

**Focus CITY Programme: Community Based Assessment and  
Improvement of Living Environment in USSs and Environs:  
The case of Gothamipura, Colombo**

**END OF PROJECT EVALUATION**

**Final Report**

**September 2011**



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**End of Project Evaluation**

**Colombo Focus City Project: Gothamipura, Colombo Metropolitan Area**

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## 1. Background and introduction

This document presents the findings from the final evaluation carried out for the project *Community-based Assessment and Improvement of Living Environment in Underserved Settlements and the Environs: The case of Gotham-Colombo*.

The project was led by the Colombo Municipal Council (CMC) and funded by the International Development Research Council (IDRC), Canada. Implemented in one Under Served Settlement (USS) in Colombo, Gothamipura, it aimed to improve the overall wellbeing of residents through improved service and encouraging community participation and institutional strengthening. Its main focus was:

- CMC operational objective: Using water and sanitation (focusing on sewerage) as an entry-point, to develop a model of participatory service provision that addresses how best to deliver different types of urban services.
- Learning objective on poverty: To improve upon knowledge on the link between poverty as expressed through financial, socio-political, resource and human assets - and environmental burdens (flooding, health issues, bad sanitation affected by the lack of proper sewerage).
- Learning objective on land tenure security: To assess how improved access to services contributes to an improved sense of land tenure security.
- Long term institutional objective: To use the integrated model in order to improve on other CMC initiatives and policies related to urban service provision and poverty reduction in USS.
- Team capacity building objective: To enhance team capability in doing participatory research and communication through involvement in a learning network with other Focus City teams and in the community.

This report presents the findings in line with the project interventions; outputs and achievements and consolidates the learning from the interventions in Colombo. The follow-up evaluation used data from the initial baseline to assess the extent of changes; data from a household survey that revisited the baseline household sample and data from in-depth interviews with the range of actors who were involved in the project over its three and a half year lifespan.

While the baseline study was designed to capture the context at household and institutional levels before the project commenced, the final evaluation was designed to capture the changed status and see how the project contributed to these changes. It should be noted that the CEPA team started data collection at the official end of project period. However the project team continued to work in the settlement more than six months beyond the end of the project to ensure the completion of activities. This needs to be noted in relation to interpreting the data and findings in this report.

The evaluation was conducted by the Centre for Poverty Analysis, Sri Lanka. It includes 7 sections; Sections 1 to 5 provide background to the evaluation including the conceptual framework, the methodology, sampling and limitation. Section 6 presents the findings and section 7 provides conclusions and recommendations.

## 2. Objectives of the final evaluation

The evaluation aims to:

- **Pre-intervention context:** provide information on the pre-intervention context (environmental burdens that are linked to the limited sewerage facilities and its links to and impact on poverty)
- **Planning and designing the intervention:** provide information for planning and designing of the intervention (identify constraints and factors that would affect the implementation of identified activities - monitoring)
- **Comparative analysis of change:** construct a picture of changes that will take place within the settlement as a result of the project)

The evaluation:

- *Provides a space for reflection:* enables key institutional actors (who were involved in project implementation) to reflect on the overall process of the project.
- *Helps identify aspects that can help/hinder sustainability:* provide insights that would help ensure the benefits of the project are sustained beyond the life of the project.
- *Consolidates learning:* provide insights into how the learning from the project can be used more effectively for other projects.

## 3. Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework used in the final evaluation focused on project related activities and the changes that had resulted in each of these segments. However it attempted to raise other contextual elements that could have affected the changes within the project environment.

The framework focuses on two aspects. One is a comparison to the baseline, that looks at several conditions and components in the settlement that the interventions were addressing (Table 3.1). The other focuses on what was learnt from the project – in terms of reflection, sustainability and learning as shown in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.1. Information and monitoring areas in line with project objectives**

| Objective                                      | Key monitoring areas   | Information areas for baseline  |
|--|--|---|
| Link between poverty and environmental burdens | <p><b>Poverty linkages</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Asses the settlement/neighbourhood level conditions</li> <li>• Poverty dimensions</li> <li>• Vulnerability dimensions of the population</li> </ul> <p><b>Environmental burdens</b></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Geographical information</li> <li>• Household composition and demographic characteristics</li> <li>• Living conditions, assets, land ownership</li> <li>• Utilities (water, electricity, communication)</li> <li>• Income and wages</li> <li>• Expenditure levels and composition</li> <li>• Perceptions of relative wellbeing at household and settlement levels, in relation to other areas</li> <li>• Perceptions on services, facilities, and relations with neighbours etc.</li> <li>• Sanitation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Availability of private toilets</li> <li>• More effective use of common toilets</li> <li>• Advantages and disadvantages of having access to private facilities</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Health issues related to the conditions of settlement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Types of illness, causes, treatments, loss of income as a result of environment</li> <li>• Effects on income earning capacity</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Solid waste management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improved waste management by residents and CMC</li> <li>• Improved collection by CMC</li> <li>• Generation - composition of waste</li> <li>• Using waste - urban agriculture</li> <li>• Existing programmes and involvement</li> </ul> </li> </ul> |
| Land tenure security                           | Changes  | <p><b>Land value</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perceptions of land values – own, in USS and in Neighbourhood</li> <li>• Comparison to USS and Neighbourhood</li> <li>• Improvements leading to increased value of lands</li> </ul>   |
| Capacity building                              | Changes  | <p><b>Strengthening capacities of the CDC</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presence and activities</li> <li>• Household participation and time spent</li> </ul>   |

**Table 3.2: Information areas for reflection, sustainability and learning**

| <b>Information area</b> | <b>Details</b>  |
|-------------------------|---|
| Reflection              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Components of the project that were successful/they worked very well</li><li>• Events and experiences that led to these components working well</li><li>• Components of the project that could have worked better/that did not work very well/were abandoned (focus on the neighbourhood, rainwater system, policy development, others)</li><li>• Events and experiences that led to these components not working well</li><li>• Relationships between partners who came together to work on the project</li><li>• Interactions between different partners and its effects on project implementation and sustainability</li></ul> |
| Sustainability          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Determining the benefits of the project beyond the hardware components to include aspects of participation, policy influence, community mobilisation, action research</li><li>• Determining actors who have benefited from the project</li><li>• Aspects that would help maximise and continue these benefits to different actors</li><li>• Risks that could hamper efforts to continue benefits</li></ul>  |
| Learning                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Reflecting on the capacity development component of the project and its effects</li><li>• The focus on partnerships amongst different institutions within the CMC and others outside and the related learning</li><li>• Relevance of the learning component for each of the partners</li><li>• Relevance of the action research orientation of the project</li></ul>  |

## **4. Methodology and sampling**

### **4.1. Approach**

The end of project evaluation was done as a comparative analysis. It compared the changes in pre-intervention and post intervention contexts, to see how project activities have impacted on the living environment and wellbeing of the residents living in the project area.

The Q-squared approach uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative research techniques and provides a contextualised in-depth understanding of the issues in relation to the study population.

The baseline survey demarcated the Gothamipura settlement and the surrounding neighbourhood as the project area because of the initial focus of the study. This subsequently changed with the decision to focus on the settlement. This was due to funding constraints and the notion that community interest for other activities would not be shown if not linked to the sewer system and related changes within the settlement. As a result the end of project evaluation focused only on the settlement area.

### **4.2. Areas of information for institutional and learning component**

The end of project evaluation collected two types of information – information at the household level, that was collected through a quantitative and qualitative household survey,

and an institutional component, which was largely qualitative in nature, given the need to consolidate experiences and learning as well as reflect on the process of implementation. A similar process was followed during the baseline and this data will be used to facilitate a comparison where relevant.

#### **4.3. Data collection methods, data sources and tools**

**Household Survey:** the household survey was designed to capture the pre-post contexts at the household level. A random sample of households was selected from the project area and a panel survey conducted at the near end of the project to understand how the project has impacted the wellbeing of the population. These exercises used qualitative and quantitative mixed questionnaires which gives a better understanding of the reasons for the responses. The questionnaire was translated into Sinhala.

**Key Person Interviews:** Key person interviews were done with those involved in implementing the project to obtain their views and feedback on the project and consolidate learning. A qualitative questionnaire was administered to the different level of officials.

**Mini Focus Group discussions:** Discussions were carried out with small groups of stakeholders as a part of the reflection and learning exercise.

In addition to this data the project also collected monitoring data for process documentation. Documentation of the process was done by using monitoring and evaluation data and project activity data. The project monitoring and evaluation was done half yearly throughout the project. It provided a description of the project activities within each intervention and captured the progress of the project activities linked to the desired outcomes. This process used a structured format which included monitoring questions related to different project activities, and reflected progress from relevant partners of the project. It also involved reviews of various project documents related to the project activities such as meeting minutes, field observations, photo/video documentations, and project reports.

#### **4.4. Sample**

**The baseline sample:** The baseline household survey sample was selected using the stratified systematic random sampling technique.<sup>1</sup> Stratification increased the sample's ability to represent heterogeneity within the population. Stratification was based on the location; within Gothamipura USS and in the surrounding neighbourhood, ensuring representation of two fundamentally different groups within the initial project area.

The CMC provided the study team with the total number (568) of housing units within the project area, i.e. the USS and its neighbourhood. A sample of 183 households (30%), of total households in the project area, was selected for the baseline survey.

A complete listing of the households within the project area was not available at the time of sample selection. A housing unit GIS map<sup>2</sup> of the Gothamipura USS produced by the CMC was used as the sample frame. Prior to use, the map was verified by a field check by the

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<sup>1</sup> A random sample is defined as a sample where the probability of each individual member from the population being selected into the sample is the same for all individual members of the population.

<sup>2</sup> The map was generated based on data that was collected in 2002.



study team. Based on the map and physical verification, the team identified every third house to be included in the sample (Figure 4.1).

**Figure 4.1: Sample selection for baseline household survey**

| Stratified sampling   | Systematic Random Sampling        | Sample households |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| ↓                     | ↓                                 | ↓                 |
| Gothamipura           | → Every 3rd household             | 93                |
| Neighbourhood         | → Every 3rd household             | 90                |
| Total baseline sample | → Approx. 30% of total households | 183               |

**End of project evaluation sample:** The end of project evaluation survey used a sample similar to a panel study sample which involved questioning the same sample from the baseline (Table 4.1). This was done only for the settlement.

**Table 4.1: Sample selection for baseline and final evaluation household survey**

| Area                             | Total Population | Identified Sample              |                     | Actual Sample                  |                     |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
|                                  |                  | Repre: of sample to population | Sample distribution | Repre: of sample to population | Sample distribution |
| <i>Baseline Survey</i>           |                  |                                |                     |                                |                     |
| Settlement                       | 279              | 33%                            | 93                  | 33%                            | 91                  |
| Neighbourhood                    | 270              | 33%                            | 90                  | 30%                            | 81                  |
| <b>Total</b>                     | <b>549</b>       | <b>33%</b>                     | <b>183</b>          | <b>31%</b>                     | <b>172</b>          |
| <i>End of Project Evaluation</i> |                  |                                |                     |                                |                     |
| Settlement                       | <b>279</b>       | <b>33%</b>                     | <b>93</b>           | <b>28%</b>                     | <b>79</b>           |

Data could not be collected from 3 households as a part of the baseline survey sample; one household in the neighbourhood strata rejected participation in the survey while 2 households in the Gothamipura settlement, had to be abandoned after three attempts as no one was available for interviews.

Data could not be collected from 14 households of the Gothamipura settlement at the end of project evaluation; 3 households refused to participate, 4 households were closed and owners lived elsewhere, members of 4 households had moved and 3 had rented their houses to others. Hence data was collected from 79 households.

#### 4.5. Data for the institutional and learning components

The data collection for this component was largely qualitative in nature, given the need to consolidate experiences and learning as well as reflect on the process of implementation. Table 4.2 details the focus of these interviews and relevant respondents. A similar process was followed during the baseline and this data will be used to facilitate a comparison where relevant.

Information at the institutional level was collected using KPIs, mini focus group discussions and process reflection notes. Stakeholders were selected for the KPIs based on their involvement in the project implementation.

**Table 4.2: Respondent profile for the institutional and learning components**

| <b>Specific stakeholder group</b> | <b>Rationale for selection</b>  | <b>Respondent</b>  | <b>Method followed</b>  |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|---|
| <b>Colombo Municipal Council</b>  | The CMC is the project leader, directly involved in project implementation – Infrastructure components (Sanitation and Waste Management) and able to assess the potential to take forward the lessons from this project for others  | Department management and field level officers   | See below for method depending on group   |
| Institutional Development Centre  | Project manager and Team Leader – project activities and dispersing of funds  | Deputy Municipal Commissioner and the Director, Engineering Development                                    | Mini focus group (1)  |
| Solid Waste Management            | Developing and implementing the solid waste management component (focusing on waste separation/recycling centre and improving collection)   | Solid Waste Management Department (unable to get appointment)  | Key Person Interview with lead (1)  |
| Public Health Department          | Mobilising the community for solid waste management programmes, flood support and possibly other programme periodically (dengue?)   | <b>Management</b> (not able to do)<br><br>Health Inspector, Public Health Department at the District Level | KPI at field level (1)  |
| Engineering                       | Assessing the need for a sewer system, coming up with the most appropriate design, potential alternative, implementing and managing the construction process including the pump house, and household connectivity   | <b>Management</b> (not able to do)<br><br><b>Field</b> (not able to complete)                              | KPI at management level (0)<br><br>KPIs with at least one person not involved currently (1) |
| <b>Sevanatha</b>                  | Directly involved in project implementation to mobilise the community, create awareness of project and project activities, and provide support to the CDC Committee. Also implemented the urban agriculture programme, field visits, initiating and implementing the land title component, establishing linkages with the NHDA and managing the process with the ID centre, trying to bring in other actors into the community – Ministry of Agriculture, Vocational Training Institute | Team Leader and Field Officers   | Mini focus group (1)  |

|                                      |   |                                   |                      |
|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| <b>CDC – Present</b>                 | Partner in the project to mobilise the community, ensure sharing of information and community participation in the project, collection of money for various project activities, managing the O&M fund | Existing committee                | Mini focus group (5) |
| <b>CDC – Past</b>                    | Partner in the project to mobilise the community, ensure sharing of information and community participation in the project  | Previous committee members        | Mini focus group (3) |
| <b>Women's Bank (Kantha Benkuwa)</b> | Initially providing loans for the deed component and O&M fund, loans for livelihood activities  | Involved officers for Gothamipura | Mini focus group (8) |

## 5. Limitations

**Locating households from the baseline:** this was not always easy despite the availability of a list with addresses. In most instances households were traced but in some instances the search for households in the original baseline list had to be abandoned. The team was asked to use the map developed at the baseline stage to locate the households again at the end of project evaluation. This was not possible due to changes – such as extensions and demolitions to houses that had taken place. Therefore the team was advised to follow the addresses stated on the questionnaire to locate the households. Some errors were found in the initial recording of household numbers during the baseline and this delayed the process of locating households. In one instance the household address had changed as the wooden structure had been replaced by a permanent structure. Families were also known to have moved away from the settlement and as such were not contactable and housing structures had been demolished. A learning from this was that the original map that was used in the baseline should have been updated before the field team started fieldwork.

**Locating respondents in the baseline survey:** Despite repeated visits to the household, some respondents from the baseline could not be traced. While many were unavailable because they were away at work, others refused to take part in the survey because they were of the view that the evaluation team was from the Urban Development Authority (UDA) who were rumoured to be organising demolitions of illegal constructions to make way for commercial construction. Refusal was also due to reasons of respondent fatigue and the view that the project did not benefit them in concrete ways. Some had moved away from the settlement for various reasons and were not expected to return in the foreseeable future. Other reasons for not being able to locate the respondents included the sale of property and respondents moving out of Colombo. A total of 14 respondents could not be reached.

**Respondent fatigue was speared on by the knowledge of what the project was required to provide:** Some respondents were unhappy about the availability of the information provided to them and were unclear about why they had to spend their own money for a funded project. There were also reactions to the differences in payment made by households for connections to the sewer system. Expectations could have been better managed had the provision of information been more planned and easily accessible. The Community Meeting method was one way, but it was clearly insufficient because not

everyone was able to/willing to participate. Having said this however there will always be certain levels of expectation that cannot be met.

**The environment in which the final evaluation took place affected the data collection process:** Data collection started around the same time that an UDA team had visited the settlement to record information on land and household structures. This created a rumour that the UDA was thinking of demolishing houses within the settlement to make way for urban development projects. As a result the project team had to constantly face questions about this rumour and had to clarify their position. This affected the data collection process as respondents were fearful of answering questions, especially those related to land and land titles. It was also around this time that the Women's Bank had stopped disbursing new loans for land title acquisition. The timing of data collection also took place while project activities were being brought to an end due to funding restrictions. This means that reflections on project activities were not always based on completed activities.

**Responding to change:** The household questionnaire was developed, keeping in mind the need to assess change. As a result before the team visited households they were required to draw out the baseline information and include it in each household sample so that they had the information at hand to verify and confirm at field level. However the issues of recall affected this process, where respondents were sometimes not able to explain the reasons behind a change from the baseline period and the present. This has been noted for analysis purposes.

**The institutional component and locating respondents:** It was not always easy to access the different partners in the project, especially those who were at the field level as some had been transferred, allocated to other projects or were not willing to give the evaluation team a time for a discussion.

**Accuracy of monetary information:** particularly for the cost of services is difficult to verify. While this information has been presented, its accuracy cannot be ensured. It should be used with caution.

**End of project dates and completion of activities:** The project was given a no-cost extension resulting in extending the end of project date to December 2010. Data collection for the end of project evaluation began after this date. However when data was being collected project activities were also being finalised. This should be considered when interpreting the findings of the evaluation.

## 6. The project context

This section aims to set the context and provide a synthesised discussion of urban poverty in Sri Lanka, the urban poverty context in Colombo, and efforts to address conditions of the urban poor in the city. It will also provide an overview of the project area.

### 6.1 Urban poverty

Urban poverty, as an issue that needs to be unpacked, analysed and understood for policy attention has received less attention than other sectoral forms of poverty. Rural and estate poverty have been considered to a greater extent than urban poverty given the extent and visibility of the phenomenon in these sectors. As a result the body of research around it has also grown as opposed to that on urban poverty which is much smaller. A large proportion of its population cannot be considered to be income poor (the Poverty Head Count Index for 2006/07 notes 6% of the urban population as being poor), which is starkly different to poverty in the other sectors. However as was characterised in CEPA's work, people in these settlements live in service poor areas and crowded conditions that affect their overall wellbeing and living conditions.

Underserved Settlements (USSs), as opposed to slums, refer to urban settlements in Colombo and its suburbs that are situated on unauthorised land areas. It is characterised most often by high densities of populations (approximately 820 persons per ha<sup>3</sup> or four times the average of the city of Colombo), situated on land that is state or privately owned and not owned by the residents. Housing has been constructed on small land parcels and is not legally constructed. These areas have limited service provision as a result of not falling within the purview of local government.

USSs are located in concentrated areas within Colombo rather than spread out across the city. Approximately 60% of the USSs are located in Districts 2 A and B and less than 15% in the districts 4 and 5 (DFID, UNDP, UN – HABITAT, SEVANATHA, and UMP Urban Poverty Reduction Project 2002 and Gunetilleke, Abdul Cader and Fernando 2004).

As at 1989/99 Colombo had approximately 1614 urban settlements, most of which were of a small size (74% had less than 50 housing units while larger settlements (0.7%) had more than 500 units). Only 6% of these were considered illegal at the time the Poverty Profile was undertaken (*Ibid.*).

The Poverty Profile (DFID *et.al.* 2002) exercise also highlights the varying dimensions of poverty that can be observed amongst these populations that are influenced by the living environment. These include the nature of livelihoods, most of which are mainly employment in the informal sector, high density, living in small spaces, lack of access and affordability of basic services, lack of infrastructure for such service provision, lack of land tenure and security.

CEPA's (various authors and years) work and the Poverty Profile also highlights the social dimension of life in the settlement, raising issues of insecurity, the influence of narcotics and drug abuse, crime, privacy and dignity issues, especially for women and young girls.

