

**“UNHEARD VOICES”:- A STUDY OF DISPLACED  
WOMEN FROM YAMUNA PUSHTA IN BAWANA,  
DELHI**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the  
award of the Degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**CERTIFICATE**

This dissertation entitled, **“UNHEARD VOICES”:- A STUDY OF DISPLACED WOMEN FROM YAMUNA PUSHTA IN BAWANA, DELHI** is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**, of Jawaharlal Nehru University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university and is my original work.

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We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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**This work is fully dedicated to all the affected people who have been displaced and evicted from their 'homes' in the name of 'world class city'.**

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## **Abbreviations**

DFID	Development for International Development
R&R	Resettlement and Rehabilitation
JJ	Jhuggi Jhompari
JNNURM	Jawaharlal Nehru National Rural Urban Mission
PDS	Public Distribution System
MCD	Municipal Corporation Of Delhi
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
NCT	National Capital Territory
NCTD	National Capital Territory of Delhi
MPD	Master plan of Delhi
ULCRA	The Urban Land Ceiling Act
LOA	Land Owning Agency
S&JJ	Slum and JJ Department
NOC	No- Objection Certificate
GNCTD	Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi
HUDCO	Housing and Urban Development Corporation
EIUS	Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums
NGOs	Non Governmental Organization

## “Unheard Voices”

*I was born as a human being, a gift I got from the God<sup>1</sup>,  
I was born as a woman, a gift I got from my parents,  
I was born as a Dalit, a name which society gave me,  
I am born as a poor and remains poor, because society wanted me to remain so,  
I was asked to stop my studies, because society wanted me to do so,  
I was married at 14, because society<sup>2</sup> wanted me to do so,  
Became a mother at 15, because society wanted me to do so,  
I dreamed of a better life in Pushta. Because I wanted to have one so,  
I cleaned your<sup>3</sup> house, washed the used utensils, because my hunger wanted me to so  
But it was a dream and until one day my home of dreams comes under bulldozer,  
When my Pushta home was getting demolished, I saw it with teary eyes, because society  
wanted me to so,  
I was displaced, lost everything from work to home, from respect to money, But society  
again society asked me to not to raise my voice.  
I was abused, beaten up my husband, but again have been asked to remain voiceless,  
because society wanted so,  
My daughter was raped, then again I forced to not to raise my voice, because society  
wanted me to do.  
But when my turn came, too asked for something, then nobody listened to my 'voice'  
I only wanted a small home where I, my five children and my husband could lead a better  
life; I had asked only one thing from the 'you'<sup>4</sup>  
I am a poor Dalit woman and will remain the same, because society wanted me to  
remain so...*

---

<sup>1</sup> I will say not that this is a poem and neither had I attempted to do so, but these are the words of one of the respondent from Bawana JJ colony. During the interaction with her, she has shared all her problems, so I tried to put her voice through my words.

<sup>2</sup> Here by society she means, her neighbors and friends at Pushta

<sup>3</sup> 'Your' she is referring to the whole society

<sup>4</sup> By society she means the elite class and government officials who had demolished her home.

## **CHAPTER-I**

### **Contextualizing the Problem and Methodological Approach**

# CHAPTER-I

## Contextualizing the Problem and Methodological Approach

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The introductory chapter tries to explore the development and displacement perspective in the context of demolitions of the slums and the coming of the resettlement colonies. This chapter begins with the brief introduction of following concepts: - Development, Displacement, Resettlement, Forced Eviction, looks into the housing shortage as a problem and finally links it to the methodological approach for conducting the primary study.

### 1.1:- Introduction:-

‘Cities majorly carry the picture of rapidly growing and high density population and multistoried buildings, exploding markets, congestion, pollution, poverty and unemployment, unauthorized settlements/slums, chronic shortages of basic urban services, lack of community feeling and petty crime. On the other hand, economists and policy makers now acknowledge cities as ‘**engines of growth**’, an indicator of development and a major contributor to the national economy; it is apparent that it is accompanied by growing disparities as well’<sup>1</sup>.

As far as Asian countries are concerned, sudden increase in the number of buildings, has acted like a magnet for the workers which finally lead to the proliferation of the informal cities. This invisible urban population caters to the day to day services which are required for a planned city. Their presence and requirement in the diversified services marks their importance and significantly contributes to the formal and informal sectors of the cities. The development of the city invites large number of workers without creating any facilities for them which emerge as informal settlements of the workers and service providers. And over a period of time the informal tenement grows in population as new migrants settle wherever they find an empty space<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Singh, Kishore and Shukla, Shikha. (2005), ‘Profiling informal city of Delhi:’ - Policies, Norms, and scope of intervention Institutions, *Water Aid India and Delhi Slum Dwellers Federation*, p.1

<sup>2</sup> Singh, Kishore and Shukla, Shikha. (2005), Op.cit

The exclusion of urban poor in these settlements, from the policies as well as urban planning, leads to iniquitous distribution of resources between the habitants of formal and informal cities. In recent decades the gaps between them have widened. The macroeconomic processes of globalisation have further marginalised the urban poor, making them more insecure and vulnerable. Statistical data compiled globally indicate that measures such as cut backs in employment, rising expenditure, lack of social safety nets, stagnant wages, especially in the unorganised sector, have revealed the vulnerability of the urban poor to economic change'<sup>3</sup>.

### 1.2:- Development as a concept

'The concept of development and progress are often used in a positive sense to indicate the process of advancement of individual or of collective phenomenon or of objects or of action. For centuries development was understood as progress, thereafter as growth, as change, as transfer of notion, as modernization and so on'<sup>4</sup>. Given below are some of the definitions of development.

According to **Mohan (2002)** 'Development may be thought out as a general process of social and economic change, with profound effects for particular individuals in places'<sup>5</sup>. **The Oxford Dictionary** explains development as 'a gradual unfolding; fuller working out, of the details of anything; the growth of what in the germ.'

**Bottomore (1971)** talks about the social process which applies to the development 'there are only two processes to which it seems possible to apply to the term 'development' with any accuracy namely the growth of knowledge and growth of human control over the natural environment as shown by technological and economic efficiency. It is indeed these two processes which have figured most prominently in development or evolutionary accounts of human society'<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Singh, Kishore and Shukala, Shikha. (2005), Op.cit

<sup>4</sup> Bhowmik Sharit. ed. (2005) "Sociology of Development", *Indira Gandhi National Open University*, New Delhi.p.11\

<sup>5</sup> Mohan, Giles. (2002), 'Think Local, Act Global: Transnational Networks and Development', in Jenny Robinson (ed.) *Development and Displacement*, New York: Oxford University Press

<sup>6</sup> Bottomore, T.B (1971), *sociology*, pp.285-286

According to the '**Declaration on the Right to Development**', adopted by General Assembly Resolution (41/128 of 4 Dec 1986), 'Development is an inalienable comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process, which aims at the constant improvement of the well being of the entire population'<sup>7</sup> In the words of **Verma (2002)** development is a process whereby, that which exists potentially becomes actual'<sup>8</sup>.

**Ray (1996)** says that development should not be understood merely as economic progress; rather it should be interpreted as a process that leads to, besides economic progress, social justice, political empowerment and cultural regeneration<sup>9</sup>.

**Tulpul, (1996)**, highlights in his paper that there exist a myth about the goal of development that developing countries can only be developed or can achieve the goal of development by following the developed countries' model 'The only model of development placed before us today is the one represented by what are called the "developed" or industrialized countries. The rest of the countries in the world in different stages of underdevelopment are straining to develop according to the same model, with varying degrees of success. A few have reached the threshold and are about to enter the developed countries club. At the other extreme, large parts of the world especially in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as large segments of the population within many countries at intermediate stages are altogether excluded from this process of development'<sup>10</sup>.

## **Displacement**

There is no denying the fact that, development definitely leads to the displacement of people. The development can be fruitful to some section of the population and may not be important for other section of the population. History witnessed the displacement of people by various development projects, which also gives rise to severe social, economic, ecological and various problems.

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<sup>7</sup> Cited in Basistha, Nandini. (2006), 'Destitute of Development', *Refugee Watch Online* (A Co-Publication of Refugee Watch)

<sup>8</sup> Verma, Manish Kumar (2004), *Development, Displacement and Resettlement*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

<sup>9</sup> Ray, Subhasis. (1996), "Setting Priorities in development" *Mainstream*, 34 (44): 17-20.

<sup>10</sup> Tulpule, Bagaram. (1996), 'Redefining Development: An Alternative Paradigm', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 31, No. 45/46, p.2991

According to **Verma (2004)** involuntary displacement has been a companion of development throughout history and enveloped both industrial as well as developing countries. He further proceeds with the point that installing major hydropower dams for various reasons like irrigation and drinking water systems, extending highway networks and other big infrastructure projects like hotels, airports, resorts, transmission lines, sewage system, subways, roads etc have entailed displacement. Therefore each and every development project essentially requires large chunk of land, which involuntary displaces the local inhabitants, mostly the poorer and backward sections of the population, residing in remote corner of the city<sup>11</sup>. Apart from this, he has written about the consequence of human displacement.

*'Family as a system crumbles down and its bond by long established heritage and ancestry are scattered. Community Structure and social networks are weakened, kin groups are dispersed; coupled with this, cultural identity, traditional authority and the potential for mutual help are diminished. People's values, belief systems, attitude, custom and tradition receive severe setback. Family as a system of production ceases to exist and the nature of religious worship also gets affected. ... It generally associates with psychological stress and results in sickness, grief and death. The roots of cultural identity are suddenly uprooted. People are bound to live in a new atmosphere, in a new place with new attitudes and values, which changes the entire socio-cultural life cycle of the affected persons. ... Economically, the land oustees pay great price for development: people are relocated to a new place and environment where their productive skills may be less applicable and the competition for the use of scarce resources greater, as such their production system gets dismantled, productive assets and income source is lost'<sup>12</sup>.*

**Y.K Alagh (1995)** comments that 'displacement of poor people is taking place all the time , from their lands, their occupations, and their homes as material intensive growth denies them access to resources, conventionally their own'<sup>13</sup>.

**Kumar (2005)** says that displacement not only displaces the people but makes them landless, homeless, which further lead to loss of common resources,

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<sup>11</sup> Cited in Verma,(2004),op.cit

<sup>12</sup> Cited in Verma,(2004),p.16

<sup>13</sup> Cited in Verma,Manish (2002), "Development, Ecological Changes and Involuntary Displacement :A sociological Analysis of Selected Projects, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Unpublished thesis,p.10

marginalisation and breakdown of social networks. Sometimes the directly displaced people, who have inhabited the project-sides for generations, get meager amount of compensation from the government. But indirectly displaced, who lost the control over natural and environmental resources, thereby deprives of the traditional means of livelihood, are the forgotten people of governmental rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R) policy. Therefore the 'Displaced' has to bear the price of development in the larger interest of the 'nation'<sup>14</sup>.

### 1.3:- The issue of Development versus Displacement

We can measure the development through its progress but to measure its aftermaths is not only difficult but impossible to measure, while government will always be happy to give us the correct number dams, stadiums, roads, hotels, malls it would never correctly report the number of displaced persons. For the government everything is right when it comes to the larger public interest. So displacing people and relocating the people to the outskirts is a violation of human rights. Displacing the person from their home leaves them in a traumatic situation because it not only affects the single person but also affects the entire community.

**Verma (1985)** mentions that 'displacement is a matter of concern because no trauma can be more painful for a family than to get uprooted from a place where it has lived for generations and to move to a place where it may be a total stranger'. And nothing could be more irksome than being asked to switch over to a vocation which the family has not practiced before'<sup>15</sup>.

### 1.4:-Rehabilitation and Resettlement

Rehabilitation, according to **Oxford Dictionary** means 'to restore to original'. According to **Chamber's Dictionary**, 'it is to reinstate, to restore to former privileges, rights, ranks, etc'. Sometimes 'resettlement', 'readjustment' and 'relocation' are also confused for 'rehabilitation'<sup>16</sup>. But actually resettlement, readjustment and relocation stand for movement of population, which is similar to

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<sup>14</sup> Kumar, Madhuresh. (2005)'Globalization, State Policies and Sustainability of Rights' *Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group(MCRG)*, p.1

<sup>15</sup> Verma, S.C. (1985), *Human Resettlement in Lower Narmada Basin*, Bhopal: Narmada Valley Development Authority, Government of Madhya Pradesh

<sup>16</sup> Kaptai Dam Project had often used the word 'relocation' and 'readjustment' for rehabilitation, and in the case of Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge, the word 'resettlement' was used for rehabilitation of people.



displacement not rehabilitation. 'The resettlement and rehabilitation are complementary to each other. In the case of the resettlement the person is thrown out of his place, ecology and environment whereas in the rehabilitation the same person is reinstated to the original state of life'<sup>17</sup>.

The above concepts like development, displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement have been understood from the perspective of development induced displacements (displacements through construction of dams) which lead to the involuntary resettlement of the people. This leads us to understand the process of Forced Eviction.

### **1.5:- Forced Eviction**

'The term "forced eviction" refers to the removal of people from their homes or lands against their will, directly or indirectly attributable to the State. It is a widespread and growing practice annually affecting millions of persons in developed developing countries. Forced evictions can always be attributed to specific decisions, legislation or policies of States, or to the failure of States to intervene to halt forced evictions by third parties. Thus, States are always legally responsible for forced evictions occurring in a territory under their jurisdiction'<sup>18</sup>.

**Centre on housing rights and evictions** explain forced eviction not only violates the housing rights but it results in the number violation of a number of other rights including:

- 'The right to non-interference with privacy, family and home
- The right to be protected against the arbitrary deprivation of property
- The right to the peaceful enjoyment of possessions - many forced evictions occur without warning, forcing people to abandon their homes, lands and worldly possessions
- The right to respect for the home
- The right to freedom of movement and to choose one's residence
- The right to education - often children cannot attend school due to relocation

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<sup>17</sup> Cited in Verma, Manish (2002), Op.cit

<sup>18</sup> Centre on housing rights and evictions and see [http://www.cohre.org/view\\_page.php?page\\_id=11](http://www.cohre.org/view_page.php?page_id=11)

- The right to life - violence during the forced eviction which results in death, is a common occurrence.
- The right to security of the person - implementing authorities rarely provide evicted persons with adequate homes or any form of compensation, thus rendering them vulnerable to homelessness and further acts of violence.
- The right to effective remedies for alleged human rights violations<sup>19</sup>

### 1.6:- Understanding ‘The Housing Question’

**Engel** has tried to explain the Housing question from three different perspectives. The work on book on Housing Question is one of the best classic for understanding the reasons for housing shortage.

Engels mentions a process which called ‘**Hausmann**’ The practice of Hausmann involves relocation of poor and working class in the name of city beautification. It ‘becomes in general of making breaches in the working class quarters of our big towns, and particularly in those which are centrally situated, quite apart from whether this is done from considerations of public health and for beautifying the town, or owing to the demand for big centrally situated business premises, or owing to traffic requirements, such as the laying down of railways, streets, etc’<sup>20</sup>.

Engels also explains how the bourgeoisie solves the housing question in practice. He says that no dwellings and worker towns have been abolished; it was sifted to some other place. Engels says that ‘The same economic necessity which produced them in the first place, produces them in the next place also. As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist, it is folly to hope for an isolated solution of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the fate of workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labor by the working class itself’<sup>21</sup>.

**Saunders (1993)** had also discussed about the urban question and looking into this issue from the perspective of Emile Durkheim, Weber and Marx. He says that

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Frederick, Engels. (1872) ‘The housing Question’

<sup>21</sup> Cited in Frederick, Engels, Op.cit.

sociologists have rarely paid attention and wrote about 'Urban Question'<sup>22</sup>. From the **perspective of Durkheim** Saunders says that Durkheim addresses the urban question in two ways; firstly he sees 'the city as a historically significant condition for the development of the particular forces'<sup>23</sup>, secondly Durkheim 'sees the modern city the expression of the current (abnormal) of these forces'<sup>24</sup>. Saunders proceeds with the point that the work of all three classic sociologists Marx, Weber, and Durkheim on 'Urban Question' see the 'medieval city as historically significant while addressing the modern city simply as the most visible expression of development in the society as a whole'<sup>25</sup>.

**Roy(1993)** gives a detailed view about urbanization and talks about the ideas and ideology of the ruling class. He begins with discussing about the rise of the urban poor. He says that during Pre colonial periods, many towns, capitals of kingdoms, petty commodity production-cum-business centers, all have been transformed in many Third world countries to suit the colonial interests. The prime force was the commercial capital in the new phase of urbanization and interestingly the new cities became the centres of hectic military, administrative and business activities. Even in the pre-industrial phase of colonial rule a wide range of economic activities opened up and the 'natives' got the opportunity to come in touch with western civilization. Marxian perspective says that, people got the opportunity to free themselves from the idiocies of rural life. But such transformations opened up new areas of inequality, exploitation and conflict<sup>26</sup>. He mentions that how the cities were divided into black and white townships, the while belong to the powerful people and had all basic amenities, where as the black town had nothing<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Saunders,P. (1993) 'Social theory, capitalism, and the urban question' in *Social theory and Urban Question*, Hutchinson, London,p.13

<sup>23</sup> Social forces means that it creates a social concentration which stimulates the division of Labour and while at the same time it facilitates this development by breaking down the bonds of traditional morality.(Saunders,1993:50)

<sup>24</sup> Cited in Saunders,P.(1993), Op.cit

<sup>25</sup> Cited in Saunders,P.(1993), Op.cit

<sup>26</sup> Roy,K. Sanjay (1993) State, Ideologies and Urban Poor in Third World, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 28, No. 49 (Dec. 4, 1993), pp. 2677-2681

<sup>27</sup> With the increase in industrialization, the cities and towns started growing, due to which the social, economic political institutions were re adjusted to the requirements of industrial capital and other number of categories started emerging, and those who were rich they moved to cities for better living which again forced the poor to move to cities for livelihood.

'The merchant capital and then the industrial capital grew by exploiting the labour power of the rural poor turned urban poor. Not only was the industrial labour force drawn out of them but their labour was used to the full to construct roads, rail lines, stations, sky- scrapers, residential areas, sewage systems, schools, colleges, military barracks, gar- dens, park, swimming pools, race courses, i e, all the requirements of the urban elites, the upper and upper-middle classes. A large section of the poor, men and women, were domesticated as household help for the upper classes'<sup>28</sup>. He also explained the dialectal relationship between the dominant and dependent class in 'Urban' is not only confined to the material deprivation but 'is extended to engulf the ideas and ideologies of the classes' which often influence class relations at the social level'<sup>29</sup>.

He takes the examples of eviction across the world. He quotes from Hardoy 'A city beautification programme in Santo Domingo started in 1988 in preparation for the celebration planned to commemorate the 500th anniversary of Columbus's journey to America. In Santo Domingo, 700 households had been evicted by October 1988 while a further 12,000 were under threat of eviction; some 1,00,000 people in all were affected' ". In Seoul, capital of South Korea, 7,20,000 people lost their homes in the 'redevelopment' programmes initiated during 1983- 88; in return, 'the home owners received little or no help in finding alternative accommodation. This clearly reflects the attitude of total negation of the rights of the urban poor, without whom the physical structure of the city does not exist'<sup>30</sup>.

### **1.7:- Conceptualization of the problem**

The usage of basic terms like development, displacement development displacement calls us to examine the issues of resettlement colonies. The displacement by large development projects, their aftermaths and effects of the displaced population, displacement by the natural calamities like floods, earthquakes has one way or other way is being studied by various scholars. But as the migration of the people is increasing to and absence of proper housing to these population leads to the formation of the slums

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<sup>28</sup> Cited in Roy,K, Sanjay, op.cit.

<sup>29</sup> Cited in Roy,K, Sanjay, op.cit.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in Roy,K, Sanjay, op.cit.

The terms like cleaning up, Common Wealth Games, to make Delhi as a 'world class city' may be new, but the violence on the urban poor in form of demolishing their homes is not a new addition to the history. What is interesting to note is that, to demolish somebody homes in the name of development and defining hi/her decade old home as illegal shows the anti-poor face of the state. The scenario is clear, the urban poor on the 19<sup>th</sup> and in 20<sup>th</sup> century and even now face the onslaught of the elites and upper class and are shunted out as per their interests. This leads us to the study the condition of the urban poor in a resettlement colony. The demolition of homes in Yamuna Pushta, their eviction and the relocation in the present times offers a setting ti understand a part of the process of city planning and the vulnerability of the poor.

### **1.8:- Methodological framework of the study**

The objective of this study was to understand the lived experiences of the women and female children in the context of slum demolition and resettlement.

#### **Specific objective:-**

1. To understand the implications of the slum demolition on the livelihood of the displaced families.
2. To examine the current situation of the Bawana resettlement JJ colony
3. To understand the vulnerabilities of the women and children in the process of relocation.

#### **The Study Design**

This study seeks to understand the experiences of displaced women who has not only lost their homes and livelihood due to the demolition drive but has lost the social, cultural ties which they have created who~had been with them since many generations. The study tries to capture the voices of the affected, displaced families which has lost everything but are still trying to resettle and readjust themselves on the outskirts of the city. Given the nature of the study, it was felt appropriate to use the qualitative research design which could capture the experiences of the affected people.

## Context of the Research

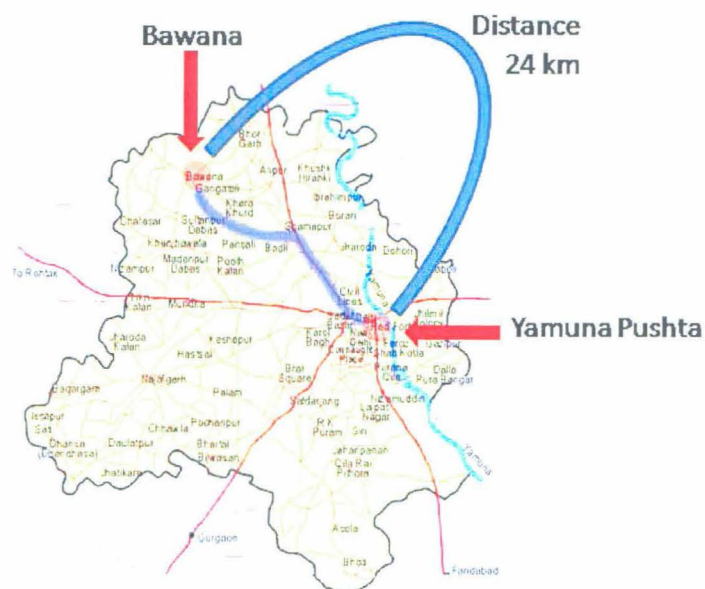
The primary field work was done Bawana JJ colony with the displaced women who had been evicted from Yamuna Pushta in March 2004. It became imperative that before we describe about the Bawana, as a resettlement JJ colony it is necessary to give a brief background about the **Yamuna Pushta slum cluster**. Yamuna Pushta was one of the largest and oldest slums in Delhi .It was a chain of 22 slums and a home for nearly 40,000 families who were staying there since many generations. Between late February to early march 2004 Yamuna Pushta, which nurtured almost 1, 50,000 people was demolished. Displaced families were then thrown to a barren land of Bawana and Holambi Kalan resettlement colonies.

## Selection of the study Area

### Bawana and Holambi Kalan

Bawana is one of the new resettlement colonies which is located in the North-West Delhi near the Haryana Border<sup>31</sup> whereas Holambi Kalan is located a few kilometers away from Bawana. Bawana residents had come from various slum clusters like Power house, Pitampura, R.K Puram,Deepali chowk but majority of the population had come from **Yamuna Pushta**. The displaced families of Yamuna Pushta who were no able to get a plot in Bawana JJ colony were then thrown to Holambi Kalan resettlement colony.

MAP:-1: Map Showing the Location of Bawana



<sup>31</sup> See map 1 which shows the location of Bawana and Yamuna Pushta on the map.

Bawana resettlement JJ colony was taken as a **universe** and the families displaced from Yamuna pushta and relocated to Bawana JJ resettlement colony were taken as **sample** Bawana was taken as a Universe instead of Holambi Kalan because majority of the families from Yamuna Pushta were relocated to Bawana. From the NGOs sources, it was found that that very few families of Pushta had been relocated in Holambi Kalan. Therefore it makes more sense to take Bawana as a universe and families displaced from Yamuna Pushta and relocated to Bawana JJ Colony as sample.

### **Profile of the study Area**

Currently 14000 households are in Bawana with a population of 90,000 populations. Bawana has been divided into 11 blocks from A to L<sup>32</sup>.

