



Eviction and the challenges of protecting the gains: A case study of slum dwellers in Dhaka city

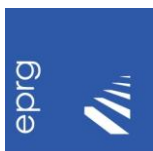
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Extreme Poverty Research Group (EPRG)

shiree

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The Extreme Poverty Research Group (EPRG) develops and disseminates knowledge about the nature of extreme poverty and the effectiveness of measures to address it. It initiates and oversees research and brings together a mix of thinkers and practitioners to actively feed knowledge into practice through interventions taking place in real time. It is an evolving forum for the shiree family to both design and share research findings.

The data used in this publication comes from the Economic Empowerment of the Poorest Programme (www.shiree.org), an initiative established by the Department for International Development (DFID) and the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) to help 1 million people lift themselves out of extreme poverty. The views expressed here are entirely those of the author(s).

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Executive Summary

Eviction is a constant threat for urban slum dwellers, disrupting overall livelihoods, especially in Dhaka city. It is estimated that between 1975 and 2002, more than 131 slums were evicted, with 58 evictions occurring just between 2003 and 2004. Between 1996 and 2004, more than 290,000 slum dwellers were made homeless from 115 evictions in Dhaka, Chittagong and Dinajpur. And at least 60,000 people were displaced due to the evictions from 27 slums in Dhaka between 2006 and 2008.

Since 2009, DSK has been implementing a project entitled **"Moving from extreme poverty through economic empowerment (capacity building, voice and rights) of extreme poor households"** with the support of the *shiree* project (Economic Empowerment Project - EEP) funded by UKaid/the Department for the International Development (DFID) and the Government of Bangladesh (GoB). The two major working areas of the project are the slums of Korail and Kamrangirchar in Dhaka city. The project is facilitating the uplift of 10,000 extreme poor slum dwellers in Dhaka city from extreme poverty by 2012 towards achieving the MDGs, particularly the targets 1 and 2 of MDG 1.

In 2010, 2,450 households were evicted from the DSK-*shiree* project areas of T&T and Sattola slums. Of these, 214 targeted households of the DSK-*shiree* project were among those evicted. Ultimately, these kinds of slum evictions have direct negative impacts on the progress made towards moving out of extreme poverty sustainably and achieving the MDGs. Critically, while the GoB is responsible to ensure the rehabilitation of households before an eviction takes place (according to a High Court ruling in 1999 and again in 2000), this was not followed by the Government in both of these cases.

This research explored the effects of the eviction which took place at Sattola slum in 2010 on a variety of respondents. It looked at the impacts on the livelihoods of those who have returned to the slum and migrated as a result of it. It found that during the eviction, the living spaces of many slum dwellers including houses, latrines, systems of water supply, gas and electricity, and drainage and sewerage facilities were all destroyed. In addition, productive assets and household belongings were lost. Existing and future opportunities for income generation were hampered, as were many of the socio-political connections and support structures on which households relied upon as sources of daily survival and livelihoods. People were not able to go to work for a number of days, many faced salary cuts, some lost their jobs permanently, and many spent previous savings and/or increased their indebtedness by taking out more loans. Extremely poor households can be seen to have lost less, because they owned less to start with, but were left in more desperate positions following the eviction because of having fewer resources to protect and thus fall back on.

While the eviction took place last August 2010, the struggle of the evicted people still continues. Moreover, insecurity continues even with the re-building of the slum in the same place, made more complex by changes in the ownership and leadership dynamics of the area. Another uncertain situation is unfolding where a boundary wall is being established surrounding the affected slum area. In addition, a recent land survey coupled with ongoing rumours, suggest a further eviction to be likely. Extremely poor slum dwellers are thus living

with the threat of eviction daily, and in coping with such confusion and psychological stress, are avoiding building back their livelihoods in a way that could help them in the long-term (e.g. using poor housing materials or not bringing businesses back to full operation). In addition, there are currently no service providers re-building the drainage and sewerage systems here, and NGOs are reluctant to work here because of the future threat of eviction.

Ultimately, the eviction served as a set-back to affected households. Gains have been lost to incomes, health, hygiene, food, accommodation, education and overall livelihoods. And in addition, the overall resettlement process has been uncertain. By mapping the potential effects of eviction on households with assets of a similar level to present DSK-shiree beneficiaries (operating small businesses), the research shows that eviction is a continuing threat to pursuing the sustainability of the overall DSK-shiree intervention.

In conclusion to this study, **any eviction should be well planned along with concrete rehabilitation or compensation options.** To sustain the gains, identified project and policy messages include: immediate support needs to be provided to evictees; slum-based organisations can be strengthened; slum dwellers can be mobilised to increase and maintain a sense of unity; linkages with respective service providers and donors can to be more thoroughly forged; and the GoB, respective agencies and real owners of the lands, need to be sensitised to realise not only the impacts of eviction on extremely poor households, but also their responsibilities as laid out by the High Court ruling. An example compensation package for households is also included.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The DSK-shiree project has been implementing the project "Moving from extreme poverty through economic empowerment (capacity building, voice and rights) of extreme poor households" since 2009, providing livelihood-enhancing opportunities, with the aim of lifting at least 10,000 slum dwellers in Dhaka city out of extreme poverty by 2012. This contributes directly to achieving the MDG targets 1 and 2 of MDG 1. However, evictions have a direct and negative impact on progress and gains made towards extreme poverty reduction. They severely disrupt livelihoods by destroying shelters, assets, opportunities for income generation, and the social connections and support systems on which slum dwellers depend. Findings show that a large-scale eviction could hold damaging and long-term consequences to households who have received DSK-shiree assistance. Eviction is a continuing challenge to pursuing the overall sustainability of the DSK-shiree intervention.

Eviction is one of the major threats to urban slum dwellers especially in Dhaka city. According to a recent UPPR study (Shing, 2010), it is estimated that between 1975 and 2002, more than 131 slums were evicted, with 58 evictions occurring between 2003 and 2004 alone. From 1996 to 2004, more than 290,000 slum dwellers were made homeless due to 115 evictions in Dhaka, Chittagong and Dinajpur. In Dhaka alone, at least 60,000 people were evicted from 27 slums between 2006 and 2008 during the last Caretaker Government's regime.



During August and September 2010, two unexpected evictions occurred at Sattola slum in Mohakhali and T&T slum, adjacent to Korail in Dhaka. On the 5th of August, 2,000 households were evicted from Sattola slum with short notice. In T&T slum, 450 households were evicted just before Eid-ul-fitr on the 5th of September. In the case of Sattola, entire infrastructures including houses, water supply systems, latrines, schools, mosques and other constructions were destroyed within a day. The day of this eviction also saw heavy rain, leaving households in a desperate situation.

