



**Exploring Gendered Wellbeing in Slum Resettlement Project in Odisha, India
Final Report**

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I. Introduction

Considering landlessness as a major driver of poverty along with the fact that around 50% of the households in urban India are landless, the development challenges in urban India become quite apparent (Bridgespan, 2018). For the state of Odisha, with nearly 23% of the population living in slums, with associated problems, like the fear of eviction and challenged access to basic services, this emerges as a significant policy challenge. It is in this context that the Odisha Land Rights to Slum Dwellers Act, 2017 (referred as OSDA (2017), hereafter), which claims to be the world's largest slum titling program meant for the urban poor, becomes quite crucial (Vathanam, 2019). A media report claims that by awarding land rights to the poor the state government of Odisha has created history and paved the way for others to follow (Economic Times, 2018).

Providing property rights and basic services to the urban informal settlements, like slums, started in a major way due to the efforts of the World Bank in the 1970s. Globally, the policy of regularization and formalization of informal settlements grew more widespread in the 1980s and 1990s due to the rising prominence of cities to the economy (van Gelder, 2010). Although the slum policy in Odisha has been in the making since the 1980s, with significant developments in rehabilitation and resettlement of slum dwellers in 2011-12, the OSDA (2017) can be argued to be a major initiative that deserves scholarly attention in the contemporary times. Both in terms of the extensive coverage (2,500 slums, covering 200,000 households, in 116 urban local bodies) and the provision of joint-titles, this initiative is assumed to impact the urban poor, especially women, across the state of Odisha over the next few years.

A recent review of 117 studies shows that two-thirds of the studies reported a positive link between tenure security and human wellbeing (Tsering et al., 2020). With certificates of land rights issued in the name of both spouses, free resettlement for the economically weaker section, along with policy convergence *via* gradual extension of basic public services (electricity and water) and finance for house construction, OSDA (2017) will potentially have significant implications on the wellbeing of the urban poor (Leshinsky et al., 2020). The project is ongoing, and Konark town in Puri district and Gopalpur town in Berhampur district are reported to be the key locations, where the project has begun with the distribution of joint-titles to land.

Certain studies have shown that legislative measures, such as mandatory inclusion of both spouses in land titles, have led to a decrease in gender disparity, but there are studies that warn against the negative influence of a number of contextual factors that may hinder women's wellbeing (Doss & Meizen-Dick, 2018). Essentially, while joint-title is considered an important step towards women's tenure security, a consideration of other contextual factors is also considered critical to ensure wellbeing.

Further, a review of the recent studies and reports on OSDA (2017) reveal challenges, like land right certificates lacking linkage with the old record of rights with the revenue department and participation of community members required in the project (Leshinsky et al., 2020; Bridgespan, 2018), along with the potential to affect urban development. Also, it is important to note that the state of Odisha has been a pioneer in case of women's tenure rights (Leshinsky et al., 2020). It is in this context that we conducted our initial scoping fieldwork in November and December of 2019, followed up with more field work in 2020 and 2021. In this report, we discuss the aggregate findings of our formative research study, combining the initial and later field work in Konark, Odisha.

II. Literature Review

Land tenure security can be understood as the “*extent of protection and duration of rights of one’s land rights*” (Holden et al., 2013, pp.7). There is also the argument on the bundle of rights: rights to use, transfer, and mortgage, comprising and contributing to the land tenure security. Recent scholarship on land tenure security highlights its linkages with major global challenges, like climate change, food security, biodiversity loss, poverty reduction etc., and also argues for bridging the gap between the scholars and practitioners (Masuda et al., 2020). Extending the same argument, this study aims to highlight the experiences and perceptions of community members, especially women, in the context of land tenure security.

Conceptually, our research builds on the linkages between tenure security and women’s wellbeing. We accomplish this by combining the tripartite view of tenure security (van Gelder, 2010), along with the concept of subjective wellbeing (Diener, 1994). Pursuing this combination of tenure security and wellbeing is in line with the argument by Shekhar et al. (2019) who call for focusing on the larger objective of wellbeing while planning for sustainable development of human settlements.

