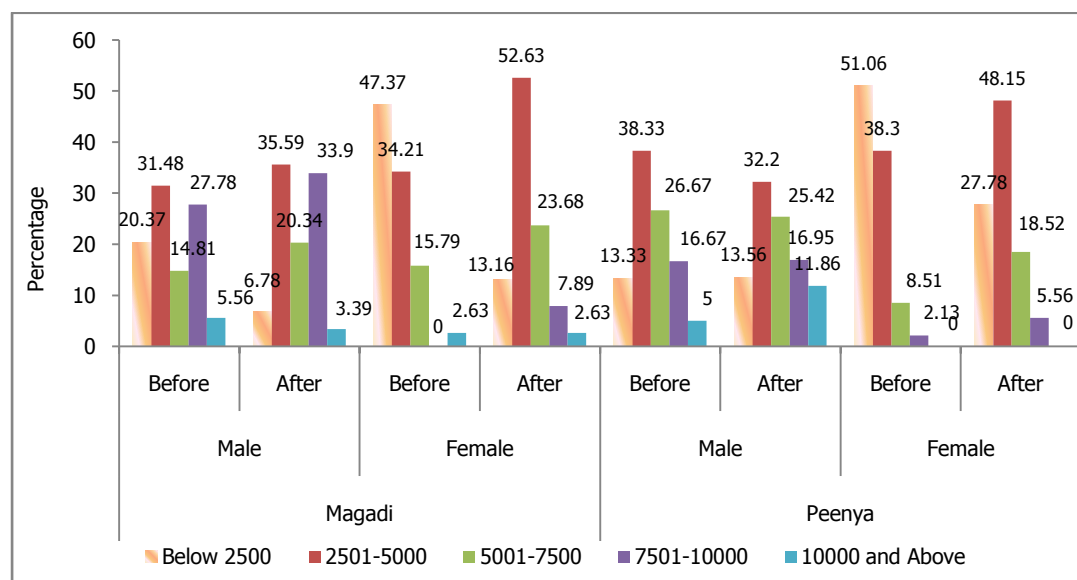
Employment opportunities are often seen as resources for women's agency and empowerment. Despite moving, the majority of illiterate women who worked as domestic maids—48% before rehabilitation and 51% after—have kept their jobs. Since the more recent regions to which they have currently been moved are non-residential areas, they are somewhat remote from the city. Most of the working women made the long commute to their previous jobs rather than changing them. Following the relocation, many women began working to supplement the diminishing family income.

- ii. Aged Women and Jobs: Older women quitting their prior employment following rehabilitation because they were unable to afford the expense of long-distance travel have been among the most noticeable effects. Furthermore, limiting mobility and exposure hinders the ability of older women to adapt, which limits their capacity to deal with unfamiliar circumstances and environment. In the labour market, often new employment opportunities are denied due to their advanced age. Therefore, women's income contribution to the household is a form of agency which consequently has decreased significantly.
- iii. Loss of Social Networks: Any indicator of women's agency will significantly depend on social and professional networking, promoting inter-relationships. Similarly, women who worked as daily wage workers or construction coolies could not afford to stay in their jobs due to their current location's distance from the central business district, which has significantly increased the time and expense of their commute to perform their earlier jobs. Besides, most women believe that, in comparison to where they lived before rehabilitation, most of them lost their social and professional networks. Furthermore, there are no industrial or commercial activities in the vicinity. Consequently, after rehabilitation, the percentage of women working as construction coolies fell sharply from 27% to 20%. These modifications to the work status following rehabilitation are directly related to the income profile of the household, particularly of low-income bracket.
- iv. In addition, relocation has broken down the community and other social networks, which had a greater negative impact on women's employment than on men's in terms of emotional, professional, and income-based support. As a result, already-existing household gender disparities worsened, making women more "vulnerable."

Income Profile by Gender

The relocation of slums to newer areas affected employment patterns and had a significant impact on family/household income, and in particular, women's agency. Here is a quick comparison of men and women's income profile before and after rehabilitation.