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<sup>3</sup> Calculated based on 2001 Census and existing data on USS land area and proportion of total population in Colombo (Gunetilleke *et.al.* 2004).

However the prevalence of poverty within urban spaces, especially in Colombo city and its suburbs has been growing over the past decade. The local authorities have also shifted some of their focus on USSs in an attempt to improve living conditions for its residents and the city as a whole. This has led to policy processes that have facilitated the CMC to work in these spaces by commissioning specific projects, creating specific allocations and working in partnership with development sector funders and other development and non-governmental organisations (Gunetilleke *et.al.* 2004).

The CMC does not operate alone in providing services; other institutions have also found ways to engage with these communities and be a part of efforts to improve conditions; through service provision, land tenure and improving social wellbeing (*Ibid.*).

Development processes within these settlements have been facilitated through various community based and non-community based institutions including funeral societies, women's associations, youth organisations and the Community Development Council (CDC). The CDC is a formal body that has institutional linkages to the CMC and is used as a main route to channel development projects and activities; particularly infrastructure and service related projects, into the community. CDCs operate in various degrees in communities (*Ibid.*).

## **6.2 Community-based Assessment and Improvement of Living Environment in Underserved Settlements and the Environs: The case of Gothami-Colombo**

The *Community-based Assessment and Improvement of Living Environment in Underserved Settlements and the Environs: The case of Gothami-Colombo* was initiated in June 2006 with financial support by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). This action research project was part of a wider initiative by IDRC in six cities around the world to build a body of knowledge and experience of improving the living environment of the urban poor through service provision and encouraging community participation.

The project in Colombo tried to gain an experience of working towards reducing environmental burdens that contribute to poverty in USSs by strengthening the capacity of people to better access basic services and reduce environmental pollution and vulnerability to natural disasters. The project attempted to address these conditions using the case of one underserved settlement in Colombo; Gothamipura.

Gothamipura was selected for several reasons; the settlement was considered large enough to enable the experimentation with several alternative types of inputs which were expected to address environmental burdens. The settlement was also known to have somewhat of a functioning Community Development Council and the community in the settlement and neighbouring premises were known to have mutual social links which was considered a novel aspect in terms of settlement integration.<sup>4</sup>

The project area was originally defined as an area which could be served by a single sewer system and included the Gothamipura settlement and neighbourhood areas. This focus area changed over the course of the project as a result of insufficient project funds to build a sewer system that would serve both areas. Other activities under the project also were focused within this boundary.

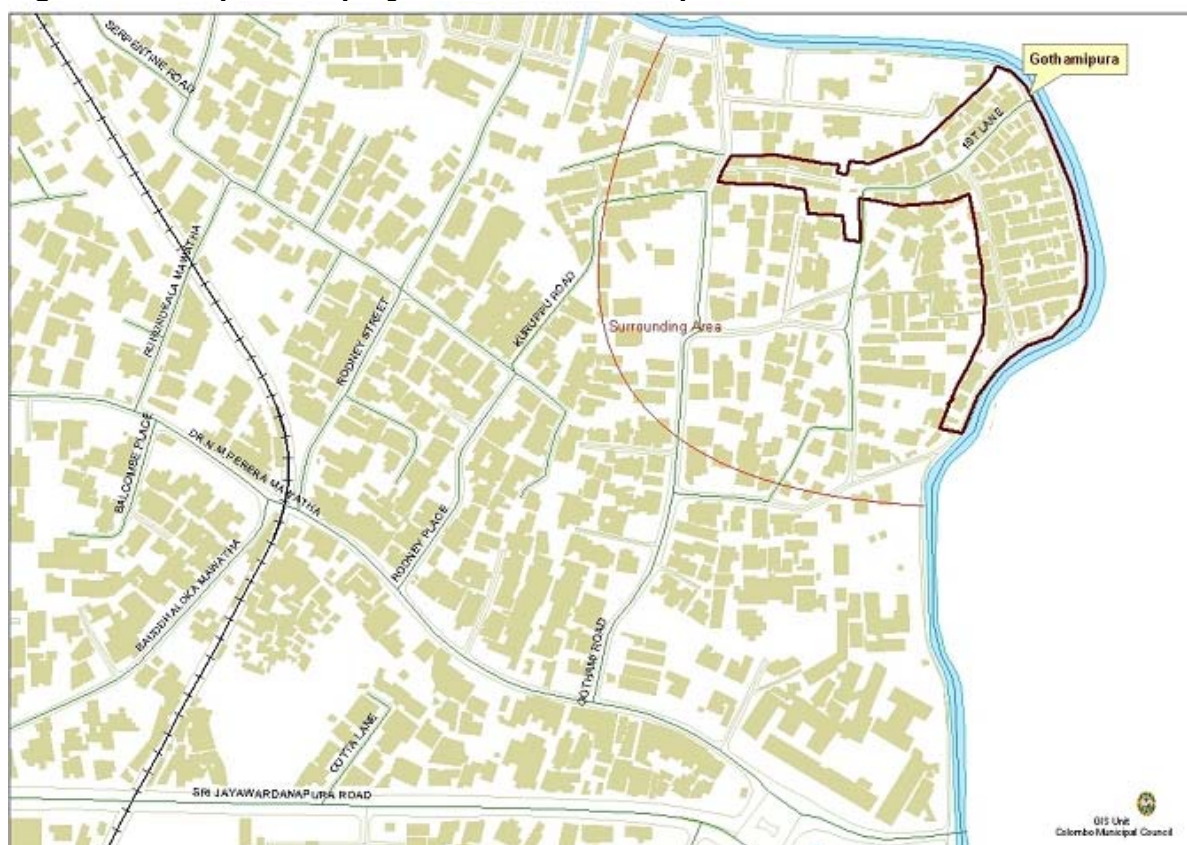
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<sup>4</sup> Project Proposal

The project devised six interventions in order to meet these objectives.

1. Constructing a sewer system for Gothamipura (sewer lines from current end point into USS, and/or pumping station) and facilitating individual household connections.
2. Constructing a rain water drainage system and improving conditions of the access road.
3. Improving the solid waste disposal system.
4. Strengthening capacities of the CDC.
5. Developing a USS policy document for poverty reduction through improved service delivery and living environment.

**Figure 6.1: Map of the project site in Gothamipura USS**



Source: CMC, undated

The project was operationalised and led by the Colombo Municipal Council's Institutional Development (ID) Centre and undertaken in partnership with Sevanatha, CEPA and the CDC.

Operational components of the project were undertaken by the CMC. Community strengthening activities and operationalising the Community Action Plan were undertaken by Sevanatha. CEPA provides the research and monitoring (M&E) services. CEPA designed and carried out the baseline survey with support from Sevanatha to collect data and the CMC for collection and data entry. The community, represented by the CDC was seen as a key stakeholder and partner in the project.

The following list was developed in 2008 with community participation and was used as the Community Action Plan. It was used as a list of activities to pursue in order to improve conditions within the settlement. While they present a list of needs, not all aspects could be addressed through the project. What this prioritisation shows is that some needs were considered within the wider objectives of the projects.

**Box 6.1: Community Action Planning Priority List, 2008**

1. Need to implement a proper solid waste management system
2. Need to construct a sewer line for proper disposal of sewerage
3. Improve the storm water drain system in the settlement
4. Obtain assessment numbers for houses
5. Obtain title deeds for individual land lots
6. Proper maintenance of the community centre building
7. Remove all the street lamp posts currently located obstructing the access roads
8. Need to address the flood water problem in the settlement
9. Provide skill development and vocational training for unemployed youth
10. Introduce programmes to promote community unity in the settlement
11. Fixing of street lamp posts according to the community needs
12. Need for a community meeting hall that is managed by the community
13. Assist those who want to initiate self employment activities
14. Promote home gardening practices in the community
15. Erect public notice boards in appropriate locations in the settlements
16. Provide facilities to get the services of Grama Niladhari on a regular basis
17. Repair and maintain the public bathing wells
18. Repair of all the inner access roads
19. Implement a drug control programme
20. Take protective measures to prevent any harmful effects of the high tension power line
21. Introduce a programme to assist disabled people in the community
22. Provide individual water & electricity connections for all the families

Source: Community Action Plan Documentation, Sevanatha 2007



## 7. Impact Evaluation Findings

### 7.1 Identifying the change: Gothamipura Underserved Settlement in Colombo

Gothamipura is located in Colombo East (District 4) area in Narahenpita, in a relatively low lying area on land owned by the National Housing Development Authority (NHDA). The land area is approximately 4 acres (Sevanatha 2007). Part of the settlement boundary borders a canal and as a result is affected by its pollution. Groundwater pollution is high due to improper and inadequate waste water disposal.<sup>5</sup>

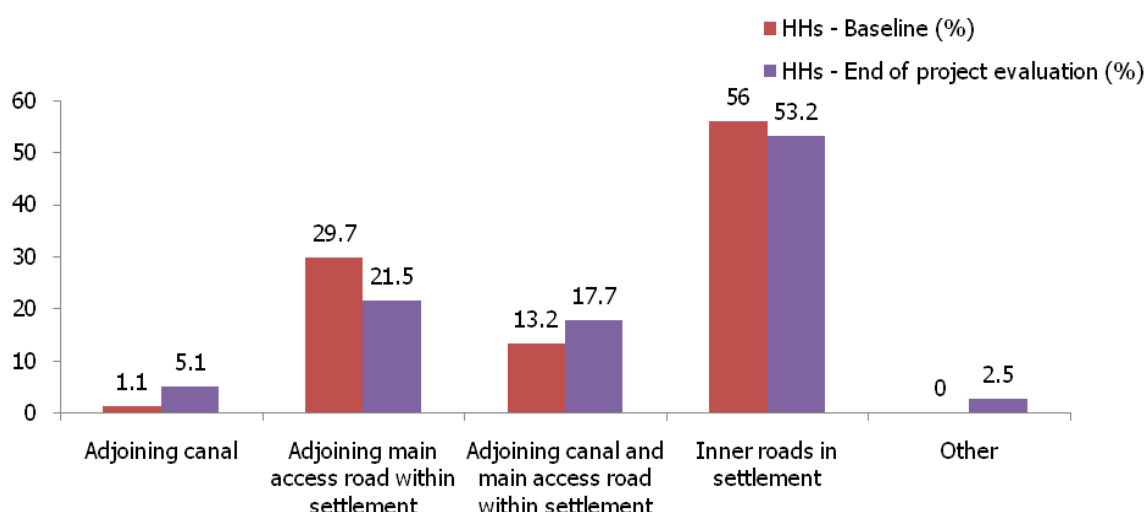
CEPA's work in Gothamipura in 2002-2003 (Gunetilleke *et.al.* 2004), when it was part of a study on understanding the dimensions and dynamics of urban poverty in Colombo, found that residents were of the view that they were worse off than residents of other settlements. This perception was as a result of the deteriorated settlement environment, level of service provision and adverse social fabric. The Poverty Profile (2002) identified the settlement as moderate in terms of a poverty rating that included 20 indicators of wellbeing.

#### 7.1.1. Profiling the settlement

This section aims to provide a snapshot of the settlement from a change perspective; focusing on the context immediately before the project and at the end of it.<sup>6</sup>

**Location:** The baseline sample resulted in the selection of approximately half of the sample that is located on the sides of inner roads in settlements and households located adjoining the main access road within the settlement. Households located adjoining the canal and on the main access road within the settlement were also included in the sample. Since the final evaluation focused on the same sample, this distribution has not seen a significant change (Figure 7.1). The data shows a decrease in number of households located on the roads adjoining the main access road.

**Figure 7.1: Sample distributions by location – baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage)**



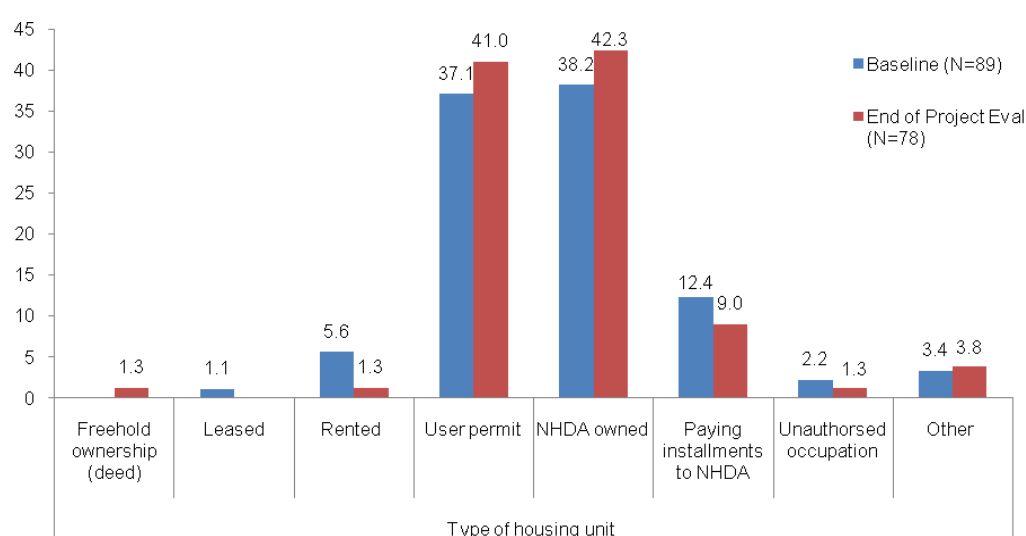
Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

<sup>5</sup> Extracted from the Project Proposal

<sup>6</sup> Please note that the project was near completion when the evaluation took place. This could affect the findings.

**Tenure of accommodation:** Most respondents hold user permits (enumeration cards) administered by the National Housing Development Authority (which owns the land that the settlement is housed on). A majority also note that ownership rests with the NHDA rather than themselves (see Figure 7.2). The project initiated a process whereby households could gain ownership of the land. During the project life, an independent land survey was undertaken to enable land valuation. Based on the land valuation, residents were able to make payments to the NHDA to obtain their deeds. Hence a small percentage of households in the sample (1.3%) now have freehold ownership. This was ongoing at the official end of project date and the findings reflect this ongoing process. Interestingly the number of households on unauthorised land has also decreased. Further details regarding land tenure and deeds is given in section 7.4.

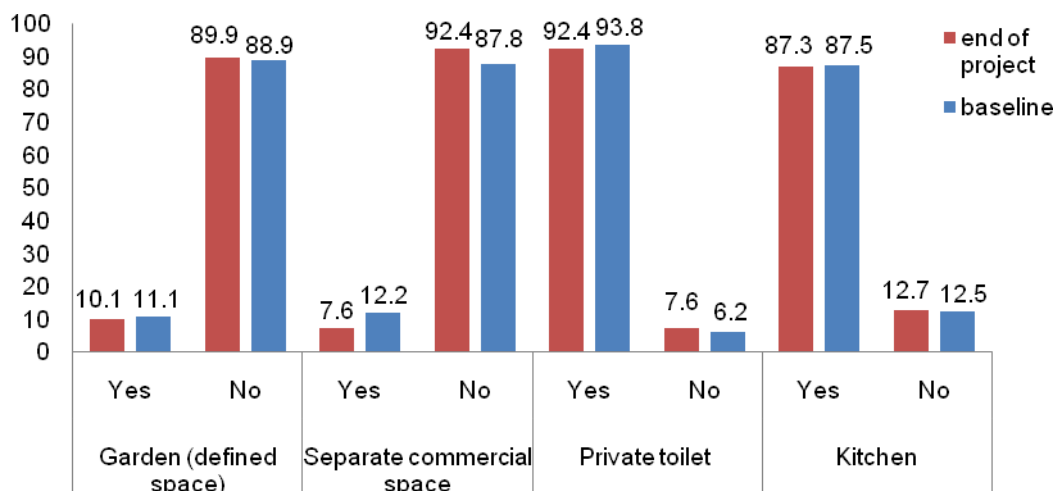
**Figure 7.2: Tenure of accommodation – baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

**Access to space:** There is no significant change in access to space to respondents in comparison to the baseline period (Figure 7.3).

**Figure 7.3: Access to space – baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage)**

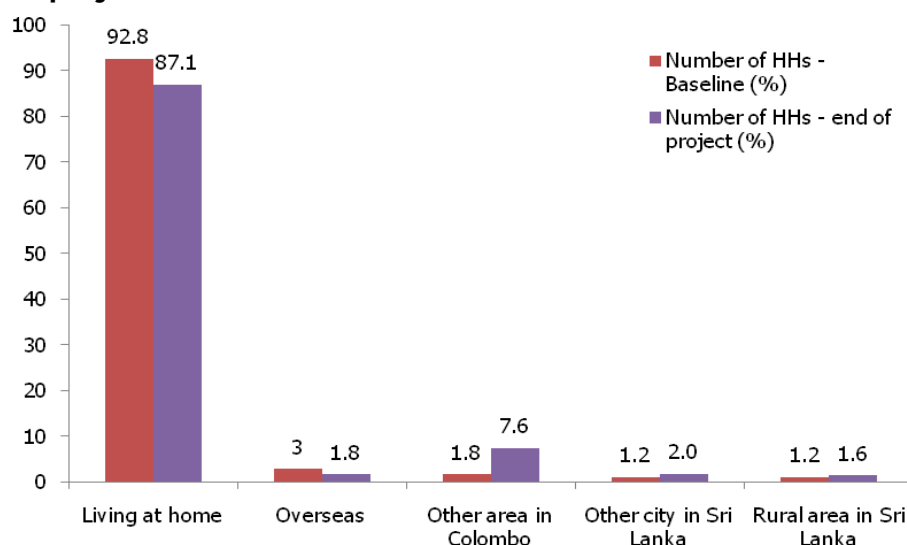


Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

### 7.1.2. Profiling households

Half of the respondents in the baseline sample were heads of households, and this remained unchanged in the end of project evaluation. There was no significant change in the type of housing unit, though the final evaluation showed one household with freehold ownership. There was no change in the housing structures and housing conditions across the two samples. There was also no change in the number of families living in a household, with over 90% of the households in both samples having one family. However, the place of residence of household members showed slight variations, with the number of members living at home decreasing from 92.8% to 87.1% by the final evaluation. The number of members living in other areas in Colombo increased to 7.6% (see Figure 7.4).

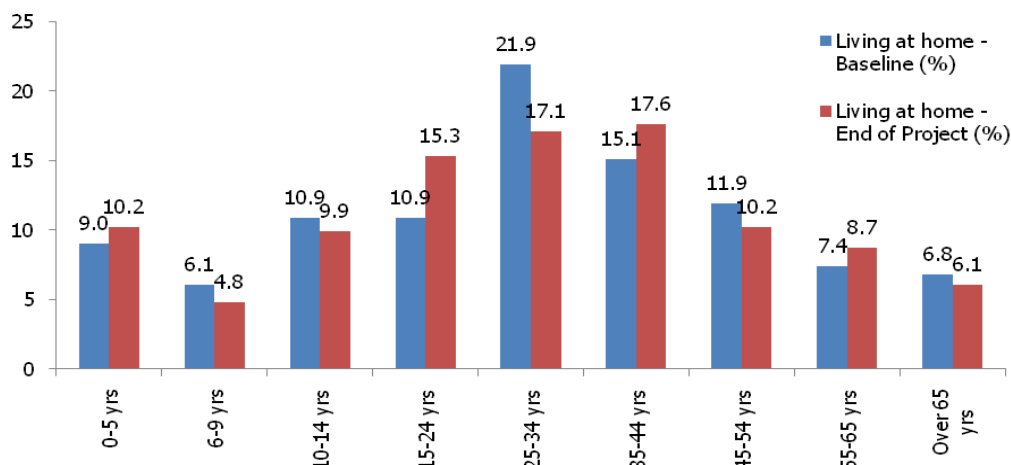
**Figure 7.4: Place of residence of household members at the baseline and end of the project**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

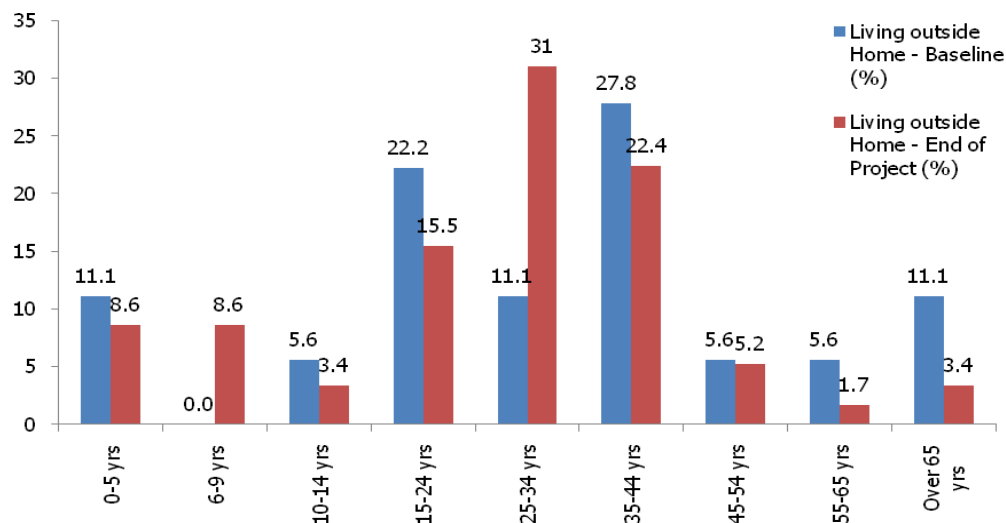
The final evaluation did not show a significant change in the number of respondents living at home – within the settlement (Figure 7.5). However, there were some changes in the age groups of 25 – 34, as well as children in the age class of 5 – 9 and elders over 65 in terms of those living outside the settlement (Figure 7.6). The age class 25 – 34 can be related to jobs opportunities elsewhere.