A tripartite view of tenure security not only recognizes the *de jure* (legal) tenure security and *de facto* (actual recognition) tenure security, but also the crucial role of “perceived” tenure security (van Gelder, 2010; Durand-Lasserve & Selod, 2007). While the *de jure* tenure security refers to the legal, or formal, allocation of property rights by the state, the *de facto* tenure security conveys the actual realised tenure (not just legal) status (van Gelder, 2010) where the recognition of rights by the relevant stakeholders, like the public officials and community members, plays a vital role. Even the process of formalization and recognition of rights can lead to conflicts and decrease the wellbeing of excluded households (Cross, 2002).

Further, van Gelder (2010) argues that in addition to, and linked to, the legal and realized tenure security, is the perception of tenure security felt by the individuals. In our study, the *de jure* tenure security can be argued to have been ensured by the provision of joint-title for both spouses. However, the *de facto* and perceived tenure security have yet to be explored, and this study focuses on the latter.

Both subjective (individual) wellbeing- the sense of wellbeing felt by the individual- and the collective wellbeing, are crucial, but we focus on the former in this study (Shekhar et al., 2019). Previous reports on tenure security point towards positive outcomes, such as increased access to credit and decision-making in the household, greater livelihood, nutrition and social security, better education of children, and decreased conflict and poverty (World Bank, 2014). However, previous studies have also cautioned against generalization, suggesting the consideration of contextual factors (e.g., norms, customs, other laws etc.) in linking women’s wellbeing and tenure security (Chigbu et al., 2019; Doss & Meizen-Dick, 2018).

For linkages to wellbeing, we are focusing on the idea of subjective wellbeing that includes perceived wellbeing felt by individuals (women, in our study) in a given socio-economic and environmental context (Diener, 1994). Despite the availability of a wealth of scholarship, with defined frameworks and indicators, we are focusing on the idea of subjective wellbeing as defined by the women participants in the study. Therefore, we are taking an inductive approach towards creating an understanding of women’s wellbeing (and tenure security too).

Recognizing that the implementation is ongoing and also the fact that both tenure security and wellbeing are influenced by the context, we propose to explore wellbeing of women independently and then link provisions of the Act that may affect the expressed wellbeing. This approach is inductive and open-ended, compared to the direct approach of analyzing wellbeing as a result of joint-titles on certain known factors highlighted by the literature. In essence, we are open to the possibility of wellbeing of women not linked to the provision of tenure security as well.

Overall, we are relying on the agency of women in terms of expressed wellbeing and then proceed to link the same with the provisions of the Act. This focus on women's agency and its linkage with the structure is in concurrence with the critique around lack of consideration on women's agency in works concerned with the wellbeing of women (Gammage et al., 2009).

III. Provisions of OSDA (2017)

The OSDA (2017) provides for the land rights to the landless persons, who occupy land in a slum in smaller urban local bodies (Municipalities and Notified Area Councils) as on 10th August 2017, provided they don't own any other land, or even their family members don't own land in the same urban area, or in the state of Odisha. Further, the land needs to be state-owned, where these land rights will be settled, and the Act provides for in-situ redevelopment to the maximum extent possible, and ex-situ rehabilitation where in-situ is not possible. While persons from Economically Weaker Sections (officially determined and certified) will not be charged for land owned and settled up to 30 square meters, the maximum limits of land proposed to be settled via due payment (decided by the state government) are 45 square meters in municipality and 60 square meters in a Notified Area Council.

Further, a major provision of OSDA (2017) is joint-titles in the name of both the spouses in case of married persons, while in other cases, in the name of the single head-of-household.

An Urban Area Slum Redevelopment and Rehabilitation Committee (UASRR), comprising bureaucrats from the district administration, a nominated urban planner, and one representative from the community and NGO/CSO (nominated by the bureaucrats) will help towards a survey of slum households, mapping of land in the slums, and the identification of beneficiary slum dwellers.

Operationally, the following set of steps explain the process of land allocation under OSDA, 2017, as reported by Bridgespan (2018):

- a) Identify partners and slum areas: identifying technical agencies for aerial survey and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs)/Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) for slum socio-economic survey in the selected slum areas;
- b) Mobilize community and conduct aerial survey by technical partners: conduct of aerial survey *via* drones and community mobilization towards the provisions and implementation of the initiative, formation of UASRR at the level of ULBs and slum development association (SDA) at the level of slums;
- c) Collect household information via surveys done by NGOs/CSOs: household surveys in the slums for relevant socio-economic and demographic information;
- d) Create draft proposal map for slum: integrate aerial maps with existing maps available in government records;

- e) Apply for land rights: validation and consensus on draft settlement proposals and application of land rights settlements;
- f) Validate and approve land rights.

