

**IMPACT OF DISASTER ON LIVELIHOOD OF THE UNSKILLED LABOUR: AN
ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF FLOOD AFFECTED AREA IN SUBURBS OF
CHENNAI**

Dissertation submitted on partial fulfillment of the degree in

Master of Philosophy



Manju J Manoj

15SAHL05

Department of Anthropology

University of Hyderabad

Declaration

I Manju J Manoj hereby declare that I am a bonafied student of Master of Philosophy in Anthropology in Department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad and have conducted field work as part of my M.Phil. degree. The dissertation entitled " **Impact of disaster on livelihood of the unskilled labour: An anthropological study of flood affected area in suburbs of Chennai**" submitted under the supervision and guidance of Professor P. Venkata Rao is an original and independent research work. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Date:

Name: Manju J Manoj

Reg No: 15SAHL05

Signature

Certificate



DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

This is to certify that the thesis entitled " Impact of disaster on livelihood of the unskilled labour: An anthropological study of flood affected area in suburbs of Chennai" submitted by Manju J Manoj, bearing Regd. No 15SAHL05 in partial fulfillment of requirements for the award of Master of Philosophy in Anthropology is a bonafied work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free thesis.

The thesis has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

Prof. N Sudhakar Rao

Prof. P Venkata Rao

Prof. P Venkata Rao

Head

Supervisor

Dean

Department of Anthropology

Department of Anthropology

School of Social Sciences

Acknowledgement

I take this opportunity to thank all people who have extended their help to complete this dissertation at different levels.

I offer my most sincere feeling and thanks to my supervisor Prof. P. Venkata Rao for his support, patience, comments, feedback and guidance to carry out research and completion of dissertation. Without his assistance it would not have been possible to complete this dissertation. Indeed, it is a great honour to accomplish the dissertation under his guidance.

I thank the Head of the Department for sanctioning permission to carry out the research. I also thank Prof. N. Sudhakar Rao, Prof. Kamal Kumar Mishra, Prof. R. Siva Prasad, Prof. B.V. Sharma, Dr. George C. Tharakan, Dr. Romesh Singh and Mr. Sheik Abdul Munna for their valuable suggestions to carry out research in a better way. The insights they gave have helped me to reframe my work. I also thank all the colleague research scholars in the Department of anthropology for giving me confidence and suggestions for making me give my best. Nevertheless, I am also grateful to the non-teaching staff in the department for their help.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Gajendran and Mr. Dinesh from Agni foundation for taking me to the flood affected slums in Chennai for the first month of my research. Without them it would have been difficult to get access to different slum areas. I take this opportunity to thank Director of Agni foundation for facilitating necessary support during the fieldwork. I also thank Mr. VijayaKumar and Mr. Shyam for their cooperation during the fieldwork. I also take this opportunity to thank Mr. Stephen from World India Vision for his cooperation during interview.

Without the permission and cooperation of TAMIL NADU SLUM CLEARANCE BOARD Community Development wing Head, Mrs. Rosy, project co-ordinator for Perumbakam rehabilitation and resettlement programme, Mr. Suvakeen, Asst. Executive Engineer, Shafiq Ahmed and Community development mentor Mr. Suresh it would have been impossible to conduct the fieldwork. I take this opportunity to thank them. I also thank the Head mistress of

Perumbakam Govt. High school for giving me information related to the displaced people and students of the school.

In this opportunity I thank Ms. Jacintha from Citizen Consumer and Civic Action Group (CAG) for giving me information through e-mails.

I also thank my house owner Mrs. Vigna and her family for being there for me like a family during the fieldwork.

I thank the people from different slums all over Chennai for responding to my queries. I express my sincere gratitude to the people of Perumbakam resettlement area for answering to my queries everyday and for accepting me as a part of their group. It would not have been possible to do my research without their support.

I thank Ms. Vandana for her help when I was losing hopes and for bringing me back on track. I thank her for patiently doing proof-reading of my dissertation. I also thank Ms. Shipra for her positive attitude to keep me going. I thank Mr. Vinod for being a supportive brother.

Last but not the least I express my heartfelt gratitude for my Mother, Mother-in-Law and Husband for being a great support to complete my work and for being by my side through-out the research.

Manju J Manoj

List of contents

Contents

Declaration.....	i
Certificate.....	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
List of contents.....	v
Introduction	9
Literature review.....	16
Objectives of the study	21
Significance of Study	22
Site of the Study.....	22
Research Method.....	23
Limitation of the Study	25
Chennai floods: a brief sketch from the slum dwellers	26
1.1.General characteristics of slums	26
1.2. Slums of Chennai.....	26
1.3. Flood that turned to disaster	29
1.4. Rehabilitation followed by flood.....	31
1.4.1. Impact of flood among the slum dwellers in Chennai city	31
1.4.2. Impact of flood among the slum dwellers rehabilitated to Perumbakam	33
1.4.3. Differences in the flood impact	34
Description of disaster by the marginalized	36
2.1. How a flood turned to be disaster for victims?	37
2.2. Contributions made by women in everyday life.....	41
2.3. Gender exclusion in disaster scenario	42
2.4. The life of women in slum.....	43
2.5. Problem faced by women in the wake of disaster.....	46
2.6. Life after rehabilitation	50

2.7. Need for inclusion of women in decision making for community development	52
Slum demolition and relocation.....	54
3.0. Government initiatives to improve the slums	54
3.0.1. Slum evacuation project	55
3.1. Resistance against evacuation at the wake of disaster	58
3.2. Why rehabilitation is a boon for some?.....	62
3.3. Evaluation of the different responses from people.....	63
Livelihood issues and alternatives devised	70
4.1. Economy of Chennai city in general.....	70
4.2. Livelihood and the informal sector	71
4.3. Livelihood profile	74
4.3.0.1. Strength of unskilled wage labour for slum dwellers	76
4.3.0.2. Nature of unskilled wage labour among slum dwellers	78
4.3.0.3. Women's labour as a source of stable income	79
4.3.1. Secondary occupation.....	80
4.3.2. Household income:	81
4.4. Repercussions of flood and rehabilitation over the occupation.....	83
4.4.1.1. Impact of flood in the resettled areas	84
4.4.1.2. Calculating the relation between flood and its impact on livelihood.....	88
4.5. Shift from need for basic necessities to livelihood stability	89
4.6. Altering nature of social structure	92
4.7. Possibilities and barriers for getting job after relocation	94
4.8. Livelihood timeline and changes in occupation.....	101
Government and other external agency involvement; responses from both victims and agencies.....	107
5.0. Networks utilized in the aftermath of a disaster	109
5.1. Role perception by the external agencies	110
5.1.1. Role played by Government:	111
5.1.2. Role Played by NGOs:.....	121
5.1.3. Role played by other external agencies	127
5.2. People's perception on role played by the external agencies.....	129
5.3. The pitfalls in the relief phase.....	136
Conclusion.....	140

References	146
APPENDIX -1.....	151

List of Tables

Table 1. 1:Table indicating the population in Chennai city from 1971-2011	27
Table 1. 2: Table indicates the increase in slum population over the years.....	28
Table 1. 3:Table indicating the livelihood profile of unskilled wage labour in Chennai city.....	29
Table 2. 1Table indicating list of people who were part of FGD	49
Table 3. 1Table indicating list of slums evacuated due to flood for Perumbakam resettlement project	57
Table 4. 1:Table indicating monthly family income in percentage	81

List of Pictures

Picture 3. 1: Picture showing the view of apartments allotted for the rehabilitated families in Perumbakam	67
Picture 3. 2: People protesting on road against the water problem in the area and asking to send them back to their corresponding slums due to failure in the promises given.....	67
Picture 3. 3: Picture showing people residing below the Saidapet bridge on banks of the Koovam river	68
Picture 3. 4: Picture from Kotturpuram slum showing the poor housing condition of slums.	68
Picture 3. 5: People residing on banks of river in Kotturpuram agitating for getting house in Perumbakam. Picture 3. 6: People living on the road with their household items and protesting for delay in allotting them houses in Perumbakam.....	69
Picture 4. 1: Women given awareness about water sanitation programme and community health. Picture 4. 2 Picture showing campaign against child labour and promotion of education conducted in Perumbakam.....	100
Picture 4. 3: women in learning process in the tailoring class. Picture 4. 4:Display of dress tailoring students has cut for stitching. Picture 4. 5Teacher giving class on how to take measurement before stitching.	100
Picture 4. 6: Devani's son in their shop started in Perumbakam	102
Picture 4. 7: Vegetables sold on the street adjacent to the grocery shop.	104

Picture 5. 1: People taking pledge for sanitation and hygiene unit under the TAMIL NADU SLUM CLEARANCE BOARD programme	118
Picture 5. 2:In the inaugural function of Art of Living unit TAMIL NADU SLUM CLEARANCE BOARD officer giving speech.....	119
Picture 5. 3: Police helping NGO to supply the relief kit and checking if people use token system.	121
Picture 5. 4: A filed cartoon showing the condition in media office during the Chennai flood 2015.....	128

List of Figures

Figure 3. 1 Diagram showing the response of people on relocation due to flood	64
Figure 3. 2:Graph on responses from slums across Chennai about relocation	65

Figure 5. 1: Graph indicating people's response on role played by external agency during Chennai flood 2015.....	131
--	-----

List of Maps

Map 1. 1: Map indicating the places that were affected by flood in Chennai city.	35
---	----

Introduction

Disaster is a buzz word that has gained much momentum in academia since past six decades. It can be noticed that the impact and frequency of natural disaster is increasing these days and academicians have even plotted it in the realm of globalization. Anthony Oliver Smith (1996) says disaster study can be traced to early twentieth century Samuel Prince's study (1920) on implication for social change in munitions explosion in Halifax harbor. It was the first systematic social scientific study of a disaster that happened in 1917. Initially the disaster was seen as an unpredictable event that fell on human beings. Later in between the period of 1950-1970 there was a shift in the approach which started looking at the behaviour of individuals and organization during a disaster. But by 1980s the very concept disaster was much contested, redefined and reevaluated. Then how human beings affected by a disaster construct it, their interaction in dangerous zone, political economic force at play and vulnerability of the population was of concern. But still uniformity or consensus in the conception have not yet acquired in social science disciplines over the concept of disaster. People have used so much the word that from a failed social event to a nuclear bombardment to a wide spread epidemics to a region wide hurricane is connoted as disaster. It covers slow onset process to a rapid event. As characterized by Anthony Oliver Smith a disaster comprise of external variability and internal complexity, which have blurred edges. It is "a process/event involving the combination of a potentially destructive agent from the natural and/ or technological environment and a population in a socially and technologically produced condition of vulnerability"(1996:305). Quarantelli (1985) rightly points that disaster is defined in various forms in terms of physical agents, physical impact of physical agents, assessment of physical impact, social disruption from an event with physical impact, social construction perceived in crisis situation, political definition of crisis situation, imbalance of demand-capability ratio in crisis situation. This itself says why the concept of disaster is said to have blurred edges with a lack of prompt definition. Disaster disrupts the essential function of a society and result in social disorganization and group and individual stress condition. Anthropologist have earlier looked upon disaster not merely as an event but in terms of functions of social order, human-environment relations, psychocultural impacts, civil strife, historical structural processes et cetera which emphasized societal roles.

Thereby disaster is seen as 'nonroutine, destabilizing, causing uncertainty, disorder and sociocultural collapse'. This emphasis on a functionalist assumption stressing on societal equilibrium existed before a disaster. But Oliver Smith (1999) says that this ignores the disadvantage and impact of disaster caused to third world societies. Another debate that is prevalent among disaster study is the social versus environmental nature of a disaster. This deals with what is a disaster and what a disaster does than looking at why a disaster occurred. For this community perception, response and organizational involvement has to be noted down. Oliver Smith talks about four important aspects that an anthropologist should focus on while dealing with disaster study are- internal social and economic structure and dynamics, external social and environmental relations, nature of adaptation and how these knowledge can reduce disaster, vulnerability and damage. People exploit available resources and need to deal with environmental problems that may arise in doing so. This makes human beings to make choice for adaptation, which are not just biological but cultural and political in nature too. This would be exercised in terms of existing power relations which make certain group more vulnerable than the other categories. The same proximity to resources may also lead to same proximity to hazards. Taking the case of fishing community, people live on the shore of sea and they use the available resources, that is, fishing in the coastal line for which they depend on subsistence. This proximity also makes them more vulnerable to hazards such as storms or tsunami. So whether a hazard is a disaster depends on the pattern of societal adaptation to the total environment. Over use of the available resources also may cause some effects, where the question of sustainability comes in a capital economy. A disaster does not occur or is not that severe if the community could effectively adapt. What is to be understood is that disaster occurs in a society and not just in nature. Say for instance, if tsunami occurs in an uninhabited island it cannot be called as a disaster, it is just a natural event. So it emerges from a societal environment relations and institutional forms of such relations. A failure in understanding this and acting accordingly would lead to a disaster. It could be perceived as a web of relations that link society, environment and culture. It is considered cultural because same kind of adaptive strategy would not be of use to different group. Political ecological approach describes the evolution of a disaster to evolve as a result of social institutional arrangements made by certain group in exploiting and modifying the environment. Thus it ascribe to the fact that disaster may occur due to appearance of a specific event focused agent which happen prior to the disaster. During 1980s

anthropologists studying disaster have seen it as an extension of NGO (Non-Governmental Organization)ing social order. By this they considered it to be resulting from human-environmental relations. And the severity is based on this intervention. Outside aid to create long term problems and specialization, dependency and related development policies to be reducing coping capacities of the disaster inflicted group.

Anthropologists Hoffman and Oliver Smith discusses the four major trends in studying disaster, say, archaeological/ historical, political ecology, sociocultural/behavioural and applied/ practicing approach (1999:4:12). The first approach looks at disaster from a time perspective and sees how physical and social processes lead to disaster event, adaptive strategy involved in cultural sphere. What sustains a society's resilience to disaster, society that reemerges after disaster, why certain other societies disappear, strategies used by communities to cope up with disaster et cetera can be comprehended using this approach. Political ecology approach tries to understand the political and economic structure, policies that influence human use and misuse of the environment. It sees disaster more as a result of human activity on environment and intensity of such relations. Thereby looks at how a group creates its physical niches to produce the basic necessities for subsistence. A society's adaptation, resiliency, internal partition, dependency over other population are considered by this approach to comprehend how society score in a disaster. It not only include how well people cope up in an environment but also viability of environment themselves as its impacted by people. Here mutuality is in the forefront. If a disaster occur from such disruption on mutuality this approach then draws the reason for it. Political ecology extend its purview to even global scenario and problems like depleting ozone, increased global warming, the nature of industrial society and its exploitation and so on. The third approach includes all social and cultural issues such as the populace, their organization, community perception and also how during the phase of disaster community make assessment of the disaster and find an explanation to it. Their response and coping mechanism is dictated by their cultural system. Here we look at behavior that range from biological to philosophical aspect. They need to address to immediate needs for which they form a unity that later fragments. People try to rely on religion as a solution to face the uncertainty developed. Some participants use this as an opportunity to alter the leadership and reassemble the power arrangements. Organizational approach suggests that there may occur different institutional adjustment during disaster. It also throw light upon different aspects such as class, caste, religion, ethnicity, age, gender and so on

which would have a direct impact on influence of disaster that would affect cooperation and conflicts. Pre-disaster social ties would suggest nature of post disaster response. What is seen by such approach is that people tend to help each other immediately after disaster based on their local understanding. This approach also covers the natural resource dependent community who are directly affected by natural disaster as they are more vulnerable. It involves different ways in which a hazard is calculated and assessed in various cultures depending upon values that guide a group's behaviour and judgments. It is important to see who defines and declare a hazard as a disaster, on what terms, who defines the needs and of all who decides when a disaster impact is over. Finally leaving the question what happens to the victims if the disaster is not perceived as a disaster. Disaster certainly brings about change in the economy, politics, religion, rituals, kinships and associations. It also changes the management of environment and construction of cultural and physical ecologies. This may stir conflicts too which are studied by anthropologists. A disaster is not devoid of political implications. There also exist power relations. Disaster is seen as opportunity and cause for local political mobilization, it also alter the relation with the state. A place may be ignored by the state in matters of development, infrastructure or rendering funds. But a disaster may turn the attention of state to that particular area may be due to various political reasons and aid provided. In some cases it may alter the organization that exist, in some other cases it may disintegrate or even in other cases it may help in organizing new groups and create solidarity and make new agendas that may even cover aspects external to disaster. These extended events may cause solidarity or mobilize resistance depending on the context. It is also found that development that are half way gets accelerated soon during post- disaster stage which may or may not have implications on politico-economic relations. Finally coming to the fourth trend, applied/ practicing approach that expounds the problems of individuals and communities engrossed in disaster. The issues of prediction, prevention, mitigation, warning system, construction of new habitat, work place and relief effort et cetera are considered. The local persons and immediate institutions are taken for better understanding of the issues involved. This trend also looks at how each party constructs relief and reconstruction process. The organizational makeup of aiding agencies, their agendas, competitions, time scale and orientation is also part of the study in this approach. Largely two models are used to understand disaster, namely Pressure and Release model (PAR) and Access model. According to PAR model (Piers Blaikie et al. 1994:22) vulnerability is rooted in social pressure and underlying causes which

may be remote from disaster event. One such vulnerability is due to inability in managing to get livelihood activity. As we look into the livelihood issues this model can be used to some extent. Whereas Access model justifies how vulnerability is generated by economic and political processes. This model helps in analyzing the ability of people to deal with impact of hazard in terms of their level of access to resources needed for livelihood before and after the disaster struck. It depends on gender, ethnicity, status, age and their socio-economic relations. For this research Access model will be of more use. Since the subject of study belongs to the marginalized unskilled wage labour research would use access model. Because it is the economic and political status they hold make them the core victim.

Based on vulnerability Oliver Smith have proposed four divisions- event victims, context victims, peripheral victims and entry victims. It is seen that urbanization and industrialization have made people to live concentrated areas which indeed makes them more susceptible to disaster and in turn more vulnerable and they take much longer span for recovery. They live in areas that are risk prone to disaster. Risk in the academia is defined as a compound function of complex natural hazard and number of people characterized by their varying degrees of vulnerability who occupy the space and time of exposure to extreme wants ($\text{Risk} = \text{Hazard} + \text{Vulnerability}$). Hazard can be any unexpected event that may cause damage to the existing structure. It can be both natural and man-made. A disaster is said to happen when significant number of vulnerable people experience a hazard and suffer severe damage or disruption of their livelihood system in such a way that recovery is unlikely without external aid. Recovery means both psychological and physical recovery of victim which also covers the aspect of whether people are able to replace physical resources and social relations. Vulnerability progress in 3 ways, that is, due to root cause, dynamic pressure and unsafe conditions. Root cause may arise from having limited access to power, structure and resources. It may also be due to the way economic and political system functions. Reason for dynamic pressure includes local institution, local investment, ethical standard in public life, macro forces such as rapid urbanization, debt repayment schedule and so on. Finally coming to unsafe condition indicates specific form of vulnerability of a population expressed in terms of time and space in conjunction with a hazard. People living in dangerous location being unable to afford safe building, lacking effective protection or having minimal food entitlement or entitlement that are prone to rapid disruption can be characterized under unsafe condition. According to Cannon (1994) there are five types of

vulnerability- physical, economic, social, education/informational and environmental vulnerability. Exposure to risk due to settlement in risk prone area and poor quality housing constitutes physical vulnerability. Loss of livelihood and income opportunity combined with low economic status and loss of assets and savings lead to the need for recurrent external aid. This constitutes economic vulnerability. Social vulnerability includes disintegration of the social organization, high incidence of female headed family and low health status. Ignorance of early warning system and training for emergency response indicates education/informational vulnerability. Rapid population growth and urbanization leading people to concentrate in certain area at poor conditions increases risks of hazard which are characteristics of environmental vulnerability.

Implementation of any policy extends beyond Government ministries and agencies. Since the funds are decentralized, at various stages gets netted and finally the amount that reaches the needy ground rooted people is often meagre. But considering long term it is cheaper to take measures to prevent disaster from occurring than funding for the recovery. But this is mostly realized late. External agencies like NGO take up each area and try developing the place and thus make people less vulnerable by addressing pre disaster conditions that may give rise to patterns of repeated disaster. People have encroached in the disaster prone area since years. For them it is their own land and they have the right over the land. When the Government asks to evacuate the place people think they have every right to be in that land. Therefore resettlement is another problem faced by government entities as people often agitate not to relocate them. Most of the times their subsistence pattern is based on local environment which would be under threat when relocated. Another problem is that the identity crisis. People living in proximity and their kin ties will be broken by resettlement. Also they lose places of cultural significance. These would lead them to more traumatized stage. Resettlement to a new area may indeed reproduce all the five types of vulnerabilities which make people to rely for recurrent aid from external agencies. One such way to address the problem of rehabilitation is by improving or diversifying employment opportunity. Here livelihood per se would be a better term to use. Livelihood means a command an individual, family or other social group have over an income or bundle of resources that can be used or exchanged to satisfy needs. This may include information, cultural knowledge, social networks, legal rights, tools, land and other physical resources. Disruption of five capitals such as physical, human, financial, natural and social capital makes the livelihood

shock severe. It is seen that post disaster phase combined with resettlement the problem often faced by victims are to yield means for livelihood. The potential to have income regularity dictates further degree of vulnerability.

Flood is one disaster that affects more number of people. It is not only associated with drowning or direct injury but also diseases and famine. It should also be looked upon with regard to the impact on livelihood and resource use. The consequences of flood may remain for months together. Access model indicates how the long term impact of flood can make people more vulnerable to future floods as it attacks the labour power, social networks and household assets. But the risk may vary from people to people. Even if it does not extend to future famine it may leave some people remain in hunger for mid-term. Flood can be largely classified into five types- flash flood, riverine slow-onset flood, rainfall/ impounded water floods, tropical cyclone floods and Tsunami floods. Flash flood is dangerous as there is no precaution given. It increases the death toll and losses. The second type of flood has less direct casualties. But building collapse, snake bite, other injuries, malnutrition et cetera are more. Illness such as cholera and dysentery incidence is more due to mixing of sewage water with portable water. It can also result in malaria and yellow fever. This kind of illness increases the vulnerability of people. This makes it impossible to go for work leading to loss of labour. This cannot be afforded especially in the recovery phase. Not all who are strike by flood may be a victim. The degree depends of victimhood depends upon the social and economic group they belong to. Property may be damaged and things swept away. But it is of the most marginalized people that the bundle of property, assets and economic connection lost and disrupted. Considering the marginalized population they may not have any insurance for property or life. Also their loss has two way impacts. Not only has the loss of goods and property made livelihood activity to be pursued difficult. But also the replacement of necessary goods makes it an extra burden which need more time to be attributed to it. This amount otherwise could have been used for earning or livelihood activities. Such group may be unable to move against the vulnerability of hazard as it makes them more vulnerable to the consequences of the hazard. Within the same community itself there may be difference in vulnerability for men and women. This depends upon their time and place pattern of daily and seasonal work bringing inequalities.

Literature review

-studies based on slum population and housing condition.

In 'Slums and urbanization' Haider (1990) have explained about the major slums in India that existed even before Independence and which are still growing. Slums in semi-rural and urban areas are discussed with case studies to understand factors that lead to the growth in area surrounding slums and their worsening conditions. He also discusses area centric model to understand growth of the slums.

Chandramauli in 'Slums in Chennai: A profile' (2003) talks about the slums of Chennai and their deteriorating conditions. He talks about the origin of slums and the factors that leads to the formation of these slums. In his work he also discusses about how different literatures have defined a slum and the basic characteristics of the slum. He further discusses about how the slums in Chennai and India have grown over the year and the conditions of these slums are described in detail.

Street corner society: the structure of an Italian slum(1993) by William Foote Whyte talks about the complexity of relations in Cornerville for which he did inter-generational study and between doc and chic. Whyte emphasizes the organization among these people as against the popular perception of disorganization prevailing in such community. The book also shows ways in which corner boys try to influence the system and get support. And the way local body makes use of their role during political elections.

Oscar Lewis (1996) in his paper culture of poverty studies the urban poor in Puerto Rico and Mexico to draw a 'design of living' that is a fatalistic approach which they pass on to generations. He characterized such families to have high divorce rates, matrifocal families that have women headed households. He also talks about how men show their dominance by wife beating to hide their incapability to get a stable income. He used generalization to the extend saying these people do not have a community life or use banks, hospitals or schools and thereby perpetuating poverty. He says that it has excluded the advanced capitalist societies.

The insight to look at whether the characteristics attributed to slums are similar in the case of study was gained from the above literatures. This also helped in knowing the organization that

exists within the people which is otherwise hidden. The basic understanding about the slums in India and Chennai in specific was derived from these studies. This understanding helped in preceding the study and in understanding the vulnerability of slum dwellers. It also throws light upon why people of slums were responding in a particular way to different Government development programmes.

-study on approach to research on disaster

Dynes in his paper “The comparative study of disaster: A social organizational approach” (1975) elaborates on how disaster is helpful in the academic side. He says that disaster provides an opportunity that will help in the comparative analysis of social systems. It is also useful because it sets to motion the variety of structures and processes with which any social system tries to put up with. They help in understanding the long range of social change along with understanding the immediate adaptation of social systems. He says comparative analysis is less in disaster study. Since most of the disaster research happens in United States the scope is for internal comparison and not cross-cultural. There have been only two studies that involved explicit comparison. Clifford, 1956, observed the difference in reaction to the flood which affected two communities, and recorded their response. One community was in Mexico and other in Texas. The Mexican community seemed to have shared characteristics. There seemed to have been emphasis on the ascriptive criteria, like the age, class, sex and kinship in ordering of the social relations. There was also a greater emphasis on personalized relationships along with a greater dependence on the people than that was on the position. This nature of social relationship had impact on the disaster response between their countries. The next of the two studies on explicit comparison is of Mc Luckie (1970). His disaster response was based on two three different societies, namely, the Japanese, Italy and the United States. Where the three societies differed was on the degree of centralization, with Japan being highly centralized, Italy being less centralized and the United States with least centralization. Luckie observed that centralization had an impact on the performance of the disaster task. It was observed that in the more centralized societies, the warnings for evacuation and others were more delayed. Despite their realistic assessment of the situation, there were problems with patterns of established decision making that typically involved the higher authorities and this made it difficult for the local authorities to make a decision. Immediate response to disaster tasks were often from the less

centralized decision making, with no regard to social structure. Luckie also observed how the response to disaster varied with the time from the commencement of the disaster. Since disasters take place over a time, behaviour in the different stages could be another basis for classification. The author notes how using these classifications, some comparisons can be made even though the two studies may not be connected or associated. He says study conducted by Brahme and Gole in 1967, examined the role played by the municipal and other government agencies in the immediate after effect and of establishment of rehousing after massive floods in the longer term. Attempts like these at classification can lead to accumulation of research findings that are particularly drawn from the comparative context. The next type of comparison that can be made is based on social organizational similarities. This one takes into consideration the nature of social organisation. He says the cultural differences is not what to be focused but focus should be on the social structural implications of the disaster. Problems of response to the agent of disaster should also be focused

Dynes and Quarantelli (1997) in 'A network Paradigm for disaster context' from the book Social Network Analysis of disaster Response, Recovery and Adaptation have dealt with how disaster should be analysed in a society. They have explained about the importance of looking at individual as well as the group characteristics of a community struck by disaster. They talk about how the social network is deployed by the individuals in such situations. When considering the group how much formalized relation is organized in the recovery and adaptation phase is significant to understand the kind of social network at play. At the community level also how organized they are should be part of analysis. They say problems of response to the agent of disaster should also be focused. The response should be measured on the social organizational implication on the society and not at the psychological level. They explain the kind of networks like ego centric network, sociocentric network, multilevel network people have prior to disaster also have an influence during disaster and in the recovery phase. They say beyond this there will be ad hoc networks formed during the wake of a disaster making ties between people. This would be created to serve new functions and make partnership.

The literature referred helped in understanding the role of different formal and informal organization used by victims in the wake of disaster and in the reconstruction phase. The

objective of study to look at people's role and different external agencies role in coping with disaster came from the above reading.

-studies on livelihood

In 'The livelihood approach: a critical exploration', Leo J D Haan (2012) says initial the power relation was neglected in studying livelihood which was a serious shortcoming. In 1990s when sustainable livelihood approach was used in the study the poor was addressed. He says livelihood comprise of multiple activities having dynamic strategies household use to meet their needs. These strategies are confined by the institutions having particular structure either enabling or restricting the poor from organizing effective strategies. He discusses the idea of Evans Pritchard and Karl Polanyi in studying livelihood. He says Polanyi has asked to go beyond the formalist economics. Hence poverty was not to be seen only in terms of income, but it is multi-dimesional. He says the need to look for globalization and dominant ideology that shapes it to understand livelihood. He also discusses about the political ecological domain of livelihood. He then talks about at community level how people have their own livelihood objectives and strategies deployed in the bargaining process. Policies, institutions, process and shocks and trends influence the livelihood of a community. The power relations talks about at larger level the higher negotiating capable members degrade environment resulting in climatic variations.

The basic understanding of what constitutes a livelihood and the insight to look livelihood beyond monetary capacity of people was gained from the literature. It further helped in understanding factors that influence a disaster like the institutions, process, shock, trends and so on which dictates the level of vulnerability. Thereby the need to understand the role of external agencies in providing livelihood means was probed as objective of study. The literature helped in looking at multiple activities and coping mechanism the community uses rather than confining to a single means of money generation.

-studies on disaster

In the book 'At risk: Natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters'(2014) Cannon and Blaikie discuss about how beyond natural events the socio, political and economic factors make people vulnerable. A group or person's capacity to anticipate and cope with, resist and recover from natural hazard is decided by the vulnerability the person posses. Class, caste, ethnicity,

disability and age also perpetuate the vulnerability. Depending upon the time dimension of recovery how vulnerable the person can be understood.

Olive Smith in 'The angry earth: Disaster in anthropological perspective' (1999) talks about how a natural event can be portrayed as a disaster with the consequences it cause for people. He spoke about the prevalent approaches used in studying disaster. Behavioural approach and political ecology approach was emphasized in his book. Using this approach he tried to look at what disaster reveals about the society in its internal social and economic structure with relation to the external social and environmental relation. He says doing this it would enable to formulate the strategies to reduce the disaster vulnerability and damage. In short he says disaster is embedded in the social structure of a society. In political ecology approach he says from group to group the vulnerability varies. Some sections could enhance security while others are subjected to systemic risk and hazard. Here the relation between people, environment and sociopolitical structures of society is concerned. He says the social institutional arrangements and people's position and accessibility dictates the sustenance. It looks at the structure that shapes society vulnerable to the generated hazard. Disaster is seen as a processual phenomenon along the combination of human population and potentially destructive agent. He says a society may increase or decrease its vulnerability to particular hazard with time through sociocultural adaptation. Then he talk about two models in studying disaster-In Pressure and Release model vulnerability comes from the social pressure the victims have and this may not be implicit in the disaster event. In Access model says vulnerability is caused by economic and political processes. Because it is the economic and political status victim has make them the victim.

Krithika (2005) in her work "The state and civil society in disaster response: An analysis of the Tamil Nadu Tsunami experience" have brought into light how the civil society come in help of people at the wake of tsunami. In the report she has explained how the Government has reported to need of the people and their rescue and recovery mechanism at use. She has further explained that media though helped in getting attention the news was created in a biased work.

Literature on disaster helps in understanding the general idea about disaster and how people define an event as disaster. It also helps in knowing different adaptive mechanism formulated by civil society in the wake of disaster. Further from the literature models and approaches used in study of disaster was understood. This led to the basic understanding of study of disaster and to

formulate objectives for study. From the literature it was understood that the plight of women and elderly population was severe than rest of the victims. It also helped in wanting to know how the victims perceive the disaster.

-studies on vulnerability

James C Scott on 'weapon of the weak: everyday forms of the resistance' (1985) says about daily resistance the marginalized undergo. He says that peasant and slave societies resist their oppression not explicitly but through cultural resistance and non-cooperation. Here the agitation process on roads can and getting media's attention as a form of resistance. They know when it is to be vocal and this is done mostly during the election time as they form one of the firm vote bank. Here the strength *prima facie* is the social capital which they use for negotiations. Since James C Scott has used it for not an urban population, hence the way they exhibit is different from the rural population. So this idea cannot be applied. But when it comes to group dynamics a similar kind of resistance can be seen within horizontal ties. This way people show their resistance in the form of rumour. But since it is among people belonging to same level there is no hegemony or power as seen. But if being in the place for a longer time taken as a matter of advantageous position then this would be true. Scott sees resistance taking a place between structure and agency. But he says it is expressed in an hidden form that is suitable for that culture. This is not the case with the slum dwellers. They are more vocal.

Though the present research is situated in urban context the literature helps in looking at people's agitation through cultural resistance and non-cooperation. This can be applied when analysing their response to rehabilitation. People use certain mechanism to express their dissatisfaction with the external agencies. The victims perceive the role of external agencies different from the external agency.