The total numbers of households:-

**From A to E block have 9000**

**From F to H block are 2500 households**

**From L to M block has 1500 households**

**K block has 1000** number of households which comes out to the total of **14000** households<sup>33</sup>.

### **Sampling:-**

This study had used the purposive and snowball methods of sampling technique.

**Purposive sampling** had been used because families who had been displaced from Yamuna Pushta and relocated to Bawana JJ colony have been **purposely** taken. Researcher also used the **Snow ball sampling method**. Because Bawana is a huge and a big resettlement colony. Residents of Bawana had come from various slum, and it was becoming difficult for the researcher to locate the houses of those families who had come from Yamuna Pushta cluster because as mentioned earlier Bawana resettlement colony has been occupied by number of families who had come from R.K Puram, Pitampura, etc and therefore with the help of Snowball sampling

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<sup>32</sup> Till January 2010 I and J block were not there in the JJ colony. So in total 9 block are there excluding I and J. The information regarding the total number of households and total number of blocks was taken from the Navjyoti Ngo which is working in Bawana since the inception of Bawana JJ resettlement colony.

<sup>33</sup> Here households mean that both the pucca and kuccha houses have been taken into account for calculating the total number of households.

method, researcher was able to locate the houses of displaced Yamuna Pushta families<sup>34</sup>.

I have only interviewed the 'women' and 'adolescents' girls because the objective of this study was to understand the experiences of the women in resettlement colony<sup>35</sup> this study does not focus to study the women but to study the reality of the problems in a planned resettlement colony from women perspective. This study does not aim to survey the quality of various services available in a resettlement colony but it was an attempt to understand the problem of resettlement from the women points of view.

### **Methods and Tools of data collection**

In total **90 unstructured interviews**<sup>36</sup> were conducted with the women, adolescents girls and children. The aim of the unstructured interview was to get an insight about individual problems. It was a challenging task as to decide the inclusion criteria. So from each block 9 women were selected on the basis of following points,

- 1) Women who lost the job,
- 2) Women who are still unemployed
- 3) Women who does not own a Pucca houses and the occupation of the head of the member etc.
- 4) Women who found new resettlement employment in Bawana
- 5) The interview was kept unstructured because firstly each and every individual problem was unique in itself. Women were giving varied reasons for migrating to the cities, making a living the Pushta and then apart from change in occupation, about their day to today activities has changed in a resettlement colony.

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<sup>34</sup> During the field work, I was assisted by the staff of Navjyoti, because Bawana has a high rate of crime and majority of the male members are into the drug peddling. so from the safety point of view I have asked for the help from Navjyoti .

<sup>35</sup> **Harding (1987)** has looked into the feminist research as a 'methodology of studying women from their perspective, recognizing the researcher as part of the research subject and acknowledging that the beliefs of the researcher shape the research

<sup>36</sup> Presently nine blocks are there in Bawana JJ colony, so 10 interviews from each nine block were conducted with Yamuna Pushta women with the help of snowball technique.



**Focused In-depth Discussions** with women, Adolescents girls and children<sup>37</sup>. This was done to get more details about the collective experiences during the time of demolition and to know more about their coping strategies in a resettlement colony. These discussions were conducted in the Navjyoti NGO, because Navjyoti used to organize various activities with the women, children, and adolescents girls. These informal discussions had helped in forming the rapport with the respondents. Issues like child birth, functions at the time of birth, change in occupation, life in a resettlement colony, The reasons for not choosing other occupation, issues about status and *izzat* (dignity) in a colony, issues about children future, family planning, caste discrimination were discussed at length.

In total 9 **case studies** were done from nine blocks. These case studies were done to get more clarity about the various problems. The case studies give us more understanding about the individual lives. Each woman had a different story to tell, and all of them narrated and shared their lived experience not only about the demolition and life in a resettlement colony, but various other issues which they thought was important to share. The loss of jobs and increase of domestic violence (which go unnoticed majority of the time), crime, taking up prostitution as survival strategy, all had been discussed by the respondents.

The **informal discussions, interactions**, with the residents Bawana JJ colony, key persons were also held. These informal discussions were held not only with Yamuna Pushta residents, but with other residents who had come from other demolished slums. This helped in analyzing the problems of affected families who had also been victims of the forced eviction. The meetings with the government school teachers which are located in a colony, meeting with police, and conversation with other NGOs were done to get a clearer picture about the life of residents in a resettlement colony.

Apart from this the researcher used some of the Participatory Rural Techniques<sup>38</sup>. like, transect walk of the colony, daily routine diagram of the women's, Venn diagram to understand the women's problems. Researcher had tried to spend more and more time by engaging with them in their daily routines activities like

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<sup>37</sup> With the consent from the respondents, the Researcher had used the Voice recorder during the discussions.

<sup>38</sup> Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques demands lots of time, so I have not used them fully but had used only a few methods which were easy and were not time consuming.

cooking, conversation and by playing small games. The responsibilities and small assignments given by the Navjyoti were also done in order to get picture of the various problems of the residents of the colony.

### **Data Analysis process:-**

The data analysis of the qualitative research is one the most difficult and challenging task for any researcher. This study has been divided into themes in order to understand various problems of the residents and all the important issues. Problems have been integrated with the narratives of the respondents. The qualitative data has been analyzed by **reading and re-reading** and **understanding the narratives** of the respondents. Coding for certain words and paragraphs was done for analyzing the data. The focused group discussions were recorded with the consent of the respondents.

### **Secondary sources**

In order to get an understanding about the problem and issues pertaining to the research topic, it was necessary for the researcher to go through a number of materials. Various papers presented at seminars and workshops, papers and articles Indian and International journals, articles, magazines, newspapers, survey reports, specifically Importantly the data from all Master Plan of Delhi, City development plan of Delhi, various Acts, legislations, Policies related to housing scenario have been used through the internet. The data from various Government departments' websites like, Planning Department of the Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (GNCTD), Slum and JJ Department of the municipal Corporation Of Delhi have also been used for getting the an-depth idea about the research problem.

### **Organization of the chapters**

The chapters have been organized taking into consideration the objectives and aims of the study.

*Chapter one* Entitled *Contextualizing the problem and Methodological approach* gives an overview of the definitions secondly it gives the detailed framework of the methodology adopted for the study

Chapter two dwells on the understanding of whole politics of the demolition of the slums and resettlement to the outskirts. This chapter begins with a brief history of urbanization leading to the understanding of the formation of slums. It covers the picture of Delhi and finally looks into the various legislations, policies and Acts related to the housing and resettlement.

Chapter Three attempt to present the primary data and the narratives of the women, and revolves around varied themes, issues, problems in a resettlement colony from the perspective of women. This chapter provides insights about the lived experiences of the women who had been the victim of eviction process.

Chapter four tries to link all the issues which have been raised and discussed in all the three chapters. This chapter discusses the consequences of the resettlement process of the people. This chapter gives the summary of the review and themes and attempts to offer some concluding remarks.

#### **Limitation of the study**

This study should be considered as exploratory in nature for understanding the problems of families who have been evicted from their homes and have been moved to outside the city

**Firstly**, The researcher felt that this study could have been done better by interacting with the key persons such as those involved in developing the MASTER plans, the architects of the resettlement colonies, town planners, eminent academicians etc at who various point of time were involved with making of the city.

**Secondly**, the study was not able to include the male population as majority of them as majority of them could not be contacted due to various reasons .It was mentioned by the NGO workers that many of them are drugs addicts and as a female researcher, I might face some problem.

**Thirdly**, this study could have been better if assessment was done on the availability and quality of various basic services which are being provided in the resettlement colonies. But due to lack of time the study only focused on the problems and traumatic experiences of the affected displaced women through narrations.

## **CHAPTER-II**

### **Political Economy of Urban Beautification**

## CHAPTER- II

### Political Economy of Urban Beautification

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This chapter intends to understand the politics of the urban beautification from the political economy perspective in context of slum demolition and shifting of people to the resettlement colonies. This chapter gives a brief history on the urbanization than tries to relate it with the formation and coming of informal settlement in metropolis. This chapter also looks into the situation of housing with regard to Delhi and linked it with the concept of ‘world class city’ and the coming of the common wealth games. Then in the end looks into the Master Plans of Delhi and various other legislations and Acts

#### 2.1:- URBANIZATION

##### Urbanization: - An Overview

The 21st century is the century of the cities and of urbanization (Hall/Pfeiffer 2001)<sup>1</sup>. Urbanization is one of the major social changes sweeping all over the world, especially in developing countries, where urban growth rates are rapidly increasing. ‘Urbanization brings fundamental changes in the ways people live- in the number of people they see, in the places they work, often in the quality of water they drink, the air they breathe, and the housing in which they live. Such changes have profound implications both positive and negative-for the health of residents’<sup>2</sup>.

The global urban transition witnessed over the last three decades has been phenomenal. ‘While the period 1950–1975 saw population growth divided between the urban and rural areas of the world, the period since has seen the balance tipped dramatically in favor of urban growth. In 2008, for the first time in history, over half of the world’s population lived in urban areas and by 2050 this will have risen to 70 per cent’<sup>3</sup>.

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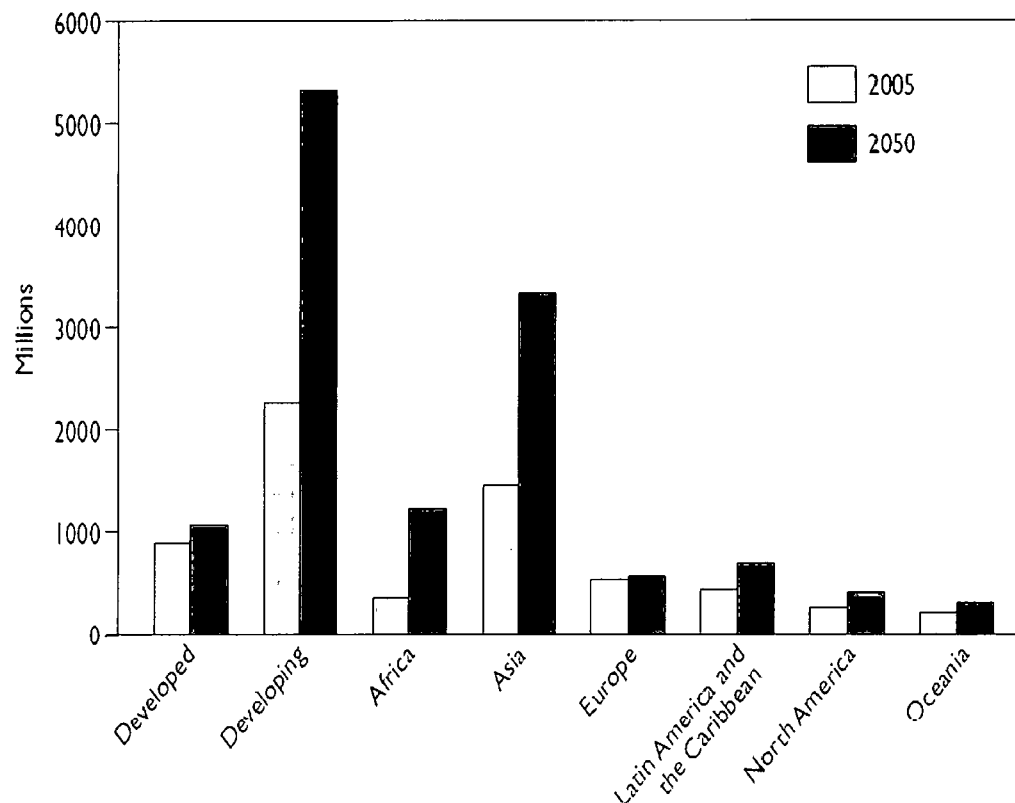
<sup>1</sup> Cited in Kötter, Theo. (2004), ‘Risks and Opportunities of Urbanization and Mega cities’,p.1, available at, [http://www.fig.net/pub/athens/papers/ps02/ps02\\_2\\_kotter.pdf](http://www.fig.net/pub/athens/papers/ps02/ps02_2_kotter.pdf), accessed on 30<sup>th</sup> march,2010

<sup>2</sup> Stephen,C.Mcgranahan.et.al (1996), ‘Urban Environment and human Health, World Resources’, 1996-97 - *A Guide to the Global Environment - The Urban Environment*

<sup>3</sup> Urban Challenges and the need to revisit Urban Planning,chapter-4, *Global Reports on Human Settlements, 2009,Planning sustainable cities: Policy directions, United Nations Human settlements programs*, p.4,available at, <http://www.unhabitat.org/pmss/listItemDetails.aspx?publicationID=2838>, accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> December,2009

**Figure 2.1 Urban population by region, 2005-2050<sup>4</sup>**

(Source:-UN, 2008)



**The State of World Population 2001**, an annual report from the United Nations Population Fund, roughly estimates that ‘2.8 billion people live already in cities and by 2015 that number will have risen to 3.9 billion. The total population is increasing by 280,000 people per day. Nearly three-quarters of them will be inhabitants of the developing world. While in developed countries urbanization has mainly taken place in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and developing countries are in the middle of their urban growth now’<sup>5</sup>.

**A Report by the experts of World Health Organization** on Public Health Administration (1963), explains urbanization as the process whereby an increasing proportion of a country’s population lives in urban localities, and is a natural process which has characterized the last century over the whole world<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Asia does not include Japan

<sup>5</sup> Cited in Kötter, Theo, *Op.cit*, p.1

<sup>6</sup> ‘Urban Health Services, Fifth Report of the Expert Committee on Public Health Administration (1963), *WHO Technical report Series*, Series-250, Geneva

And there is no denying the fact that the increase of industrialization in cities is fueling the process urbanization, which in a way are becoming the hub of employment opportunities for the rural people.

Another issue which become imperative to understand here is about the living conditions of the rural or migrant population in the cities, Desai and Pillai (1972) very clearly points that 'Urbanization is not only affecting the ecological equilibrium but has also been pushing the people which have migrated and from rural areas into precarious social-economic conditions which impede the attainment of good health'<sup>7</sup>.

## 2. 2:- The genesis of Urbanization

The story of the urbanization in India is divided into five time periods which are as follows<sup>8</sup>:-

- The prehistoric period:- ( 2350 to 1800 BC)
- The Early Historic Period:-(600 BC to AD 500)
- Urbanization in Medieval Period :-( AD600 to 1800)
- Urbanization in the British Period :-( AD 1800 to 1947)
- The post Independence Period

### The prehistoric period (2350 to 1800 BC):-

The seeds of Urbanization in the Indian subcontinent go back to 2350 BC to the Indus valley civilization .Various archeological studies point that the idea of urban life came to the Indus valley from Mesopotamia. Evidences also highlight about the abrupt beginnings of city life in Mohenjoardo and Harappa. Evidences also throws light on the features of these two cities like Wheel turned pottery, the art of writing, the location of the urban settlement on the banks of river and so on. History about the culture of Harppans people says that they were mainly agricultural people, and were settled on the fertile plains where flood water provided them easy access to the irrigation, but they never had an elaborate

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<sup>7</sup> Desai, A.R. and Pillai, S.D. (1972), 'A profile of Indian Slums, University of Bomabay

<sup>8</sup> The idea of dividing urbanization into five time periods is borrowed from the R.Ramachandran Ramachandran,R. (2001), 'The history of Urbanization', chapter-2, *Urbanization and Urban system in India*, Oxford University Press,pp-23 -73

Secondly for understanding and writing the history of urbanization in India, I have only referred to Ramachandaran work

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system of irrigation and secondly they were not aware of the plough but used harrow for tiling the soil. The art of writing and weights and measures were frequently used by them<sup>9</sup>.

As far as city structure and city planning is concerned, the Mohanjodaro and Harrapa signify and highlight the framework of urban development. The cities in this period were consisted of two components called Citadel and Lower city<sup>10</sup>. The striking feature of this civilization was the presence of elaborate drainage system. The residential structures were built with fired bricks of uniform size indicating standardization. Previous structures also highlight the presence of baths and privies in individual houses. History also says the Mohenjodaro is the largest of cities which has been rebuilt at least nine times in a span of eight hundred years<sup>11</sup>.

The Harrapan Empire had cities as well as small towns and it consisted of various rural villages. The people from the villages and cities shared common culture, language which helped in building the strong ties and harmony among the people. But with the passing of the time the urban settlements became smaller and their conditions deteriorated. Earlier studies points that the natural disaster or invasion by the outsiders was main reasons of the decline of Harrapan civilization. But whatever be the reason for the declining of the Harrapa Empire the town planning of this civilization was so highly developed as to be the envy of even modern day town planners.

### **The Early Historic Period :-( 600 BC to AD 500):-**

Urbanization became the permanent feature of the Indian landscape, during this period The cities in the north i.e. Varansai and Pataliputra and southern cities i.e. Kancheepuram and Madurai were established in 500 BC and are symbolic to India's long urban heritage.

Ramachandran studied this period in three phases i.e. *Post Vedic period, The Mauryan Period and The Post Mauryan Period.*

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<sup>9</sup> Ramachandran, R. (2001), Op.cit

<sup>10</sup> Citadel used to be built on the high ground where Nobels and high priests used to live, and history also says that citadel was consisted great baths and state granary, where as the lower city was built on grid iron pattern and it was mainly for the majority of the population

<sup>11</sup> Ramachandran, R. (2001), Op.cit



*Post Vedic period:-*The Aryans migrated to India from 2000 BC to 1500 BC. They first settled down in the Indus valley and later shifted to Yamuna and Ganga plains. The Rig Veda describes the Aryans as agricultural people and also highlight about being familiar with the use of Plough and metals etc. The society in this period was egalitarian in nature and marked no distinction between the various sections of the population.

*The Mauryan Period:-*This period witnessed the introduction of the Greek architecture. The urbanization during this period is indicated by the presence of different types of town and administrative cities. As far as structure is concerned they were rectangular, square and walled cities and resembled the Aryan villages. The striking feature of this period was distinct levels of segregation in terms of occupation<sup>12</sup>. There was no provision for the disposal of the garbage and resident had to make their own provisions. Another feature about this period was examine of proper records about the population and visitors

*The Post Mauryan Period: -* The cities in this period started to decline from 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Reasons attributed for the decline were many and varied. So far, the urbanization was confined only to the North, however the extreme southern part of India, which comprised of parts of the present *Kerala* and *Tamil Nadu* witnessed an independent process of urbanization resulting on the emergence of Dravidian culture. From 1800 and 1500 BC, the rural settlements marked the presence of using of pottery wheel by the population but no signs of urban settlements have been discovered. As far as Tamil cities were concerned the poor used to live in huts which were made up of mud, thatch, where as main cities were made up of bricks, tiles, cemented by mortar.

### **Urbanization in Medieval Period :-( AD600 to 1800)**

This period saw the revival of older cities and addition of a few new cities which came up with the remarkable monuments and structures. The Mughal Empire covered the entire northern India, where as on the southern fringe, there was a rise of the Marathas, which helped in Pune to develop as a city and was the centre of Maratha

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<sup>12</sup> This period clearly marks the presence of high and low caste among the population. The people upper caste that is Brahmins, Kshatriyas used to stay in better places of the city which were located in the north and north-east. The vaishyas lived in the southern parts, whereas the lower caste (Shudras) used to lived in the western part of the city

power and of utmost political importance. The Mughal Emperors were aware of the cultural gap between the rural masses and city rulers. Therefore to remove the gap, the feudal lords were dispersed into different parts of the empire and helped in the process of land resettlement and building of the small towns which further lead to the expansions of urban system. During Akbar's time Agra was named as the capital in 1526 but later at the time of Shahjahan , the capital returned to Delhi as *Shahjanabad*, a planned city of great beauty and charm with a network of streets. As far as internal structures were concerned the Mughal Empire was completely haphazard in nature and was over lapping with the residential, commercial and industrial land uses. But each city was marked with the main chowk and adjoining these chowk were the homes of the craftsmen. The poverty of the masses was clearly evident in all cities and as far as appearance of the cities was concerned they were unclean with filthy look because of lack of basic amenities<sup>13</sup>. The emergence of traditional industry like textiles, metals and external trade was the major contributory factors to urbanization which further generated a large number of small towns and administrative capital of the period. The frequent effort from Akbar to bring the harmony among the Hindu and Muslims people of India was of no use. And communal tension became a common feature of this period<sup>14</sup>.

#### **Urbanization in the British Period :- ( AD 1800 to 1947)<sup>15</sup>:-**

During the 150 years of British rule, India's urbanization went through number of transformation. The major contribution during the colonial period to the Indian urbanization can be studied under the following heads:-

*Construction of the metropolitan cities:* - During the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras become the leading cities of India and become the administrative commercial and industrial cities with the presence of European style buildings. The coming of the tram cars, city buses gave altogether a new look to the cities. And in 1911, the Britishers named Delhi as the capital.

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<sup>13</sup> Ramachandran, R. (2001), Op.cit and the lack of proper water supply and drainage made living conditions in tolerable. The cities like Hyderabad, Ahmadabad were described as better cities, where as cities on the Ganga plains were described as poor and shabby. And more importantly the there was a complete lack of contacts between the rich and the poor, and this was something which we can see in today's period also.

<sup>14</sup> Ramachandran, R. (2001), Op.cit

<sup>15</sup> Ramachandran, R. (2001), Op.cit

*Formation of the Hill stations and introduction of the Tea and coffee Plantation:-*

The first hill station was established in 1815 and by the year of 1870 there were more than 80 hill stations. These hill stations catered to the needs of the British population of India. The British population found Indian summer inhospitable and in order to escape the heat the hill station were developed. During this time the capital was shifted from Delhi to Shimla for more than six months. With the course of the time the native population started migrating to towns in order to provide the services to the British population and which further led to the employment opportunities for the rural people.

*Construction of civil lines and Cantonments*

*Introduction of Railways industry and modern industry:-* This led to the birth of the national network. There is no denying the fact that the railways expanded the trade and modern industry which in a way increased urbanization. The city started growing in the direction of railway stations and main markets but in a haphazard manner.

*Improvement in the basic amenities and urban administration:-* British rule mainly helped in improving the civic amenities. They established piped water supply, domestic electricity supply, sewerage in number of cities. The town planning was still not introduced during this period. With the introduction of schools, colleges, universities during this period the Indian society cultivated the *new elite* which led to the process of westernization which further created the gap between the country sides and urban areas between the urban and rural people.

**The post Independence Period:-**

The major changes that occurred during this period are as follows:-

*The refugee influx urbanization:-* There was a massive invasion of refugees into India; firstly refugees from West Pakistan settled in Delhi and Haryana, secondly the refugees from East Pakistan settled in Calcutta, Assam and Tripura. It was observed that the impact of refugees on urbanization was greater in northern states as compared to eastern and southern states of India.

### *New State Capitals*

*Industrial cities:*-India became the world's tenth largest industrialized nation with the coming of steel cities like Bhilai, Bokaro, Durgapur, Rourkela which greatly impacted upon the city development.

*Metropolization:*-The remarkable feature of urbanization during this period was the rapid growth of one-million and one lakh cities, secondly the growth of cities in an unplanned and haphazard manner which has put pressure on the basic amenities and more importantly increased the gap between the cities and towns in terms of job opportunities, and access to other facilities.

*Stagnation and decline of small towns:*-The decline of the small towns has been one of the major cause of worry for National planning commission, because these small towns play a crucial role in rural development, and this decline is clearly pointing towards the failure of the planners to bring any development in the rural areas.

*City planning:*-This period also saw the beginning of the city planning in India. The central government established The Town and Country Planning organization and prepared the first master plan in 1957, whereas from 1960 onwards we saw the emergence of town planning in different states of the city. However master plans of a very few cities have been implemented with dynamism.

The **brief review shows** that, there were many factors which were responsible for the process of urbanization in different time periods. In the prehistoric period urbanization was directly linked with the birth and rise of civilization. From historical periods to the colonial, urbanization can be understood in the context of rise and fall of empires, kingdoms, arrivals of mughals, the birth of industrialization, railways etc. But in today's scenario the urbanization has completely become the ladder towards economic growth.

### **2. 3:- Implications of urbanization**

The rapid process of urbanization has led to the divide between the urban and rural population. The metropolization and availabilities of job opportunities in the cities have attracted the poor to a great extent. This is to provide their labour in the form of services to the middle class people, and now which has made the middle class people dependent on the poor. Perhaps the most important factor is the

problem of housing for the poorer section of society. The housing which is available is beyond their reach, which forces them to settle down in an illegal way on the vacant land or private land, which fuels the growth of illegal and informal settlements called slums. And then after sometime the elite- interest group- powerful people step in to demolish the slums in the name of comes, public interest, world class city, urban beautification and so on.