**Figure 7.5: Place of residence of household members living away from the settlement at the baseline and end of project**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

**Figure 7.6: Place of residence of household members living outside of the settlement at the baseline and end of project**

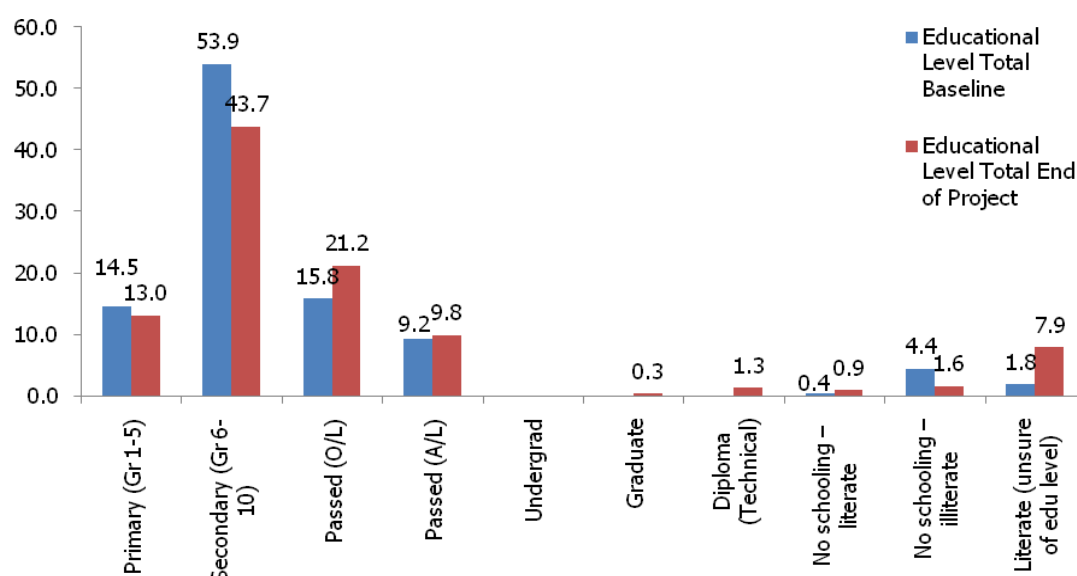


Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The baseline sample in the settlement showed a slightly higher percentage of males (53.1%) living at home and a higher percentage of females (54.2%) living outside the home. In the final evaluation sample, there are a higher number of females both living at home and outside the home. 209 (males) and 301 (female) respondents above the age of 18 years were enumerated for the baseline survey and final evaluation, respectively. Of both these samples, the majority were married, while approximately 20% had never been married.

**Education levels of household members:** There was no significant difference in educational attainment between the two samples (see Figure 7.7). However, in the sample of those above 18 years, the final sample had one household member with a graduate degree and four household members with diplomas. The sample of those below 18 years from the final evaluation showed a decrease in the number of household members at pre-school level and an increase in those attending Grades 11-13. This could be an indication of continued attendance in school, at least for some of those identified to be attending school in the previous sample.

**Figure 7.7: Level of education at the baseline and end of project**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

**Income sources:** The final evaluation (Table 7.1) shows a change in employment status from the baseline, which raises some important aspects in relation to wellbeing of the population. It also shows an increase in unemployment.

**Table 7.1: Percentage of main activity of household members (living at home) at the baseline and end of project**

| Main Activity                 | Baseline      |            | End of Project |       |
|-------------------------------|---------------|------------|----------------|-------|
|                               | Number of HHs | %          | Number of HHs  | %     |
| Employed                      | 118           | 39.6       | <b>99</b>      | 43.6  |
| Unemployed (but seeking work) | 10            | 3.4        | 15             | 6.6   |
| Not seeking employment        | 6             | 2          | 6              | 2.6   |
| Household work                | 56            | 18.8       | 40             | 17.6  |
| Student                       | 73            | 24.5       | 46             | 20.3  |
| Retired (formal sector)       | 6             | 2          | 3              | 1.3   |
| Disabled                      | 3             | 1          | 1              | 0.4   |
| Elderly                       | 9             | 3          | 5              | 2.2   |
| Other                         | 17            | 5.7        | 12             | 5.3   |
| <b>Total</b>                  | <b>298</b>    | <b>100</b> | 227            | 100.0 |

Notes - Missing value has been excluded; only members living at home are considered

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

Changes in the main income source are attributed to a range of factors that serve to further highlight the uncertainty of livelihoods for many people who live in urban settlements such as Gothamipura. Livelihoods for many of them are in a constant state of flux and uncertainty. Loss of work due to either short-term or long term sickness of the respondent and/or household members that required care was cited as a factor for this instability. Sickness, long term and short term illnesses, continues to affect the wellbeing of some and increases vulnerability of households as it did before the period in which the project was implemented.

*"Fell sick in 2009 and had to leave, since then I have not been working."*  
(Female, 60 years)

*"Had to give up business of a shop because I fell sick"*  
(Female, 35 years)

*"Injured and unable to work after an accident"*  
(Female, 40 years)

*"The past two years the head of the household has suffered from arthritis and I have been making and selling hoppers but had to stop because of my own bad health."*  
(Female, 74 years)

The change in income sources for others has meant the loss of work and employment, particularly for those placed at the lower rungs of the ladder. Others have remained unemployed because they have not been able to secure employment. The data seems to indicate that this is the case particularly at school leaver level. Some women have opted to remain at home because they have married and have children.

*"I don't have a job currently but I am hoping to return to work abroad."*  
(Male, 61 years)

*"Unemployed after completing schooling, looking for work in the private sector."*  
(Male, 23 years)

*"I am dependent on my husband's pension as a CMC casual labourer."*  
(Female, 45 years)

*"I dropped out of school recently."*  
(Male, 15 years)

Foreign employment was another instance for change in employment status. People expressed this change in terms of preparing to travel to another country to work as well as having found work already.

It is evident that some respondents have switched from long terms jobs to self-employment and wage labour. The reasons behind this are unclear, in most cases they have lost their jobs. These shifts have most often been from stable positions to ones that entail a greater level of risk; such as self-employment and wage labour but probably provide more independence.

*"Self employed but looking for wage labour"*  
(Male, 34 years)

*"Employed as a fruit seller in Borella after losing job at a private firm"*  
(Male, 43 years)

*"Used to work in a garment factory, now work at incense sticks factory"*

(Male, 55 years)

*"Found a job as a cleaner in a Colombo International School, working there since 2009."*

(Female, 55 years)

There is some positivity that could explain the slight increase in the employed category since the baseline was conducted. Those who have been unemployed have found work although often this work tends to be of a short term or of an informal nature. This raises issues of security and stability of employment as well as being prone to vulnerability if they lose these jobs and are unable to find others.

This change could also be from engagement in self-employment, which seems to have increased since the baseline. There is an indication that many people have taken on home-based self-employment activities, especially food based activities as a main income source or to supplement other income sources. Home-based employment activities are mainly done by women.

*"Selling cooked food packets since 2010."*

(Female, 44 years)

*"Currently getting trained to make dolls, and I do this as a self employment, but also work for someone in the flats."*

(Female, 21 years)

*"Small home-based businesses – preparing food, betel leaves etc."*

(Female, 68 years)

*"Run a small business selling lunch packets. Cook and sell it at my workplace."*

(Female, 31 years)

Working in the vicinity of the settlement, especially in domestic work was another reason noted for the change. Finding employment in the private sector was noted as another reason for change in employment status since the baseline period. This includes working in the garment sector amongst other private sector organisations.

**Nature of work:** The nature of work that people engage in has not changed all that much. The data shows that this has remained consistent both within the regular and casual genres of employment which could indicate that the residents in Gothamipura have largely continued to engage in similar forms of income generation activities over the past few years, and could possibly continue to do so (See Table 7.2). This could be linked to the nature of their surroundings and how they are perceived as residents within the city. This is not all that promising from the angle of encouraging integration of the settlement to the wider city.

However the self-employment orientation of the settlement shows some promise. There has been a greater level of self-employment that appears to be taking place within the settlement that could be a positive indication of the growth of smaller businesses within it.

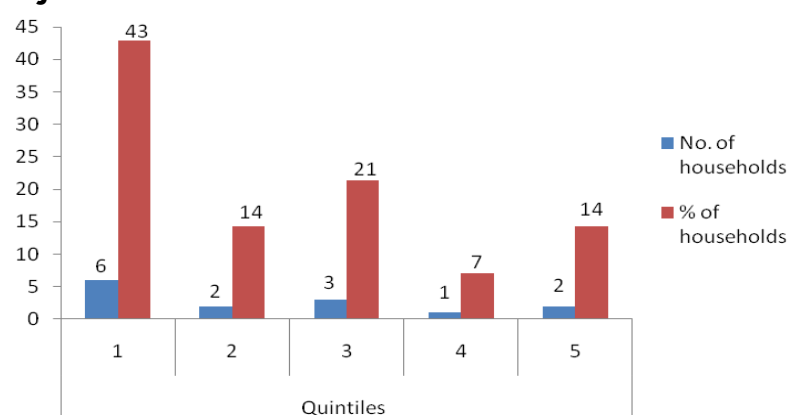
**Table 7.2: Percentage of the nature of main activity of household members**

| Nature of primary occupation | Baseline      |            | End of Project |              |
|------------------------------|---------------|------------|----------------|--------------|
|                              | Number of HHs | %          | Number of HHs  | %            |
| Regular                      | 46            | 39.3       | 34             | 37.0         |
| Casual                       | 26            | 22.2       | 19             | 20.7         |
| Contract based               | 12            | 10.3       | 9              | 9.8          |
| Employer                     | 11            | 9.4        | 6              | 6.5          |
| Self-employed                | 18            | 15.4       | 19             | 20.7         |
| Unpaid worker                | -             | -          | 1              | 1.1          |
| Other                        | 4             | 3.4        | 4              | 4.3          |
| <b>Total</b>                 | <b>117</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>92</b>      | <b>100.0</b> |

Notes - Missing value has been excluded; only members living at home are considered.

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

**Figure 7.8: Other sources of income received by household (remittances), end of project**



Note: Includes responses that indicated remittances are received from household and non-household members.

A quintile refers to 20% of the population, starting from the poorest (1) to the richest (5), missing values has been excluded

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

Economic conditions have improved for some households because of employment abroad. Despite the small numbers picked up in the sample, the findings are indicative that remittances have had greater financial impact to the poorer segments in Gothamipura (see Figure 7.8). Remittances have given them access to money that has been used for various wellbeing improvements, including housing. Public sector employment (including perception of stable employment) is also noted as a way of improving livelihood related wellbeing.

*"People have left to work abroad from the settlement and this has given them more money."*

Female, 49 years

*"Improving living conditions by going abroad has meant that people have also been able to make better houses after they return."*

Female, 50 years

*"Children finding employment, foreign employment, public services improving have all contributed to this change."*

Male, 49 years



**Household income and expenditure:** Although reported income figures cannot be verified it is reported here in order to help profile households within the community. This should be taken together with household expenditure figures that follow these findings.

Data collected on household income, expenditure and assets helps in understanding household wellbeing. The total household income refers to the total income received by all the members usually living in a household. This includes all the possible income sources; wages, salaries, remittances, state transfers, scholarships, etc., received by employed household members.

The mean and median income can be used as the key statistic to compare a household's income distribution within a certain time period. Mean income is the average household income of the total population. Median income explains the distribution of income between the upper and lower values of the population, and is important as it is the income that one half of the population falls either above or below a certain allocation. Therefore it is a better indicator, compared to the mean, because it does not get affected by extremely high or low values of income.

According to the data, stated mean income levels have dropped since the baseline, especially amongst the poorer deciles. Table 7.3 explains the household income distribution between the baseline survey and the end of project evaluation survey, by income quintiles, in order to understand income inequality within the settlement. The richest 20% receives nearly 50% of the total household income of the population and poorest 20% receives only 5%. The end of project evaluation seems to indicate an increase in income inequality within the settlement; the richest 20% receives nearly 63% of the total household income and poorest 20% only 2%.

The study also reports highest mean income values at the end of project evaluation in each quintile, compared to the baseline. Especially in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quintiles, there is a higher mean income difference. That shows that compared to other quintiles, mean income of middle 40% has been higher. But the median income indicates that out of the total population of the project area, half of the poorest population receive less than Rs.6,325 in the baseline, compared to Rs.2,500 at the end of project evaluation.

**Table 7.3: Monthly household income, baseline survey end of project evaluation**

| Quintile    | Baseline Survey            |               |           |                     |                | End of Project Survey      |               |            |                     |                |
|-------------|----------------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------|------------|---------------------|----------------|
|             | Total Monthly Income (Rs.) |               |           |                     |                | Total Monthly Income (Rs.) |               |            |                     |                |
|             | Mean Income (Rs.)          | Maximum (Rs.) | No. of HH | Median Income (Rs.) | Income share % | Mean Income (Rs.)          | Maximum (Rs.) | No. of HHs | Median Income (Rs.) | Income share % |
| 1 Poorest)  | 5255                       | 8,340         | 17        | 6,325               | 5%             | 3963                       | 7500          | 13         | 2500                | 2%             |
| 2           | 10234                      | 12,000        | 18        | 9,984               | 9%             | 11100                      | 12500         | 15         | 12500               | 7%             |
| 3 (Middle)  | 14446                      | 17,996        | 16        | 14,000              | 13%            | 18346                      | 20000         | 16         | 19750               | 11%            |
| 4           | 24605                      | 30,000        | 17        | 25,008              | 23%            | 27104                      | 37000         | 13         | 25000               | 17%            |
| 5 (Richest) | 54314                      | 240,000       | 17        | 40,400              | 50%            | 102527                     | 680000        | 14         | 57500               | 63%            |
| Total       | 21721                      |               | 85        | 14,000              |                | 32384                      | 680000        | 71         | 19500               |                |

Note: A quintile refers to 20% of the population, starting from the poorest (1) to the richest (5), missing values has been excluded

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The pattern of expenditure and consumption between the lower income and higher income households is similar to patterns seen in other parts of Sri Lanka (see Table 7.4). The poor spend a higher percentage of their expenditure on food, but in absolute terms this is significantly lower than the amount spent by households in the higher income deciles. Interestingly, the expenditure share on health and water has some similarities in the lowest and highest income deciles.

The table shows that the percentage share of expenditure of the total expenditure between the two periods, housing rent, entertainment has decreased in the end of project evaluation compared to the baseline, but there is a significant increment in expenditure of housing repairs and maintenance. Also there is a slight increment in water, food and health related expenditures in the end of project evaluation.

The average monthly expenditure by quintiles gives a better understanding of distribution of expenditure across the population. According to Table 7.4, there is a decrement of food expenditures in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quintile at the end of project evaluation, and in the richest 20%, food expenditure has nearly doubled since the baseline. In relation to housing repairs there is an increment in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quintile and the 5<sup>th</sup> quintile in the end of project evaluation.

**Table 7.4: Monthly household expenditure, baseline survey end of project evaluation (Rs.)**

| Item  | Average monthly expenditure on selected items according to Quintiles<br>(Absolute amounts – Rs.) - % |      |      |      |      |       |  |      |      |      |      |       |
|---|--|------|------|------|------|-------|--|------|------|------|------|-------|
|   | Expenditure by Quintiles (%) -<br>Baseline   |      |      |      |      |       | Expenditure by Quintiles (%) - End of<br>Project |      |      |      |      |       |
|   | 1  | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | Total | 1  | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | Total |
|   | Mean   | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean  | Mean   | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean | Mean  |
| Food and drinks   | 62.9   | 51.2 | 52.0 | 57.6 | 58.5 | 56.3  | 70.3   | 62.4 | 37.3 | 60.9 | 106  | 66.9  |
| Cigarettes & alcohol  | 4.4  | 6.7  | 6.9  | 5.5  | 7.6  | 6.3   | 3.9  | 3.6  | 1.8  | 7.4  | 2.1  | 3.3   |
| Housing rent  | 0.0  | 0.9  | 2.1  | 0.6  | 2.0  | 1.2   | 0.2  | 0.5  | 0.2  | 0.1  | 0.6  | 0.4   |
| Housing repairs & maintenance   | 5.3  | 2.0  | 0.1  | 0.3  | 0.4  | 1.4   | 0.0  | 2.6  | 0.6  | 0.0  | 13.1 | 4.0   |
| Fuel for lighting & cooking<br>(Electricity/ gas/ Kerosene /firewood) | 8.4  | 11.4 | 16.3 | 10.3 | 8.9  | 11.0  | 8.7  | 10.7 | 6.0  | 9.8  | 5.9  | 7.5   |
| Water   | 2.6  | 1.0  | 1.0  | 1.9  | 1.3  | 1.5   | 2.6  | 2.3  | 1.0  | 1.8  | 1.5  | 1.6   |
| Clothing/ footwear/ toiletries  | 2.8  | 3.7  | 0.9  | 2.1  | 3.2  | 2.5   | 0.2  | 3.0  | 0.8  | 3.5  | 2.2  | 1.9   |
| Health  | 3.4  | 1.1  | 0.7  | 2.5  | 1.2  | 1.7   | 1.1  | 1.3  | 2.1  | 2.8  | 1.6  | 1.9   |
| Transport   | 6.0  | 7.5  | 7.6  | 10.0 | 7.6  | 7.9   | 3.9  | 5.1  | 4.9  | 6.6  | 7.5  | 5.7   |
| Communi-<br>cation<br>(telephone, postage)                            | 1.9  | 3.3  | 2.7  | 5.9  | 3.3  | 3.6   | 3.0  | 4.2  | 2.5  | 4.9  | 3.3  | 3.4   |
| Education   | 1.3  | 4.9  | 4.7  | 1.4  | 3.3  | 3.1   | 5.9  | 4.8  | 4.6  | 3.3  | 4.8  | 4.5   |
| Entertainme<br>nt   | 0.4  | 0.7  | 0.3  | 0.6  | 1.3  | 0.7   | 0.5  | 0.4  | 0.2  | 0.0  | 0.3  | 0.3   |
| Other<br>(specify)  | 0.7  | 5.6  | 4.9  | 1.2  | 1.3  | 2.7   | 1.6  | 0.5  | 0.9  | 0.0  | 3.6  | 1.5   |
| <b>Total expenditure</b>  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100   | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100   |

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The trend in household expenditure is for purchase of durable assets. The ownership of assets is greater at the end of project evaluation compared to the baseline survey. Ownership of gas cookers, refrigerators, telephones, three-wheelers and computers are the most prevalent. It also shows that the middle 20% of the population and the richest 20% have increased ownership of those assets compared to the baseline.

