Urban Resettlement and Sustainable Development- Comparative Case Studies in the City of Hyderabad.

"Every human society exhibits a tension between a desire to exploit and an obligation to protect. Some turn to the gods to help them, some to more natural orders, and others to science, technology and managerial ingenuity",1

The world today has been in the stream of extreme development, which is not well planned and egalitarian, India is no exception to this. Just few years back it was the rural India which faced the tune of development in the form of sacrifice by the rural population, for the so called larger good. The concept of lager good and to be specific the concept public utility in the literature of land acquisition is questionable at large. The research problem is to find out that can there be justice to those who have become victims of development of a specific community? Can it be seen through the prism of social justice? And how do we restore the right to development to these communities which are vulnerable and marginalized. The whole discourse needs to be seen in relation to the concept of Justice and the development activities have to be justified before they come into implementation. The problem lays at the fact that how do we get the concept of justice in a more conducive and convincing way. There are always a few theories which come into the rescue.

The city of Hyderabad has been facing the wrath of unplanned development, due to which there are large number of displacements. The displaced people belong to the vulnerable groups; these vulnerable groups are called Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. The people have become vulnerable in terms of bad resettlement and rehabilitation. The women are the vulnerable within the vulnerable. So the work concentrates on becoming the voice of these displaced and projecting the severity to the government to realize and not to commit the same mistake again in the future. The

¹ O'Riordan, T, (1990) 'Major Projects and the Environment', Geographical Journal 156(2), pp.141-148.

vulnerability at different levels will also be projected. Urban areas in the developing countries have put themselves in the development path but the path has not been people sensitive. The public policies have lost the meaning for what they have been constituted. Due to this problem few people have been deciding things for the general public, there has been no participation of the public in the policy process.

The plans for the development have been so bad that the general public has become vulnerable; to be specific the urban poor have been the worst hit. The vulnerability is growing at different level ranging from economic to vulnerable within vulnerable. The life in the mega cities are no more a pleasure but a potential threat due to bad policies and unplanned development. The presentation also highlights three case studies from the city of Hyderabad where due to development programmes several thousands of people have become vulnerable in the above mentioned levels and few more thousands will be joining in the upcoming projects. The presentation also has a gender dimension and presents a new concept of politics of displacement in the mega cities which has been peculiar along with the Indian political party system. However the presentation also highlights the theoretical aspects on the subject and tries to get minimum basic services to the urban people in general and urban poor specifically. The presentation tries to interlink three concepts like development, displacement and Governance. The paper also has a special concept like how the development project can be developmental at all the level and it can be the point to begin with to have sustainable cities. The gravity of vulnerability can be reduced by having developmental projects and there can be different type of positive policies. The paper essentially concentrates on the serious threats which the mega cities along with its population are going to face and gives an alarm to the respective governments to think about and develop sustainable policies to avoid vulnerability in the mega cities.

The present work rests on the ability of John Rawl's theory of justice and to be specific the difference principles he uses to justify the act of resettlement and rehabilitation. There has been a considerable projection of the problem through the prism of social justice, vulnerability of the marginalized, gender sensitivity, impoverishment and such other psychological trauma, which occurs on the people who are resettled. The process has also witnessed a diagnostic and a predictive study of the phenomenon. The works also shows how development projects can operate through development of the displaced. A lot of public policy issues have also occurred in the process. Historically social science has been a discipline, which has taken a strong note in tune with recording the effect. As Cernea puts it, "Public policy responses to hard development issues can gain much from listening better to social research. But it is important to state that social scientists themselves have to much more to equip governments and public organizations with adequate practical and public advice"². The present task of finding a long lasting sustainable solution to the problem has shifted over to the arena of public policy. On the other side there has been an inability of social science research to acknowledge the full impact of the process of resettlement. The real challenge has come now, as this has to be grounded in a larger and structural critique of development.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are equally justified with the literature review which follows the objectives subsequently-

- A) To use Rawlsian theory of justice to asses the whole problem of displacement and resettlement in the urban scenario.
- B) To asses the impact of displacement with the communities before and after displacement.
- C) To study the land acquisition act of India in an intensive manner.
- D) To asses the urban resettlement policies with regard both, the urban poor who have registered dwellings and do not have registered dwellings.