## **2.4:- Understanding Slums**

### **Background**

Dirty place, overcrowded, filthy, crime, illegal homes, children crying, girls washing clothes with the dirty water, smell, congestion, stagnant water, prostitution, thatch, mud, plastics, drug peddling, unhygienic etc all are common perceptions which describe slums.

The idiom 'slum' has many nuances and meanings. It refers to settlements lacking basic human needs and services. 'First appeared in the 1820s, the term 'slum' has been used to identify the poorest quality housing, and the most unsanitary conditions; 'vice' and drug abuse; a refuge for marginal activities including crime; a likely source for many epidemics that devastated urban areas; a place apart from all that was decent and wholesome'<sup>16</sup>. Nowadays one billion people are living in slums and squatter settlements worldwide<sup>17</sup>.

Data shows that 'Asia has the highest number of people (550 million) living in slums, followed by Africa at (187 million), then Latin America and the Caribbean at (128 million) people living in slums. In India, a report claimed that a total population of 40.3 million people lives in slums. A recent survey showed that nearly 50 percent of Mumbai and Delhi's total population lived in low income settlements. Three and half a million people a quarter of Delhi's total population of 14.3 million are crammed in over more than 600,000 slum dwellings'<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Gruber, Denis. , et.al,(2005), ' Living and Working in Slums of Mumbai ,Otto von Guericke University of Magdeburg Faculty of Humanities, social sciences and education Institute of Sociology,p.3

<sup>17</sup> "The challenge of slums"; Global report on human settlements (2003) , *UN-Habitat; United Nations*, accessed from <http://www.unhabitat.org>

<sup>18</sup> Bharucha, N, Ruzabeh, (2006), 'Yamuna Gently Weeps: A journey into the Yamuna Pushta slum demolitions, Published by Sainathan Communication,p.22

## Defining slums

The first published definition of 'slum' reportedly occurs in **Vaux's 1812** Vocabulary of the Flash Language, where it is synonymous with '**racket**' or '**criminal trade** (Prunty in Dublin Slums)<sup>19</sup>.

**The UN Habitat (2003)** defines Slums as "a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor". The types, conditions, of slums vary from one to another, from country to another, as does the definition.

**The cities Alliance Action Plan (1999)** articulates slums as neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high-density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities. Slums have various names, favelas, kampungs, bidonvilles, tugurios, yet share the same miserable living conditions<sup>20</sup>.

## 2.5:- The portrait of Indian Slums

The number of people living in slums in India has more than doubled in the past two decades and now exceeds the entire population of Britain. India's slum-dwelling population had risen from 27.9 million in 1981 to 61.8 million in 2001, when the last census was done. The expansion of India's slums is partly due to the rise in India's total population, which increased from 683 million in 1981 to 1.03 billion in 2001<sup>21</sup>.

According to **Clinard (1970)** slums in India have been described as chaotically occupied, unsystematically developed and generally neglected. They are over populated and over crowded with ill –repaired and neglected structures, insufficiently equipped with proper communication and physical comforts<sup>22</sup>.

**T.K Oommen** defines a slum as a space usually within an urban settlement, populated by poor people who are invariably recent migrants completed into the

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<sup>19</sup> Cited in Davis, Mike(2004), 'Urban Involution and the Informal Proletariat, Planet of slums' New left review ,March-April-2004,26,p.12

<sup>20</sup> Different countries have different names of their slums like in India we call slums as *Jhuggi-Jhoopri*, similarly *favelas* refers to Brazil, *kampungs* to Malaysia and Indonesia, and *bidonvilles* to France

<sup>21</sup> Page, Jeremy.(2007), ' Indian slum population doubles in two decades'. The Times, accessed from <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/asia/article1805596.ece>, on 9th march, 2010

<sup>22</sup> Clinard, B ,Marshall,(1970), 'Slums and communities Development:- Experiments in Self Help, The Free Press

urban situation because of helpless back home and the incapacity to afford a better place of living within the urban settlement<sup>23</sup>.

In India the **Draft National Slum Policy (2001)** by the government has adopted the definition followed by the Census of India for Slum as “an area with 25 or more temporary housing structures in a huddle, with practically no access to or inadequate access to latrines and water facilities”

In India, slum areas have been defined under **Section 3 of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956**. According to the Act, an area may be considered a slum, if in a particular area the building:

- a) “are in any respect unfit for human habitation or
- b) are by reason of dilapidation, overcrowding, faulty arrangements of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors detrimental to safety or morals”<sup>24</sup>.

For the purpose of **Census of India 2001**, slum areas broadly constitute:

‘A compact area with a population of at least 300 or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitation and drinking water facilities’<sup>25</sup>.

Given above definitions that gave us some insights about the slums in India, it important to look into the case of Delhi with regard to the slums, factors which contributes to the growth of slums, the story of demolition and forced eviction .

## **2.6:- The Picture of Delhi**

### **Background:-**

‘Delhi has been a capital through centuries and under different emperors. The Rajputs had their capital in the 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> century. Various Sultans ruled Delhi and developed their capitals at several places in the vicinity of the Qutub Minar. The

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<sup>23</sup>Cited in Bharucha,N,Ruzbeh.(2006), op.cit.

<sup>24</sup> See [http://www.lawyersclubindia.com/bare\\_acts/Slum-Areas-Improvement-and-Clearance-Act/958](http://www.lawyersclubindia.com/bare_acts/Slum-Areas-Improvement-and-Clearance-Act/958)

<sup>25</sup> See

[http://censusindia.gov.in/Data\\_Products/Data\\_Highlights/Data\\_Highlights\\_link/metadata\\_highlights.pdf](http://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Data_Highlights/Data_Highlights_link/metadata_highlights.pdf)

capital shifted twice to Agra- once during the last of the Sultan dynasty and then again in the times of Akbar<sup>26</sup>.

Shahjanabad built in 1648 is the seventh city to be situated on the historic site of Dilli. The walled city, designed and constructed with personal care by the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (the fifth in the line), was hailed then as the largest and most renowned city not only in of India, but of all the East from constinople to Canton.<sup>27</sup> Shortly after Indian rebellion of 1857, Calcutta was declared the capital of British India but in 1911 the capital was again moved back to Delhi. Parts of the old city were pulled down to create New Delhi a monumental new quarter of the city designed by the British architect Edwin Lutyens to house the government buildings<sup>28</sup>.

‘Today Delhi as the National Capital has a distinct and unique character .It is growing and expanding magnet of population from all the across the country and also a hub for the region surrounding it. As per 2001 census, National Capital Territory (NCT) had a population of 138 lakhs. NCT Delhi is highly urbanized with 93.18 percent of its population living in urban areas as against the national average of 27.81 percent. During 1991-2001, the urban population of Delhi increased at 3.87 percent annual growth. With the continuation of the present population trend, the total population of National Capital Territory of Delhi (NCTD) by the year 2011 and 2021 would be 182 lakh and 225 lakh respectively’<sup>29</sup>.

**TABLE: 2.1**

<b>Five Yearly Estimates of Projected Population</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Population (In lakh)</b>
2001	137.8
2006	162.0
2011	182.0
2016	199.0
2021	230.0

Source: Census of India and projection by MPD - 2021

<sup>26</sup> Gupta,D,Raiib,(2003), ‘Cholera in Delhi: a study of time trends and its determinants’, Centre of social medicine and community Heath, JNU, Unpublished P.hd thesis

<sup>27</sup> Mehra,k, Ajay (1990). “The Politics of Urban Redevelopment:- A study of Old Delhi, Sage Publication,p-10

<sup>28</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Delhi)

<sup>29</sup> Population and Employment, Master Plan for Delhi, 2021,p.18 and See table 2.1 which gives the population estimates for the five year Interval



### **THE SILENT MAJORITY: - SLUMIZENS<sup>30</sup>**

*Shanta devi came to capital in search of work. She was staying in Yamuna Pushta since 1980 and was running a small successful Dhaba which was the only source of income for her family. She has lost her husband because of the Tb. Everything was going normal until one day her twenty year old home was bulldozed by the Government by giving the argument as encroachers on the river bed and main polluters to the river Yamuna. Then she was thrown to Bawana, because she was one of a few lucky allottees to whom the plot has been allotted in Bawana JJ colony. There she lost all her dreams. She was under debts because settling in a new place was not an easy option and her daughter has been sold to some family by her son, which led to the death of her daughter. Her son has left her, so now she stays alone in a Kaccha house because her own plot has been sold to some Bawana Jat because of the economic crisis.*

The above narration helps us in understanding the life of a woman who was happy in an informal settlement because of the availability of work, but her life took a turn when she was asked to resettle in a planned settlement. May be this cannot be true for all the resettled families , who have been the victims of forced evictions but some where it draws our attention to the fact that resettling the families does not solve the problem. That is why there is need to look into the resettlement process again. This study attempts to examine the issue from the lens of invisible population.

The modern city has been constructed by the poor with their labour who were brought and still coming from the rural, areas with a dream of productive livelihood in the cities. They gave their services to the city, city population but what they got in return? City is getting transformed. But the Urban poor, beggars, *slumizens*, homeless people are being driven out from illegal settlements (in which they have staying for so many decades). More than a lakh families living in slums are becoming the victims of slum demolitions and forced evictions.

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<sup>30</sup> As such there is no word called slumizens but I have used as to introduce this in this section. Slumizens here refers to those people, families, population who are the residents of the slums. Yet all the time they have been driven out from their own homes.

Oommen refers to AICC Fazipur resolution of 1934 which deals with the principle of implementing the Land to the Tiller. He mentioned that because this principle was not implemented properly, there was an increase in the number of Migrants from rural to urban areas in India<sup>31</sup>.

'Delhi is a home to about 3 million people living in slums and it is estimated that 45% of Delhi population lives in unauthorized colonies, Jhughi Jhompri (JJ) and urban villages'<sup>32</sup>. Population of Delhi has grown 221.57% during the course of last twenty years. No other city in the world has witnessed similar kind of growth, which is unprecedented both in its scale and magnitude. Much of this growth has been influenced by poverty-induced migration, from different parts of the country, particularly from the neighboring States, in search of livelihood<sup>33</sup>.

A low paid job compels them to find their way into the streets or unauthorized places which further initiates the birth of slums. These silent majorities stay on the streets and keep on shifting from one slum to another with no permanent space and place which they can call own despite of the fact that they have been staying in the city from many decades.

Migration of the poor to the cities is directly related with livelihood of the people and which in turn directly impact the settlement system of the city. It is estimated that 83.9% of the population who migrated to the city belonged to the rural areas, 15.8% to the small and medium towns (with population of less than a million) and 0.3% to the metropolis (million plus cities)<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> The AICC Resolution of 1934 called as Fazipur resolution adopted maxim 'Land to the Tiller'. Tillers ought to be defined as those persons who actually cultivated the land. Because of the presence of the three agrarian systems the land owner's i.e the upper caste did not cultivated the land, the intermediary castes used to supervise cultivation as tenants. And the real tillers (the dalits) .Therefore during the implementing process of this principle, land to the tiller, the tenants were defined as tillers .And there is no doubt to the fact land reforms have done away with land lords but land has gone to the ex tenants and they are the owner and cultivators .Therefore the agrarian Proletariat did not benefitted from land reforms Therefore because of the no stake in the villages they are coin to the cities and occupying slums in India.

And See Bharuha, Ruzbeh,(2005), 'Yamuna Gently Weeps:'- A journey into the Pushta slum demolition,p.272

<sup>32</sup> Planning Commission, Government of India – New Delhi. (2008). Urban Development, Delhi Development Report, pp. 93 – 110.

<sup>33</sup> Dhar, Chakrabarti P.G, (2001), 'Delhi's Ongoing Debate on Informal Settlements and Work Places –Issues of Environmental Jurisprudence' *International Workshop on Coping with Informality and Illegality in human settelmnts in developing country*, 23<sup>rd</sup> may to 26<sup>th</sup> may ,2001, p.3

<sup>34</sup> Delhi Development Authority(DDA), 'Report of the Sub-Group on Population Projections and Demographic Profile for Preparation of Master Plan for Delhi' – 2021, 2000, New Delhi.

Census data of 1991 also looks into the “reasons for migration” indicate that 81.56% of the migrants came to the city in search of employment, 7.65% for business, 1.84% for education, 0.12% due to natural calamities and 8.83% for other reasons<sup>35</sup>. The neighboring states of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan accounted for more than 80 percent of migration to Delhi, while 12% came from Bihar and the remaining 8% from all other States put together<sup>36</sup>. Table 2.2 shows the volume of net migration to Delhi<sup>37</sup>.

**TABLE: - 2.2**  
**Volume of Net Migration to Delhi (in, 000)**

Year	Net Migration to Delhi
1961- 1971	633
1971- 1981	952
1981- 1991	1306
1991- 2001	1600

Source: Census of India, Registrar General of India

Data on migrants for the year 2001 shows that Delhi witnessed high migration rate. Rough estimate shows that approximately 5 lakh people migrate to Delhi every year; of which majority are poor and come in search of work<sup>38</sup>. As per the Planning Commission’s survey 9.4 per cent of the population of Delhi falls within the category of urban poor. Though Economic survey (2004-05) states that 6% of the population of Delhi comes under the category of ‘very poor’ and 28% of the population can be classified as poor. However in 2001 the number of slum cluster declined from 1100 to 728 and this decline is attributed to the relocation of around 300 from Ashok Vihar, AIIMS etc.

<sup>35</sup> See Census Of India, Series1, Vol-3,Registrar General Of India ,p.76

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, p.79

<sup>37</sup> table 2.2 which is giving the volume of Net migration to Delhi from 1961 to 2001

<sup>38</sup> Rai, Archana, Living Rough Surviving City Streets: A Study of Homeless Populations in Delhi, Chennai, Patna and Madurai,p.4

### **Do urban poor have a defined place to stay?**

The urban poor live in the periphery of the cities, where the living conditions are unsatisfactory with lack or absence of proper basic infrastructure. These, jobs are low paid with no security and most of the time these jobs are short term and irregular with no certainty. But their condition is made more miserable due to the lack of access to basic amenities like safe drinking water, lack of sanitation, food insecurity, and no permanency of job; all these makes them vulnerable and compel their situation to live permanently on the edge. The vulnerability of their lives could be well understood by the facts that even a small distress, shock; loss triggers a livelihood crisis for their whole family.

### **Slums: - 'Home and a hope' for urban poor**

The Life of Urban poor in slums is characterized by its complete informality. On the one hand the city's growth is fuelled by cheap labour of poor migrants, slum residents, and pavement dwellers, homeless people etc on the other hand, there are no provisions to plan for their housing. This is the question which will be answered in following section. Due to lack of support the city government, the poor are forced to built their houses in empty public space, but when the authorities decide to the city and make it into a 'world class city', during common wealth games then the house of the same poor, (who has come to city as a driver, domestic maid, street hawker etc) are branded as illegal encroachers, criminals, nuisance in the society and they are forcibly evicted and demolished

In the cities like Mumbai or Delhi , any middle class or high class people ,politicians ,planners can arrives and stay and but if a poor man comes to the same city then the poor have to show that whether he/she is the citizen of the city by showing the proof that for how long they have been staying the city like before 1998 or after 1998. Then this criteria of excluding them from the city gets nods from all the heads because this is politically correct according to the urban planners, middle class residents and financial institutions who primarily control how the city is run, managed and organized and in return give births to the disturbing social and political exclusions.

During the interview with the affected families of Yamuna Puhsta it was revealed that most of the families had come to the city as construction workers in the 1980 for building the Games village and stadiums when Delhi was to host **Asiad games** and same thing was also confirmed by the NGOs who are now working in Bawana with the same families. But again the same families again have been evicted for the common wealth games , because the of the construction of Commonwealth Games Village on the Yamuna river.

### **Scenario of Housing in Delhi**

Shelter is one of the basic necessities of life. But in our cities we do not give any right to the urban poor for housing. Given below are the various types of formal and informal settlements which are available in Delhi. As per the Economic Survey of Delhi (2002: 129), there are eight types of settlements in Delhi:-

### **Types of settlements<sup>39 40</sup>**

- Jhuggi- Jhompri Clusters (JJ clusters)
- Slum designated areas
- Unauthorized colonies
- Rural villages
- Regularized- Unauthorized colonies
- Urban villages
- Planned colonies
- Resettlement colonies

### ***Jhuggi- Jhompri Clusters (JJ clusters):-***

Squatter settlements are encroachments on occupied land belonging to the Government. They are staying as illegal occupants on the public and private land. In a number of documents JJ clusters are also referred to as squatter settlements. These clusters are normally shanty structures constructed by the migrant labour of Delhi.

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<sup>39</sup> Hazards Centre (2007):- 'A Fact-finding report on the eviction and resettlement process in Delhi', pp.11-14

<sup>40</sup> Batra, Bikram Jeet. (2005). 'Entitlement to Services and Amenities in JJ clusters, JJ Relocation Colonies and other non-planned settlements in Delhi': An Overview. Institute of Social Studies Trust, New Delhi, pp.2-4

**Dhar (2001)** highlights that these settlements are generally formed along lines of regional, linguistic and caste affiliations, though there are many clusters that are heterogeneous in composition<sup>41</sup>. These families live near their workplaces which help them in avoiding extra burden on transport. This shanty structures are made up of tarpaulin, plastic sheets, and tin roofs but a few also have brick and cement construction, as these clusters are illegal in nature, they are not entitled to any basic and civic amenities. Majority of the families are deprived of the basic needs like water, education, health etc and if they have an access to these facilities the provision of these services remain below the acceptable level. Government of Delhi, (2002) carried out a survey in Delhi in 1990, and found that 2.59 lakhs households were estimated to be living in 929 slums<sup>42</sup>.

Table 2.3 gives the growth of the population residing in the various slum clusters. This table points out that in 1951 the population of slum clusters was 63745 who resided in 12749 Jhuggi households, and which were scattered around 199 clusters. By 1973 the population rose up to 492415 having 98483 households spread around the 1373 slum clusters. The slum clusters have reduced in 1983 from 1373 to 534 because of the resettlement colonies. In 2001, around 3 million people were spread around 1100 slum clusters.

**TABLE:-2.3 The evolution of Slum Cluster from 1951 to 2001**

Year	No. of Slum Clusters	No. Of Jhuggi Households	Area Occupied by Slum Clusters (in Ha.)	Population of Slum Clusters
1951	199	12749	21.1	63745
1973	1373	98483	164.1	492415
1983	534	113000	188.3	565000
1990	929	259000	431.7	1295000
1997	1100	600000	902.1	3000000
2001	723	429662	650.2	2148310

(Source:- City development plan (JNNURM), chapter 6, Department of urban development, p.1<sup>43</sup>)

<sup>41</sup> Master Plan for Delhi, 2021, Op.cit

<sup>42</sup> The Slum Wing of MCD estimated about 1100 JJ clusters with 6 lakh households and an approximate population of 21 lakh. Whereas the paper by Dhar (2001) says that unlike cities such as Kolkata or Mumbai, Delhi does not have slum settlements in certain specified areas instead they are scattered throughout the cities in small settlements as near railway tracks, roads, river banks, parks and other vacant lands.

<sup>43</sup> The CDP has mentioned that the source of data that it has been taken from the Slum department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi.

### **Slum designated areas:-**

These are settlements that are notified as per provisions of Section 3 of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act, 1956 as too dilapidated or suffering from other disadvantages in terms of ventilation etc. Most of the notified slums in Delhi tend to be in the walled city and were declared a long time ago. There appears to have been no notification of slums in the past three decades. Slums normally receive in situ up-gradation. In cases where up-gradation is not possible, slums can be cleared or demolished or removed in the name of the beautification or at of public interest.

### **Unauthorized colonies:-A bizarre Urban trend**

These are colonies created on land that is not meant for residential use. Very often these colonies are created on agricultural land by private developers who make a colony plan, streets and lanes etc, but these plans are not approved. Despite legal title to land they are deemed as unauthorized because they violate the master plan<sup>44</sup>. These colonies are heterogeneous like Sanik farms to the middle class dwellings.

As far as access to basic amenities are concerned, it all depends upon the capability of the residents' like how much they can mobilize and pressurize the agencies to provide them services. Although 417 unauthorized colonies were identified in 1974, their numbers had increased to 612 by 1984. Latest figures suggest, there are 1,071 unauthorized colonies<sup>20</sup> in which more than 3.5 million people reside<sup>45</sup>. Unauthorized colonies are in lime light because residents are pressurizing the government to make these colonies legal and regularize everything. The dispute is between government and residents is regular because government wants that residents should pay the development charges but residents are totally against this, as they argue that bulk of the investment on the basic amenities have been invested by the residents themselves.

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<sup>44</sup> The Delhi Lands (restrictions on transfer Act 1972) mentions that the sale of land notified for acquisition, therefore landowners are legally forbidden from changing land use and selling to anyone other than DDA. Therefore the land which is designated as agricultural land cannot be converted for any other use without government sanction.

<sup>45</sup> "Building Coalitions: Situational Analysis of Delhi Slums", *CARE India*, p.20

**Rural villages:-**

These are villages that exist within the National Capital Territory of Delhi which are yet to be notified as urban villages. Often these tend to be on the fringe of the city.

**Regularized- Unauthorized colonies:-**

They are regularised by the Government agencies. This regularization is obviously a political decision and often has the effect of amending the 'land use' of the land on which they are created.

**Urban villages:-**

Urban Delhi has been expanding rapidly into the rural environs and, in the process swallowing up vast tracts of agricultural land. With the acquisition of cultivated lands, the residential cores of villages are also becoming parts of city limits. Once the farmland around a village is acquired by the DDA, the village is declared as an urban village. While officially an urban village is entitled to all civic amenities and services, the reality is very different as a result of which urban villages have joined the ranks of slums in the city. A total of 0.6 mn people live in 216 urban villages in Delhi<sup>46</sup>.

**Harijan Bastis :-**

These were occasional social welfare gestures where special colonies were given constructed at low cost or free for 'harijans'. The term has no administrative connotation though most harijan bastis tend to be planned/approved colonies.

**Pavement Dwellers:-**

Although this is not a type of settlement but a group of people who are 'homeless' in the most literal sense, these are persons who normally reside on pavements, under bridges and flyovers and the road side in general. In spite of their high visibility and numerical strength, pavement dwellers are not entitled to any civic amenities. Civic authorities are required to provide shelters for this category of people but these are few and far between<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup> The urban village does not have any problem with the land tenure because; the land has been purchased legally and had been built keeping in mind the permissible limits which does not violate the master plan. Here the quality of life is better because the investment by the public has resulted in the congestion and burden on the amenities, and resources because as far as public investment is concerned it is low which creates the non availability of the space.

<sup>47</sup> See table 2.4 which gives the data on the informal settlement in Delhi.



**TABLE 2.4 Informal settlements in Delhi**

Category	Estimates as per DUEIIP, 2001	
	Population (in million)	% Of total population
Jhuggi Jhopri Clusters/Squatters	2.07	14.82
Designated Slum Areas	2.66	19.05
Unauthorised Settlements	0.74	5.30
Regularised unauthorised colonies	1.78	12.75
Resettlement colonies	1.78	12.75
Rural Villages	0.74	5.30
Urban villages	0.39	6.37
Planned Colonies	3.31	23.11
Total	13.96	100.00

*(Sources: - Based on the estimates by the GOI and MOE & Forest (2001), 'Status Report prepared under the Delhi Urban Environment and Infrastructure Improvement project (DUEIIP)<sup>48</sup>)*

### **Stake Holders Involvement in a 'World Class City':-**

We cannot deny the fact that the capital city can be called as an experimental playground of many legislative and administrative models or approaches applied to the city to improve its governance only on papers but not at the grassroots level.

Delhi has the presence of all three layers of governance, i.e. central, state/provincial and local. Altogether there are 118 departments governing and managing the city of Delhi. There are three planning boards for the city and regional planning, namely, National Capital Region Planning Board (NCRPB), Delhi Metropolitan Council (DMC) and Delhi Development Authority (DDA). There are a number of service providers for Delhi, namely, Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC), Delhi Cantonment Board (DCB), Delhi Jal Board (DJB), etc<sup>49</sup>.

Given next is the table which shows the about various governments department of Delhi and their roles and responsibilities.