Objectives of the study

- To know how disaster is perceived by the community and their response to it.
- To understand impact of disaster on most marginalized section, say, women.
- To examine livelihood issues and alternatives chosen by people belonging to daily wage labour.

- To understand the role played by NGOs, Government agencies and other aid givers and how it is perceived by the people during disaster and in its aftermath.
- To scrutinize the changes that have occurred after being affected by the same disaster by different groups in terms of social organization and livelihood activities with special reference to group that have rehabilitated and group that remain in the same area.

Significance of Study

The discipline of Anthropology itself indulges in holistic and comparative study, which is necessary for a disaster research. This study looked upon the interrelationships between cultural, social, political and economic domains of a disaster within a community. Since the research will be focusing on the marginalized section who were affected by flood research would also further help in policy implementation or any other decision making process to involve people. If not it would be helpful in understanding where more precautions should be taken and where there lack community participation or lack of awareness in mitigating impact of a disaster. This study would give an emic view of how disaster is viewed especially from a gendered perspective, which would be of use in disaster study in a globalizing world. This study would also be helpful in understanding pre disaster vulnerability, preparedness, social structure et cetera which would help in avoiding disaster or mitigating the impact during a hazard. Hence the field includes people who are rehabilitated due to flood this study can throw light upon the problems and needs people need in relocated area. Also it would help in understanding further development to be taken place in the area which is more people oriented.

Site of the Study

Initially the worst flood affected areas within the city of Chennai and the suburbs were taken for general understanding of plight of slum dwellers. Preceding it the Perumbakam, where the Government has build homes for the people and developed it as a housing board was taken as the field for study. This place is 25 KM away from the city. Government has rehabilitated the flood affected people along with project affected people in 11 blocks that consist of 198 houses in each

block. There was NGO that wrestle within the people and Government regarding the relocation. So the original slum which was in the center of the city was also visited for study.

Chennai is located on the south-eastern coast of India. It belongs to the north-eastern part of Tamil Nadu having Eastern Coastal Plains. Chennai is located at 13.04°N latitude 80.17°E Longitude. Chennai comprise of regions with sandy areas, clayey areas and hard-rock areas. Sandy areas are found along the river banks and the coasts. The city has clayey regions. Hard rock areas are covered by certain areas within the city which developed in a later period. Sandy areas absorb water quickly. But the clayey and hard rock places percolate the rain water very slowly and the soil held it for longer. This may be the reason for water to stagnate during rainy season. Chennai experience a tropical wet and dry climate. There is no extreme variation in climate due to its location on the thermal equator and the coastal region. It leaves most of the days in a year hot and humid. Hottest period is late May and early June with maximum temperatures around 38–42 degrees Celsius. January has relatively cool climate with minimum temperatures around 18–20 °C. The average annual rainfall is 1400mm. From September to December Chennai gets rainfall from North- East monsoon winds. It was the North-East monsoon that caused flood in Chennai in 2015.

Research Method

The research was based on both quantitative and qualitative data. Multiple methods such as extended case study method, interview method, schedule, participant observation, key informant method, focus group discussion and recording were used. Secondary data was collected from Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board and census.

Interview:

Interview with people who are more influential in the community was conducted. More focus was on interviewing women in the community belonging to all age group. Interviews of those families who have been badly affected by disastrous conditions was done. Interview was also conducted with Government officials and NGOs who have involved in rescue and development programmes. Interview also tried to bring why there was a problem with rehabilitation for people. Also the alternatives devised by people were understood by interviewing them. To

understand the livelihood activities of people interview method and observation method was used. More focus was given on people's narrative of the experience. Also interview method helped in understanding the impact of flood and rehabilitation on their livelihood. People were enquired about the kind of occupation they were doing from past to now.

Schedule:

Using this method a set of questions prepared beforehand was asked to people and their response were noted down. This helped in quantifying some of their responses. Since the number of people in the resettlement area was 1819 a sample of 10% was used. That is in most of the cases 182 people were asked the questions. Questions regarding the role played by women in earning a living and the extend of loss people have suffered, adaptive strategies used by each household, alternate livelihood options, level of preparedness, awareness about risk management et cetera were analysed through responses gained from schedule.

Case study:

Some people with specific experience were taken for this purpose. Recording this focused on certain aspects like livelihood adjustment made by people after flood. Elderly people who have experienced flood earlier also can be a case study. Women headed family was another source of case study. Also people who have a differential experience or who have involved in alternate livelihood activities or some local leaders from the community et cetra were potential source for doing case study.

Participant observation:

This method was carried out throughout the fieldwork. It helped in understanding the day-to day activities of people and relation people have with each other and resources, their dependency level, role of women and their economic status, power relations, indigenous knowledge, etcetera. Also this method helped to get insight on how well people cope up in new area of residence and the problems they face.

Key informant method:

Key informants are those who are capable of giving specialist knowledge about their people, processes, historical occurrences or events in their community in a detailed way than ordinary people. He or she should be a person who can speak without any bias . This method gave a picture of how the community perceives disaster and their coping mechanisms. Person who working with the NGOs but residing in the settlement was taken as key informant. It would also say which group among the community to be more vulnerable and reasons for it, the role women have in adaptive measures, their coping mechanism were understood.

Focus group discussion:

This helped in understanding the opinion of different groups in the same community. Women were made into two groups to speak about the problems they faced during disaster. A focus group was be conducted in the rehabilitated area within two groups, one which are in favour of the rehabilitation and one against it. This gave an idea about the problems they face in new areas and amenities that they have there.

Limitation of the Study

Study was conducted after three months of flood hit. Hence only the narration from victims and officials is known. More focus is given to the people who have rehabilitated to Perumbakam resettlement. Since there were so many slums within Chennai city it was not feasible to cover all. Mainly opinions from women are collected making it gender biased to some extend as accessing information from men for the prescribed sample was not possible. Only two and half months of fieldwork was done. People were rehabilitated to the settlement for two months and the changes that must have occurred after the period of fieldwork is absent in the research. There is future possibility to conduct research on rehabilitated people to understand how people adapted and gained livelihood options over time.

Chennai floods: a brief sketch from the slum dwellers

1.1.General characteristics of slums

Slums are called *cheris/kuppam* in Tamil. According to United Nations slums are-“*group of buildings, or area characterized by overcrowding, deterioration, unsanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities which, because of these conditions or any of them, endanger the health, safety or morals of its inhabitants or the community.*”

No country is devoid of slums. Exploitative production and distribution serves for slum growth. There is so much stereotypic perception on slums. One such work which became highly controversial is put forward by Oscar Lewis in culture of poverty (1966). Though all his ideas cannot be refuted the generalization he has drawn is misleading for a social science research. Slums are further defined as “*A slum is taken to mean hutting areas with squalid surroundings having erected huts in a haphazard manner without proper access to minimum basic amenities. Protected water supply and drainage arrangement do not exist in these areas. Houses are build in close proximity not allowing free air to get in. The number of people living in the slums is on the increase everyday without much restrictions and the condition in these areas are worsening day by day.*” (*Slums of Madras, pg 189*). Slums are houses in substandard condition having a high density of population. This causes congestion and overcrowding of people. The sanitary condition and garbage management system would be poor. Not all slums have these attributes. There are slums in Chennai that are maintained in best possible ways by the people.

1.2. Slums of Chennai

In 2011 census the state population of Tamil Nadu was 7,21,47,030 spread around 1,30,058 sq.km. There is a rapid increase in the population of Chennai city. Migration is a main reason for the increase in rapid population growth. According to 2001 census, there are 74.5 % of people from various parts of Tamil Nadu who had migrated to Chennai. Migrants from other parts of India constitute 23.8% and the remaining 1.71 % of the migrants are from abroad.

Chennai Corporation is divided into three regions-North, South and Central. It also covers Sections of Tiruvallur and Kanchipuram Districts. This altogether forms the Chennai Metropolitan Area spreading to 1189 sq.km. .

Table 1. 1:Table indicating the population in Chennai city from 1971-2011

Year	Population in Chennai	Population in CHENNAI METROPOLITAN AREA
1971	24.69	35.04
1981	32.66	46.01
1991	38.41	58.18
2001	43.43	70.41
2011	61.53*	86.96

Source: Census of India, 2011.

Slums in Chennai in various literatures are defined as huts having standard size of eight feet by five feet. People in slum have community level water supply and toilet facilities but not always separately for individual families. The over use of these resources make the slum unhygienic and filthy. These slums are situated in Government land and in dangerous condition. Though Government had made plans to evacuate such dangerous slum and relocate them this did not come to reality. Each slum serves as vote bank for the political parties making the process delayed.

Change in urban land use pattern suffices another reason for the development of slums. Urban areas are expensive that people cannot afford a decent housing in other areas. According to burgess concentric zone theory (1925) lower classes occupy central area of city whereas as the city develop the upper class move to certain sectors. According to the geography and city development Chennai slums seems like suiting the theory. Most of these slums are seen in the centre of the city. Later in the chapter it could be seen that this serves as a reason for people to move out from their residence no matter how deteriorated it is. The feasibility to manage daily

wage labour and nearness to school, hospital, bus stand and railway station makes people opt to live in these places.

Pre-independence period onwards Madras presidency was powerful in South India. There were more opportunity to survive doing menial services to the people residing in Chennai. With the industrial revolution the demand for labour increased. The expansion of city has caused people to migrate to cities in search of jobs. Also people who migrate with assistance from kin, caste and locality afflictions for residence, contacts for job and temporary monetary help and security tend to build houses in the same area without any infrastructure facility at hand which again is a cause for slums to grow. The family structure in Chennai slums are such that the children after marriage breaks from their family and build a new house in the same area, most probably within few meters radius. So they get kin support and they are not so away from their family. Living apart would reduce the clashes that may come within the mother, sister and wife and give them more privacy. Also income need not be necessarily shared to their family. The slums that existed were expanded for including the increase in population. But the facilities remained the same making the condition worst. According to Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board report around 10% of the Chennai slum population belongs to Below Poverty Line. Among the slum dwellers it is only 11% of the people who fold patta. Rest of the people has acquired public land. And 51% of the people are either SC or ST among the slum dwellers. In this research the community is used to define people from each slum. A community can be understood as a group of people who live in close proximity and interact with each other on a regular basis having some kind of common interest. A community may be formed due to place bound or kinship/interest bound. People in a community will have symbiotic relation. Generally the membership is constructed socially for which they mostly form a lucid internal structure to serve their needs and maintenance of the group. During a disaster this interaction would weaken or strengthen. A new community would be formed according to the changing needs and situation.

Table 1. 2: Increase in slum population over the years.

Sl.no	years	no. of slums	HH	Slum population
1	1956	306	57,436	287180
2	1961	548	97851	412168
3	1971	1202	163802	737531

4	1986	996	127181	650859
5	2001	1431	178000	820000
6	2011	NA	398847	1613611
7	2014	2173*	304980*	1155025

Source: Slum Free City Plan of Action – Chennai City Corporation, Draft Report.

It is the socio-economic condition of the people that make them live in the slums. The majority of the people residing in slums will be undertaking unskilled wage labour due to lack of accessibility to skill knowledge and education. The table below indicates the nature of unskilled wage labour in which people are engaged all over Chennai city with percentage.

Table 1. 3: The livelihood profile of unskilled wage labour in Chennai city.

SL.NO	LIVELIHOOD	PERCENTAGE
	Casual labour	73
	Construction worker	6
	Office related work	11
	Driver	6
	Auto repair/ mechanic	2
	Security related work	2
Total		100

Livelihood profile based on 1131 slums surveyed by Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (2173 slums in total)

Source: Slum Free City Plan of Action – Chennai City Corporation, Draft Report.

1.3. Flood that turned to disaster

A flood can be riverine, estuarine, coastal, catastrophic, flash, hill torrential or due to skewed urban practices which comprise hydro meteorological and monsoon influence. A flood can cause destruction of infrastructure, ecology and agriculture. According to World Risk Report 2011, India is one among the country that is highly vulnerable to disasters because of lack of coping capacities According to 90% of the damage in India is caused by monsoonal flood. Tamil Nadu is one among the state in India that is vulnerable to flood because of its geography and urban set-

up. These floods have led to loss of livelihood and infrastructure, migration and relocation of the victims. Looking into South Indian floods resulted from heavy rainfall during the annual northeast monsoon in November–December 2015. It affected the Coromandel Coast region of the South Indian states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, and the union territory of Puducherry, with Tamil Nadu and the city of Chennai particularly had hard-hit. All over the state 421 people were killed and over 18 lakh people were displaced. Damages and losses estimate ranges from over Rs.20000 crore (US\$3 billion) to Rs.100000 crore (US\$15 billion), which is the costliest natural disasters of the year. The flood occurred in three phases. Heavy rainfall was there on 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 23 of November 2015, and 1 December 2015. Chennai received 1,049 mm (41.3 in) of rainfall in November, which was the highest over a century when in November 1918 Chennai received 1,088 mm rainfall. Apart from this other reasons added to the reason for water level rise in the city. For Chennai city this is not the first time experiencing a major flood. 1976, 1985, 1996, 1998 and 2005 were the years when there was major flood in the city. Within November 29 to December 2nd the rainfall received in Chennai was 400mm. High intensity rainfall was due to depression generated over Bay of Bengal causing high precipitation in the south east coast. The El-Nino phenomena have contributed to this. A scientific report on reasons behind Chennai flood reports that urbanization can serve as another reason for increased precipitation. Addition to this the warming of Bay of Bengal due to global warming can be another reason. Rapid unplanned urbanization causes reduction in the infiltration component of the hydrologic cycle. This indeed causes an increase in water run-off during peak times. A reduction in the minor and medium water bodies due to urbanization which served as detention to decrease water flow made the water level to rise during the rainfall resulting water logging. Due to heavy rainfall Chembarambakkam and Poondi reservoirs was released to avoid further danger which again increased magnitude of flooding. Water level raised in Kosasthalaiyar River, the Cooum River and the Adyar River - and the Buckingham canal during the north eastern monsoon making the flood more devastating. While the reasons for the rainfall could be scientific, the flooding of the city was manmade says the scientific world. Haphazard Urban expansion, encroachments, breaking the natural water courses, lack of technical skill, severe funding limitations, improper planning, poor urban governance are said to be factors attributed to the flooding of the city. For this study I would be looking at how the recent flood has disrupted the lives of people who were residing in the slums on the banks of rivers. Most of these houses

were laid by encroachment on public land. Government has rehabilitated most of these people to two areas namely, Kanagi Nagar and Perumbakam. Most of them are unskilled wage labourer who needs to earn on daily basis for survival. Rehabilitation has made the life even worst. So the research would proceed on this line.

1.4. Rehabilitation followed by flood

Not all the slum dwellers were displaced after the flood around Chennai city. Though Government had plans formulated to make Chennai a slum free city people were not cooperating to the idea proposed by Government. There are slums within Chennai city which is older than the free India. People are residing in those areas since the time of their grandparents. The life in center of city makes it easier for people to travel to any part of the city at any time and get an income to sustain their lives. Other amenities like schools, hospitals, shops, railway station, bus stand, place of worship, work place are easily accessible for the people when they reside in these slums. For transportation they need to spend only a meager amount. People have created social ties to suit their daily life from these areas. They know to survive in slum within the city. But a shift of place of residence away from city would disrupt the social ties they have created, their economic relation, sense of belongingness to the place and so on. These serve as main reasons for slum dwellers to resist relocating to another place. Though facilities are improvised in the relocated place people cannot accept to shift. But people who have been staying in poor housing condition and prone to diseases causing environment and threat of natural disasters would agree to rehabilitation.

Interview was taken from the victims by visiting different slums in Chennai city. People were asked about the difficulty they had to face in the wake of disaster and their coping mechanism. People were also asked why they wanted to stay back in slums that are prone to floods in every monsoon when there was option to relocate. People were further probed on the external aid they have received in the aftermath of disaster.

1.4.1. Impact of flood among the slum dwellers in Chennai city

The major flood occurred on December 1st following other two flood which occurred back to back from mid of November. People were in an impression that this flood would be not harmful

and they could stay in their residence with some precaution. But it was so unexpected for the people to see the intensity of flood. In most of the slums water level rose in the night. Since people have been hit by flood even before they took shelter in schools, auditoriums, church, and roof top of buildings. They could not save much of the household items as it occurred in night. People were given aid from different external sources including food, water, provisions and clothing. Government had allotted rupees 5000 for each house and rupees 10000 for houses that were destroyed. But there was a delay in receiving the money making people rant about their condition and blaming the Government officials.

When people were asked who helped them the most, majority of the people opined that it was college students and NGOs that came to support them and not the Government entities. Within the city reach even some political parties tried to help the people with food. The provision they got from relief camps and after coming back to their houses was enough for surviving few days without any occupation. People could not go for work because of flood. Since people stayed in relief camps some of the people could not go for work and they were replaced by others. But as days passed by people started going for work. They could use the contacts to get any job. People had the confidence to get back to normal life at the earliest. But the loss caused by flood would take a longer time to overcome. Because the household items were the main assets people had and replacing it would take much longer time. People were even not having money to repair their damaged houses. People were already going for some or the other work within the span of two months after the flood. The aid from external source seized as they came back to their houses. Neither Government helped the people in restoring their houses. It was from their own earnings and borrowing money from money lenders people were able to restore livable condition of the houses. The emergent support system during flood has faded away and the already existing social ties among the people were back to order.

After the flood the responsibility to support family fell on women. Women could get job easily than men due to the nature of their work. Working as housemaid develops a long term relation and need of service on day-to-day basis. The construction workers had more problems because many of the construction works were at hold for few months. Meanwhile they were going for available occupation. Even the elderly population continues to get the job they were doing.

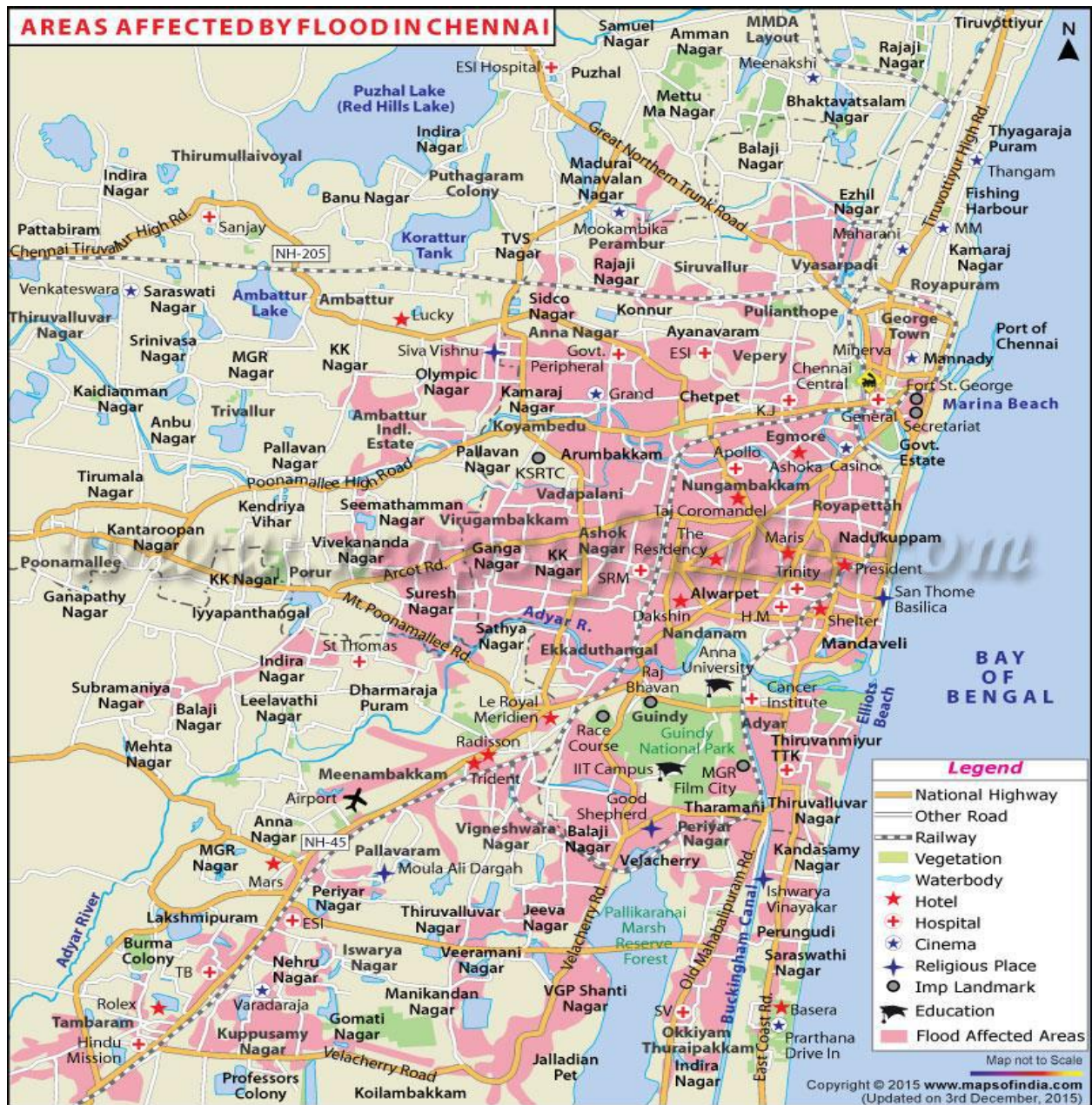
1.4.2. Impact of flood among the slum dwellers rehabilitated to Perumbakam

The loss and intensity of flood faced by the people who rehabilitated in the wake of disaster was same. They lost their houses completely or partially. With the sanction for relocating to Perumbakam and Kanagi Nagar people were forced to shift. In many settlements the agitation held by people of the slum made Government to agree for their demand of not shifting from the slum. But the poor condition of slums and lack of coordination between people forced many slum dwellers who were against relocation also to relocate. After the relocation people were monitored by the Government entity and constant support were given to the people. Since people had no means to survive Government had given rupees 5000 while relocating. Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board also conducted job fair and skill development programme for the people. There was continuous assistance for the people because their means to survival was blocked due to rehabilitation. All parts of life was affected by the rehabilitation. People were put into different blocks and their previous neighbours or community people were no more together disintegrating the relation. People were left with no opportunities until they explore and find it. But as people were new to place they were confused. People remained without any job for months together. Students had to travel so long to city and go for school. If not they had to join in Government schools in the locality. Some parents could not afford to send children to school and until the next academic year students were not send to school. This has a negative impact on the education of children. People had to spend more for transportation to go for any occupation which was not the case in slums. Elderly population absolutely had no means to attain any occupation. They had to completely depend on their children which increased burden for them. Some of the people left the house and stayed for rent in the slums in Chennai for earning an income and leave children for studies. The social ties were broken in many cases. People were making acquaintance with new people who also rehabilitated. Their previous credit system used in emergency was no more applicable in rehabilitated area making the survival difficult for people. People were in state of despair for longer time than the other victims of flood. Some people were utilizing the assistance provided by external agencies like Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board and NGOs to build their livelihood options. The life in rehabilitated are was different from their previous life. The start difference was mainly in terms of managing a viable livelihood option for the family. This was though triggered by flood but was crystallized by the rehabilitation which was followed by flood.

Though initially people were ranting about the forced rehabilitation and lack of employment later they started finding the occupation. But the change of place has slowed down the speed of recovery and resiliency of the slum dwellers in Perumbakam. People were also looking at new opportunities to earn a living. Some people have utilized the facilities and options available well.

1.4.3. Differences in the flood impact

The collective behaviour during a disaster varies and have uninstitutionalized behavioural pattern, which can be referred as a state of anomie with the sudden change in the environment and social relations. Then the motive would be the attainment of minimal requirement like food, clothing, shelter and health. During an anomie stage people will not know how to act as the previously existing norms do not serve all the functions. Quaranteli explains concept called keynoting where new levels of interaction begin between people, state and public. The stage until rehabilitation was the same for the victims from slum which differed after rehabilitation. People residing in slum more or less have daily wage unskilled labour as livelihood means. The people who stayed back in their slums could strengthen the ties that were helping in getting a job and get back to normal life. This was not the case of rehabilitated population. Though the suffering was the same they had taken a longer time for resiliency. For the victims of flood who have rehabilitated all aspect of life were changing right from the new people around them and new location of occupation. But at large the experience during flood was the same for people. The similar socio-economic background of the slum dwellers render them similar experience from the flood and increased poverty post-disaster. Only difference is the time lag taken by rehabilitated people in resiliency. But this is caused by the rehabilitation. If not there is no stark difference in the experience of the people. The impact of flood on livelihood is affected by the rehabilitation.



Map 1. 1: Map indicating the places that were affected by flood in Chennai city.

Description of disaster by the marginalized

The flood was a total vicissitude for the people for they were so ill-prepared to face it. Intense flood occurred on December 1st which was the last among the three interval flood. Sixty percentage of the city did not have electricity to avoid further threat. Even hospitals did not have power which leads to the death 15 patients who were on ventilators. Around 60000 houses had structural damage within the city, of which the majority belongs to people from lower income. Schools were suspended for twenty days. Even the railway and air services could not work. The media had to stop functioning. Both public and private sector offices were shut down. Factories could no longer function. Logistics services were hindered causing a hike in the price for the basic necessary goods. At many places milk packet was sold for rupees 100, water can for rupees 100-150 and vegetables had a price hike by 10-20% during the flood. This flood was one of a kind in which a large number of people were affected within a short span of time which has disrupted the everyday activity and their social life. The houses were damaged completely or partially. No houses were left without the need of any repair, personal belongings got washed away or drowned in water, trees were uprooted, Roads were blocked, bridges were destroyed and transportation was infeasible, power outages made it difficult to see anything when its dark or charge the phones. But it also helped from not getting into any complications like death.

Government had to break the bunds of certain dams further not to cause great danger. People were alarmed about this. But even the authority did not have the idea that water would raise to this level. Chennai city is not devoid of flood that was caused by rain. But what people complain was that they did not know water would rose to this level. Some places the information was not passed on, as power supply stopped even before the flood starting and they did not see the warning. Some other areas people thought it would come the same way it is always and took it for granted. Therefore they just kept the material things at an elevated position and lead a normal life. There was flood in the mid November after Diwali festival which was the usual level of flood that happens in the city. So people took it for granted that even this flood would be of that intensity only. The water level rose to the extent of submerging their habitat when the city was sleeping. And followed by power cut they did not know where to run or what to take. People flee from the places with their life. The people dwelling in slums were exposed to frequent fires that

occur. So they have the habit of keeping their documents in an elevated safe place of house in a cover, which they could take and as they run for lives when situation demands. This strategy helped many people to save their documents. But for others they are so thankful that they could be alive and save their family members or neighbours. Those people were left stranded with the dress that they wore and nothing except that. People either took shelter on roof top of buildings, schools, auditorium, railway platforms or churches where water would not raise. This was flood of a kind that occurred in the state after a century long. Flood of 2015 in Tamil Nadu was declared the most disastrous one in the year. Help came from throughout India and also outside India. There was no particular section of the population in the city who were unaffected by flood. From the rich to poorest of the population everyone was affected by the flood. The justification for taking unskilled daily wage labour is that this population lives in the slums of the city. For rest of the population resiliency was relatively sooner as they had a stable income and secured households.

2.1. How a flood turned to be disaster for victims?

People are subjected to multiple disasters like fire, flood and tsunami in the state capital. Flood is a yearly event that occurs. But this flood was one of a kind that disrupted the life of people. Normal flood would come and people would secure the items in houses in an elevated platform made within house or in top floor of other houses. Water would come to their knee level. In case the flood is little intense people would take shelter in places like church, railway platforms, public schools or auditorium. This is not so rare and people in the slum are accustomed to it. But in the flood that occurred in 2016, it came in three intervals. And the first one was not so intense and therefore people took it for granted that the next flood would also be of the same intensity. This flood was said to be one of a kind they have ever seen in life because the people were helpless and the power of nature took things in hand and people were so clueless of what would happen next. It was beyond their control. People underestimated the catastrophic affect flood would cause. The houses were submerged in water in some slums and they lost all that they had saved for their lifetime. Apart from that their socio-economic security was devastated due to flood. People lost their occupation. And they had to stay away from their huts for many days. They could not get a job after they had come back home. And for many slum dwellers it cost

them to move away from their circle of comfort to an unknown place far from city. This meant their social circle's breakage and starting life again from scratch.

The flood has intensified and water level rose in many places at night. To avoid further problems electricity was stopped. People were in darkness and they were panicking. They could not take their belongings rather they ran for life with their families. Some people took shelter on buildings that were high and continued to guard their house from a distance. But most of the people had taken shelter in nearby schools and auditorium. Since the full city was affected by flood and there was no section that remained unaffected, help did not reach the people in the initial hours of flood. But soon people united to help people who were in adverse condition. It was the public who distributed food and drinking water immediately. Government arranged places for people to stay. Government forces were keener on rescuing people. This has made people acknowledge the role of public and other agencies more than government. In the aftermath of flood government executed the planning to demolish the slums that were in threat to secured living standards and rehabilitated these people to the outskirts of Chennai city. Since people earlier protested against rehabilitation this plan was paused for a while. With the flood coming people lost their shelter and had to move out to another place. People were helpless and they were ready to shift. But not all slums were evacuated. In the relief phase which was followed by the flood many people lived in crowded relief camps. These camps were held in government schools, auditoriums and Gandhi mandapam. The places that were reachable gained more attention and other places could not attain so much of help like people who got exposure.

From the research it could be understood that the reason for people to call it a century's disaster is not only because of the intensity of the rainfall and flood. The intensity of loss the flood has created is what makes it a disaster. More number of people was struck by the flood. Offices in the city were shut. Houses were flooded in the city making it remain as an isolated island from rest of the world. People were so confused and lived in fear. The extent of the severity made public come together and help each other to survive because rescue team could not reach immediately. Perry and Mushkatel (1992) from their research have drawn that when the communication facility can be restored in speed people have some kind of assurance and guidance. In absence of that it would be more chaotic. There was no current or signals for mobile to contact relatives or officials for help. The city remained in dark. Later when the electricity was

restored people took help from supermarkets to charge their mobiles and contact people. There was no news to watch so that they could know what is happening around. It was chaotic situation with the strong sense of helplessness. The situation got better in two days time. Though people residing in slums were alarmed they simply ignored the seriousness of the issue and stayed back even after getting the announcement to be at safe side. This was because the people were exposed to flood previously also. And the same year in matter of few weeks they were struck by flood which was not much intense and they underestimated the intensity of this flood too. When coming to the slum dwellers they live in poor housing condition near to river banks or on road side which was more prone to flood in the initial hit itself. The poor housing condition has demolished partially or completely the houses. The coping mechanism they apply generally during a flood failed in the situation and their belongings were also washed away. For these people the little savings or material goods they possess form a major part of the asset they have earned in the life. Apart from staying alive there was nothing valuable left in their possession. Including food and drinking water was luxury in the onset of flood and immediately after that. It took some time to get external aid. Unlike other times of flood, victims could not rebuild their life without the help from external agencies. They had to stay as refugees at relief centers. Houses were irreparable in most of the cases. This led to mass relocation of people from various slums. Since flood came in interval people continued to live in fear. Flood indeed impacted in the livelihood adversely. In this way flood has disrupted the life making victims helpless. It led to months of unemployment due to displacement. The impact of flood was not just momentary but it was far reaching. Even the elderly population who have witnessed various natural disaster have not experienced this intense a flood. It made them so vulnerable and resiliency to reach normal life would take months time. These were the main reasons why people from the slums defined the flood as a disaster though it was never known to them.

When it comes to understanding the disaster that has struck the population how they narrate or define it should be known. Therefore a few narration from the interview is been quoted below to know the intensity of the flood and why the people find themselves to be so vulnerable to the not so rare phenomenon, that is, flood yet have seen it the most dreadful event.

The following note is from the interview conducted with Mary who was 48 years old lady from Chinnamalai (Little Mount) who works as house maid in the nearby apartment. The narratives

from the victims would give the emic perspective of how this was the worst flood for them which is essential in understanding.