² Michael Cernea. M, 'Public Policy Response to Development- Induced Population Displacements'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, (1996), pp 1515-1523.

- E) To asses the impact of urban resettlement on working pattern, income and infrastructure of the vulnerable or marginalized groups.
- F) To study whether Urban Resettlement can be used an opportunity for sustainable urban development.

The connection with Rawls is clear when we see that development projects which displace whole communities, such as transportation and information technology projects, can be utilitarian nightmares. Imagine that such a project actually did promote greater good for a greater number; never mind that in many cases there are grounds for doubting this. A criticism often made of projects like these is that the sacrifices and impoverishment that are imposed upon the "oustees" in order to achieve this "greater good" are intolerable.³ This sort of insight is central to Rawls's work. It corresponds to a more general insight, that utilitarian thinking is inherently tolerant of social injustice, and this is the starting-point of Rawls's theorizing about social and political justice. One of his most salient results, for our purposes, is a particular conception of *injustice*, namely: that a scheme or system which creates advantages for some parts of a community is unjust unless it creates benefits for all. "Injustice," he wrote in 1971, "is simply inequalities that are not to the benefit of all."

Urban infrastructure and transportation projects that cause displacement include slum clearance and upgrading; the establishment of industrial and commercial estates; the building and upgrading of sewerage systems, schools, hospitals, ports, etc.; and the construction of communication and transportation networks, including those connecting different urban centers. Cernea's paper (1993), *The Urban Environment and Population Relocation*, provides a brief review of the literature and gives a comprehensive overview of some of the most important issues involved in urban displacement and resettlement.

³ Anthony Oliver-Smith, "Fighting for a Place; The Policy Implications of Resistance to Development-Induced Resettlement," in *Understanding Impoverishment; The Consequences of Development-Induced Displacement*, ed. Christopher McDowell, Providence, Rhode Island, and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996, pp.78.

⁴ John Rawls, A Theory of Justice, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971, pp. 62.

The WBED has estimated that 60 per cent of development-induced displacement every year – about 6 million people – is a result of urban infrastructure and transportation projects. This same proportion is not reflected in World Bank-assisted projects – in 1993, only 22.6 per cent of displacement was caused by urban and transportation projects. Evidence from case studies suggests that the number of people displaced in individual urban and transportation projects is much lower than the number displaced in many large infrastructure projects. Indonesia's Jabotabek project, which displaced 40,000-50,000 people, and India's Hyderabad Water Supply Project, which ousted 50,000 people, are among the largest urban displacements on record. However, Cernea's paper points out that, while displacement from individual urban development projects is low, the frequency of such projects is higher than in some other sectors, resulting in a high overall number of displacees. Furthermore, while the amount of land appropriated for individual urban projects is often minimal compared to that acquired for individual large dam or irrigation projects, the ratio of people displaced per unit of expropriated land is usually higher as a result of high urban population densities. This situation only looks to be intensifying as the global trend of urbanization grows. While in 1980, only 15.8 per cent of the world's population lived in cities with 4 million or more residents, demographers suggest that by 2025 this will rise to 24.5 per cent globally and 28.2 per cent in developing countries. Rural development projects that have caused displacement have played their own role in this rise, as many resettlers have either been relocated to cities or have migrated there from poor resettlement sites in search of employment.

Politics of displacement

It is need of the hour and very apt to give a description of the city of Hyderabad. Displacement is one of the dimensions to the present study, which has lead to the vulnerability of the urban population. At large there are several more reasons why the population of the mega-city has become vulnerable and waiting for a response from the concerned agencies. As a student of political science getting and seeing politics in each and everything becomes obvious, so is the case with the displacement and resettlement in the city. The displacement discourse is seen from the angle of politics of displacement.