TABLE 1: EVICTED HOUSEHOLDS AT SATTOLA SLUM AND T&T SLUM

Area/slum	Total number of evicted households	Number of shiree targeted households		
		Final selection after verification of Shiree team	Came back later on	Didn't come back to the evicted slum
Sattola slum	2000	109	14	95
T&T slum	450	105	66	39
Total	2,450	214	80	134

During these two evictions, a total of 214 targeted households of the DSK-shiree project were forced to move from their homes. Of these 214 households, 109 were from Sattola slum and 105 were from T&T slum. These households had just been selected as beneficiaries but had not yet received assets. Fortunately, of the 214 households, 80 managed to return to the same place or a nearby slum and were reincorporated into the DSK-shiree project. 134 households were not able to return, and as such DSK replaced them with other extremely poor households.

The context and dynamics of the two evictions at Sattola and T&T slums were completely different. The eviction at T&T slum was organised by a private company who had negotiated and deployed the support of local musclemen and house-owners. Both house-owners and local musclemen (mastaans) received a handsome amount of money for their support. Our observations suggest that house-owners received an amount ranging from TK 50,000 to 200,000 to evict tenants from their homes. The size of the reward depended mostly on the number of evictions involved, and the leverage that house-owners could bring to the negotiations with local musclemen. In almost all cases, tenants were given just one day's advance notice of the eviction. During this time, they had to arrange new accommodation and move any belongings they wanted to protect. In this case, the evictors did not destroy any of the assets or belongings of the households. As such, in many respects this was a peaceful eviction. A portion of the evicted families shifted to nearby relatives and houses of friends, and were gradually able to manage new tenancy arrangements. However, a large number of the evicted families were less fortunate, being forced to leave the slum area altogether, including 39 households involved in the DSK-shiree project.

In the case of Sattola slum, the eviction similarly took place at short notice but in contrast was managed by law enforcement agencies working under the authority of the Directorate General of Health Services (DGHS). Here, house-owners were also evicted. Immediately after the eviction, some of the slum dwellers approached local political leaders and in some cases, elected MPs and Ministers. Local leaders also filed a case with the High Court division, arguing that the eviction was illegal, in reference with the documents provided by DGHS and to the claim that no evictions can take place without rehabilitation options provided. The Court provided a judgment in their favour.

Gradually, many house-owners and tenants returned to the evicted area and have rebuilt their houses as Sattola slum. In the mean time, significant changes have been observed, especially in the ownership of houses and the leadership patterns operating in the slum. Most of the house-owners now have to share half of their occupied land with the tenants who

EVICTIONS IN 2011

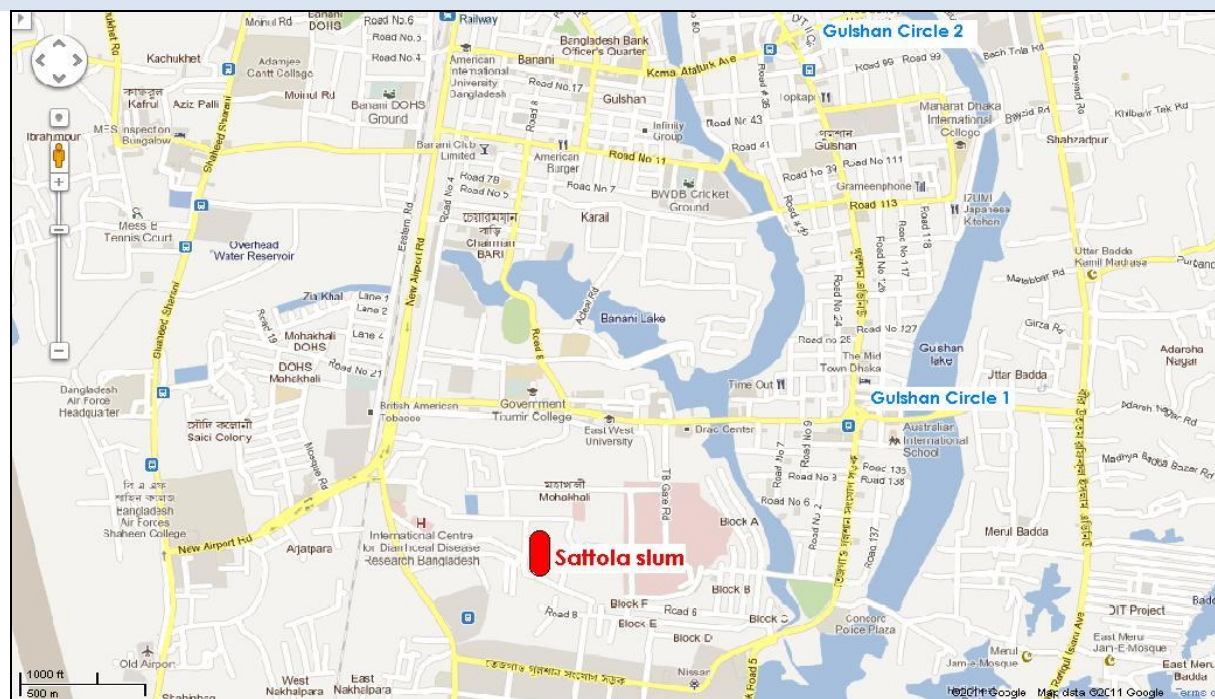
In the late afternoon of May 12th 2011, DSK-shiree project beneficiaries faced another eviction enforced by Government authorities under the Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB). Households were evicted from both sides of the road on the Dhaka city protection embankment at Bosila, and Buddhijibi roads nearby Mahammadpur, under the Kamrangirchar 3 project unit of the DSK-shiree project. During this eviction, between 500 and 600 households were displaced, of which 51 households were DSK-shiree supported households. Fortunately, these beneficiaries did not lose the assets transferred to them through DSK, but all of them incurred losses of different kinds, including housing and asset damage. This presented a set-back to the livelihood portfolio of these households.

assisted them during the procession against the eviction with relevant Ministers and Government departments. On the other hand, a large portion of slum dweller tenants have not be able to come back, leaving them in particularly vulnerable situations. Of the 109 extreme poor households selected for the DSK-shiree project, just 14 have managed to return. Many households have lost their connections because their house-owners faced difficulties with their arrangements of tenure ship, uncertainty of basic services (including water, electricity, gas supplies and sewer systems) and the overall re-establishment process. On the other hand, the DGHS has developed a boundary wall surrounding the slum and conducted a land survey. The threat of future eviction is continuing, with fears fuelled by rumours at the local level. This shows that following the eviction, tenure ship and patterns of ownership became fragile. This has left households anxious and insecure about the future.