<sup>48</sup> Cited in Singh, Kishore, Shukla, Shikha,(2005), 'Profiling Informal city of Delhi'- Policies, Norms, Institutions & Scope of Intervention Water Aid India ,pp.27

<sup>49</sup> Singh,Kishore and Shukala ,Shikha(2005),'Profiling informal city of Delhi':- Policies, Norms, and scope of intervention Institutions, Water Aid India p.50

**TABLE: - 2.5 Departments and Their Share in Responsibility<sup>50</sup>**

Issues	Concerned Agencies (in order of importance)	Result
Housing-provision of serviced plots for housing to accommodate growth	Delhi Development Authority (DDA) Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) Department of Land Development (DoLD) Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) Delhi Jal Board (DJB) Delhi Vidyut Board (DVB) New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC)	Lack of houses leading to unauthorised colonies, growth of squatters, lack of infrastructure
Transportation	Ministry of Railways (MoR) Central Public Works Department (CPWD) Public Works Department (PWD) Department of Transport (DoT) Private sector	Lack of adequate mass transportation capacity and routes, resulting in growth of personalised vehicles with resultant problems of traffic congestion, air and noise pollution
Environmental pollution	Central Pollution Control Board (CPCB) Delhi Pollution Control Board (DPCB) Delhi Jal Board (DJB) Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC)	Land, water, air and noise pollution, environmental health related problems
Habitat Improvement for urban poor	New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) Delhi Development Authority (DDA) Ministry of Urban Development (MoUD) Department of Urban Development (DoUD)	Slum-up gradation or relocation do not get momentum

Apart from the above mentioned departments of Delhi, there are Other stakeholders including private parties to redevelop slums through the Public Private Partnership (PPP) schemes, third parties in the to enter low cost housing sector, various NGO's working at the grass root levels within the slums, the basic service providers supplying water, electricity etc. in the slums and the communities around where the slums have developed.

#### **Resettlement colonies:-**

##### **'A Chronicle of Eviction, Demolition, and Pain of Relocation'**

The resettlements colonies are a tale of forced eviction, demolition drive, as the city make over is done people are resettled on the outskirts city. These colonies came up when in 1960 the government has followed a policy of evictions with the twin stated objectives of simultaneously decongesting the urban centre and providing better amenities to the poor. These colonies were

<sup>50</sup> Virendra prakash committee report on MCD(2001)and Mario pinto , Op.cit.

constructed near the work place of the people and gave legal title to those were residing before 1960. It came to the notice that there were around 3600 households who came prior to 1960 and they were given the 67 sq.mts plots. After some time, it was found that residents' of the resettlement colonies have started selling their plots to other families<sup>51</sup>.

However for squatters that came up after 1960 the plan was to relocate them on plots of 21 sq mts each, with shared services. They were permitted to construct temporary huts on designated plots and were charged a rent of Rs 4.50 which was enhanced to Rs 8.00 after 1967. In all, 46,000 such plots were allotted in resettlement colonies. In all, 18 resettlement colonies came up during the period 1960-1975. These colonies, however, could not be regularised as the plot sizes were below the norm stipulated in the Master Plan. By late sixties, the Delhi Government had abandoned all such resettlement schemes. Resettlement of slum population was taken up on a massive scale in the second phase, during 1975-77<sup>52</sup>. These resettlement colonies were located on the city periphery, many came up outside the urban limits of Delhi and few were even located on agricultural land. During this phase, the government made efforts to relocate 1,50,000 squatter families from the walled city and adjacent areas. This relocation resulted in the emergence of 26 new colonies, each household was given a plot measuring 21 sq mts. on a rental basis. Due to considerable public resentment, the government took a decision in early 1980s to increase the plot size to 26 sq mts and confer leasehold rights to all the resettlers on the payment of a small fee. Since 1983 built-up tenements were also provided in resettlement colonies<sup>53</sup>.

Since early 1990, this policy has been greatly accelerated. Figures filed by the Sanjha Manch in its writ petition before the Supreme Court on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2006 showed that in the last five years more than 150 JJ bastis have been demolished, displacing approximately 0.5 million people<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>51</sup> Fact finding report, Hazard Center, Op.cit.

<sup>52</sup> The government has to slow down the resettlement policy in the late 1970 and mid 1980 due to the popular backlash against the brutal evictions that occurred during the emergency in 1975 - 77. Secondly it has been mentioned by Emma Tarlo in the book on Unsettling Memories that the resettlement, plot allocation to the families was linked to the coerced sterilization,

<sup>53</sup> Care india, Op.cit.

<sup>54</sup> Cited in Rai, Op.cit, p.12

### 2.3.6:- Politics behind the curtains of demolition and Relocation.

It is important to understand whether the government is providing a space to some section of the population, or is it actually contributing a solution to their problem. This story reveals about large scale evictions and displacements Displacements during partition of India in 1947, evictions during the Emergency of 1975, riots against Sikhs in 1984 after the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the 2002 Gujarat riots against Muslims and the Operation Pushback about illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in Delhi in 1992 are a few examples of large scale displacements and evictions, which have led to closer scrutiny due to their national and international political ramifications (Nussbaum, 2007; Mitta, and Phoolka, 2007; Ramachandran, 2002)<sup>55</sup> The resettlement colonies are only promises by the government. The site or land where the families have been resettled is barren land on the outskirts of the city which is prone to flooding. More importantly all the resettlement colonies are miles away from their original work places<sup>56</sup>.

**TABLE: - 2.6 Colonies in Delhi where squatters are currently being resettled**

<b>Name of the Resettlement colony</b>	<b>Distance from the city centre</b>	<b>Date of development</b>
<i>Bhalaswa</i>	<i>20km</i>	<i>2000</i>
<i>Narela</i>	<i>35km</i>	<i>1999</i>
<i>Holambi Kalan</i>	<i>40km</i>	<i>2000</i>
<i>Holambi Khurd</i>	<i>40km</i>	<i>2000</i>
<i>Bakkarwala</i>	<i>35km</i>	<i>2001</i>
<i>Hastal</i>	<i>25km</i>	<i>2000</i>
<i>Pappankaln</i>	<i>25km</i>	<i>1999</i>
<i>Molarband</i>	<i>20km</i>	<i>2000</i>
<i>Madanpur Khadar</i>	<i>20km</i>	<i>2000</i>
<i>Bawana</i>	<i>40km</i>	<i>2004</i>
<i>Savda Ghevra</i>	<i>40km</i>	<i>2006</i>

Source: - Writ Petition (Civil) n0.241 of 2006 ,Sanjha Manch Versus Union Of India and others<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Cited in Kumar,Ashok 'Planning for rights, capabilities and justice for the urban poor'.

<sup>56</sup> See table 2.6 which gives the data on the squatters where they been resettled.

<sup>57</sup> Cited in Hazards Centre (2007):- 'A Fact-finding report on the eviction and resettlement process in Delhi'

The table tells that resettlement sites like Bawana, Bhalawa, Holambi Kalan, Savda Ghevra, Narela are almost 30 km to 40 km away from the city. All the resettlement colonies that were developed since the 1960s for relocating the inhabitants of the old city slums and demolished squatter settlements were situated, at the time of the installation of the initial group of occupants, on the periphery of the urban agglomeration (Map 2)<sup>58</sup>. Most resettlement colonies developed in the last 10 years are located even further away than the previous resettlement sites, in the rural-urban fringe of Delhi, up to 30 kms from the city centre <sup>59</sup>(as is given in Table 2.6).

The colonies are without proper drinking water, no toilets, and no schools no transport facilities. The loss of livelihood is the most life threatening aspect of resettlement. The **loss of the livelihood** forces them to sell out their plots to the other families, and then resettled families go to a slum for their survival.

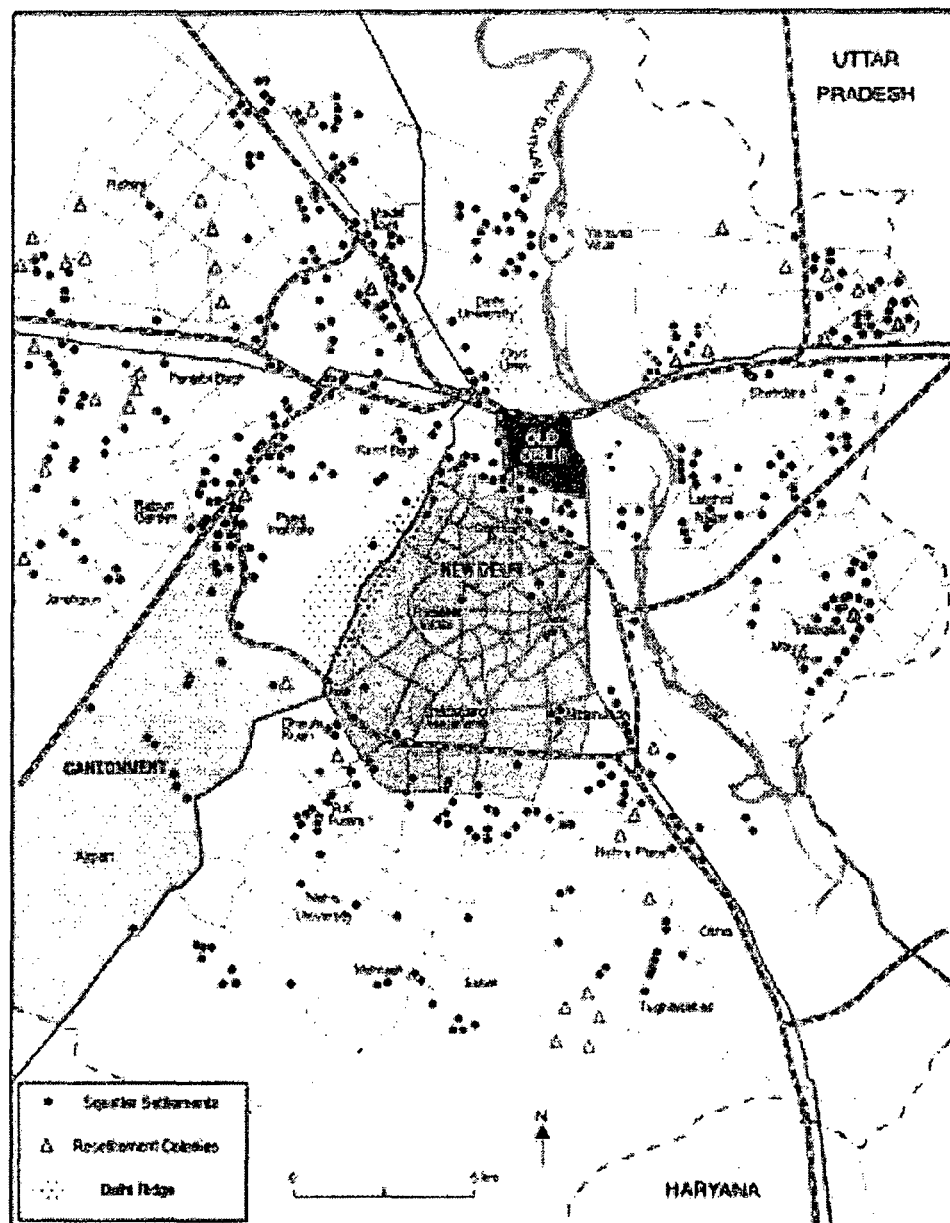
Another important issue regarding resettlement colony is about the **leasehold rights**. Leasehold guaranteed security of tenure to the allottee. But in the present scenario the security is limited for only five years because resettlement plots are allowed only for that period. It has not been mentioned in any document that on what basis the renewal would be done. This poses great insecurity on the plot owners because already once they have been evicted and they are hesitant to invest their money and labour in a new plot without any leasehold rights. As the in the case of Bawana JJ colony , the land has been provided to the families only for five years but now it has already been six years, but till now no renewal has been done. And this poses great threat to the families because they have already experienced the forced eviction in Yamuna Pushta. All the families are living in the fear of again becoming the victim of demolition.

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<sup>58</sup> Map.2 is given below and it talks about the squatter settlements and resettlements in Delhi urban agglomeration (1990)

<sup>59</sup> Dupont, Vernique(2008), 'Slum Demolitions in Delhi since the 1990s' : An Appraisal,,Economic and Political weekly,,p.80

Map 2: Squatter settlements and resettlements in Delhi urban agglomeration (1990)



(Source: Slum and Jhuggi Jhompri Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi and Sabir Ali 'Slums within Slums: A Study of Resettlement Colonies in Delhi', Council for Social Development, New Delhi, 1990.)

A study done by **Khosla (2005)** points out that the major benefit of resettlement to the local government and city economy is the economic value of evacuated land. Evacuated land can be used for development projects such as hospitals, industrial units, etc. which in turn generate employment and value addition to the city economy. Even if these lands are maintained for parks, the economic value could be high since the environmental services in terms of clean air and recreational

facilities push the property rates upwards and also provide increased earnings to the commercial activities<sup>60</sup>.

Three major benefits have been estimated and incorporated to the benefit cost analysis of resettlement with relocation of households in faraway places. These are<sup>61</sup>:

- (i) land value of evacuated site for commercial development use,
- (ii) Revenue flow in terms of net taxes and charges [for the civic amenities] to the city managers,
- (iii) Employment generation from the development projects in the evacuated sites

“The cost of resettlement is often underestimated by city managers since several indirect and invisible costs do not find place in the benefit cost analysis. The decision of resettlement appears to be financially viable if the evacuated land is utilized to generate substantial inflow of revenues to the city. However, a different picture begins to emerge in the economic analysis when social costs are taken to account while analyzing benefits and costs<sup>62</sup>.

Subsequently, the analysis included the following costs: (i) cost of procurement of land for relocation, (ii) civic amenities in the site and cost of bus service, (iii) costs for the households’ house and shifting costs, income loss, additional travel cost, additional expenses for health, loss of saving. The final results of the benefit-cost analysis conducted on a sample of sites in Delhi show that “the option of relocation is not economically worthwhile”<sup>63</sup>. However economic costs are not the only factor which needs to be considered<sup>64</sup>.

If the economic calculations for the city economy and development prospects for the capital seems yet to favour the option of slum demolition and relocation, this is definitely because “these calculations fail to take into consideration the significant contribution of the poor in the informal sector and the latter’s input to

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<sup>60</sup> Khosla, Renu and G Jha (2005): Economics of Resettling Low-income Settlements (Slums) in Urban Areas Case for On-site Upgrading, Draft Final Report, Centre for Urban and Regional Excellence, accessed from [http://www.saneinetwork.net/pdf/SANEI\\_VI/SANEI-\\_](http://www.saneinetwork.net/pdf/SANEI_VI/SANEI-_) on November 2009

<sup>61</sup> *ibid*,p.132

<sup>62</sup> *ibid*,p.135

<sup>63</sup> Cited in Khosla, Renu and G Jha (2005), *Op.cit*

<sup>64</sup> (The next chapter-3 gives a detailed account of the affected families who got evicted from Yamuna Pushta and are resettled in Bawana).

the city/national economic growth and the long term impact of displacement on vulnerability of the poor<sup>65</sup>.

**Durpont (2008)** pointed out in about the lack of available data on the demolition and relocation of the Jhuggi Jhopri clusters. 'The extent of slum demolitions in Delhi is difficult to assess with accuracy as no updating of the numbers of jhuggi-jhompri (J.J.) clusters and J.J. families have been provided by the Slum and J.J. Department of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), which results in inconsistency in the official data published. The last comprehensive enumeration of jhuggi jhompri clusters conducted by the Slum and J.J. Department (on the basis of field assessment and in consultation with area Members of the Legislative Assembly), and whose results were made available as a detailed list providing for each zone of the city the number of jhuggi families in each cluster, dates back to 1994. Thereafter, till 1998, estimates were provided on the basis of the 1994 data and projected growth. In fact, until 2007, no new figures for the last few years were made available by the Slum & J.J. Department'<sup>66</sup>.

She also highlighted that even the City Plan of Delhi which was released in 2007 under Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission had used the 2001 data and provides a different set of figures for 2001, This is quoted as data from the 'Slum Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi'<sup>67</sup> The 2001 figures would indicate a sharp decline in the number of jhuggi-jhompri clusters, from 1100 in 1997 to 728 in 2001, and a subsequent decrease of population in squatter settlements, from three millions to 2.1 million, which is attributed to "large scale relocation of JJ clusters since 1999". These figures have greatly overestimated the impact of the slum clearance (notwithstanding the extent of eviction) and underestimating the effect of in-migration and natural growth on slum population<sup>68</sup>.

The other **politics** of relocation is about the cutoff dates and about the presence of the ration card as a proof. Because of the absence of ration cards majority of the families did not fit into the eligibility criteria of getting the plots in a resettlement sites. At the time Yamuna Pushta evictions, the ration cards were destroyed in the

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<sup>65</sup> Khosla, Renu and G Jha (2005), Op.cit, Abstarct.

<sup>66</sup> Cited in Dupont, Vernique, Op.cit.

<sup>67</sup> See table no. 2.3

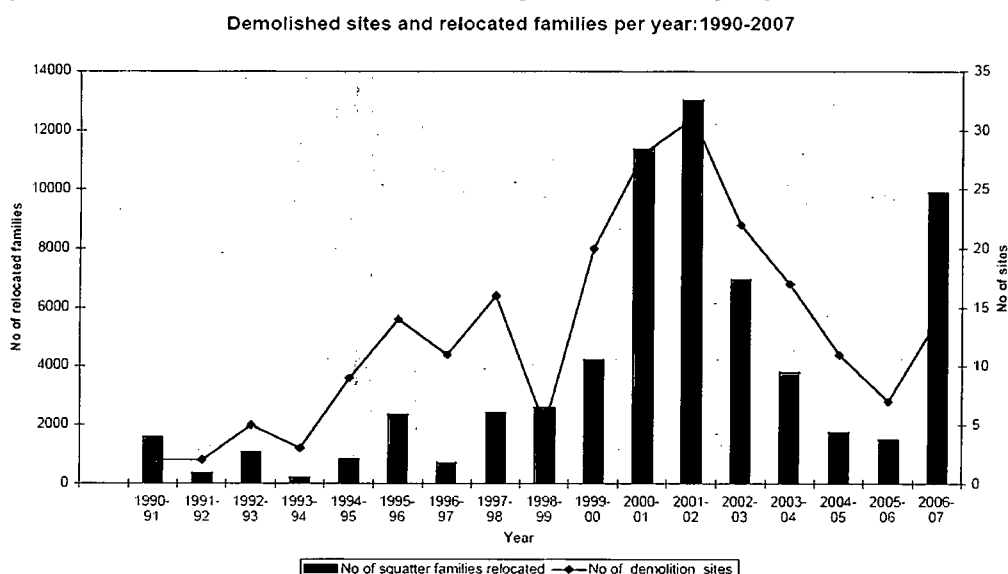
<sup>68</sup> Dupont, Vernique. (2008), Op.citp.83



fire .This crippled many families as they could not meet the eligibility criteria. Apart from this, 40,000 families were evicted during the demolition but only 20 percent families were found to be eligible for relocation( Barucha, 2006). The last cut off date is 31<sup>st</sup> December 1998 which makes majority of the families ineligible to fit into the criteria for relocation. Therefore the number of ineligible families was always higher in the case of relocation.

**Figure 2.2(given below)<sup>69</sup>** gives the detailed account on the evolution of demolition from 1990 till 2007. The data shows that 217 J.J. clusters were demolished –where families had been officially relocated– between 1990 and 2007. Demolished clusters with no resettlement are hence not recorded. Sometimes, the same cluster’s name appears two or three times from one year to the other, or after a gap of several years. The first cases correspond to large squatter settlements, which were demolished in two or three phases. The second cases correspond to demolished J.J. clusters where the site was left vacant, then squatted by jhuggis that formed a new cluster over the years and were again demolished. Therefore, the list of 217 J.J. clusters corresponds more precisely to 217 demolition-cum-relocation operations<sup>70</sup>. What is surprising to note is that the slum and JJ dept are talking about the progress of number of squatter families relocated, but we should understand that if the number of squatter families relocated is higher it means that demolitions has also been higher.

**Figure 2.2 Demolished sites and relocated squatter families per year 1990-2007<sup>71</sup>**



\* Year : from 1st April of year n to 31st March of year n+1

Source: compiled from data of the Slum and *Jhuggi-Jhonpri* Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi

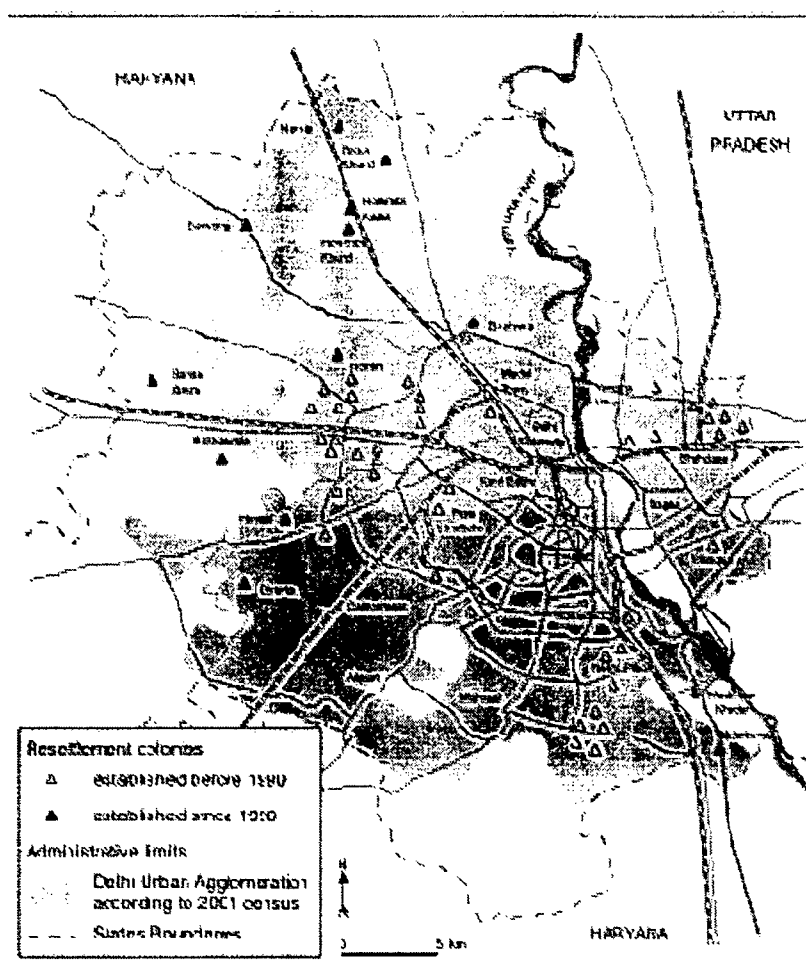
<sup>69</sup> See Map 3 and map 4

<sup>70</sup> Cited in Dupont , Vernique,(2008), Op.cit

<sup>71</sup> Cited in Dupont , Vernique,(2008), Op.cit p.83

The role of Jagmohan who played already a major role in the large-scale slum clearance and resettlement operations during the Emergency (1975-77) as the Vice-chairman of the Delhi Development Authority (DDA). He was the Union Minister of Urban Development (with the DDA under his purview) from 1999 to 2001, before his transfer to the Ministry of Tourism and Culture (until the change of Government in May 2004) where he promoted his grand plan of development and beautification of the Yamuna river front, whose prerequisite was the clearance of the area from its “encroachments”<sup>72</sup>. But at the same time he allowed the construction of games village for the Common wealth games 2010 on the river bed of the Yamuna which is a flood prone area and he gave the same reason while evicting the Pushta residents that they are encroaching on the riverbed which a Flood prone area.