“Even during Tsunami we had so much miserable a life. Tsunami came for a single day and took everything from us in a rage, and then the sea was at peace. But those who survived could live further even if it was in grief. Because helping hands came from through-out the world. But this flood was so dreadful. Death came face-to-face several times. It has left us in the fear that the next moment we wake up anything can happen to our life.”(Marry, Little Mount)

“I am now sixty five years and this was not the first flood that I have come across, but not any of those floods had made me feel so helpless.” (Kamakshi, Suryanagar colony)

“The fear is so much that, even when it drizzles or heavy rain clouds are formed in the sky my heart skips a beat. I reach out to phone and see if my son and husband are keeping well. I am not scared of the scorching sun neither the tiredness it causes anymore. Because of the flood and those sleepless nights I stared endlessly just to see the sun rise. May be God was angry on the people. But he has helped the people survive through it too.” (Chinnamma, Kallukuttai)

“We people of Atipeti do not even have proper roads to reach our house during rainy season. Roads will be mushy, getting out is hard for us. There is no bus to the region unless we walk for kilometers. People manage with two wheelers. We are accustomed to our low living. But this flood was one of a kind. Still I could see that day in front of my eyes, when I thought I would lose my elder daughter. She is a hard working girl who never complained of anything. When water level rose I along with her went to house for taking basic necessities that we would need. Suddenly the water level was rising. From top water was flowing at a normal pace, but below placing leg on the ground was tough, the water rush was so intense that it could take us with it. When I turned back my daughter was caught up behind and drowning. It happened in flash of a moment. I knew swimming and went to her direction to save her. I could only catch her by hair and pull her. After sometime when she regained senses my daughter was in her wet cloth. I had to beg people to get a dress to keep her warm. After all she is an adolescent girl of eighteen years. And it is a matter of honour for girl of that age. Out of all floods I have seen this was the most dreadful incident that still does not let me sleep in peace.” (Janaki, Atipeti)

“My father was a cobbler. I have two sisters and a brother and I am the youngest of all. Hence my father has pampered me than other kids and I could ask him whatever I need. I could sense the loss his demise has created now. I feel so vulnerable neither can I talk about it at house. But now my mother stays at home every time and she needs an operation for her eyes. Both my sisters are doing menial jobs to maintain the family. Elder sister was good at studies and she had to leave it and take in charge of house. Since my mother is sick I cannot go to school frequently. This was the first time I have witnessed a flood this intense, other times water just rise above knee level and that was a reason not to go school for few days. This rain has left us so helpless and unsecured. My brother is studying in 8th and he is not capable to earn yet. He is even going to some bad company as no one actually keep a check on him and it is my own Uncle who takes him there. Even the cremation got difficult when he died. I don't know what it has done to others, but for us it's a nightmare.” (Gomathi, Kotturpuram).

The above narration serves to capture the dreadfulness of flood and trauma it has created for the victims from different slums. People were narrating the incident way they could never forget it. They explained their dreaded experience and fear flood has caused to them. It was not just the flood but the recurring consequences and the change it has brought in the lives of these people made them to consider it as a disaster making it different from the yearly flood they experience.

2.2. Contributions made by women in everyday life

Among slum dwellers getting livelihood opportunity throughout the year is not possible considering their skill proficiency and education. Majority of the population are engaged in daily wage unskilled labour. And it is the man power which is the only resource available to them and it is in plenty. Therefore competition increases for getting a job. A single member cannot often manage the house expenditure. Therefore both men and women work for earning a livable income. In fact it is women who manage a job throughout the year though the income would be lesser than men in the family. When men do not have job women look after the family expenditure. Like seen elsewhere the income she gets is solely spend on the household expenditure. Whereas men either keep some amount for them or use majority of it. In the cases where men give only a meager amount to the family they are alcoholic. So the burden would fall on women. Women mainly engage as house maids. This makes a strong tie with the household

owner and they tend to get regular income from the job. In case of emergency they take salary in advance and pay it back in the form of work. Apart from that they get food and some people even give the grocery items as and when possible. The old dresses are also given away to these women. Based upon the tie they make the owners even give books for their kids to learn. Also they are given the freedom to take a break and see if the dependent small kids are safe. The slum dwelling women not just work in one house. When it is required they go to more than four houses a day. When the family moves from the place either the women are given bus pass or job is arranged in another home in the same apartment or area. For keeping a woman as maid trust is essential. The good will they make among the owners get them more opportunity and job security though it is unskilled sector. That is the strength of being a house maid for women. There are also men in the slum who are slightly well-off than the rest of the population who restrain women from working. The men in the family earn in that case and women are expected to take care of family affairs and kids. Also women stop working as house maid after they conceive and continuing it till kid becomes a toddler or school going child. But this is only a largely prevalent trend among the slum dwellers and not a typical case that can be applied to all households. Depending upon the needs of the family there are women who do not stop working. Also during their absence they substitute with an acquaintance and join for the work after few months. Women not just engage as house maid. There are many women who go as sales girls especially the youngsters. When it comes to house maid job not everyone prefer for it.

2.3. Gender exclusion in disaster scenario

There have been studies attending to the needs of women during a disaster since early 1970s. But this was not satisfactory till now and women and their depended children faces problem immediately after the disaster. But the larger trend is that the information on women after a disaster is often asymmetrical. Infants, adolescent, adult and elderly are the classification among the women victims from the same socio-economic strata. The pre-disaster responsibility of women perpetuates and increases in the onset of a disaster. Women are expected to perform the duty of production, reproduction and maintenance of the domestic group. When these responsibilities are carried down to their stage of flood victimization it gets tougher for women to cope up. These responsibilities are taken for granted and no due respect is paid. The situation in slum is not so disparate from the general approach. Therefore their vulnerability should be

weighed more in terms of cultural aspect. Gender has not been an issue relief agencies look at seriously. There have been considerable changes in the outlook such that these days the relief agencies attend to women health issues. Since the vulnerability is cultural and organizational the victimized women's participation is trivial while setting up the policies and decision making process. The number of women headed households, their means of income, health and social identity, mobility, capacity for articulation, responsibilities, liabilities et cetera should be taken care. Their pace of recovery is based on the stress level women go through. Post-disaster sexual abuse of women and girls are common due to loss of security and protection in the new environment. Due to their high level of vulnerability often this does not come out. As the situation prolongs there are chances of prostitution. The dependent children are often seen as the sole responsibility of mothers. Apart from this woman manages to care for the elderly and the distribution of food, water and clothing for the domestic group. These are the pre-disaster responsibilities of women that get magnified in the on-set of disaster.

To understand the gender role played during flood the pre-disaster roles played by the women in the slum, how women were affected by the flood and their coping mechanism in the relief phase and finally women's role in the reconstruction phase has to be analyzed. This would cover almost the roles played by the women in the community by and large and the situations of their dependent children and elderly population. The most affected people of slums who partially or completely lost their homes were rehabilitated by Government in this project. It is not just women who were affected by flood, but there are others also. But here study being slum and women are integral part of the community it is important to see the role played by women. Taking Tsunami that struck various lands serve as example for how women are discriminated in each level during a disaster. Reported casualties in Sri Lanka shows that death toll of women were more than 63 % of the total. The difference is attributed to gender based socio-cultural behaviour pattern framed within a patriarchal set up.

2.4. The life of women in slum

It can be seen that women play multiple roles from reproductive role to productive role to social role in a day to day life. In disaster women are portrayed and perceived as weaker section that is in need of external help. Here their multiple roles and capability to mitigate the disaster impact,

talent for immediate resilience and disaster preparedness is downplayed. Though she is portrayed as one with the need of help her opinion or participation in decision making process and recovery phase is trivial. Despite this fact many a times it is women in a post disaster scenario help in recovery. By neglecting their role Government fail to capture the subtle dynamics involved in a disaster scenario embedded in the understanding of the internal livelihood complexity for mitigation of the adverse affect. As Torry (1979:58) opined, culture influences such a way that some people within the same social system become more vulnerable to disaster than others, like is the case of women. Women are often disproportionately represented during disaster. Phenomenon which is commonly seen in the slums of Chennai is that kinship plays an important role in the domestic structure. Children after they marry mostly move out of the home. One reason which adds to this is the incompatibility between the wife and mother. But they do not move away from proximity, for family is the basic support for anyone in such areas. Conjugal domestic group later fission and replace the old domestic group and this cycle keep repeating. This constant fission forming nuclear family in the same locality is a reason for the development of slums in Chennai. Though women act as a main work force in household job and in economic base of the family their role is downplayed. These pre-existing inequalities exacerbate during disaster. But this do not leave them from the burden of efficiently managing the adverse condition even-though they would be the worst affected. Due to various cultural practices there exist many households which are women- headed in the slums of Chennai. Either men die at an early age or they marry another lady and move out of the family. Then the response of rearing the children fall on women. The main occupation of these slum dwellers are unskilled wage labour for which they get income on daily or weekly basis. Considering their skill proficiency and education not all the season would be providing constant work for men in the family who engage as drivers or carpenters or electricians or plumbers or construction workers. And it is the man power which is the only resource available to them and it is in plenty. Therefore competition increases for geting a job. A single member cannot often manage the house expenditure. Therefore both men and women work for earning a livable income. But women in the family go as house-servants from which they get a constant income to lead a living even at the adverse situations in the year. . In fact it is women who manage a job throughout the year though the income would be lesser than men in the family. When men do not have job women look after the family expenditure. Women manage with their household work which is mostly

not seen as a work itself in a patriarchal society. Along this the duty of rearing the children is seen as their sole responsibility. Women go to various houses or apartments in the city which is proximate to their houses for work and stimulate an additional income. For houses which are women headed this is the sole income. In such houses either the women will be widow or wife who was abandoned by her husband or having a drunkard husband who resist to go for work or who spends the entire amount for drinking. Like seen elsewhere the income she gets is solely spend on the household expenditure. Whereas men either keep some amount for them or use majority of it. In the cases where men give only a meager amount to the family they are alcoholic. So the burden would fall on women. Women mainly engage as house maids. This makes a strong tie with the household owner and they tend to get regular income from the job. In case of emergency they take salary in advance and pay it back in the form of work. Apart from that they get food and some people even give the grocery items as and when possible. The old dresses are also given away to these women. Based upon the tie they make the owners even give books for their kids to learn. Also they are given the freedom to take a break and see if the dependent small kids are safe. The slum dwelling women not just work in one house. When it is required they go to more than four houses a day. When the family moves from the place either the women are given bus pass or job is arranged in another home in the same apartment or area. For keeping a woman as maid trust is essential. The good will they make among the owners get them more opportunity and job security though it is unskilled sector. That is the strength of being a house maid for women. There are also men in the slum who are slightly well-off than the rest of the population who restrain women from working. The men in the family earn in that case and women are expected to take care of family affairs and kids. Also women stop working as house maid after they conceive and continuing it till he becomes a toddler or school going child. But this is only a largely prevalent trend among the slum dwellers and not a necessary case that can be applied to all households. Depending upon the needs of the family there are women who do not stop working. Also during their absence they substitute with an acquaintance and join for the work after few months. Women not just engage as house maid. There are many women who go as sales girls especially the youngsters. When it comes to house maid job not everyone prefer for it. But for the elder women it is easy to get job as a house maid than sales girls. And the incentives that come with it are more, like the help extended during emergency times. Girls prefer to go as sales girls or in factory because the time is fixed and they find those jobs to have

more dignity for girls of their age. Also the jobs are more regular and they can have incentives like providence fund and other allowances. Women according to the season would go with their husbands and help them in job. They go for building construction works. Though the income is lesser when compared to men but they get more money from it than being a house maid. The elderly women after age of 50s are not much engaged for any of the above occupations. They get job in the nearby auditoriums to serve food and clean premises and vessels used. This can be set as the only viable option they have in their old age. Some women keep petty shops. And others have make shift tiffin centers. There are women vendors within the community too. Life before flood was different for the people in terms of the livelihood options they had, their social life and psychological stability. People go for work in the morning and come back by noon. Women used to go as maid early in the morning and come back to her house which was situated in the premises of her work place. See for her children and leave them in the hands of the neighbours or relatives and go for the work. She had the freedom to take break in between. Women get back home by noon and do the household chores. Some women also keep tiffin or snack centers in the evening. Men would get back from work by noon or evening. And some days men may not get any work. But the household expenditure could be managed with her money. And there will be days and even weeks when none in the family could manage to get a job. During those days either they use the money they have saved or borrow money from neighbours or money lenders. This money is paid back on weekly or monthly basis. If the people are regular in repayment they also get grocery for credit. This is a glimpse of how life runs in the slum during normal times especially the life of women. This is the general outlook of socio-economic life of these households in the slum.

2.5. Problem faced by women in the wake of disaster

It was women who faced more problems in the relief camps. People from different areas were living in the same camp and they had a sense of insecurity in their already vulnerable position. Women opined that having a quarrel with outsiders would not be so good an idea during their helpless situation. Women in this situation had to look after the dependent children and keep them calm. Taking care of the elderly and children when they fall sick was also their responsibility. People lined up in queue to collect the relief items. This often led to crowd and fight. Women were unable to line up with their children in such situation in water. Men could

swim and reach out them and collect. Women found it difficult to collect these items unless they have a strong male support. Also men went out rather than sitting in the relief camps or roof top of houses. For women leaving the dependent children and going out was not possible. There was case where women along family returned to their huts as they were abused. But women were not ready to share their experience or reveal it to others. In this fear other people also followed them. People were not ready to shift to relief camps, rather they preferred to stay on bridge top or other elevated places near their houses. They told guarding their houses were important because they feared that when they come back the little material savings they got would have gone. Women also opined that the relief camps were congested and living there would be troublesome, therefore the open area is more livable than those relief camps. But they complained that most of the relief items went to those people who stayed in relief camps and not for them. In the relief phase it was adolescent girls who faced more problems than other women. They found it hard to line up and take the relief items from outsiders and this especially includes sanitary napkin. Since it was supplied person-to-person even the elderly population could not take it and supply. But the necessity made girls to take it from outsiders. These girls recall it as an act of embarrassment. The women in the community thinks their private life is been publicized. Psychological adjustment for adolescent girls if not taken care would make detrimental impact extending towards their adulthood. The government official should also address to the cultural and mind set up of the people in such situations. Here is when the need of a women invigilator is important. Even for using toilets in the relief it is the women within the group who have made it more friendly environment for other ladies and adolescent girls to use it. Women were also vigilant about supplying the food and distributing it. Women face more under nourishment and malnutrition largely due to the social make up. This commemorate during post disaster scenario. Women tend to distribute the food within the domestic group and during days without job she would starve to feed others. Women ascertain that it was they who managed the situation than the men in the family. Men helped in getting the food. But seeing who were suffering more or depending upon the needs it was women who managed the situation and redistributed when required. . Many women do not know swimming during the flood. They were complaining that the relief pack was supplied only at one place. So the people in the area receive all the packs and nothing was left for them. It was women in their postpartum phase who suffered than the pregnant ladies. Women in postpartum had to take good care of their children. When she herself

was in need of care she had to manage food, diaper and hygienic environment for her child's health. There was enough supply of food and clothes in the relief camps. Also medical awareness programme and camps recurrently happened. Therefore there were no major health issues. For the elderly population moving to new place was indeed difficult. But it is them and children who relatively had more health issues. Elderly women had the impact continued much later also. As in that they keep falling sick often. The old age problems added to this. When food is supplied to the victim per say, the elderly population finds it difficult to stand in long queue at that age.

Relief phase can be divided into two for better understanding. In the initial phase just after the floods what people required was food, drinking water, clothes, blankets and other grocery items. Here as Malinowski (1922) has told the society becomes needs driven. They want the immediate needs for subsistence to be served. Each function is attributed to the need that should be served. This need answers to the question why something is done in a particular way. It is the process that says how it is done. For instance, in the aftermath of a disaster the equilibrium that previously existed is at stake. There is a stage of anomie within. People respond in a way to cope with the disturbed system to attain their needs. Taking the case of flood life was disrupted by the flood. People did not have free access to food, water and clothing. These were distributed by different external agencies. But to gain firm access people were using varied mechanism which in another situation may not confirm to the popular behaviour. It is '*survival of the fittest*', that a person who can reach out for more help starve little. But it is women who articulated their needs effectively to the external agencies which earned them help from outside. But in the later course people require a stable income. Then their demand changes and people say more than the monetary aid given by Government it is livelihood opportunity that is crucial for their existence.

A focus group discussion was conducted among the rehabilitated women to understand their plight and role played during the flood. Fourteen women from different age group were selected for the purpose. Among these adolescent girls, postpartum women, adult women and elderly women were included. With help from a Palvadi school teacher the discussion was held. People were made to respond to semi structured questions and their experiences. Using the information qualitative content analysis was done. Focus group discussion was held after four months of flood in Perumbakam rehabilitated settlement, Tamil Nadu. The motive was to understand whether it was a different coping mechanism for each of them. It also throws light upon the

mechanism through which each of them rendered support to the other. Different parameters were set to analyse which of them were an obstacle for each group and to what degree. Using the focus group discussion their health issues and care, coping mechanism, insecurity level, embarrassment and livelihood opportunity were examined in the aftermath of flood.

Table 2. 1: List of people who were part of FGD

Name	Age	No: of children	Education
Poovizhi	58	3	2nd
Sathya	38	2	5th
Lakchiamma	63	4	-
Dhanyasri	37	3	4th
Devyani	28	2	10th
Karthika	17	-	9th
Chinnamma	31	-	6th
Rajeshwari	35	3	8th
Vigna	19	-	Degree
Sabith Nisha	17	-	12th
Sumathi	42	2	7th
Ganga	26	1, 8 months	12th
Suja	22	6 months	8th
Pothumpenn	62	3	-

Women were facing more problems when compared to men within the community. Relatively it was adult women who faced less of a problem. There was Post Disaster Trauma Syndrome for the majority of the women. This flood has made them feel so helpless. Women respond that flood is not a new phenomenon. They have confronted it few times in their life. But the loss this flood cause was immense. There was anxiety among people thinking what would happen next or how can they survive further. The adolescent girls had a sense of insecurity. This they overcame with the social support they have within the community. The anxiety made them get monthly periods untimely. It was more of mental stress the adolescent girls had to go through. When coming to women in postpartum they found it difficult to manage with their children. They were

scared if the kid may fall sick. Also the toddlers without knowing the situation were demanding for things which they could not buy for them. Defecation of the kids were difficult since water was all around. Some people got dengue, typhoid, measles and skin allergy. Postpartum mothers were scared about contagious diseases. The pregnant ladies during a flood may have risk of miscarriage, premature labour, delivery of low birth weight babies, mental stress. Pregnant women said when the flood started they were highly tensed thinking of the health of foetus than thinking about themselves. Since the health care in camps was good they stayed longer in the camps though it was congested and there was no privacy. The social support they got from other women within the camps were helpful to make things at ease. Elderly women were more experienced. But they fell sick soon and it took longer time for recovery. Other old age related diseases aggregated with the flood. They were paid special attention by the people who helped them recover. It was more of the support within the group along with external aids that helped people. But women say their role was inevitable in the maintenance of domestic group and community well being in which men's role was meager relatively.

2.6. Life after rehabilitation

When coming to the rehabilitated population a shift from original place of residence to an entirely new place means breakage of social ties which implies an adverse affect on their social networks followed by livelihood opportunity they get from it. Also their emergency mechanism to cope up would be disintegrated with the shifting. Earlier people live nearby and extend support. Rehabilitation has splintered their residence pattern and since all people are equally vulnerable they cannot extend any help. People need to travel for one hour or more to reach their work place, which was not the case before. Since there is enough competition in their job the people who reach first gets the job. Even harder is the case for women. Perhaps they are into more trouble. The label fallen on slum dwellers makes difficult to get a job as house servant in the nearby apartments. Also the previously rehabilitated people during tsunami live in proximity with their area. The women over there have been working in these apartments leaving them to go elsewhere for work. Women go back to where they used to work. The expenditure increases and income remain the same. The additional benefit of being able to look after the children while doing work is seized. Unlike before now the house is far away and women cannot go and see if their children are keeping well. Many of the women remained in house as they do not find it safe

to leave the children and go. Dependency on girls may force them to leave schools. When mothers had to go for work in the rehabilitated area the elder daughters were in charge of looking after the younger sibling. This leads to loss of many school working days and which indeed adversely affect their study. Parents having all school going children do not have this plight. Though there are nursery and palvadi in the area mothers are unable to come within the time these crèche closes. Sense of insecurity has grown among women after rehabilitation. According to UNHCR report of 1991 men exhibit frustration more through disruptive abusive behaviour like drinking, drugs, wife beating and so on. Even in the relief camps men managed to get alcohol. In the aftermath of disaster the unstable and irregular income generating possibilities leave scarce livelihood opportunity for men. More number of women gets into unskilled wage labour leading to women headed household. According to Westergaard's(1993) research preponderance of women-headed household in a patriarchal society is an implication of acute poverty, destitution and despair. But often their empowerment exclude from rest of the group. The roles of women are more discernible in informal sector. In women headed households it is the responsibility of women to withstand the adverse effect and return to normal life. Such household's women may face high level of psychological stress due to lack of proper shelter, lack of privacy, lack of social identity, lack of sense of control and so on. In the slums of Chennai women headed households are more in numbers. The relief items they got from different external entity provided them with grocery to be used for few months. Also the relief fund Government gave was made use for looking after the household expenditure immediately after the rehabilitation. But even later they could not manage to have a stable income. Earlier they used take money on credit from money lenders. Change of place of residence has deprived this opportunity. Money lenders no longer had trust on them repaying the amount. Women had kept the little gold they have as mortgage and taken loan for paying school fees of children and looked after the expenditure. There was job fair conducted among the rehabilitated people for enhancing reconstruction of life providing all basic necessities. But these jobs either need educational qualification which many of them women lack. Then there were many MNCs among the recruiters who needed people for house-keeping. Though the women of the community were good at it, the shift in job and long hours of job made majority of the women not to take up the job. They were complaining that in such job they would not be able to look after the home affairs properly like the rearing and caring of family members. Thereby women are given access to

income generating skill development programmes in the rehabilitated areas so that they can make sustainable alternative means for livelihood. It is seen that such women have increase self esteem, economic independence, social recognition and dignity. Training and assistance to get the equipments for such women would enhance them with better living condition and increased opportunities. Women were utilizing their opportunity than men.

2.7. Need for inclusion of women in decision making for community development

There are four stages in the recovery after a disaster had occurred. They are the immediate crisis phase where the focus will be rescue followed by shifting the people to safer places. The next comes temporary relief phase, here the immediate needs of human being will be attended. That is, food, drinking water, clothing and protection. Long-term reconstruction phase comes next. The motive is to reconstruct an improved life for the people. This includes generating sustainable means for living, safe and hygienic shelter, improved social situations, economic stability et cetera that intends to make the living conditions of the victims improved. And the ultimate development phase would be attained when these goals are achieved and the victims have higher level of socio-economic life in which they do not need any more assistance from outside. But to achieve this active participation of women is required. Often men are seen as the breadwinners of the community and role of women is underscored. This would lead to the failure in the project. In this case of flood it is evident that women are more vulnerable to disaster due to the cultural set up. But at the same time their role in resiliency cannot be downplayed. She acts as the major force in coping up. Therefore participation of women and emphasizing her role would bring large positive change in the aftermath of disaster and even at the preparedness level to overcome the disaster. Generally during the relief phase issues of women are not addressed in a gender sensitive manner. Therefore they do not get enough attention. Though they are equally or more capable to cope up, the fact that they need extended assistance cannot be ignored. Women are in charge of the well being and stability of the entire family especially the children and elderly people. Empowerment of women and their participation is essential in the reconstruction phase. Integrating women to this phase would enhance mitigation of further disaster impact and disaster

preparedness. The potential of women cannot be ignored for a successful planning and execution. For women is the invisible sailor.

Slum demolition and relocation

Tamil Nadu is a state with vast slum population in India. The mega cities in Tamil Nadu over the time of development and urbanization formed many slums where the unskilled wage labourers mainly reside. It is fourth largest metropolitan city of India. Chennai being the capital of the state and one of the fast growing IT hubs have aggravated the scope of fast developing slums. Mushrooming of Multi National Companies versed the action from labour to capital to capital to labour making the need for labour force more. This aggregated the reason for more people leaning to the job opportunities thus made and thereby leading to the increase in slum population. Walking through the streets of Chennai one could not ignore the sight of these slums. According to the Survey of India 2011, 29% of the Chennai population resides in slums. Mumbai come the first in list, followed by Kolkata, Chennai, Delhi and Bangalore. 2001 census shows that 1079414 persons live in Chennai slums forming 25.6 % of the population of the city. Government from 1970s has formulated many plans to curb the development of slums and enhance a better living for the people of the slums, for which they established Slum clearance board with a special ministry. Despite the effort slums still remain as a problem of the city. Tamil Nadu slum clearance board was established seeing this as a main problem to be resolved soon. Government have the power to demolish objectionable slums under Tamil Nadu slum areas (improvement and clearance) Act 1971. But within the Government itself though the plan and effort is working the political parties work in favour of the slum dwellers since they have a considerable number of vote banks from the slums. When the area is declared not safe for living people still keep making their settlement within the same area and come up with proof based on which they get electricity connection, ration card, aadhar card and voter's ID. People either bribe the official or make an impression that it is essential for their survival. This serves as a reason for the drastic increase in slum households despite the effort taken by Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board.

3.0. Government initiatives to improve the slums

The migration to city from rural areas have had happened even before independence time in Chennai. People from villages came to the city and settled there doing menial jobs. Some of the slums like Water Tank colony in Saidapet area was there since then. The industrial revolution that happened after independence made more people to shift to Chennai city and slums expanded. People from such slums were rehabilitated to Perumbakam which was in severe condition of irretrievable. Slums of Chennai have no basic amenities like safe potable drinking water, electricity, solid water disposal or sanitation facilities. This is though not true of all the slums and every house, but is the case of majority. So in such cases it

becomes the responsibility of government or external agencies to provide them with these basic facilities. The Government has implemented various schemes for the project affected and flood affected tenements. Government focus on in- situ tenemental scheme, in-situ plotted and infrastructural development, rehabilitation and resettlement. In implementing in-situ approach government intend to improvise the life of people in their way than bringing drastic changes. But the agitation still remains a problem. People living in the city are aware of their rights to protest and when is the time to protest (mariyal). The researcher has witnessed few of such agitations. People were waiting for the elections to be announced in solidarity with the whole community and protest so that their words were heard and demand for immediate solution. Political parties become the more keen and sensitive to issues for this time. This is an indication that people are well jar into the political ecology of the place. Government has been trying from three years to evacuate these slums. But unwillingness of people to shift and they being the vote banks for several parties this effort was slowed down. With the advent of flood government agencies could speed up the project and shift the people with immediate effect. Earlier tsunami affected people were rehabilitated to the same area and they are residing there for more than six years now.

3.0.1. Slum evacuation project

In the flood slums in the city were partially washed away in the water along with the little material goods people possessed. People don't have a stable income for buying these materials immediately. They had little or no savings to cope with the disaster unlike rest of the population. Among these people for most of them income is only if they work day to day. Flood left them with no employment. They had to either stay for days together in schools or auditorium where there were rehabilitation centers. They went back after a month to original residence. By then Government allotted them with houses as part of rehabilitation project to clear the slum areas. People were allotted houses either in Perumbakam, Kanagi nagar or Ezhil Nagar which was situated far away from the city. Before dealing with flood related assistance from Government and people's response, there is a need to give details on previous plan for eviction of slum dwellers from the city for clearing slums. Since the people were immediately rehabilitated to new area of residence which is follow up to the already existing plan this could give a grim picture of what is all about the resistance and varying interest of stakeholders at different degrees. Tamil Nadu Government intended to build large resettlement colonies on outskirts of Chennai for the slum dwellers. The project has been already started for Emergency Tsunami Reconstruction Project funded by World Bank. But the delay it took made WB to withdraw from the project and liability was all Tamil Nadu governments. In between could see people's agitation on the allegation of house allotment and unwillingness to move into city outskirt. In 2012 people of the slums were given token for houses

constructed as part of the rehabilitation project by using biometric measurement for each household. But people were reluctant to shift from the place and the whole process of rehabilitation was withheld. With the coming of flood people had no choice but to move immediately to a new shelter. This was only the case of worst affected people. Others went back to their habitat once the water drained. Carrying out a normal life was difficult since most of the houses were damaged to the extent that a costly repair was required. The provisions they got were enough to sustain their hunger. But people had to stay outside sky being the roof for a while. But when it came to resettlement the responses of people were in black and white. Those of few who wanted to move out. And others who wanted to stay back despite not having the basic facilities for a standard living. This chapter would be looking at why this kind of responses came from same composition of people that was equally affected by the flood.

For the rehabilitation only thing people were asked to submit was the record of electricity bill or ration card or rent bill. Then biometrics was taken and houses were immediately sanctioned. And each household based on the record was given token for house. People were provided with transportation facility to reach the resettlement area. They were assured that a clinic, school and frequent bus facility would be provided in near future. They were also intimidated that their ration cards will be shifted to new address soon. People were asked not to pay the electricity bill and house rent for a year. After a year time they will have to pay rupees 750 for the house, sewage system, elevator maintenance and running water connection provided in house. Also people were given rupees 5000 while shifting and rupees 2500 was promised to be deposited in their account every month by the Government for a year. So that even if the people could not manage to get a means for subsistence they would not starve. Since the construction was finished in a hurry to handover the houses for flood struck people not all the facilities that were assured given. The sewage system was not working properly. They could not provide running water on a regular basis for all the houses. Buses were less frequent. There were not many shops around the area. The resettled people were not given treatment in PHC which already existed for the Tsunami affected people. People had to travel to city from where they were coming for occupation. Since they were in a state of despair most of them had gone to their original place and spend time up to evening and come back. But people were not sure when the officials would come and take record of the houses for providing ration card and house agreement. Hence people who had occupation chose to stay back so that they do not miss out. People were in a stage of helplessness. Also the fact that people from different slums of Chennai were put together in same place made people feel unsecured. They did not have so good an impression about people from other areas. The social capital was weakening. These were the difficulty they had to undergo in the initial days of resettlement. But people had already an opinion that life is going to get miserable at the new place and were not ready to cope up with emergent situation.

Not all the family could secure their records during flood while running to reach out safe places. They have no proof to show that the houses belong to them. Though the relief amount was given to the people staying in rented houses also the tenants either took the full amount or half the amount. Many of them who were residing in slums were not given a proof for rent payment. These houses were build by Government while improving the slum conditions earlier. Also the owners have build storeys on top of the existing building which were on records. They have given these houses for rent. Hence all these people were not given any proof for payment of house rent as this was done illegal. The houses were offered for the people staying in rented houses too. But they had no record to show they were living there. In some cases the house owners have given the biometric to own the new house given at Perumbakkam which again is not for them to stay but to give for rent. No Government project is cent percent devoid of corruption. People from other areas had come to give biometric measurements. The leaders or bureaucrats who ever are mediating this would sell the house for 3-5 lakh rupees. And people who were eligible were rejected in some cases. There were brokers in between these money transactions. This situation is similar to the one written by P. Sainath(1996) on ‘Everybody loves a good drought’. The share of amount to fill the pockets of various sections of officials involved was obtained from such corruption. There were officials who have worked hard for the well-being of people. But this cannot hide the fact of corruption that happened. But even people no more react to this. They have learnt to be passive in the fear that what they rightfully are supposed to get would be rejected in this name.

Table 3. 1: List of slums evacuated due to flood for Perumbakam resettlement project

Flood affected families in Perumbakam resettlement abstract		
SL.NO	NAME OF THE SLUMS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1	Dr. Ambedkar Nagar	275
2	Surya Nagar	481
3	Old Jothimmal Nagar	328
4	Sathya Nagar (North)	151
5	Allatchiamman Koil Street	12
6	Water Tank Colony	62
7	Muthumariamman Koil Street	84
8	Arokimadha Nagar	183
9	LDG Street	121
10	Old Anusuya Mandapam, Little Mount	17
11	Old Anusuya Mandapam	62
12	JJ Nagar	43

TOTAL	1819
-------	------

Tab: Table indicating number of people relocated from different slums in Chennai after the flood

3.1. Resistance against evacuation at the wake of disaster

The flood struck Chennai at three phases of interval. Though the entire Chennai region was adversely affected there is certain section of people who were more disadvantaged and marginalized. The people who had no stable income and reside in slum areas had to flee for life to different elevated platforms like Government schools, auditoriums, railway platforms and building roof. Many people were stranded from rest of the city and relief team from centre and army came for help with the helicopters for the rescue and supply of relief materials. People were so puzzled that they did not know where to go since for few days even mobile networks were down, electricity went off and there was no way to communicate with rest of the world. Chennai remained as an island isolated from rest of the world in the second phase of flood. Many slum dwellers stayed in relief camps for days together and even for a month or two. Many of them went back home and made sure that their belongings were safe in the day time when water level decreased. And once the water started draining people went back to their homes and cleaned house. They started living there. Their belongings were all spoiled like clothes, grocery items/provisions, and electrical appliances. This left many families with hardly anything. Their houses were partially or completely damaged. Despite this why was there so much agitation and wrestling going on not to shift from these places? Agitation was mostly among the people belonging to Saidapet, Radha Krishna nagar and Kotturpuram regions. These places were located in the centre of the city belonging to Saidapet constituency. Few slums over here were existing even before the independence period, where the people were washermen (dhobi/ vannati). Then with the rapid urbanization people from the rural area have migrated in search of occupation and settled here. The city developed along the Adyar river banks were these slums were situated. People got accustomed to the urban life and they attended job in the nearby areas. As Chennai is having a high growth in service sector people were required to do the jobs like cleaning, house-keeping, driving, repair work and construction of the offices and apartments. Labour force was required on a daily basis. This served as the basis for income of people dwelling in slums. Whether it be hospitals or shops or bus stand or railway station or school or work place everything is at proximity in this region. People need not spend much for their transportation or take time to travel. Women worked in nearby apartments as house servants and they could even go to few houses at the same time and get an income as they wished. They had more negotiating capacity living in the area for long. Children went to schools within the radius of city. For men also getting one or the other job was not

anything difficult to do. According to the seasons they did various jobs to secure their income. People have become so accustomed with this lifestyle that living without the basic facilities like toilets for personal hygiene never appeared as a problem to them. Their first preference was to secure their day to day income and educate the children in a good school without spending much. There would be a general understanding that people residing in slums are least bothered about the education. But the people especially women were determined to educate the children so that they will not be in a disadvantaged position or go for daily wage labour like their parents do. Many parents managed to enroll the children in English medium school thinking that would make them more competent with other students. Also many missionary schools were letting the parents to pay the subsidized fee amount on monthly basis which made the people possible to educate their children. For the slum dwellers the place was home for generations together. Leaving the place and going far from city was unimaginable. They opined that they even had the possibility to come back to home after their work even if its after midnight. But relocating would not give this possibility when a day they have to travel for more than three hours to and fro. For them daily earning is what decide how the month has to go. Any disruption in this would leave them behind debts.