## 7.2 Wellbeing in the settlement: perceptions, elements and aspirations

The final evaluation attempted to see changes in the **perception of wellbeing** within the settlement. Subjective wellbeing and understanding the experience of poverty, as in how people perceive their level of wellbeing, are important components of understanding and addressing poverty. Perceptions of poverty offer us insights into the lived experience of poverty, how people are able to cope with this experience and work out ways that could help keep them or move them out of poverty.

The project attempted to improve overall wellbeing of residents in the settlement by providing basic services that were considered an important element of wellbeing.

Wellbeing was portrayed as the positive manifestation of the conditions of poverty. These could stem from aspects that were wider than income rather than the lack of or limited income sources and limited livelihood options. This links back to the multidimensional aspects of poverty and how poverty is influenced by more than income factors. However from the in-depth analysis that raises explanations for levels of wellbeing, they seem to continue to link it back to livelihoods and economic aspects.

Residents in the settlement identified positively with wellbeing during the baseline survey and the following findings have been made:

- There have been improvements in household wellbeing over the 5 years preceding the baseline survey. However there is a level of greater expectation that this will improve further in the future. This indicates a sense of positivity of the developments in the settlement as a result of the impending project during the time that the baseline was conducted
- They noted that livelihood opportunities and income earning capacity, especially in the foreign employment sector to be the primary contributors to improving household wellbeing in the past. Being able to upgrade housing was another enabling factor identified. Securing of land tenure and improvements to housing structures are expected in the future.
- Low levels of wellbeing were characterised by lower income earners, irregular employment, lack of individual access to services and utilities such as electricity, water, and toilets, low human capital as a result of limited education opportunities and being affected by social problems such as alcoholism.

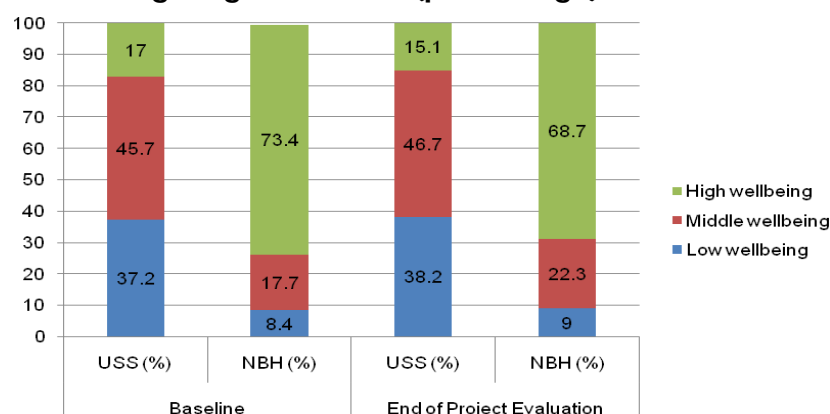
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*Taken from Baseline Data Brief No.1 2009.*

The project tries to determine aspects of integration through perceptions of residents towards **wellbeing of people in the settlement and the neighbourhood area** (Figure 7.9). In terms of a comparison between wellbeing of residents in the settlement and residents in the surrounding area, the end of project evaluation highlights that people within the settlement continue to feel that a higher level of wellbeing is more visible in the neighbourhood area. #

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**Figure 7.9: Change in the perception of wellbeing in the settlement and surrounding neighbourhood (percentage)**



Note: Perception from baseline is only from the settlement respondents.

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

Interestingly the perception seems to indicate that respondents feel that those of a middle wellbeing have increased in the neighbourhood area; shown through changes in perception towards middle and high wellbeing groups in the neighbourhood area. In contrast the view regarding wellbeing in the settlement has not changed; people still feel that it is mainly made up of people from low and middle wellbeing groups albeit mainly from the latter grouping (see Table 7.5).

**Table 7.5: Reasons for the perception of wellbeing in the settlement and surrounding neighbourhood**

| Reasons for level of wellbeing in each area  |  |
|--|--|
| Settlement wellbeing   | Neighbourhood wellbeing  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The size of houses</li> <li>• Livelihood sources</li> <li>• People who have a mid level of income and have improved themselves</li> <li>• Have a mixed level of economic wellbeing</li> <li>• Lack of permanent housing structures</li> <li>• Facing economic hardship, constantly over the years that has not enabled them to move out of poverty</li> <li>• No stable forms of employment</li> <li>• Limited space to cultivate</li> <li>• Very little space for housing, more people living in households</li> <li>• High level of substance abuse</li> <li>• There used to be many people who were poor but now many people have improved their lives and living conditions</li> <li>• Greater number of people with low levels of education</li> <li>• Most engage in wage labour</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have cars and other vehicles</li> <li>• There are less poor people.</li> <li>• The number of people who have to depend on a daily wage is less than those in the settlement.</li> <li>• More people have stable sources of income and jobs.</li> <li>• Better economic conditions.</li> <li>• Have easy access to jobs, especially for youth.</li> <li>• Size of their houses, good housing conditions.</li> <li>• People have government jobs and high positions companies/private sector.</li> <li>• Their lifestyle is very different.</li> <li>• They have access to a better education, they are better educated than people in the settlement.</li> </ul> |

Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

They explain the change since 2007 at the settlement level through a number of factors that are seen to interplay. Economic conditions of people have improved over the years. This has allowed them to improve other aspects of their lives, not only the economic aspect. They

have been able to improve housing and living conditions as well as get better access to public services. They are quick to note that service improvements have been slight.

*"People save now and when their toilets overflow they are able to fix it."*

Female, 49 years

*"At least a few people in Gothamipura have been able to improve the conditions of their houses."*

Female, 40 years

*"There is a slight change from before, public services have improved."*

Male, 56 years

*"Housing that used to be in a bad condition has now improved. Many people have more access to employment."*

Male, 71 years

*"People have torn down the wooden houses from before and build permanent structures instead."*

Female, 51 years

Others are pessimistic about the amount of change that has taken place over the past few years. Some feel the conditions, economic and otherwise have become harder for various reasons. They find it very difficult to see positive change that has taken place. The limited/lack of change was identified by a sense of personal effort, which people lack, but also due to larger processes within community life.

*"It's difficult to see any change. There is a very slight improvement but this is nothing special."*

Female, 34 years

*"People are getting poorer by the day for economic reasons."*

Female, 52 years

*"We can see that the living standards in Gothamipura have dropped."*

Male, 42 years

*"People in Gothamipura do not have a desire to improve themselves. If they are given jobs they will leave them, they do not try to maintain it."*

Male, 38 years

*"The level of education in these parts is low. It's also difficult to find work because the knowledge of English is poor."*

Female, 69 years

Some attribute the improvements in social conditions and the social fabric in society to overall improvements in wellbeing. Although this is not often an expressed aspect of wellbeing nor a conclusive finding, it raises a different aspiration for changes in wellbeing that arise from the settlement environment and is noted as an important part of wellbeing in settlements such as Gothamipura.

*"During those times people didn't have much of an income source. Many were addicted to drugs. Even in our house there was such a person, but we chased him away."*

Female, 35 years

CEPA's previous work raises addiction, in addition to violence and crime as aspects that negatively affect settlement life (Gunetilleke *et.al* 2004). Positive aspects are directly linked to low prevalence of addiction. Particularly in relation to Gothamipura, residents raised the impact it has on children and youth. It is noted as a cause for violence at the community and household level in addition to the personal impact.

During the final evaluation, substance abuse continues to be raised when respondents were asked to **compare their own wellbeing in comparison to others in the settlement** (Table 7.6). Although they feel that the majority belong to the middle wellbeing group, there is also a notion that some have become vulnerable to poverty and moved to the lower wellbeing group. A few placed themselves at a higher level of wellbeing.

**Table 7.6: Change in the perception of own wellbeing compared to others in the settlement (percentage)**

| Level of Wellbeing | Baseline | End of Project |
|--------------------|----------|----------------|
| Low wellbeing      | 18       | 25             |
| Middle wellbeing   | 76       | 69             |
| High wellbeing     | 2        | 6              |
| Not sure           | 3        | -              |
| Not Responded      | 1        | -              |
| Total              | 100      | 100            |

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

**Table 7.7: Reasons for identifying own level of wellbeing compared to others in the settlement**

| Low wellbeing   | Middle wellbeing   | High wellbeing  |
|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Insufficient income to meet needs</li> <li>• Lack of a permanent income source, dependence on wage labour, unemployment</li> <li>• Illness (non-communicable diseases), especially of main income earner</li> <li>• Substance abuse</li> <li>• Dependents within the household such as school going children, young children</li> <li>• Elderly lacking support from family</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More stable forms of income (going abroad) but still some level of instability in employment</li> <li>• Able to match income with expenditure levels</li> <li>• Continuity of income; including from self-employment (three-wheelers, toy business)</li> <li>• Alternative forms of income</li> <li>• Education opportunities, ability to complete education</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High level of income, increasing level of income</li> <li>• Children have good/stable jobs</li> <li>• Striking difference in the appearance and lifestyle in comparison to other levels of wellbeing.</li> </ul> |

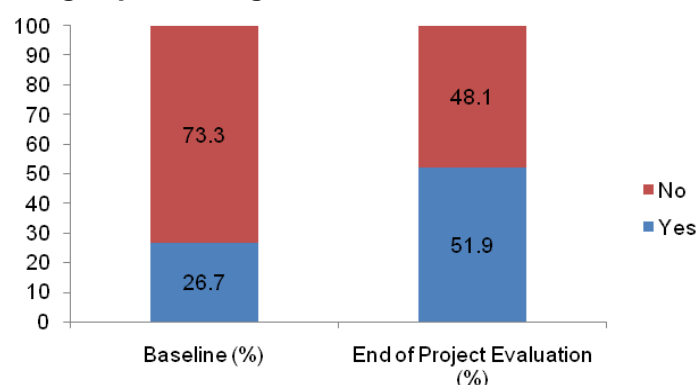
Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

Despite several factors influencing wellbeing, clearly the income factor leads the list with respondents mainly identifying aspects of income and economic wellbeing as influencing overall wellbeing status in comparison to others. Other factors affecting low wellbeing include dependency, substance abuse and illness, especially non-communicable diseases affecting income earners. Risk factors are noted here as influencing wellbeing and could be addressed in the long and short term to mitigate impacts on low wellbeing. For instance

health conditions and substance abuse can be addressed through treatment and care services as well as considered in the light of preventive strategies.

**Interactions between the settlement and the neighbourhood area** were explored as a way of building on ideas of interaction and integration. The interaction between residents has been taking place but has not been encouraged given the perceptions surrounding these regions. Residents have noted aspects of stigmatisation in the past (Gunetilleke *et.al.* 2004) that have been in relation to society in general but also from residents in the immediate vicinity of the settlement.

**Figure 7.10: Relations between the settlement and neighbourhood should change (percentage)**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The data indicates (Figure 7.10) that initially a small percentage (26.7%) of the residents felt that relations should change and this notion has only grown stronger since the project period. However a similar proportion is against it, despite this being significantly less than before the project commenced.

A number of reasons are noted for the need to change in relations for the better; some are more idealistic than others. However they serve to highlight that for integration to meaningfully take place there are several perceptions and social factors that will have to be addressed.

Some residents from Gothamipura do not see a difference. People in the neighbourhood are considered as their equals and note that there is no need for any differentiation. They also call for unity but do not discount that this would be a process given the current environment of mistrust.

*"We are all the same/equal. We do not need to be stigmatized just because we live in the settlement (palpath wasin)"*

Female, 52 years

*"If everyone is united that would be good."*

Male, 45 years

*"It would be good if we can all live in harmony. Otherwise we are constantly fighting with each other."*

Female, 30 years

*"Everyone can live in peace if there is a change."*

Male, 60 years



There is recognition that part of the onus is on people in the settlement to change the current status-quo without purely depending on the neighbourhood residents to accept them. There is a feeling that residents in the settlement should be the ones to initiate this first move to improve the existing relationship.

*"They help us so we should also show them some concern."*

Male, 49 years

*"If we expect to be respected by them we have to respect them first."*

Female, 40 years

*"If we are able to acknowledge each other that would be good."*

Female, 32 years

*"It would be good if the relationship between us improved because there are people we know/are familiar with in this area."*

Male, 59 years

There is a sense that a change would reduce the existing separation between the two geographical groups. There is optimism that change is apparent.

*"It seems like there is a separation between the two and because of this it would be good if there was a relationship/connection."*

Female, 38 years

*It would be good if it changes. We will be able to build relations with one another if this happens.*

Female, 75 years

*"The relationship seems to be improving and we like this."*

Female, 28 years

Building and improving networks, getting assistance, and addressing needs of the community are seen as some reasons to improve relationships.

*"It's good to have networks with more people, especially when trying to do business."*

Male, 18 years

*"If we had a good relationship with them we can get any assistance at any time from them."*

Female, 55 years

*"If the relationship between us increases it would be good. This is also because our needs are increasing."*

Female, 59 years

*"So that we can get any help from them."*

Male, 44 years

Encouraging and improving interactions between the younger generation in the two areas is also vital to ensure sustained change in relations. This raises the issues of needing to sustain positive change over time; that it is a process of interaction and negotiation rather than a change that will take place overnight.

*"It would be good if our children and their children associated/interacted more closely with each other."*

Female, 50 years

There seems to be an understanding that this change cannot happen in a vacuum and requires a certain environment to facilitate interaction and this possibly requires tangible outputs and activities. The example of using the Women's Association as a way of achieving this is noted.

*"It would be good if we can create a relationship. We can't live alone. If we join the Women's Association this will happen."*

Female, 43 years

In addition to improving economically, issues that encourage the stigma attached to the settlement and its residents are also noted as needing to be addressed if this relationship is to improve. Substance abuse is particularly mentioned in this instance.

*"Since the living standard of the people in Gothamipura has improved the relationship with neighbourhood is better."*

Female, 32 years

*"Substance abuse needs to reduce."*

Female, 30 years

However, pessimism is prevalent. A significant proportion note that the relationship should not change for a number of reasons. They feel that no positive change would come out of encouraging relations. This could be because it would be a waste of time or that there is no need to get their assistance. The current scenario is adequate.

*"It's a waste of time."*

Female, 35 years

*"No need, the existing relationship is fine. We help those who need our help."*

Female, 46 years

*"We do not bother one another, we live our life and they live theirs."*

Female, 72 years

*"We do not need anybody's help."*

Male, 46 years

They also feel that it is better to be left alone rather than change the present situation as it would bring with it more problems. This idea probably does stem from the stigma associated to settlements and the suspicion that residents from Gothamipura have to face.

*"We live our own life, without worrying anyone. If not it's difficult to survive."*

Female, 51 years

*"Just as there are good people, you also get nasty people."*

Male, 35 years

*"The closer the relationship the greater the problems. It isn't a good society. Being like this is good."*

Male, 37 years

*"It is better the way things are. When I go to observe sill [Buddhist religious reflection], I get to know the others in neighbourhood. One of them asked me to go to another temple to observe sill."*

Female, 74 years

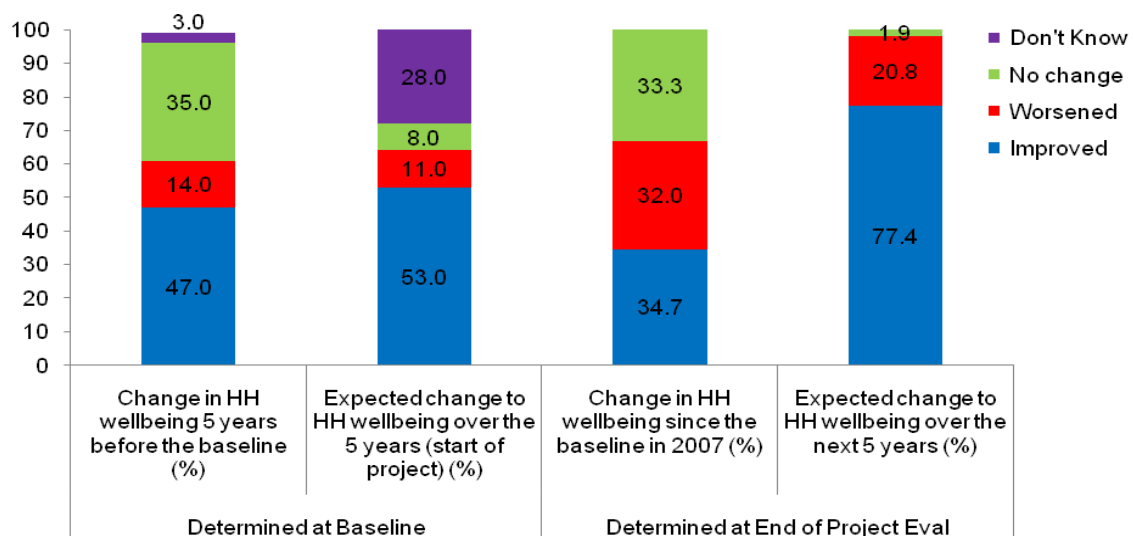
*"It's better to keep a distance between them. They betray people in the settlement, use them as scapegoats."*

Male, 43 years

While these views are perceptions, it serves to further highlight the sense of separation between the settlement and the neighbourhood areas. Despite changes in services improving conditions within the area, certain qualitative/attitudinal elements will remain and require active engagement to be overcome. The findings are indicative that while improvements to the physical environment (as the project intended) could help improve relationships, programmes and active engagement that address aspects of the social fabric and the stigma associated to living within underserved settlements, is required for the desired impact linked to integration.

Overall, views towards changes in wellbeing appear to be mixed (Figure 7.11). At the start of the project there was optimism that changes would take place five years into the project. While this optimism wavered, views regarding changes to wellbeing are evenly split in the present context; with one third of the population each feeling that wellbeing has improved, worsened or not changed.

**Figure 7.11: Changes to wellbeing – before the intervention and after (percentage)**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

However, the level of uncertainty amongst residents at the beginning of the project (seen from don't know responses) appears to have shifted to perceptions that there has been limited change overall since 2007. The level of optimism that change has taken place has declined.

Nevertheless looking into the future, residents are overwhelmingly optimistic that wellbeing will improve albeit a segment continues to be pessimistic of the change that could take place in the future.

## Sanitation: Quality, access, improvements and sustaining improvements

Improving sanitation services was a key component of the Focus City Project in Gothamipura (see Box 7.1). The project aimed to improve sanitation in the settlement by installing a sewer system that was installed in four stages using a mix of construction methods; using a contractor and using direct labour where materials were purchased by the project and labour provided by the CMC. A total of 328 households were estimated to be connected to the new sewer line during the project.

### Box 7.1: Stages of constructing the sewer line

- ✓ Stage 1: 700 meters of pipes were laid to construct the gravity sewer and 41 manholes were constructed.
- ✓ Stage 2: Pumping station and force main<sup>7</sup> were constructed.
- ✓ Stage 3: 180 meters of gravity sewers and 8 more manholes were constructed.
- ✓ Stage 4: 110 meters of gravity sewers to connect 16 more households were constructed.

Source: Presentation by Engineering Department, CMC, at the City Consultation, December 2010.

In addition to construction the CMC also developed a programme to help operations and maintenance of the pumping station once it was handed over to the Community Development Council and help support households to connect to the sewer system.

This section focuses on presenting the findings from the evaluation particularly on the quality of sanitation services; in terms of facilities that people have access to, the level of change and the reasons behind these changes. It will also present improvements in relation to household participation in the project, advantages of being connected and reliance of common toilets. It ends with a review of what needs to be considered if the benefits are to be sustained; in relation to community involvement in operating and maintaining the pump house, issues and constraints and finalising household connections.

**Quality of sanitation services:** In terms of services, an initial community profile notes that access to water and electricity was quite high and regular collection of waste was taking place (Gunetilleke *et.al.* 2004). However how these services continue to be provided over the years needs to be explored if satisfaction is to remain.

Sanitation services in Gothamipura, on the other hand, have been more problematic. The settlement households have no access to the sewerage system and the household sanitation system has developed in an *ad-hoc*, non-formalised way (see Box 7.2). Households have their own septic tanks but these have not been authorised by a regulatory body and have been installed by the residents themselves. Disposal of waste happens sporadically; in some instances it is cleared by the CMC but sometimes is it diverted into the adjoining canal through pipes connecting the septic tanks to the canal (*ibid.*).