**MAP:-3 Location of Resettlement colonies in the National Capital Territory (2007)<sup>73</sup>**

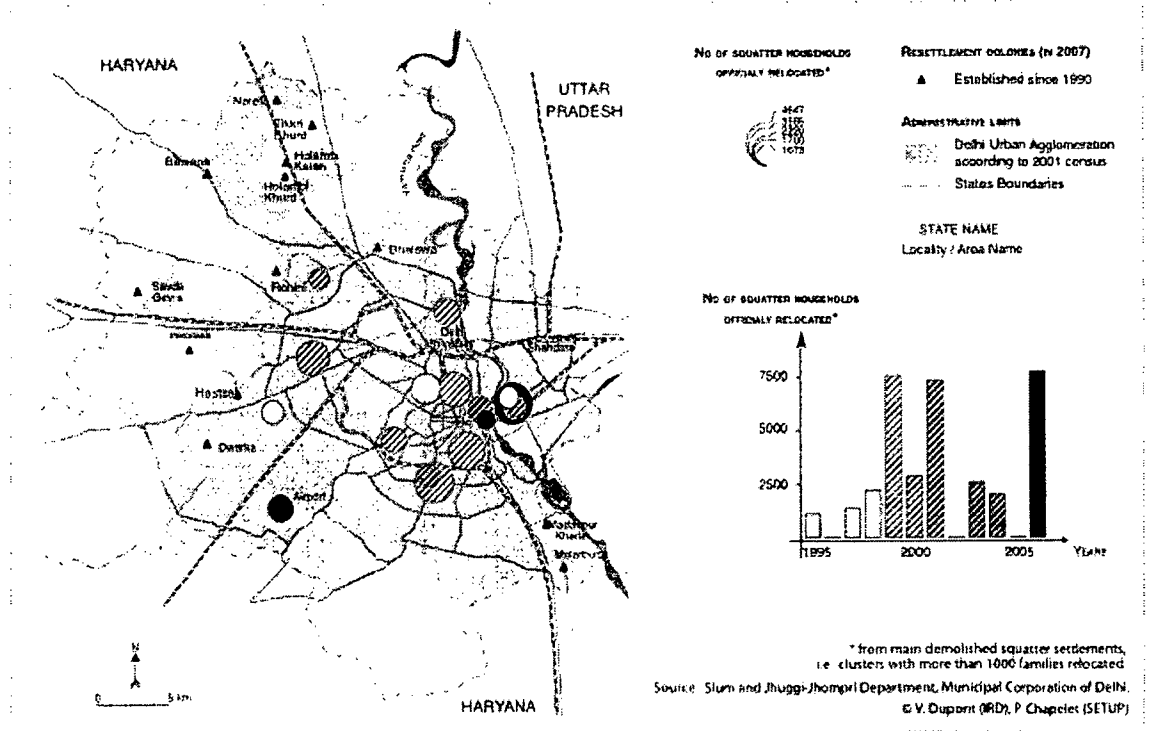


(Source:-Slum and jhuggi jhompari Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi and Sabir Ali'slums with in slums: A study of resettelmt colonies in Delhi, council for social development.)

<sup>72</sup> Cited in Dupont , Vernique,(2008), Op.cit

<sup>73</sup> Cited in Dupont, Verique.(2008), Op.cit.

**MAP:-4 Main demolished squatter settlements and resettlements colonies in the National Capital Territory of Delhi since 1990.**



(Source:-Slum and jhuggi jhompari Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi<sup>74</sup>)

**‘World class city’: - It is only for the world class people**

According to Baviskar (2006) while making of Delhi into a world-class city, especially with the perspective of the 2010 edition of the Commonwealth Games to be hosted by Delhi, even unclaimed spaces that were squatted by the poor have become prime land, “ripe for development”<sup>75</sup>.

The story of the eviction and relocation and making Delhi as a ‘world class’ would remain incomplete if this action taken as a precursor to Common Wealth Games 2010. See You in Delhi’ was the message that India sent out to the world at the closing ceremony of the Melbourne Commonwealth Games 2006. To prepare itself for this, the city is planning a major overhaul of its urban infrastructure as well as its sporting facilities. These events happen in a city once in a decade or maybe even less, (the last large event held in Delhi was the 1982) and have the ability to transform it<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Cited in Dupont, Verique.(2008), Op.cit.

<sup>75</sup> Baviskar, Amita,(2006), ‘Demolishing Delhi: World Class City in the Making’, Accessed from <http://www.metamute.org/en/Demolishing-Delhi>, on 9<sup>th</sup> December,2009

<sup>76</sup> Uppal, Vinayak (2009), ‘The Impact of the common wealth Games 2010 on Urban Development of Delhi’ Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management, no.1(10)/2009, p.7

But as the work on the city make over is progressing along with evicting and demolishing the homes of number innocent poor families is also progressing and for constricting the games village, by stadiums, and spending enormous money in all this activities are also attracting the ‘migrants’ are coming from the cities However there are no plans for locating them.

The worldwide experiences like the Summer Olympics and the Asian Games, and Delhi’s experience with hosting the 1982 Asian Games show that these events are normally not as beneficial to the host community, as made out to be. But when the host community is a developing country like India then it raises number of questions apart from these organizing these events. However past experience from the 1982 Asian Games and actions already undertaken in the run up to the 2010 games suggest that the development may be anti-poor, badly planned and ecologically unsound<sup>77</sup>.

## **2.6:- Government Initiatives**

In this I would discuss about the various Acts, policies related to the slums and housing in India and examine the flaws of the Master plan of Delhi. Urban land policy in India has persistently been equated with urban land use policy rather than with a holistic land management framework for integrated development. ‘Availability of land has been constrained by certain provisions contained in a variety of laws such as the Land Revenue Act, the Land Reforms Act, the Urban Land Ceiling and Regulation Act (ULCRA), the Town Planning Act and the Urban Development Acts. Each of these has, often through its provisions and equally through the manner in which they were implemented, created hurdles for legitimate transactions in land urgently required for expansion of the housing stock<sup>78</sup>.

- Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976
- The Delhi Land Reforms Act,1954
- The Delhi Land Revenue Act, 1954
- Delhi Rent Control Act, 1958

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<sup>77</sup> Uppal, Vinayak (2009), Op.cit

<sup>78</sup> Ribeiro, EFN, (2000) “Integrating Risk Reduction Into Urban Planning with Community Participation” Urban Risk Forum, p.7

- Delhi development Authority Act, 1957
- Master plan of Delhi 1952 ,2001, 2021
- National Urban Housing And Habitat Policy
- Basic Services to the Urban Poor, Jawaharlal Nehru National Rural Urban Mission.
- Draft of National slum Policy 2001
- The Three pronged strategy of Delhi Government.
- The Slum (Improvement and clearance Act) 1956

### **Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976:-**

The Urban Land ceiling Act (ULCRA) was introduced during Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's regime as a means for lower income sections to fulfill their dreams for a home. The main purpose and focus of this Act was to prevent hoarding or excessive holding of land in urban agglomerations by few people so as to facilitate proper distribution and uniform development of all sectors of urban areas.<sup>79</sup> And more importantly this Act was applicable in large cities because scarcity of land was felt more in the big cities.

The statement of objectives of the Act reads as follows: - "The Repeal Act is intended to achieve the following objectives:-

- (i) To prevent concentration of urban property in the hands of a few persons and speculation and profiteering therein;
- (ii) To bring about socialization of urban land in urban agglomerations to subserve the common good by ensuring its equitable distribution;
- (iii) To discourage construction of luxury housing leading to conspicuous consumption of scarce building materials and to ensure the equitable utilization of such materials; and
- (iv) To secure orderly urbanization"<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>79</sup> See Vaid, Nipun.(2006), ' Urban Land Ceiling Act, 1976, A Critical Analysis of impact on Housing, CCS Working Paper No. 170 Summer Research Internship Program 2006 Centre for Civil Society. And [http://urbanindia.nic.in/legislations/sub\\_legis/ulcra\\_1976.pdf](http://urbanindia.nic.in/legislations/sub_legis/ulcra_1976.pdf)

<sup>80</sup> The Urban Land (Ceiling and Regulation ) Act, 1976 came into force on 17.02.1976. The States of Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal initially adopted the Act. Subsequently it was adopted by six more states namely Assam (25.03.76), Bihar (01.04.1976), Madhya Pradesh (09.09.76), Manipur (12.03.76), Meghalaya (07.04.76) and Rajasthan (09.03.76). The Act was being

**The Delhi Land Reforms Act 1954:-** 'was framed to provide for modification of Zamindari System so as to create an uniform body of peasant proprietor intermediaries, for the unification of the (1) Punjab and (2) Agra systems of tenancy laws in force within the State of Delhi and to make provisions for other matters connected therewith'<sup>81</sup>.

**The Delhi Land Revenue Act, 1954:-**'The purpose of the Delhi Land Revenue Act, 1954, is two-fold, namely (1) to consolidate and (2) to amend. Its subject matter concerns firstly, land revenue and secondly, jurisdiction of Revenue Officers within the State of Delhi'<sup>82</sup>.

**Delhi Rent Control Act, 1958:-** this Act deal with the control of rents and evictions and of rates of hotels and lodging houses, and for the lease of vacant premises to Government, in certain areas in the Union territory of Delhi. This is the current legislation of rent control in Delhi and it extends to the areas included within the New Delhi Municipal Committee and the Delhi Cantonment Board, together with the urban areas of the Municipal Corporation of the Urban Areas in Delhi (as specified in the first schedule. Rent control or rent ceiling is the practice of imposing a maximum amount of rent in certain housing markets which is below the market equilibrium rate. Currently the tenants of the areas included in the act pay approximately Rs. 5 to 10 per month rental where as the prevalent rent in some of these districts are as high as Rs. 450 per square feet. Because of this ceiling, investment in rental housing falls as there is no incentive for the former. This leads to lower supply in the market which reduces the number of homes for rent. Uncontrolled rental housing prices increase manifold due to this market distortion and the lack of affordable housing is felt by not only the city's poor but also the immigrants coming in from neighboring towns leading to newer slums<sup>83</sup>.

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implemented in the urban agglomeration having population of more than two lakhs as per the 1971 Census (64 urbanagglomerations).

<sup>81</sup> See [http://www.vakilno1.com/bareacts/the\\_delhi\\_land\\_reforms/delhilandreformsact.htm](http://www.vakilno1.com/bareacts/the_delhi_land_reforms/delhilandreformsact.htm),

<sup>82</sup> See <http://www.vakilno1.com/bareacts/delhilandrevenueact/introduction.htm>

<sup>83</sup> Please see for futher information on the Act,[http://www.swagatamindia.com/delhi/new\\_delhi\\_legal/delhi\\_rent\\_control\\_act\\_law.htm](http://www.swagatamindia.com/delhi/new_delhi_legal/delhi_rent_control_act_law.htm), and Centre for Civil Society. (2007, Feb). Rent Control Laws: Balancing the Interests of Landlords & Tenants. CCS Series on NURM Reforms No. 3.

### **National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy 2007:-**

This policy states its goal as 'Housing For all'. More importantly it intends to promote sustainable development of habitat in the country with a view to ensuring equitable supply of land, shelter and services at affordable prices to all sections of society. Given the magnitude of the housing shortage and budgetary constraints of both the Central and State Governments, it is amply clear that Public Sector efforts will not suffice in fulfilling the housing demand. 'In view of this scenario, the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy, 2007 focuses the spotlight on multiple stake-holders namely, the Private Sector, the Cooperative Sector, the Industrial Sector for labour housing and the Services/Institutional Sector for employee housing'<sup>84</sup>.

### **Basic Services to the Urban Poor:- JNNURM**

As per India's commitment to meet the Millennium Development Goals, the government of India emphasize to Facilitate investments in the urban sector to strengthen the existing polices and which led to the evolution of the JNURM. The mission comprise of two sub missions, namely the sub mission for urban infrastructure and governance and sub mission for basic services to the urban poor. The focus is on efficiency in urban infrastructure and service delivery mechanisms, community participation and accountability of ULBs/ parastatal agencies towards citizens. Sectors covered under JNNURM are urban renewal with focus on redevelopment of inner city areas, water supply (including desalination plants) and sanitation .Sewerage and solid waste , storm water drains ,metro projects and more importantly care will be taken to see that the urban poor are provided housing near their place of occupation<sup>85</sup>. The Delhi Master plan 2021 has put emphasis on improvement of the living conditions of the 45% of persons living in slums and JJ clusters in Delhi the next ten years as part of the improvement in the livability of the city for its inhabitants for which the overall JNNURM budget of Rs. 11, 842 crore is increased by 87% this year<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy 2007, Government of India Ministry of Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation New Delhi

<sup>85</sup> Caroline, C. (2010), 'Social security for the urban poor, holistic poverty mechanisms through slum Permanent record system, National workshop on social security for urban poor and informal sector workers in India.,29<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> March.

<sup>86</sup> Singh, Pratima,(2009), 'Sheltering Delhi Slums working paper number, 230,Summer research Internship, CCS.

### **Draft of National slum Policy 2001:-**

In 1999, Ministry of Urban Development, with support from DFID, gave the task of formulating the National Slum Policy to the Human Settlement Management Institute (HSMI), a resource unit of Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), through a wide-ranging consultation process.

The main stated objectives of the Draft National Slum Policy are:

- a) 'creating awareness amongst the public and in government of the underlying principles that guide the process of slum development and improvement and the options that are available for bringing about the integration of these settlements and the communities residing within them into the urban area as a whole
- b) strengthen the legal and policy framework to facilitate the process of slum development and improvement on a sustainable basis'
- c) The adoption of a more 'enabling' approach to the delivery of basic social services to the poor as a result of more effective mobilization of community resources and skills to complement public resource allocations"<sup>87</sup>.

Even though the draft is clearly laying down its objectives and goals but nowhere this draft mentions the implementation factors that regarding all these objectives and goals would be achieved.

### **The Three pronged strategy of Delhi Government:-**

In 1992 the Delhi Government adopted a three pronged strategy for dealing with JJ clusters. This was done keeping in mind the new policy of the government that on the one hand no fresh encroachments would be permitted on public land and on the other hand past encroachments prior to the cut-off date (*those in existence till 30.01.1990*) would not be removed without providing alternatives<sup>88</sup>.

**Strategy I: Relocation** of those households where the land owning agency (LOA) submits a request to Slum and JJ Department, MCD (S&JJ) for clearance of the JJ cluster to enable project implementation in the "larger public interest". The LOA is also required to contribute due share towards relocation.

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<sup>87</sup> Singh, Kishore and Shukla, Shikha. (2005), Op.cit, p.32

<sup>88</sup> See:- Eight Five Year Plan for Delhi (1992-97), 'Planning, development and construction of urban spaced by DDA/ Government on NCT Delhi Accessed from <http://www.planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/8th/default.htm> and op.cit, 34



**Strategy II: In-situ upgradation** of JJ clusters. However this is only done where the LOA issues a No-objection Certificate (NOC) to S&JJ for utilization of the land.

**Strategy III** : Extension of minimum basic civic amenities for community use under the scheme of **environmental improvement in JJ clusters**. This is done irrespective of status of the encroached land till their coverage under one of the above two strategies. This scheme began in April 1987<sup>89</sup>.

#### **Relocation of the slums:-**

Jhuggi-Jhompri relocation scheme was started in 1960 for re-housing of squatters on government private land. Previously the families used to get 80 sq.mts plot but now it has reduced because the plots has been misused by the families. 'In todays scenario relocation is carried out for only those JJ clusters and slums those are required by the land owning agency for public interest projects. The land owning agency has to make a request to the slum & JJ department for clearance of the JJ clusters. The land owning agency also has to bear a part of the cost of resettlement. The contribution by the land owning agency is Rs. 29,000 per household. The beneficiary is expected to pay Rs. 5,000 and the Delhi Government is expected to provide a grant of Rs. 10,000 towards the cost of sites and services for the resettlement areas. Total cost of allocation per plot is Rs. 44,000<sup>90</sup>.

#### **In-situ upgradation:-**

The in situ up-gradation is undertaken after the area has been notified as a slum area under the Slum Area Act of 1956. The scheme involves re-planning of JJ dwelling units in modified layouts by redistributing the encroached land pockets amongst the squatter families. The JJ households are given sites of 10 to 12.5 square meters for construction of their own shelters.

**Extension of minimum basic civic amenities for community use under the scheme of environmental improvement in JJ clusters Improvement of the slum Environment:-**

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<sup>89</sup> ibid

<sup>90</sup> See, Policies & Strategies, Slum Upgrading Programme(2001) Part III Volume I, Delhi Urban Environment and Infrastructure Improvement Project.

This Urban Basic Services Programme, initiated in the seventh five-year plan in 1987, is meant for all JJ clusters, even those developed after 1990. It is integrated with the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums (EIUS) programme and under the programme the Government provides the following basic amenities to the slum

- i) Pay and use Jan Suvidha complexes containing toilets and bathrooms.
- ii) Water Supply
- iii) Street Lighting
- iv) Paved pathways and drains
- v) Dalaos/ dustbins for domestic waste;

### **Delhi development Authority Act, 1957:-**

Town planning was set up in 1955 by the ministry of Health, Government of India to advise the DDA on all matters related to the planning in the nation capital. The DDA was finally given a statutory body when in 1957 it was constituted as an eleven member studying committee with the Lieutenant Governor of the Union Territory as the ex-officio chairman by an Act of Parliament<sup>91</sup>. 'Delhi Development Act 1957 is a policy document which lays down the foundation of Delhi Development Authority, a self financing body entrusted with the task of planned development of infrastructure. The main motive of forming such a body is meeting the infrastructural needs, in the form of housing and commercial spaces, of the ever growing population'<sup>92</sup>.

### **Some of the silent and important features of the Act are follows:-<sup>93</sup>**

1) The Act makes the provision of creating a need based system, the controversy behind this claim being that the Section 7 (1) says,

*"The Authority shall, as soon as may be, carry out a civic survey of, and prepare a master plan for, Delhi."* (The civic survey here focus on to carrying out a survey to gauge the basic standard of living by looking at the parameters like education, sanitation etc)

2) The Acts also talks about making the system transparent. While the Section 9(2) is all about approval of the plan document by the government, the Section

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<sup>91</sup> Mehra, K. Ajay, Op.cit, p.65

<sup>92</sup> Jain, Rajul (2006), 'Delhi Development Plan:-Citizen Appraisal, Summer Research Internship, Working Paper 216, CCS, p.11

<sup>93</sup> Cited in Jain, Rajul.(2006), Op.cit

10(1) mandates the DDA, after “*Draft plan preparation to publish a notice in such form and manner as may be prescribed by rules made in this behalf inviting objections and suggestions from any person with respect to the draft plan before such date as may be specified in the notice.*”(This statement gives us understanding about the participatory nature of this Act)

The Section 11 of this Act talks about the transparency in the system which says “*...naming a place where a copy of the plan may be inspected at all reasonable hours and upon the date of the first publication of the aforesaid notice the plan shall come into operation.*”

The document talks about the rules and regulations applicable to the planned development. These rules are accompanied with appropriate penalties (as mentioned in Section 29, 30, 31 and 31A). The provision of strict actions like demolition or sealing “*development being commenced or carried on or has been completed in contravention of the master plan or zonal development plan or without the permission, approval or sanction referred to in section 12...*”

Though the rules are quite clearly defined and also contain remedy in the direction of defaulting, the Act’s provisions have been violated de facto. The major drawback is a failure and presence of any system to penalize the authorities which are responsible for checking the disobedient behavior<sup>94</sup>.

### **Master plan Of Delhi:-**

#### **The DDA website defines Master plan as**

“*A Master Plan is the long term perspective plan for guiding the sustainable planned development of the city. This document lays down the planning guidelines, policies, and development code and space requirements for various socio-economic activities supporting the city population during the plan period. It is also the basis for all infrastructures requirements.*”<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> See Jain, Rajul (2006),and also see [http://www.urbanindia.nic.in/programme/dd/dda\\_act.pdf](http://www.urbanindia.nic.in/programme/dd/dda_act.pdf)( for details of the Act)

<sup>95</sup> See DDA LINK, <http://www.urbanindia.nic.in/what'snew/mps-eng.pdf>

## **There have been two previous Master plans in the city, the MPD 1962 and the MPD 2001**

‘The first master plan was developed in consultation with the Ford Foundation. The second plan was to be formulated 20 hence that is in 1981 but with the advent of the 1982 ASIAD games it was put on hold and the new plan came out only in 1991. These were mainly land development plans, the strategy being that DDA was to acquire new lands and develop them for housing and commercial purposes with a subsequent auctioning of plots, shops, and flats. Throughout, planning followed a top down approach with the formulation of a master plan and keeping in mind its aims, subsequent zonal and sub zonal plans to be made’.<sup>96</sup>

In the introduction chapter itself the 2021 plans looks into the shortcomings of the previous two plans. Firstly the plan was based on a wrong projection of the population that is the population of Delhi in 2001 was 138 lakh as against the MPD 2001 projection of 128 lakh. Secondly the growth of the unauthorized colonies, shortage of the housing for all categories were not accounted for and this would be concert with the involvement of the private sector.

### **Master Plan of Delhi 2021**

The focus of Master Plan- Delhi 2021 is to make “Delhi a global metropolis and a world-class city”

#### **Methodology Adopted For Plan Preparation**

- Firstly the draft plan was prepared after obtaining the views from the public keeping in mind democratic procedure and statutory obligation. The use of extensive, long discussions, meetings and consultations with the public sector agencies, professional groups, resident welfare associations all have been involved during the pre-planning stage.
- Secondly the guidelines for the preparation of Master plan 2021 have been issued by the Ministry of Urban development and it empathized on the need to explore the alternate methods of land assembly private sector participation and various development norms. More importantly five

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<sup>96</sup> Dewal, Snigdha Master Plan for Delhi: 2021 A Critical Analysis , CCS Working Paper No. 160 Summer Research Internship Programme 2006 Centre for Civil Society and please see [Master plan 2021 pp.2-5](#)

seminars were organized on various aspects involving the experts from varied fields like GNCTD, local bodies, and NGOs.

- Thirdly DDA also made presentations for the Draft MPD before various forums, various groups of minister and it has been discussed in length in the Legislative assembly of NCT of Delhi and number of suggestions has been made by the members and they have been forwarded further for consideration. More importantly large number of personal interactions with the various groups as well as elected representatives including Member of Parliament and various members and ministers were held at various point of time.
- Fourthly the draft plan was notified for inviting the suggestions from public and public notices was also given in the newspaper. A large number of responses and suggestions had been received. The final plan was approved in the present form, after considering all the relevant and important suggestions.

**Following are the shortcomings of this plan.**

This plan is not giving the full data on the total availability of the land . The plan clearly mentions and gives the use of land for various purposes but nowhere it gives the rationales for using particular estimates.

Secondly the plan mentions about discouraging the labor units because in migration problem has led to the increase in the growth of the squatter settlements, Therefore in migration can only be limited by discouraging the labor units in the capitals .The plan itself mentions “ *it is envisaged that no new major economic activities, which may result in the generation of large scale employment related inflows, be located in the national capital territory of Delhi (NCTD). And only activities necessary to sustain the local population of Delhi should be permitted, and the quality of infrastructure and life in general significantly improved.*”<sup>97</sup>

Given the economic factors and livelihood opportunities, it is not possible to stop migration. The city has become so dependent on the services of that migrants we cannot think of our life without their services, be it rickshaw puller, domestic

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<sup>97</sup> See DDA LINK, <http://www.urbanindia.nic.in/what'snew/mps-eng.pdf>

maids, driver, dhobi etc. Therefore to discourage the labour units is not at all a feasible option in order to limit the migration rate to the cities.

Thirdly 'the MPD is a legally enforceable document, supposed to provide clear guidelines on urban planning and infrastructure yet this document reads more like a policy document and not a clear legally enforceable text. The tone is vague and only attempts to provide suggestions, in terms of things that 'should/ ought to be done'<sup>98</sup>.

The next chapter has tried to link the review with the primary findings.

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<sup>98</sup> Dewal, Snigdha , Op.cit.

## **CHAPTER-III**

### **Journey from Yamuna Pushta to Bawana: A Situational Analysis**

## CHAPTER- III

### Journey from Yamuna Pushta to Bawana: A Situation Analysis

*“How do you feel when you were asked to demolish your 20 year old home? The home where I came as a bride, given birth to all my six children, brought them up as a good human being. But, everything, everything was shattered, and finished, in just few hours. They came, broke each and everything of my home, and broke my husband investments. I was helpless, everybody was crying, weeping like we all were children. But nobody listened to us. What would a mother do if her 16 years old daughter would be raped? What was her fault? (In tears) She went to the field to rest herself but she came and carried herself with all the humiliations, embarrassment, and shame, which she was not able to leave behind. You are asking me that how I am feeling in the Resettlement colony. This is what a resettlement is, where a poor is thrown to the out skirts of the city and losses his/ her job, and enjoys in 12.5 sq.km plot”.....(Sameena, Housewife Bawana Resettlement JJ colony<sup>1</sup>)*

The above narration gives a glimpse about the experience of a woman in a resettlement colony. I thought it is apt to give this narration in the beginning because some where the woman has lost her respect and dignity after moving to a resettlement colony.