The phrase politics of displacement has been used for obvious reasons and the value content it has in depth. All over the world and specifically in India, everything starts with the politics. It is no where to deny that development is necessary for every country to progress and change is required for every system to work. The astonishing part of the whole proceedings is quite different from any other country, but may have some similarity with the South Asian countries. If some one is of the view that Indians are against development then it is utterly opposed by me. There are several examples to show that India is not opposed or Indians are opposed to development projects. India is one of the most liked countries for foreign direct investment (FDI). But the people are quite speculative and suspicious about the development activities which it tries implement. Even in the city of Hyderabad there was such a venture of Development of the Urban Infrastructure suddenly. My work is only on three important case studies which has lead to large scale displacement. Three of the case studies are unique in nature. There is some similarity between the first and the second, as both the studies are of the people who do not have legal entitlements on land and other resources. Each case is an example of high politics involved.

The first case study is that of a Multi Model Transport System (MMTS) by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, the land however, belonged to the South Central Railway but the people were residing next to the railway tracks from more than twenty five to thirty years. Suddenly the people were asked to move out from the place. All the people there belong to places which are drought prone and just to survive; they all had come to City of Hyderabad. The locality was so suitable for them that all of them were working in the closer by localities which was approachable by walk. After a prolonged discussion the people at the locality decided that they will approach the law court for the stay. Then the Government authorities realized the solidarity among the dwellers. The point worth mentioning here is that the Slum dwellers never claimed that the land belonged to them. The Government itself had declared it as a recognized slum. In wake of such approval and orders given by the Government authorities the dwellers decided to stand united and not to move from the place. The Government again showed its intelligence by asking the office bearers to locate a place convenient for them to stay, but

the condition being that all the 450 families have to fit in one single place. This was a tricky situation for the dwellers and as expected they could not find an appropriate place for all of them. The government was ready with a place where the structures were constructed for some other people, which it was ready to give to the slum dwellers. The people having no option had to move to the new locality. But all these steps were manipulated and planned by the politicians. The politicians successfully used the bureaucrats to control the people on the one hand and not to loose their credibility among the people. The Politicians wanted the help of the dwellers as they all have the voting power.

The second case study involves much worse situation than the first one. At least few people had education as the dwellers were in the heart of the city. Where as the displaced people of the second case study are by and large illiterates. In the outskirts of the city of Hyderabad in a locality called Gachibowli, the state Government had opportunities of expanding its industries in the name of Information and Technology. As a result of this it went on advertising for the Multinational companies. Multinational companies like Microsoft, Wipro, Polaris and Infosys had a major share. Infact all the constructions were done by these people of the locality. They all had ration cards and other facilities through a village called Manikonda. When Bill Gates visited India, the state Government asked all the people of the colony to vacate. Using the illiteracy of the people as an advantage the Government officials came with an order by the court and approved by the state Government to ask the people to vacate. Again the politics of displacement sneaked in the process. The minister in-charge of the Information and technology, Mrs. Sabita Indra Reddy met the people of the locality and assured them of all the facilities and a place to stay. In the meanwhile there were two leaders among the locality people. One was opposing every move of the State Government but the other was bribed by the State Government officials and he was taken to the IT minister and offered a sum of amount and preferential treatment. The State Government used the strategy of "Divide and Rule". The leader, who was bribed, successfully made all the people of the locality to accept it as an opportunity to get a decent place to stay and other facilities. The other leader was put behind the bars by filing petty cases of cheating and troubling the

people. As the plan the dwellers were successfully moved out of place. It was surprising and proved the biased attitude of the State Government towards the dwellers of the colony. The locality people with a hope of getting a decent place to stay some job in a permanent basis vacated the place. All the people were asked to move to a closer by village called Vattinagulapally but the host community problem arouse there also like any other case of displacement. The host community chased all the people who went to settle there. Without having a place to stay, all the locality people approached the leader and then the concerned minister. The people were given another place to stay with a survey of the place. The place was too far from the working place to which there was never any transportation. There too the people faced the problem of the host community. The closer by village people started threatening the oustees with weapons to leave the place as it was the land of the Government. The village people were with the argument that all of them have been staying in the place from past many years and they have not been given any land of the Government and how can the Government give land to someone who arrived due to displacement. Through the intervention of the police the people were allowed to stay. They were all staying in small huts in which a average human can not live as the dimension of the hut is just less than five or six feet. There are no minimum facilities like sanitation, school and a hospital. The consequences are discussed in the later stage at large.