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<sup>7</sup> A pipeline leading from a pumping station that transports wastewater under pressure to a point where other pumps or gravity can take over.

**Box 7.2: Access to services in Gothamipura before the project period**

- No. of houses with metered water connection: 314 (96%)
- No. of houses with individual septic tank: 252 (77%)
- No. of houses with common septic tanks: 48 (15%)
- No. of houses use common water taps: 11 houses (3%)
- No. of houses use common toilet: 24 houses (7%)

Source: Community Profile, Sevanatha 2007

There are no changes in the perceptions of advantages in connecting to the sewer line compared to the baseline, indicating that people still value the importance of being connected. Advantages include:

- Reductions in problems faced due to septic tank overflow and blockages,
- No blockages in toilets,
- No need of cleaning septic tank often, draining the overflow to open drains, etc.,
- Convenience,
- No need to pay the CMC for cleaning, so they save money and time regarding making of complaints.

But the people also identified some disadvantages:

- Laying pipelines and other constructions have not been done properly, therefore in future there will be failures in the system,
- If common toilets connect to the sewer system then the cost has to be borne by the community or the CDC,
- Because the pipes were laid through houses, if the system gets blocked, then the houses will have to be damaged to clean the blocks,
- If the system gets blocked how the cleaning will happen is not clear,
- The project initially was not clear about the costs to the community and now it has included different cost items for the households, which is really difficult to bear.

**Building a sewer system and household connections:** Providing a sewer system that connected households in the settlement was seen as a key activity of this project. The identification was based on past experiences of working in the settlement and attempts to improve conditions identified above in relation to sanitation.

According to the baseline 95% of the households in the settlement have private toilets. Others, who do not have private toilets, use common toilets. Those who have toilets in their homes also use the common toilets because their private toilets are not in good condition and they lack the money and space to improve the toilet.

At the end of project evaluation there is about a 4% increase in households that have private toilets both inside and outside the house. There were some houses still using the common toilets while having a private toilet, since it is not connected to the new sewer system.

The installation of water seal with squatting pans have not changed as it is the most common form of toilet type, but four houses have upgraded their toilets with commodes. Most of the toilets systems have connected to separate septic tanks, but there were only

two houses that had connected to the newly built sewer system.<sup>8</sup> The toilets that had been connected to the canal at the time of the baseline have decreased only by one house (see Table 7.8).

**Table 7.8: Availability of private toilet facilities in the household (percentage)**

|   | Baseline             |      | End of Project       |      |
|---|----------------------|------|----------------------|------|
|   | Number of households | %    | Number of households | %    |
| <b>Location of toilet facilities</b>                |                      |      |                      |      |
| Private toilet (inside the house)                   | 54                   | 60.7 | 50                   | 64.9 |
| Private toilet (outside the house)                  | 32                   | 36   | 22                   | 28.6 |
| Common toilet                                       | 1                    | 1.1  | 2                    | 2.6  |
| Other (specify)                                     | 2                    | 2.2  | 3                    | 3.9  |
| Total   | 89                   | 100  | 77                   | 100  |
| <b>Toilet Type (Private only)</b>                   |                      |      |                      |      |
| Water seal with commode                             | 13                   | 14.6 | 15                   | 19.7 |
| Water seal with squatting pan                       | 66                   | 74.2 | 56                   | 73.7 |
| Pour flushes (water seal) with squatting pan        | 9                    | 10.1 | 4                    | 5.3  |
| Other (specify)                                     | 1                    | 1.1  | 1                    | 1.3  |
| Total   | 89                   | 100  | 76                   | 100  |
| <b>Sewerage system (private only)</b>               |                      |      |                      |      |
| Connected to main sewerage system                   |                      |      | 2                    | 2.7* |
| Connected to separate septic tank                   | 69                   | 77.5 | 57                   | 76.0 |
| Connected to shared septic tank                     | 17                   | 19.1 | 14                   | 18.7 |
| Connected to canal                                  | 2                    | 2.2  | 1                    | 1.3  |
| Other (specify)                                     |                      |      | 1                    | 1.3  |
| Total   | 88                   | 100  | 75                   | 100  |
| Usage density: Average number of persons per toilet | 6.6                  |      | 6                    |      |

Source: Household survey (N = 91), End of Project Evaluation 2011 (N = 79)

\*Data was collected at the end of the project period and the number of connections reflected in the findings is indicative of the relatively lower number of household connections at that time.

**Common toilets:** In addition to the baseline there are another 4 households who used toilets of their neighbours/relatives (shared toilets) and have started using common toilets (Table 7.9). This is because their toilets have not been connected to the new sewer system even though they have built new private toilets. People using common toilets have faced a series of issues such as unclean toilets and having to pay money for the maintenance of the common toilet.

<sup>8</sup> The evaluation took place at the time the sewer system was completed and households were just starting to connect to the new line. More recently and at the time of writing more households had connected to the new system.

**Table 7.9: Distribution of households using common toilets (cases and percentage)**

| Use of Common toilet | Baseline             |            | End of Project       |            |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
|                      | Number of households | %          | Number of households | %          |
| Yes                  | 2                    | 2.2        | 6                    | 7.7        |
| No                   | 85                   | 92.4       | 72                   | 92.3       |
| Not Responded        | 4                    | 5.4        | -                    | -          |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>91</b>            | <b>100</b> | <b>78</b>            | <b>100</b> |

Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

*"It is not clean, if something happens to the toilet we have to pay to get it fixed, we also have to go far to use the toilet and this takes us a lot of time"*

Female, 56 years

Advantages of having a common toilet is that it can be used in emergency situations, such as if there is a function at a house and visitors can use the common toilet. This indicates that people feel that the common toilets should remain even if they have private toilets.

*"During an emergency we should be able to use it so it should be kept."*

Male, 63 years

*"When the crowd increases in the house we have to use the public toilets, especially in an emergency."*

Female, 30 years

**Potential to connect private toilets to sewer system:** Respondents at the institutional level note that there are advantages and disadvantages to households connecting to the sewer line. One key advantage is that residents would not have to depend on anyone when they face blockages to toilets and tanks.

*"We won't need to pay the CMC from time to time to clear the overflows. Even though it was unofficial we have to pay to get it cleaned. When it's urgent we have also called other municipal councils or private cleaning services. The sewer line solves these problems."*

Present CDC

*"They don't need to call to CMC to tell overflowing their septic tanks and avoid the environment pollution."*

CMC ID Centre

However the lack of money to finance the transition from septic tanks to the sewer system is a disadvantage. At the institutional level, respondents note that residents may not be able to pay for service and maintenance.

*The connection fee is little high so we gave them three options. One, connect on their own under our instructions, two connect with our assistance, or three connect by hiring our contractor."*

CMC ID Centre

In order to facilitate the connection process the Women's Bank made allowances to provide loan facilities so that residents could make the necessary payments for connections. The

possibility of the house being demolished by the UDA to make way for urban development has caused some delay in households connecting to the sewer system.

This has resulted in a sense of uncertainty within the community and institutions that are linked to it. People are not willing to make the required payments as well as banks have stopped approving loans that were issued to facilitate the connection process.

*"The bank stopped giving loans to people to get connected because of the rumour that houses were going to be demolished."*

Sevanatha Team

*People also feel that the households are going to be demolished and people feel that they should not be paying. There is also talk by the CDC that the Rs.10,000 will be repaid if this happens. But this has not been confirmed so we don't know if this will happen.*

Members of the previous CDC

**Community participation:** The project attempted to install the sewer system with maximum community participation because of the nature of the project and in terms of operation and maintenance of the new sewer system once the project moved out. Thus community participation was intended to facilitate activities of the project and also ensure that the benefits of the project continued into the future.

Participation in awareness meetings was high; 58% of households are noted to have participated in meetings related to the construction of the sewer system, which were held throughout the lifespan of the project (see Table 7.9). There is a significant increase of the number of participants in awareness meetings in 2010. These meetings have been organised by Sevanatha and the CMC in collaboration with project related stakeholders. From the households the main participants at the meetings were the head of the household or the spouse. People noted that they received information about the project through these meetings.

*"In an awareness meeting, we got to know that a foreign country will be providing aid for projects. The Housing Development Authority has participated in the meeting. I took part in the event."*

Female, 49 years

*"A foreigner came and showed us a video of a toilet system in India. After that he said they were also going to make the toilet system like this in Gothamipura."*

Female, 52 years

The end of project evaluation notes that only around 20% of households had participated in project activities to connect toilets to the new sewer system. While this low figure could be as a result of recall factors, the experience of the monitoring phases, was that community participation in meetings and discussions varied over the years of the project.<sup>9</sup>

A majority of the households (58%) have acted in line with the baseline intention of connecting to the new sewer line and as a result participated in project meetings. They also feel that the project was implemented successfully. However they note that the overflowing septic tanks are still the biggest issue for the settlement dwellers.

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<sup>9</sup> It was difficult to ascertain reasons for non-participation; people were not inclined to provide them.



*"I am aware about the project and what it tried to do because I was involved right throughout. I also liked being part of it because things seemed to be happening"*

Female, 42 years

*"I am afraid to bring in anyone into the house when the toilets overflow. We are constantly afraid of the smell but all of these fears will be lost once we get connected to the sewer line"*

Female, 54 years

42% of the respondents have acted differently to their baseline intention and this has delayed the completion of the project in terms of household connections. Some residents noted that since they have separate septic tanks they do not want to connect. Others note the lack of money to connect. There is also the indication that the lack of information about payments resulted in some people dropping out and showing little interest in the project.

*"Now they are asking us to pay Rs.10,000. At the beginning they did not ask the money. So at the initial step I liked to join with the project. Now I don't have the money to pay so I don't like to join to project."*

Female, 31 years

*"We don't have any problem in our septic tank. Therefore we don't like to link for sewer system and we don't have money for it."*

Female, 74 years

There was less participation (less than 20%) in other activities such as soil testing because of the technical nature of these activities and because they had been done mainly by the CMC or the contractor. Household members were involved occasionally providing refreshments and supporting the CMC officials in different activities.

*'We participate only for meetings. We didn't participate to other works, we haven't any one, all are busy'*

Female, 74 years

*'Why should we do anything when the contract has already been given out?'*

Male, 61 years

**Table 7.10: Participation in community based project activities related to the sewer line (cases and percentage)**

|   | Participation in awareness meetings | Soil testing | Identifying manholes and places for pipelines | Laying pipelines | Construction of pumping station | Operation and maintenance of pumping station |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------|---|------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| 2007  | 1                                   | -            | 1   | -                | -                               | -  |
| 2008  | 1                                   | 1            | 1   | 1                | -                               | -  |
| 2009  | 3                                   | -            | 2   | 1                | 1                               |  |
| 2010  | 13                                  | 4            | 5   | 4                | 7                               | 2  |
| 2011  | -                                   | 1            | -   | -                | 2                               | -  |
| Participated the meeting. But cannot remember date. | 28                                  | 5            | 7   | 7                | 6                               | 4  |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>46</b>                           | <b>11</b>    | <b>16</b>                                     | <b>13</b>        | <b>16</b>                       | <b>6</b>                                     |
| <b>As a % of the total households</b>               | <b>58</b>                           | <b>13</b>    | <b>20</b>                                     | <b>16</b>        | <b>20</b>                       | <b>7</b>                                     |

Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

**Community participation and involvement in operation and maintenance:** Part of the maintenance involves having adequate money to pay the electricity bill incurred from using the pump and payments to the two workers. The CMC will not pay this amount and during the course of the project attempts were made to devise a Operation and Maintenance (O&M) fund using a contribution of Rs.10,000 from each household – this was included as part of the valuation fee that the households have to pay for deeds to the NHDA. This amount would be deposited into an account and the monthly electricity bill would be paid from the interest. At the time of writing this report, the project was facing some difficulties with collection.

The contribution was included into the amount that had to be paid to the NHDA to obtain the deed. The NHDA was expected to advance this amount per household to the bank account. At the end of the project period the project team was in discussion with the NHDA to disperse this money. While they were confident that this allocation would be eventually released continuous delay would only serve to create more delays to get the system up and running.

Creating a sense of ownership of the project outputs is essential if the project is to be sustainable. Some ways in which the project tried to encourage this was to handover maintenance of the pumping station to the CDC, but also hire two people from the community to work at the station; operating the pump and managing the station. This was determined to be the best strategy under the given circumstances and should be monitored post project to ensure that the transition from the CMC to the community is supported. It will not be automatic and function smoothly given the related issues of community participation.

*“The control of the pumping station will be handed over to the CDC but they will hire two people from the village to work in it. This is better than getting outsiders because if*

*not the community will not have a feeling that this is theirs. At the same time two people in the village get employed."*

Sevantha Team

Community ownership is an important part of success. However ownership cannot be created automatically. Some feel that assuming that the community would take this on at the end of the project may have been a bit unrealistic. They note that it is a part of a wider process of creating awareness of what it entails, who needs to be involved from the community and other stakeholders, as well as ensuring that the skills required to do the job exist. A certain level of capacity building did take place to strengthen CDC capacity to manage and function as a unit as well as to help community members engage in the O&M process. However the CMC should remain involved and their involvement be phased out rather than completely withdrawn at the end of the project. Having noted this however, the role of the CMC is to continue to stay engaged with the community as well as the project components.

*"We think the CMC has to take the responsibility. Earlier the flat [NHDA flat in settlement] had water tank and the community was assigned to be caretaker. But it did not work. This project could face similar issues in the future. There is a need for supervision."*

Women's Bank Member

### **7.3 Land titling and tenure security**

Similar views and reluctance to be involved in O&M by the community have arisen in relation to water services.<sup>10</sup> Building ownership and getting adequate participation in an urban/USS setting given lifestyles and social dynamics is an issue that can impede sustainability of such initiatives.

Access to land and land tenure security is an important indicator of wellbeing. It also influences economic wellbeing, enables access to services, people's perceptions of their surroundings as opposed to others, the living environment and their future aspirations. In urban settings, especially in underserved settlements it has specific importance because of the nature of settlements and the crowded and congested living environment.

Creating an enabling environment for land tenure security became a key component of the project. It was seen as a way of encouraging community participation in other project related activities, help mobilise the community and improve land tenure security.

Although a majority of residents in the settlement do not have land deeds, most have user permits issued by the NHDA for their homes. This is often seen as a first step in the direction of obtaining land titles and increasing tenure security (Gunetilleke et.al 2004).

According to the Community Profile, 40 families (of the whole settlement) were known to have gained land title deeds before the project commenced. A total of 324 housing units were counted according to the most recent enumeration records comprising NHDA flats (6 blocks), houses (single and two storied), semi permanent, and temporary housing units (Sevanatha 2007).

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<sup>10</sup> CEPA study on water service delivery projects for Eco Asia.

**Benefits of receiving a deed for the household in the settlement:** Respondents note both monetary and non-monetary benefits of having deeds. Monetary benefits are mainly in relation to being able to get bank loans and access to credit facilities as well as being able to sell land.

*"It's good to have one when we try to sell."*

Male, 49 years

*"We can mortgage the land and take bank loans and it's also easier for us to sell the land."*

Female, 52 years

Passing on property to the next generation would be made easier with a deed.

*"If you have land you need to have a deed for it. After I die, my son needs to be able to own it and so it's important to have a deed."*

Female, 74 years

People who have lived in the settlement most of their lives, sometimes for generations feel that this gives them rightful ownership. The deed would confirm this ownership and secure their rights.

*"Since I have been living in this settlement since 1956 it would be good to have a deed."*

Male, 76 years

*"Being able to prove ownership."*

Female, 37 years

*"We have rights; we have lived here since we were born. If we have a deed we can prove a legal right."*

Female, 46 years

Non-monetary benefits were also mentioned; including assurance that the land belongs to them. It provides a sense of security.

*"It's important for our children's future, if we want to sell, get a loan from a bank. It also gives us peace of mind and we also have the feeling that this is ours."*

Male, 61 years

*"We hold ownership of our land. We don't need to be afraid of losing it. The value of the property and house will increase and we get a bank loan."*

Female, 58 years

*"With the deed the value of the land increase but we have some stability, rights, and peace of mind."*

Male, 43 years

*"Our ownership rights are confirmed. If we want to get a loan from a bank we can use the deed as security."*

Male, 38 years

The link to improving the settlement environment is another aspect that is raised. The impact a deed can have on the stigma faced by these people at various levels is noted. It

could act as a means of reducing stigma and creating opportunities for residents, particularly in relation to access to schools and financial institutions.

*"It's easy when we have to put children into schools; also easy for banking."*

Female, 32 years

*"It makes it easier to pass it onto my children. The value of the land will also increase."*

Female, 67 years

*"We can take loans by mortgaging the land."*

Male, 37 years

*"It's easier to enrol children in schools. Children are stigmatised when we don't have proof of these documents. It also becomes easier when we have to get utility bills sent to the home address."*

Female, 35 years

Personal security will be impacted. This is seen in respect to safety but also in relation to having a voice; they can use it as a way of demanding justice and ensuring their protection. They also note that the level of dependency on other, especially state institutions will diminish.

*"It will increase security. We can claim ownership even if someone breaks into our house."*

Female, 67 years

*"If we have the deeds we can demand that they give us alternatives, if they come to demolish our houses."*

Female, 54 years

*"If we have the deed there is legal value. If they come to demolish my house I can take legal action."*

Female, 26 years

*"If we get the deed we don't need to keep paying the monthly amount that we have to pay the NHDA."*

Male, 48 years

The deed provides them with choices; ones that can improve wellbeing and some respondent see this as a way out of life in the settlement.

*"If we have a deed we can sell this place. Living in this environment is not very suitable, it is difficult for our children to study."*

Male, 41 years

**Constraints to obtaining the deed:** However, not everyone is optimistic that a deed is beneficial. A range of factors is noted as constraints to securing the deed. Those who are pessimistic feel that it does not empower people.

They note that it does not offer assurance against demolition. To some extent this is indicative of the limited power the deed would provide in relation to state powers to acquire land if they choose to do so.

*"If they come to demolish these houses it wouldn't matter if we had deeds. So there is no benefit in having."*

Male, 43 years

Many highlighted the lack of economic stability and the means to make the required payment. They suggest creating alternative ways of making this payment.

*"We are not able to pay the whole amount upfront. We have asked to be allowed to pay in instalments."*

Male, 38 years

*"I don't have money to get the deeds. It is the main constraint."*

Female, 41 years

*"I have no interest to get the deed, there is no point. I also don't have that much money to tie up to get the deed."*

Female, 34 years

*"It would be better if they considered the economic level of each person and came up with easy payment terms."*

Female, 37 years

The project encouraged the NHDA to start issuing deeds for residents and the NHDA agreed to it as a part of the urban housing programme under the Mahinda Chinthana. However transaction costs have influenced the process. They note the lack of information, lack of clarity of what is required, and delays from the NHDA as having impeded the final result; getting the deed. In some instances households have made all the required payments and are yet to receive the deed.

*"The NHDA does not give us clear information. They don't tell us what the required documentation is at the start."*

Female, 48 years

*"The government does not intervene in the right way. They think they can push us around as they please."*

Male, 41 years

*"The inefficiency of the NHDA. I paid whole amount. But I did not receive the deed as yet."*

Male, 41 years

*"We have paid all the money but we are yet to get the deed. We have to wait until everyone pays."*

Male, 41 years

The threat of demolition is adding to the uncertainty that has been caused by the delays. The threat is acting as a deterrent to those who have to pay.