IV. Research Question

The broader objective of the study is to understand the effect of the ongoing slum resettlement in the urban areas of Odisha, India on the community wellbeing. Specifically, with the focus on the provision of joint titles, this project has explored women's perceived wellbeing through the following research question.

What do women perceive about their wellbeing, under the provision of joint-title being implemented in the ongoing slum resettlement in Konark, Odisha?

In other words, the question we want to answer is, does the joint provision of land titles affect women's wellbeing in the ongoing slum resettlement project in Konark, Odisha?

Research Methods

As the Act is new, and there is limited research so far, an exploration was needed to understand the implication of the provision of land rights on the lives of women in Konark, Odisha. Konark happens to be the location where a substantial number of land titles have been distributed thus far as revealed by our initial research in November-December 2019 (Krishnan, 2019).

Therefore, this report discusses findings of an exploratory study, comprising in-depth personal interviews following the qualitative approach and tools. Qualitative methods are best applied in areas involving unexplored, sensitive or intense personal experiences, issues within small and difficult to access groups, culturally defined experiences or perspectives which the researcher does not share (Treloar et al., 2000).

Data collection. In our initial study in 2019, we attempted to capture perceived wellbeing by asking an open-ended question on wellbeing as per the women respondents. This initial field work was conducted by one of the collaborators of the project (Ms. Aathira Krishnan), where she conducted personal interviews with community members (n=29) and focused group discussion (n=1) in ward 8 of Konark. The data from this initial work is included in the analysis presented in this report. Briefly put, the analysis of initial data conveyed gendered differences in conceptualizations of wellbeing, majorly women more concerned about education, health, safety etc., while men focused more on livelihoods. This prompted further study (supported by Resource Equity), and here we report on aggregate findings, combining both, the initial study in 2019 and the study conducted specifically in 2020 and 2021.

Further, specifically for this project (supported by Resource Equity), more personal interviews were conducted in ward number 8, 9, and 10 in 2020 and early 2021 to gain additional insights on perceived wellbeing of women, supplemented by field observations in all the three wards. The field observations have been used as complement as well as supplement to the interview responses.

Study area. We have covered three wards, ward number 8 (Nolia Sahi),¹ 9 (Mausima Sahi), and 10 (Gocchayat Sahi) in Konark town of Puri district of Odisha, India. Ward 8 is located by the seashore with fishery as their main source of livelihood, and ward 9 and 10 are located offshore.

In-depth Interviews. Keeping an eye on COVID-19 guidelines, the focused group discussions (FGDs) had to be cancelled, and the focus was put on semi-structured in-depth interviews and field observations. The rationale of conducting personal interviews has been asking women in the community about their experiences and expectations related to the project. The thoughts they have concerning resettlement operations, processes, outcomes, and about any changes they perceive in themselves as a result of the project have been covered in the personal interviews. Questions have been kept open-ended to allow flexibility and allowing for diverse conceptualizations and experiences without leading towards *a priori* themes. Besides the basic socio-demographic details of the household, the open-ended questions asked to the respondents have been:

1. *What do you know about the project?*
2. *What are your own experiences with the project?*
3. *How do you define your wellbeing?*
4. *What are the things that could be done to achieve wellbeing from your perspective?*

Our approach has been to ask questions about wellbeing of women, who have experienced the slum resettlement in Konark, and to see whether, and to what extent joint titling of the land features in the responses. Simply put, do women who have gone through the slum redevelopment project consider the provision of joint title (tenure security) as a part of their perception of their wellbeing, is the core question that we explored. Further, to probe, why do they feel that way, we asked a question on their knowledge and experience with the project.

The focus has been on women, and the selection of respondents can be considered as convenience sampling due to the formative scope of research, and lack of existing contact with the community.

Data analysis. The personal interviews have been analyzed by means of thematic coding (Deterding & Waters, 2018). To draw themes, we initially extracted the themes using the approach of open coding and then mapped the derived codes with the three research questions of this study (discussed below).