The third case study is that of the displaced people for the International Airport. This case study is that of the people who had legal entitlements on land. More than 11 localities people have been evacuated for the cause at the stretch of 5, 400 acres. The state Government got the permission to build an International Airport from the Central Government. As a result of this all the land around the place called Shamshabad were acquired by the Government. The lands were categorized as A, B, C according to the utility of the land. But the justification was never sufficient. Many of the people approached the law courts, but in vain. The amounts of compensation were fixed far below the market place. The people had been living in the place for centuries. The trauma can never be compensated. The loss of education to the children and the loss of property have lead the people to different type of risks. As Cernea puts it all these risks are applicable these people.

(a) Landlessness, (b) Joblessness, (c) Homelessness, (d) Marginalization, (e) Food insecurity, (f) Increased morbidity, (g) Loss of access to common property resources; and (h) Community disarticulation.

The people are asked to move to a place called Airport Colony, to which they have to move from the place of birth and leave many of the kith and kin. The locality is quite away from the city and the people face problems of vehicles for transportation as many of them do not own one. Many have got very minimal compensation which is never enough to sustain a family with many children and many of them having education in private institutions. The plight of the people is not very much heard by the authorities. The concerned people were visiting the people of the locality till the land acquisition. Many of the children's and the students interested in pursuing higher education have been shattered.

Consequences

The consequences of the displacement was so high that the women who were working as house maid's and earning bread for the family could not get even a job. It is always a common phenomenon in India, that the women take some time to adjust to the new locality and the men can go and work in a construction site but that is not the case with women as they are not skilled. Men started traveling more than thirty kilometers every time to get into the place of work. Many a times the men have to walk more than 5 kilometers to catch a public or private transport to reach the place of work. Many of them have to invest more than half of their earnings in traveling to the place of work and back. Previously in the place they were living even the women used to add up the income of the family. But due to displacement the women who used to work as servant maids have lost their jobs. There are no houses around the place they stay where they can go and work. They are totally cut off from the mainstream urban places and now slowly the urban space is getting extended. The impoverishment risks are heavy.

The respective Governments have not thought of the issues like creating a decent place and using the displacement as an opportunity. By evacuating the people from the slums which were not at all clean and were prone to all type of diseases, the Government has created and has been creating new slums by not providing them the sufficient facilities such as 'Urban Basic Services'. If the displacement is inevitable then the Government has to think of alternatives other than the cost-benefit analyses. The city of Hyderabad has become vulnerable due to these types of evacuation and creating multiple slums. If one slum is evacuated then there has to be some measures to avoid the creation of new slums. Every state is concerned about the slums but when there is an opportunity like inevitable displacement then there has to be proper compensation in the form of cash, structure and other required facilities. The plan has to as such like that of having a model colony. But due to the inadequate plans the city of Hyderabad has become one of the most vulnerable cities in India.

Vulnerable within the Vulnerable- a Gender Perspective

The displacements in the mega cities often affects the economically, politically, and socially most vulnerable and marginalized groups in a population. However, at the individual and community levels, impoverishment risks associated with resettlement can be felt more intensely by certain segments of the displaced population. Colchester's paper (2000) provides an overview of the impact of projects throughout the world on indigenous populations and ethnic minorities. It highlights that these groups make up a disproportionately large percentage of those whose livelihoods are adversely affected by development projects – for example, despite constituting only 8 per cent of India's population, Adavasis (tribal peoples) are estimated to make up 40-50 per cent of those displaced by development projects in the country. Colchester's paper points out that the experience of indigenous peoples with the development projects has lead to cultural alienation, dispossession of land and resources, lack of consultation, insufficient or a complete lack of compensation, human rights abuses, and a lowering of living standards. The specific and strong cultural connection that many indigenous groups have with the

land on which, and the environment in which, they live makes their physical dislocation potentially more harmful than is often the case for other groups.