The problems in resettlement came at a later stage when the promises were not fulfilled within the time constraint. There was an air of menace that people did not have much time to protest rather they took their belongings and left. But people who stayed back due to the delay in sanctioning home got the opportunity to think whether to shift or not. The people who already shifted gave an impression that it is better to stay back and with protest make the Government build new homes in the same place of residence. The complaints were that there were no frequent buses to city for reaching work place in time. In the traffic it takes almost two hours or more to travel twenty kilometers and reach for work. This means loss of work on the days they are late, which indeed effect their day to day survival. In a city like Chennai many people travel a lot to reach their work. But the plight of these unskilled wage labours is that they do not have an assured job. If they go in time and try to get a work for the day then they have it. And many people like them would do the same. So whoever manages to reach there on time would get work which helps them to sustain. Women especially find it harder. Earlier they have to manage the household chores and then go for the job. People living for years within city were accustomed to that life. They did not know how to reach other places nor had the need to travel for long. Getting late for the job means threat to the job they are doing. Also leaving small children they find it difficult to go for work and return in time. Husbands who could manage with their income stopped women from working and asked to stay back or start any new venture. But for majority of the resettled population managing with income from single person is often impossible. The people who have shifted already have given a negative impression about the place

and whence others resisted shifting. But they were given token for home and came immediately to demolish the houses. In the fear of losing house they had to leave immediately.

Also people opined that they were asked to pay 750 rupees every month. There was a misunderstanding that occurred as the information was not passed properly from the part of the Government entity. People were not informed about the maintenance charge. They could not comprehend the difference between the maintenance charge and rent to be separate and that rent of rupees 250 is not been levied. People also found that the competition to start a petty shop and earn an income was difficult where many people do the same business unlike in their old residence area. Transportation of goods from Koyempedu to Perumbakkam cost them more. Therefore they had to increase the price of the goods from the rate they were earlier providing. Though credit was given in their old residence area, the shopkeepers have stopped giving credits as it is difficult for them to sustain. The people who purchase goods also find it difficult to buy necessities at a higher price because for them also income was not stable. Earlier they used to borrow money from local money lenders for interest. Since they have shifted to new place the person who gives interest are no more giving it. This was a network through which the people manage financial difficulty. Even this option was closed in-front of them making them in a stage of despair.

Despite the measures taken Government to curb growth of further slums in Chennai, few people stay at rented house in deteriorating condition leaving the house that were sanctioned by Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board. Such people find it difficult to daily travel for hours to reach job. Another factor leading to this act is concern for children's education. Children continue to learn in previous schools and parents think it is best for their children. In such cases they either leave the home to their kin members in the resettlement area. And they come back weekly to their houses. Also people give these houses for rent to outsiders without the authority's knowledge or concern. This was happening in the backdrop of rehabilitation initiatives. Government have sealed some of these slums are demolished it completely. In such cases people were moving to other slums for rent.

Interview 3.a)- Jagaja from Suryanagar was one among the many who were against the rehabilitation project done by Government. She told since years they have had flood in the area during rain and it would drain in few days. Only this time it was so severe that they had to stay in relief center for a week. She says from her Grandparents time onwards they were staying there. She was born, brought up and married in the same place. Their livelihood options were available in plenty around the region where they resided. Right from the place of worship, children's school, shops from where they regularly purchase, *Saitus* (money lender) they know, work place et cetera have been lost after the relocation. She said for the kind of occupation they do there would not be any ready hard cash in hand. Life runs based on the social ties

they have created over time. Weekly when people get money they repay in the grocery shop and vegetable shop. Mostly everything is bought on credit system. Also when there is any emergency people go to the Saitus in the area for money and borrow from them. This amount is repaid slowly. She said apart from the city she does not know to go anywhere. There are frequent buses to all areas and train facilities. And she used to work in a leather factory. Now she is not able to continue in the job since it is far from Perumbakam. Though she searched for job as housemaid in Chemmenchery either the houses have already employed another people who were in the area from the past or they do not trust to give the job. She has two girls studying in 8th and 9th class. They are continuing in the same school until the next academic year. Her husband is a painter. Earlier for him the bus fare used to be rupees 20 per day and now it is rupees 48. She has lost her job and expenditure has increased after coming to the place. She says it was better in their locality to stay. There was no need to pay any amount as rent. She was staying in her own house. But in Perumbakam monthly rupees 750 was to be paid. When struggling to meet the ends, this is an extra burden for them. They were staying in 6th floor. She said even after paying rupees 750 many a times the lift were not working making it difficult to get back home. She also send there was scarcity if water in the area. There was sense of belongingness to the area and there was no fear. She says she is scared about the security of her girls since people from all slums are there in the locality. She said in their area they knew all the people and there was no need to fear. But now the situation has changed. She says even though houses are better in condition here life was good in their slum. She said if the Government had not demolished their slum she would have gone back with her family to their original residence.

Interview 3. B) Dilima from RadhaKrishna Puram have formed a group to agitate against the rehabilitation. She told many people from the area were given token for house. They were asked to shift immediately and the Government started to demolish the street. This was in the other side of the same slum. She said these people were shifted to Kanagi Nagar and Perumbakam. The people who have shifted are coming to the same place daily in search of job. She said it would be hard for the people to travel so long. Getting job daily is not guaranteed. People who have been rehabilitated are left with no means to survive and hence she formed the group against rehabilitation. She said many people in the area have somehow build houses with the earning they made in whole life. All the facilities are available and in good condition. She said only slums that would be in danger were required to evacuate. She told their place were in no danger. It was for Government to widen the river and build road to connect with Adyar Bridge. The flood was used as pretext to evacuate people. She said that the people who have already evacuated were complaining about the payment of maintenance charge. She told that there was no security among the unknown people and they cannot relocate to such a place far from city. She told she has been living

there for 35 years and was working as a cook in the auditorium of Sai Bhabha Trust. She told that she is old enough to go for many houses and work as housemaid. She said it was not just her case but all living in the area have their source of income in the city and a change of place would leave them with no means to survive.

In other parts of the city that were flood affected area, people were hostile to outsiders thinking they have come from Government for taking account of the situation so that they can be shifted to other places. One thing is that people do not want to leave their comfort zone. They have developed a sense of belonging to the place for generations and do not want to go to a different place. This would generate insecurity in them.

3.2. Why rehabilitation is a boon for some?

To begin with the question why it's a boon for few, a description of relocation plans led by external agencies should be included. Leaving one's residing place after a long period for obvious reasons causes difficulty to any section of people. Especially when it comes to people with no stable income for their subsistence. Plan to relocate people from the slums of Chennai was there for a long period. According to the law the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board have right either to demolish the slums and provide housing at a different area or improve the conditions of slums and make it a place that is livable. Though the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board can decide whether an area is dangerous or suitable to live, people continue to agitate for moving out from the place. Fear for loss of livelihood option is the immediate reason for this agitation, followed by loss of access to other facilities available in the middle of the city.

Coming with the residence type in the slum there are double and treble storied squads that are made where people reside without even basic amenities. Living on road with just a roof on top of the head is also not so rare a scene in the slums of Chennai. Many of them have been residing in the rented houses for more than a generation. They have no records or rent receipt to claim a house. For such people with no documents or permanent houses this resettlement has been for good. They get a house for themselves which otherwise would not be easy for them to own. Those people who were staying in the slums paying rent for years together a home of their own is a dream come true. They are ready to work harder. For them occupation is a daily affair for which they have to search. They think that the same kind of occupation they could get elsewhere. Also people with a two-wheeler do not find it much harder to go for work and come back in the evening. Their place of residence was partially or completely washed away in rains and cannot be repaired unless a huge amount is paid. Also the government has declared all of them have build houses on Government owned waste land (*purampokk*). So for them having a place to stay somewhere

else would do than leaving homeless. The poor condition of slum and lack of proper electricity or water availability also is one reason to opt for houses allotted by Government.

Also for families who think they should not be always restricted by the rules of the place or that they should stay away from an environment prone to violence and conflicts the relocation was in favour in many ways. But the majority of the people told there were difficulties in pursuing an occupation and in finding other livelihood alternatives.

Interview 3.c) Kokila from Little Mount said it was a boon that they got house in Perumbakam. After people agitated asking for house the authority immediately shifted the people. There lived on the banks of river and in every rainy season flood came in their place forcing them to stay in relief centers. There was no proper water connection in the Little Mount. Daily tanker lorries come to supply water and people had to pay for it. Also the place was not hygienic and having no proper sanitation facilities other than the public toilets made the condition worst. Women in the morning could not always access to the toilets and likewise in nights. They used to defecate near the river away from house in these situations. She says her husband works in Guindy as painter and he leave by 7AM in the morning for job now. Except for him there is no problem in the relocated area. There were toilets in the house itself. Houses are strong and secured. She opines that police patrolling is there at every night making the place safe to live. She has joined her 1st son in primary school in the area. And she has just delivered her second son 2 months back. She says once the child is grown she can leave him in crèche and go for job in the nearby households. She said in their area there were some people who could make decisions for the slum without considering their opinion. She said these people have many houses in the area which they have given for rent. While they were shifting those people asked to agitate against rehabilitation. She said it was difficult to live under their authority anymore. She says the rehabilitation is a boon for many families like her.

There were families who agitated for rehabilitation. They considered this as an effective way to revive their lives and this would enhance a better living standard for the family. Not that these people did not have any problems from rehabilitation. But for them the advantages have dominated over the disadvantages.

3.3. Evaluation of the different responses from people

For evaluating the responses of people a sample of 10% only was used. That is, 10% of 1819 was 181.9=182. People were asked to list the advantages and disadvantages of rehabilitation. They were asked to list as many as responses as possible.

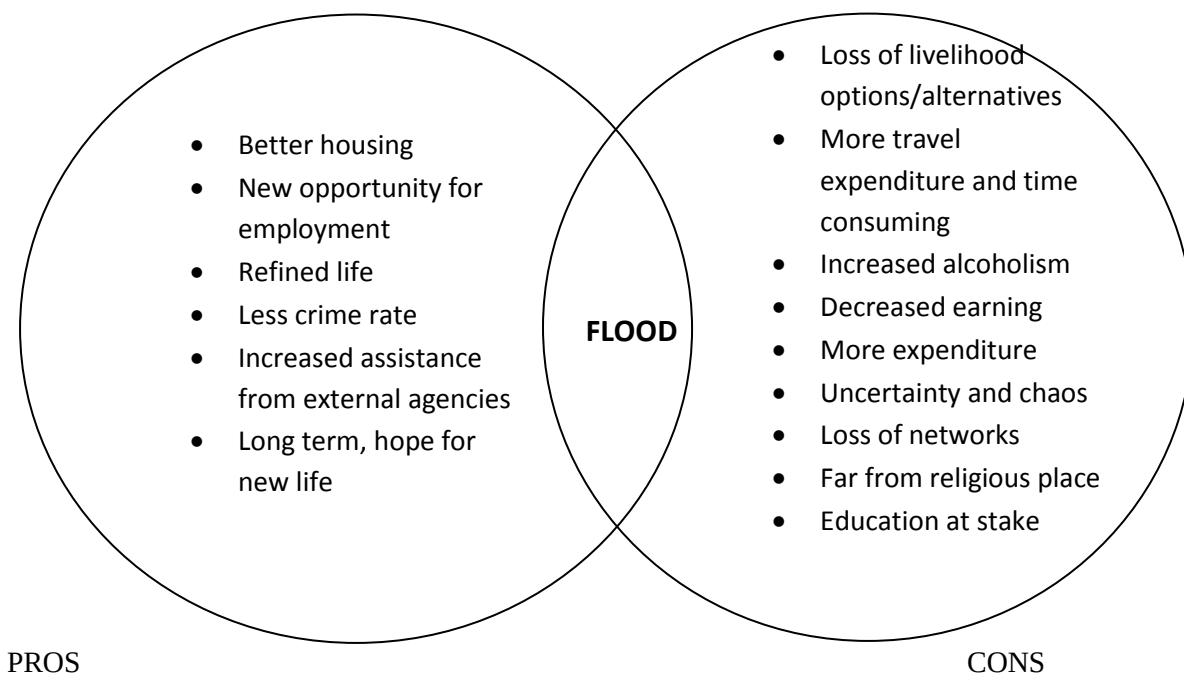


Figure 3. 1 Diagram showing the response of people on relocation due to flood

The above diagram shows in brief both the advantage and disadvantage that has been faced by people with the flood and associated rehabilitation. Whilst the cons deal with immediate effects of rehabilitation the pros session is about the effect in a long term. This show there may not be or may be very less advantages for rehabilitation as an immediate remedy. So the related resistance by people may be only by looking at the disadvantages or discomfort the flood associated rehabilitation has brought about. Thinking in long run the problems would be solved the gravity of the core issue should not be ignored. If not taken care properly without blueprint of the development measures this would complicate the problem further. According to Pressure and Release model it is the social pressure and screened causes which is remote from the event that threatens more. Here if proper education is not provided either the children will continue to travel daily for long hours. This to some extend would impact the productivity of children. Likewise the students who join in the new school at the resettlement area if not given quality education or get influenced by bad environment this would be a remote cause of the consequence of disaster. In such cases the education of children may be at threat, this indeed means a weak future of the children and coming generation.

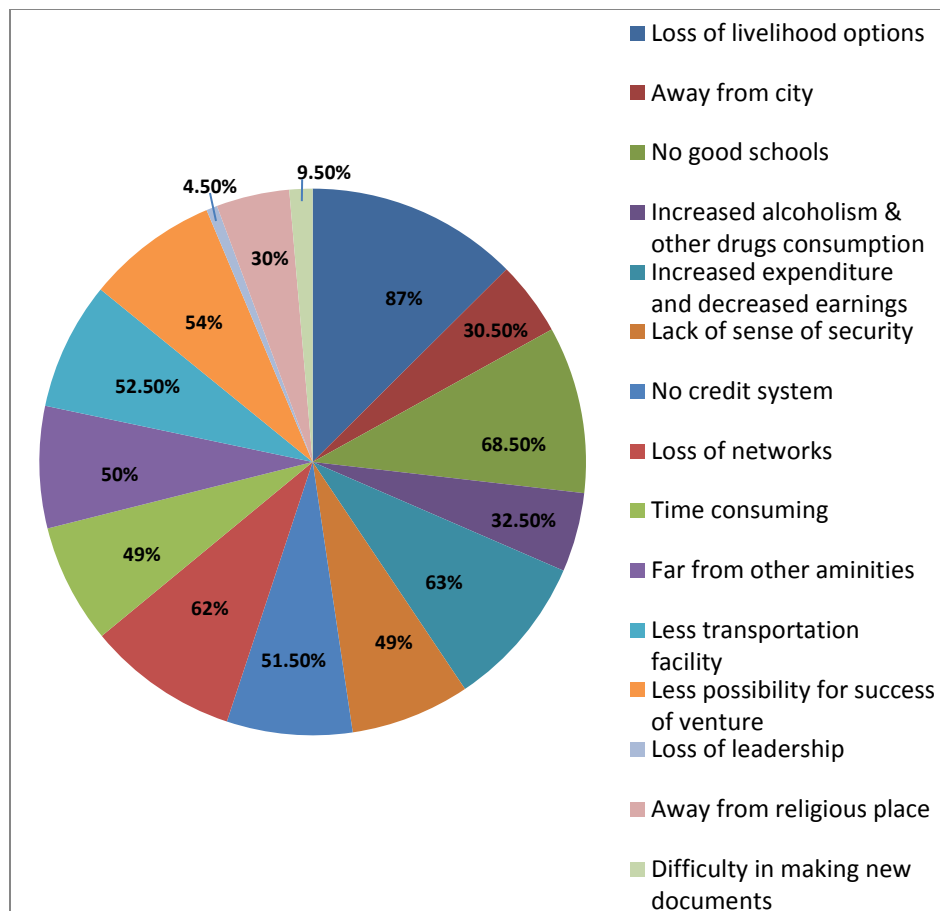


Figure 3. 2: Graph on responses from slums across Chennai about relocation

A sample of 200 was taken from various flood affected slums asking reason behind the resistance to relocate. People were allowed to tick for a range of reasons based on their reasons to resistance. For each answer percentage was calculated. This was not just restricted for the people from Perumbakkam. But other victims of flood from different slums were asked the same question to know the reason behind their agitation.

Slums around Chennai that were affected badly by flood were visited and people were interviewed. Their response on why they did not want to relocate after the heavy rains to secure place was asked. Despite the difficulty of houses being partially demolished or future threat people of different areas had more or less same responses. Majority of them were against the relocation. From the graph it is evident that the main reason that leads to this response is fear of loss of livelihood. That is 87% of the response indicates that livelihood threat is the main reason for not shifting to the resettlement area. A daily source of income is what makes the living possible for this population. Contrary to the popular understanding that people residing in slums give less preference for education, what could be probed is that people are more worried

about not just giving the education, but giving quality education. With the little income and savings they have people aim at teaching the children in Christian missionary English medium schools or other private schools. These private schools have reached in consent that the students from slums can pay the fees in monthly, quarterly or yearly terms. Because the second reason for resisting moving out is availability of good schools. This makes the 68% of the response. It is not that there are no schools available in the area. Up to 10th standard there are schools within the region. But people do not have confidence in the quality of education and also people suspect that students from other areas would influence their children and they would adopt ill-behaviour.

In the case of rehabilitation to Perumbakam from various slums there is mix of reactions. Some people are in favour of relocation and others are strongly against it. There may occur difference between the bureaucratic norms and the emergent social interaction. This is common in most of the disaster scenario. Not always because Government do not support them, but for the people it is not enough. In a disaster scenario what Government aims at are mitigating or prevention of disaster, preparing the area for emergency situation, providing immediate relief and finally the recovery of the community from the impact of disaster. Even at the Government level a separate quasi group may be formed to deal with immediate relief measurements as in the case of Chennai flood. And a structure is given to this ad hoc organization to deal with disaster. Government at the later stage tries to calculate the losses and relief funds to be provided. All sections of people expect the Government to help them. When people who are against rehabilitation wants Government to renovate the slums others who support rehabilitation want the Government to provide all the facilities at the rehabilitated settlement. Not all the needs of the people could be addressed. But the necessary steps for the overall good are done by the Government in the case of Chennai flood. A more of people's participation in decision making would enable to keep the problems at bay and find solution. But this was not done by the Government during rehabilitation rather they were forced to move out making dissatisfaction from the people.



Picture 3. 1: Picture showing the view of apartments allotted for the rehabilitated families in Perumbakam



Picture 3. 2: People protesting on road against the water problem in the area and asking to send them back to their corresponding slums due to failure in the promises given.



Picture 3. 3: Picture showing people residing below the Saidapet bridge on banks of the Koovam river



Picture 3. 4: Picture from Kotturpuram slum showing the poor housing condition of slums.



**Picture 3. 5: People residing on banks of river in Kotturpuram agitating for getting house in Perumbakam.
Picture 3. 6: People living on the road with their household items and protesting for delay in allotting them
houses in Perumbakam.**

Livelihood issues and alternatives devised

4.1. Economy of Chennai city in general

Pre-independence period Chennai was just a fishing village which over a time evolved into a town and city. After independence Chennai was declared to be a metropolis. There were migrations to Chennai from rural parts of Tamil Nadu from the past in search of jobs. Still it continues from different parts of India for different kinds of jobs. Chennai Metropolitan Area is considered to have the fourth largest economy in India. There is a growing trend in the development of the service sector. From 1991 records show two-third of the occupations in Chennai are derived from service sector. Automobile, software companies, hardware manufacturers, petrochemicals, financial services, ports, textiles and apparels contribute to this growth. This indeed creates job opportunity for unskilled labour to work in low salary for cleaning, helping, assembling and other menial jobs. Chennai has one of the important harbor of south-east India. A statutory board was formed to regulate the urban growth that was taking place under Tamil Nadu town and country plan act of 1971 known as Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority. Under Chennai Metropolitan Area they formed Chennai Metropolitan Area which comprised of 1177 sq. kms. Both industrial and residential area was combined under Chennai Metropolitan Area. 1921 census shows an increase in the rate of population in Chennai city. In this decade the growth rate was 22.83 percent both due to migrant population and natural population growth (C. Francis 2000: 94). This rate increased with the coming decades. Literature shows that outbreak of World War ii led to positive growth of number of industries in Chennai. During the post independence period, second five year plan intended for rapid growth in industrial sector which again caused mushrooming of many public and private companies. The job opportunities created by the establishment of new industries along with unemployment and underemployment in the rural areas stimulated more inflow of migrants to the city. Failure in agricultural outcome, discrimination within the village is another push factor for the migration. An increase in the population density indeed has caused rapid growth of slums within and around Chennai. More than three-fourth of the slum population are engaged in unskilled wage labour. This dominates the employment scenario in Chennai city. Mazumdar opines that this has caused people to survive in devastating living conditions. Existing inequality in income is perpetuated

from rural to urban set up due to the living condition of low wage population. Thus it pushes the lives of slum and pavement dwellers into acute poverty. Since people prefer to live near their work place they construct houses in Government waste land which are low lying areas, on river banks, under bridges and so on. Hence people are forced to over use the limited facilities available making lives miserable in unhygienic conditions. Their kind of jobs occupies the lowest position in economic hierarchy, as it demands low level of skills others do not prefer these jobs. They do not have job security. But there is a necessity for people to fill these positions. This is the base for slum dwellers having no skills that is demanded by an office set up to get labour. Therefore unlike other service or industrial sector people do not have competition from outside the group, but only within. It is the resources at use enable people speedy resiliency. But for the urban slum dwellers the only resource they have at their disposal is man power. This is what contributes to the base of their income. To make the best of resource available skill training is the only possible way. But these people do not normally get a chance to undergo skill development training. What the male members in the community do is to give the youngsters training in driving or mechanical work or painting or tiles work. So that it could get them with better income. Also the social network the people have in fact helps the new comers get an income. In Chennai city according to 2001 census there were 10 lakh people working in the informal sector.

4.2. Livelihood and the informal sector

Livelihood is defined as *'the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope up with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base'*. (Conway, 1991). Livelihood gets threatened for the disaster struck victims. They will be abstaining from performing their livelihood activity in the wake of disaster. This is true for all the victims except for the emergency services like ambulance, doctor or police. This indeed invoke livelihood crisis over time when the people are unable to recover from the shock. For an individual having a secured job can return to it when the situation is restored. But for the unskilled wage labour this may not be the situation. Especially this is true for the people who were displaced. This is because of those people do not settle in areas that enable them to perform their livelihood activity

without any obstacle. For them getting a job is a day-to-day affair. Firth opines that wants are not dictated by isolated individual action, but under the control of social rules. He says that in a subsistence economy the activities are survival centered. According to Kabeer (2001) it is the access to livelihood assets available determines the livelihood strategy and decision making power of the community that is bounded by their socio-cultural values and norms followed. The most popular and successful framework in studying livelihood is 'sustainable livelihood' framework (1987) which is widely used by scholars. This talks about five assets that are at play which undermines the choices of people. It tries to understand the vulnerability and livelihood status depending upon availability of five capitals. These five assets are human, social, natural, financial and physical assets. Human assets are health, skills, knowledge and education of the individual. Social assets comprise of social stratification, networks, membership, norms, values and relations which is capable of improving the efficiency of society in pursuit of their livelihood. Natural assets can be any flow of energy and materials that produce goods and services like land, forests, water, trees, livestock, fisheries, crops and so on. Financial assets enable to own other kind of assets by using available stocks or regular inflow of money. Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and produced goods needed to support livelihoods like affordable transportation facilities, shelter, water supply and sanitation, access to communication et cetera. These assets enable to absorb from vulnerability caused by shock or crisis or seasonality or disasters. It is predominance in the assets that determine the fast recovery from vulnerable condition of a population, which otherwise can be mentioned as the resiliency. During a vulnerability context access to these capitals and the prevailing Government, private structure, policies, institutions and processes help in formulating certain livelihood strategies for a better livelihood outcome. The vulnerability can be seasonality or unpredicted climatic conditions or recession or any other condition which hinders normal life. Here flood that occurred is the cause for vulnerability. The asset is based on how people endeavor to turn their strength to positive livelihood outcomes. People who were victims of flood had financial assets and human assets which indeed helped them recover sooner. When it comes to slum dwellers who were employed informal sector it is the man power that is there at their advantage. And secondly they had social asset. But this is not true or applicable for all. For families who received help from their masters their network has helped them to some extend in recovery. Since all people were affected by flood especially the kin members and slums extend of utility of social asset was minimal making

them more vulnerable. Policies, structure, institutions and process also depend upon the negotiating capacity and decision making ability along with accessibility to assets. Livelihood strategies are influenced by the combinations of activities and choices people make. Here victims had to depend on external agencies since they were so helpless. For the resettled people Government and NGOs have opened new options for achieving job opportunities. The application of the available assets using the livelihood strategies enhances better livelihood outcomes. When there is reduced vulnerability, increased income, sustainable growth in living standards et cetera can be the result of livelihood outcomes. To use the framework in research the living condition of the victims, their limiting factors in achieving the livelihood outcome by reducing the vulnerability should be considered. This needs the active participation of the victims. Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) have taken up similar strategy in community development programme.

Unskilled wage labour in the informal sector is characterized by C. Murukadas (1999) as *'having a casual nature of labour that do not need much literacy, small size ventures with low capital investment, scattered nature of establishment, easy entry of labour and low scale operation in employment. Their activities will not be recorded in official returns and incomes are often not disclosed'*. It includes limited scope for advancement having an unprotected labour market. The entry into job is created by necessity for day-to-day life. Since there is absolute freedom in entry to the occupation the supply of labour is in large quantity creating more competition. At the same time the very nature of work makes less people take up the job. That is, for other job there will be competition from all classes of people. But this kind of jobs people enter only for necessity of earning a livelihood for subsistence. The social constrain with the status attributed to job makes it less adoptable by other sections of people. Hence this is both strength and weakness of the occupation. The kind of occupation that comes under unskilled labour are self employed traders, hawkers, rikshaw pullers, repair of bicycles, other repairing activities, construction work, manufacturing, petty traders, platform vendors, coolies, artisans, masons, carpenters, cobblers, general helpers, leather workers, hair dressers/ barber, launderers/ dhobi, electricians, electronic goods repairers, automobile mechanics, milk vendor, fishermen, shop assistants, sales girls, hotel workers, scavengers, housemaid, shoe shine boys and auto-taxi drivers. These workers though play a menial role are essential to serve the larger population in the city. Hence there will be job

for them though it may be seasonal or with low wages. This shows that these kinds of jobs do not get a regular income and the wages are insufficient to survive in a city like Chennai.

4.3. Livelihood profile

Men who are in informal sector work as driver, office attendant, coolie, cobbler, carpenter, painter, construction work, tailor, mason or petty vendors. Since the people do not possess skills for a regular income or occupation they keep changing the occupation according to seasons. It is normally during the rainy season that men do not get job. Also men who are addicted to alcoholism do not go for work regularly. When it is off-season men go for easily available job or they sit idle and help in fishing. During this time family depend on the labour of women in the family. Men get a higher wage than women from their occupation. But though the wages are low women more or less have a stable income than men. Though men earn, the earnings may not always reach the family. The income women get they use for purchasing household items, for the education of children and for health care. Little is utilized for their own consumption apart from family needs. But in the case of men, they use it for personal needs like consumption of alcohol or cigarette. Men also contribute to the household requirements. But this is not the case always. Some men only give a meager amount, while others give nothing and some men take care of the entire family expenditure. But the trend seen is that at least little they keep for themselves.

Based on the work among women in Kolkatta, Bandyopadhyaya (1985) opines that women labour force is preferred over male. He says that in third world countries this is a new phenomenon. He adds that there is an increase in male unemployment among the labour force. There can be seen a considerable number of women headed households within the slums of Kolkatta. This case is similar with Chennai slums too. The women in this family are either living along children separated from husband or husband do not earn anything for the family. In some of the houses where men are addicted to alcohol women may be in need to take up the house responsibility. Also when men in the house could not work anymore due to medical reasons it is women who need to take the role of sole bread winner. Women go for work to manage the house expenditure. For single bread winner managing the expenditure would be difficult. So women contribute to it. Though women may get a low wage than men, it is women who manage to get work round the calendar. In many families it is the children's education that necessitates women

to work. Such families think giving a quality education would enhance better job for their children in the future. Thereby the children will have a better life where they need not worry about job every single day like their parents do. Women work as sales girls in textiles, general stores, super markets, malls, petrol bunks, Xerox and DTP shops. They are also employed small industrial units such as assembling unit in leather industry, garment units and medical companies. Women along with husband go for construction work. During such work it is the kin members who look after the children and their house. There are women petty vendors who sell vegetables, flowers, groceries fruits and fish. They also keep tiffin centre in the morning and evening near their houses. They also sell dosa and idli batter in the evenings. Domestic workers get job easily and this develops a social network which they can use during emergency.

Patron-client relation (Srinivas 1962: 133) is proliferated in a new way among the domestic servants and their masters. These masters women refer are often the ladies in the houses. The reason for comparing the master-servant relation¹ in the urban set-up to patron-client relation often seen in peasant society is due to the symbiotic relation that exists. When the master is in need of the servant's service for an extended time or extended duty, the housemaid is bound to do so. Times like when there is a function at house or when the master fall sick or when there is change in the office time. The domestic worker shows the loyalty towards the master. In the same manner when the housemaid has a commitment at her house to be fulfilled the master grants the permission. During emergency the housemaid is given leave or money or other materials which is not part of the salary. When she could not render service she appoints another lady to replace her. Also in some cases the immediate kin members like daughter or daughter-in-law will be given the job. During flood masters have extended helping hands to their housemaids and families. This is a kind of mechanism used to absorb the shock for these housemaids. Even though it's not a replica of the patron-client relation, still have some principles repeated in this relation too.

Women can work for 2-4 houses at the same time. Based on the number of houses they work income increases. Along with it they also get food and used clothes from these houses. Also during emergency women take salary in advance and work for the coming months. This mechanism helps women to manage the household needs. Therefore more number of women

enter into this field. Unlike other jobs which demands more working hours women who take up domestic works have less working hours. Since the houses are near to the apartments they work women have the flexibility of time. In emergency they could go home do work or take care of children and come back to work. Or after working in a house they can go back home and finish their work and go to the other house for work. The cordial relations in the vertical tie they have with the masters allow them to manage both work and personal life. In case the women need to take leave for more days they appoint another woman as a replacement until she comes back. The family structure that prevails in slums is nuclear family which undergoes fission after the marriage of children. This adds on to demand for housing. The houses are built in and around their house where parents reside, without proper facilities or standard. But it is this family that often looks after children when parents are away.

Coming to vegetable, fish, flower or grocery vendors who are women have working hours in the morning or evening. They do not work continuously; rather divide the work into two sessions. Such women manage the household chores in other hours and go for trading after or before that. In cases where women go and purchase the materials directly from the wholesale market finds it difficult to manage the time between work and trading. But in such cases often the social capital keeps them at ease. In their absence either the kin members support their family. If not husband or the male members help in getting goods from the wholesale market. But during the post-partum period women restrain from going for work. They start to do work only after they join the child in school or after the child has grown. If men in the family have more of a stable regular income base that can manage the house expenditure then such women in the family do not work. Problems like low wages, long hours of work, insecurity regarding job and sexual harassment are the reasons for this. Also they think it is important for the children to be taken care if other expenditures are managed and when there is no need for financial support from women.