Both evictions at T&T slum and Sattola slum took place during the selection stage for second year DSK-shiree beneficiaries, presenting a set-back to project implementation. It was however possible to re-select the new households from nearby slums and work with them. Importantly, and worryingly, if a similar case happened after assets had been transferred, this might not have been possible, and rebuilding gains would have been more difficult. Eviction presents a continuing threat to the development initiatives of DSK-shiree project, as well as the efforts made by other organisations. As such, further pro-poor advocacy on behalf of households vulnerable to eviction is necessary for protecting the gains of shiree development initiatives in the long-run.

Of the two evictions at T&T slum and Sattola slum, Sattola slum was selected for further in-depth research, because of the growing coverage of DSK-shiree here. The research presented here therefore focuses on the experiences of the eviction in Sattola slum, and illustrates the impacts that eviction can have on “protecting the gains” made by households trying to climb out of extreme poverty.

MAP OF SATTOLA SLUM



1.1 HISTORY OF SATTOLA SLUM (BHANGA BOSTEE)

Following the liberation war of 1971, the 3rd and 4th class employees of the DGHS, the Institute of Public Health & Nutrition (IPHN), and the National Institute of Preventative and Social Medicine (NIPSOM), started to settle in the Sattola slum areas. Each employee temporarily received a 900 sq. ft (30ftX30ft) area of land on which to live from the DGHS authority. At the time, the area was mainly covered with jungle and was a safe place for many wild animals. Gradually the employees began to build a number of small rooms which they then rented to low-income incoming migrants. Over time, and given the financial gains to be made by letting out rooms, the entire area was transformed into a large slum led primarily by the employees, their families, a number of local musclemen (mastaans) and political supporters. Currently, the area which experienced the latest eviction is known as Bhangra Bostee, and by some as Hindupara (as traditionally the majority of the house-owners here were from Hindu communities).

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The overall question of this research is: what are the causes and consequences of evictions and their impacts on the livelihoods of slum dwellers?

The sub-questions of the study are:

- To understand the dynamics of evictions;
- To assess the immediate losses and long term consequences of evictions;
- To explore the coping strategies of the evicted households;
- To consider alternative policy and advocacy related recommendations to protect livelihood gains made by slum dwellers;

1.3 WHY ARE EVICTIONS A CONCERN FOR THE DSK-SHIREE PROJECT?

DSK is an NGO which has been operating in Bangladesh since 1988. It began by providing health services to flood-affected people particularly in Dhaka city. Currently, DSK is working with more than 900,000 beneficiaries in 74 rural and urban Upazilas throughout 15 districts in Bangladesh. The urban programmes are targeted towards slum dwellers and low-income communities, and the rural programmes are targeted towards hard-to-reach poor and extremely poor households in the *haors*¹, North-East and coastal districts recognised as poverty pockets in Bangladesh (BSS, 2009). DSK is implementing programmes with a variety of components, spanning: health, education, microfinance, agriculture, water supply and sanitation, food security and overall livelihoods development.

Dhaka is one of the most densely populated and rapidly expanding mega cities in the world. Despite this, its expansion and growth have arguably been poorly planned. It is estimated that every ten years, the population of Dhaka is doubling. A large portion of the new migrants are poor and extremely poor. They are mainly staying in the 4,966 slums of Dhaka city and their current number is more than 5 million. Slum dwellers form almost 40% of the overall Dhaka city population. It is estimated that the current population of Dhaka city is 11 million and that this will increase to 20 million by 2020. Accordingly, the slum population may increase in 8 million (DSK, April 2011).

¹ Areas scattered with large river basins in the North-East of Bangladesh

Most of the people living in the slums are coming from different disaster-prone, river-eroded or *monga*² affected areas such as the Northern chars, *haors*, and the coastal belt, the common pockets of extreme poverty across the country. These migrants are forming a large workforce in Dhaka, by working in, for example, the garments industry, transportation, the construction of roads and buildings, land development, domestic work in other people's homes, in small industries and businesses, and in the waste management sector. However, they are largely neglected by wider society and the state.

Since April 2009, DSK has been implementing a project entitled "**Moving from extreme poverty through economic empowerment (capacity building, voice and rights) of extreme poor households**" with support from the *shiree* project (Economic Empowerment Project - EEP) funded by UKaid/the Department for the International Development (DFID) and the Government of Bangladesh (GOB). The two major working areas of the project are the slums of Korail and Kamrangirchar in Dhaka city.

The project is facilitating the economic empowerment of selected extremely poor households by combining household-based IGA activities with a community-based approach through organising households into collective Community Based Organisations (CBOs). The project is focusing particularly on women and socially marginalised people with disabilities. The main purpose of the project is to lift 10,000 households in the slums of Dhaka city out of extreme poverty by 2012.

To date, almost 7,000 extreme poor households have received assets, start-up capital and other supports including trainings, linkages for different income-generating activities (IGAs) based on their capacity and interest. The targeted households also receive health services through static and satellite clinics along with referral facilities for specialised doctors. They receive support for community-based water points and sanitary latrines. During the last two years, the project has achieved significant progress across many indicators such as income and expenditure, savings, food consumption, and water and sanitation facilities. However, eviction remains one of the major threats to protecting the gains in the future, given the high level of eviction experienced in Dhaka, as already outlined. Losses to beneficiaries could be significant if a large-scale eviction were to take place in DSK-*shiree* project sites.

2. EVICTIONS IN CONTEXT: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Kishore (2010) in '*Reviving Dialogue on Anti Eviction Bill*': a Proposed Consultation Workshop, highlighted the frequencies of different evictions and focused on the legal context in favour of anti-eviction campaigns. Slum evictions lead to the development of other slums, deplete valuable housing stocks and land. Dhaka, which has experienced the highest incidence of slum evictions, had some 1.5 million people living in 3,007 slum settlements in 1996. By 2005, the figure had reached some 3.4 million people living in 4,966 slum settlements. The fear of eviction also discourages slum dwellers themselves from investing in improvements in their own housing, services and infrastructure. Because of the constant threat of eviction, NGOs and donors - traditionally the largest service providers in rural areas - are reluctant to work in slums and to invest in urban public infrastructure. Development gains are further reversed as

² A term referring to a period of food insecurity in Bangladesh before the harvest of *aman* rice where employment opportunities are few, mainly between mid-September to mid-November in the North-Western districts of Rangpur.

evicted slum households become even poorer through the loss of their physical and social capital. These factors create a vicious cycle of poverty and impede progress towards the achievement of other MDGs as they relate to health, education, gender and the environment.

ASK (2006) conducted a study using secondary data on the national context and the Government's compliance with its policy on the right to shelter. Repeated evictions, in which no alternative resettlement plans are provided, coupled with the failure to protect public and private lands from illegal encroachments by land developers/grabbers, show that Bangladesh is falling far behind its commitments. The concerned authorities have not complied with existing laws and rules. Human rights organisations and citizens' groups have taken legal initiatives to prevent forcible eviction and land grabbing. The judiciary has responded positively to prevent such illegal evictions. The media, too, has played a significant role raising public awareness as well as drawing the Government's attention towards this critical issue. The paper argues for a greater focus on the need to prevent slum evictions in cases where there are no prior rehabilitation and resettlement plans provided.