*"If there was no threat of demolition people will pay the amount."*

Female, 34 years

*"People are not able to pay but they also suspect that their houses will be demolished."*

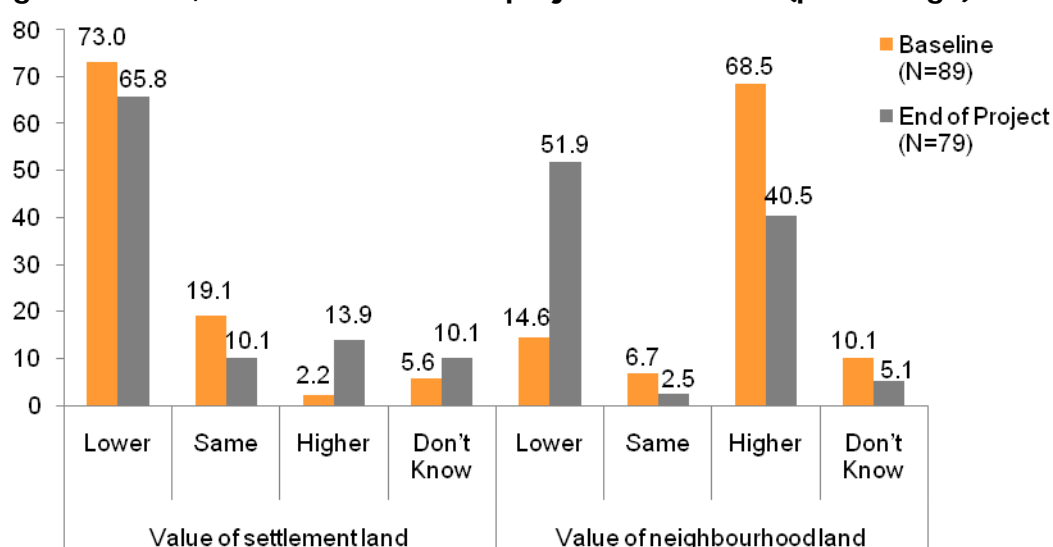
Female, 62 years

**Perception of land value in the settlement and the neighbourhood:** Understanding the perception around land value is important as a key influencing factor for wellbeing in the settlements. It identifies aspects of urban development engagement that are required beyond providing deeds to residents. Clearly supply of a deed is an important factor but

perceptions also serve to drive what people would be able to do with a deed. Thus while a deed may serve to improve their asset base how notions of living within a settlement affect their ability to use it productively; be it its sale, use of it to access financial services, and use to access educational facilities, is also an important aspect to consider.

A majority are of the view that the value of land in the settlement is lower than the value of land in the surrounding neighbourhood. However the perception that there exists a disparity in the value of land between the settlement and the neighbourhood is not as divided at the end of the project as it was during the baseline (Figures 7.12). This is indicative that people's perception that there is a greater disparity in the land value has changed over the course of the project and could be a result of the efforts of the project to address access to land tenure.

**Figure 7.12: Current perception of land value in the settlement and surrounding neighbourhood, baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The reasons that add to the perception that the value of land is less than that of the neighbourhood is similar to aspects that encourage separation between these two communities (Table 7.11).

**Table 7.11: Reasons for current perception of land value within the settlement and the neighbourhood**

| <b>Settlement</b>   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <b>Lower value</b>  | <b>Same value</b>  | <b>Higher value</b>   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lack of privacy, congestion, density</li> <li>• Small pieces of land (2.5 perches)</li> <li>• Low income settlement</li> <li>• Lack of facilities</li> <li>• Not having land titles</li> <li>• Settlement environment; Situated along a canal, unclean</li> <li>• Demolition rumours</li> <li>• Social fabric</li> <li>• Stigma; <i>Watte</i></li> </ul>             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited facilities</li> <li>• In the vicinity of Colombo</li> <li>• Easy access to public services</li> <li>• High standard of facilities that are available to the settlement</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Familiar environment, situated close to facilities and public services</li> <li>• High value because it is within the vicinity of Colombo 8/Colombo metropolitan area</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Neighbourhood</b>  |  |   |
| <b>Lower value</b>  | <b>Same value</b>  | <b>Higher value</b>   |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Comparative value of land is lower in the settlement</li> <li>• The physical environment is better in the neighbourhood</li> <li>• Having deeds and land tenure security</li> <li>• Situated close to facilities and public services</li> <li>• Situated close to the main access road</li> <li>• People who live in the neighbourhood are more respected</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The area gets flooded</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Situated close to facilities and public services</li> <li>• Privacy, separation from other plots, planned environment</li> <li>• Have access to good sources of income</li> <li>• Pay taxes and this increases the value of land</li> <li>• Situated close to the main access road</li> <li>• Social environment is better</li> <li>• Having deeds and land tenure security</li> </ul> |

Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

The physical environment is seen to be more pleasant in the neighbourhood area and this drives the prices of land in the settlement down despite it being situated in a central part of Colombo. In comparison the settlement area is congested, has spaces that enable only small housing structures, limited facilities and is situated in the vicinity of a polluted canal. Aspects of the social fabric are also raised in relation to land tenure. People from other areas do not see it as a place to invest in, not only financially but also in terms of building social relations. Respect by others is raised as an influencing factor in relation to land tenure security in the neighbourhood. Privacy and having the space to oneself is another influencing factor.

There is some indication of a rights discussion that is raised in relation to land tenure security and value. They note that people in the neighbourhood pay taxes and this adds to the land value. This could indicate the ability to demand for services that residents in settlements may not necessarily have because they cannot make the same demands as non-tax payers.

However, some common factors that improves the land values are common to both the neighbourhood and the settlement; particularly the central location within Colombo and having access to facilities and services because of the locality.



The change in the value of land since 2007 is further emphasised in response to a direct question about changes in land value since then (see Figure 7.13). A majority confirm that a change has taken place. It is key to note that residents do not always feel that this change is positive.

**Figure 7.13: Perception of the change in land value since 2007 (percentage)**



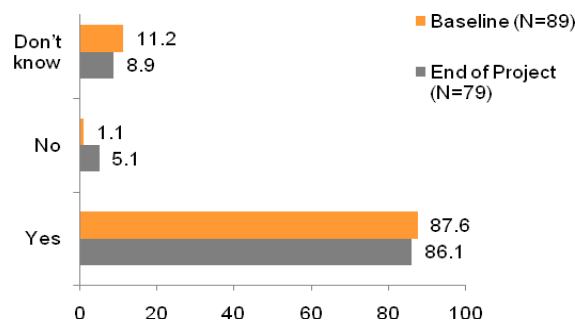
Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

Reasons for change that are positive include increased access to public services such as roads and lighting, value of land and improvements to housing and basic services in comparison to earlier years as well as improvements to the environment because solid waste is collected and the place is cleaner and more hygienic than before. These have helped raise the level of the settlement to the level of the neighbourhood.

However negative change has been caused by limited development efforts in the settlement, lesser value given to houses and property in the settlement as opposed to the neighbourhood. Negative change to land prices has also been spurred by the threat of demolition for urban development.

Despite greater view that change has occurred; when no change has occurred similar reasons to the ones stated above (related to space limitations within the settlement and high density) are mentioned. The environment is noted again as a limiting factor; being situated near a canal and having to live in a polluted environment, possibly raising the risks of sickness, odours and flooding. Lack of deeds continues to be a nagging issue in this instance but respondents note that other elements are required, apart from the price of land, if change is to take place.

**Figure 7.14: Perception that land value will increase over the next 5 years, baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Note: Baseline cut off year (2012) and End of Project cut off year (2015)

Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The perception of change (in the future) from the two points in time does not differ but remain overwhelmingly positive and more change is expected in the years to come.

**Table 7.12: Increase in the land value in the next 5 years due to improved visual environment (percentage)**

| <b>Expectation: Improving the surrounding visual environment</b>                  |                     |  |                     |  |                     |
|---|---------------------|--|---------------------|--|---------------------|
| <b>Met because...</b>   | <b>%<br/>(N=19)</b> | <b>Somewhat met because...</b>                     | <b>%<br/>(N=38)</b> | <b>Not met because...</b>                                      | <b>%<br/>(N=10)</b> |
| Cleaner environment   | 31.6                | The environment is still not clean as it should be | 28.9                | Many places are dirty/polluted                                 | 30                  |
| A well functioning sewer system and pumping station will drive the land prices up | 21.1                | The environment is a bit cleaner than before       | 50.0                | People have the responsibility to make it a better environment | 10                  |
| People who buy will not care about the surroundings                               | 10.5                | Road development                                   | 7.9                 | Sewer line is not fully operational                            | 40                  |
| Other   | 15.8                | Other (need for more development, waste problems)  | 10.5                | No connection as yet   | 10                  |
| Not applicable/no response  | 21.1                | Don't know   | 2.6                 | Don't know   | 10                  |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>100</b>          | <b>Total</b>                                       | <b>100</b>          | <b>Total</b>   | <b>100</b>          |

Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

Improvements to the environment are largely in relation to cleanliness of the surrounding area. This aspect is raised in relation to solid waste management as is evident from Table 7.12.

People are of the view that cleanliness has improved and that this has a bearing on the price of land but residents still feel that more can be done. They note a number of ways to improve cleanliness; activities to make the physical environment cleaner, disposing of waste, addressing pollution and improving physical spaces. Some of these aspects can be

addressed to a certain extent by the sewer system, and this is recognised. However more needs to be done and it is a continuous process, one that requires the commitment of the community, if the benefits are to impact land prices.

**Table 7.13: Increase in the land value in the next 5 years due to installation of a sewerage system (percentage)**

| <b>Expectation: installing a sewerage system</b> |                 |  |                 |
|--|-----------------|--|-----------------|
| <b>Met because...</b>                            | <b>% (N=20)</b> | <b>Somewhat met because...</b>                             | <b>% (N=45)</b> |
| Facilities are available more than before        | 10              | Some good will come out of it                              | 2.2             |
| Able to move out of the settlement               | 5               | Only drains have been dug                                  | 2.2             |
| Things are functioning well                      | 20              | Sewer system works for now                                 | 6.7             |
| The sewer system works                           | 45              | Project is being implemented                               | 11.1            |
| Don't know                                       | 20              | People have to be more involved to improve the environment | 2.2             |
|  |                 | Improved cleanliness                                       | 2.2             |
|  |                 | Project is a success                                       | 2.2             |
|  |                 | Project has not ended                                      | 44.4            |
|  |                 | No connection  | 6.7             |
|  |                 | No response  | 20.0            |
| <b>Total</b>                                     | <b>100</b>      | <b>Total</b>   | <b>100.0</b>    |

Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

A working sewer system will impact land prices – there does not seem to be a denial of this (Table 7.13). However concerns of project completion and that activities have not been concluded are raised. There are a number of issues to explain this that have been raised in the section focusing on sanitation. Interestingly, none of the respondents feel that their expectations in relation to installing the sewer system and its impacts on increasing land value have not been met.

**Table 7.14: Increase in the land value in the next 5 years due to improvements to solid waste management (percentage)**

| <b>3. Expectation: improving solid waste management</b> |                     |   |                     |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|---|---------------------|
| <b>Met because ...</b>                                  | <b>%<br/>(N=17)</b> | <b>Somewhat<br/>met because<br/>...</b>                                     | <b>%<br/>(N=33)</b> | <b>Not met because<br/>...</b>                          | <b>%<br/>(N=15)</b> |
| Collection is done on time by the CMC                   | 41.2                | CMC collects garbage regularly  | 24.2                | There are times when garbage is piled and not collected | 13.3                |
| Now people do not dump garbage                          | 11.8                | CMC garbage collection has improved   | 15.2                | CMC collects garbage once a week                        | 13.3                |
| There is no place to dump waste                         | 5.9                 | The composting programme was launched but no clear idea of what will happen | 12.1                | Irregular collection                                    | 6.7                 |
| Irregular collection                                    | 11.8                | Collection is delayed   | 6.1                 | The sewer line is not functioning yet                   | 6.7                 |
| Other   | 17.6                | Cleanliness has improved in comparison to before                            | 12.1                | No response   | 6.7                 |
| Not applicable  | 11.8                | There is no programme for waste management yet                              | 12.1                | There is no programme for waste management yet          | 46.7                |
|   |                     | Other   | 6.1                 | Not applicable  | 6.7                 |
|   |                     | Don't know  | 12.1                |   |                     |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>100.0</b>        | <b>Total</b>  | <b>100</b>          | <b>Total</b>  | <b>100</b>          |

Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

Solid waste management, especially its collection is considered to have improved (Table 7.14). Most feel that it is done on time or regularly and this has implications on land prices (possibly in terms of residents' access to basic services within an area). However collection still remains a problem, potentially in some areas as opposed to others and weekly collection might be insufficient considering the rate of generation.

Despite the project including a component on solid waste, the lack of information on this part of the project is evident from the findings. Again, the value of this component would be that it would raise the profile of the community and bring in concrete activities that would improve the environment. The project should capitalise on this interest.

**Project component on land titling:** The initial design of the project did not include a strong component to obtaining title deeds but rather was to use project activities as a linked concept to improving wellbeing. As the project progressed a conscious decision was made to include land titling as a key component as it was raised in the Community Action Planning exercise undertaken by Sevanatha together with the community. Past experience of working in such settlements has raised the need to ensure this aspect was a key factor in reintegration.

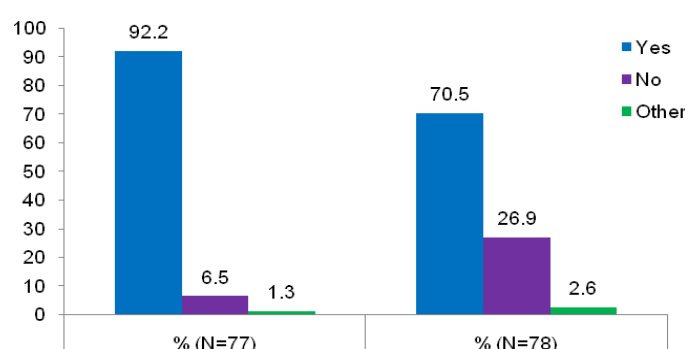
The project facilitated community activities to mobilise and inform community members, organised meetings and engaged in discussions with the landowner, the NHDA, facilitated the land survey and enabled collection facilities for payments.

The end of project evaluation attempted to ascertain awareness of this programme component, household participation in various components of the programme including meetings, survey, and contribution to the process of obtaining the land deed.

Sevanatha organised a series of meetings to create awareness regarding this component (see Figure 7.15). The meetings also focused on informing residents of the necessary documents in order to obtain the deeds. The Sevanatha team also made house-to-house visits together with NHDA officers to address specific problems relating to obtaining title deeds (City Consultation Presentation 2010 and CEPA monitoring reports).

In August 2010 title deeds were awarded by the NHDA to nine families. At this time a number of households had started making payments according to the assessed value to the NHDA for the deeds (*Ibid.*).

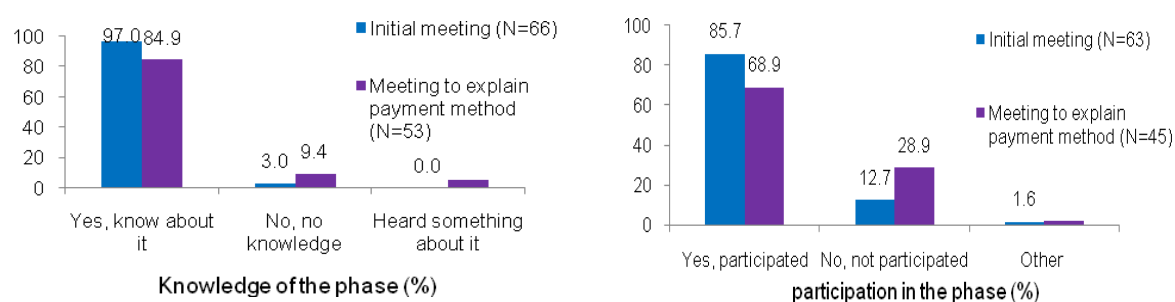
**Figure 7.15: General awareness and participation in the land deeds component of the project, end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

Although there is a high level of awareness of this programme component participation is not as promising. There is no significant variation across income quintiles in terms of awareness and participation (Figure 7.16).

**Figure 7.16: Awareness and participation in meetings and activities related to obtaining land deeds through the project, end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

Participation and enthusiasm appears to have reduced as the initiative progressed. From those who expressed reasons for their lack of participation, suspicion and lack of adequate information appears to be some of the causes.

*Our parents will be able to get the deed for their house but because we live in the flats we heard we will not be able to get it.*

Male, 56 years

*Because I know I will not get the deed for another 60 years I didn't think I needed to go.*

Female, 47 years

*I gave the money for deed in 2010 to the NHDA but after one month, when I went back my file is in the same place. I don't trust them.*

Female, 47 years

Communicating processes also means communicating how institutions work, their requirements and their constraints. Clearly the lack of awareness of the constraints that each stakeholder faces has affected the functioning of the project.

*We have to follow our rules and regulations. I know we have some delays. Our minister is changed so he wants to redo it. He is looking for more details. That is the reason for delays. Some people think when they submit the documents they can get the deeds but it has some process and we need to follow every step. We have a good support from community but we have to do our work within our own frame.*

NHDA Official

Participation is lower in comparison to awareness because some people have lost faith in getting results from such a process. They are aware that it will take time and that it needs to go through bureaucratic process. As a result they have become apathetic of institutions delivering in a short time. As with many other instances their enthusiasm is curbed when results are delays or do not come at all.

*I am fed-up. There are meetings about the deed and they talk about other things.*

Female, 24 years

*I was one of the first people to pay for the deed but I have not received it to date. If we try to get information from the CMC, there is no one who is in a position to give us an answer.*

Female, 37 years

*Deeds are provided only for single story houses and not for those in the flats. We used to pay Rs. 1500 to the NHDA but now we don't. We stopped because they did not attend to our requests to repair the house.*

Female, 47 years

There was a need for a mechanism that people could use to raise issues and concerns in instances when the meeting space was insufficient. On the one hand there is some indication that awareness raising through community meetings may not be as successful, and in some instances house visits were made, but gaps still exist. Ideally raising issues could have been done via the CDC but the people do not seem to see it has an institution that could facilitate grievance addressal.

*I do not understand what they are trying to do.*

Male, 52 years

Of those who participate in the project activities, there appears to be a greater tendency for women to participate more than men. There have also been issues of participation in terms of availability of time, as well as due to illness.

*My mother, who is the head of the household participated. I don't know more details.*

Female, 22 years

*My husband is free only on Sundays. He was not around on that day and there was no one else who was able to go.*

Female, 38 years

*I was not able to attend because I had to go to work.*

Female, 31 years

*Because I am sick I was not able to leave the house to attend.*

Female, 46 years

*I don't have the time to go for these things, I am constantly sick. My husband and children are busy with work. We have also paid some money.*

Female, 64 years

The projects broad strategy of attracting any members of the household is reflected in this. However it might help to strategise participation, consciously thinking about whom to target for such awareness meetings rather than adopting a broad based community approach. There are elements of decision-making and the ability to participate and awareness meetings would not always capture this. Meetings need to target people who make these decisions at a household level and other means should be adopted to capture those who are unable to attend. In terms of understanding this context the baseline could have included an element of decision-making since household level spending was an integral part of the sub components of the programme.

The process was clearly affected by the threat of demolition. The threat has also affected the work of NHDA in being able to process and push the deeds issue internally and encourage residents to make the required payments.

*They came and pasted a red sticker as a marker to demolish our houses and because of this people don't want to get their deeds.*

Female, 57 years

*We heard some of rumours in Gothamipura that we are going to demolish their houses. This is not true. We develop houses. The survey they refer to was done by the Urban Development Authority.*

NHDA Official

*UDA pasted sticker on every house. This has helped reverse people's behaviour. After this people have become fearful of making payments.*

Women's Bank Member (*Kantha Benkuwa*)

Acquiring deeds has not been a smooth process. This component was also affected by the bureaucratic procedures that plague state institutions and limited the effectiveness of the programme. There was a need to continuously engage with NHDA officials and negotiate the release of the additional amount for O&M that was paid together with the land value. The reviews from the state actors raises the internal changes of officials, that individuals working in these departments have very little control over.

*There are some delays in NHDA but they promise to give the deeds. I think they are also facing changes within the ministers in their departments.*

CMC ID Centre

Payment options were developed to facilitate households to make payments in a manageable way; people could pay outright or on an instalment basis with loans facilitated by the Women's Development Bank (*Kantha Benkuwa*). Affordability and costs are other components that prevent involvement in the project. While the project tried to make all information available about how payment could and should happen gaps seem to exist. This has also contributed to the level of participation.