4.3.0.1. Strength of unskilled wage labour for slum dwellers

Chennai city is an IT hub and several MNCs are located in the area. There are also many small and big industries within and outskirts of Chennai. To fulfill the needs of the people can witness the mushrooming of building in any piece of land that is vacant. There are as many as fifteen

malls in the city and various textile shops and stores. In terms of public transport taxi and autorikshaw are common after bus and local train service. Also there is need for people to work in harbour and elsewhere as coolie, mechanics in the automobile repair shops, in petrol bunks, securities in the apartment or offices and in cooking and cleaning in small hotels. There is need for daily wage labour to work on a less salary at all these places. The metropolitan nature of the city had created opportunity for the slum dwellers to attain some or the other job on a daily basis. Women go as housemaid or in charge of housekeeping in these private sector offices. Since the work culture of people residing in the city makes it necessary to employ service of a maid for the house. Another roadside scene is women or men having make shift wheel vehicle near residential areas for ironing dresses. Slum dwellers also go as corporation workers in cleaning the drainage and roads on a contract basis or in daily wage terms based on the social network they have made. Young men and women go as sales person in the stores, textiles and malls in the city. Also there are men from middle age or youngsters who go as cab drivers on shift basis in the companies or as private drivers. Men also go as rickshaw drivers. Men and women go as vegetable vendors by getting vegetables in wholesale from Koyembedu market. The opportunity to get an income is more for people who reside within the city in terms of unskilled wage labour. For doing these kind of jobs the employers need people who are not well educated and ready to take up the job. An educated person would prefer and go for job that is suitable for his/ her education and not to do the above mentioned kind of daily wage labour. These services are essential and competition is from only people belonging to same socio-economic conditions unlike in a field that require professional degree or specific educational qualification. There are social constrain or unseen taboo attributed to these kinds of jobs not acceptable to others to take up the job. For a graduate from a slum or a middle class family or a middle high class family to attain a job needs to go through same procedures undergoing heavy competition. For instance while taking up job as a housemaid though the lady from middle class family is not well educated or deprived of occupation would not prefer to be housemaid despite the fact that she is unemployed. When situation demands or even as the first preference women from a slum would take up the job as housemaid. This is acceptable in their community. Their weakness is at the same time strength in these situations to earn a living since they are deprived of education and basic living standards. Thus the social constrain behind taking up menial job helping these people.

These kinds of jobs people do not do throughout the day except in the cases of sales person. The nature of work may demand them to either work in the early morning to late afternoons or in the evening extending to night. Proximity to work place would enhance these people to reach for the work on time or to stay for longer. Likewise for a sales person she or he may need to stay up to 10-11 PM for the shops to close. Time flexibility is important in maintaining the job. Living in the slums people has a reduced expenditure and even if the salary is less they can survive. This is a limitation of the work. They may not be able to choose the working hours feasible to them. Likewise there is no chance of further promotions. They will need to keep repeating the same job over the years. Since the slum population in the city is high these people cannot negotiate on salary amount much. If the person is not ready to work for the same job for a given amount that person may get replaced by other person who is in search of job. But in some cases of the unskilled wage labour want to quit the job, he or she may have the opportunity to suggest a person to replace them. This is how their vertical and horizontal social network works.

4.3.0.2. Nature of unskilled wage labour among slum dwellers

The limitation in the nature of their occupation lies in placing them at the lowest place in the occupation ladder. What people try is to earn a living and meet the ends. The household expenditure need to be met along with the educational and health necessities. Celebrations like marriage come in between pushing them to more debt than they could bear. Unlike other jobs there are no fixed incentives or security for the job. No sick leave to be taken during emergency or payment for days that are not worked. A day of work means a day's income and nothing more. Unlike other jobs the unskilled labour does not have any kind of promotion or advancement in career and therefore negotiating for a hike in the salary becomes almost impossible in most of the situations. There is not much of job diversification. People from the area are uneducated and engage in unskilled wage labour. Though there are so many employment opportunities for such people the level of competition from the same group makes it tough to earn a living. The needs and expenditures keep rising while the income remains static. Also after passing an age people are not often preferred to be employed.

4.3.0.3. Women's labour as a source of stable income

Women in the community prefer to go as house maid than any other job due to the flexibility in working hours. They can fulfill both their personal and official duties in that way. There is no need to abstain from work in that case. This kind of flexibility is not offered by other jobs like in that of a sales girl or construction worker. Women who have petty shops have this freedom more or less. But women who are young do not choose housemaid occupation. This is because of the status attached to each work giving a hierarchy. People are more addressed as a sales girl where they have an office position even if it's in the lower strata. The need to maintain dress code and mannerism which job demands gives them certain privilege within the group and their class identity is not explicit in doing such occupations. But women who have crossed their adolescent age and who do not find it possible to be a sales girl or that kind of occupation find ease in doing housemaid job. Since the women marry at an early age they become grandmothers in an age where they will be healthy enough to work as housemaids. Kin members help as an entity to help the working mothers. In such cases the grandmothers take care of the grand children who are left in their custody. So the duty of nurturing does not stop after rearing their children rather it extends to taking care of grand children too. Moreover the job gives certain incentives that are not mentioned based on the goodwill maintained by the women in doing work. Depending upon the master and worker relation she may be given food or grocery items. Also she can get the salary in advance during emergency situations. Long term acquaintance allows her to take leave when required. But at the same time there may be days when she has to work for extra hours. Taking the case of flood the victims from slums were offered help by their masters in terms of giving the provisions for house. Some of them were allowed to take leave until their houses were retained to livable condition. Their children were provided with books for education. Also in few cases the masters have bought bus passes apart from the salary they give for continuing the work even after rehabilitation. When the master-maid relation is good enough it serve as a source of constant support for the victim family.

4.3.1. Secondary occupation

People who have grip or mastery over skilled labour or education to secure a stable income will not go for seasonal occupation or have a secondary occupation. When it comes to unskilled wage labour each season matters. They may have knowledge of multiple unskilled labour. Men prefer to go for construction work as the job get them more income. The knowledge of driving, carpentry or any other occupation they carry out during off season. The change of occupation will be mostly based on the incentive or income that one gets from different jobs. Men work as electrician or plumber. They gain a decent amount as daily wage from this. But getting job frequently is difficult. But when they get these jobs they do not go for the daily work they otherwise do. There is a range of preference in the jobs people do. With the IT sector bloom in Chennai city drivers are more in demand. They take up different shifts, except for few men do not own a car to do cab service. Instead they work with the agencies and drive for different shift. This getes them a decent income making it more preferable among the youth.

Whereas, women earn a regular income from the household works they do. But during seasons some women accompany their husband and does construction work. In such cases they either travel up and down or stay in the construction area in a small tent. Since travelling daily would increase the expenditure such families prefer to stay in the work place only. In that case they take the children along them if the child is a toddler or if the child is still breast fed. If either of the family of couples is staying near-by their house the child is left in the custody of their family. This would enable the child to continue the studies without any disturbances. Women have other secondary occupation like the tiffin shop or tailoring. Women who work as housemaid come back from job by afternoon and tiffin shop is kept in the evening. This could earn them extra thousands in a month. Women who solely have income from tiffin shop keep it in the morning and evening. Men go for tile work when available. The choice of work depends upon the extra amount they get from the activity rather than continuing the earlier occupation. Here the change of work according to season helps them earn more or to manage the off season. But men who go for construction work or any outdoor work tend to opt for occupation with meager income. The

rainy season leads to loss of work. To survive they take up other known or less known occupation. This helps them survive without starving. In such cases where men do not have regular income or a less income the regular household work of the women in their houses help the family to sustain. In a household both men and women contribute to the generation of income to fulfill the household needs. But if the husband is capable of earning an income sufficient for family then they do not prefer women to go for wage labour. Women are expected to stay in house in the post-partum phase till the child has crossed toddler stage. In households who do not have strong family support women stay in the house until the child begins to go school also. Women leave their children with her family in most of the cases when they go for job. This is seen more acceptable. Apart from the above cases contribution of women to the family income was seen as an important source for subsistence of the family.

4.3.2. Household income:

Income range	Percentage
<3000	8.2%
3001-5000	27.02%
5001-8000	41.08%
8001-12000	16.5%
>12001	7.2%
Total	100%

Table 4. 1:Monthly family income in percentage

A sample of 10% was taken to calculate family income of the population in percentage. Here only the primary occupation is considered for calculation. Income earned by all the family members in a household is considered for the calculation. People from each household selected

were asked to explain their occupation from which a major income was earned. There were asked the approximate number of working days in a month and the money they receive from it for the period. Then the income for a household was calculated. This data was not based on an individual's income, but the whole family's. From the summation made for each household, the data was well segregated based on the range of income each family earned. From this tabulation made using Microsoft excel percentage was found to result the above table. In months with no commitment people earned more. And sometimes earnings would be less due to the nature of their occupation. So people have responded giving average amount they earn. The people earning below 3000 is 8.2%. The individual household earning more than 12000 per month is 7.2%. This may be an indication of difference among the people from same locality in terms of income. They all perform unskilled wage labour. Majority of the population have income in between 5001 and 8000 rupees per month. This is only an approximate income. Since people do not have a stable income source income can be calculated only approximately. Income people used to get before floods are taken here for the calculation. According to majority of the people flood has left them with no proper occupation and hence data was unavailable to calculate the income they get after flood. But the important factor that should not be ignored is that there exist households having single bread winners. This may make a considerable variation in the income range. Also there are households having widow or aged people who survive only with the pension they get. For an elderly person the amount may be sufficient enough to survive as compared to a family comprising spouse and children. The second largest majority of the population has income ranging within 3001-5000 rupees. For the family the income may be sufficient in slum where they do not pay any rent but only the electricity bill. It is for the education of children or medical assistance people need money making the sufficient amount to deficit. In such cases people may borrow money and when the amount gets piled it becomes difficult for the people to manage expenditure. But relocation or any kind of shock may make this people prone to vulnerability. Relocation for obvious reasons increases the expenditure for many families. For people living in rented house the relocation would have created opportunity to save more. Depending upon the average income of the household the living standard and accessibility to other resources also increase. But the data gives a grim picture of why people are forced to live in a poor condition.

4.4. Repercussions of flood and rehabilitation over the occupation

The flood coming in three consecutive phases ruined the life and made it dreadful for the entire Chennai population. City remained isolated from rest of the part of the world. The third flood restrained Chennai from going for work. There were no schools, offices or even for that matter many hospitals were not functioning. After few weeks life of people got back to normalcy. People could attend offices. Looking at the initial response of people in aftermath of flood, people were found to be so much in stress. The basic needs of people are food, clothing and shelter.

But the impact of flood was far more threatening for the unskilled wage labour. The construction work was stopped for few months making the men in the community jobless. Chennai has population which represents migrants from other places who stay in the city for their occupation. Since many of these people returned to their place and came back after a while, the house servants had no work. The life of victims from other classes got better earlier than the unskilled wage labour who resides in slum areas. They were staying in relief centre and did not go for work. Since the houses were washed away and filled with dirt from all over the city and drainage, people had to stay back home and work together to make it livable. Once they got back to work they were already replaced by other employee. The nature of work being unsecured and entry or exit being spontaneous to the field many of them lost their jobs and had to search for new job.

Above this people were rehabilitated to a place far from city. This means less means to survive. They have a subsistence economy for which they have to survive on daily basis exploring the networks available. But this social network was cut off as they relocated to new area. In the relocated place there occurred conflict between the already residing population and the relocated population. This was not in form of any direct fights, but in the form of negative ideas. The largely existing conception was that there will be an increase in the crime rate and this would affect the socialization process of their children adversely. People who came there as a part of tsunami rehabilitation programme and project affected people were residing in the locality already. And the people from 12 slums throughout Chennai city have been rehabilitated to the area. This also had created problems for getting a means for livelihood. Since Perumbakam

resettlement areas is situated not far from the Shollingnalur, both a residential area and IT corridor and extending to industrial area within the radius from the residence, people were going for work there. Women go for housemaid jobs in the apartments nearby or little far. Some of them were going for house-keeping job in the companies near the area. And men were going as drivers. Also some people had shops in the market or petty shops near the residence. With the relocation it became difficult for the flood affected people to travel for long distance to get jobs. Initially there were not many buses. People did not know how to reach the city and travelling, spending daily so much money that was new to them. The expenditure increased and people thought spending for transportation would take away a major part of the income. Therefore their attitude changed and they are not ready to go for job. Within the area the people who were there from the past were going for work. And they have better accessibility to work there because of the social network they have created over time. Since Government provided rupees 5000 for them people were surviving on it and searching for jobs in the neighbourhood. Many of the housemaids were finding it difficult to go back to their work place early in the morning. Hence they quit the jobs. Whereas there were still people who go back there via bus or motor vehicle along with sons or husband for work. Since some people chose to educate the children in school they were going with children in the morning and working there. After the school they take their children and come back to their houses. People used to work in places that were the center of city like Saidapet, Guindy, Tambaram, T. Nagar, Little Mount and Adyar. Government had allotted more number of buses to run from Chemmenchery depot to these places. People were adapting to the new place as days passed by. They were making new strategies to earn an income either nearby their residence or at far off places.

4.4.1.1. Impact of flood in the resettled areas

While looking at the far reaching impact flood has created it is important to understand how the life and ideology of victims was earlier. When considering the middle aged people and young generation there is a prevalent shift in their attitude towards education and occupations. Among the elderly population literate people are almost absent. But middle-aged people who are now running their own families have education to certain extend but not higher education. They have stopped their education at high school level. But the younger generation if they are capable to learn are taking up education seriously and families are supporting them. Families spend their major income in educating children and secondly for the wedding expenditure. Also among these

younger generation cannot see women who work as housemaid. They see the job attached to lower status. Even if they do not have minimum education for at least front desk job, they prefer to go as sales person or helper in various shops. Living in the city and seeing the larger society people have got influenced. And nature of daily wage labour makes it least preferable as people will not get a stable income. Even though salary is less they prefer to take up job that leaves them with stable income. When considering the cases of younger men in the society they do not go as coolie or as black-smith. They prefer to take up jobs like being cab driver or working as peon in any place. The parents do not want their children to pass through the level of uncertainty they had in life and neither do the younger generation wants a low income uncertain job that is more kind of seasonal occupation.

Taking the case of education, the earlier generation people even lacked basic education or ability to read or write in even their mother tongue. Even fifteen years before people were not giving importance for education. But their attitude towards educating children has now changed drastically. Within the slums or resettled areas there are many students who attain good marks and are continuing their studies. Also a major part of the family income is spending in educating children in English medium or Tamil medium schools. One of the reasons for agitating against relocation was concern on the education of their children. Education is one reason why people often lend money from the money lenders. The contacts with outsiders have made parents aspire to educate their children. But children who are not good at studies enter as labour force at an early age. The youth and others teach them mechanic work, tiles work, driving and so on. At the same time their association with the outside people and the work culture prevalent in the city has created a sense of mind among the people making them realize the importance of educating children. The plight in searching a means for livelihood and the status attributed to the nature of their work is a reason for the people to give importance for education. Thereby their children could get a secured job with more income. The children can escape the acute poverty which their parents suffered without education. Parents say they would educate their children at any cost if the child has ability to learn. The children are also good at studies and some of the parents even used to send their children for tuitions when they were residing in the slums. Also different social work groups approach the people and give classes to educate both children and parents. By and large the mainstream society has influenced people to change the previous course of life. In terms of educating also most of the parents feel it proud when their children can speak in English

and they want to give quality education. They join in the Christian missionary schools for this. The school managements has given concession for the children in terms of providing free school van services and making payment of school fee feasible by taking it in installment. They were given time to pay fees after the people were victimized by flood. A major part of their income is spent on education by the parents which is normally against the prevalent idea on slum population. There is long term or far off impact of flood on the survivals of flood that are resettled. Tamil Nadu state promotes free primary education to the students. Article 45 of The Indian Constitution directs the States to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board under the GoTN education ministry has set up schools in the area for classes from 1st to 10th standard in Perumbakam. There is only Tamil medium as medium of instruction. Also the parents think that mingling with students from different slums will affect their socialization process and aspiration to learn. Therefore parents do not want to shift children to rehabilitated locations. For a day students need to travel three hours to school and back to home. Parents complain that this makes the children tired and they get less time to revise the daily classes. Some parents also stopped the tuition of children as it is difficult to manage the expenditure. Loss of livelihood means and moneylenders not lending money anymore makes people to join children in Government schools. There are students who in their 10th or 12th and find it difficult to cope with new schools leaving old school and friends. This gives extra burden of mental stress for the students. The Pressure and access model used in disaster study implies that there is a remote far reaching ramification on education of children due to the flood and associated rehabilitation.

Another far off impact which is not directly associated with flood is the increase in crime rates. During the fieldwork people were concerned about the increasing cases that were reported within the group. People were scared to open doors at night as there was news spread it is not safe to open as stone were thrown at the door. Adolescent boys were getting accessibility to drugs like *mawa*, *gutka* or *ganja*. Parents stay away from home for longer period than before and many of them failed to keep a check on this. The school headmistress said that she has caught students red handed. Adolescent boys getting addicted to this would affect their health, mental growth and future. Women in the community says its alarming to hear these happening at their place and this is one reason why they do not let their sons mingle with people in the locality. The same reason serve as one of the reason to continue education of children in the schools they were studying

previously. Another such incident was when a month later the resettlement a child about 5 years old while playing was abducted and raped by a man in the locality in a unoccupied building. Mothers of the girl children show concern about leaving girls alone in the locality and going for job due to the crime rates. Police booth is in the entrance of the settlement and this helps people relieve little. Whereas, other set of people complain about the frequent inspection by the police. Police do not let people crowd around after 10PM in the night. The petty vendors says men who come back after work in their slums used to form group and sit at these places and lit cigarette or *bedi* and have chit chat. Since police do not allow this there is considerable amount of decrease in the income for these vendors. There is set of women who complain about the alcoholic husbands and it create problems within the family. They say that the liquor in the state should be banned so that they will have peace in the family. Contradicting to this view other set of women voice against the police for the patrolling they do in the area. They opine that there were no issues in the slums they used to reside. Men used to consume alcohol after their job. These women say since the men do heavy manual work alcohol helps in reducing the bodily pains. There are differing views among the resettled population.

Resettlement had reduced the coordination people earlier had. People from same area were separated and allotted houses in different flats. This has reduced the solidarity and support mechanism which was earlier at play. But at the same time it has helped many families to have new hopes and get skill development training to start new ventures. These are often not seen as the consequences of flood and followed relocation. These issues are either sidelined as in the name of general characteristics exhibited by slum population. An aggravation in these problems is not seen as correlated to the consequence of rehabilitation project carried out as part of mitigation of flood impact. The research had tried to bring to the light that these issues is a repercussion of flood and is worth noting. Power and release model deals with how the event leads to issues that are far from the actual event. This shows how each aspects of life is connected to the other aspects in life but always screened. It is the sudden social changes that occurred around the flood event that has caused remote effect on the education of children and criminal rates.

4.4.1.2. Calculating the relation between flood and its impact on livelihood

To understand whether the flood have really caused any decrease in number of working days or the income a correlation coefficient test was carried out. Correlation has been counted taking a sample size of 10% of the population. Response was collected 3 months after the flood. Because the response just after rehabilitation and days pass by would vary. This depends on the resiliency degree and social network people hold to adapt to the new condition. This was based on the number of working days before flood and after flood. The correlation coefficient formula used is,

$$r = \frac{\sum ((x - \bar{x})(y - \bar{y}))}{\sqrt{\sum (x - \bar{x})^2 \sum (y - \bar{y})^2}}$$

were the value of r is $-1 \leq r \leq +1$

Here two variables were used. One was the approximate number of days people worked before the flood and a difference in number of working days after flood. It was looked upon whether there exists any correlation between the working days to attribute it to the flood. It was only livelihood that was taken into consideration here. The leading factor to this selection process was that in the previous chapter it was seen the major issue according to people after rehabilitation was threat to loss of livelihood. Therefore to understand if there is any base for this claim it was checked upon using the difference in number of working days the flood has cause. Because for daily wage labour their income is based on the number of days they work. A shortage in the number of working days indicates less income and low living standard. The correlation coefficient ranges from -1 to 1. The $\bar{x}$ value was 3883 and the $\bar{y}$ value was 1764. In this case the correlation coefficient value is 0.36892. That is, 0.4 which means there is a positive correlation. If the value is 0.4 it indicates a linear positive correlation, the value higher than 0 indicates a positive correlation though a very weak one. 0 indicates that there is no correlation. Value below 0 shows that it holds a negative correlation. Since the value is close to zero it shows a very less rate of correlation. As the value of x increase the value y increases. That is, the number of working days after rehabilitation takes the x value. The y value is the difference

between the number of working days before flood and after flood. Therefore the y value is attributed as an impact of flood. So as the value of x increases the value of y decreases. Since the value of coefficient correlation is very low it cannot be said that the decrease in working days after flood is only attributed to flood and rehabilitation followed by it. But the value 0.4 cannot be ignored as it greater than zero. That means, flood impact has caused some decrease in the number of working days. Therefore reason for this positive correlation cannot be excluded from the fact that it is also the disaster that had created a lesser income. But the associated rehabilitation may be the reason aggravating the loss of occupation. When other victims of the flood who stayed back could regain their economic status not the rehabilitated people could. Also the fact that people were going back to the earlier place of residence for their job indicates it is the change of place of residence followed by a disaster that have created problems.

4.5. Shift from need for basic necessities to livelihood stability

Immediately after flood people moved to relief centers or secured a safe place at the roof tops of buildings, railway platforms, auditoriums, Government schools and churches or mosques. The immediate concern of the people after a disaster strike was to secure basic necessities for survival like food, shelter, drinking water and clothing. The people tried to secure as much as possible to compensate the loss they had to face and kept for uncertain future. At this time different external agencies like Government entities, political parties, NGOs, charitable trust, public from different states, college students, MNCs and Chennaites came to support the people by giving food packets, drinking water, warm clothes, sanitary napkins, baby foods and medicines. When water was in and around all places these were the needs of people. Help pitched in from myriad sources and it was in plenty. As the days passed by situation got better for the people of Chennai. People from slightly well off background with a stable income could go back to their houses and start their life even if it was difficult. For the slum dwellers they lived in places with poor housing conditions. The condition of Chennai slums are very poor that from a demolished structure to base of a bridge to road side land people stayed for years without even having basic sanitary conditions. There were also houses that were maintained, shack houses and several storied houses without proper planning in these slums. The poor housing

condition along with severe rainfall and flood partially or completely demolished these settlement areas to unlivable places for the slum dwellers. Since people did not have enough money to rebuild or repair the houses they had to stay back in relief centers. Where the houses were not completely destroyed people prefer to come back after few weeks and cleaned the houses and stayed there. For others it was beyond repair and struggled in the relief center. As long as they were in the relief center people were served with food and there was no need to go for any occupation to pass a day. Not that any of them went for any work but the majority of them did not go. Since majority of them did not go for work their position was replaced by others who appealed for the same job. Initially what all people wanted was to secure basic needs to survive. When others were already in recovery phase the support mechanism that helped people ceased. Various external agencies have provided considerable number of people with grocery items for two months, books and clothing. Some external agencies went to the extent of replacing the livelihood tools people were using and lost. The people who lost petty shops were given grocery items and shop to start a living. Some people who knew tailoring and were earning some income from it were provided with tailoring machines. People who had tea stall and tiffin centers were provided with utensils required for starting it again. This was not given for all and it is not always possible for external entities to help everyone. Those who they thought have had severe loss of livelihood means and people who could be vocal enough to appeal got these help. Government cannot help particular section of people in the slums and ignore others. Therefore Government allotted rupees 5000 for all flood affected families and rupees 10000 for families whose houses were completely destroyed in flood. They also rehabilitated many of the slums to different resettlement area with the supervision of Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board. Initially they could survive with the amount Government had allotted and provisions they received from different external agencies. While relocating rupees 5000 was hand given to people directly. But the relief amount promised for all the people in Chennai came much later making people despair. The need for basic necessities in the long run got sidelined. The help that comes from different external agencies ceased once the crucial situation was crossed. There only existed few external agencies like NGOs or Government organization for extending help for a prolonged time until they become self-sufficient. Other agencies which victims acknowledge the most in the aftermath of disaster vanished. Also the support is not rendered for all the victims, but a selected group of individuals get the gain. Then the major concern was to earn a living and getting back

to the normal life they once had. In cash economy people need to avail any livelihood means for subsistence. For this kind of a community that is more emphasized on the persistent social networks or ties. Getting an income becomes difficult when there is a change of place from their residence. These people prefer to settle in places that are proximal to their work place. This reduces their expenditure and allows carrying out domestic responsibilities without much strain. Not only that but also the good will, efficiency and trust the masters have on these people help them get work on a regular basis. A change of place of residence means the break in the vertical social tie leading to loss of accessibility to job opportunities. People resisted shifting in many parts when the Government introduced rehabilitation programme. In spite of gaining a decent house people still chose to stay back. Their major concern was on earning an income. People were suspicious about the new place and earning an income. Change of place means loss of social networks and means to gain occupation. People earlier had ample opportunity to access livelihood options living within the city. Also the expenditure was low that they could manage even with a meager income. Many of them were living on the public land and need not pay any money for accommodation. But in the resettled houses they need to pay the rent after a period of one year of relocation.

Relocating to a new place not familiar to the population created an atmosphere of chaos and anxiety especially when it is not a planned one or done through force. An unplanned shift of place is difficult for people from any background. The place where people get to gather for meetings, their available resources, school location, familiar hospitals, police station, grocery shop, religious place of worship, relatives and friends houses, job location, recreation place, social networks, transportation means, group solidarity, sense of security and so on is linked with their residence. A change of place where they stay disrupts the connection with each of the above criteria. For the people who rehabilitated to Perumbakam settlement as their houses were partially or completely demolished also faced these problems. But it was the loss of livelihood options that stirred the most. People who sustain from a daily wage labour would struggle each day to manage a means to earn. It is the social networks and experience in the area that would act as an additional factor to choose them over the other people who do same work. This caused livelihood crisis for the people of the Perumbakam resettlement. Livelihood crisis happens when people are incapable to cope up with adverse condition and their degree of recovery from

stresses and shocks. This is why the livelihood issues should be given due attention in the disaster scenario. As the disaster is accompanied by high stress level with the usual shock absorbent mechanism is either useless or not to the mark. This makes them highly vulnerable. The more vulnerable people are the more time it takes for them for the recovery which is like a cyclic reaction.

4.6. Altering nature of social structure

Radcliffe Brown (1940) in the theory of social structure has explained social structure as human beings in relation to each other where they may possess a dyadic relation. Thereby he categorized individuals and classes by the roles they perform. To maintain it there will be norms and regulation of conduct that form various institutions with reference to relationships. The people residing in slum over the period of time have created set of norms to maintain the relationship between each other. Living in proximity and sharing the facilities and issues people have formulated set of behavior. For instance people come together when someone from Government entity appear and ask to vacate their houses from public land. Also when water does not come to the areas daily people may agitate together. This has created sense of solidarity among the people. When parents go for work they may leave their children in custody of close neighbours or kin members. Likewise during an emergency situation they may go to the local Saitu's or other money lenders who gives cash on terms of interest. For them money won't be in hand always or they may not have any form of savings or means to get a loan from any financial enterprises. They repay the amount as and when they get money. Another strategy people used to make living possible may be the credits they take from shops for getting provisions for household. These are done on a trust basis seeing the people for long and knowing that they would repay the amount. Flood has disrupted these mechanisms which people were using earlier. This is applicable for people who have resettled to new areas. People are made to shift to far off places. Slum dwellers from different areas were put in the same place. Also people from same area were not allotted houses in the same flat or as neighbours. This change has created considerable breakage in the earlier kind of social networks that were formed. Since all people were new in the areas shopkeepers were not ready to give provisions on credit basis. Many of them were struggling without getting a job and there was no surety that people would be able to repay the amount. Money lenders stopped giving money as people lost their occupation. Since

there is no stability in the income they were asking to keep the house agreement as mortgage to give money which was not the case earlier. The social networks they have formed in course of time help them get job regularly. But relocation disrupted the kind of vertical social ties people upheld and this made less viability to attain a source of income. The life of people differed from what it was earlier with the onset of flood. This was not just in terms of their income earned or economic viability. The social life also had changed. The people though helped each other during the flood they were more concerned about their life. Among many slum dwellers the solidarity they had disrupted with the decision to stay back or rehabilitate. Informal groups were formed among themselves one protesting against the rehabilitation and the other wanting to move out. They were again split into different blocks and the chances of meeting or interacting like before ceased. Since kin members or neighbours were allotted houses apart and like earlier the contact was not possible. They would have to go for a different apartment that comprised of eight floors. The sense of solidarity was also disturbed by dispersing settlement in different blocks for people from same area. This does not mean people remained in a state of anomie. They soon or later try to reach equilibrium by adapting to the new environment. New social ties are made and old are maintained in the possible ways. With people making contacts or formulating strategies to gain a regular income the money lenders started giving money again. Also the constant contact helped people win trust and get things based on credit system. Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance aimed at making people self sufficient to look after their life in an organized way. Government was collecting rupees 750 from each family towards maintenance charge for sewage system, lift operation, cleaning the streets and supply of water. When people were capable to take up these operations and maintain it Government decided to withdrew their constant monitoring and participation. Towards these functions they made people from each apartment to elect president, secretary and joint secretary to maintain the accounts or to file the complaint against a failed service. In this way people from different areas who were residing in the same apartment were made to organize and have new social ties. The relocated people thus made an altered social structure to match with the present system. People were trained in skill development programmes. Also they were provided menial jobs according to their skills and education in different institutes making them part of institutionalized framework. Though the previous social structure disrupted with the flood and a state of uncertainty persisted people organized in new ways making external agencies like involvement of Government entities and NGOs part of their

social structure along with people from different slums. There are different sets of norms attributed to maintain this relationship among the people and different agencies. Thus an altered social structure is created over time replacing the older social structure.

4.7. Possibilities and barriers for getting job after relocation

Rehabilitation has created changes in their life at different stages. One of the main issues was about the loss of jobs. The new place of residence has come with both new opportunities and barriers in getting an occupation. Some families could make the best out of rehabilitation while for others it was for the worst. With the rehabilitation people had more opportunity of occupational mobility. Earlier people had the occupation which were comfortable to them or continuing since from past. Or this could have been due to the kind of occupation that was available within the city. But with the shifting to new place people had more options and viability to change their occupation. People were not completely shut out from feasibility of getting some work. The readiness for people to take any other job came much later. People were not ready to change their occupation though they got chances. Women were having chances to shift to more of an institutionalized framework in doing job. Even though for people their previous occupation was more convenient than the job carried out in a formal way.

As security guards and cab drivers, men actually had more opportunity. But other daily wage labourers like construction workers, plumbers, electricians had less opportunity. They got job based on the previous experiences and contacts they had created. These were within the Chennai city and a change of place affected their livelihood viability less. They had to travel all the way searching for job. That means a higher expenditure in travelling and food on a daily basis. Also decreased number of opportunity than earlier what they had.

Victims who were vocal enough to get the attention of people who came to help could make the best out of it. Whatsoever women seemed to be explaining their plight caused by flood in a convincing way than men. Women were ready to explain each stage with patience. Rather men were saying they had the worst experience and could somehow manage and not more. This was the kind of response that was received whilst probing about the flood impact on their lives. The people who were affected by flood and earlier having their own small venture were supported by different external agencies. But they had to select few people from the victims. People who could

explain how important their small ventures were for the living and apart from it they have no choice to earn a living got the support provided. In this way several individuals got their lost things replaced like the grinder, tea stall, grocery shop, tailoring machine, ironing shop and so on. These people were in a better position in overcoming the impact of flood than other victims. They could start the working of their shop earlier and overshadow the shops that came later. Since they were in the same field as shopkeepers they could manage the business and customers much better.

Though this was the case still shopkeepers who did not get any external aid post disaster found it difficult to cope with the situation after rehabilitation. With the flood their stock was spoiled. They did not have much money to invest. When they started keeping the shops as earlier, there were other people who also started keeping shops increasing competition. There was a mushrooming of petty shops in the area post relocation. These shops were owned by the people residing there. When people customers were buying fewer goods at the same time other people were raising competition. In the second place the regular customers were given goods on credit basis earlier making them purchase from the shops regularly. Since all were affected by flood, the shopkeepers were not financially stable to give items on credit. As the people were not getting regular income after rehabilitation they were not sure if the people would repay the amount on time. Earlier they had more accessibility to wholesale market like Koyembedu to purchase in bulk and sell it in retail. With the rehabilitation they were far from city making it difficult to provide goods at the same rate.

Later the Government intervened in the functioning of these kinds of shops as they wanted the people to have more organized social life which was different from the earlier stage. Government did not want the shops to function in unhygienic condition or people to fight due to the competition they were facing. Government wanted it to be more organized. So there was decision taken by the Government regarding the closure of petty shops kept on the streets of their settlement. Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board decided to build a shopping complex at the entrance of the apartments comprising various small shops. People were told they could take the tender and pay a small amount for the shops and take it for lease. People who could afford the expenditure to take it for lease and maintain it could get the shop. Instead of keeping the same

kind of shops different shops were encouraged so that people could buy anything they wanted in a reasonable market price and not at higher prices. People who were vendors prior to flood were given more preference.