V. Findings

The Community Background

In terms of the languages spoken by the communities covered in this study, Odia was found to be the most commonly spoken language in ward 9 and 10, while ward 8 had both Odia and Telugu speakers.² On caste composition, all the three wards had households belonging to the General, Other Backward Castes (OBC), and Scheduled Castes (SC) category.

¹ This ward was covered by Krishnan (2019), a graduate student who worked with the Principal Investigator in her independent research project. She is a collaborator and co-author of this report.

² Regional languages spoken predominantly in the states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh/Telangana respectively.

In terms of livelihoods, fishery was reported to be the primary occupation in ward number 8, while in the other two wards, informal urban livelihoods (unorganized sector), like scrap collection, street vendors, ice-cream hawkers, automobile repair, and daily wage work in the commercial establishments in Konark were more commonly reported. In the case of women, selling fish was the most commonly reported livelihood activity in ward 8, while in case of ward 9 and 10, most of the women respondents reported (unpaid) household work as their main engagement.

Thematic Analysis of Personal Interviews

The following table lists out the emergent sub-themes (*via* open coding) that we have identified from the personal interviews. To reiterate, we have combined the initial interviews in ward number 8 of Konark conducted in 2019 by Krishnan (2019) along with interviews done for this specific project in ward number 9 and 10 of Konark in 2020 and 2021. In total, this report covers the analysis of 59 interviews, of which 19 were conducted in 2019 by Krishnan (2019), and the rest were conducted in 2020 and 2021. Further, out of these 59 interviews, 50 were woman respondents and 9 were male respondents.

Table 1

Sub-themes from interviews

Gendered concerns	Interview No 5, 7, 11, 15, 17, 36, 39
Livelihood concerns	Interview No 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25
Concerns beyond titles	Interview No 4,19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 36, 38, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51
Concern with titles	Interview No 6, 20, 22, 23, 24, 40, 46, 48, 49, 54
Socio-cultural concerns: caste, class, community	Interview No 11, 14, 22, 23, 29
Dissatisfaction with the government	Interview No 10, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 33, 35, 39, 43, 57, 59
Community participation	Interview No 1, 2, 22, 52
Financial concerns	Interview No 25, 26, 42, 59
Knowledge of program: information asymmetry	Interview No 3, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 36, 38, 48, 53
Wellbeing	Interview No 19, 20, 32, 34, 55, 56, 58