Rashid (2009) conducted a study entitled '*Strategies to reduce exclusion among populations living in urban slum settlements in Bangladesh*'. It found that the struggle of the urban poor to establish and defend their slum settlements on 'illegal spaces' is an enduring feature of the urban history of Bangladesh. Evictions from squatted public land often occur without settlement plans. As a result, the evicted - some of whom have lived in slum settlements for years - find themselves relocated to the urban fringes in other slums. This movement, in turn, leads to land filling and grabbing in order to make space for new settlements. Natural canals and low-lying catchment areas allow for the accommodation of excessive water during the rainy season. As they are filled to make way for new settlements, the city has become more flood-prone and its drainage system overburdened. Slum settlements are rarely upgraded for fear of their potential demolition, and this leads to a vicious cycle of under-development and social exclusion.

Ain O Salish Kendra (ASK) (Feb 2007) issued a press release on the history of eviction and the need for the protection of slum dwellers' rights. This reported that, in the 1960s, the Government acquired many lands in rural areas as part of its decision to provide housing opportunities to the people of Dhaka city. These acquisitions rendered many land owners homeless and forced them to take shelter in the vacant lands of the Government. Moreover, due to riverbank erosion, floods, drought and natural disasters in Bangladesh, homeless people have migrated to urban areas and started living on the Government's vacant lands. Every year, large quantities of slums are evicted resulting in significant economic and social losses. For example, from 2000-2003, 122 slums were evicted by starting fires causing damages of Tk. 10 core 50 lac. Evictions at such short notice are a violation of slum dwellers' rights.

A review of the available literature on eviction in Bangladesh highlights the frequency of eviction and their surrounding legal and national context. However, few studies have highlighted the in-depth consequences of eviction on the livelihoods of the extremely poor. As such, our study explores the context, immediate losses, both the short and long-term consequences of evictions on households, and tries to map what the potential impacts are for the extremely poor. It also explores the programmatic implications for protecting the gains of the current project implementation by the DSK/shiree project.

3. METHODOLOGY

Both primary and secondary data have been applied in this study. Although qualitative methods were mostly used to generate detailed information about the dynamics of eviction, we also used quantitative indicators. A range of tools were applied to collect data including case studies, in-depth and key informant interviews. The numbers of each are detailed in Table 2. Project beneficiaries, non-beneficiaries, house-owners, community leaders and different service providers were our primary respondents. To understand the experiences of different groups of tenants³, we interviewed those tenants who were able to come back to the slum and those who were not. Informal discussions and personal observations have also been incorporated into our analysis. Non-DSK-shiree beneficiaries who own IGAs of a similar value to those transferred by the project, were also interviewed in order to try and estimate the potential losses that eviction could have on existing DSK-shiree extremely poor beneficiaries who have received assets.

TABLE 2: SAMPLE SIZE

Type of Interviewees	Tools		
	Case study	In-depth Interview	Key Informant Interview
DSK-shiree beneficiaries households evicted	3		
DSK-shiree beneficiaries households evicted and now living in different slums		2	
Non-beneficiaries tenants		3	
Non-beneficiaries households involved in similar IGAs promoted by DSK-shiree during the eviction		3	
House-owners		3	
Community leaders who supported the rebuilding of the slum			2
Service providers (DSK, UPPR, BRAC, RIC)			5
Total	3	11	7

A checklist was used for the case studies, in-depth and key informant interviews. The primary information was collected, compiled and analysed by the Research Coordinator and Research Associate of the DSK-shiree project. Different suggestions and recommendations from the Bath University team, EPRG (Extreme Poverty Research Group) members, and other DSK officials has been considered during the data collection, analysis and writing up the report.

³ Tenants refer to those renting living spaces from house-owners.

4. MAJOR FINDINGS

4.1 CONTEXT OF THE EVICTION AT SATTOLA SLUM

To establish a new campus for the Physiotherapy College, it was necessary to locate vacant land. As such, the Physiotherapy College administration made a deal with the DGHS authority who is the main owner of the land of Sattola slum. They agreed to evict the Sattola slum so that the land could be available for the Physiotherapy College campus. On behalf of the agreement, the 'drivers union of the DGHS'⁴, a 'syndicate of eight influential contractors'⁵ (who were expected to get the contract to build the College), and their musclemen took the responsibility to evict the slum. Before and after the eviction, a number of political supporters (of the Awami League, BNP and Jatia Parti) were mobilised to take control of the slum. Although the area of Sattola slum was a site of jungle in the early 1970s, it is now a lucrative piece of land in Dhaka, situated closely to the diplomatic zones such of Gulshan and Baridhara.

4.2 WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE EVICTION?

Prior to the eviction, some of the slum dwellers were made aware of the possibility of an eviction, and in response, some of their leaders mobilised a group of house-owners, active tenants, local political people and supporting musclemen to resist the eviction. Within a short period of time, the community leaders collected a total amount of 100,000 Taka. This was largely through spontaneous contributions from the house-owners and tenants of the slum to pay the fees of a lawyer for receiving legal evidence from the High Court. On the morning of August 5th 2010, with the support of a troop of police and a Magistrate, the DGHS authority came to evict the slum. However, the slum dwellers had prepared themselves and were intent on fighting against the eviction.



On behalf of the slum dwellers, current and previous ward councillors, assigned advocates for the High Court ruling, and some local representatives from the major political parties (including the Awami League, BNP and Jatia Parti), held a negotiation meeting with the authority of DGHS. Following this, the local leaders declared that the eviction would not happen. However, as soon as the local leaders left the slum, the assigned authority started an immediate eviction. Within a short period of time, the entire infrastructure including

⁴ The Driver's Union is a trade union for the drivers of DGHS who are the fourth class employees of the institution. This union was established to ensure their professional rights. The leaders of this union have political connections, and the leadership of the union usually changes with different political regimes. Using their institutional and political identity, the leaders often play roles as mediators among different stakeholders.

⁵ Syndicate of the contractors: Generally most of the contractors have different political identities and maintain linkages among themselves through organising groups for ensuring their individual benefits. Every constructor maintains a group of musclemen (or Mastaans) which assist in capturing the tenders, and implementing the construction and supply related activities.

houses, water supply systems, latrines, schools, mosques and other constructions were brought to the ground by heavy bulldozers. One of the slums dwellers recalled “People were not able to move in and save their assets when the bulldozers were busy.” The eviction continued throughout the following day which was also met with heavy rainfall, bringing additional misery to the evicted and now homeless slum dwellers.