People after relocation found it hard to travel all the way from their residence to work place as it was not much profitable for them. Hence they thought opening petty shops were in their favour. The attitude of people for long has been to stay in the slums near work place or the other way. That is to get some work proximal to their houses. So that they need not spend any considerable amount to reach their job place. People after relocation preferred to work near the area where their houses are situated. Major problem people face in getting a job in Perumbakam area is their stigmatized identity. Though Perumbakam is outskirts of Chennai the IT hub has extended to the nearby areas. Due to this reason many apartments are there in the area for these people to stay and the place is promising in terms of growth. Real estate boom has started in the area. Hence women have opportunity to work as housemaids. Their identity acts as barrier in this. Perumbakam resettlement area is occupied by victims of flood who were evacuated from different slums of Chennai. There was a general conception that people dwelling in slums are bound to be criminals and not trustworthy. This makes people not to opt for the victims from the area for job at home. They are asked to submit their identity card with the house owners to employ them or get a letter from the counselor or nearest police station. Many of the people have lost their cards in the flood or are in the process of changing to the new address. They might not have an identity card to submit readily. Kanagi Nagar and Tsunami colony which is near to this area have a large population of daily wage unskilled labour who were evacuated from slums earlier. These people are already employed in different offices and apartments. Thereby the chances of getting jobs are lessened by the presence of other daily wage labourers causing a scenario of tough competition to get job. It is the negative identity that is prevalent among the people which are causing much problem for the people to win the trust of employers. This acts as a serious limitation for the people after the relocation. Prior to relocation long term stay in the area and the good will create job opportunity for the people breaking the stigma against them. But this is not the case in rehabilitated area. Even before the relocation the rumors were spread about the conduct of people based on speculations. Since getting a job there became difficult due to their negative identity, distance from city and competition. People started keeping the shops

with the monetary support given by Government during relocation. They opened petty shops on the streets of their apartments. But as many such shops started mushrooming in the same area there was a kind of unfriendly relation among the people. People from different slums are relocated in the same place and there already exist stigma about the conduct of people which aggregated with this. People were earning from the venture lesser than what they expected due to the competition. Along the street they have mostly grocery shops, vegetable shops, fancy shop, tea stall and make shift tiffin shops. People who were already residing there as a part of project affected relocation had their shops more established. An increase in population in the area was in their favour. People had to travel to Koyembedu market for purchasing the goods in bulk or they took it from local wholesale shops. For making profit the vendors in the area sold items for a higher price than the market price. The customers find it to be a higher price. But going outside and purchasing becomes difficult and therefore people are ready to buy for the increased price.

After the rehabilitation understanding the difficulty people face in getting livelihoods Government in collaboration with different private companies and NGOs conducted job fairs and skill development programmes. The community development officer from Tamil Nadu Slum clearance Board was in charge of this and they established their office for the resettlement area within Perumbakam. Since majority of the people were without any educational qualification the companies came to recruit them to housekeeping wing. They had to take up the shift in work and had to follow strict working hours. Though they had incentives and security in the job than the kind of job they used to do not many turned out to opt for the jobs. People were used to work in flexible hours and once the work finished they could either opt to go to another house as maid or come back home. Many among the women managed their working hours and household responsibility in a way that both do not clash. By the time children and husband come back home they could finish the work and be at home. This was not possible in the new institutions. Earlier if the women wanted they could attend to as much as five houses a day. The necessity dictates the more number of houses they attended. Based on the number of houses they worked in their income also increases. If the time women had to work in the new job, had they been worked in earlier jobs they would have earned more. Along with it people may get food and clothing also. Also taking up second or third shift was not possible for many women considering their family situation. Therefore very few women opted for housekeeping jobs in offices.

More than men women had opportunities in the job fair. There were many small scale industries who attended the job fair. Women were required in the production units for packing. There were opportunities for women in the textile companies. Even women without skill in tailoring were employed after a probationary period. They were taught to do stitching. But not many people were ready to go for any of the new job opportunities. This is because of the nature of work they used to do earlier. That kind of flexibility was not available for any other job. Women had to follow strict working hours and leave was scarce. The shift to new jobs like house-keeping in company or textiles production was a shift towards exploitative capitalist mode of production for people. People in the present kind of jobs they were getting had this feeling that their labour force was exploited, mainly due to the work hours and income they get from it. The increase in time of work, no incentives like those available when working in a household, limited salary and less negotiating power and flexibility was few of the reasons why these women were hesitant to take up the new opportunities. People who were in dire need took up these jobs. But others turned their face to the new recruitments and were going in search of the old jobs.

In association with Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board, twelve NGOs were working in the resettled area to enhance people with a better living condition and aspiration for life. These NGOs were Art of living, Tamil Nadu Foundation, Sathyabhama Educational Charitable Trust, Oravukal, MCDC, Arunodhayam, Equitas, Annaiyilum, World Vision, Domestic Workers Foundation, Our Soldiers and Nivedak Labournet Winder Zone. Most of the above NGOs were providing people Employment Development Programme (EDP). Others were providing people with basic services. Art of living were providing yoga classes for the tailoring students who came to learn stitching. They also give counseling to the students who study in the Government school situated within the settlement. When it is necessary they also provide the counseling regarding mental growth of the children in family environment. Our soldier aimed at training people in the settlement about water sanitation and sewage plant organization. So that in the coming years people get knowledge on how to do it without external aid. For every four blocks the NGO selected people to carry out the work and they were provided rupees 2500 by the Government. Art of Living, Arunodhaya and Tamil Nadu Foundation were giving people tailoring training. MCDC aimed to educate and give special care for the differently-abled children in the area. In

association with Oravukal they established day care centre for children. Parents having children above 2 years could send the kids here when they go for job. Sathyabhama Educational Charitable Trust were providing people bakery training, electrician and beautician courses. Annaiyilam gave tuitions for the school going children in the resettlement area. They also provided women house-keeping training and jobs in the field. Domestic Workers Foundation is linking up women seeking house maid job to various houses and institutes. They were also trying to initiate some means to provide job for the construction workers. World Vision was taking up issues that address capacity building among the families and children from the community. They were providing education fund for children who excel in education, in forming people's committee and bring them together for common cause, in making children's club and building park and play ground for the children. Nivedak Labournet Winder Zone was trying to provide a reliable source of pensions for the people from unorganized sector. They were also helping people in getting financial assistance for studies and marriage. They were also trying to provide some kind of pension for these people residing in the area. All these programmes are aiming at making the people self sufficient in few years and providing them better life opportunities. Since it was difficult for Government to fund for all the people they only work as a higher authority and mediating between the NGOs and people. People who were interested in taking the courses were free to approach and register for the course. But people's participation was less. According to the Government officials compared to the other similar rehabilitation project people from Perumbakam were performing better. People were not ready to accept the new place or the opportunities but rant about the facilities they had previous to rehabilitation. Each NGO is provided with a room and training space in the different eleven blocks in the resettlement area. They collected rupees 3000 from these NGOs as rent for each rooms which was again kept for the maintenance of the resettlement area. There were 150 persons who were undergoing different EDP training and the poorest among the people who performed well were provided rupees 10000 worth equipments to start a new venture. Also the maximum numbers of people for position of helpers, animators, trainers were selected within the area. This helped people to earn a living by working with the NGO and become active participants in the community development programmes. . Apart from this men were given electrical appliances repairing training. But often the number of men who were ready to attend the courses was few. After the commencement of full training programme people who were good in the training were allotted machines for

themselves and others were provided with loan to purchase the machinery and continue the profession. These programmes were experimented on the people to adopt the same method to rehabilitation settlement for the slum people from other parts of the Chennai. Involvement of NGOs to an extent could help certain families to explore new livelihood options and making a living possible in a better way. But even they could not reach out to the whole population as the number of people who were in need of help was more than what they actually could do for the people



Picture 4. 1: Women given awareness about water sanitation programme and community health. **Picture 4. 2** Picture showing campaign against child labour and promotion of education conducted in Perumbakam.



Picture 4. 3: women in learning process in the tailoring class. **Picture 4. 4:** Display of dress tailoring students has cut for stitching. **Picture 4. 5** Teacher giving class on how to take measurement before stitching.

4.8. Livelihood timeline and changes in occupation

To understand the livelihood timeline of the community from the interviews conducted five interviews are selected. The analyses part the livelihood timeline has been used to understand the changes that have occurred over a period of time. This covers from the main livelihood activity carried out five years before, prior to the flood and after the rehabilitation. A disaster necessarily disrupts the existing social fabric of a society. Livelihood is a major factor that gets disrupted among those conditions. Considering the rehabilitation that has occurred with flood it is necessary to understand whether there is any long term or short term impact of flood on livelihood of the unskilled wage labour. The daily work hours or the way they get work is different from people who has a secured job with regular income. For unskilled wage labour the hours of work they carry out differs from day-to-day and based on the needs to be fulfilled. They will need to save a bit for the coming rainy season or may have to give more input to pay the school fee for their kid or for the sick beloved in their home or for a marriage. A person living in a better off situation will need to wait for few days for the water to drain and office to re-open. Then everything gets back in place. The following case studies would examine how the unskilled wage labour managed the adverse condition that they faced in their life.

Interview 4.a) Devani the 64 years old lady used to reside in Saidapet along with her son and family staying in adjacent house. She used to manage her expenditure by working in an auditorium. Whenever there is a function she was called for to help in the work. She helps in cutting vegetables and cleaning the vessels. Per day she gets rupees 400. The work is not a regular one. But during the wedding season or any other function days she gets frequent days of working. Along with the old age pension and widow pension this amount helps her to earn a living. When she does not have money her son who is a painter helps her. Her husband was a construction worker. He used to consume alcohol a lot. When her husband goes for construction work she also used to accompany him for work. Other times she did not do any occupation. Her husband fell ill and died when she was 47 years. Then she has started going as housemaid in different houses. But in few years time she was not able to work properly on a regular basis. Since then she was working in the auditorium near their residence in Saidapet. Her son married

at 22 years which was a love marriage. He has started his occupation as painter. Along with his uncle he started going for the work as his apprentice when her son was 17 years. In a year he was getting enough income for the family. He used to work with contractors and building works. The days he does work he gets rupees 700. During off season he used to do auto driving for others. From this he used get rupees 200 per day. After the onset of flood there was no job. Many construction works stopped for months and getting a job was difficult for him. Since his wife do not go for any job and has two small children to look after she also cannot help in getting an income. After the rehabilitation he was unable to get any job and then he approached a company where he works as driver. Depending on the number of pick and drop he does he used to earn up to rupees 1000 some days. Devani was aged and she could not get any income from the rehabilitated settlement. Her son has kept a petty shop for snacks and grocery in Perumbakam settlement for his wife. Devani sits in the shop when her daughter-in-law cannot come. When her daughter-in-law sits in the shop she has to look after the two children. She says the house they earlier had was very small and there were no basic facilities. She was happy about the resettlement. But for elderly people like her there was no opportunity to earn a living. She was depending upon her son after the shifting to Perumbakam.



Picture 4. 6: Devani's son in their shop started in Perumbakam

Interview 4. B) Nirmala was 33 years and worked as housemaid since 22 years in Little Mount. After her first child was 1 year her mother-in-law could not go for work due to leg pain. Nirmala was taken in her place. She used to go for three houses which her mother-in-law was earlier

attending. Then when her two children were sent to school she had to daily go for four houses. Her husband was a construction worker. He consumes alcohol from the income he gets. He does it regularly along his friends and used to abuse her in front of children. She says the morning after that he would be normal. The money she gets from his income was minimal. Her husband does not get job on regular basis. When there is no work he sits in home and does not go for any alternate occupation. After the flood struck she could not go for job for few weeks. But one of the owners of the house for whom she works had given her some money, dress for children and grocery items. Then in a month they were allotted house in Perumbakam. For daily to go for work and come back she needed to spend rupees 44. Since she was working in houses where people leave for work she had to reach there early in the morning and finish the work before they leave for job. She could not reach on time and she had to quit the job after rehabilitation. Only in two houses she could work even if she is late. But the income from just two houses was not sufficient for her family to sustain. Her husband after rehabilitation has not gone for any work. Her first child was studying in 10th standard and she could not change his school as that would affect his studies. She was still sending him to the same school. As she could not manage the expenditure to educate the second child also in the same school, she was sent to Perumbakam Government School. Since there was absolutely no means to survive after relocation she attended the job fair and is now working as a house-keeping attendant in TCS near her home. She has to take shifts and sometimes reach early for the job and sometimes late from the job. She says only because her mother stays in the same place a few houses apart she is able to manage with the work. When she cannot do household chores or cooking, her mother does for her. Her husband is still reluctant to go for any job. So she is the sole bread winner. She says that the income she gets from the job is not sufficient for her family. But they could at least survive with the amount and teach both the children. She has had a shift in her job from housemaid to house-keeping attendant in an IT firm. She says job earlier was much flexible than the present job. But need to survive make it possible to cope in any situation.

Interview 4.c) Kasthuri from Jotimanagar used to have vegetable shop near their earlier residence. Her husband and she work together in the shop. And the shop was in profit and there were more number of customers from the area for them. After flood they lost all their stock. She was given some help by India Vision (NGO) and from the little saving they had, in a week after rehabilitation they again started the vegetable shop. Earlier since it was in the city she had to pay

rent for her shop. But since she started selling the vegetables on road she had to pay no rent. Earlier her son has a goods auto and her husband along him goes to Koyembedu market every alternate days and purchase vegetables for rupees 8000. Since they had a vehicle it does not cost much for her. She has good number of customers here and the business is going well. Her son used to run his goods auto earlier in the city. Now he started water can distribution in Perumbakam and Chemmenchery. He has been earning more than what he previously used to earn. She says her business also has got better since the expenditure was less in doing business there. With her previous knowledge she has immediately started the venture without any gap. She says other people also have kept vegetables for selling. But since she started first and in perhaps a larger way than those petty shops she does not have much competition. The older customers were given vegetables for credit. This gives her considerable number of regular customers. Also a petty shop having few grocery items and snacks is kept by her adjacent to the vegetable shop. They go to Parry's corner to buy items for shop in bulk.



Picture 4. 7: Vegetables sold on the street adjacent to the grocery shop.

Her family is having an increased income after rehabilitation since they made use of their opportunities. She has continued the same occupation she was earlier doing. Earlier though her shop was big the income was not as much than what she was earning after the relocation. Her son has changed his occupation with the relocation. Since they stayed far from city he was not getting orders to run his goods auto. Instead with the available source, that is the vehicle he realized the market for drinking water supply. He is covering not just the resettlement area but

other apartments and house in the area. He did not need much investment and was earning more than what he used to earn earlier.

Interview 4.d) Vasu was 46 years old shopkeeper who was from Little Mount. He used to have shop in the centre in Little Mount where they sold rice and other grocery items. In the initial two floods they kept the goods safely. But with the third flood all the items were washed away except grocery items they kept at his brother's house. They were running the shop since 30 years. They had a son who was studying in 9th standard. He was in a private English medium school. After relocation business was very low and they had to join him in government school. Their shop rent was earlier rupees 7000 in Adyar. When the business gets better he is planning to keep the shop in Chemmencherry main centre. The customers they earlier had are still purchasing from them. Since the authority did not allow to run the shop outside the apartment they have taken a room for rent within the apartment. The rent for shop is rupees 2000/ month. Government has put notification to apply for shop if they require space to run it in the shopping complex to be built. The deposit for it is rupees 100000. He is saving money and planning to take loan to pay the deposit. He says if the shop could be started there, more income would come like he earlier used to get.

Interview 4.e) Maria was 28 years old who has relocated from Kotturpuram. They were initially not allotted any house. As they had no records of having a house there. The people stayed back in Kotturpuram though there was hardly any structure left to live in. They had protested widely even bringing it to the notice of media people. Finally they were allotted house in the area. Her husband was working as an electrician and she was a housemaid. She has been working as a housemaid since 8 years. During her pregnancy she stopped working and could not go for work for another three years. Then later she continued as housemaid in a new place near her residence. She had one school going child. They wanted to relocate to Perumbakam as their housing condition was very poor previously. Since there was no ready job available they had to go back to Kotturpuram area where they earlier lived. There were jobs offered as house-keeping attendants in certain companies. But the job time is from 6AM-3PM. And the salary offered was rupees 6300. The long working hours made it difficult for her to opt for that job. She said from the job fair conducted another job offer came from an export company to work in the packing section.

Though they offered pick and drop in van daily, her husband did not agree to go that far daily and work. She says it was difficult for her to get up early and complete all the household chores and cook food. She along her husband and children in the morning go by bike to Kotturpuram. He goes for work after dropping the child in school. She goes as housemaid for two houses in the same area. She after her work picks her child from school and come back to Perumbakam. She says there is regular bus service though the distance is more. She says a house was much needed for them and earning a house like the one they got would have been a burden for them not got this house. She says though the strain is more in the morning there was not much difference in their earnings.

Before the flood people were not in dire poverty. They had managed with some or the other survival mechanism. With the onset of flood, people could survive with the provision they got from different sources. Victims who continued to live in the same place after sometime were getting job as earlier. But relocation has caused confusion among the people to take up the kind of occupation available. It was livelihood that was most affected by flood for many of the people. From the above interviews it could be seen that sometimes people had to look for new options as it was not feasible to go back to the earlier place for job. People who have explored the new options could easily get a means of occupation than the people who were complaining about it and not looking out for options. When there is no job available it was common for people to go for alternate jobs even before. The nature of the unskilled labour makes it possible for them to opt for alternate job when they were not performing in the occupation they were doing. People who had a means of transportation to travel and go back to their work on time then people continued with their job. Others have found new jobs like driving or keeping shops or trying to use new social ties for getting contacts to do job. It was household responsibilities that often were barrier for women to take up new jobs. When there was support from family women had explored new options. Ultimately it is important find some means of occupation for survival. Though much change has not come in the past five years in the occupation of people it was relocation followed by flood that changed the occupation which they were pursuing earlier. Therefore the fluctuation in occupation timeline was caused by the relocation.

Government and other external agency involvement; responses from both victims and agencies

In the aftermath of a disaster life will be miserable for the victims whether they are rich or poor, first gender, second gender or third gender, old or young, healthy or weak, educated or not. But what matters is their vulnerability and resiliency level to overcome the disaster. People having a stable income or savings and security in any form could come out of the impact sooner. Based on the media coverage and intensity of the disaster, the disaster struck community get aid from external agencies in most of the cases. In this chapter the reference to external agencies means any individual or group who are not a member of the community rendering service in any form for the victims. For Pierre Bourdieu (1972) agency means the capacity for any individual to act according to their will and choices which is often bound to their kind of social structure. But here only the external agencies are considered which talk about their potential to act for the cause standing within their limitations and choices. External agencies include Government or bureaucrats or police force or military, NGOs, student volunteer group, public, companies, people from other states, celebrities, charity trusts, missionaries, masjid and slightly well off individuals like Saithu. Reason for selecting only the slum population comprising of unskilled daily wage labour is that people are left with no stable income or feasibility to earn. In a disaster struck society with not much support. The extent of vulnerability they undergo is based on their socio-economic position and time taken for recovery is of research relevance. People within the area may not be able to render service since they are also struck by the same disaster. But this is not always true of all the incidents. There develop many social ties for helping each other despite the differences they have. Also in an information era the news is spread and from the nooks and corners of the world people extends help in the wake of a disaster. Government has their in-built risk/ emergency management system for reaching for the victims. This is organized not just at the national level. Policy like Sendai framework for disaster risk management, Hyogo framework and other United Nations associated framework exist for reducing the effect of disaster and to keep a check on disaster events. When Chennai was struck by the worst flood in a century period as NASA claimed and media announced, help came from different parts. The entire of Chennai was affected and it remained in isolation like a piece of island. Since the whole city was affected and cut from rest of the world even Government had their own limitations in the initial hours to

do any help. The unplanned haphazard urbanization was a cause for the intensification of the flood. This again served as a reason for slow progress in work in the early hours of flood. Flood or for that matter natural disasters like cyclone are not a new thing for the Chennai city or Chennaiites as the geography itself is prone to be struck by disasters. But the destruction this flood caused was something unusual. Many quasi groups were formed for helping the needy by college students, commoners or slightly well off individuals. People used social networks to highlight their plight and to call for help or asking people to volunteer. Multinational companies helped the victims by giving funds. Various NGOs came to forefront extending help. Politicians and Celebrities were another influential section who stood for the people. Government bureaucrats and officials including police force have worked for lessening the effect and to bring back the condition to normalcy. In this chapter the above mentioned will be referred to as the external agency. As hours passed by the city could resolve the problems of network and restore various means of communication. They could reach out to world or see for themselves what was happening in and around Chennai. The role played by social media is immense and worth appreciating. The college students could organize and be the volunteer force through the facebook groups. Social networks like whatsapp, twitter and facebook have worked as means to communicate trivial information during flood, like who needs help, who is ready to help, who were stranded, where food supply was more, to announce who was safe and so on and so forth. But in the initial hours even the news channel offices were sinking in water and had to cease reporting whence there was no facility to do it. It is at this span of time that people suffered a lot. They were helpless and not knowing what to do or where to go. Many of them tried to flee out of Chennai, but for the majority this was not possible. There was no cash to dispense from Automated Telling Machines and many of them had to starve for a while. Situation was made more chaotic in the absence of telephone network to make calls. Within two days people who were stranded and homeless were shifted to safe places and food and water were supplied. Health care was given continuously. Transportation was facilitated. Network problems and electricity was restored in most of the parts in the city. The central rescue team also landed in Chennai for rescuing people who could not come out of their houses. All these were made possible by the rigorous involvement and participation of the external agencies. Relief fund was declared by the central government and state government for all those who were affected by the flood. But in the wake of disaster and aftermath the way victims perceive their suffering and aid from outside and

the way external agencies view their role may be different. The chapter would proceed exploring the gap that exists between the victims and external agencies or see if it is just a stereotypic conception that there is in reality any gap.

5.0. Networks utilized in the aftermath of a disaster

In the book Social Network analysis of disaster response, recovery and adaptation edited by Eric C Jones and A J Faas (2016) they discussed about the kind of networks that are at play during a disaster. They say that it is important to see both group and individual characteristics at disaster phase. They talk about unit of analysis. This is about who are concerned while analyzing, like the individual or group and why a particular individual or why a group is preferred over the other based on their traits and not the other. The social network used by the person may be the reason to consider a particular individual over others. It brings about the factors like the pattern of interaction during a crisis, how within a social setup the individual capability to organize or mobilize the network and how it is distinct from a day-to-day symbiotic interaction. At a group level the scholar looks into how the organization formed persist and formalize or disappear with the time from an extended cause. This kind of study also reflects on inter-organizational networks that may emerge for the cause. These include the informal emergent citizen groups like student unity or NGOs that surpass from their actual work structure to extend help to the needy during a disaster. There are egocentric and sociocentric levels of analysis. In the egocentric analysis the individual's or organization's tie with the others is looked upon. , in the sociocentric analysis a group of actors working together is analysed. The seeker and provider of support during a disaster, the group that forged their formalized structure to serve victims and the community context in which disaster occurred are examined while dealing with the networks. These are the units of analysis and the level of analyses. A combination of this is made to understand multilevel networks. The proximity theory talks about people sharing the geographical areas tend to come together for seeking in and out help during a disaster. Likewise in homophily network people come together for a common need. In this way how and why networks have formed can be scrutinized. Network connections can be in terms of communication, advice, kinship, religious or between proximal groups and so on. Within this itself there may be centralization of networks, which means that some in the group may develop

more number of networks than others and some very few. Based on this high and low centralization position they form. These networks can be based on their pre-disaster ties, ad hoc networks, emergent networks or stationary networks. People belonging to community may have their previous ties. These ties have slow changes and may not be helpful in the onset of a disaster. Ad hoc ties are formed in the emergency situation and this disappears when the people move to recovery phase. The help from public may cease once the immediate needs are served during the disaster and the situation is at ease. While coming to the emergent network here it is the rehabilitated people in the resettlement area who form network to help each other in skill development or in mobilizing their needs to Government. This gives new opportunity for the people to collaborate and be partners. Stationary ties are networks that remain same despite the disaster. This can be kinship ties people uphold. Prior to disaster also support may be rendered from the kin members and this continues even after the disaster.

5.1. Role perception by the external agencies

To exclusively understand the role played by different external agencies and the people itself in the aftermath of disaster, the framework used by Dynes (1975) is borrowed. He used organizational framework to a disaster scenario for knowing how the rescue and resilience activities organized around a community. There are four types of organizational frameworks to understand the character involved to pitch-in help. They are namely established organization, expanding organization, extending organization and emergent organization. The first two are considered to have an already fixed internal structure which is an extension of Government entity. In an established organization they continue to do the same work which they were earlier involved in. In this case Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board can be taken as the established organization. Resettlement of the slum dwellers to safe area and gradually build an integrated township is their nature of work which they continue to do in the aftermath of the flood too. But just that they are attending to the victims immediately. Expanding organization means the work done by the organization is been expanded by an increase in size and undertaking new activities. The service rendered by police force brings them into this categorization. They have to increase their purview of activities carried out, like saving the people and taking them to safe places or controlling the fights that may arise during supply of relief materials. They had to work for more time and do anything that may take to bring things at ease and peace. Various NGOs took up the

rescue and relief work which was not the motive of their organization. They developed ad hoc special action force wing which is dissolved after the purpose is fulfilled. They take up new activities but their internal structure and hierarchy of work remain the same. This kind of organization can be referred to as extending organization according to Dynes. Emergent organization is the one's which are developed for the purpose alone. The student volunteer group forms an emergent organization which was developed for the rescue and supply of relief items. The first two kinds of organizations are at the Government level and last two operate at the civil society level directly serving the needs of the people. People during a disaster will need external help to overcome the impact. The social tie is important whether it be vertical relationship or horizontal. This decides the extent and speed of recovery. For people who belong to slightly well off stage the help required will be at the immediate stage when disaster is struck. For them recovery would be faster. The magnitude of loss makes unskilled wage labour to depend on external agencies for a longer period. This help is often delivered by Government entity. Other quasi organization disappears with time. But the contribution of each of these organizations is worthy. The preceding session would be based on the interviews taken with the people and external agencies. Initially would go through the role played by these organizations according to themselves and then moving on to how the victims have perceived their role.

5.1.1. Role played by Government:

Without the service rendered by many government departments like The Coast Guard, Indian Armed Forces (Military, Navy, Air force), Fire-service force, The Chennai Corporation, The Chennai City Police, The National Crisis Management Committee, TAMIL NADU SLUM CLEARANCE BOARD and others the rescue and relief and rehabilitation process would have got complicated. Financial aid was given not just from GoTN, but a disaster that was so devastating caught everyone's attention especially in India and help came from all the corners. State Government of Bihar and State Government of Karnataka donated five crores each to the rescue and relief fund. State Government of Kerala extended help in form of food and medical supply.

For flood affected family GoTN (Government of Tamil Nadu) has sanctioned rupees 5000 per household. People living in huts and lost their homes were given a house in the resettled area

along with rupees 10000 for each household. Along this they were given 10 kilos rice, a saree and a dhoti in their family relief kit. Apart from the GoTN, financial aid was given from central fund also. GoTN requested 25912 crores for relief and rehabilitation effort in the aftermath of disaster for housing project for displaced people; and to re-house people who were living huts that were lost due to rain water, to rebuild damaged roads, drains, sewers and other public infrastructure losses. The family of deceased people in flood were given rupees 4 lakh by the GoTN. In the wake of a disaster like flood out-break of epidemics are common phenomenon that make the situation even more worst. But in the case of Chennai flood most care was taken to curb the spread of any epidemics. There was fever surveillance programme every day round the clock for a period of one month. Large-scale medical camps were conducted and people were given awareness campaign, and cleaning operation was held through-out the city. The medical assistance was provided in collaboration of Department of health & Family Welfare of the Government of Tamil Nadu, Directorate of Public Health, The Chennai Corporation, Madras Medical College and The Public Health Department. Involvement of these departments hand-in-hand helped prevention of major contagious diseases. In the medical camps they did continuous screening, treatment and attended to other medical needs. Round the clock ambulance service was functioning. There were mobile medical teams functioning in the city. After the awareness campaign every household was provided bleaching powder packets to be used in their houses. The dosage of chlorination was increased by Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board against the disinfection and contamination of the water. More than 2000 people were assigned in the city for sanitation work and cleaning. All these interventions by the GoTN minimized the adverse effect of flood from becoming bigger.

In the aftermath of disaster people dwelling in the slums were no longer safe to reside in that area as it was prone to future floods. It was decided to move these people to other place, which was under the jurisdiction of Government office, Tamil Nadu State Slum Clearance Board. The aim of slum clearance board is to evacuate all the slums by 2023 in Tamil Nadu and make the state slum free. The motif for this have been started within the city since 2012 for which people were protesting. Therefore the rehabilitation process was withheld. But with the advent of flood Government have realized that people can no longer reside in those places and they were relocated to Perumbakam on the outskirts of Chennai under Kancheepuram district. After the

rehabilitation people generally get into a stage of chaos and helplessness. They would develop a feel of alienation and despair. In spite of this people from different slums have been located in an area. Few of the slums have crime rate or addiction to smoking, alcohol and drugs. This has created agitation and fear within the people. Therefore Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board have formulated various programmes to curb the illegal activities and inspire people to start a new life where the Government provides continuous assistance. It is told that during a disaster whatsoever aid is provided for the people, they would not be satisfied. Also disaster studies show that post disaster scenario the earlier stagnant development programs speed up. This has happened in Chennai also. The people were agitating not to move out from the city to the suburbs as their means for livelihood is available within the city and a shift from the place would put their subsistence under threat. Aftermath of the costliest disaster of the year, the houses were completely or partially destroyed. It was painstaking for the people to restore their shelter without external assistance. Government provided them with the houses immediately at the already made settlements. And people had to shift being left with no choice. Each tenement comprised of a multipurpose room, a bed room and an independent washroom with running water supply and sewerage arrangement. For one year Government assured not to levy any rent. Later up to twenty years seven fifty rupees for each month have to be paid. Along with this current bill should be paid a year later. The aim is to provide people with an integrated township having own sewage processing plant, parks and community centre.

There is a police aid post established within the residential area. People can get help anytime they require. Also police patrol the place in the evenings. They have made the rule that people should not loiter in the area after 10pm. Petty cases or fights are dealt by these police. This is to gain the confidence of people so that they can live without fear. Government milk booth has been constructed in the residence area and a public distribution system is also running in the same place. So there is no need for the people to go elsewhere and stand in queue. In the AA block itself they have started a palvadi (crèche/ pre nursery) for the toddlers, so that the mothers need not stay away from work. There are two teachers appointed to look after the toddlers. There is nursery also in the same block to take care of children who are above four years. A Government school is functioning in A block for students resettled to the area under tsunami or project affected families. School from 1st standard to 10th standard is functioning here. The students who have shifted in the aftermath of flood are given admission. Children were provided

school books, 2 sets of uniform and bag. Children only need to submit their Transfer Certificate and register in the school. But the school teaches in Tamil medium and there is no English medium school. Government has assured that by the next academic year they would build new school and shift these children there. Also Government has assured to construct a hospital for the people. But constructing a hospital would take time. For emergency Amma Public Health Centre is functioning within 2 kilometer radius. A mobile clinic comes in the area weekly where people could consult. Government also is running more buses to reach different parts of the city. The bus depot is within 3 kilometer radius. People can travel without much rush. Government also has made arrangements for immediate shifting of school going children bus passes. During chief minister's birthday people were given free bus ticket tokens for 40 days. People who earlier had petty shops are allowed to keep stalls within the apartment they live. For this a room in the ground floor is provided for minimal rent. People are also keeping these shops on the lanes of the apartment. Though Government has not given permission for this, they are not asked to remove the stalls until construction of a shopping complex will be constructed by the Government. Government has decided to construct a shopping complex within the area. People can apply for these shops and keep their shop by paying monthly rent. People who earlier possessed shops are given preference. But it is open to others also. Government also has arranged job fairs for the people according to their qualification. People made use of the opportunity and participated in it. Different companies are involved in the fair to recruit people. People are given training in different skills which can be further utilized for earning a living. The only resources they have is the man power. What Government did is to utilize the man power to its maximum capacity. For this Government is giving skill development training. This is done through 13 .They are in charge of providing these training to the people. These 13 NGOs are Art of living, Tamil Nadu foundation, Sathyabhama University trust, Oravukal, MCDC for differently abled people, Arunodhaya, Equitas, Annayillam, Domestic workers foundation, World vision, Nivedak labournet, Our soldiers and Winner zone. These NGOs facilitates training skills that are intended for employment generation like tailoring, beautician course, bakery making, computer course, house-keeping, electrical repairing. Apart from this they organized yoga classes for the mental peace and physical fitness, because their working condition may cause some pain and demand to be fit for productivity. Community based solid waste management and hygiene activities, behavoiur change through communication classes promotion were also taken up. They also give

tutions for the students and career guidance. These training programmes are meant for the socio-economic and personality reformation. People are given free certificate after the courses. Some of them would be recruited to various companies and some others will be given financial assistance to start new business. Under Employment Development Programme (EDP) training more than 100 people are already trained. Weaker sections among them are given rupees 10000 worth equipments by the NGOs. Community based solid waste management and hygiene promotion activities which is another initiation by Government agency. The intention in training the community members within a span of five years to empower and transfer responsibilities to the community itself and make them self reliant. The capacity would also enhance the possibility to build up self help groups. Now the selected people in the community are given training and made to do the work during weekends for which they are paid. With the participation of people they would build the capacity to dispose the solid waste and process themselves. This would give disease free clean environment when it starts from the root. Government has constructed separate sewage management plant in the residence area. Each block is an eight storied building having two elevators per floor. Running water facility within household is also provided with bathrooms and toilet within the household. Most of the slums are deprived of clean water and sanitation facilities. So people are trained in the maintenance of this system for the future. By initiating Community Behaviour Communication the agency believe that proper socialization can avoid much social evilness. In a slum population under study there are people who are subjected to drugs, smoking and alcohol. Wife beating is not rare in many families. This affects the mental growth of the children in the community. A proper guidance can discourage the children and youth from committing any mistakes. People from each block were encouraged to form a residence association having four leaders who were elected among them. These people were assigned to deal with any problems occurring within the block. This develops healthy community interaction on a regular basis. Children and parents are given separate counseling in different stages and taught basic meditation and yoga for a better mental and physical health. In the aftermath of flood according to their losses Government had allotted them relief funds. Every household was given rupees 5000 each. Houses which were completely damaged were given rupees 10000 in their bank account. Considering the material loss it would take longer for the people to purchase goods. Most of the families have received these electrical appliances from different parties during the election. But this no reason to declare their loss as meager.