Figure 11: Income Profile (pre-& post-resettlement)



Source: Field Survey

There is noticeable decline (see figure 11) in the proportion of men and women earning below Rs. 2500 after-rehabilitation (from 20% to nearly 7% for men and nearly 48% to 13% for women in Magadi Road; similarly at Peenya II stage, it was particularly severe among females, declining from 51% to 28%). We understand that such a decline is supported by various factors:

- The majority of individuals making less than Rs. 2,500 was generally illiterate or uneducated and worked in low-paying or casual employment, including housemaids, cleaners, construction coolies, helpers, and other daily wage jobs. Better housing options have been traded off with potential job rigidity in the new, far-from-the-core city location due to the resettlement process. As a result, the majority of them—men and women—were unable to engage in multiple jobs in a single day, which was feasible before rehabilitation.
- In particular, the elderly members of the households have drastically decreased in their previous employment. Due to their inability to travel and the high expense of doing so, they were unable to continue in their positions.
- Youth aged between 17 to 22 years experienced occupational instability because they were unable to find part-time or casual employment nearby. The resettlement process, therefore, disabled them from contributing to their family income.

There is significant variation for those earning between Rs. 2500 and Rs. 5000. The income of men has maintained similarities (31% to 35% at Magadi Road, but slightly reduced at Peenya II stage,

from 38% to 32%) between pre- and post-rehabilitation periods. However, there is a noticeable increase in the women's earnings from Rs. 2500 to Rs.5000 (from 34% to nearly 53% at Magadi Road and a jump from 38% to 48% at Peenya II stage). A similar trend of increased earnings (between Rs 5000 and Rs. 7500) is found after rehabilitation at Magadi Road (particularly for women, from 16% to 24%) as well as Peenya II stage (women, from mere 8.5% to 18.5%). Similarly, there is also a considerable increase in the number of women earning between Rs. 7501 and Rs.10000 at both Magadi Road (nearly 8%) and Peenya II stage (from 2% to 5.5%). The findings clearly suggest that the changes rendered by the 'rehabilitation' process have less impact on a few women (especially those educated and the second generation) who earn more, implying they can assert themselves, and thereby have agency. Certain reasons can be attributed for increased earnings among women following rehabilitation.

- i. Firstly, second-generation women, especially those educated as far as upper secondary school and high school, are often employed as tailors in the "garment" industries that surrounding their vicinity, including Srigandadakavalu, Magadi Road, and Peenya II Stage.
- ii. In addition, 3.3% of them work in offices, and 4.3% of them hold other salaried positions like teaching.

The income profile of the relocated women clearly illustrates the following:

- i. Since many members are less educated or illiterate and work in casual or daily wage occupations, the rehabilitation process has undoubtedly disrupted their employment opportunities, and thereby stunned their income mobility and controlled the resources.
- ii. The "resettlement/rehabilitation" process has a less disruptive effect on work status as an individual's income increases due to education and skill, which helps support upward income mobility and impacts women's agency. This demonstrates that those with better incomes and steady employment tend to move into more permanent forms and long-term types of housing.

Section V

Access to Basic Amenities

The accessibility of basic amenities and infrastructure (such as water supply, drainage, toilets, electrical connection, garbage collection and so on) is made easier by the city's permanent housing facility and security of tenure. Basic services for the city's urban slums are provided by local organizations including the Karnataka Slum Development Board (KSDB), Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagarapalike (BBMP), and Bengaluru Water Supply and Sewerage Board (BWSSB). Furthermore, a large number of international financial institutions, like the World Bank, ADB, JIBC (Japanese International Bank Corporation), AusAID, and others, are financing the expansion of essential services and infrastructure to the urban poor residing in slums.