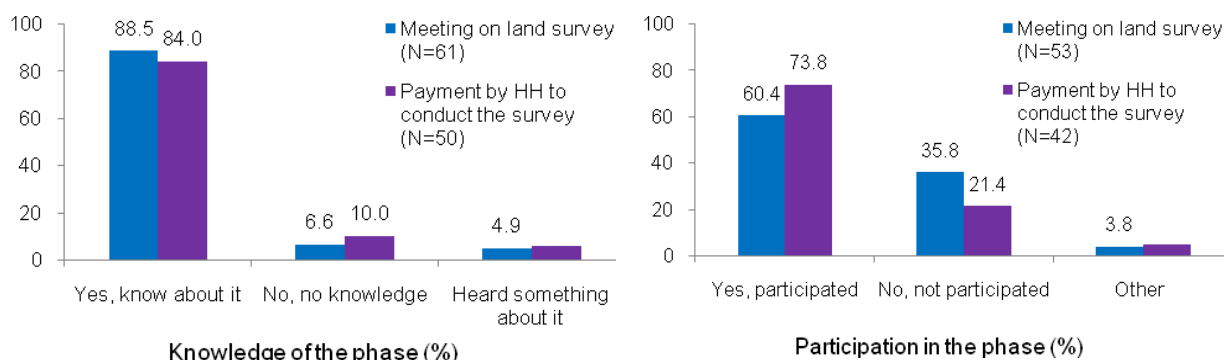
*We didn't attend because we cannot afford to pay for the deed.*

Male, 47 years

In order to transfer ownership from the NHDA to residents there was a requirement to value the land as individual housing plots. This component was facilitated through the CMC and Sevanatha who were tasked to inform the community and help the CDC collect the required contribution for the surveying from each household.

Participation in the land survey related meetings and receiving payments to facilitate the survey is depicted in Figure 7.17. While knowledge is also greater in this case there is a variation in the extent of who actually made payments for the survey and those who attended the meeting that explained this requirement.

**Figure 7.17: Awareness and participation in specific meetings related to land surveying through the project, end of project evaluation (percentage)**



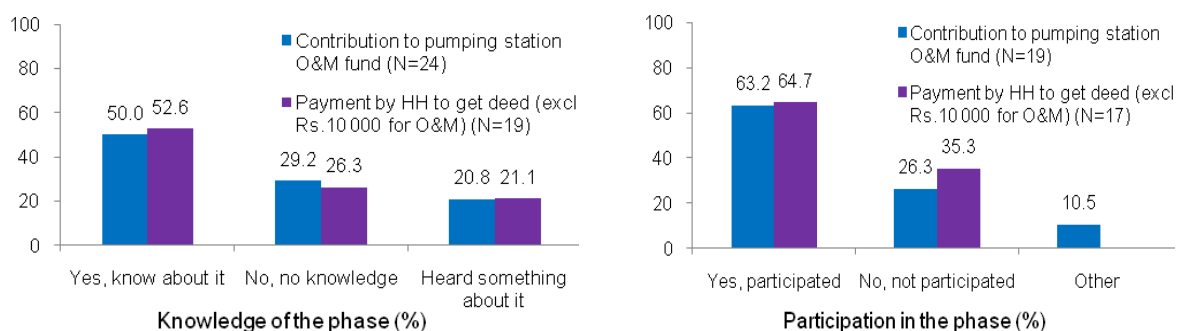
Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011



The payment that residents had to make to the value of their portion of land was coupled with their contribution towards the operation and maintenance fund for the pumping station (see Figure 7.18). The latter contribution was to go towards a collection that would be used to pay the electricity costs of operating the fund. The total amount would be placed in a fixed deposit and the interest used to make these payments.

The attempts to make collections for the pumping station were more difficult than the deed collection. Clearly having access to the deed was seen as more important than the O&M fund; giving rise to competing needs and values. People may have been more inclined to contribute for land deeds because it would give them something more tangible at the end of the process. On the other hand with the O&M contribution, it was a contribution that would fill a need that was not as personally connected albeit it could be argued that it is an essential part of ensuring that the sewer system continues to be operational and ensure its linkages to land value.

**Figure 7.18: Awareness and participation in O&M component of the project, end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Source: Household survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

In summary, land continues to be an important aspect of wellbeing and the project has ensured that it pushed this agenda as a way of mobilising the community for other components of the project and to improve land tenure security. This component was not without its difficulties; brought on by the delays in implementation and other bureaucratic constraints. The UDA presence has affected the implementation at the project and brought in unnecessary and external implications at the end of the project period.

#### 7.4 Institutional presence and CDC involvement

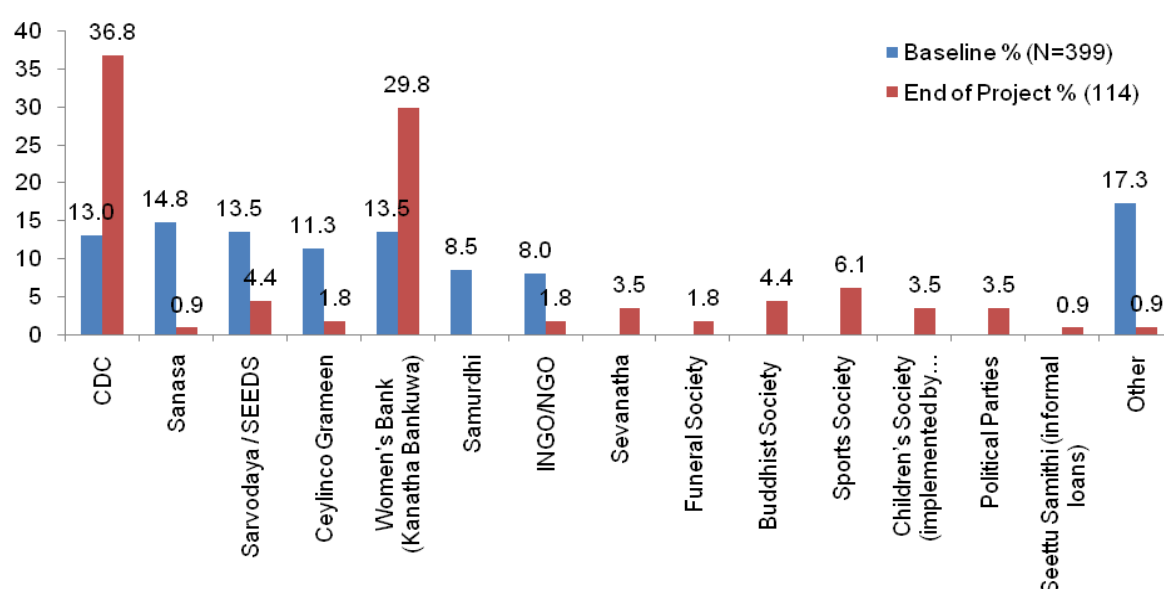
The involvement of the CDC in Gothamipura has been observed to be problematic in the past. The lack of CDC authority and its political subversion have resulted in the limited functioning of the institution. Community involvement in CDC processes and attempts to engage has been known to be low fabric (Gunetilleke *et.al.* 2004).

The end of project evaluation tried to see how the CDC as well as other Community Based Organisations functioned within the settlement. Settlements have many CBOs including funeral aid societies, women's savings groups and religious societies. CBOs have facilitated a range of activities in settlements including the provision of services, cleaning settlements, providing community services, credit facilities, health services, and facilitating livelihood programmes. They work together with external institutions that use CBOs as a means of

facilitating community processes (*Ibid.*). This section looks at the organisational presence within Gothamipura with a particular focus on the CDC.

Institutions that have an active presence in Gothamipura seem to have changed in an incremental way since the beginning of the project. These findings presented below (see Figure 7.19) point to the increased level of awareness of institutions in the community. It is interesting to note here that residents seem to have a greater awareness of the CDC and the Women's Bank, while the mentioning of others, particularly credit facilities, has declined since the start of the project. Other more locally based, community driven CBOs appear to have gained prominence from before. External actors, such as Sevantha and political parties, are noted by some.

**Figure 7.19: Institutions that have an active presence in the community, baseline end of project evaluation (percentage)**

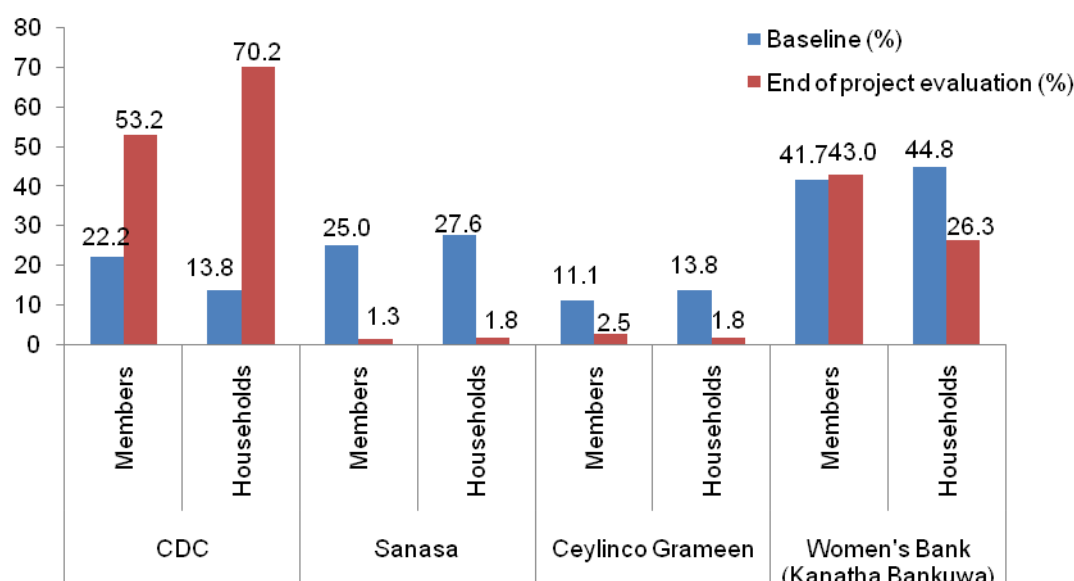


Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

Household membership in credit institutions has declined in most, although interest in the Women's Bank continues – this could be linked with the links that the Bank has with the community providing loans for small home-based businesses and its involvement in the project to facilitate payments (see Figure 7.20).

The CDC involvement on the other hand has increased substantially and this is directly related to the project. All interventions were facilitated through the CDC. It would be an important component to continue to track beyond the life of the project to assess if the community continues its membership and sees it as a key force in community development. Although present membership on the CDC is high, it is largely attributed to attendance at meetings.

**Figure 7.20: Membership of individuals and household in selected institutions, baseline end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Note: Data from selected institutions only. Percentages have been worked out based on the total numbers of members and households who noted membership in the above four institutions.  
Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The continued role of the CDC should also be linked to clear activities. In the past the CDC effectiveness has suffered as a result of the lack of activities that CDC members could pursue. Thus strengthening the CDC will involve a continuous engagement process with the CMC and other institutions that can help plan and fund activities. If this is not feasible the CDC should be supported to develop its own strategy that will ensure its position within the community and help it meets its community development objectives. This needs to be phased out.

*The CDC was formed but it was not active. There weren't any activities that could facilitate this process either. Previously they have been involved in health projects and individual efforts together with the politicians.*

Sevanatha Team

The role of the CDC to improve living conditions in the settlement cannot be taken lightly. They have acted as mediators to community development facilitators. The CDC has been well positioned to act as a grievance addressal mechanism for the community. It is an entry point for the external world to involve community members in developments that benefit the whole community.

*If something is happening and there is a problem, it's good to have a group representing the community. We can present these problems. We like to see our community developed and linking with other institutions to do it. We can't do it alone so we do it with other institutions.*

Past CDC Committee Members

*I think they have good relationship with every partner. They know project partners very well. They communicate with them very well. Some people come personally to talk about their issues.*

CMC ID Centre

The transition from the first committee that was revised by the project through fresh elections has not been an easy one. There is evidence of internal and personal conflicts that has resulted in the past committee resenting the work of the new committee. While this might be considered to be normal, the tension and ill feeling could be passed onto the community in general who may then lose trust in the new committee.

*There have been some problems between people in the CDC; most often they are based on gossip and personal problems. The relationship between the former and new CDC committee has not been very good. As a result they have not handed over some documents from the previous year. The new committee needs to win over the trust of the people in the community.*

Sevanatha Team

*The past officers do not help to new CDC Officers. The past committee are jealous of the new committee members.*

CMC Field Officer

The interest in the CDC's work is to some extent based on what people can gain from the CDC's work.

*The participation of the community is better than previous times. We go from house to house informing them of meetings, putting up notices. If you give people something they will come.*

Present CDC Committee Members

The community will identify with committee members in a certain way. Younger committee members have been able to attract participation to a better degree than the previous one.

*The past CDC had elderly people but I think that people respond to the present CDC better because they are a younger group. They can draw the crowd. They have been more successful in drawing community members for meetings.*

CMC ID Centre

However being able to attract residents is also bound to how far the project had progressed. When the new committee took over the project had been established better and project activities were more clearly underway. The project did take some time to take off and the previous CDC had to also factor these delays when trying to mobilise the community and facilitate project work.

**Community participation** is an integral part of ensuring the success of any institution within the community. In the case of this project, community participation wavered and depended on what was being offered and the role of residents in project processes. The learning from this is that there is considerable room for improvement; this is a view held by institutions that are trying to work in the community.

*Community participation is not sufficient. People need to mobilise better for a project like this. People wait to get everything for free. We think if people can mobilise more than now then we can do everything well and quickly.*

Women's Bank Member (Kantha Benkuwa)

*Earlier we faced difficulties to mobilise the community and Sevanatha helped us do this. This improved their involvement. We can't say it was sufficient because if people get involved then they will get more benefits. They should think this is their own project and help the project implementers.*

CMC ID Centre

The knowledge to help facilitate community participation is essential from the side of the implementers. The CMC was aware that this was beyond its capabilities and made links with Sevanatha who was working in the settlement. As Sevanatha notes a planning phase was required and this should have included the community.

The Community Action Plan (CAP) raised a number of issues that provided a useful start but this required a process of updating that should have been factored into the initial stages of the project. Not only would this have helped the planning process but also created interest and raised the confidence of the residents as well as addressed other pressing issues faced by the community that could have been linked to the project. While this was clearly learning from the project, it did take place to some extent as the project progressed. However it is noted that it could have helped smoothen the operation of project activities if it had been incorporated from the beginning.

*Earlier it was very difficult to mobilise the people but with Sevanatha's direct involvement using the awareness programmes they began to contribute more effectively.*

Solid Waste Management, CMC

*There should have been a planning stage and community involvement was not included in the initial planning. The community was not involved in the planning stage. An initial idea of what was needed was known but we did not know what else people wanted. The CAP also raised a range of other social issues and we could have used other issues that were raised and we could have done other things that needn't have come from the project. By doing this we could have raised the confidence of people. People have other very real issues that could have also been addressed. This would have also supported the other activities of the project.*

Sevanatha Team

However the difficulties in mobilisation were brought on, to a large extent, by the lack of planning from the project as a whole in terms of including the community. There was no understanding within the project context of how this component needed to be undertaken. The team learnt as they progressed into the project. Mobilisation did not take place from the initial stage of the project but rather on an activity basis.

*It was not very clear – there was no structure or module of how to do it. We identified the issues as we went along. There was no planning and mobilising from the initial stage and when we started doing it, it was on an activity basis.*

Sevanatha Team

An understanding of the community dynamics and context that the project is going into helps the planning and implementation processes. This assessment should include groups within the community that have control and power over various elements (power dynamics), the significance of different players in community life and existing tensions and collaborations within the community. All of these elements will help the project mobilise more effectively because there is an understanding of how the community functions. The experience of working in the community was only seen in terms of understanding the availability of resources and services but not necessarily the social fabric. Once this picture is

clearer the implementing partners should create spaces where this level of information can help facilitate and guide their work.

*Some people try to bring in their personal resentments to this project. We don't think this is a good thing.*

Women's Bank Member (*Kantha Benkuwa*)

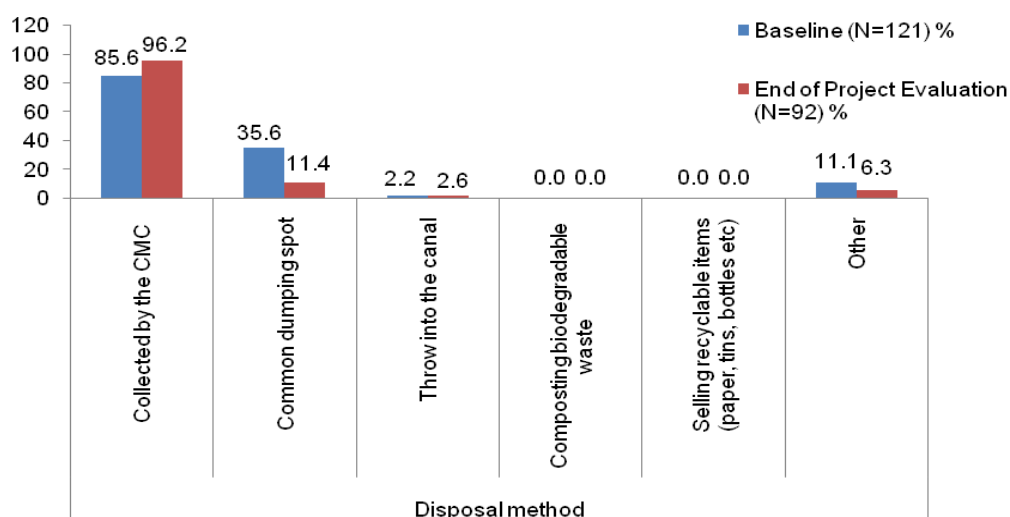
*Need to remember that the community is very diverse - not the same and lots of divisions. We can't think about hundred percent participation because of this. They all see the CMC with mistrust because of their long experience with the Council and the difficulties they have faced over the years in trying to access their services. Solid Waste Management is done for the periphery and all of these things have created mistrust and hate for the CMC. This needs time. They are very resistant because they don't trust us, they wonder why we want to work with them.*

Sevanatha Team

## 7.5 Solid Waste Management: Household and community level management

Solid Waste Management (SWM) is not always noted as a priority service in USSs in general, given the alternatives that people have for disposal (Gunetilleke *et.al.* 2004). However the situation in Gothamipura is different and residents identified solid waste management as a problem in the CAP exercise undertaken just before the project period. This led to the project developing a component into the project that would address the SWM problems within the settlement; focusing on better management of waste and urban agriculture (see Figure 7.21). This section will present current practices to managing waste, participation in the SWM programme, and its benefits.

**Figure 7.21: Disposal of solid waste generated by the household, baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage, multiple answers)**



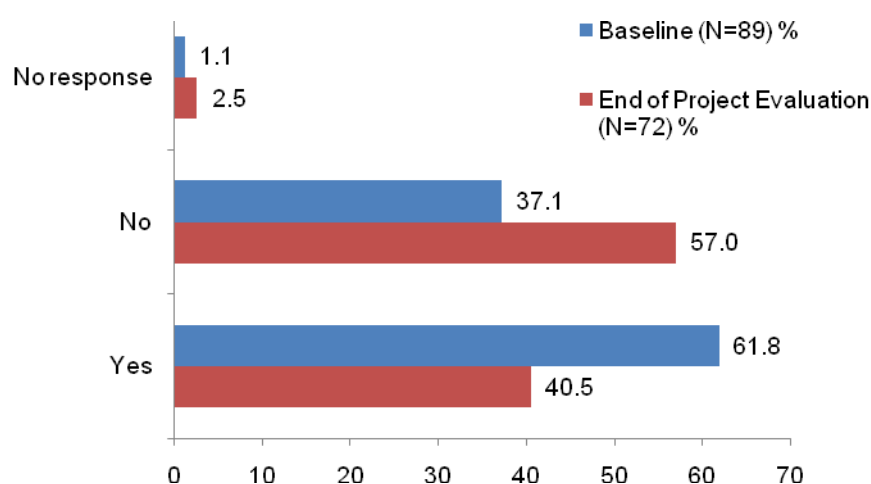
Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

The most common method of disposal is through collection by the CMC or dumping waste in a location – designated dumping sites or undesignated sites. A reliance on CMC collection has increased since the start of the project, which could be an indication of more collection than before from household points.