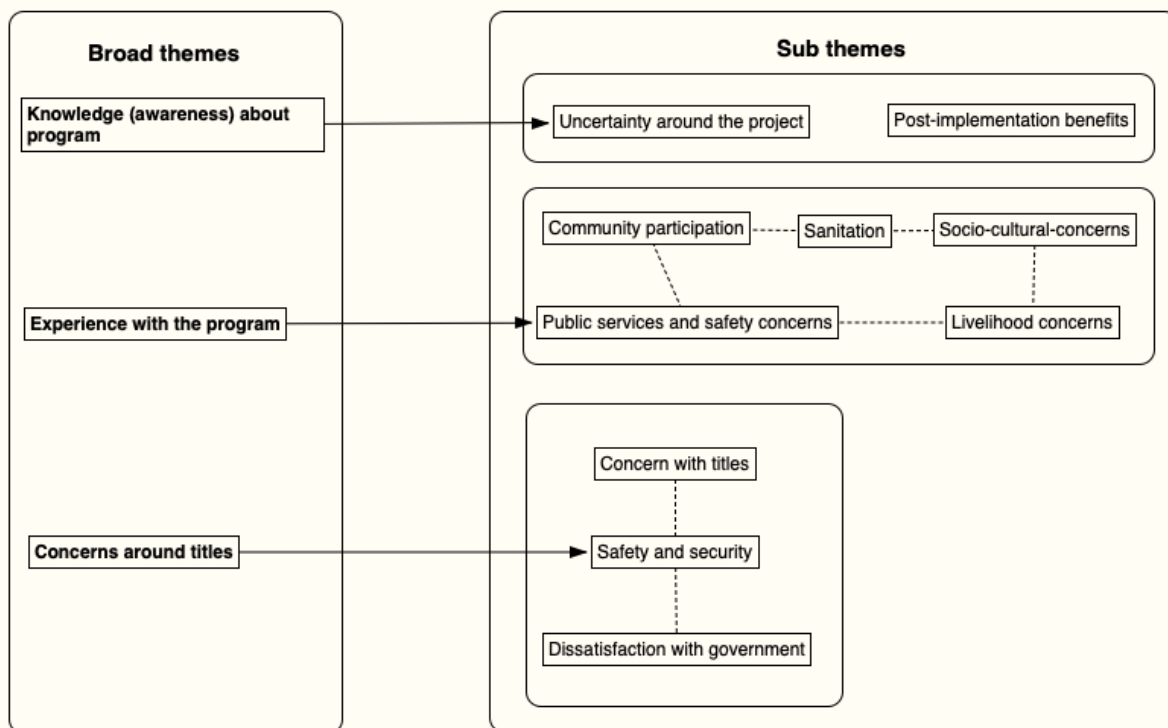
Broader Themes Pertaining to the Study

The aforementioned sub-themes were further examined to probe inter-linkages with the three broader questions of our study: *knowledge (awareness) about the program; experience with the program; and, concerns linked to the program*. The following table explains the possible relationship of sub-themes with the broader themes.

Table 2
Emergent broader themes

Knowledge (awareness) about program	Experience with the program	Concerns around titles
Uncertainty around the project and post-implementation benefits.	Community participation; socio-cultural-concerns; sanitation, public services and safety concerns; livelihood concerns.	Concern with titles: safety, security; dissatisfaction with government.

Fig. 1
Thematic analysis of the community interviews



Uncertainty Around Project and Post-Implementation Benefits

When it comes to the rights associated with the Land Rights Certificate, namely the right to mortgage, inheritance and lack of right to sell, or transfer, was clear to most of the women respondents. However, we observed lack of clarity about the project timeline, such as how long it will take to get approval for land rights, or how long it will take to get other basic services proposed to be converged with the resettlement projects in case of many respondents.

It emerged during our interviews that some families had already started building their own house, before the land allotment, but the authorities have told them to stall the projects as a portion of the structure

would be taken by the road that is planned to be built from the same site. The following quotes show the associated uncertainties as shared by the respondents.

“Spending all our savings including a group loan of 40,000 INR we had constructed a one bedroom house, but the officials asked to demolish the building to avail a Awaas House Scheme and land certificate because the house which we had constructed was not on the land demarcated by drone for record of rights (RoR) distribution and we have to demolish the house to avail the government certificate in a legal way.” (female respondent - Interview 23)

Similarly, some families have built the entire house before the project was announced. If displaced, they are worried, as this would result in a huge loss for them, if they don’t get the compensation.

“Four years back while we were constructing our house here in this beach area, the revenue inspector fined us and left. But after making such a huge investment in this house, we are not moving to our native Andhra Pradesh again and will stay here forever” (female respondent- Interview 33 & 34)

People who are yet to receive the land rights are not aware whether they should start building their own house or wait. According to them, the project is slow, and after the super-cyclone ‘Foni’ in 2019, it was actually delayed for a few months.

“Whatever demarcation is done by the drone, will only be approved by the government for house construction and by the time govt. gives work order if there is any construction/part construction in the area, the aid amount will not be given. This is the reason why we have been staying in a mud house for the last three years and we don't know when the government will provide us with the house construction order.” (female respondent - Interview 25)

“We listen to numerous rumors that the Mausima Sahi (ward number 9) will be cleaned and all the houses will be demolished under the new Konark Temple development plan. We don't know what will happen when. But if it happens, where will this much population go? We shall surely protest against it. The point here we are trying to make is simple; first shift us and then acquire these lands.” (female respondent - Interview 51)

Concerns beyond the titles. Along with the land rights certificate, the resettlement project has provisions for extending finance for house construction, along with gradual extension of public services, like drinking water, sanitation, electricity etc. In the context of these post-implementation benefits, few respondents claimed not having received the two lakh (INR) amount that was promised for house construction. Also, some of the respondents claimed that the banks are not giving them the formal credit due to lack of assets, and so they are not able to start the construction work.