In general, the issue of gender disparities in resettlement operations has been ignored in the literature. A small number of studies have shown that women often experience the adverse consequences of forced resettlement more strongly than men. For example, compensation payments are usually paid to the households, which can concentrate the cash value of family assets in male hands, leaving women and children at higher risk of deprivation. Agnihotri's chapter (1996) exposes another form of gender discrimination in compensation criteria in Orissa, where entitlement to land compensation for unmarried persons is set at age 18 for men and age 30 for women. Other research has shown that, in urban development projects, women can be harder hit by displacement because they are more likely to derive income from small businesses located at or near their residences. Participatory methods of resettlement planning can also expose the ways in which women can be prevented from shaping and/or benefiting from projects. For example, in the case studies of Hyderabad at first, women were common participants in community consultations because their husbands were working away from home for the constructions and other works. The women's demands changed resettlement plans to include not only work for the men but also the women and some way of having the self help groups of the women. However, once the consultations began producing tangible results, men began attending in place of their wives.

Vandana Shiva ⁵ (1993) argues that the tragedy of displacement due to development projects is compounded because the affected bear the cost but have no share in the benefits. In case of women, of course they have even lesser access. They are mere passive recipients in the fallouts. Vandana Shiva puts the other facts in a very strong way by saying that women's underdevelopment was not due to insufficient and inadequate participation, rather it was due to their enforced but asymmetric participation where by

⁵ Vandana Shiva, 'Impoverishment of the Environment: Women and Children Last' in Mies', Maria and Vandana Shiva, *Ecofeminism*, Kali for women, New Delhi, 1993.

through different set of ideas where in the process of displacement and resettlement women are not consulted and women have been neglected in the policy process. The authorities in charge of the relocation do not understand the women's problems of adjusting to the new locality. Since even under normal circumstances society has yet to treat women equally, the displaced women will need some extra attention to cope with the changed circumstances till such time that they can begin as equals. The traumas of displacements have direct connection with the rights of the women and her civil liberties.

The future of the women and the children can not be taken for granted by the authorities. The women are mere passive recipients in the fallouts. It is very clear by the other facts in a very strong way by saying that women's underdevelopment is not due to insufficient and inadequate participation; rather it is due to their enforced but asymmetric participation where by they bore the cost but are excluded from the benefits. Vandana Shiva shows her concern through different set of ideas where in the process of displacement and resettlement, women are not consulted and women have been neglected in the policy process. The authorities in charge of the relocation do not understand the women's problems of adjusting to the new locality. Since even under normal circumstances, society is yet to treat women equally. The displaced women will need some extra attention to cope with the changed circumstances till such time that they can begin as equals. First of all children and women are vulnerable in the family, after the resettlement the situation will go out of imagination. This will clearly mean added emphasis on education. The interest of women should be given extra attention as they feel out of place in the newly resettled place. The debate on rehabilitation cannot be held in isolation. The problem has to be seen against the background of our whole economy and in light of the needs of our country for at least one generation.

The life of women is often worsened by displacement and resettlement. It is true that there have been cases where they have benefited, but such cases are exceptional. The exclusion of gender considerations in the planning and implementation of displacement and resettlement is seen in the study. Largely, technical issues have been given more importance than socio-cultural and socio-economic considerations. Equity has not been an explicit goal of development projects. It has been fallaciously assumed that all benefits are shared equally by a community or society, without analyzing the relational aspects of large dams or other infrastructure projects and how these are linked with issues concerning a wider political economy.

For children, Cernea (2000) notes that resettlement often interrupts schooling. In many households, owing to drops in income and living standards, children may never return to school, instead being drafted into the labour market earlier than might otherwise have occurred. Other groups, such as the elderly and the disabled, might also face higher risk intensities in the displacement and resettlement processes, although, as for the other groups, the conditions of the project, resettlement procedure, and resettlement site play a role in determining which groups, if any, experience different and more intense risk.

⁶ Robert Chambers in Colson, E. (1999), Engendering those uprooted by 'Development, in Indra, D. (ed.). Engendering Forced Migration: Theory and Practice. Oxford: Refugee Studies Program. Pp.23-39.