Following rehabilitation, both slums have enjoyed the security of tenancy and had access to basic amenities like electricity, water, and sanitary facilities (like individual toilets, drainage, and sewerage), but at the expense of losing their jobs and being economically unstable. The rapid decline in access to social services like health, education, and transportation is another concerning issue. The

primary issue is the location of the resettlement complex, as well as the distance individuals must travel to the work-place, market, education, and receive emergency services and public services, such as health care (see Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of Households by Distance

Area	No. of Kilometres	Distance from the Slum			
		Work Place	Market	Healthcare	Education
Magadi	Not Applicable	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.00
	Below 3 km	4.00	72.00	66.00	14.00
	4-6 km	6.00	24.00	20.00	18.00
	7-10 km	60.00	4.00	10.00	4.00
	11-15 km	6.00	0.00	4.00	16.00
	16 km and above	24.00	0.00	0.00	2.00
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Peenya II Stage	Not Applicable	0.00	0.00	0.00	51.92
	Below 3 km	11.54	67.31	55.77	30.77
	4-6 km	1.92	26.92	7.69	5.77
	7-10 km	44.23	3.85	25.00	5.77
	11-15 km	21.15	0.00	7.69	5.77
	16 km and above	21.15	1.92	3.85	0.00
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey

Following rehabilitation, 60% of the households from Magadi Road travel 7-10 kms and 24% travel 16 km and above to the work place. The highest distribution of households at Peenya II stage is found for those who travel 7-10 km (44%), 11-15 km (21%) and 16 km and above (21%) to attend their work place.

Distribution of Households by Travel Expenses

Following rehabilitation, individuals incur daily travel expenses when travelling a greater distance—on average, 2-3 km—to reach one's place of employment, market, healthcare services, and educational institutions. Predominantly, individuals utilised public transport (buses) or shared auto. In particular, those from Magadi Road (Srigandadakavalu) would travel by shared auto as public transport (buses) was available for only two trips (morning and evening). Households in Peenya II Stage would travel by public transport (BMTc buses) as the bus stand was adjacent to the dwelling. Travel-related expenses cause a significant decline in women's actual income, lowering their purchasing power and affecting their standard of living.

Table 3: Distribution of Households by Travel Expenses

Area	Travel Expenses (Rs.)	Travel Expenses			
		Work Place	Market	HealthCare	Education
Magadi	Not Applicable	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.00
	Below 1000	10.00	82.00	68.00	34.00
	1001-3000	74.00	18.00	32.00	16.00
	3001-5000	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.00
	5001-7000	14.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	7001 and above	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Peenya II Stage	Not Applicable	0.00	0.00	0.00	59.62
	Below 1000	7.69	92.31	88.46	25.00
	1001-3000	75.00	5.77	11.54	11.54
	3001-5000	0.00	1.92	0.00	1.92
	5001-7000	15.38	0.00	0.00	0.00
	7001 and above	1.92	0.00	0.00	1.92
	Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Field Survey

- The majority of households at Srigandadakavalu, Magadi Road, (82%, 68%, and 34%, respectively) spend at least Rs. 1000 or less to access the market, healthcare, and educational facilities. Following this are those who spend between Rs. 1001 and Rs. 3000 (74%, 18%, 32%, and 16%, respectively). Additionally, 14% of households spend Rs. 500–7000 on commuting and travel.
- At Peenya II stage, 75% of households spend Rs. 1001-3000 to commute to the workplace, followed by Rs. 5001-7000 (nearly 16%) to access the workplace alone.

Section VI

Key Findings: Factors Affecting Livelihood, Employment, and Income

Mobility of Women after Resettlement in Bengaluru Metropolis

Education and Skill

Women suffer from '**dual vulnerability**' in the form of illiteracy and being unskilled. There is a direct correlation between women's education levels and necessary skills acquired to access better jobs. As in most cases, uneducated women occupy the lowest rung of the ladder in job markets, mostly engaged in casual jobs (such as housekeeping, sweeping, cleaning, agarbatti-making, tying flowers, etc.) with low or underpaid wages. The situation, therefore, not only disempowers women as they decline in social, physical and economic opportunities but also reduces their status and agency. Dislocation to newer and outer areas can lead to a loss of income, exacerbating the financial difficulties faced by women. As a result, listing the economic activities of women in the development and implementation of resettlement plans is crucial.