“Underground electricity connection work has not yet started and the village faces the difficulty of frequent load shedding. In addition, there has been a tussle with the revenue department for placing electric poles on government land and the fine has been collected by the revenue department.” (female respondent - Interview 29)

"I am 54 and I have not received a widow pension, PDS also not there, my son is therefore devoid of his education and is fishing since he was 15 years old, now he is 19 years old. It's very difficult to sustain our family. What depresses us is we don't have climate resilient house building which will protect us from the cyclones and we don't know whether we shall get it or not." (female respondent - Interview 38)

"We are destitute, the government has only given us the land rights certificate (LRC), we hold that but there's no House building, Public distribution system (PDS) or livelihood promotion facility, I get a widow pension of 500 INR and please tell me whether that is sufficient to sustain myself for a month?" (female respondent - Interview 39)

Experience with the Program

Community participation. Our respondents included those who were a part of the SDA committee as well as those who were not. In ward number 8, where most of our respondents were not a part of the SDA committee, concerns were raised on the lack of knowledge about the decision-making and participation in the proceedings of the SDA. However, in ward number 9 and 10, where a significant number of our respondents were members of the SDA committee, we received affirmative responses with reference to participation in the SDA meetings. To illustrate, the following quotes from respondents in ward number 9 suggest the experience of community members towards the role played by SDA in community participation.

"My father, Mr. XYZ, has been the president of the SDA committee... that is why, we had a better orientation of the program." (female respondent - Interview 23)

"We have been staying here for more than 20 years. The SDA committee was made by NAC and Jaga mission persons. There were numerous visits by teams to our slum and drone camera shooting also took place. Both male and female members were part of the committee from our slum." (female respondent - Interview 24)

Socio-cultural concerns. The ward number 8, where the implementation of slum resettlement was done foremost, comprises a significant proportion of households that have origins in Andhra Pradesh and speak Telugu, rather than the regional language Odia. Therefore, few of the respondents also raised the concern that women from Andhra Pradesh after marriage are shifting to Konark and getting the benefits of joint titles. Naturally, this concern was not observed in ward number 8, but the other two wards had respondents expressing this feeling of "outsiders" benefitting out of the resettlement project. The following quotes highlight this concern, as shown below.

"A lot of confusion is there, we see men from ward number 8 getting married to ladies from Andhra Pradesh and then separately (from their family) applying for land rights. But, we find in our ward that serial numbers of beneficiaries are shuffled and people are asked a fine as high as 47,000 INR to receive the LRC, is not it similar to buying land from the government." (male respondent - Interview 59)

"One of the government officials, belonging to the Telugu community, favors people from XYZ due to his personal inclinations." (female respondent - Interview 59)

On similar lines, few of the respondents expressed that certain families have settled in the village after 2017, who are neither fishermen, nor have the residential documents. The respondents claimed that they have come for getting the land titles.

Sanitation, public services and safety concerns. Toilets attached to the households were rare in ward number 8, and relatively more in the ward number 9 and 10 respectively. However, there was a community toilet in ward number 8, and none in the other two wards that we covered. And, the distance of the community toilet in ward 8 was expressed as a safety concern by a woman respondent from the same ward.

Open defecation was reported as a challenge quite regularly by the respondents of ward number 8 compared to the other two wards.

Further, absence of drainage facility was uniformly reported in all the three wards, also observed during our field work. On streetlights, our field observations revealed that except for relatively better coverage in ward number 8, the other two wards had lesser coverage of streetlights. This was concurred by some of the respondents in the interviews as well, as illustrated in the following quote.

Livelihood concerns. In the initial study done in 2019, the livelihood concerns of both men and women in ward number 8 had emerged as a crucial theme. For instance, men were claiming the need for petrol pumps (gas stations) and storage facilities for fish, also expressing dissatisfaction with lack of formal access to credit even after the land rights certificate. Similarly, the female respondents had expressed concern about lack of space for selling vegetables.

Furthermore, in the interviews conducted in 2020 and 2021, the demand for alternative livelihood and credit facilities for women also emerged as a recurrent theme. The following quotes illustrate the same concern.

Banks do not give us loans, because we are not considered as permanent residents and we only have to depend on microfinancing for our credit requirements and obviously we have been charged higher for small loans. If livelihood and credit requirements have been taken care of by the government, it will be of great help for us. (female respondent - Interview 25)

If livelihood and credit requirements have been taken care of by the government, it will be of great help for us. (female respondents - Interview 25 & 26)

Concern with Titles

Security with certificate. During the interviews, as earlier mentioned, the awareness amongst the women respondents about the provisions of the land title, was mostly evident. Relatedly, the feeling of safety, or a sense of security, along with attendant prospects of provisions, like the ease in getting residence and caste identity documents were expressed by the respondents. Furthermore, an increase in women's stake in the family, and even the possibility of joint title contributing to reduced domestic violence were expressed by some of the women respondents. The following quotes illustrate most of the above-mentioned concerns.