Mega Cities and Sustainable Development

Despite the diversity in local sustainability efforts, their resulting contribution to global sustainability should be unified. Decision taken at the local level by the community as a whole can establish a framework required for mobilizing and guiding local initiatives and action. The concept of sustainability is fundamental to any discussion on human development today. The human development report (UNDP 1990) defines human development as 'the process of enlarging people's choices. The most critical of these wide-ranging choices are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living'. The concept has a different connotation which is very positive in nature. The concept of enlarging people's choices can arise basically if the people are having something to live with. Until and unless that criteria is fulfilled there is no point in discussing about having different choices. The Human Development Index (HDI) includes measures based on three broad aspects of societal life-health, education, and standard of living. These specifics vary based on local context and flexibility. These concepts also include good governance, environmental protection, economic progress and technological development. Policies are developed at different levels in society. These policies may be considered to comprise five general but distinctive features⁷:

- **Humanity**: Human development is an end in itself.
- > People as means and ends: A well-nourished, healthy, educated society is better prepared to strive for further development.
- ➤ *Empowerment*: Involve the community in development processes, particularly participation by women to reduce population growth and its pressure by lowering desired family size.
- > *Equity*: Human development refers to all people regardless of race, class, religion, sex and nationality.
- > Comprehensiveness: Embrace all sectors of society for a healthy civil society, democracy and greater social stability.

⁷ UN, Viet Nam 2002.

With regard to these policies there is need of giving lot of stress, as many of these aspects are missing in the present day resettlements. First of all the human factor itself is missing as at no point of time people have been consulted. They have been treated like animals and asked to behave according to order. The very concept of human development perspective is missing very much.

Though the concept of indicators is not new, its applicability has turned out to be smarter and better in the present day. Indicators have worked out wonders in progress of humanity as enough precautions and the standards are maintained. As in practice there is always the requirement of a coherent and integrated vision of society, environment and economic well-being. Progress towards sustainability is a vision consciously shared and chosen by a particular society. So accordingly every society develops certain indicators which suit well in making sustainable progress. Sustainable indicators are related are related to the quality of life of a community. They are suppose to asses whether the living environment is providing healthy, productive and conducive life for all, the present and future generations.

The indicators can not be universal but they can be specific and community oriented. They are of diversity as having single standard globally would end up as a disaster. The sustainable development has some principles, which are intended to be more locally relevant in making sustainable progress operational. For illustrative purpose, a set of sustainable indicators are developed and tested.

The indicators of sustainability can be put through a table:

Table no. 2. Identifying Indicators for Sustainable Development⁸

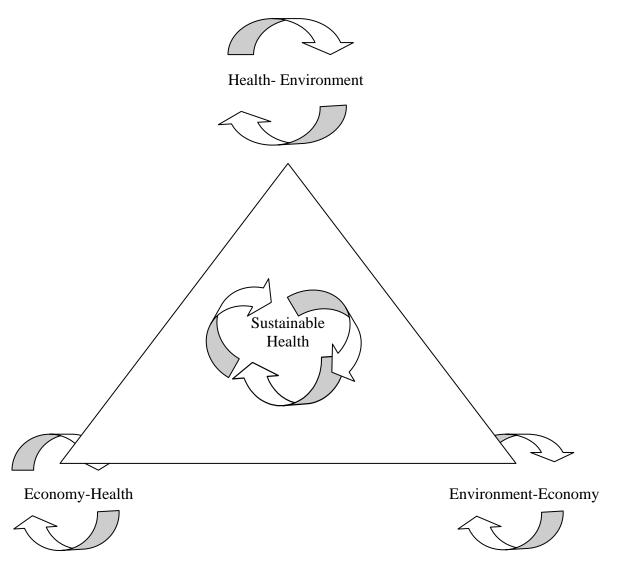
What has changed?
 Unemployment level Poverty level Level of exports Crime level Community interaction Homelessness level Level of migration Groundwater pollution Air pollution level Contaminated fish stock levels
What should change?
 Reduce unemployment Eliminate poverty Reduce crime rate Reduce homelessness Reduce air pollution

There is another integrated model has been proposed and developed by Harpman and Werna (1996). It represents a unique effort, focusing on the issues of community health in developing countries as a vital sustainable consideration. While it is generally accepted that physical health is a major determinant of community health, there is little evidence of an integrated model framework that includes the influence of social, environmental and economic aspects focused on the issue of sustainability. The model

⁸ M.Monto, L.S. Ganesh, Koshy Varghese (Eds) ,(2005), sustainability and human settlements, fundamental issues, modeling and simulations, Sage publications, New Delhi. Pp.40.

aims to compare and integrate key issues dealing with sustainable urban health with other aspects of sustainable development.