- This chapter intends to capture the Reminiscences of the affected families who had been forcibly thrown out from their homes to the outskirts of the city in the name of a planned development.
- This chapter tries to highlight the voices, the experiences of the displaced urban poor in the process of urban beautification.

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<sup>1</sup> The name of all informants have been changed who were interviewed and participated in the study or in informal discussion, in order to protect their identity and privacy. Secondly this narration is the part of the case study number -III, thirdly I was confused as to put this narration in between the chapters or to put in the beginning., It is too early to give a generalized view about the resettlement colonies by reading the above narration, but some where it is providing an insight about a woman who had come to Pushta as a bride, but after moving to a new house she has had not only lost her twenty year old home but she has lost her dignity, respect which she had maintained from last twenty years. When her daughter was raped nobody listened to her and she could not raised her voice because she is a poor woman and in contrary the powerful people have a right to deliver injustice to the voiceless people without getting and expecting any reactions from the poor.



- The aim of this chapter is not to survey the resettlements colonies, but to understand the various issues, the current situation concerned with the residents of one of the resettlement site in, 'Bawana'.
- This chapter tries to raise the unheard voices, of the invisible people with the help of their narrations<sup>2</sup>. More importantly it tries to capture those problems which have been neglected in the name of making Delhi as a 'World class city'.

### 3.1:- Yamuna Pushta- Which used to be a home for 40,000 families

The Yamuna Pushta (Informal slum settlements) was one of the largest and older slums in Delhi. It was located on the western banks of the river Yamuna. Pushta was home to nearly 40,000 families which nurtured more than 1, 50,000 people. 'The Yamuna Pushta *jhuggis* (slum settlements) stretch from the old Yamuna Bridge to the Indraprastha Estate Gas Turbine, on both sides of the river. While the western side was the constituency of Janata Dal leader Shoib Iqbal, the Pushta area was used to falls in the constituency of Congress (I) legislator Tajdar Babar'<sup>3</sup>.

The slums had been developed by the migrant population who had come to the city in search of work. They had been staying there since the last four decades. About 70 percent of these families were Muslims. The majority of the people were rickshaw pullers, domesticworkers, hand cart pullers, rag pickers, auto drivers, vegetable vendors, beggars, dholakwalas, construction workers ("who had been brought to Delhi by labour contractors during the Asian games in 1982 and had settled in Pushta"<sup>4</sup>) etc. These people had migrated to Delhi from Bihar, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, and Jharkhand

The community ties were very much strong in Pushta. People who shared the same state, same caste, same occupation had been staying together. Pushta had

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<sup>2</sup> This entire chapter has been supplemented with the narration of the affected population. The narrations of the people portrays the real picture of their pain that they are going through.

<sup>3</sup> Gopalakrishan, Amulaya. (2004), 'A tussle on Yamuna banks'; *Frontline*, Volume 21 - Issue 05, February 28 - March 12.

<sup>4</sup> Sen ,Kalayani. and Bhan ,Gautam. (2008), 'Swept off the map':- *Surviving eviction and resettlement in Delhi*, yoda press, p.2

number of slums like Neematala which was dominated by the Bengali population and people from this community were working as rickshaw pullers. Then there were Dhobi ghat, Bihari basti, Moolchand basti, Rajasthani basti, Kisan basti etc.

Yamuna Pushta had developed well in the last four decades and it had everything from shops to restaurants, from self help groups to crèches, and various social organizations and all were working with the Pushta residents. Yamuna Pushta was not only occupied by people but it had number of elephants in Hathiwalan basti, horses, and goats. In Kisan basti people used to do farming near the banks of river and had been involved in growing vegetables. Pushta was a hub for employment opportunities. A daily wage earner in Pushta used to earn 150 to 200 rupees daily through his/her labour. So in a way it was home to those people who were engaged in informal sector and have been the vote banks for the politicians but still neglected by the government when it comes to the right to shelter. It has come to the notice that currently a few agricultural families are still living there and doing farming.

### **3.2:- Demolition Drive: -**

#### **What was the motive behind in bulldozing the Yamuna Pushta?**

It is actually distressing to note that from last forty to fifty years the residents of Pushta had been busy in making their **houses to 'homes'**. From the day one, the poor who had entered the city is struggling hard to survive in the city and working tough in order to make their identity and status in the unorganized sector. The demolition took place under the order of Delhi High Court, which directed the authorities to remove of all the Yamuna encroachments within two months of the order. There were mainly two issues on which high court supported their argument for demolition.

- **One of the ground for demolition order was that Pushta slum dwellers were, encroachments on the Yamuna river bed**
- **And second was the pollution of the Yamuna River caused by the slum dwellers of Pushta.**

Logically any encroachment on the river bed means that any construction, any settlement, on the river bed should not be allowed. But what about the Akshardham temple, Delhi Secretariat, Metro rail head quarters, Commonwealth games village? And moreover we should not forget that Delhi metro depot uses the river bed ground water to wash trains, and releases their waste water into the river. Barucha in his book mentions that “A simple example the Metro depot occupies around 52 hectares of land that is river”<sup>5</sup>. Now the question is that why did the government forget about all the above mentioned illegal structures despite the fact that Pushta slum dwellers had been there for more than last four decades. Did the government wanted to serve only the interest of the wealthier class? This clearly shows that when it comes to the interest of the elite then the rights of the urban poor are sacrificed.

Let us examine the second argument of the court that, Yamuna Pushta slum dwellers **were the main polluters to the river Yamuna**. A study conducted by the Hazard Center in 2004 titled, ‘A Report on the pollution of the Yamuna’ states that every day around 3,600 million liters of waste water directly goes into the river Yamuna. And out of 3,600 million of water only 0.33 percent is accounted by the slum dwellers of Pushta, which is negligible and does not justify the blame on slum dwellers for the pollution of the Yamuna. The clusters do not have the water taps to supply regular water at home. So how come they can be the main culprits in polluting the river?

**Vimeldhu Jha** from ‘**We for Yamuna**’ mentions that firstly the main source of the pollution of Yamuna happens only at 22 km stretch of this 1370 km long river. And more than 80 percent of Yamuna’s pollution happens in Delhi in which almost 18 drains of Delhi discharge all their content. Secondly the main source of pollution is industrial waste and municipal pollution and not by those who does not have access to proper water supply.

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<sup>5</sup> Barucha, N, Ruzbeh.92006), ‘Yamuna Gently Weeps, A journey into Yamuna Pushta slum Demolition’ published by Sainathan communication.

**Jha** further explains that, the slum dwellers were actually cleaning the river because it has been seen that people come in their vehicles (still comes) and stop the vehicles and then throw and dump their garbage. The small children then jump into the black river and collect the bags and reuse the items for their personal use. So in a way these families residing near the river bank are cleaning the river<sup>6</sup>.

**Ravi Aggarwal** of **Toxics Link** puts a point that that “construction on the river bed is inadvisable as the soil is sandy and has low carrying-capacity, a fault line runs through the area on a north-south axis and the area is prone to periodic floods”<sup>7</sup>. So it means that if it is a flood prone area then rationally there should be no construction and no buildings on the river bank which means that it is not only the slum dwellers of the Pushta be removed but all the buildings and constructions as well.

But here the picture of **demolition does not end**. Many a times the slum dwellers had been branded as the **illegal migrants** from Bangladesh .If they were from the Bangladesh then why had they been given the right to vote, and why they had access to PDS facilities with ration card? During the informal discussions the residents of Bawana they stated that, during the demolition police were painting them as criminals by linking the attack on **Red fort area in 2000**. So now only thing which runs into our mind is that the government has acted in selective manner keeping in view the picture of world class city by removing the slumizens from their sight and throwing them to the suburbs.

### **3.3:- Bawana Resettlement JJ colony**

Bawana is one of the resettlement colonies which is situated in the North West of Delhi near the Haryana border. This resettlement colony was developed in 2004, when number of slum dwellers had been relocated from Yamuna Pushta, Pitam Pura, Punjabi Bagh, Vaishali Chowk etc.

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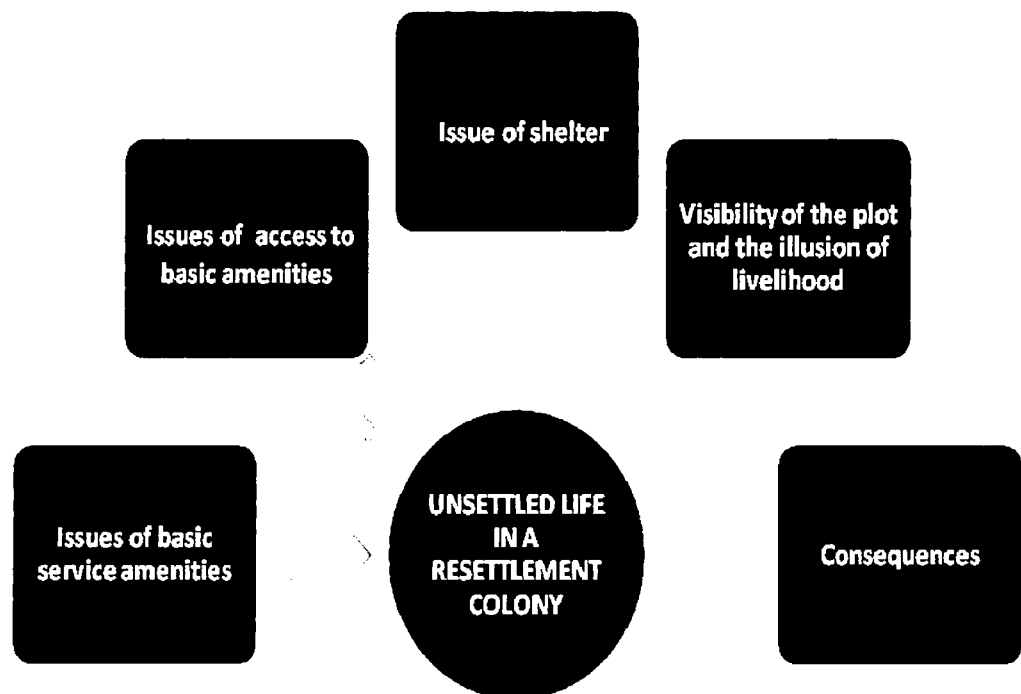
<sup>6</sup> I have seen small children jumping into the black river and used to look for the money. During the festival times the middle and high class families used to throw the pictures of the goddess with coins. And many a times these children had been hurt by the sharp items present in the river, just for a few coins.

<sup>7</sup> Sethi, Aman. (2005), 'A site of contestation', *Frontline*, Volume 22 - Issue 15, July 16 - 29

I have divided this chapter into the following broad themes and under these themes I am taking up some important issues which have emerged from the field work. All these themes examine the current scenario and the situation of the Bawana residents who had come from Yamuna Pushta. In the end I will examine the consequences of all the issues for the displaced families<sup>8</sup>.

The figure below tries to explain the themes and approach to this chapter.

**FIGURE 3.1 Unsettled life in a resettlement colony**



The above figure will help in understanding the life of the residents in a resettlement colony. The figure is only talking about the broad themes. Under these themes numbers of sub themes and issues have been discussed.

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<sup>8</sup> See table no.3.1 and Map 5 (this table and map looks into the various resources available in Bawana JJ colony, given at the end of this chapter). The consequence after shifting to Bawana resettlement colony has been dealt in the summary and discussion chapter.

### 3.4:- Visibility of the Plot and the Illusion of Livelihood

When families were shifted to Bawana, the High court mentioned that Bawana is a planned industrial area and displaced families will have an access to better work opportunities as compared to their previous occupation. And it would expand the employment opportunities for the displaced families. **Dunnu Roy** from the hazard center mentioned “When the first resettlement came up after 1977, the area was built around places of livelihood. In fact, the resettlement directive clearly lays down that livelihood is prime for relocation”<sup>9</sup>. But this is something which was not seen in Bawana resettlement colony. Figure 3.2 explains how various issues are related with livelihood of affected people.

**FIGURE:- 3.2 various issues related to the livelihood**



#### ➤ Access to better work opportunities

“Employment, or the lack of it, is now universally accepted as the single most important determinant of urban poverty. The employment status and earning power of adults almost invariably determine the well being of the entire

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<sup>9</sup> Cited in Pandit, Ambika. (2010, April 29<sup>th</sup>) ‘Finding work in Savda Ghewra:- A difficult job’. *The Times Of India*.

family”<sup>10</sup>. It should be kept in mind that the only resource that these urban poor have is their own labour. If these people would be thrown out to far flung areas then how, where and to whom they will provide their services in order to survive in metropolitan cities? One of the women stated her experience:-

*Why do the poor people are always being treated like dirt? Rich and powerful people have the power of money so that is why they can shut the mouth of the government. But , we are daily wage earners, our only resource is our own labour, if that would be taken from us, then where we will go? It took me 20 years to construct our home in Pushta , But police took only 15 minutes to bulldoze our twenty year old home .I was a rickshaw puller in Pushta and used to earn around 200 to 250 rupees daily, but after coming to Bawana it takes me around two hours to reach to my original place of work. And daily I spend forty rupees just to earn 100 rupees a day. (Md.Ansari, 38 yr)*

Researcher asked him that why there is a need to go to his previous place of work, if Bawana has got industries? He mentioned that:-

*Who will work for 18 hours in these factories, just for 1500 rupees per month? I worked there for two months, but instead of giving my salary they told me that, I am really slow in the work so they will not give the salary. I had lost around three thousand rupees for two months. In Pushta I used to earn three to four thousand per month. Tell me what is more important for a poor ‘a plot on a barren piece of land’ or ‘good livelihood opportunities’. This plot costs me around eighteen thousand .But still I am not able to construct the home on this because I don’t have that much money. My wife is a TB patient so she can not worked as a domestic helper and also I have seven children to look after, I have five daughters and two sons. My sons go to the school but my all five daughters sit at home and do nothing .We don’t have enough money to send everybody to school .It’s important for boys to study but it’s more important for girls to learn the houses chores work<sup>11</sup>. I have lost all the money that I had saved for the marriage of our*

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<sup>10</sup> Sen, Kalayani. and Bhan, Gautam. (2008), ‘Swept off the map:- Surviving eviction and resettlement in Delhi’, Yoda press, p.57

<sup>11</sup> It’s really sad to note that still this type of discrimination is still visible. The man is not sure about his income but still he is very much eager to send both of his boys to the school.

*children, everything was lost in the demolition. In Pushta we all used to have three meals a day but after coming here we just managed to have only one meal a day. I can't afford to commute daily, so I prefer to stay near railway station and then goes on every Sunday to colony, and gives my family the entire week salary, it is not easy for any family man to stay away from your family members just for the sake of money. But I don't have any other option so..*

During the interactions with the Bawana residents, they mentioned that the factories in Bawana takes only young girls and don't take older women .Secondly the salary which is given by the factories is not sufficient to run a family. Therefore out of 90 families that have been interviewed, 70 families reported harassment by factory people. Almost all 90 families had already tried their hand in working with various factories. One of the informants stated:-

*"My neighbor's daughter was attacked by some factory workers but somehow she managed to escape on that day. But the other day, when she went to the factory with the police, the police blamed the girl for not doing the work properly, then at night she was gang raped by the same factory persons, the girl was not able to bear all this therefore she was sent to her mother's village. Now you tell whose family and which family would like to send their daughters to these factories? In Pushta we never heard about any rape incidents. Governments have made a joke of our life, because we are poor and voiceless..." (Gufrana, 48 years)*

Despite the fact that Bawana, is an industrial area, the residents are not willing work. Some mentioned about the harassment by factory people, some talks about long working hours and less salary, some criticize the fact that factory owners takes only young girls. People have no---- in this scenario.

#### ➤ **Change in the occupation**

A study done by Jagori in 2008 quotes that "at the time of eviction, the Bawana industrial area had less than 10 functional units. Today according to the Delhi state Industrial Development Corporation, there are 400 units". On one hand the government was demolishing the home of 40,000 families with the argument that



Bawana is an industrial area and families will not face any problems regarding the employment opportunities and on the other hand at the time of eviction they are constructing only 10 functional units. One of the respondents stated:-

*In Pushta my husband used to sell vegetables in the sabzi-mandi. But after coming to Bawana it was not feasible for him to commute daily from Bawana to Pushta mandi, just to sell the vegetables. So he thought it would be better if he could find some work in the factory. He got the work in one of the plastic molding factory. One day while he was in the factory and standing near the fire and doing the work, then all of a sudden the big plastic fell on his leg and he had lost his right leg. My husband did not get any compensation from the factory because they told us, whatever happened is happened because of my husband carelessness. Now he walks with the stick and every evening he sells green chilies and garlic in the colony. We are Muslims and women are not allowed to work in our community. My husband is the only earning member of our family. The selling of these chilies and garlic gives around forty to fifty rupees a day. You tell me how we are going to look after our six children with this meagre amount. (Hameeda begum 36 years)*

It is true that there is no work security in the unorganized sector. But if the family would be shifted to the outskirts, then how the workers of the informal sector will work? And secondly it should not be forgotten that it is not only the workers who need the work, but in a way it is the middle class who needs them the most. Has the government ever thought that by throwing the invisible population to the far flung areas is crippling the middle class population?

One of the girls shared her experience after coming to Bawana:-

*Government thinks that a poor would be happy in 12.5 sq km plot. This colony has snatched away my father izzat (respect). My father used to work as a carpenter and was well known in Pushta colony. Today he has nothing to do. I have discontinued my studies because my family did not have the money to afford my education. Education is not our priority, food is necessary for our survival and for food we need to work. And if work would be taken from us then what we will eat? So my father tried his woodwork business here, but does not yield any profit. So now he sells soft toys in buses through which we manage to have one time meal in a day. (Feroz, 15 years, do not go to school)*

➤ **Fall of the income level**

During the interview it was also found that this forced eviction has led to increase in unemployment among men. Men who are not working can be seen roaming around by taking of drugs openly and teasing women. Out of ninety families almost 88 families mentioned about the fall in the income level. It really becomes difficult for those workers who are working in the unorganized sector to maintain their income level. One of the respondents shared her experience about drastic fall in income level.

*'I was working as a house maid in Daryaganj from last twenty years. It was not easy for me to leave this job as I am a single mother of five children .I have heard about the harassment in factories so I didn't try there .When I was in Pushta I used to work in seven houses because it used to take only 20 minutes to reach to Daryaganj. But after coming here it takes me around more than two hours to reach to my place of work. In the morning I reach early because of the less traffic. I get up at 4 o clocs in the morning then cooks for my children and leave at 5 o clock. I reach there around 7 o clock. Now I am spending almost five hours (to and fro) in commuting therefore I can't work in more than four houses while in Pushta my earning was 3500 rupees from seven houses and now my earning is just 1500 rupees and in which I spend 600 rupees for travel. Is it possible for a single mother to run a house in 900 rupees? Every month I have to ask for money from the houses where I work .Most of the time the families where I work as a maid give me the leftover food which I give to my children at night, and it saves my time and money in cooking. But how long this will go'?* (Gulfasa 43 years)

The forced relocation has definitely led to the **fall in the income level** of majority of families. But the situation has further worsened because it has directly affected the consumption of food for many families. One of the women during the discussion pointed out that:-

*'Here we manage to eat just once a day and that is more than sufficient. In Pushta I used to have three meals a day but after coming here I just managed to eat only once a day. I was not a TB patient but I have got TB in colony because the environment of this colony is not good. In Pushta , I used to have Dal and roti but*

*here I have to eat the roti with salt and onion. Because we don't have the money to buy and cook the vegetables'' (Rafeeta, Unemployed, 30 years)*

Fall in the income level has definitely affected the purchasing power and consumption patterns of the community. But apart from that there are other intangible aspects which cannot be measured. The fall of the income level has further aggravated the issues of legal and illegal work. The intangible aspects such as respect, social status, dignity have also been affected with the change in the occupation. One of the women cited her experience:-

*In Pushta my husband used to work in Dhabba. We did not have any other choice so we decided to move to Bawana. Our name was not there in the allottees list. So one of my husband's relative sold us a plot to a lower price. But we did not realized that we have been cheated .Having a roof over the head does not bring the food to the home. We have lost all savings in buying the plot because it has been told that this colony would never be demolished, but who knows this could also be demolished as Pushta? Now husband works as a rag picker nearby. He gets 50 Rs a day and works from 6 am in the morning till 11 o'clock at night. This work is humiliating but we do not have any other work. (Rehana, 37 years, House wife)*

The residents those who got the roof over their head are not sure about their work. Because living within the four walls does not give the security about the survival in the absence any work opportunities. Other issue which is being highlighted in the above narration is about the dignity and respect attached to work. As it was reported by all the families that number of crimes and thefts cases has increased because there are no work opportunities .Therefore in order to survive the people are getting into those work which provides them easy money.

#### ➤ **Loss of Assets and savings**

A poor man comes to the city with the dream of getting the work and when he gets the work, then he looks for the house and when he gets the house he calls his family to the city. Life goes on with many hardships, because over a decade or so the poor man manages to buy some assets for his home, But when he starts

dreaming that now his life would be safe in the city, then the very next day his house gets demolished because he was staying in an unauthorized colony. This is not an isolated case story of a single poor man, but this is the story of the all poor who are forcibly evicted from their homes in the name of beautification drive. One of the respondents shared his experience about the loss of the assets that he saved for his daughter's marriage.

*'I had a proper house in the Pushta. Police told us that we will get six to eight months time prior to the demolition. But the whole Pushta was bulldozed in just 15 days. The money that I had saved for my daughter's marriage was lost in this demolition. I spent my life time savings to construct the Pushta house which was around 1 lakh. Nobody knew that Pushta could ever be demolished. The families have been staying there for the last 40 to 50 years. It was a big jolt to all the families. Pushta was a home for nearly 1, 50,000 families. Nobody had ever imagined that we all will become homeless in just 15 days. I have lost all my assets and my savings. Government had burnt our homes at the time of demolition so that our ration card goes into the fire<sup>12</sup>. Whatever the government did was a cheap thing. Government is for the people and not against the urban poor' (Mukbul Sheikh, labour 50 years).*

Another issue which is being pointed by the respondents is about the loss of community and social ties. At the time of Pushta the inhabitants of Bawana used to stay within their own caste people and were not bothered about other communities. After moving to Bawana their community life has also been badly affected. Majority of the families complained about the disruptions in social ties. Girls in the community pointed out that they do not feel safe and secure while going out of their home. Rape incidents have also increased after shifting to the resettlement colonies. People complain about bad attitude and behavior of the police and told that police do not listen to them because they are poor. A lady from the Kanjar<sup>13</sup> community shared her experience:-

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<sup>12</sup> It was frequently mentioned that during the demolition fire incidents had increased. People mentioned that it was a game played by the government so that families lose their ration card and voter cards which directly helped the government in giving plots to those families who were able to give them a bribe.

<sup>13</sup> Kanjar community is from the Rajasthan which makes drums (Dholak). The members from this community are branded as bad people (*gande log*) because of their lifestyle. The women from this

*We were very good in Puhsta. It is always good to be with our own people. We are traditional drum makers. Be it drying the leather, cutting the wood, everything, was used to be done collectively. But after coming here we have loss everything, our money, our people, because to making a drum is done collectively, if our people are not with us, then how we are going to make the drums? I really miss my people. People say that the condition of Bawana will improve soon. We are hoping for the best (Kanata Rani, 55 years, Drum seller)*

Very frequently, respondents mentioned about the assets that they used to have in the Pushta. Majority of the families had TV, refrigerator, cooler, radio, gas cylinder, pedestal fan etc and some owned rickshaw also. A few families also had bicycle for commuting. Again and again, respondents wanted me to know that, their condition has really worsened after moving to Bawana colony.

**The report by UNHCHR (1996)** says that “The consequences of forced eviction on families and communities, and particularly for the poor, are severe and traumatic: property is often damaged or destroyed; productive assets are lost or rendered useless; social networks are broken up; livelihood strategies are compromised; access to essential facilities and services is lost; and often violence, including rape, physical assault and murder, are used to force people to comply”.<sup>14</sup> It becomes important to understand that slums and slum dwellers are not a problem and threat to cities. They only become a problem when their right to livelihood and right to shelter are not properly addressed. Therefore we need to integrate the livelihood opportunities with legal housing instead of providing a ‘four walled plot on a barren land’.

### **Issue of Shelter**

‘*We were better off*’ in the slums is the statement which has been given by all respondents who had moved from Pushta to Bawana. Many families have suffered hardships. But the problem of livelihood is the major problem in the resettlement

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community can be seen as having drinks and smoking with their husbands. The inhabitants believed that Kanjar community is also engaged in Black magic. Therefore the families from the other castes and occupation fears in interacting with the Kanjar community.