Government has also assured the rehabilitated people rupees 2500 every month for a year. Government thereby has provided various schemes and assistance programme for the displaced people for a year, so that people have the support to stand by their own within the time span. Long term assistance will not be of any good. What people need is opportunity to develop their skills and extended support until then. That the Government agencies have given. But without the Government aid people could not have overcome the impact of flood easily.

Case study:

Background information and duties of the respondent

Mr. Sukkaivath works as a Project coordinator in Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board and have the duty to look for community development in the rehabilitated area especially Perumbakam resettlement. Since the people rehabilitated immediately after the flood, there was not sufficient preparation done and they had to speed up the work. He has staff under him to take care of the work in the resettlement area on a daily basis. But he goes to the field twice in a week and rest of the days his duty is in Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board office. He is in charge of looking after the living standards of people and improvises it according to the skill of the people.

The officer was in charge of the people who were rehabilitated. He initially faced problems for the fieldwork. He says that though Government has done what they could, when reports come they will be criticized. It leaves them with no encouragement to proceed further. The first set of people who were relocated came immediately after the flood, that is, within 32 days. They were from Thambaram. This project was taken up by Government aiming at making Chennai slum free mega city. Their motive is 'God we shall see in the smile of the poor'. Government has taken up the land in the outskirts of Chennai in Perumbakam region. Earlier Tsunami affected people were relocated to same area. Then the place was underdeveloped. With years the facilities have been increased to the extent that now even a bus depot and hospital exist in the same area. There were people already residing in the porampoku (Government waste land) at Perumbakam. Since the original idea was to provide a home for even the homeless these project affected people also were allotted tenements in the same plot. Within city many slum dwellers though were given token for houses using biometrics. These people were resisting to relocate. After the advent of flood the construction of eight storied apartments were not complete. As per the requirement

work was completed quickly to hand over the houses to respective people. There was special order from Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board to take care of the needs of flood affected people. They had made arrangements to facilitate transportation for people. Since there were so many people to relocate in the same periods, only people were allowed to come in the buses and not the goods were allowed to transport. The officer is working as the co-coordinator for the Perumbakam settlement and he works in Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board situated near Marina Beach and visits the place twice in a week and sometimes spends more working day as per the requirement. The Government intention was to provide a means for livelihood for the people who did not have any occupation. As they came there were different departments that set up their counter in the area. People could give their information and request for change of residence address in ration card and other Government records, apply for bus pass, change of schools and enquiry section. But there were cases in which people go back to their original place. To check on this and to collect information about the people mentors from the near by Tsunami quarters were appointed. Since the sudden relocation was not in plans and people from different slums have come as their houses were destructed there was no proper statistical record with Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board. So mentors were assigned to do this work. During rehabilitation livelihood will be at stake. So job fair was arranged for the people according to their qualification. Companies came to recruit people based on their requirements. Job fair was conducted twice. But only 155 people were benefited from that. People were not ready to work for long hours or take shift in working time. Since many people lack formal education it was difficult to find them any other occupation than daily wage labour. Apart from this as when people approach the office they were given job according to their skills and interest using networks of the officers. For five years people are not allowed to sell the apartments to anyone. But there were already move towards such actions which were curbed using stringent laws which make some section furious. Since it's a new apartment though at the initial stage there were problems in supply of running water or frequent bus facility this was resolved immediately. School for students from 1st standard to 10th standard is running within the residence area. Also crèche is functioning for the toddlers. Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board also have arranged for skill development programme for the benefit of people in association with various NGOs. Along with it other programmes are held to refrain from unhealthy behaviour like alcoholism, drugs use etcetera. People are given communication behaviour programme and counseling depending

upon the nature of the family. All people have to do is a mind set to change. Rest of the facilities and support is given by Government agencies. Mentors went door-to-door for recruiting people for the skill development programme. Also the information is announced in the mike during evening times when people are back from occupation. Though many people make use of the opportunity some people stay away from all this and do not have the aspiration to change. Everyone working in the area is struggling to recover and make people lead a self-sufficient life. The intention of these programmes is to make people self-sufficient with time such that they manage their socio-economic life by themselves. Indeed people in Perumbakam are relatively more welcoming for change and have positive attitude when compared to other resettlement area in Chennai.



Picture 5. 1: People taking pledge for sanitation and hygiene unit under the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board programme



Picture 5. 2: In the inaugural function of Art of Living unit Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board officer giving speech

Case study:

Background information and duties of the respondent:

Mr. Stephen works as SI in the Pallikarnai police station and he has a service of 18 years. Like other police he was also assigned for the rescue work and hence can be an informant to probe about involvement of Government agencies service during the onset of flood.

The police officer says that from his experience this was the most dreaded flood he has seen in his service period. At one instant he wanted to go home and see if all were keeping well. Then the plights of the people make him duty bound. He was Sub Inspector of police and they had to report to the police head quarters how the rescue work was going or any cases of emergency. First thing they made was the list of the people residing in each lane and police officers were send to see if all were safe. Other polices were made to stay on roads to see that people could pass through the road. Not any police were doing only the work they were bound to do. But all they could do to extend a helping hand. At some point they were helpless that they could not reach out for people immediately. Then had to look the conditions in the relief centre and see if there is any case of fight among the people. But there was insufficient force to reach

everywhere. There was fight among people for the relief kit supplied. Police force was appointed to check on this. The people have even attacked the vehicles and persons who come to supply the relief materials. So the NGOs who wanted to help the people first approached police and in their presence only could supply the items. When the Government had given the caution of flood that may occur police force have done the maximum to mobilize the people and asking them to evacuate their residence and stay in the relief centre. Despite this in few areas people were not willing to leave. But everyone among the police have worked so hard to make the situation relatively at ease working number of hours working. He recalls some of the instant during flood were 90 people were in need of food and stranded in a colony. Moving all of them from there was not possible in the rain as it may bring more danger. An NGO was informed about the people and place they were residing. In an hour food was supplied to the people along some candles, health kit and blankets. The flood was unexpected at least at the local Government departments if not the meteorological section. In Chennai water do not stagnate for long. Most of the accidents occurred because in water people could not see what was beneath which lead to accidents. Dam water was released due to heavy rainfall in the nights to further avoid the magnitude of disaster. No caution could be given at that point of time. Water level in Marina beach and city was the same. So water flood was just expanding and it was not draining. Even the drainage system was not updated to serve the need. The medium to drain water from city was blocked making the condition worst. So even when rain stopped water was stagnated. Near Thuraipakkam bus got stuck in the subway. But buses were through-out running to help people. But at some point even buses could not move. People have laid slabs and build houses even in the river banks and roads making them more vulnerable to flood. This flood also was beyond expectation in terms of magnitude and the consequences it caused. Therefore it was not just in hands of the people. the public had come to help even the police and it was more of a mutual help working against the rage of the rain.

According to the informant police force has worked and done all that they could. But the situation was beyond their control. He also acknowledges the support of public and NGOs and opined that working together made the situation to be less harmful. The flood was so intense and people have stood hand-in-hand to help each other. There was no section who was not affected by the flood only the degree of plight varies.



Picture 5. 3: Police helping NGO to supply the relief kit and checking if people use token system.

5.1.2. Role Played by NGOs:

The rain came in three intervals and ultimately washing away the major part of the city in its full rage. For the first flood only a certain part of city namely Tambaram and Mudchil areas were worst affected and therefore Government could effectively manage the condition and resettle the people under the resettlement project. But the third time rain led to severe flash flood bringing the full city under water. Government rescue mechanism was not enough to pay attention to all the victims. There was no section of people who were not affected. Citizens could no longer sit and watch in the hope that everything would fall in place. Then the students in association with college or any other form of groupings were formed as a quasi group intending for rescue or to provide relief items. People have acknowledged their service the most. The immediate help they need during a flood is safety, food, drinking water and clothing. These have been supplied by the public and student groups from time to time. People have cooked food and supplied it to victims of different areas. Slightly well off people or people who have stock of food items at home have cooked it and supplied to the needy. This flood was one of a type where public have rendered help to the epitome level. Employees from different companies and MNCs based in Chennai have also provided financial aid or material goods. Then at a later stage comes the matter of prolonged

assistance until they overcome the disaster impact. as the houses were damaged and they had no savings left or material goods, they need huge funding which can be provided by Government agencies or other influential people. This section is based on the interaction with people from different NGOs on their contribution in the wake of flood to help people. Some of the information is taken from secondary sources. There were many NGOs that worked for people during flood. The following are the NGOs that came to lime light and people often mentioned. Citizens became volunteer for such extending agencies as they lack enough of money or networks. Only man power was at their dispose.

World Vision India

World Vision India is another NGO who continue to extend help to the people affected by flood. It is non-profitable Christian humanitarian organization working towards creating lasting changes in the lives of people living in poverty and injustice. It s spread across 174 districts in India intending for long-term sustainable community development programmes and immediate disaster relief assistance. Immediately after flood they have delivered relief items to the people. They have distributed items worth 4 crores to 12064 families. They have initially worked in association with Madras school for Social Work department from the first time flood occurred. Second flood onwards they worked along with different organizations hand-in-hand distributing relief items to needy people. Later stage they have delivered non-food items and dry rations that could be used in future. They have distributed 4600 water bottles, 12300 food packets in the aftermath of disaster. They also created children friendly spaces within the relief camps for the children and conducted awareness programme for the people to start hygienic behaviour. They have further distributed relief packets, each contained 2 blankets, 1 towel, 2 mattresses, 1 dry ration pack having 2 kgs dal, 1 litre oil and 5 kgs wheat and 1 hygiene kit comprising 1 soap, 1 toothpaste tube, 3 toothbrushes, 1 bottle phenol, 5 pieces of sanitary napkins, 1 bar of washing soap to poor families who were affected by the flood. They have conducted during the period two medical camps benefiting 435 people. World Vision has taken help from various companies for their financial support to help people. Those companies are Coca-Cola, Gati Ltd. ICICI Bank, Ankidyne, Mahindra World City, New Chennai, Amazon India, Snapdeal, HCL Technologies, Renault Nissan Automotive India Private Limited, Vyoma Media, Comstar Automotive Technologies (P) Ltd., Happiest Minds Technologies, Genaxy Scientific Pvt. Ltd., SUPER GAS,

and Enterprise & Enterprise. Akshaya Patra, FICCI India, BPL, Apollo, Vimal Weaving Factory, Habitat for Humanity, IDFC, P&G, ITC, Fujitsu India.

They are now helping people to attain a sustainable solution to their losses occurred. In association with Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board they are conducting skill development classes for free to the people residing in relocated areas. They are also supporting for financial assistance to start a new venture.

AGNI foundation

Agni foundation is a non-profit, non-religious organization which intends to help the already helping organizations that are in need of assistance. They try to make such NGOs go digital and become sustainable to further extend help to the needy. Agni foundation started serving the victims of flood from the second flood that came in by mid of November. As their office itself was drowning in water they have to shift their operation to main branch. More than 2300 families were rescued by the organization and 39 lakh rupees worth of clothing and 10 lakh rupees worth food packets were served in the process. Their work happened at four levels- Relief, distribution, collection and recovery. The NGOs working in association with them are those who work for orphan children, old age home, differently-abled people et cetera have contacted them at the initial stage for help. These people were rehabilitated safely. In the initial days of approaching people for helping them people were at rage thinking they were from media. Media lack giving proper coverage and people were angry about this. Then they supplied food and water packets to the people. Some people were not ready to come out of their house in the fear of losing goods in the houses. Only in the Tripilicane area in the city had no water. Public came there and started cooking food for the people. Volunteer from Agni joined them and helped them supply the food to far off places in the city that were under water. As the water level rose they had to deploy boats for helping people. People were asked about their immediate needs and tried supplying them the same. They started mobilizing funds for helping the needy with the videos of people suffering in flood. This was advertized in social media and people contacted either for help or by consenting to help. People also came up with relief items to be supplied which the volunteers went door to door and collected. They booked auditorium to store the relief items safely. Police have helped them in supplying the relief items and controlling the mob.

There was no help extended from the politicians. AGNI have adopted a village far from Chennai and intend to develop it to a smart village and enable people to have livelihood activities. 450 volunteers joined them for the rescue and relief mission under the programme 'Chennai needs you'. Corporates that helped them were TATA, GRT Chennai, Pepsico, Godrej, IDFC, Next Gen, Vinho Do Parto, Winfashion, UWC, BLM technologies, Hyderabad Micro, Nellai express, Malayala Manorama, Kudumbashree, Eatza Pizza, Home interior designs e-commerce pvt lmted, eHome makers, Vijay TV, BAC, Hexaware technologies, British Airways, Radisson BLU, Indian community in Korea, Christy quality foods, Impower, Livspace and Sunnybee. With the help of donors and volunteers they could supply food packets, water, rice, dal, baby dresses, biscuits, blankets, dresses, sanitary napkins, bread, milk powder, footwear, inner wears, tarpaulin sheets, sugar, soap, mats, eggs, mosquito coil, candles and medicines using token system.

AID India

It's a NGO started by alumni from BITS and IIT in 1996. They mainly focus on giving quality education for the poor students. In the advent of flood they joined their hands to help the poor who were more vulnerable to the flood because of their social positioning. Under their 'Huts to home' project for flood affected people, named eureka homes they have constructed two houses for the people and 52 houses were renovated. School stationary kits were given to 1550 students and 4200 notebooks were distributed. Among 185 villages belonging to 10 different clusters 82 slums were visited. 590 cooking vessels, 42800 kgs of raw rice, 3350 kgs of dal, 14400 packets of oil, 18500 blankets, 21500 mats and 63500 clothes for all ages and gender were distributed among the people from which 112500 people were approximately benefited. They have recruited 1600 volunteers for this relief programme. Aid india have pitched in work from mid November for the relief mission for victims in flood. In the initial stage the focus on immediate necessities like food, safe drinking water, clothing, sanitary pads, mats and bed sheet. They had sent 255 trucks of relief items to 15 location in and out Chennai. They had supplied 20530 packets of cooked food in the aftermath of flood. 32300 litres of drinking water, 6700 packets of milk powder 33800 packets of biscuits and 32600 sanitary pads were distributed through the Aid India. Later stage they have surveyed the most damaged houses in the outskirts and outside Chennai and repaired the damaged houses. Along with it kitchen kit was provided and water

filter. Under eureka home project they have build houses for people in Thiruvallur, Kancheepuram and Cuddalore districts of Tamil Nadu state.

Case study:

Background information and duties of the respondent.

Ms. Shikha works in the media department of Agni Foundation. She earlier worked as a news reporter in few renowned news channels. Her duty is to cover all the NGO led activities and design their online portal and clippings. For the flood she helped people as well as recorded their plight so that the need for help can be mobilized among public and big companies. Though she was a member of the external agency at the same time she was also equally affected by the flood. Her experience working among the victims from the slums made to choose her as a respondent.

A member of an NGO shares her experience about Chennai flood both as a person who was affected by the flood like any commoner and a work bound committed member of the NGO who works for a cause. She is a 27 years old lady who has earlier worked in a school and national-level media channel. It was her first week serving in the NGO for which she works in the media section. In the mid-November flood the first day when they were in office suddenly the water level rose and she did not know how to get out of the place and reach home. The NGOs working in association with them were on the banks of the river. They were among the people who got first affected by flood. They had called out for help and another wing in the NGO was assigned to rehabilitate them. They decided to take a round through the city and analyze the situation. When huts were drowning in front of their eyes realized the intensity of flood. On 17th of November when she went with the rescue team with her camera people were not letting them inside the street and were in a rage. Then the people were taken into the confidence that they were not part of media and were serving in an NGO. During second flood they could reach out to people or had networks. But in the third flood there were no networks. She was at home when the water level rose all of a sudden. When the bed got wet as she woke up she could see that, rest of the house was drowning in water. She had to rush to the house on top floor for help along her family. She says she was not sure of what to do. Though she has seen with her eyes people stranded on roads without anything. The same stage had come to her and then is when she felt so helpless despite she having knowledge about the flood that has been happening in the city. Her house had

a loss of equipments worth 3.5 lakh. The next day morning she could experience the feeling of people and were more determined to do her part. Through NGO they collected food and water which were supplied to people. People could either contact them directly or police and other entities were in touch to inform them about people who were in need of rescue or relief. A special wing was set up for 'Chennai needs you' programme on an ad hoc basis. The work of the NGO was far reaching because they had enough man power, funding and logistics for the moment without any investment. Places where buses or trucks could not reach was covered using cars and boats. Even police have helped them and they have helped police too. In a case when politicians were not allowed in the residence area people have welcomed NGO members who went with the relief items. But in the wake of disaster there were no bread or milk packets available in Chennai due to logistic issues. While some people took advantage of the situation there were others who shared the things. Even while supplying food packets in some area people were trying to get as much as they could and keep it for future even if there was chance for the food to get spoiled. They did not want to take a chance if volunteers could not reach them. In cases the food may get spoiled they were ready to give it for any animals. Whereas, in some places people were ready to share their food and so that it can feed many starving people elsewhere. There was a mixed response from the people. The second time flood struck Chennai everyone was affected without any difference in class. All were in need of help and everyone was ready to extend a helping hand. Though they were helping people after a point they had the feel that the support given was not enough and at some point even they wanted help. It was a feeling like there is nothing more to do and one is left with only helplessness. There was no single ATM to dispense cash. Since the third flood came towards end of the month and extending to the beginning of the month salary was not credited. In Chennai 500 ml of milk cost rupees 150 then and water was three times costly than other times. For people having a standard income itself were in trouble. Then the condition of poor people residing in the slums was worst. Only external agencies they could rely on. May be that was why people were furious sometimes and were attacking people who were coming with the relief items. In their NGO they had a special section working only to contact individuals and ask for help. If they were ready to help address was taken and relief items were collected from them directly. Also different companies were called for contributions. Everyone had a positive response to their surprise. For 32 days they had worked for the rescue and relief programme and she had even worked up to 2 AM.

There were cases when the political parties did not let them supply the kit. There were also fight that picked up from people and these local leaders for supplying food kits having CM's photo in it. In such cases NGO have left the place without supplying and went elsewhere to distribute the relief items. She says this was an experience that would stay for a life time by both witnessing the disaster and working for the victims and being a victim itself.

The interview helps in understanding the role played by a NGO from their experience and perspective. It also includes the limitation of their roles and the benefit people acquired from their support.

5.1.3. Role played by other external agencies

In few cases some of the celebrities like Mrs. Suhasini, Mrs. Khushbu, Mr. Vijay and few others have adopted certain slums so that they could extend all their help to those people. Celebrities have also rendered help to the poor people who were affected by flood. Actor Vijay, Rajnikanth, Ajit Kumar, Shah Rukh Khan, Allu Arjun, Suriya and Karthik, Vishal, Dhanush, Varun Tej were few of them. These celebrities have extended financial help for the people. Sports persons like Saina Nehwal, Dipika Pallikal, Sri Lankan cricketer Kumar Sangakkara and Muttiah Muralidharan, M.S. Dhoni were others who helped the victims of Chennai flood. This is just an indication of how devastating the flood was, such that help came from all possible external agencies who were capable of helping. Help came from various spiritual entities like Dalai Lama Trust donated rupees 15 lakh, Catholic church donated 25 lakh and Mosque of different areas rendered financial aid to the people in the locality. Companies like Ola cabs, Paytm, Practo, Hindustan Unilever, Zomato, Nestle, Coca-cola, Pepsico, ITC, MTR, Britannia, Parle were providing relief items of substantial numbers through-out Chennai city. Hyundai donated 2 crores to the relief fund and Cognizant donated 65 crore to various Chennai based NGOs. But this was a very few cases alone. Rest of the people was provided with aid from Government agencies alone and by these agencies mediated NGOs.

In many places Saitu (the North Indian gold brokers and money lenders; local referring term) have provided people in their area with food and clothing. People as they do not have any valuable item to keep as mortgage during emergency and for the sudden availability of money take service from the Saitus for interest or keeping gold. This relation starts from many years and

during emergency these people have provided food and clothing to the victims in the area. This indicates the vertical social capital the people from slums have with Saitus that helped them for recovery. They have a symbiotic relation in normal times which have a hierarchical positioning. At the wake of disaster they have rendered help in the possible way like others did. They provided people with immediate needs like food, water and clothing. People indeed were very thankful for the help rendered by them. People say though the Saitus were also affected by flood and did not have business for few weeks they had the mentality to help people. People also added that this is done when the politicians they have elected did not help them with anything. The option 'God' may seem to be silly in a research. But when considering the opinion of people there were considerable amount of response which indicates the faith people uphold strongly. They consider it was by grace of God that they could survive. And there were interesting responds which says the action of human kind have made God furious and therefore he/she has punished his children, but then it was just to show his anger and it was he who really saved people in the first place.



Picture 5. 4: A cartoon showing the condition in media office during the Chennai flood 2015.

Source: YouthkiAwaaz.com

People were furious on media for not reporting them or not reaching out to them. But in reality all the national televisions were situated within 10 km radius of the city which was most affected by the flood. There were no networks to report or functioning of the channels properly. Though this obstacle was tackled within few days it was difficult to reach the inner parts and they could only cover the peripheral areas. People complained that had it been their plight being telecasted

they would have got some advantages for having suffered so much. Another complaint was that they covering the story are of no help to the people. The plights of the people have made them opine in this manner. Also for media the whole Chennai was affected. They got enough news to be telecasted from covering certain areas because it was entire Chennai that was affected, so paying attention to every area was impossible. The cartoon above gives the picture of how these channels were working in the on-set of disaster. There were no groups that were not affected by the floods. Even the newspaper like 'The Hindu' had ceased it's printing for the first time in their history.

Relief operation came to an end by 19 December 2015. A total of 12.8 million food packets were supplied. Government municipality workers collected garbage of 186000 tonnes. There was 10833 medical camps conducted within the city and 1.67 million people participated in it (The Hindu). These accounts make it clear that in the on-set and aftermath of a disaster the victims cannot raise by their own but external agencies have due role to play in it. Depending upon their intervention and success of their actions would decided how longer the community took to overcome the disaster. Since here the entire Chennai was affected all these help was not just delivered to the slum dwellers rather everyone in the society. The difference is that the subject of study were given a longer term of support due to their socio-economic position.

5.2. People's perception on role played by the external agencies

At local level during a disaster there is continuous interaction between government entities and local community. But not always this goes in harmony. People express dissatisfaction with the support mechanism. Therefore it is of significance to understand where the gap lies between external agencies support mechanism and people's evaluation of their role. In such situation what people expect is a long term support system. For the poor people rebuilding a new life from scratch is not a simple thing. It is what they have earned their entire life and loosing it on a single day would bring despair and state of helplessness. Most of the people opined that if their income is regular then they would not require any external agencies to help them. The major issue is their livelihood options that are viable to them. For unskilled wage labourers it is difficult to manage occupation round the calendar. Had it been that they had a regular income source

rebuilding life would not have been difficult. Like other people who were affected by flood the subject of research also could have overcome the impact of disaster in few weeks time.

Many external agencies have provided them with clothing, utensils, fans, grocery items and financial aid for selected people to invest in their venture. This means few months that can be survived even if they cannot manage a wage labour. Though in the research all Government funded agencies that function by Government bylaws comes under blanket term Government whether it be military force, Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board, GoI (Government of India), GoTN, for people it is a different issue. They have excluded military, navy rescue team and air force from the blanket term. Their responses for the aid given by Government exclude these agencies.

There were people from different parts of India to help people during flood. But this was only for a matter of one month or two. They mainly focused on rescue and relief supply. But the subject of research that is, unskilled wage labour residing in the slums were in need of an extended support system. The agencies that were there during the on-set of flood have disappeared by then. It was GoTN and Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board that helped people for a longer period and in the matter of displaced people even more. Different NGOs are also in the league in association with Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board. They are pitching their work among these relocated people and working for a longer period by giving them skill development training that would enhance them with the ability to get a job and become self-reliable over a period of time.

There were different external agencies in the wake of flood to support people. For each agency the work they have carried out would be trivial and therefore the role they played too. Since it was people who were at the receiving end it is equally relevant to know their opinion and thereby analyzing the mismatch and reason for it from the responses. To grasp the people's opinion on who were of help to them after the flood occurred they were asked to mark on a scale ranging from 1 to 8 based on the ascending order of help received from those agencies. Scale 1 indicates the external agency that have helped the most and then moving to scale 4 it indicates moderately helped and by the scale 8 it means least helped or not helped. There should be consistency in the nature of population while asking people to rank their opinion. Here the population is victims of flood who are from the slum area. The fact that all these people belong to different slums within Chennai city should be sidelined by the experience as victims of flood from same category.

Before responding people were in detail asked what each group reference term mean to them in their idea. Since scaling took much longer time 5% of the population only was taken as sample for the particular section. There were eight external agencies that were labeled for the calculations, namely, Government, God, NGO, students, media, public, others and MNCs.

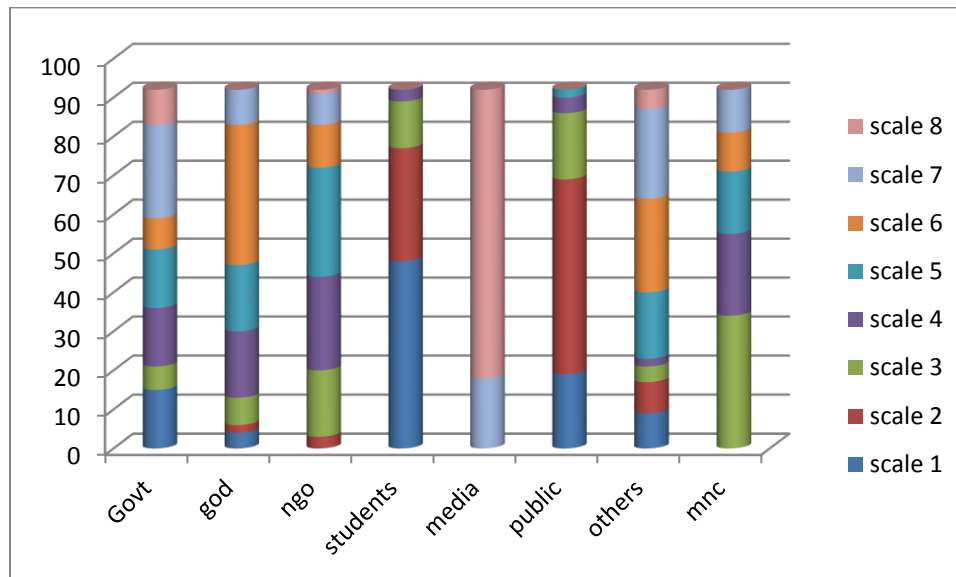


Figure 5. 1: Graph indicating people's response on role played by external agency during Chennai flood 2015

The least ranked is media's role in helping people during the flood. Everyone who had responded has ranked media to be the last or second last to extend help. This discontentment was shown in their response at different levels and during interviews. The reason for media not helping people is that their plight went unnoticed by the media. Also for the people who have been interviewed did not want the coverage then, but a helping hand to keep their hardship at ease. It was the role of students that were esteemed the most by people. People were in more favour of the role played by students. This means most of the help have reached people through student volunteers. Though government agencies think they have done their part well in managing the situation people have a mixed response to their role in the wake of disaster. There are certain factors to be considered while analyzing why people have a negative attitude towards the role of Government. Most of the people while taking the survey have not received relief fund promised by Government, that is, rupees 5000. The people though got a house that was given by Government did not consider it as a helpful act though many of them earlier did not even have a proper housing facility. Because they did not feel relocation has done any good to them. Thirdly may be

their political affiliation do not allow them to give an unbiased answer. Also it was the local governance mechanism that was more referred as Government, mainly the counselors and local politicians whom they have had direct interaction with earlier. Finally their answer is more influenced by the support they got immediately after the flood and not the later stage. Immediately after the flood except for relief centre and rescue mechanism Government could not reach out to help all the people. Nor could they give relief kit as generously as given by the public. Because the Government norm goes by equality in treating the entire flood affected people. Yet people may not be in condition to understand this, because they are the victims and may be more concerned about self and not all. Likewise when it comes to college students what people see is who comes to help. They may not be aware of whether they are volunteers or the relief items they give are actually the funding from elsewhere. The physical presence and help is only measured by the people. There were also students who collected the funds mediated by their Colleges who helped the people. The responders were unable to identify these differences during the time of flood. Under the 'public' term includes all people who have come for help without any affinity towards any entity. This also includes other state people who have come directly to help people and people residing in apartments who have come to help. Public is ranked second by the people in their due role in helping the victims getting over the impact of flood. NGOs were ranked next based on the help rendered by them. The role played by different companies operating around Chennai was appreciated by the people. These companies and employees have provided people with financial aid and supplements like clothing, food and grocery items. In the later stage they have also provided people with relief kit. MNCs apart from direct help through their employees also have given financial aid for various NGOs so that they can mediate the rescue and relief operations. Celebrity have visited few places or rendered help to few streets or area they consider is worst affected through their analysis. So people who belong to such areas only have opinion that is in favourable of them. Also support that came from various religious groups is also included under others along celebrity. There were even few people who thought it was the grace of God that helped them ultimately. This indicates the faith people uphold during emergency on God. The role of media, Government and others were unrewarding for people respectively. This indicates that these agencies have not been up to the mark in convincing the people the role they have played. If not it may be because they actually were not on par with others who have been support to people in the wake of disaster.

To get a grim picture of people's opinion three case studies are selected from people dwelling in slums to show different responses from them. The interview of persons who have relocated and dissatisfied with it, who have not relocated despite Government asking for relocation and who have relocated and satisfied with the resettlement are those. Though most of them were dissatisfied with relocation other opinions were also equally important to be included. These interviews would more or less include all the different responses by people regarding relocation that was followed by flood.

Case study:

The interviewee is a 61 years old lady from Saidapet whose name is Poovizhi. She used to work as housemaid for apartments near her house. She earlier used to work as a housemaid. Then this job was passed on to her daughter as she became old. Now she works in the auditorium near-by house. She helps in cleaning and washing vessels during functions. For this job she get rupees 400 per day and food also.

She says that she has been living there for generations and was married to the same place. She says that moving to a different place would ruin the life for more than what flood did to them. Flood came in the middle of night and within no time it washed away the house. She ran to secure TV and seeing cylinder was trying to grab it. And then only thing she could do is run for life with the documents and holding her granddaughter. They had stayed on top of a building and got stuck as they were surrounded by water. Three days they were on top of the building and there was no much food left or finally water to drink. Though she was surrounded by water there was no little water left to drink. Food was served by the armed force in helicopter. When the water started to drain they went to near-by Gandhi mandapam (auditorium) by boat. Food, water, clothing and other relief items were not in short. Public have generously helped them. Two weeks later they went back to their houses. Houses were filled with dirt and there was nothing that could be used anymore. The relief items they got were there. To start life from scratch was difficult. But people continue to help. College students had come to help they clean houses. Also the relief items that were distributed helped them to live without starvation. Then the Government came with the order that they should shift from the place immediately. Since their house was not on the river banks and near to the road their house was not evacuated in the first phase. But then the people are given token for the houses and they were not aware of the fact that

it was to evacuate the present house and relocate to Perumbakkam. She says that she has been in the place from her birth and now they would not accept for relocation. 'This is the place we have our job, a day off means a day without income. How can a place away from city get us job? The relocation means threat to our living'. Since she is old the only job she could do is to help in the auditorium, for which she will have to stay up to 12am. Then she along her neighbours could come back walking to house. The place is safe and can live or travel anytime. But she says this would not be the case in the outskirts of city. The people who have already been relocated have days without income. Those people say it takes almost 4 hours of travelling a day to reach city. There is no stable income. So it matters to be on time, if not the work would be grabbed by someone else. People in the area were given token the previous night and the next day they were asked to evacuate. At one side when houses were been demolished only choice those people had was to secure their belongings and leave. Had it been that they got enough time they would have also resisted to shift and protest along other people. They were saying that they would put forward the demand that they need Government to built houses for them in the same area. She told people are ready to stand as single entity for the cause and would not shift.