Gender, Urban Informality and Poverty

The findings presented above clearly demonstrate that the economic opportunities for women in Bengaluru Metropolis is essentially driven by the multi-segmented character of informal jobs such as casual labour/daily wage work, mostly associated with low income or low earnings. The study clearly reveals that women employed in the most precarious forms of informal jobs primarily depend on them for income and are most likely to be exposed to a higher risk of poverty than those who access more stable and qualified jobs. Within the informal economy, women are trapped in the 'hierarchy of informal jobs and income', where they are disproportionately represented in the lowest segments of the labour force with low-paid and insecure jobs (refer to Chart 1). The situation is further accentuated by gender segmentation of informal employment, further leading to the gender gap in average income inevitably trapping them in perpetual poverty. Therefore, the process of urbanisation via urban governance and development and policies has led to social exclusion, particularly for women.

Impact of Rehabilitation: Vulnerability of Spatial Location (associated factors like distance, travel-time and cost incurred on travel) and Women

The Resettlement and Relocation (R&R) packages essentially imply geographical or physical/spatial relocation from one place to another. Such packages conveniently ignore the aftermath of resettlement, like discontinuities and multiple disabilities faced by the slum dwellers in general, and the women in particular, who engage in multiple jobs at their previous core city location. Women, therefore, face the vulnerability of spatial location in terms of distance to travel, time spent and cost incurred to travel long distances for work. As distance and cost and expenditure of travel increases, older women invariably discontinue their jobs, further negating their contribution to the household income and limiting their agency. Due to relocation to a new place, women face more difficulties than men in gaining access to flexible jobs and opportunities for credit, disarming them economically and socially. Therefore, spatial disadvantage is one of the main factors for reinforcing the economic and social marginalisation on one hand and disempowering women as agents of change.

Policy Recommendations

- a. The need for gender analysis to determine site selection, location and suitability of area and access and control over the resources need to be prioritised.
- b. Attention must be paid to the implementation of consistent policies addressing livelihood issues, socio-economic concerns of displaced and rehabilitated households in general and women in particular. Promoting employment opportunities in the vicinity of rehabilitated slums through effective governance policy intervention is needed.
- c. Besides, facilitating effective and affordable public transport facilities for far flung settlements like Magadi Road (Srigandadakavalu) would certainly enable the households and women in particular to access varied employment opportunities outside their locality, contributing to their upward income mobility and improving quality of living.

Conclusion

The study illuminates the cause and consequences of spatial and economic restructuring of Bengaluru Metropolis disproportionately affecting the urban women in slums. Though the city has undergone rapid urban transformation induced by the implementation of huge infrastructure projects like metro-rail, an inescapable truth is that such a process of rehabilitation lacks effective gender analysis, impacting urban development, governance, and planning. A gender perspective embedded into urban governance and development is imperative for an inclusive city. There is a need to incorporate gender-sensitive measures in the process of designing, planning, and implementing city development plans and programmes such as 'rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R)'.

End Notes

- ¹ Urban agglomeration refers to the area formally administered by Bengaluru City Corporation (BCC) and 8 councils (Sudhira 2008).
- ² Bengaluru city is third highest number of migrants comprising 6.2% of the total population for 2001 (Narayana 2008: 7).
- ³ By 2006 in Asia, 65% of both women and men employed in informal sector (Chen, Vanek and Heintz 2006).
- ⁴ Calcutta is now renamed as 'Kolkata'.
- ⁵ Bengaluru has been renamed as 'Bengaluru'.
- ⁶ The Land Acquisition Bill, 2013, was accessed from the following link: (<http://indiacode.nic.in/acts-in-pdf/302013.pdf>).

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