<sup>14</sup> UNHCHR, (1996):- Fact Sheet No.25, Forced Evictions and Human rights, Geneva available at <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu6/2/fs25.htm>, accessed on 15may, 2010.

colonies. Demolition only comes into the picture when we are concerned about the clean city. This when the government brands the slum dwellers as encroachers and talks about the resettlement colonies. When the first master plan of Delhi was implemented in 1962 the size of the resettlement plot was 80 sq m. But gradually this size came down to 40 sq m. in 2001 when second master plan was implemented. If we look into the today's scenario, the resettled families are given plots of 18 sq m to those families who have a document mentioning that they have been staying before 1990, where as 12.5 sq m is offered to those families who are able to provide the proof that, that they are staying prior to at least 1<sup>st</sup> December 1998. Those families, who were without the proof of residence prior to this date, are removed without any compensation. And again those families must have moved to other slums and again they will be the victims of another eviction.

➤ **Plot allocation in Bawana**

It has been estimated that around 40,000 families have been displaced from Pushta. And it was found that only 20% were the genuine families who were eligible for the resettlement. The study done by Jagori mentions that only 6000 plots had been developed in Bawana when demolition began at Pushta in February 2004. Almost six years had been passed after this demolition, still families are staying in Kuccha houses. One of the respondents stated her experience

*"I had a two room brick house in Pushta .We were living there for the last 30 years. My 'VP Singh' card got burnt in the fire when we were in Pushta .But when I applied for a new card, they gave the card which mentioned the wrong date, because I was staying there before 1990, but I got the 12.5 sq m plot instead of 18 sq .m because they printed the wrong date . I know it was a game played by the government. The government does not want that we should get a plot. But now we are here we are supposed to make Sheila Dixit card and for that I have filled the form and submitted but I have not got any response from anybody." Without the card we can't access to PDS shops and for the last six years we have been getting the ration from the markets at a market price. When will we get the cards? Yes our dead body will get the cards. (Gulfasana, 43 years, Housewife).*

As stated above only 20% of the families had got the plots and relocated in Bawana colony and rest were neglected because they did not have the ration cards; some had lost it, some were not in a position to buy a plot in Bawana. Families who had managed to get the plots but were not in a position to buy them, had sold their plots to those needed families. One of the families shared their experience:-

*This is for the second time we have been evicted. We had made lot of money in the last twenty years. But to buy a plot in a Delhi is not easy. We have lost the ration card when fire broke down at the time of demolition. We did not want to move anywhere because twice we have been the victim of eviction. Government officials confirmed that Bawana colony will never demolished. So we purchased the plot at the cost of 8000 rupees instead of 5000 rupees from one of my relative. They did not have the money to construct the plot so they sold us. And we are living here without the ration card. (Ruksana ,46 years, Home based worker)*

There are many families who came to Bawana, constructed their plot, unable to cope at a new place, and then moved to other slums where they got the work. And it was mentioned by the NGOs that some of the plots here belong to the MCD officials who buy and invest in these plots. Kumar (2002) quotes “Many have pointed out housing is an effective anti poverty measure not just because it is shelter, but because it functions as an economic asset-a site of production, income generation and an investment that gains value over time”<sup>15</sup>. One of the respondents shared a different story:-

*I managed to get the plot and I did not have the money to construct the house. So I gave it on rent. I stay in A block and my plot is in E block. The rent that I get from the house is the only source of income. We don't have enough money to spend-on the travelling and to go the Pushta. I am saving the money and then in future will buy the second plot. If I would have been staying in my plot then from where I would be getting the rent. (Seema, 33 years, House wife)*

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<sup>15</sup> Cited in Menon, Kalyani, Sen.(2008), Op.cit

This is the practice which has been adopted by many of the families, who had managed to get the plots. The ownership has increased in Bawana as compared to Pushta, still it does not provide livelihood opportunities.

➤ **Plot construction**

The journey of the displaced families did not end here. When families got the plot in Bawana it was a complete barren land. They were supposed to pay 5000 rupees for 12.5 sq. m plot and 7000 rupees for 18 sq. m plot. That was the official amount which was compulsory for the families to pay in order to get a plot. But nobody knows that after paying the official amount, they were supposed to pay some additional hidden amounts.

During the interview it was found that those families who had paid 5000 officially had actually paid 1600 rupees to 2000 rupees more for the construction of 12.5 sq.m plot and 3000 for those families who had officially paid 7000 rupees for 18.sq. m plot. So it means that the amount for the construction of a house in a resettlement colony comes to an average of 10,000 rupees. So first of all the family has to generate the additional amount of 10,000 rupees to 15,000 rupees and then have to produce all sets of documents proofs within a week's time prior to demolition. But what about those families who failed to raise the amount and who failed to produce the residence proof? Those families were branded as illegal cases. Nobody knows that what had happened to those families? One of the informants in Pushta said that:-

*My daughter was to get married in May 2004. I have lost my husband in 2001 because of kidney failure. I have only one son and one daughter; I used to work as a domestic maid in nearby colonies of the Pushta. But the demolition came at a very wrong time. Most of the families owned a house in Pushta but today they are without plots in Bawana .Some are staying in rental places or some families had gone back to their village and some families had shifted to other slums. At the time of demolition we all were asking the police official what the government was doing for the last 50 years. I have saved around 15000 for my daughter's marriage. But now I have lost all my money just for this 12.5 sq.m of plot. The plot costs me around 5000 Rs officially and additionally I had to pay 4000 rupees more as the construction and bribes to many people. It has been six years and my*



*daughter is still unmarried because I cannot meet dowry demands. From where will I bring the money? I have lost all money for this plot.”(Tabutatsam 38 years, vegetable vendor)*

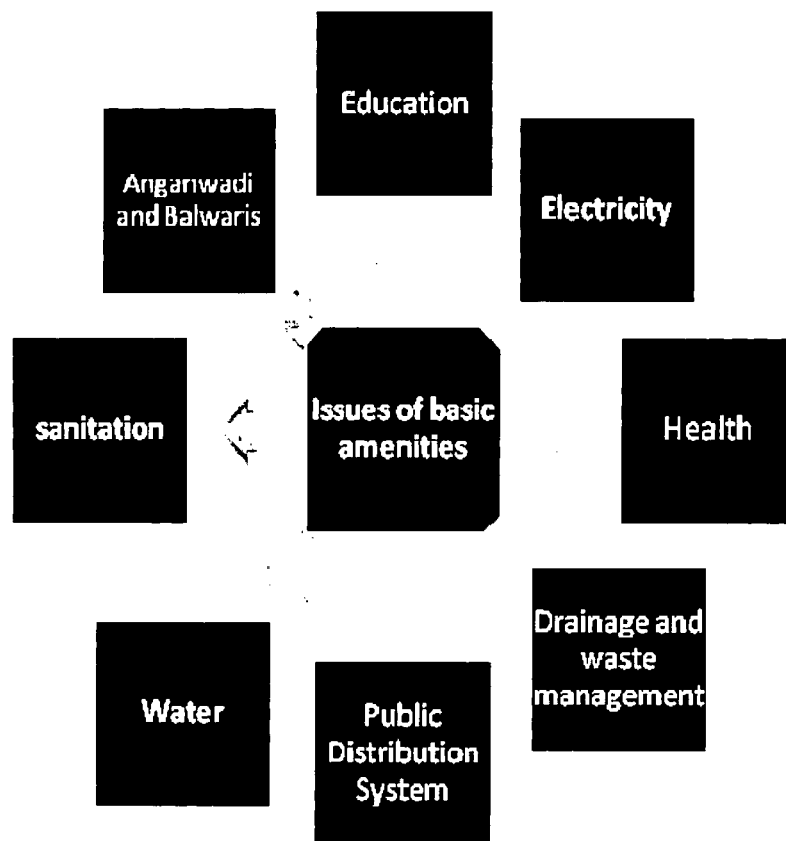
What was more striking is that displaced families have given their plot on rent basis. To rent a plot in a resettlement colony is completely illegal. The families those who had moved to Bawana are giving their plots to other families on rent who had come from different slums and charging the rent from them. The owners of the plots are themselves living in the kuccha houses in other slums or nearby in Bawana and getting the money from their rented houses. I met a family who herself is staying in the kuccha house in some other block but she has given her plot on rent. And from that house she is getting the monthly rent of 1000 rupees:-

*“It was not easy for us to come down to Bawana. Though we managed to get a plot here but to make a living here was not at all possible .It was not easy for us to spend 50 rupees daily on commuting to Pushta. I had a small tea shop in Pushta and from that stall I used to earn around 300 rupees to 400 rupees. I tried to open my stall here but it didn’t work out here. I was in a loss so I decided to give my plot on rent. So now I am staying in E block and my plot is in A block. At least I am getting the monthly rent from that house.”(Shakina Begum 49 years)*

### Issues of Access to Basic Amenities

The problem of the resettlement colony does not end here. After the livelihood, the plot allocation, construction, of the plots and the list of problems goes on. In this section an attempt has been made to explore the present condition of basic amenities available in a resettlement colony and resident's experience of the same. Given below is the figure which looks into the various issues related to the basic amenities

**FIGURE: - 3.3 Issues of Basic Amenities**



#### ➤ Water

Families were displaced in the month of April 2004 and that was the peak summer time and that time there was no Public taps and tube wells. So families had to rely on the nearby lake. And at that time many cases of water borne disease were reported. But till today the situation has not changed much.

The water comes three times a day for two hours. But timing of the water supply is inconsistent. The taps have been provided in every block. Families mentioned that in Pushta the water quality was fine as compared to Bawana. Here the MCD

water tank does not come on time. So majority of the women have to rely on hard water from tube wells. The water here is hard so it becomes difficult to cook and wash with this water. Women also reported that majority prefer to wash the clothes near public taps instead of going to Sulabh toilets. In the Sulabh toilets, the contractor charges 3 rupees per visit. Therefore women prefer to wash the clothes near the taps. One woman recalled her days in Pushta and said:-

*“In Pushta the supply of water was not a problem and there we didn’t have fights for washing the clothes. Because we were staying there with our community people, but here the government had thrown us with the people of lower caste so it has become a daily routine to fight for your right to wash the clothes. And it is a mixed community, so here you even do not know the caste of the person and you don’t know who had come before you to wash the clothes”<sup>16</sup>. (Maya, 35 years, daily wage earner)*

If tap water does not come then, families have to rely on the tube wells. A study done by Jagori (2008) quotes ‘Water from these wells is not monitored or checked for quality, and the likelihood of serious contamination is very high.’ But families do not have a choice, so they have to take water from these tube wells. In 2006 Hazard centre conducted water quality tests in the Bawana B block and MCD bore well at Madanpur Khadar pocket A-1, A-2, D-2 and found that “water is unfit for consumption due to the presence of coliform bacteria, undesirable levels of fluoride and undetectable levels of residual chlorine which cause a lot of health problems”<sup>17</sup>. During the informal discussion, many women reported incidence of water borne disease has increased. And women also reported about the frequent stomach pain and blamed it on the hard water in Bawana.

Many a times the issue of access to water has been linked to the caste of the person. The respondents who are from upper caste mentioned that we know the

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<sup>16</sup> I was wondering that caste is such an issue which is completely entrenched in everybody’s mind. Despite of the hardships she was going through. I was asking her that what type’s problems she is facing with regard to water supply but instead of answering to that she started talking about the caste of the community members.

<sup>17</sup> Hazard Center report(2006.june), Status of drinking water quality of sub standard settlements in Delhi, a research report on potability of available sources of five JJ clusters and six resettlement colonies in Delhi.

quality of the water cannot be changed but government could have given the space with their own caste people.

A few respondents pointed out that as the water quality is not good in Bawana. So for the last six years they have been boiling the drinking water. Boiling the water means increase in their daily expenses. Daily wage earners complained about the irregular supply of water. One woman said:-

*We leave at five o'clock in the morning and come back at 11 o'clock in the morning. I have three daughters who work as domestic workers. Because of the irregular supply of water we have to face many problems. Hum log chotti jaati kae log hain and idar hum log ki jaath(caste) kae log nahi hain<sup>18</sup> (We are from lower caste and here people of our caste does not stay with us). In Pushta we had been staying with our people. So be it, food, anything, it was easy for us to approach our own people. It has been more than six years; still we don't know anybody here. The other day I asked my neighbor to fill the drinking water because we all have to leave early in the morning. So she told me you are from a low caste, so I cannot touch your bucket. (Kalla Devi, 50 years, Daily wage earner<sup>19</sup>)*

In this narration she just wanted to focus on the problems she is facing in the resettlement colony, but because of her caste. People are not ready to help her, and this is something which she never felt with her own people in Pushta. Moreover in Pushta, the families were homogenous in nature. But here the caste feelings, and occupational grouping lead to different colors about the people in their neighborhood.

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<sup>18</sup> This statement has been underlined in order to emphasize on the caste issue. Even to ask somebody's help for the water, families are discriminated on the basis of their caste. There is no denying the fact that, resettlement has definitely snatched away the source of livelihood from the people but it has again questioned the issue of the caste. Be it small caste or high caste all the respondents had complained about the invisibility in the social and communities ties, which they had been strong in Pushta time.

<sup>19</sup> She mentioned that daily one of her daughters leave late in the morning after storing the drinking water.

### ➤ Sanitation

Currently there are 13 Sulabh Shochalay in Bawana JJ colony. Because of the irregular of water supply, the toilets remain in very poor condition. Respondents informed that in Pushta the toilet facility was free for the women and children but after coming here the women and children have to pay for every visit. To use the toilet women have to pay Rs 1 for every visit, for bathing they have to pay 2 Rs and for washing the clothes the, contactor charges Rs 5<sup>20</sup>.

We need to understand that before the toilet facilities the food is the priority for all the poor. The care taker when asked about the poor maintenance of the toilets, mentioned that the *'colony women don't know how to use the toilets(shochalya)* She told that majority of the women would throw the sanitary pads in the toilets itself which will lead to the blockage of the toilets even though the dustbin has been provided outside the toilets. The residents also mentioned that many a times the caretaker use abusive language .One of the woman mentioned that:-

*"I asked the caretaker that if we pay 1 rupee for every visit then why we are not getting the clean toilets. Then the karamchari mentioned that we are not your parent's servants that all the time we will clean your shit" (Thara Devi)*

The Adolescent girls mentioned during the discussion that when they go and use toilets the boys of the colonies makes very weird comments. They also pointed that, sometimes it is not possible to use the sochalay because of the money problem, therefore the only option they are left with is to use the open fields. Because of the unsafe environment the girls do not feel like to go alone in the fields. One of the girls narrated her experience when they went to the open field:-

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<sup>20</sup> In Bawana majority of the households consists of 5 to 9 family members. If we assume that a family has three children and one couple which will come to total of five members in a family then the cost of toilet + bathing + washing of clothes = 30( six times each member will use the toilet in a day) Rs+ 10 Rs + 5 =**45 Rupees**. This becomes beyond the reach for those who are earning only 50 Rupees a day. And if a daily wage labour is earning 100 rupees a day, then it means that half of his salary will be going into the toilet facility.

*“My mother had gone to ration shop to buy the ration and father had gone to Pushta because he is a rickshaw puller. My mother took all the money for the ration .I was suffering from loose motions and had already spent 3 rupees for the toilet since morning. But I was not able to control myself so I went to the Shochalya and requested the caretaker to allow me to use the toilet for once and when my mother will come, I will give you the money. But she didn't allow me and started using abusive words. So I decided to go to open near the river. I took the bottle and stated walking, and then I realized that some boys were following me, but I was not in state to control myself, so started walking fast. I went to the field and relieved myself and I found that there were other women who were washing the clothes so I felt safe. But when I was retuning back I found the same boys .They have taken the drugs, and one of them came nearer to me, hurt me and I fell on the road .But somehow I managed to get up and freed myself from them. So from that day onwards I never went to the river side. And she also mentioned that this incident could have never happened in Pushta. There the women and children were not supposed to pay for using the toilet. (Afreem Ahmed ,21 years)*

The families who are better off have constructed the toilets at their homes. But they do not have any sewage pipes which carry out the waste. Therefore before the construction of the toilets they are supposed to dig 8 to 10 feet gutter which would carry the waste from the toilets. And whenever the gutter gets full, the families have to call the sweepers to remove out the waste. And the sweeper charges from 800 to 1000 rupees for carrying out this task.

#### ➤ **Drainage and waste management**

It is a very common sight to see small boys or girls sitting near the drains of the house and relievingthemselves. Then they throw away the waste to the other house. Bawana does not have a proper drainage system. Side drains have been constructed at the height of 2 feet above the ground but they are always clogged with the waste. Even the Pushta also does not have a proper drainage system. The waste of the Pushta used to be drained directly to the Yamuna River.

At present there are 6 kura ghar(where the garbage is dumped) in the area. But it has been reported by the residents that Safai Karamcharis usually come once in a month due to which the side lanes near the plots would be clogged in all seasons. Bawana colony does not have any landfills sites. It was reported by some of the NGO that, once in a year they try to organize camp on waste management. But people do not listen to them. One of the women stated that why children use lanes to rest themselves:-

*The situation is really bad here .During the monsoons the entire JJ becomes muddy. The Kanjar families, chamars (lower caste) do not have any civic sense. At one side government is telling that our condition will improve, standard will improve, but how? The municipal sweepers do not come inside the colony. They will just take away the garbage and waste from the outside of the blocks. Nobody is happy after moving to Bawana .We don't have the money to have a three meals a day so from where we will pay for the community toilets Nobody has that much time to go to the open fields. So that is why the small children can be seen resting themselves on the lanes which have been constructed outside the plots which further chokes the lanes. (Shanta, 30 years)*

The Drains in Bawana colony is made of poor quality and started crumbling within a month after the constructions. No provision has been made by the municipality in order to separate and to sort the household waste. So it automatically starts choking the drain and which further becomes mess a during the monsoons. It is common to see the women fighting over the issue of garbage. The Municipal sweeper does not come inside the blocks. They will collect the waste from the outside of the side lanes and then will make a pile of it in nearby lanes. One of the women told us that the problem of drainage has increased here because; people of different community are staying together. She narrated:-

*This not our fault if a sweeper does not comes inside the blocks. They have been paid by the government to clean out entire the colony. Whenever we call them inside our blocks they will say Tumaahre baap kae naukar hain kya hum log jo tumahri ghar ki ghandi bhi saaf karain(We are not your father's servants that we will come inside the blocks to clean your household waste).This never happened in the Pushta, even though there was also the problems of waste and choking of*

*lanes but there everybody knew their responsibility. If lanes gets choked then people start throwing the garbage into the empty plots. If nothing has been from past many years, we do not expect anything in the future. (Meena, 60 years)*

During the monsoon the entire community is exposed to muddy streets, overflowing garbage from the lanes, unbearable smell and stink from the sochalyas, choked drains etc. The problem becomes more serious when the women come to community taps for washing the clothes and for taking drinking water. The overflowing of the waste from the choked lanes gets mixed with water from community taps. The worst sufferers are those families who have been staying in the kuccha houses. The Resettlement colonies promise for the better physical environment, whereas the inhabitants of the Bawana colony are experiencing all together a different picture.

#### ➤ **Health**

It is already six years since demolition but still Bawana does not have a proper working MCD dispensary. There is no denying the fact that for majority of the poor the priority for health comes at the end because livelihood plays the pivotal role in their life, then shelter and finally health. Health care can be studied in terms of **availability, accessibility and affordability**.<sup>21</sup>

#### **Availability of health care in Bawana**

Bawana colony is full of local health providers. **Local health provider** means quacks, Bengali doctor, dais and registered medical practitioner (RMPs). Majority of the private providers claim that they are RMPs but still no verification has been done by any NGOs working in Bawana. And in every block around 5 to 10 Bengali doctors are available. These Bengali doctors claim that they have worked

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<sup>21</sup> The health care was studied keeping in mind the availability, accessibility and affordability of health services. The views and opinion about the health perception was recorded with the help of unstructured interview and informal discussions with the families focusing on the woman health. Respondents were asked to share their experiences on accessibility towards the health services, to whom they approach for during the child birth, and for day to day illness, And their opinions about the health services in a resettlement colony which is located on the outskirts of the city.



in various hospitals and have gained immense experience from them. Majority of the local health providers have shifted from Pushta to Bawana colony.

**Maharishi Balmiki Hospital** is the nearest hospital in Bawana which is located in Puth Kalan and its almost five kms away from the resettlement colony. This is a government hospital. Most of the time, the patients from the colony are not properly attended by the hospital staff. . If the case is serious then the patients are referred to the Lokanayak Jai Prakash Narayan hospital (LNJP) which is located at ITO.

There are a number of the NGOs working in Bawana. And every month some NGOs organize the **health camps** in collaboration with various hospitals. But NGOs mention that they are not getting the positive response from these health camps. Even though people do come to the camps but they don't take the medicines regularly. A woman shared her experience of visiting the health camp:-

*"We do go to the health camps. They do a number of health check up and give number of medicines, so it creates confusion how to and when to eat these medicines. The doctors in these camps give the same medicines to everyone. We are poor people, but it does not mean that we will play with our health by getting the medicines free of cost. Yes doctors in these camps talks to us nicely, but organizing the health camp every month does not solve our purpose"* (Noor, 26 years, House wife).

Other woman mentioned:-

*"These health camps are organized just for a few hours. The doctors come and do the job and then go away. But I think that these health camps should be organized on a weekly basis. In Bawana colony we do not have any **job opportunities**. So we have to go outside to look for work. We are daily wage earners and cannot afford to miss a single day. So how can we afford to miss our single day just for health camps?<sup>22</sup> But if we would have been in Pushta then it was easy for us to attend these camps .Because in Pushta majority of the population used to work in adjoining areas of Pushta and it was easy for us to attend the camps and then get back to the work. But after coming to Bawana, daily our day starts with a new*

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<sup>22</sup> She was asked by the researcher to share her experience of Pushta, also keeping in mind the changes she had seen from the demolition time to shifting to the outskirts.

*challenge for our survival. So how can we leave our work and attend these health camps”? ( Rubeena, 45 years, Daily wage earner)*

The above two narrations clearly say that organizing the health camps does not solve the purpose. Respondents shared that after coming to Bawana their priorities have changed. In Pushta, they had got some security in their work place because they had been staying for many decades and which lead to the strong ties with the persons for whom they used to work. But after moving to colony, majority of the population had lost their previous jobs which make it difficult for them to ask or to take holiday from their work even if they are ill. Therefore for them health comes at the end after work and food.

The Bawana does not have a proper working MCD **dispensary**. The doctor comes twice a week only. Residents mentioned that the doctor in the dispensary does not check them properly and gives everybody the same medicine. Since six years have been passed but no work has been done on maintenance of the dispensary. The MCD mobile also comes but they can be seen only once or twice a month. One of the women narrated:-

*“I have never seen a mobile dispensary here for the last six years. But yes I have heard of it. Only god knows the timings of the mobile dispensary.”*

### **Accessibility to Health Care**

Accessibility plays a very major role in seeking the health care. All the families interviewed mentioned that they prefer to visit the Bengalis doctors. The health camps and MCD dispensary are not reliable. Importantly, a health camp is not organized on a regular basis. The first and foremost reason given by the residents is that all the local private practioners are easily accessible and secondly sometimes they also check them free of cost when they don't have the money. A woman recalled her time in Pushta and shared :-

*In Pushta everybody was employed .And we had enough savings also .And there was no problem with regard to hunger and food crisis .And whenever we get ill*

*then we go to Kasturba Gandhi<sup>23</sup>. That hospital was near from our place and there was no problem like transport. But after coming here we have lost everything. We have become unemployed. The nearest government hospital is the Balmiki hospital and it takes 10 rupees for one side to visit the hospital. What will the poor do? And why he should spend 20 rupees for commuting, if we have Bangalis doctors here. (Ruksana 53 years)*

It is clear from the above narration that **Proximity** plays an important role in seeking the health care. Bawana is flooded with local practioners, so whenever the residents fall ill, they first approach the local practioner because they are available to them for twenty four hours. And if the case is serious they would be referred to Balmiki hospital. Secondly it saves money and time in travelling to other places.