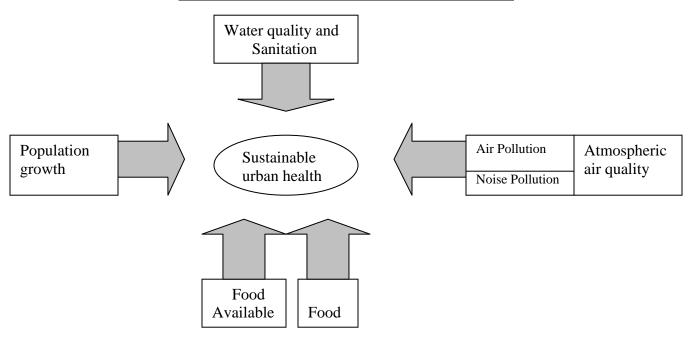
The Health, Economy and Environmental Triangle



Source: Adapted from Harpham and Werna (1996).

The stress is on the importance of an integrated approach to developing urban models, wherein, the use of sustainable health and sustainable health and sustainable urban development concepts can provide a sound framework. It is stated that sustainable development initiatives in urban human settlements should include the influence of 'supra urban' actors, along with those of local actors. Where local actors should be thinking globally and acting locally. This concept holds well when the implementing agency has the mentality of adopting such democratic measures.

Framework for Sustainable Urban Health



Source: Adapted from Harpham and Werna (1996).

These models are of greater help for a city like Hyderabad, which is highly populated with lot many industries and technology based companies are coming up. The city has got polluted with no proper sanitation, proper health facilities, and no regularization of vehicles, air pollution, water pollution and noise pollution. These are few to quote but thee are several more to note. The problem can be solved through a proper argument from the side of the civil society which is concerned about the Urban space and the life in mega-cities. It is very much clear that these people do not have registered property of their own but at the same time they are also citizens of the country and more over they come under the vulnerable group. My line of argument will be that of Government giving hundreds and thousands of acres land to the information technology

based agencies, which has been given justification by the Government, although it comes under the preview of land grabbing. The justification is clear in way as it says that they are the backbone of the economy. But the argument here is that even these people contribute to the economy by helping in the construction and without them most of the things which are fundamental are not possible. They are paid less and they have been made to work day and night. If this is the situation then what is wrong in giving some amount of land for the whole community, again not asking for private property but for minimum basic services. If without paying even a rupee the information technology agencies can be given hundreds of acres by the state Government then it is very much possible for the same government to give an acre or two to these people under the concept of social justice as these people also contribute to the economy in the best possible way by toiling out day and night.

In urban settlements the livelihood strategies of the poor are complex. Contexts are changeable and uncertain, with accelerating urban growth, increasing crime, an illequipped public sector and intense competition for limited resources. Household members employ varied living strategies, often living on credit. Surviving and competing in markets, undertaking seasonal work and earning incomes in the informal economy. The mega-city itself represents a new kind of risk. Considering its sheer size alone, the physical, social and economic vulnerabilities of mega cities are unparalleled. Coupled with climate changes, widespread environmental degradation, and unrelenting natural hazards, potential disaster losses in mega cities have never been greater. While cities are expanding endlessly, in many places co-inhabiting with ever-increasing mega slums, and with the rate of urbanization often beyond control, the effect of natural calamities are likely to occur with more frequency and devastation. Creating a culture of prevention is literally becoming a matter of life or death, yet the dominant approach to vulnerability relies heavily upon emergency responses and comparatively little investment in vulnerability reduction. The first steps are to start identifying and addressing the underlying factors that determine vulnerability in our cities - the prevalence of poverty, the standards of governance and the perceptions of risk. This is the basis to address future vulnerability reduction.

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