4.3 WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THE EVICTION?

Immediately after the eviction, the slum dwellers worked through their local leaders to approach and seek the support of higher authorities including a number of Ministers and political leaders. Local leaders also filed a case to the High Court division which was looked upon favourably. Despite these kinds of legal and political supports, many house-owners and tenants, especially the female members of families and their children were left in vulnerable situations, sleeping outside, using polythene sheets and other type of temporary sheds as cover. Many male members of the evicted households had to leave since they were under threat from the police. Local community leaders, neighbours, relatives, employers and NGOs offered various kinds of help and assistance where they could. Immediately after the eviction, a team of police were assigned to the slum to protect the initial occupancy of the evicted place by the slum dwellers. As such, the male members were not able to stay at the site of eviction. Police members are reported to have tried to protect the women and help them rebuild immediate shelters. Nevertheless, a tense situation unfolded. After the 3rd day of the eviction, police were removed from the evicted place.

During and immediately after the eviction, the evicted slum dwellers faced continuous threats from thieves. At that time, evicted families were busy shifting and protecting their existing assets, and were also quiet mobile. As such, it became difficult to recognise the real owners of belongings from outsiders or potential thieves. Many drug addicts and opportunist people, including some adolescent boys and girls, are reported to have taken advantage of the situation and stolen others assets. Because evicted households did not have time to prepare to move properly, many assets were damaged. The days were also rainy which created additional challenges for the evicted slum dwellers, especially for those now living outside or using temporary sheds.



On the 3rd day of the eviction, 1,020 evicted households received packages of one-off relief, including food items and a tent from the Urban Partnership for Poverty Reduction Program (UPPR).⁶ Food items included: rice, pulses, oil, potatoes, onions, biscuits, salt and bottled water. A number of representatives from different humanitarian organisations such BLAST, UNDP/UPPR, ASK and DSK were also present and provided moral support to the slum dwellers. A number of private TV channels and national newspapers covered the eviction, and on the whole represented the slum dwellers as innocent victims.

⁶ A project of Local Government and Engineering Department (LGED) and UNDP funded by UKaid/DFID.

4.4 ASSET MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

There was a high level of uncertainty surrounding the eviction. To pre-empt the eviction, a number of asset management strategies have been observed. While some dwellers were convinced that the eviction would go ahead, others were less certain. Faced with this uncertainty, some tenants moved to nearby slums and others shifted their assets to safer places prior to the eviction taking place. Some slum dweller families rented a room collectively in the hope of protecting their assets, women and children. In addition, some house-owners shifted their household assets during the night to avoid spreading panic among other tenants.

There is some evidence that community support was critical in managing the immediate impacts of the eviction to households. For example, many male members arranged shelters for women and children while they found alternative places to sleep under the open sky or walking near the roads. Also, many other slum dwellers from nearby slums are reported to have extended their support to affected families and offered to keep household assets in their homes. Many also gave shelter to women and children and many bachelor male slum dwellers gave up their rooms to protect women and children.

4.4 IMMEDIATE LOSSES FROM THE EVICTION

Through the eviction, more than 5,000 slum dwellers were made homeless, whilst approximately 2,000 houses, 16 small shops (such as grocery shops, tea-stalls, CD rental businesses, salons, telephone shops, and small restaurants), 3 non-formal primary schools, 1 mosque and 1 delivery centre (a BRAC health service) were brought to the ground. Almost all the households affected lost their houses, household belongings, shops, businesses, and employment opportunities. Entire health and education services were destroyed. Based on discussions with community leaders and other respondents, it is estimated that families lost between 4,000 and 500,000 Taka as a result of the eviction, while the total loss approaches 200 to 300 million Taka. To measure the economic losses, we have covered various categories of slum dwellers such as tenants, house-owners and petty traders.



In addition to the direct losses experienced, slum dwellers faced other challenges. For example, finding alternative housing became more expensive. Using the eviction as an opportunity, many house-owners in nearby slums increased the price of rent from between 20% to 50%, knowing that evicted households would be desperate to find immediate accommodation close to the slum to protect themselves and their assets. The extremely poor, owning fewer resources to mobilise, were left particularly affected in this regard.

4.5 LOSSES TO THE TENANTS

Among those evicted, the vast majority were tenants and could be categorised as poor. Those tenants selected as DSK-shiree beneficiaries were considered extremely poor. Most of the dwellers were presently living in the slum in exchange for a fixed amount of rent paid to house-owners. Generally, the rent covered the living room as well as water, gas and electricity supplies. By negotiating with house-owners, some tenants also used part of their room as a small shop.

Those who were both living and working in the slum were the most affected, losing both household belongings and employment opportunities. This was particularly the case for those tenants who had built personal rooms from which they were running businesses.

Across the respondents, small petty traders faced the most losses, because it was difficult to manage and try to protect business materials as well as household assets at the same time. As such, many of them lost their household belongings including beds, utensils, cooking materials and clothes.

TYPICAL COSTS OF LIVING IN SATTOLA PRE-EVICTION

- Room rent: 1200 to 2000 Taka based on the room size and quality;
- Bill for water supply: 100 Taka per room;
- Bill for electricity: 100 Taka for each light and fan;
- Bill for gas supply: Taka 500 per room.

TABLE 3: LOSSES TO THE TENANTS

Name	Occupation during the eviction	Types of losses	Estimated loss	Remarks
Rabeya (DSK-shiree beneficiary)	House maid	Job and savings	4,000 Taka	Rashida was able to shift some of her materials
Nargis Begum (DSK-shiree beneficiary)	Tea stall owner	Household assets and business assets	7,000 Taka	Tenant; had a tea stall adjacent to her house.
Zohura (DSK-shiree beneficiary)	House maid and rug picker	Personal room including household assets	14,000 Taka	Tenant; prepared a tiny room on rented land paying 200 Taka per month.
Lovely (DSK-shiree beneficiary)	Garments helper	No financial loss as they shifted to a nearby slum before the eviction	-	She is continuing as a DSK-shiree beneficiary.

Shefali (Non-returnee)	Garments helper	No financial loss as they shifted to a relative's house before the eviction	-	She lost the opportunity to become a DSK-shiree beneficiary
Abdul Khaleque (Non-beneficiary)	Sound mechanics for a decorator	Household assets, savings, salary cuts	60,000 Taka	
Enam Ali (Non-beneficiary)	Owner of quilting shop for making quilts and pillows	Household assets, opportunity costs due to shop being closed	80,000 Taka	
Fuyad Sarkar (Non-beneficiary)	Security guard for a car repairing workshop	Household assets, salary cuts for a week	10,000 Taka	

In order to look after the immediate needs of the affected families and secure new living arrangements, some evicted dwellers were not able to continue undertaking their normal work. Many of them faced salary cuts or even lost their jobs. Based on categories of respondents, extremely poor households are calculated to have lost between 4,000 Taka and 14,000 Taka, and poor households between 10,000 Taka and 80,000 Taka. Two households didn't face direct losses as they moved from the affected area to stay at relatives houses before the eviction took place. Extremely poor households can be seen to have lost less, because they owned less to start with, but were left in more desperate positions following the eviction because of having fewer resources to protect and thus fall back on.