During the baseline residents complained that CMC collection was irregular (see Figure 7.22). A majority were not satisfied with the state and frequency of collection. In order to cope with the lack of collection, residents adopted various ways of disposing waste; including burning, dumping in undesignated areas, and composting (Baseline 2008).

The data from the end of project evaluation notes that collection has definitely improved and this is the main reason that people are now opting for CMC collection. However it was noted that this collection can become irregular, with interest on the part of the workers being greater during the festival seasons because they are also paid by the residents. Collection takes place in different ways; house to house or residents taking waste to the lorry when it enters the settlement. Continued use of the common dumping spots is attributed to delays in collection. When the CMC collection is delayed residents dump waste in previously designated spots (End of Project Evaluation 2011).

**Figure 7.22: Households in the neighbourhood and Gothamipura who face problems when trying to manage their solid waste, baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

Clearly a majority of the households in the neighbourhood and the USSs faced problems when they tried to manage their waste earlier on in the project. They noted irregular collection, the lack of adequate space, and improper storage facilities. They also cited that programmes that were in place to control waste management were ineffective because they lacked collection practices.

However, despite the reduction in problems a notable proportion of residents still face problems when trying to manage their waste. A number of reasons are noted for this.

The timing and frequency of collection is the biggest constraint. Many note the lack of consistency when collection is done and the CMC not being able to collect waste from all households

*Collection is not done on time by the CMC.*

Female, 26 years

*The CMC collection takes place but there are problems with collection.*

Female, 42 years

*There is no consistent collection by the CMC and waste collects and smells.*

Female, 31 years

*Sometimes we have to give money to the CMC workers.*

Male, 48 years

The findings indicate a perception that there is complacency amongst the authorities when it comes to addressing the issue. Collection is affected as a result and is sporadic. Payments act as incentives for collection. However residents are not obliged to pay but realise that if not they will suffer. This complacency adds to the physical appearance and environment of the settlement.

*Early the lorry came every Wednesday but now till we call them they don't come to collect the garbage.*

Male, 51 years

*When the lorry does not come for collection we have to call them. Until it is collected we have to keep it in the house, there are worms. This creates a lot of problems for us.*

Female, 33 years

*When the lorry is full they leave some of the waste behind on the road.*

Male, 37 years

*On some days we are told that the lorry is full and it does not come to where we are. We don't take the waste that is left on the roads back to the house. If it rains it gets washed away. For households that have money, they collect daily.*

Female, 33 years

In the event that waste remains uncollected residents have coping strategies that they adopt to address the problem of non-collection.

*People throw all sorts of waste into the drains – coconut refuse, kitchen waste water etc*

Female, 41 years

*Because the CMC does not do collection regularly people have to throw waste into the canal or dump it at various locations.*

Female, 48 years

*We have to store waste in the house until it is collection by the CMC.*

Female, 57 years

From baseline: Kitchen waste i.e. biodegradable waste and paper, polythene and plastic are the most commonly generated waste materials at the household level (over half the residents). Residents in Gothamipura generate more biodegradable waste than residents in the neighbourhood and this is an indicator of the potential to focus on programmes that address biodegradable waste such as composting. However the vast amount of waste that is generated by households within the settlement should be considered when designing such programmes as its success would depend on being able to manage waste quantities.

The generation of non-biodegradable waste is also indicative of the potential to develop programmes to manage this sort of waste.

Urban agriculture was planned as a way of managing waste; especially biodegradable waste. Before the project commenced more than half of the households were interested in

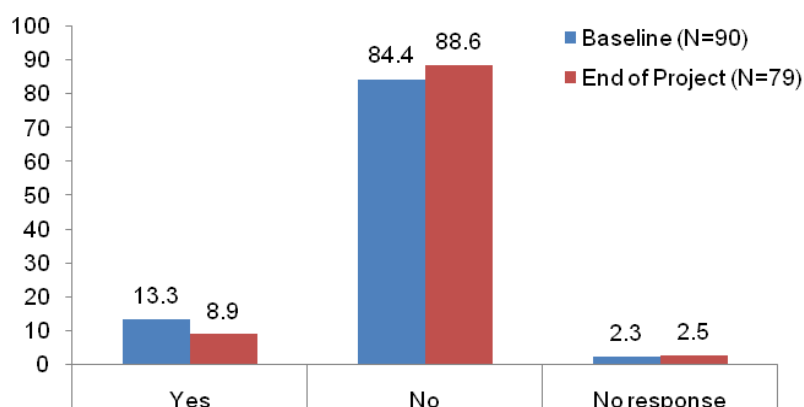


participating in a programme on urban agriculture, but a considerable proportion were also uninterested. Interest only was insufficient to implement and sustain the initiative.

In the baseline findings the interest to participate was mainly attributed to liking gardening and as a means of reducing household expenditure, followed by creating an appealing environment. Thus household interest in engaging in urban agriculture programmes were tied to various rationales; some being easier to achieve than others (improving the environment to reducing household expenditure). Households seemed to expect a tangible change in household expenditure during the baseline but this is not mentioned during the end of project evaluation (Figure 7.23).

The baseline also highlighted the need to consider the availability of space within household compounds during programme design and operationalisation when considering urban agriculture. At the end of project evaluation, a majority of the residents do not engage in any form of agriculture using the biodegradable waste from their homes.

**Figure 7.23: Attempts at using biodegradable waste to cultivate, baseline and end of project evaluation (percentage)**



Source: Baseline Data 2008 and End of Project Evaluation 2011

During the baseline, households who did use the waste for gardening indicate they have used it in the following manner.

- Plant the seeds from vegetables. They grow vegetables that grow well as potted plants such as snake gourd, tomato, ladies fingers, fruits such as papaya and spinach. Ornamental plants are also grown by residents.
- Tea leaves, egg shells and scraped coconut as fertiliser for plants.
- They do not make compost as they do not have access to the equipment and hence use the material directly as fertiliser.

Those households who did not use the waste for gardening indicate the following limitations.

- Limited space for cultivation, especially in flats that has no garden space.
- Limited space to set up composting areas.
- Limited awareness of what can be done and how such waste can be used.
- Limited to time to engage in such activities.

At the time of the end of project evaluation; those who do use solid waste are of the view that they have been part of the Sevanatha programme and have gained the skills to use waste in this manner.

*We grow greens (spinach, curry leaves) in pots.*

Female, 27 years

*We do what we can with the space and resources that we have.*

Female, 34 years

*Sevanatha took us on a field visit to Gampaha.*

Male, 53 years

*We received compost and seeds from Sevanatha.*

Male, 64 years

However for the majority who do not engage; space and time are the biggest constraints. Capacity is another issue, indicating that the spread of the Sevanatha programme was limited within the project life cycle. Thus there is scope for expansion, especially amongst those who indicate space problems as the programme included aspects of maximising available space.

*No time; we are all working*

Female, 45 years

*I don't know how to do it and I also don't want to do it*

Female, 54 years

*We don't have the space and I also don't want to do it.*

Female, 35 years

*It was destroyed by the flooding and I also don't have much space.*

Female, 27 years

*Because I am sick.*

Male, 58 years

*It's difficult to engage in such manual work and I also don't have the space.*

Male, 43 years

*It smells and it's not good for my children's health.*

Female, 39 years

*There is insufficient space and also don't have the material to do it.*

Male, 44 years

**Table 7.15: Participation in the urban agriculture programme, end of project evaluation (percentage)**

|                     | Percentage<br>(N=79) |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Yes                 | 17.7                 |
| No                  | 72.2                 |
| Started and gave up | 8.9                  |
| Want to start       | 1.3                  |
| Total               | 100.0                |

Source: Household Survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

The Sevanatha programme targeted 60 households in the community, distributing tools, seeds and other material to participate in the project (Presentation, City Consultation 2010). The evaluation reveals that approximately a quarter of the population in Gothamipura participated in the programme although nearly a third dropped out (see Table 7.15). The reasons for participating as indicated in the table below are due to interest in gardening and the possibility of reducing household expenditure on food, the reasons for not participating are mainly due to lack of space (see Table 7.16).

**Table 7.16: Reasons for participation and lack of participation in the urban agriculture programme, end of project evaluation (percentage)**

| <b>Reasons for participating</b> | <b>%<br/>(N=14)</b> | <b>Reasons for not participating</b> | <b>%<br/>(N=53)</b> |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Like gardening                   | 85.7                | Lack of space                        | 62.3                |
| Can reduce household expenditure | 7.1                 | Lack of knowledge                    | 1.9                 |
| Other                            | 7.1                 | Flooding                             | 1.9                 |
|                                  |                     | Have not thought about it            | 1.9                 |
|                                  |                     | Other                                | 32.1                |
| Total                            | 100.0               | Total                                | 100.0               |

Source: Household Survey, End of Project Evaluation 2011

The end of project evaluation attempted to ascertain the extent of participation in the urban agriculture programme. Many indicated participation in the meetings and field visits but did not describe the level of participation in the main activities of the programme. This was possibly also hampered by recall. However the institutional interviews reveal certain aspects that should be considered when trying to ensure the success of programmes, especially those focusing on SWM.

It is not that projects have not taken place, many seem to have been initiated over a number of years by the CMC and by others working in the settlement. However programmes either target a part of the community or are implemented over a period of time. They have also been known to halt midway, especially programmes that focus on collection. The lack of sustainability and continuity of these programmes has contributed to the community's lack of interest in engaging with the authorities.

*A programme focused on collecting waste in baskets, waste separation that was done for about 2-3 months, but then the lorries stopped coming to collect waste. Residents did not have space to keep the waste in their homes. We complained and they came to collect it but then they stopped. People lost confidence in this and the programme stopped. We were taken to see other waste management programmes in Matara and Kandy but nothing came out of it although we were very interested. Something starts and then it stops.*

Previous CDC Members

This component of the project faced a number of challenges; start up delays and CMC SWM Department not taking on the programme. Initially Sevanatha focused on the urban agriculture component of the project and the CMC, the construction of the compost centre.

However due to continuous delays this component of the project was also taken over by Sevanatha during the last year of the project. The delays resulted in the construction being finalised. At the end of the project source separation and composting activities had only just started. Some of these delays were influenced by actions that were beyond the control of the project.

*CMC has more than 60 engineers but there is very little collaboration. They do not take responsibilities and it is very difficult to work with them. The involvement of the relevant officials of the CMC for this component was very low although they have they have a lot of resource.*

Sevanatha Team

*Head of the SWM Department changed in the CMC during the course of the project. These who were interested in the project were changed. There were also issues related to the city SWM in general.*

Sevanatha Team

Despite the delays there was assurance from the CMC and Sevanatha that work on this component would continue. The involvement of the community to make any programme successful is noted a number of times by institutional partners.

*The compost centre was done in 3 months bur there are certain limitations – small space to work in. But we have tries to make the most of this space by also having a multi storey space. It has all the basic facilities. We plan to generate compost by starting a recycling process. We also need resources to buy carts, payments to labourers, raising awareness. We plan to do this together with the SWM Department at the CMC. The CDC who will manage the process.*

Sevanatha Team

*We can't do this programme without community. They have to separate the garbage.*

SWM Department

## **8. Conclusions and lessons**

### **8.1 Conclusions**

The project aimed to address overall wellbeing of the settlement through service improvements as it worked within the premise that people's poverty conditions, as defined broadly, were affected by limited service availability. The end of project evaluation attempted to understand if and how the community was affected by the implementation of the project and aspects that needed to be considered if the benefits of the project were to continue. As such it also focuses on drawing lessons from the project that could be replicated as well as avoided for future projects that consider improving service provision to communities using a participatory and multi-partner model.

The project defined wellbeing in broadly, rather than only including economic wellbeing and attempted to see how improvements to the settlement would impact such levels of wellbeing. Despite this definition, the perception of residents tended to be largely defined in terms of economic wellbeing although it did also point to non-economic elements that could improve overall wellbeing. There is a sense of positivity amongst residents; noting an improvement over the past few years to overall wellbeing. However there is a level of greater expectation that this will improve further in the future.

Changes are attributed to livelihood opportunities and income earning capacity, especially in the foreign employment sector to be the primary contributors, while upgraded housing and the hope of securing land tenure security and further improvements to housing structures are also seen as key factors affecting wellbeing as defined by the community.

In terms of a comparison between wellbeing of residents in the settlement and residents in the surrounding area, the end of project evaluation highlights that people continue to feel that a higher level of wellbeing is more visible in the neighbourhood area. Thus this view notes that there is a feeling amongst residents that more attention is needed and this project is only a step in that direction.

Wellbeing improvements need to also include integration and improving relations with others living in the vicinity. The evaluation finds that while improvements to the physical environment (as the project intended) could help, a focus on addressing elements of the social fabric that prevent wellbeing and the stigma associated to living within underserved settlements, is required for the desired impacts linked to integration to take place. This aspect did not ultimately get included in the project due to resource concerns and hence falls short of contributing to settlement and neighbourhood integration.

While wellbeing was the broad focus of the project, it attempted to improve this through better service provision; mainly focusing on sanitation and solid waste management.

The provision of the sewer system had to deal with a number of initial challenges, including delays in construction, administrative procedures and delays within the CMC and other state institutions, lack of clarity and changes midway to the payment procedures as well as willingness to contribute and limited community participation. The latter was a factor the project had to deal with continuously throughout the life of the project. This will affect community ownership of the intervention and the sustainability of the resulting benefits. Community ownership is an important part of success. However ownership cannot be created automatically, has to be built over time. Although this was a key focus and many

attempts were made to enlist this support, it seems that it needed to be further strengthened and encouraged even after the official end of the project. The CDC and its involvement in the community could be one way of achieving this, while working it into the project process so that it can be nurtured throughout the life of the project could have been another.

Solid waste management together with the urban agriculture programme and the sorting centre was another area of service provision of the project that could improve wellbeing. The urban agriculture programme was implemented as a test to reuse the biodegradable waste that was generated by the settlement. The components of the project were implemented at different points in time; starting with the urban agriculture components and ending with the sorting centre, which got underway at the last stages of the project. While the urban agriculture project showed promise and had the support and enthusiasm of the community, the sorting centre was not as easy to establish. Both components require further attention post project for impacts to continue in the case of urban agriculture and materialise in the case of the sorting centre.

Land tenure and tenure security was identified time and time again as an important component of wellbeing and improvement to living conditions. This component also included an integration element and was considered essential for overall success of the project. As a priority identified by the community at the initial stages, measures were taken by the project to facilitate land titles and deeds. This was also seen as a way of mobilising the community and involving them in other components of the project. This activity required the CMC to work with the NHDA (who owned the land) and other partners (Sevanatha and the CDC) to mobilise the community. It required a collaborative effort that included the participation and cooperation of people living in the settlement. Given the various aspects that needed to fall into place – the administrative procedures, the payments aspects, the willingness of the community to make the payments as well as the contextual situation where the community were nervous about the possibility of evictions, the transfer of ownership was not so smooth for all residents. At the end of the project there was more to be done that required the project to mobilise the community and provide residents with deeds.

The project identified community mobilisation and revival of the CDC as an important mechanism to establish community participation and ownership and the implementation activities were facilitated as a result of the CDC. The project was able to revise the CDC and help improve its functionality during the life of the project and also address its operational constraints. The CDC was able to mobilize the community continuously, despite the many challenges that they faced, and Sevanatha and the CMC facilitated this to a large extent. However the community dynamics and the perceptions of people did affect the way the CDC functioned. Yet it is proof that this component was an integral if not essential component of the project. It also makes a case for ensuring that future projects incorporates this element into the project, with adequate plans in place to help the smooth flow of project activities. Given the community dynamics there is a need for the CDC to stay engaged, to be implementing activities and for the CMC to continue its support and endorsement of the CDC beyond the life of the project.

Managing expectations from the project design stage to completion and phasing out was clearly another essential component of the project process. Having to deal with community expectation is not new to the Focus City Project but this project does offer some lessons on how projects can react to community expectations and manage it throughout the life of the project and after.

It included the Community Development Council including in weekly partner meetings, meetings with other institutional members where key decisions were to be taken. However this was a measure that was taken after a significant time since the project commenced rather than from the beginning and should be factored in for future projects.

The bureaucracy of state institutions affects the CMC as it does with other institutions. It is undeniable that it added another layer of complexity to project implementation. This affected the team's ability to make swift decisions and this added to the frustrations at the community level.

Another aspect that affected the effectiveness of the project delivery was in terms of information provision. Lack of clarity in the messages conveyed as well as to whom to complain to or seek advice from added to the time taken to address issues and this led to frustration. At the same time key messages have to be repeated to community members and as tedious as this may seem it might be unavoidable if tensions and disappointments are to be avoided. This was done by the project and helped significantly.

Overall, the CMC and its experience of working in settlements helped implement the project to the extent that it did as did its ability to strategically work within the system. In addition, the model, of having a project led by a state institution had its own merits in terms of facilitating project implementation and hopefully having policy impact for future projects.

## **8.2 Learning from the project**

The end of project evaluation attempted to assess how relevant the intervention originally envisaged was in retrospect and how future attempts could be improved to provide similar services. It also focused on the team partnerships and how institutions interacted with each other during the process, their learning and how that could be improved for future interventions.

This section has a number of parts; relevance of the various activities of the project, and multiple partnerships as a way of designing and implementing the project.

**Relevance of the project focus:** Change was noted as possible from a project of this nature because it involves elements that focus on improving overall wellbeing of residents largely through service provision of necessary services and improving tenure security.

The project was cited as a useful example to mobilise residents and involve community members in development activities. This was noted by state officials as being an essential component to improving conditions within settlements such as Gothamipura.

**Project approach of working with multiple partners:** The project involved a number of different partners and while this is recognised as key it is also noted in terms of certain difficulties – related to coordination and the need to deal with different procedures, agendas and timelines that have to be identified and planned for in future projects, in order to improve efficiency.

One aspect raised in relation to this was the sharing of research amongst the different stakeholders. Although the research was shared, it is felt that it could have been made available more widely, particularly at the community level. This would have required resources and time to make available a range of products that were more easily accessible

to the community as a project report would not have sufficed. In addition sharing project progress reports may have helped community members understand the constraints that the project was working within and could have helped get community cooperation more effectively. This may have explained the justification for funding for non-infrastructure elements such as capacity building and research and the rationale for the donor placing importance on these elements instead of only focusing on project implementation.

There seemed to be lack of clarity of why different partners were involved and the role of the project at the community level. Although this was addressed numerous times at different gatherings, it does not seem to have filtered down effectively. While increased information availability and branding is the obvious solution the need for community to recognise the need for different partners and their role within a project of this nature is required. The community, and other stakeholders, often failed to recognise the importance of research and monitoring and evaluation within the project framework and this added to the negative perceptions of partner roles. There was limited understanding of the need for research and evidence for decision making in a project of this nature. There was a need for the research partner to also play a more leading role at community level gatherings, which would have helped build this familiarity and rapport. At the same time the role of monitoring and evaluation and its assistance in project steering and consolidation of project learning should have been given more importance. There was a need to build this consciousness in addition to undertaking M&E.

More effective planning was another aspect cited in relation to rolling out similar projects. It was noted that the initial delays could have been avoided if clear planning had taken place. This however should be factored into the project timeline. Because there was an involvement of a number of partners and sub departments within the CMC and the project was over a long period of time, adequate planning was critical.

The need to improve communication of project activities as well as inform various stakeholders regarding project and partner involvement was stressed time and time again by most stakeholders. This was raised in relation to specific components of the project; for instance regarding payments and details of the project from the onset to informing stakeholders of progress the project was making and accountability mechanisms.

As this was a project done by one unit but required the cooperation and support from other units, limited ownership from various departments within the CMC was cited as causing some difficulties to the smooth flow of the project. During the life of the project, the CMC project teams' members in various departments changed and this too had implications for effective implementation due to the need for familiarisation of new members and in undertaking activities on the ground.

A focus on multiple partnerships recognises the importance of community involvement in any project. Without this it will be more difficult to create ownership at the community level and also ensure that the benefits of the project can be sustained. The focus on community partnership is cited repeatedly as an integral component of this project. However the focus on community involvement needs to consider the complexity of the community itself. Representation via the Community Development Council is not a substitute for information sharing and knowledge transfer to different segments of the community unless representation takes note of the complexity of communities, which is not always feasible. These form integral parts of the whole rather than substitutes.



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