This case study is the kind of response people who resist rehabilitating to the outskirts of Chennai shows, which is basically due to fear of loss of livelihood means. She is included in the group of people who sees the role of Government with suspecting eyes.

Case study:

Mrs.Vasanatha is a 41 years old lady who runs a tea shop. She is from JJ Nagar. She has two sons who are studying. Her husband is daily wage labour. It was two months after her relocation while the interview was taken.

She was having a tea shop in the relocated area. She says that the water have taken all the valuable items from their house including the little savings. Since the caution was given things in the house was secured in an elevated area and the equipments were kept on the first floor building. But water even came to first floor and it remained wet. She used to earlier have a tea shop in the entrance of their slum. A woman from trust came and took the interview to analyse their loss. Ten people from the street including her were provided with necessary items to re-start their business. Hence she could start the same business in the relocated area without any

financial difficulty. But people in the area are facing problem to manage occupation and a regular income. This indeed has affected her business too. Also the earlier shop had regular customers who were working men and women. But now only the people in the area come for tea and it makes the business run in a low profile. She says that for the college going sons it's difficult to go for class daily. Also the husband leaves in the early morning to reach on time for job. Delay would leave him a day without job. She says that it was not Government or local politicians who came for their help during flood. But college students supported them generously. Also people from other state, trust and public have served them. She opined that it was them who helped them survive. Government by giving house has helped for having a standard house. But without a regular income source that is of any use. She also added that though the houses were small earlier they were secured in the area and she could close the shop at night and go home alone. But the relocated area comprising slum dwellers from different areas have caused a sense of fear in people. She says if Government wanted them to evacuate from the slums then extended help should have been there for the people to manage a livelihood option.

The above case study indicates how people were affected by flood and they have adapted to the life in new area taking hardship. She is one among those who have received help from external agency to the extent of starting a new life and having the livelihood means restored.

Case study:

The following case study is of a 36 year old female from rehabilitated settlement. They earlier lived in Little Mount. She is educated up to 5th standard and is working as housemaid for two houses. She has got two children. Her husband is a painter and he goes with the construction team with whom he earlier associated.

The respondent says that the house has been received to them only by the intervention of Government. She along family was living in Little Mount at the same house for more than 13 years for rent. And every time it rained heavily during monsoon water stagnate in the locality. They had to cross the muddy road filled with water to go out. Also to get water had to stand in queue at the entrance. But Government have facilitated own houses even for people in rented houses. These problems were solved and there is no fear to live in the area as police keep surveillance. She unlike others had not complained about transportation facilities. She and her

family go to Chinnamalai in the morning. Her children continue the study in old school. She says she could manage a house keeping job near Perumbakam, but since children go to school she works in the houses she earlier worked. She said that from next academic year children could be joined in the school in Perumbakam and she could go for job near the residence. She says that in the aftermath of flood they had lived in school for about a month. Then a week later they received the token and shifted to the place. It was public that came with food, water and clothing in the relief centre. Government also had served them food. But the provisions given by the public she still runs the home. She says that the people from outside community have helped them well.

This is an example of people who finds it boon to shift to new area. This house means no rent to pay. This would indicate people who still go for work at the earlier places though they need to spend more time on travelling.

From the case study a variety of response from people are exhibited. People belonging to same area facing the flood have responded differently. This case study was to display kind of variation in the range of response. From the graph shown in the chapter it is evident that most of the people were against the relocation because of less choice in getting an occupation. This was again crystallized by the reasoning given by people to resist relocation. Also there were group of people who have supported relocation. These people find it more advantageous to shift though there are difficulties. They consider the difficulty is worth the outcome it brings.

5.3. The pitfalls in the relief phase

Literature available says there is a gap between what Government is prepared or ought to do in the wake of disaster and the expectation of the victims. Mass media in many instances take the role to crystallize this. There may occur difference between the bureaucratic norms and the emergent social interaction. This is common in most of the disaster scenario. Not always because Government do not support them, but for the people it is not enough. In a disaster scenario what Government aims at are mitigating or prevention of disaster, preparing the area for emergency situation, providing immediate relief and finally the recovery of the community from the impact of disaster. Even at the Government level a separate quasi group may be formed to deal with immediate relief measurements. And a structure is given to this ad hoc organization to deal with

disaster. Government at the later stage tries to calculate the losses and relief funds to be provided. This chapter included all the Government entity under the blanket term Government starting right from the central Government of the country to the local body and armed forces. But later the focus shifted to Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board as the research was surrounding around the displaced unskilled wage labour who were residing in the slums within Chennai city. Without the support from external agencies in the on-set or aftermath of a disaster recovery becomes difficult. For a flood that came so intense over a century period the role played by external support mechanism cannot be neglected. But it is also equally significant to know the response from the receiving end of the support, that is, the victims. That would be an eye-opening to apprehend were the support system have gone wrong or not up to the point or why there is a gap or mismatch within the giving and receiving end. Always this gap between the people's expectation and Governmental plans executed lays the success and failure of the relief programme. This gap can be exhibited in various forms like vocal public dissatisfaction, media interviews, agitation and finally to violence. The interviews given were another way of how people expressed their dissatisfaction. Also the reason why public was furious on media was for not getting platform to express this dissatisfaction.

In the research, framework used by Dynes in analyzing the social ties in aftermath of a disaster, it could be seen that it is the role of established and extending organization that is unacknowledged. This attitude by the people may be because they think they rightfully can expect the support system they were getting. The political scenario in Tamil Nadu and especially Chennai is that people can mobilize their needs directly to the political parties. Tamil Nadu elections run by the concept named vote bank which was coined by M.N. Srinivas. There is clear political affiliation and support from the public for the political parties. In common parlance if the demands of people are ignored there may be consecutive consequences which decide who rules next Government tenure. Also Government could not reach out to extend help for all the people and raise to their expectation. Since the public and different organizations helped people with generous contribution for relief the contribution by Government was sidelined. But the major rescue work was carried out by the extending organization like armed forces and police force. These show a line of vertical ties that worked during the flood. The expanding and emergent organization did its part for supporting people and enabling them to recover sooner. But this support mechanism was only for a short while. Once the water drained and people were

back in their residence there was no help rendered. In fact their motive was only to help people the possible way in the wake of disaster when everyone was in a chaotic and helpless condition. It was expected of people to get back into normal life in sometime. Various charitable trust and celebrity have contributed money for selected people who have lost almost every bit of their savings or material goods both in house and petty shop they own. This was appreciated by the victims more. But there was clear discontentment shown by people who did not get any special aid from external agency. When the response by people is dissected and analysed there is clear positive or negative view about community within and between groups. People keep complaining about the fact that though they were equally or worst affected no due attention they received. Instead people from other area or a different street grabbed all the relief that came their way. There was netting happening in the course of relief operation. An effective token system and check on the amenities given for each people would not have made people complain about the distribution of relief items.

What should be done is to incorporate dynamic community level interaction into government planning. This would tackle the issue of people complaining against the role of Government. Since people's idea was excluded they feel alienated from the project. Decision that comes from the bureaucratic level leads to either congruence or lack of coordination in interest between the community and government. Community response, participation and presence incorporating community capacity should be included during the development programmes that were formulated. Change could be brought about through such response easily. The focus being displaced population it is significant to consider the horizontal and vertical interaction of the group and their social positioning. Here the horizontal interaction is between people from different slums who have relocated to the resettlement area. Also the interaction between the people who were already residing in the area and the flood victims who have relocated to the area is considered under horizontal relation. The vertical relation at the later stage is with officials of Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board who are working under special cell for the well-being of people. The NGOs that work in association with Government agencies who give skill development training and other Government officials hold a vertical relation with the relocated people. What is normally seen is that the expanding organization and their presence reduce as the days pass by. But here few of those expanding organization have taken the situation to crystallize their role and render a prolong presence like the established organization. They along with the

established organization work for a common goal. The internal structure would be different for both the organization though.

In Dynes work he talks about how different organization pitch-in help in wake of disaster. Whereas in this study, disaster scenario further extends to long term recovery of the victims. Whence the organizational framework change in its nature from its work. This is a further exploration of how such a framework influence the life of victim population and their nature of work enabling to understand the vertical-horizontal relation. Victims have not sidelined the role of external agencies. In fact they say more support was required for them. Since the expanded and emergent organization have done their part and withdrew from the scene people do not complain about them. They were only bothered about the role played by established organization. This could have been solved if people were given more choices about moving out from the actual residence. If representatives from them were included in decision making process and convinced about the reason behind relocation and given more satisfactory options for livelihood options the gap would have reduced. But the gap to some extent is inevitable as there was no ample time to convince people. Also rebuilding life is a tedious task which does not happen all of a sudden. It takes time and coping to the new scenario post disaster needs th assembling of all other factors to be set right. That is not just the safety or house would suffice but all arenas of life should be satisfied.

This chapter not only brings to light the role played by external agencies during on-set and aftermath of a disaster. This capture the reality of how people belonging to lower strata of income group respond or ought to think about the role of external agencies and support rendered to them when applied in similar socio-economic and political conditions.

Conclusion

The research was conducted among the slum dwellers of Chennai city. Aim of the research was to see how the victims of December 2015 flood were affected by the flood. The emphasis was given on unskilled wage labour from the community and the impact flood had on the livelihood of the people.

The first chapter intended at looking how disaster has affected the lives of slum dwellers within the city. Doing this how people viewed the flood was analysed. Though flood was not new to the slum dwellers the flood in 2015 was different from other years due to its intensity, the time taken for recovery, pace of resiliency and the impact of flood on daily lives of the people. But the basic idea of the chapter was to analyse if the experience and perception of all the victims of flood were more or less similar. The people who still reside in the slums after flood and people who rehabilitated after the flood were taken to do the comparison. It could be inferred that the plight of people during flood was more or less similar. But the pace of resiliency differed from both the sections of people. The reason for this could be attributed to the impact flood has created on livelihood of the people. After the rehabilitation victims found it hard to get an income. The change of place of residence is the reason for this. For the people in slum their life surrounds around the place of stay or the other way, that is, people stay near to the place where they get an occupation. But with the rehabilitation to Perumbakam the victims had no livelihood options to engage in immediately around the house. They had to travel for long to reach city where opportunities of getting unskilled labour is more. In place where they were residing was full of people doing similar occupation. People who were already staying there were employed in those occupations. Oliver Smith has explained the relation between adaptation and vulnerability. The time taken for adaptation to new environment depends upon the vulnerability of people. Again vulnerability is determined by possession of either or all the five capitals. The people who were residing in the slums have strategies that have been deployed since years to utilize their human capital to gain a source of income. But coming to the rehabilitated victims the new place and breakage of social ties which were used in getting job is no more available. They have to find new strategies for doing this. Hence the lack of opportunity to utilize their human capital (the sole resource) make them more vulnerable. Therefore people took more time to explore the opportunities and get used to it. This was the difference seen among slum dwellers who were

rehabilitated and who were still residing in the earlier place of residence. It is due to rehabilitation this difference has occurred. Otherwise there is no difference among the same category (unskilled wage labour) of people in the aftermath of flood.

The second chapter was looking at how the victims (by victims only unskilled labour is considered) of flood were defining the flood as a disaster. Flood is not so rare event for the people dwelling in slums of Chennai city. Apart from that people are also subjected to fire that happens to their huts during summers. But these events are not called as disaster by the victims. So the motive was understanding reason behind why people phrase it as disaster and not other events. Oliver Smith has explained that not all natural hazard is considered as a disaster. Depending upon the severity of loss or disruption it has caused to the victims of the event label the event from mere natural occurring to a disaster. People lack ability to adapt to the mass disruption flood caused to their life. This is what makes the flood a disaster. The flood has disrupted the social organization of the community and caused stress to the people. He asks to look disaster from environment relation perspective, internal economic structure and nature of adaptation. The proximity to availability of work and exploitation of the physical capital (slum) have the people more prone to flood impact. Their savings were all washed away in the flood. People were in stage of fear for days together. People had to look for external aid in surviving. Flood led to number of days without any employment. Life was to be started from scratch again. The intensity of flood made Chennai an isolated island making people helpless. There was no security and life. People knew it would take months to overcome the loss they had. Adapting to this condition was hard making people phrase it as a disaster severe than tsunami.

The chapter further looked at the role played by women in the aftermath of the disaster, their coping mechanism and role played in recovery phase. Women are considered as the weaker class. The contribution women make in running the family is often ignored. The unskilled labour they do for managing family expenditure is overshadowed by making it extended family responsibility intact with their gender role. Women had to face problems than men. For women were considered to perform her reproduction-production role despite the flood that has hit the community. She is in charge of taking care of the children in the family and the elderly. The Women had difficulty in standing in the queue to get the relief items with the depended kids in rain. But women were not devoid of performing any of her roles. She is vocal enough to

negotiate the needs of the people and get external aid in the wake of disaster. The constructed idea behind how a woman should be restrict her from learning many things unlike men. Lack of knowledge in swimming made women difficult to stay safe during flood. It is cultural construction of life of women that marginalize the women in the society. The role played by women in recovery phase is significant making them no more refer to as weaker section. Women due to the nature of work tend to get back to work easier than men could. In the aftermath of flood in many households women were the sole bread winner. For men getting a job was difficult due to lack of responsibility. Also women are more committed to the work so that she could look after the family. Men were spending the amount they get in alcohol or were reluctant to go for job. This is not a generalization of all men. But there were considerable number of men from the study area who were similar type. Women were the one who were regularly attending the skill development programme so that her labour could help in the well being family. Men were not attending the classes. Role of women played in maintain the domestic group makes her capable to deal the impact of flood. It was seen that many of the households were run from the income of women in rehabilitated area. Also their capability in decision making process should be ignored while making policy for disaster impact mitigation.

The third chapter slum demolition and relocation dealt with the problems that occurred in the phase of rehabilitation. It also discussed about the people's resistance against the displacement and agitation by people living in poor condition for allotment of houses to relocate. Although Government had project implemented to make Chennai slum free their actions were blocked by the agitation of people opposing to relocate. People due to the long association of living within the city and their occupation linked with their place of stay have been curbing the Government plan every time through protest. The flood demolished the slums partially or completely making it place unable to live in. People demanded the renovation of their slums rather Government took the opportunity to evacuate slum and rehabilitate the people. People were allotted houses and made to evacuate from the slums. The evacuation made people feel insecure to live in the new place, students had to shift their school or travel daily, adults found it difficult to daily travel so long to get an income source. Due to the rumors about their identity and people already filling the available job made it difficult to get a livelihood source. There was an increase in the amount of expenditure for many families with the disaster. Contrary to this people who were not having an own house to live or were living in most degradable environment found it as a boon to

relocate. But it was the first project and Government were providing assistance to the people. With time the condition in the settlement would get better. Every people have the right to live in a good environment. So the relocation can serve the purpose in long run tackling the issues of rehabilitation.

The fourth chapter deals with the livelihood issues created by flood. The chapter explained about the occupation both men and women were indulged in and then explain how the flood have led to unemployment. Kabeer has said that the access to livelihood assets make people capable to make strategies that would be bound in their culture. The people were used to work in places proximal to their houses. This strategy helps them save money and not to spend for travel. But this was disrupted with the shift of place. People had to spend money in travelling which they earlier were not doing. Also the nature of occupation not always earn them job daily. People complain by the time they reach for the occupation someone else is employed and that leaves them no job. Since the people earn on daily or weekly basis, a day travelled without gaining a job means no money to even travel the next time. So they confine to their houses.

But for women it was easier to get an income. The nature of the housemaid job most of the women do develop cordial relation with the house owners. Since they get job on regular basis. There were people who travelled back to their work place for doing work. Also there were options for women to seek job. Job fairs conducted by Government to employ the people were in favour of women. There were more housekeeping jobs available. Since women are used to flexible working hours this was not opted by many women. Also when they work as housemaid people can cover as many houses they could and get an income more than they get from the companies in lesser working hours. Women's income is a source of stable income though the salary they get would be lesser according to the payment. Not only the impact of flood have a negative implication on income of the people but it also affected the education of younger generation and there was an increase in the crime rate in the resettlement. Pressure and release model used by Oliver Smith explains how an action not only influences the immediate related event, but it has a remote impact on a totally different aspect. Likewise flood is no way related to the education of children. But the associated rehabilitation has cause impact on the education of the children. When a correlation coefficient was derived between the impact of flood and occupation it was found that the impact was at a lesser rate. But this do not strike out the fact that

flood has no impact on the livelihood option of people. Livelihoods of people are influenced by the policies, process, institutions, shocks and trends that affect a community. When looking from this perspective the disaster that struck the community have led to their displacement from actual place of residence. Since their livelihood opportunities were available to place proximal to residence this cause disruption in the system they formulated in getting an income. The intervention of Government entities made people to relocate to Perumbakam which was far from city. This means the shock absorption mechanism that was devised other times was no more applicable. People took some time to alter this mechanism making them vulnerable for a longer period than the usual times. But the extended support mechanism from external agency has helped some people in the community to devise an altered means to acquire occupation.

Though in the wake of flood people tried to acquire material goods like clothing, grocery provisions, money, and food and so on, this changed as the time passed by. Because for life sustainability there was need in getting an income source than these aid. With the rehabilitation there were new options available for the people open in getting an income. Government in association with NGOs has implemented many skill development programmes for selected number of people. People who could make use out of it were in advantageous position than others. People also have taken up the opportunity to start new ventures in the area. There were more bus services provided from different parts of the city frequently for people to go for work.

From analyzing the livelihood timeline of the victims it was understood that more or less women continue in the same job. Men shift occupation according to the scope of the job from time to time. But considering the time after flood there were few people who changed their occupation to the situation looking for a more viable option. Other people were forming strategies to go for the old occupation. People over time were making new strategies to the changing need. This shows a trend towards having opportunities for the people to look for occupation on regular basis for life where they will not be ranting about occupation again.

The final chapter was dealing with the kind of involvement from external agencies in the life of the victims during flood and in aftermath of flood. All the people from Chennai were affected by flood. But the slum dwellers were in relatively worst condition than others due their socio-economic life. It is said that the social network that people make use during difficult situation helps in easy recovery. There may be group that form for the purpose and this may disintegrate

when the purpose is served. Some of these networks may function for a prolonged time. This was true of the NGOs who helped in the phase of rescue. They continued to work for the victims by giving them employment development programme.

People responded differently to the role played by various external agencies that came to help the people. The students were the most acknowledged for their contribution. Government's contribution was not acknowledged by people. This may be due to the gap that occurred in addressing to the problems of the people. From the Dynes work it is similar to the situation in the disaster phase. The roles played by established and extending organizing often go unnoticed. But these were the external agencies who offered extended help towards the reconstruction phase unlike the emergent and expanding organization. But the support mechanism from external agencies is trivial for any disaster struck community. And for community belonging to slums it is inevitable for their resiliency in the aftermath of a disaster. The interaction and participation of victims in decision making process for the people would make the people not complain about the assistance provided by these agencies. There is a need for people's participation in the process.

There could be study on disaster in different dimensions. But in a research oriented towards people's participation would enable to do the research by finding the loopholes that existed in the rescue, recovery, disaster impact mitigation procedure. The life of the victims affected by disaster should be studied from all perspective in a holistic way to analyze this properly. This study have tried to understand the lives of people from all possible ways through interaction with them inculcating the ideas and experience of the people and understanding the kind of social structure that work for the community and an alteration of it in the aftermath of a disaster.

It is only a research that tried to bring insight on impact of disaster in livelihoods of unskilled wage labour in an urban set up. Further research could be carried out in the same area looking at a long term impact the flood has caused to the livelihoods of the community studied.

References

- AolainFionnuala Ni.“Women, Vulnerability and Humanitarian Emergencies.”Michigan Journal of Gender and Law 18, no. 1 (2011): 1- 23.
- Bankoff, Greg, Georg Frerks, and Dorothea Hilhorst.Mapping Vulnerability: Disasters, Development and People.UK: Earthscan, 2004.
- Beladi, Hamid, AvikChakrabarti, and SugataMarjit.“Skill - Unskilled wage Inequality and Urban Unemployment.”Economic Inquiry 48, no. 4 (2010): 997 - 1007.
- Blaikie, Piers, Terry Cannon, Ian Davis, and Ben Wisner. *At risk: natural hazards, people's vulnerability and disasters*. Routledge, 2014.
- Britton, Neil R. “Organized Behaviour in Disaster: A Review Essay.” International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters 6, no. 3 (1988): 363 - 395.
- Cannon, Terry. "Vulnerability Analysis and The Explanation of ‘Natural’ Disasters." In *Disasters, Development and Environment*, edited by Ann Varley, Brisbane: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., Wiley, 1994, 13-30.
- Chandramouli, I. A. S. "Slums in Chennai: A profile." In *Third International Conference on Environment and Health*, pp. 15-17. 2003.
- Murukadas, C Income Formation and Expenditure Pattern of Informal Sector Workers in Madras City (Chennai: Association for Population Studies), p 11.
- Collins, A. E, Disaster and development.Routledge Publications, 2009.

Carney, D; Drinkwater, M.; Rusinow, T.; Neefjes, K.; Wanmali, S. and Singh, N. (2000): Livelihoods approached compared. In: Forum on Operationalizing Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches. Proceedings. Annex 4. Pontignano (Siena). 7-11 March, 2000.

Chambers, Robert. "Sustainable livelihoods, environment and development: putting poor rural people first." (1987).

Dynes RR (2002) The importance of social capital in disaster response. University of Delaware, Disaster Research Centre, Preliminary Paper 327

Dynes, Russell R. "The comparative study of disaster: A social organizational approach." (1975).

Dynes RR, Quarantelli EL (1971) The absence of community conflict in the early phases of natural disasters. In: Glagett G, Smith G (eds) Conflict resolution: contributions of the behavioural sciences. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, pp 200–204

Fukuyama R (2001) Social capital, civil society and development. Third World Quart 22:7–20

Elahi, Noor. "Development Crisis: Livelihoods and Social Complexities in Swat, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan." PhD diss., Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2015.

Enarson, Elaine, and P. G. Dhar Chakrabarti. Women, Gender and Disaster: Global Issues and Initiatives. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2009.

Enarson, Elaine et al (2006) Gender and disasters: Foundations and directions in H.Rodriguez, E.L Quarantelli and R. Dynes (eds), Handbook of disaster research. Pp 130-146

Gokhale, Vasudha. "Role of Women In Disaster Management: An Analytical Study With Reference to Indian Society." The 14th World Conference on Earthquake Engineering, 2008.

Grootaert C (1998) Social capital: the missing link? The world bank, social development family, environmentally and socially sustainable development network, social capital initiative, Working Paper No. 3

Haan, Leo J. De. "The Livelihood Approach: A Critical Exploration." Erdkunde 66, no. 4 (2012): 345 - 357.

Haider, Saraswati. "Slums and Urbanization." (1990): 174-176.

Indigenous knowledge for disaster risk reduction in South Asia(2009) SAARC disaster management centre, New Delhi. MacMillan Publishers India Ltd.

Jones, Eric C. and Arthur D. Murphy. The Political Economy of Hazards and Disasters. UK: Altamira Press, 2009.

Lewis, Oscar. "La vida; a Puerto Rican family in the culture of poverty, San Juan and New York." (1966).

Lindell MK, Perry RW (1992) Behavioral foundations of community emergency planning. Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, Washington.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1922. Argonauts of the Western Pacific, an Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co.

Minomota, yuriko. "Social Capital and Livelihood Recovery: Post - tsunami Srilanka as a Case." Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal 19, no. 5 (2010): 548 - 564.

Murphy BL, Falkiner L, McBean G, Dolan AH, Kovacs P, 'Enhancing local level emergency management: the influence of disaster experience and the role of households and neighbourhoods'. Report completed for the Institute of Catastrophic Loss Reduction, University of Western Ontario, London, Canada(2005)

Murukadas, C. *Urban Poor: Dynamics of Struggle and Survival*. RAC Publications, 1999.

Oliver-Smith, Anthony. "Anthropological research on hazards and disasters." *Annual review of anthropology* 25, no. 1 (1996): 303-328.

Oliver-Smith, Anthony. "Anthropological Research on Hazards and Disasters." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1996): 303 - 328.

--. "Involuntary Resettlement, Resistance and Political Empowerment." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4, no. 2 (1991): 132 - 149.

Oliver-Smith, Anthony and Susanna M. Hoffman. *The Angry Earth: Disaster in Anthropological Perspective*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Phillips, Brenda. "Qualitative Methods and Disaster Research." *international Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 15, no. 1 (1997): 179 - 195.

Pomeroy, Robert S., Blake D. Ratner, Stephen J. Hall, JatePimoljinda, and V. Vivekanandan. "coping with Disaster: Rehabilitating Coastal Livelihoods and Communities." *Marine Policy* 30 (2006): 786 - 793.

Ramakrishnan, Deepa H. "Memories of Rain Ravaged Madras." *The Hindu*, Dec 09, 2015, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/chennai/floods-in-madras-over-years/article7964078.ece> (accessed month day, year).

Sainath, Palagummi. *Everybody loves a good drought: stories from India's poorest districts*. Penguin Books India, 1996.

Schneider, Sandra K. "Governmental Response to Disasters: The Conflict Between Bureaucratic Procedures and Emergent Norms." *Public Administration Review* 52, no. 2 (1992): 135 - 145.

Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Slum Free City Plan of Action - Chennai City Corporation. Chennai: Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board.

Srinivasan, K., V. K. Nagaraj, and K. Venkatesh. "The state and civil society in disaster response: An analysis of the Tamil Nadu Tsunami experience." (2005).

Srinivas, M. N. "Changing institutions and values in modern India." *Economic Weekly* 14, no. 4-6 (1962): 131-37.

Standing, Hilary, and Bela Bandyopadhyaya. "Women's Employment and the Household: Some Findings from Calcutta." *Economic and Political Weekly* 20, no. 17 (1985): WS23-S38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4374339>.

Twigg, J. (2004). Disaster risk reduction: mitigation and preparedness in development and emergency programming. Humanitarian Practice Network, Overseas Development Institute.

Westergaard, Kirsten. "Review on women and gender issues." *Asaduzzaman and Westergaard. Growth and development in rural Bangladesh* (1993): 408-511.

Whyte, William Foote. *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Wiek, Arnim. "Challenges of Sustainable Recovery Processed in tsunami Affected Communities." *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal* 19, no. 4 (2010): 423 - 437.

Wiest, R., J. Mocellin, and D. Motsisi. *The Needs of Women and Children in Disasters and Emergencies*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1992.

Whitehead, Ann, and Naila Kabeer. "Living with uncertainty: Gender, livelihoods and pro-poor growth in rural sub-Saharan Africa." (2001).

APPENDIX -1

SCHEDULE

Impact of disaster on livelihood of the unskilled labour: An anthropological study of flood affected area in suburbs of Chennai

Note: The information shared by respondent will not be used against their interest or unethical to research. There is no right or wrong answers. All your responses are valid.

Personnel data:

Name: _____

Age: _____

Gender: M ☐ F ☐ O ☐

Occupation: _____

No: of members in the household: _____

Income (monthly/daily): _____

Educational qualification: _____

Household income (monthly/daily): _____

Data:

- 1) Have you got any secondary occupation that is practiced along the primary occupation? If yes what are those? Approximate income fetched from it?
- 2) When there is unavailability of labour how is the expenditure in household managed? Did this mechanism help you during flood?
- 3) Have you been frequently affected by any kind of disaster? If yes, what are the kinds of disaster that you have been afflicted by?
- 4) Are you the lone bread winner of your household? If not, who all are indulged any employment and what are those?
- 5) Whether there was/ is any savings in any form which is kept for use in unforeseen events in future? If yes, what form of saving? How did you make use of it when flood occurred?

- 6) Whether all in the community got same attention during rescue? If not what was the variation that you felt? Did you feel unequal treatment in a disaster scenario is of any good?
- 7) How did the flood affect your livelihood? What was done when the primary livelihood activity was not available or unable to practice?
- 8) Were you or anyone in the family undergone any kind of health problems or trauma due to flood? Specify. How was it overcome?
- 9) Have you got any debts? How did you manage to repay when there was no work available to you?
- 10) Is there any kid below the age of 12 years in the household? How did the flood affect the kid? How did the kid react to it? What was the difficulty confronted by you as an adult member in the household to keep the kid at ease?
- 11) What kind of a natural event you may term as disaster? Based on what criteria you understand/measure its intensity?
- 12) Do you think there is a difference in how people perceive a disaster (whether it be in different community, same community, different gender within the group, different generation or any other criteria that come into your mind)? If there is a difference why do think it exists?
- 13) If there is no difference in how disaster is perceived, according to you what may be the larger criteria that people use to define an event as disaster?
- 14) Do you think the group you live are to some extent resistant or vulnerable to disaster? What make you think so?
- 15) Is there any internal mechanism that has been developed within the community or household to tackle or minimize a disaster affect? If yes, what are they?
- 16) Do you think that your area of residence is prone to disaster? Has this thought any time crossed your mind before being afflicted by flood?

- 17) If you think that you are living in a disaster prone area what you think has made you to be sidelined to this area?
- 18) Do you think anything can be done to avoid or mitigate natural disaster that may occur? Can community participation help in doing it or is it left to god/fate?
- 19) According to your opinion what may be the reason for the disaster to occur? You think which group is more vulnerable to disaster?
- 20) Do you think disaster have captured attention of the world on you? Do you think this can help you improve your life or do you see it only as opportunity media used to sympathy on you?
- 21) What are the immediate problems faced by you due to flood? Can you see any long term impact on your life by the flood? Specify?
- 22) Has the flood made you to opt for an alternate place of residence? Where was it? How many days you had to stay back?
- 23) What are the losses faced by your family due to flood? Name those? Has any external agency (government, media, celebrity, public, government, public, students et cetera) done any help to you?
- 24) Rate in ascending order based on the help you received during flood for recovery/ rescue?
 - God
 - Government
 - NGO (name if possible)
 - Media
 - Public
 - College students
 - Celebrity
 - Others
- 25) Are you staying in the original place of residence where you were staying prior to disaster or changed your residence? In case changed, is it the rehabilitation programme held by government?
- 26) If you are included among those who were rehabilitated what are the changes that have occurred in your life?

27) What are the problems you anticipate rehabilitation can cause?

- No problems, its desirable
- Family ties break
- Difficult to continue occupation
- Less work accessibility
- Search for alternate occupation
- Difficulty in educating children
- Diseases
- Loss of Government records (ration card, residence certificate, income certificate, et cetera)
- Difficulty in adapting to new environment
- Loss of contacts and debt mechanism
- Loss of community feeling and identity
- No security
- Loss of cultural thrust like place of worship

28) Would you like to stay back in the original residence or rehabilitate to a new area? What is the reason for it?

29) What will be the advantages and disadvantages of changing the actual place of residence?

30) What are the immediate necessities you need in a post disaster scenario?

31) Do you think the disaster has caused any damage to the self dignity of any section of the community? If yes, specify who and how? (Women, children, elders, differently able, specific caste or religion or sect, occupational group et cetera may be included).

32) How long you expect government to support you in the recovery phase? What kind of help is expected? When do you think you can live without any external aid?

33) How long did you get the external support during post disaster? Specify who and what help.

34) How many days it took for you to come back to normal life? Has there any changes that have occurred due to flood? What are those changes?

35) According to your knowledge in your family or area what are the most occurred diseases during post disaster? Whether there was any community knowledge that was used to overcome this? Or was there any medical camp which prescribed what to do? What was it?

36) Have you received any government funds due to flood? How have you utilized this amount?

- 37) Who came for your immediate help during flood? Has any government official or political representative come for your help? If they have approached you when was it? Was there a persistent communication from them?
- 38) Was there any differential care given to children and women by the aid givers? What were those help that were extended?
- 39) Do you think women play a major role in rescue or recovery phase? Why?
- 40) Have you thought that it is women who are more vulnerable to a disaster? What made you to come for such a conclusion?
- 41) Have you thought that a disaster affect can be mitigated even without women's involvement or their presence and concern for them have made it even worst to face the adverse condition? List down from your experience.
- 42) Whom do you think have recovered disaster quickly, whether it is women or men? Why do you think so?
- 43) Do you think flood has helped in making implementation of development programmes which were earlier at stake quickly? How do you respond to it?
- 44) Have you changed your livelihood activity according to the changing situation? Did you know how to perform this activity earlier? If no, how have you learned it? If yes, then why did not you choose for this option earlier?
- 45) Is there any change in your earning? How are you acting to this change?
- 46) Is there any extra expenditure that you have to make as an impact of flood? How do you manage this condition?
- 47) What was the coping mechanism used by you during flood and post flood scenario?
- 48) What are the different mechanisms that you use for income regularity? Has flood affected this mechanism? What other viable options are you opting in the changing condition?
- 49) Was there any association or group that was formed within the community/area of residence to mitigate the disaster affect? How did it work? What was the cause? Does it still exist?
- 50) What is your opinion about government and NGO involvement during flood? How do you see this?

51) Was there any disaster preparedness or awareness among the community before? Has there any steps taken to have some kind of disaster preparedness and mitigation plan within the community? Respond to it.