4.6 LOSSES TO THE HOUSE-OWNERS

As discussed, major house-owners in the slum were the current and previous employees of the DGHS, and their families and relatives. Over time, they established pacca (full concrete), semi pacca (partial concrete, usually with a tin roof), and kacha (bamboo with tin wall and roof) houses, as well as boundary walls (tin, bamboo or concrete). Before the eviction, most of the slum dwellers had access to latrines, and had a supply of water, gas and electricity. During the eviction, some house-owners were able to shift some of their household assets, but the houses as well as latrines, water, gas and electricity systems were all destroyed by the bulldozers.

Based on the financial capacity and individual connections of households with community leaders (who led the rehabilitation processes just after the eviction), following the eviction, house-owners were generally able to rebuild portions of their houses and shops. Electricity, gas and water supply systems have also been re-established by some. Nevertheless, large drainage and sewerage problems remain. Sewerage systems were almost entirely destroyed. Many slum dwellers are using their neighbour's latrines. Table 4 shows that the 3

respondent house-owners faced losses of between 200,000 and 500,000 Taka, including: houses, shops, household belongings, saleable items, as well as bearing various re-establishment costs.

TABLE 4: LOSSES TO THE HOUSE OWNERS

Name	Owned room during eviction	Current status	Estimated loss
Salam Talukder	22 rooms (2 stored building) including 2 chambered 2 separate toilets, tube well, water and gas supply and a grocery shop	4 semi pacca rooms and a shop (mixed of tin and concrete wall, and tin roof)	500,000 Taka
Kariman Nesa	8 semi-pacca rooms (concrete floor and walls, and tin roof) including sanitary latrine, tube well, water and gas supply	5 rooms kacca rooms (tin roof and walls, and concrete floor)	200,000 Taka
Sharif Miah	6 semi-pacca rooms (concrete floor and walls, and tin roof) including sanitary latrine, tube well, water and gas supply	4 rooms kacca rooms (tin roof and walls, and concrete floor)	200,000 Taka

4.7 LOSSES TO PETTY TRADERS

There were various types of petty traders in the affected area working in grocery shops, tea-stalls, CD rental businesses, salons, telephone shops and small restaurants. Based on the type of business, different traders experienced different types of losses such as shops, TVs, refrigerators/freezers, furniture, saleable items and equipment (e.g. teapots). Households also lost outstanding money from sales on credit, creating significant set-backs. Costs for moving and repairing businesses were also borne.

Of the petty traders, some people had rental shops, some built personal rooms in their rented homes, and some traders had their own shops. During the eviction, some traders were able to shift their movable items but many were unable to do this. Except for the moveable items, all traders lost their shops and experienced particular losses from outstanding sales on credit. For a number of traders, outstanding sales on credit (because of the displacement of customer families who had previously purchased products on credit) was the major loss experienced. Generally, a high proportion of the slum dwellers receive a basis salary on a monthly basis working as garments labourers, housemaids, security guards and shop assistants. As such, in order to build a loyal clientele and as a market promotion strategy, traders often sell their commodities on credit. In these cases, customers pay back what they owe when they receive their monthly salary. Evictions threaten repayments because households move to new sites and fail to repay their debts, leaving traders in difficult situations. Employees generally receive their monthly salary on the second week of the month. This eviction took place on the first week of the month when debts to traders were high. One respondent stated *"still I cry when I calculate the outstanding sales on credit."* The 3 respondent petty traders reported losses of between 12,000 and 110,000 Taka.

TABLE 5: LOSSES TO PETTY TRADERS

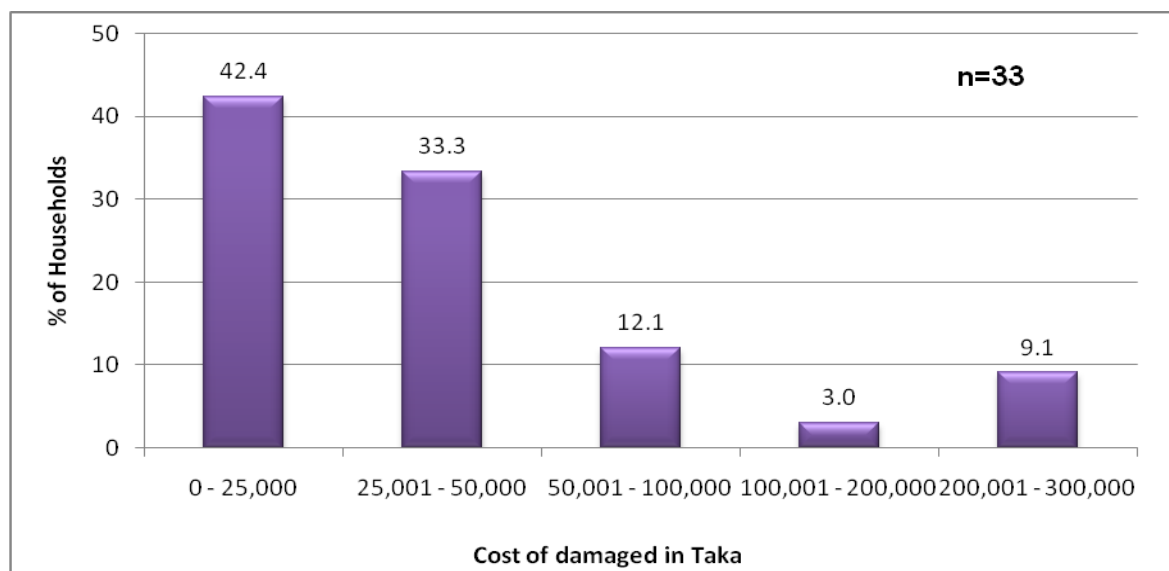
Name	Types of business	Types of asset	Estimated losses
Korban Ali	Tea stall	Shop, fixed assets, raw materials, outstanding sales on credit	60,000 Taka
Shamsul Alam	Tea stall	Furniture, outstanding sales on credit	12,000 Taka
Golam Faruque	Grocery shop	Refrigerators (2), furniture, raw materials, outstanding sales on credit	110,000 Taka

Petty traders, with businesses within the slum, faced significant losses because of the eviction. Many were forced to close their businesses for a long time and some never re-opened for trade. Those with businesses outside of the slum terminated their trades for shorter periods in order to look after the immediate needs of their families and protect the assets they could. This evidence suggests that evictions present a serious threat to the gains made to DSK-shiree extremely poor beneficiaries, with whom the project is working with primarily through small-business creation.