“We got the LRC, we worked in it, now we feel happy that there's minimal chance of our house being demolished by the government.” (female respondent - Interview 23)

“If the LRC is on both husband and wife’s name, it's better. In case of divorce, our children will be lawfully staying with us in this house and the husband marrying someone else won't be eligible to stay under the same roof.” (female respondent - Interview 36)

“We have received LRC on both husband and wife’s name and that is a good practice. Joint title will promote women empowerment largely.” (female respondent - Interview 55)

Dissatisfaction with government. The most recurrent reason for dissatisfaction with the government was the payment that non-EWS households, or EWS households settling/claiming more than 30 square meters of land, had to make to obtain the land right certificate. As shown in the quote below, many of the respondents were unhappy with the payment and associated it to something like buying the land from the government, rather than being given the land as their right.

“But, we find in our ward that serial numbers of beneficiaries are shuffled and people are asked a fine of as high as 47,000 INR to receive the LRC, is not it similar to buying land from the government.” (male respondent - Interview 55)

Discussion on Gendered Wellbeing

We proceeded with the assumption of finding sharp expressions of women’s wellbeing associated with the joint-title provision of the OSDA (2017). However, our interviews have revealed certain challenges being faced by the women in the community. These give us insights about the array of factors that affect the wellbeing of the women. We are using these to answer our research question on gendered wellbeing, mainly expressed as access to public services, like water, sanitation, hygiene, electricity for households and education for children. These factors are also associated with a sense of security and safety that women respondents claimed as crucial for their wellbeing. Also, alternative livelihoods as well as infrastructure and credit linked to livelihood priorities were expressed by woman respondents. All these factors cannot be associated with the land rights certificate - the core concern in this study. But, some of these concerns are associated with the provisions of extension of public services along with the land rights certificates. It is in this context that better awareness of the policies and programs being offered in conjunction with the land rights certificates will need better outreach amongst community members, especially women.

Further, for men, wellbeing has largely emerged as having access to livelihood generation activity, access to credit, transportation, infrastructure facilities associated with livelihoods (e.g., fishing, cold storage, petrol pumps, workshops for repairing fishing nets). It should be noted that most of our respondents were women, and findings on men are derived from fewer interviews. Again, this gendered conceptualization of wellbeing and its potential linkages with the slum resettlement needs further analysis with more data and observations.

We had earlier tried to understand the effect of resettlement on the wellbeing of the community through the influence of caste. Initially, during the field work, it emerged that the majority of the people belonged to the marginalized caste, and there was no significant caste-wise discrimination. Though, later, it emerged that class division exists in the slum as households relatively better-off financially were reported to be able to easily avail institutional facilities and earlier than that of the poor sections in the community.

One significant observation across the interviews was the common complaint about arbitrary encroachment fee, which can be associated with lack of understanding of the provisions of payment for non-EWS households. Allegedly, one particular caste has refused inclusion in the distribution of land certificates in order to avoid the hefty fine that has to be deposited before collecting land certificates.

The provision of this Act has been unique in terms of the technology used, the community mobilization it has proposed, along with the inclusion of multiple stakeholders. Amongst many areas of enquiry, our study certainly points towards quantitative analysis of the concerns raised in this report as well as the linkage between perceived tenure security and subjective wellbeing. Our report merely points to the diverse concerns raised but does not delve into the relative salience of these concerns amongst women from different castes and class. Also, our report attempts to suggest the likely linkages between women's wellbeing and the tenure security, but a through quantitative analysis using measures of perceived tenure security and subjective wellbeing would be quite informative.

In terms of policy implications, our findings clearly point towards the need for more efforts towards awareness generation and speedy implementation of the provisions linked to the policies and programs attached to the OSDA (2017). It is these provisions that have created major confusion amongst the community members, especially women. In addition, efforts towards wider community mobilization will be helpful, as recently reported by Leshinsky et al. (2020) as well.

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