4.8 COST OF DAMAGES DUE TO EVICTION AT SATTOLA SLUM (UPPR STUDY)

Within a few days of eviction at Sattola slum, the UPPR project conducted a short survey with 33 households who were available in the evicted areas. Figure 1 includes unpublished data shared by UPPR. It shows that 42.4% (n=33) of households faced losses between 0 to 25,000 Taka; 33.3% households recorded their losses as between 25,001 to 50,000 Taka; 12.1% of households faced losses between 50,001 and 100,000 Taka; 3% households lost between 100,001 and 200,000 Taka; and 9.1% households between 20,001 and 300,000 Taka. These trends are similar and consistent with those found in this DSK-shiree study.

Figure 1: Distribution of households by cost of damage due to eviction



4.9 LOSSES TO SERVICE PROVIDERS

The eviction had a significant impact on the support services available to slum dwellers in the area, damaging gains made by service providers. Four NGOs were primarily working in Sattola slum before the eviction. Of these, 3 (DSK, BRAC and (Resource Integrated Centre (RIC)) have restarted their activities since the eviction. Re-starting projects following the setbacks of eviction can be costly. DSK had two projects. One focused on water and sanitation activities which led to the establishment of 3 community latrines with 2 chambers in each. All 3 were destroyed during the eviction. The construction cost of these 3 latrines was around 250,000 Taka.

At the time of the eviction, the DSK-shiree project had just finalised the selection process of 109 households but had not started distributing assets or providing capacity building training. Of these 109 households, 95 were displaced and only 14 households came back to the slum. In the end, DSK had to reselect new beneficiary households.

A BRAC delivery centre providing support to pregnant and lactating mothers was additionally destroyed during the eviction. They lost the cost of one month's rent for the centre and services were stopped for several weeks. A similar delivery centre was re-started in a nearby slum.

RIC, another national organisation, ran 3 non-formal primary Education (NFPE) centres in the slum with approximately 150 students. The schools operated in rented rooms. As all the 3 school rooms were destroyed during the eviction, the education programme was closed for 6 months until new rooms were found for the classes. With the eviction, almost all the students were displaced, and 20% of students did not return. The schools lost their rental advances and also suffered financial losses from core teaching materials such as black boards, books, note books and other equipment.

UPPR had just started selecting beneficiaries when the eviction occurred and had organised 3 Community Development Centers (CDCs) for approximately 300 households. As the households were displaced and the re-establishment of houses was uncertain, the UPPR have not yet re-started the programme.

4.10 CONSEQUENCES OF EVICTIONS

Gradually, most of house-owners and a portion of tenants have returned to the slum and are re-building their houses. But after the eviction, a major change has occurred. Many of the house-owners were not able to return to the slum, especially the DGHS employees who were not involved with the movement against eviction and in favour of re-building the slum. Many house-owners had to share a portion of their occupied land with influential tenants and new comers, who had actively participated in the lobbying with ministers and Government departments against the eviction and in favour re-establishing the slum. Currently, an uncertain and mixed situation is unfolding there. The slum has been re-established while simultaneously the authority of the DGHS has built a wall surrounding the evicted slum area, and conducted a land survey. This has left the households in an uncertain and fragile situation.

4.11 CHANGES IN THE OWNERSHIP AND THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SLUM

Before the eviction, the main authority in the slum was the "Bostee Unnayan Committee", led by employees of the DGHS. The committee possessed great influence and acceptance among the slum dwellers. As most of the employees had no positive role in favour of slum dwellers during and after the eviction, they lost their authority within the slum. As a result, in the post-eviction period, the "Bostee Unnayan Committee" is no longer operating and previous leaders are no longer in positions of authority. The Government employees, especially the officials of the DGHS, were not present during the eviction period and did not participate in the mobilisations against the eviction. The research also found that DGHS employees were restricted from joining the processions and initiatives against the eviction with some employees even being transferred to other districts. One influential national-level female leader of the slum reported that she didn't participate in the movement as she had been told that her husband, a DGHS employee, would lose his job. This illustrates the relatively low and powerless positions of DGHS employees, and their dependence on DGHS for their current and future security.



In order to remove the leadership from the employees of the DGHS during the rehabilitation process, a humanitarian concern was raised. Publicity was led by a group of local influential people with recognised and accepted political identities to ensure their leadership in the slum. Their increased leadership became easier to exercise in the absence of DGHS employees. The current leaders in the slum now control large areas of the land, as well as a large portfolio of profitable businesses of water, gas and electricity supply systems. In order to maintain control and maximise profits, the new leaders are trying to make the leading group small in number. As such, there are various internal disputes taking place, such as labelling each other as terrorists or drug dealers, for example. During, and immediately after the eviction, the main priority was to protect their positions and re-establish their positions in the slum. However, in trying to re-claim ownership to the land, the previous united leadership divided into various sub-groups and unfolded in internal conflicts.

While on the one hand, the eviction can be seen to have led to a fracturing of the leadership pattern of the area, on the other hand, the eviction created an opportunity for slum dwellers to unite. During and after the eviction, poor and extremely poor slum dwellers collectively worked together against the eviction and in their strategies to cope with it. For example, they helped each other to manage household assets and retain ownership of existing assets and land. In fact, immediately after the eviction and during the re-establishment process, a large gathering of people at the affected area was required to visibly show their occupancy of the land. As such, many of the previous tenants, as well as many new comers, were given the opportunity to build their own rooms, and the new leadership patterns allowed this to happen. Through this process, a number of tenants have positively been able to become owners of slum houses.

4.12 COPING STRATEGIES AND LONG-TERM PLANNING

Many tenants have been able to recover their losses and re-establish their houses/rooms in the slum. On the other hand, many households are still living in temporary sheds or tents because they do not have the financial resources to re-establish themselves, considering reinvestment too great a risk because of the threat of future evictions. This is particularly the case for the extremely poor.

As such, many slum dwellers are not using costly housing and household materials because they fear new evictions. In addition, many households have to borrow money from relatives, neighbours, employers and money lenders to re-establish their houses, shops and businesses. This is restricting them from re-building and planning their futures in ways that will benefit their livelihoods in a long-term way.

On the other hand, a large number of slum dwellers have not returned to the slum. For example, of the 109 DSK-shiree project beneficiaries who were evicted, only 14 have returned. In our research, it became obvious that the main reason such people are not returning is that they have less resources and connections with the musclemen, community leaders and house owners, to make their re-integration a smooth and less costly process. Some slum dwellers did not return in order to avoid such uncertain situations. These remain extremely poor and vulnerable, and to the project's knowledge, largely unmet.

4.13 THREATS OF FURTHER EVICTION

Many slum dwellers, especially influential house owners and community leaders, expressed the view that, outside personal interests, there were no reasonable reasons for the last eviction. Just one or two hours after the eviction, people began to return to the evicted places to put up tents for shelter over night. However, the police are reported to have not protected them effectively, and even during the trial at the High Court, the responsible magistrate and the police were not present. A small number of tenants and petty traders report that they received two



of the required three legal notices for eviction. According to a recent land survey (April 4th, 2011), as well as rumours circulating in the slum, the threat of future eviction continues. The researchers did not find anybody who was confident that there would be no further evictions.

4.14 CURRENT SITUATION

Due to the continuing threat of another eviction at Sattola slum/Bhanga Bostee, many slum dwellers are not rebuilding their houses fully or restarting their businesses. Furthermore, the burden of their loans has increased to meet their immediate resettlement and survival needs. Drainage and sewerage systems have collapsed. Ultimately, overall livelihoods and food security is threatened and the situation is likely to become more challenging in the rainy season.



4.15 IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF THE SLUM DWELLERS

The slum dwellers remaining at Sattola slum need immediate support to re-build their shelters and re-establish long-term income-generating opportunities. The WATSAN situation also demands immediate attention.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

EXAMPLE COMPENSATION PACKAGE

A package of taka 2,000 (including food items, utensils and cash) per family was provided by DSK-shiree project as short-term response immediately after the eviction at Mohammadpur Beribadh areas during May 2011. A total of 51 evicted families were received the supports.

1. Rice- 20 kg
2. Pulse- 2 kg
3. Potatoes- 5 kg
4. Onion- 2 kg
5. Oil - 2 litres
6. Cooking materials
7. Cash money 500-1000 for cloth & other essential commodities

The evicted households appreciated receiving the short-term response.

A similar response to evicted families at Sattola slum was provided by UPPR. On the 3rd day of the eviction, 1,020 evicted households received a one-off relief package of food items and a tent. This included rice, pulses, oil, potato, onion, biscuits, salt and bottled water and a sum of 500 Taka and a tent for each family.

Based on the immediate assessment of the losses faced during eviction, approximately 5,000- 10,000 Taka per household may be provided as an overall compensation package to re-build their income options.

Eviction is a constant threat for urban slum dwellers, disrupting overall livelihoods. While in some cases, shifts in power and ownership relations means that some slum dwellers gain access to areas of land, however fragile the future of this access may be. The recent eviction at Sattola slum destroyed shelters including houses, latrines, and supply systems of water, gas and electricity, and drainage and sewerage facilities. It also presented losses to productive assets, household belongings, hampered income opportunities, and socio-political connections and other support systems relied upon for livelihoods. People were not able to go to work for a number of days, many of them faced salary cuts, some lost their jobs, spent savings, and increased the burden of their loans. Some also faced physical and mental harassments by the police, local musclemen, and the evictors. Further, many extremely poor were simply in too vulnerable a position to return to the slum area.

Nevertheless, some significant differences have been observed between the T&T and Sattola evictions. If we compare these two contexts, we can see that the 'unplanned and unorganised eviction' made slum dwellers of Sattola more vulnerable and created greater uncertainty for them. Although the process of eviction at the T&T slum was totally illegal, it seemed slum dwellers suffered fewer losses. At the T&T slum, a private company negotiated with house-owners and offered attractive compensation packages through local musclemen or community leaders. The tenants did not suffer asset losses because they were warned by the house-owners to leave their rooms. After the eviction they were assured that there was no chance of returning to the slum. So while some moved to other parts of Dhaka city, the majority rented other rooms in nearby slums. As such, most were able to continue their livelihood efforts as before. Forewarning about the eviction also meant that service providers have not withdrawn from the area.

In Sattola, uncertainty about a future eviction is strife. There are a number of indicators of this uncertainty. First, the balance of power within the slum is new and this realignment of leaders brings its own uncertainty. Secondly, the DGHS's building of a new boundary around the slum area and a recent land survey has contributed to the fragility of the situation, fuelling speculation that a future eviction will take place. This has doubly made service providers unsure of whether to start re-working here. Finally,

slum dwellers are investing less in the slum, rebuilding their houses with poor materials or not bringing their businesses back to full operation.

In conclusion to this research, any eviction should be well planned along with concrete rehabilitation or compensation options. Some other short and long-term recommendations for action include:

- Immediate supports need to be provided to the evictees;
- Slum dwellers can be mobilised to maintain their own unity;
- Slum-based organisations should be strengthened and links made with respective service providers;
- The Government needs to be sensitised, as do respective agencies who are the real owner of the lands;
- The High Court ruling that “rehabilitation has to be ensured before any eviction” needs to be realised and responsibilities fulfilled.
- An organised and pro-active role from donors and UN organisations is needed.

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ANNEX

JUDGMENTS AGAINST THE EVICTION OF SLUM DWELLERS:

1. In a Judgement of a written petition, *Ain O Salish Kendro [ASK] Vs. Government and others* [W.P. No. 3034/1999], dated 23 August, 1999, the Hon'ble High Court Division gave specific direction [p.18] to undertake rehabilitation arrangement for the Slum dwellers and to undertake eviction of the slum dwellers only "according to the capacity of their available abode and with option to the dwellers either to go to their village home or to stay back leading an urban life...".

2. In a judgement in another Writ Petition, *Modhumala vs. Director, Housing and Building research Institute* [W.P. No. 59/1994], dated 26 October 2000, the Hon'ble High Court Division endorsed [pp. 15-16] the former direction given by the Hon'ble Court to "undertake eviction of slum dwellers phase by phase providing option with resources either to go back to their village and settle there or to stay back to lead an urban life....".

RELEVANT LAWS IN FAVOUR OF SLUMS DWELLERS:

1. Article 15 of the constitution of People's Republic of Bangladesh states that state will provide basic necessities of life including shelter for all.
2. Article 32 emphasizes protection of right to life and personal liberty.
3. National Housing Policy 1993 clause 5.7.1 strongly states that no eviction from any slum would be under taken without providing for full and adequate rehabilitation of the slum dwellers.
4. As per the Government and Local Authority Lands and buildings (Recovery and possession) Ordinance 1970 section-5 provides that a prior notice has to be served before 7 days of the slum eviction.

SUPPORT FROM THE GOVERNMENT:

Though there are a number of constitutional provisions relating to the rights of slum dwellers, there are few practical implications which are followed for the promotion of their welfare. The High Court has given Judgment in favour of the slum dwellers by asking the Government to arrange the rehabilitation of the slum dwellers in 2005.



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