An older woman shared her experience

*In Pushta I used to visit the Bangali doctors only. Because I know them from the time I came to Delhi. But after moving to Bawana things were never remain the same. Majority of the families here are facing the problem of discrimination by the hospital staff. The problem of discrimination was completely invisible in Kasturba hospital because the doctors there were aware of the Pushta community. But in Bawana things are completely different. How checkup can be done if the patient is asked to stand near the door? But if a patient comes in a nice dress then he/she would be attended nicely by the doctor .Don't the poor have a right to get a proper treatment from the government hospitals? Then people ask us why we don't visit the Balmiki Hospital? ( Rafita Begum, 65 years, house wife)*

### **Affordability of Health Care**

During the interview and focused group discussions, various factors were pointed out by the informants for the choice, reasons about health care provider .Majority of the residents preferred to visit the Bengalis doctors or some other local provider. The first and foremost reason given by them is that they can **afford** these doctors. Many of the informants mentioned that even if they don't have

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<sup>23</sup> Kasturba Gandhi hospital is frequently called as Machali hospital by the Yamuna Pushta People.

money at that time than they will take the money during next visits. Others informed that they don't have that much money to spend on other doctors by commuting. These local private provider are working in the community itself and it was also found that more than 2 to 3 Bengalis doctors are there in each block.

### **Community preferences for local health providers**

Majority of the respondents talked about the **Trust factor**. Here by trust, they meant that, they trust the quacks and Bengalis doctors because they have known them from Pushta time. They mentioned that if there is emergency then the local provider himself will refer to the hospital. We know that the Bengali doctors in the community cannot cheat us<sup>24</sup>.

One of the women shared her experience:-

*Be it small or serious illness I only visit my hakim sahib.<sup>25</sup> My hakim sahib is from the community, therefore he understands us very well. Market medicines do not suit me. The medicines are costly and are not effective. But medicines by the Baba are very effective. My elder son met with an accident and he got permanent scars on his whole body. All the doctors told us that the accident scars will not go. But I did not lose the hope so I asked my son to see the Hakim Baba. Hakim Baba gave him some special medicine. Within three months the scars from his body disappeared. If our community has got experienced doctors then what is the need to visit the hospitals.” (Rehana Begum, 50 years, house wife)*

Second reason they gave was of easy **accessibility**. Respondents mentioned that whenever they fall ill in the Pushta they used to go to Kasturba Gandhi Hospital because it was nearer to their place. And in the case of the emergency also they

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<sup>24</sup> The Striking observation was that when the researcher asked them about their opinion on the health, again and again majority of the woman shared their experiences about the loss of jobs. Many a time's many women mentioned that “*arre didi if we have doctors here then why anybody will go to the hospitals. The doctors in our community are more educated and more experienced than doctors in the government hospitals*”. Secondly very frequently respondents were focusing on the trust factor which was found negligible in the case of hospital doctors.

<sup>25</sup> Bengalis doctors and quacks in the Bawana colony are called by the name of Hakim sahib, hakim Baba.

would take anybody rickshaw and will drop the families to Kasturba Gandhi. But here if the emergency arises then they will not get the any transport at night. And rickshaw puller will take more than 40 minutes to reach the Hospital. But from Pushta, Kasturba Hospital was only 15 minutes away from their place.

One of the informants shared her recent experience who lost her daughter in-law after moving to Bawana colony:-

*My daughter was eight months pregnant but at night she started crying with pain. So we took her to the Dai. But the case got more complicated and dai told us that she can't handle the case. She referred her to the hospital but it was around 3 am at night. We made repeated calls to Balmiki hospitals but the ambulance didn't come. And there was no sight of the auto. So we took her on the rickshaw and it took almost 45 minutes to reach Balmiki hospital, but by the time we reached the hospital, it was too late. Just because of the carelessness of the hospital I have lost my daughter in-law. But if we would have been in Pushta, Kasturba hospital would have sent the ambulance. I don't know what sins I did in my last birth and today I am rotting like animal in this colony.”(Sushma , 55 years)*

Third reason they gave with regard to the choice of provider was the **availability of injection and medicines**. The following narration helps in understanding this:-

*Doctors don't give us the medicines and injections. And be it stomach pain or head ache or problem with eye sight, the doctors in balmiki hospital will give the same medicine to everybody. And most of the time the injections and medicine are not available and they tell us to buy from outside. These doctors think that we are not human beings. They are also government servants and they are not our bosses. This was never the case in Machali hospital . There the doctor had formed rapport with us, so they used to treat us seriously. The Bengali doctor gives us the good medicine and injection on the site. The Bengali doctor does not charge the consultation fees for first three visits.”(Rajwati ,46 years old)*

Fourth reason which motivated the families for the choice of the local health care provider was of **respect that they get from the local private provider**. Informants mentioned that the community doctors treat them with respect, while

the doctor at government hospitals tells them not to come closer and stand near the door. Respondents talked about the continuous discrimination they face as “jhuggis wala” Respondents repeatedly mentioned about the bad behavior of the government doctors. They also feel that the doctor in the community at least talk to them nicely and treats them with respect.

During informal discussion with the women various topics were discussed. But the focus was on birthing. Majority of the woman mentioned that they prefer to give birth at homes by Dais only and only in case of emergency they rush to the hospital. The reasons cited by them are; doctors and nurses don't behave properly with them in the hospitals and often make rude remarks to them. One of the women narrated her sad story about her caste and mentioned that how she was discriminated by the hospital staff and how her dignity was affected.

*Life of a woman is never easy and moreover if woman is poor than it becomes more problematic. But the situation becomes worse if she is a poor **Dalit** woman. My husband had left me after few months when we shifted to Bawana. And at that time I was nine month pregnant. When pain started I immediately rushed to the dai but it was my destiny that I didn't find any dai. So people of Bawana took me to the Balmiki hospital. There, the nurse started using abusive language. She kept on saying that you cannot bear the pain now, and did not feel any shame when you had sex with your husband? She held my body tightly and slapped me at least five times. And when I had a baby girl she remarked, see you have baby girl who will also clean the toilets with you” I told her that I don't clean the toilets but she told me that but your caste does not allow you to do any other type of job.(Rajani Devi 35 years, Ragpicker) (Case study number 2).*

Another issue which came to the notice is that discrimination is not only faced by the Dalit women, but by Muslim women as well. In fact the incidents of discrimination are higher in the case of **Muslim women**. During the discussions with the women, majority of them complained about verbal abuse and humiliation they face when they visit the government hospitals. Many a times, these women

are denied proper checkups by the doctors. One of the Muslim women shared her experience of visiting the Balmiki hospital.

*“When my labour pain started, my sister called the Dai but my case got complicated, so Dai sent us to the hospital .On that day it was raining heavily so there was no auto, no bus, no rickshaw around. Everybody was making repeated calls to the hospitals for the ambulance but nobody picked up the phone. Finally we managed to get one auto and reached the hospital. My sister narrated the whole incident to the nurse and nurse asked us to wait. Then after a few minutes a lady doctor came. She told me to remove the slippers as I was dirtying the floor<sup>26</sup>. When I reached the labour room and they asked me to lied down on the bed. And when I lay down then all the nurses in the room started staring at me. I was not able to control the pain so I started crying. Instead of helping me, the nurse started taunting me. One of the nurses came up to me and asked me, how many children you have? I said five, and she said, are you a child bearing machine? If already you have five children, then why you want more? Don't you feel ashamed of yourself by giving birth to children every year?<sup>27</sup> ( Sania, 30 years, House wife)*

All women who were interviewed or was the part of the focused group discussion mentioned that they are called as **Jhuggi ki aurtae** by the hospital staff. All of them also stated that, whenever they visit the hospital, they face the same kind of discrimination which actually questions their dignity and identity in the society. These women expressed feelings of their insult, agony and pain when they are treated badly and verbally abused by the hospital staff. Therefore this is also one of the major reasons for the poor utilization of government health services which further motivate them to approach and access the Bengali doctors.

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<sup>26</sup> She also stated that she was the only one to be asked by the nurse to remove the slippers. She saw other women who were wearing the slippers. She mentioned that the other woman were in nice clothes .Therefore they were able to get the respect from the staff. But a poor woman will always be discriminated.

<sup>27</sup> When she was narrating this incident, she also mentioned that, she is not the only one who faces such type of verbal abuses from the doctors. During the discussion with the woman, what came to the notice is that, Dalit and Muslim woman are majorly the victims of such types of verbal abuses. Even though these types of incidents must had happened in their previous places also, but specifically they mentioned about the Balmiki Hospital.

### **Public distribution system (PDS)**

Various studies have pointed out the sub standard quality of the ration which is being provided through the ration shop. But the problems of evicted families in a resettlement colony are different in case of PDS. Respondents mentioned that most of the families have been given a wrong ration card. The families of those who belong to the Below Poverty Line (BPL) have been given the above poverty line cards. As most of the families had lost their ration cards during the fire and eviction process, and when they applied again for the new card then a wrong card has been issued to them. And change in the card led to an increase in the monthly expenses for families. One of the families narrated their experience as below:-

*“I had a BPL card in Pushta but during shifting I deposited my card with the authorities. It was mentioned that all the families need to deposit the cards so that they can be given new cards. But it has been six years and still I have not got the card. The official says that it is official work, so it will take time. Why the authorities don't realize that for the last six years I am spending my own money to buy the ration from the shops, even though I am eligible for the BPL card. It would have been better if we could have moved to other slums.”(Shanta Ram 38 years)*

Respondents also complained about the opening of the PDS shops. They mentioned that once a week the ration and oil shop open and that open just for an hour. And many a times the PDS dealers use the wrong weights and measures. Respondents also pointed about the adulteration of pulses and kerosene. One woman stated:-

*“The PDS dealers are all gundas. They do not open the shop on time and if they open then they close the shop within a hour. We are daily wage earners and cannot afford to miss our work. The dealers should inform us in advance about the opening of the shops because ration is given to the head of the family. And most of the time the head of the family is busy with work. If dealers are opening the shop at one clock in the noon, so how can they expect the poor to be there all the time.”(Sarita Ben, 35 years, tea stall owner)*



This is not the only problem. The single mothers and widowed are at great risk because they have to face harassment by the dealers. Most of the times the ration is not properly given to the families. The dealers will always give less in quantity and if families resist this, they will say that *“It is not our fault. The quantity of the ration has been decreased from the office. Be happy with this only. At least government is giving you something at a low price. Tum jhuggi walae hamesha maangtae kyon rehatae hoo?”*

One of the widowed mentioned

*“Last year I had lost my husband. I have six children to look after. In Pushta I used to work in houses. But after coming here it was not easy for me to go back to the previous place. Now I am running a small tea stall. The dealer opens the ration shop according to their conveniences. One day when I managed to get some ration from the shop, I resisted about the quantity of the flour. I scolded him about the wrong weights. Then he said if you want to have more ration then you don't you come here for a single night. But I was speechless and could not utter a word. These dealers are powerful people and if we will make any complaint then they will stop giving the ration to us.” (Mannu, 30 years, Tea stall)*

Yes there is no denying the fact that widowed woman, Dalits and Muslims are frequently abused by the dealers. Shahbudin who is a Muslim shared his experience that whenever I asked them to give more ration and to check the ration before giving us then they say *“we have not told you to produce eight children. We are not your servants that we will listen to you. If you do not have the food to feed your children then why you produce them”*

To have a ration card does not end the PDS problems. After coming to Bawana majority of the families had lost their ration cards. The cases of the fire incidents has increased during the demolition and due to which many families had lost their ration cards .Even after moving to a new place the families have not yet got the new ration cards. And those who have received the cards they have been given the wrong cards. The wrong cards means extra spending on the rations. But the cases

of harassment, the use of wrong weights and measures, delay in opening of the shop, are constraining factors for the residents to access to the PDS shops.

### ➤ Education

Bulldozing the home does not only mean loss of livelihood for a family. But the real victims of this demolition are the children. The demolition basically leads to demolishing one's personal life all together. At the time of demolition in Pushta, which began in February to April 2004, all the children were busy with the preparation for the annual examinations. Many appeals had been made by the people, the NGOs etc, to the authorities to postpone the eviction for some time. But authorities did not listen to these appeals.

The demolition had led to the loss of one year for majority of the students, because Bawana which is 30 kms away from Yamuna Pushta would take two hours in just travelling. 'Over 500 children sat on a dharna outside the Rashtrapati Bhawan, pleading to the president to intervene and postpone the demolitions until after their exam, but to no avail- the famously child friendly president did not even emerge to speak to them'<sup>28</sup>. There was no school in Bawana till march 2005. One of the informant narrated his experience at the time of shifting to Bawana:-

*My son was in third standard at the time of demolition .My wife was 9 month pregnant .It was not possible for us to take my son daily to the school. After coming here we have lost everything. I was working in a dhaba at Pushta. From dhaba I used to earn around 3000 rupees per month and my wife was working as a domestic help in nearby colonies of Pushta. We used to earn around 5000 rupees per month which was sufficient for my family. At the time of shifting my wife could not bear the stress and pain. And we have lost our baby and it was a boy. My aged parents become ill and I have lost them six months after of shifting. In all these circumstances who will think about the education of the children.*

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<sup>28</sup> Menon Kalyani, Sen and Bhan Gautam (2008), Swept of the map:- surviving eviction and resettlement in Delhi, yoda press,pg-98

*What education will do? Will education provide better job to my son? (Farrukh ,Vegetable vendor 34 years)*

This is not the story of a single family. Everybody is asking the same question whether education be able to provide employment opportunities? Currently there are five primary schools and two higher secondary schools. It is not only about the employment opportunities for the families. The children from the resettlement colonies feel neglected and discriminated by the teachers of the school. During the informal discussions with the families, majority of the families reported about discrimination issues. One of the children shared his experience in Bawana School.:-

*'My classmates call me as **jhuggi kae jungali bacchae**. If we forgot to do our home work then teacher would ask us to clean all the rooms. The school has a good strength of Jat children. So very often all the children from the Jhuggi are discriminated. I don't like to go to school.'* (Krishan, 10 year old)

The families also mentioned that whenever the teacher asked us to meet them, they try to go and meet them leaving aside their work. And most of the time their children are found to be sitting on the floor. Families further mentioned that this was something which never happened when they were in Pushta. Given below is an experience of the family in the school in Bawana.

*'Because we had been there for so many years and we had formed rapport with the teachers, but here the school teacher treats us like beggars. 'And they have made up their mind that our children could not perform better in schools because their parents are laborers. Jats have money, and therefore their children get proper attention from teachers. Don't the poor children have a right to study?*

The other woman narrated the incident about the mid day meal food which is given to children from nursery to 6<sup>th</sup> class:-

*“The children from the JJ cluster are forced to sit on the floor during the mid day meal time. It has been repeatedly mentioned by many children that, they often give less quantity to the children who are coming from the clusters. And they say, doesn't your mom give you any food? Why you eat like an animal”?* (Subash, 10 year old).

One of the important observations is that girls are biggest losers who had been badly affected by the demolition. From NGOs sources it was revealed that large number of girls are now staying at home, as mothers are going to the previous location for work and girls at home have to take care of the young siblings. In Pushta as the work site for majority of the families was in and around the area, it was easy for all the mothers to take smaller ones with them. But in Bawana the travelling takes minimum of more than 1 hour, so it is not feasible for mothers to take young children with them. One of the informants shared her experience regarding the drop out from the school

*I have studied up to 5<sup>th</sup> class, and I have to drop out from the school because I have to take care of my siblings. My father is a rickshaw puller and my mother is a daily wage labourer. Bawana does not have any work opportunities for us, therefore daily my parents have to leave for Pushta. If I will go to school then who will take care of my young sibling? If I had been in Pushta then I would have been continuing with my studies.<sup>29</sup>*

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<sup>29</sup> Researcher asked her that what has Pushta to do with the continuing of her studies. Then she explained that in Pushta she used to leave her siblings to her neighbors home but after moving to Bawana they have lost all the ties with their old neighbor. And in Bawana it is a mixed community, so they cannot trust anyone.

Secondly I asked her about her brothers. Then she mentioned that my both elder brothers go to the school, because it is important for them to have education. If a girl will not understand the parent's problem then who will listen and understand them. At least listening to them I am not becoming the burden on them? This statement clearly gives us an understanding about the **gender biasness and why it is always the girls who have to compromise?** The justification she gave for not continuing the studies is again questioning about the rights of a girl child. The parents are struggling for survival and for food. But when it comes to education, then boys have a right to continue with the studies but girls are meant to take care of the siblings.

One of the informants gave an unusual reason for not continuing the studies.

*"I wanted to study more because I know education is everything .In our religion it is not allowed for the girls to study more than 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> standard. My father used to run the dhaba in Pushta. But when was Pushta demolished then Dhaba also got demolished. We lost our money during the demolition so my father started the business of tailoring. My parents never stopped me from studying .And when I joined the school in Bawana I have to stop my studies. Jatoo nae yahan ka mohal buhut kharab kar diya hai. They stare at us like they are going eat us. When I started going to the school I was shocked to see that the girl's toilets were under construction. And girls used to urinate in the open. And the boys used to watch us. I was not comfortable with that and when I shared this problem with my mother then next day my mother went to see the teacher. Teacher told us that toilets are under construction and if you do not want to your daughter to the school then do not make a fuss. And you are talking as if you people have toilets at your home.<sup>30</sup>"(Nasreen, 15 years)*

Another issue which came to the notice is that, many women complained about frequent harassment of their daughters by the Jats of Bawana, Therefore girls don't feel safe to go out. Even while going to the schools in buses, the Jats makes offensive remarks on them. They think that they are from the Jhuggi so it is easy to tease them. It was also stated by the respondents that many of the boys have also discontinued their studies because they are involved in wrong activities and they are into the drug peddling. A mother shared her loneliness:-

*My son used to top in the class in Pushta. We are poor people and if children from our community topped in the class then it is a great achievement for any parents. I am a construction worker and now sells pens and pencils in buses. After moving to Bawana my son got involved with the Jats of Bawana village*

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<sup>30</sup> The above narration gave a very valuable insight about the increase in dropout rates. May be for the teacher, the construction of toilets has nothing to do with the attendance of the girls students. But it has been pointed out by the girl that absence of girl's toilet in the school has motivated her to discontinue with the studies.

*and started taking drugs. He was never like this in Pushta. In Pushta he had friends of our community. But here the government has thrown us with people of different castes Agar sarkar makann nahi ,kam sae kam apane jatti kae logo sae saath hiee reahane ka mauka daeti.(if government could not provide us plots ,at least they could have given us the opportunity to stay with our own caste people.(Farzana,50 years, Construction worker)*

Be it a girl or a boy the education has become causality. The girls cannot go out because they have to take care of the siblings, have to do the house chores and boys are roaming aimlessly and becoming part of the drug world. The question which needs to be asked is providing the plots to the family the final solution to all the problems? It is evident that the problem of the poor has increased due to the resettlement.

#### ➤ **Electricity**

Electricity is also one of the major problems in resettlement colonies. Majority of the households in Bawana are taking electricity from the public provider. The informants mentioned that even though there used to be frequent power cuts in Pushta but in Bawana the situation of the electricity supply is worse than any other colony. Majority of the households in Bawana have temporary electricity connections. The monthly rent cost from Rs. 200 to 300 Rs. In very few households we could see metered electricity connections. The whole process of getting electricity is very tiresome and time consuming. First of all, the families have to look for the local provider then the provider will connect wire from big towers and will supply the electricity. One of the residents who came from Pushta stated:-

*“First of all we have no work here. No work means that no food .If we will not have sufficient income to run our family then from where we will pay for electricity. I have got the connection after two years from the local provider. He charged 250 for the wires and all. Whenever we were not able to pay for the monthly amount then he used to cut the power. Electricity here comes only for six to eight hours in a whole day. With no power in the evening, it is*

*difficult to go outside. The incidents of eve teasing and crime rate are high in the evenings” (Shaina, House wife, 28 years)*

The experience is not different in another case:-

*“What electricity are you talking about? Aree kuch nahi rakha hai Bawana main. Government wants that we should leave Delhi, so that is why they had thrown us in the jungle. It has been seven years here; I am still looking for the work. And you are talking about the electricity. In Pushta we had electricity meters and whatever the reading the meter gave we used to pay to the provider. But in Bawana there is no regular supply. The power cuts are regular in Bawana. We all know that it is game by the government; they just want that we should move to our villages. Daily we have to struggle for our work and why we will pay for the electricity, if most of the time power is not there” (Rafique, 48 years, Vegetable seller)*

Residents are complaining about the frequent power cuts in Bawana but still they have to pay the high electricity bills. The residents also said that if they raise their voice against the high bills then the local provider tells them not use the power. One of the residents mentioned:-

*“We are not voiceless people, whenever we try to raise our voice against any injustice, it has been made as unheard. Why nobody is listening to us? .Be it water, PDS, electricity, schools, rape cases, why the government is not taking any action. Does the government think that by throwing us on the outskirts they will be able to shut our mouth? Resettlement colony means proper work opportunities, proper water and PDS facilities.” (Sheeshram, 50 years, Biryani seller)*

### ➤ **Anganwadis and Balwadis**

Currently more than 35 Anganwadis function here and they are run under the supervision of Surinder Kumar who is a MLA of Bawana. And only 10 Balwadis<sup>31</sup> are there which are run by the Navjyoti NGO. The staff of the

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<sup>31</sup> As Balwaris are not run by any other NGOs except Navjyoti, so not much data and information has not been collected. It was mentioned by the Navjyoti staff that Balwaris are doing pretty well,

Anganwadi is decided by the Government. NGOs revealed that the worker in all the Anganwadis are from Bawana but none of the staff is from the colony. Many residents who tried to get work in the Anganwadi have been denied. NGOs also shared that residents of the colony are not utilizing the services of the Anganwadi. Many residents are not happy with the recruitment of the staff in these centers. It came to the observation that all the staff in these centers is from the Jat community. And colonies women are only recruited for the helper job. One of the residents shared her experience:-

*“The food which is being provided is of bad quality. You can see the drains near these centers. Not even a single child eats the food. In a single block you can find two to three anganwadi centers .And not more than four five children comes to these centers. What is the need of these centers if a good quality food and good basic education is not provided.”(Salma, 30 years)*

Some respondent revealed that these helpers and teachers have also been involved in selling the cooked food .The timings are from 9 o clock in morning till 2 o clock in the noon. But teachers and helpers usually come at 10 and give the food at 11 and then teachers leave the center. One of the women said:-

*Teacher thinks that our child does not have any right to sleep in these centers. They do not talk to us nicely and will come in the morning and will leave after marking her present. The helper has to work as a teacher also. The funds that they get from the government, all goes in their pockets. Not more than six or seven children come to these centre, but in their register, they show the strength of 25 children. Nobody is interested in these centers. The only good thing is that we can keep our children without any fees. Women whogo out and work, only leave their children at these centers. But the condition is really pathetic.(Reshama, 34 years, factory worker)*

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and after learning from the Balwaris the children are shifted to the Galli school .The Galli School is a program which is managed by the Navjyoti and in which the NGO teaches the children in the gallis. The balwaris centers have been seen full with the children. The reason could be that some of the NGOs have also shifted along with the people, so it was easy for the Puhsta residents to send their children to the Balwaris.



NGOs also shared that all the staff in Anganwadi centers belong to the Jat community. As Jat community is dominant in Bawana, the others feel neglected. Not much information has been collected on Anganwadis because majority of the families are not satisfied with the care which is being provided at these centers. And secondly the residents feel discriminated by the staff behavior. Due to all these factors, utilization of Anganwadi centers is negligible.

### **Summary:-**

Yamuna Pushta was a self constructed and self made informal settlement, where as Bawana JJ is a planned<sup>32</sup> resettlement colony. Planned resettlement colony gives an image of a place with better access to basic amenities, better work opportunities, good standard of living and better quality of life apart from planned plots. The above findings, narrations, experiences of the people do not match with any of the services promised in a 'planned resettlement colony'. The so- called planned resettlement has resulted in a raw form of poverty.

Firstly the experiences of the families' indicate that after moving to Bawana the residents are paying more than they did in the Yamuna Pushta. The problem of poverty had further accelerated because the entire workforce in Pushta was in informal sector but with the security of a livelihood. But after shifting, the urban poor to the outermost periphery of the city their expenses on transportation have gone double and which was negligible in Pushta.

Secondly because of non-availability of the proper work opportunities in the colony, majority of the families are going to their previous locations.

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<sup>32</sup> The word planned means carried out according to a plan. But does planned resettlement colony only means planned plots? If Bawana is an example of planned colony then why the access to the basic amenities has not been covered so far? Why the provisions of jobs and employment opportunities have not been well planned? These are the issue which needs to be addressed first while calling Bawana as Planned resettlement colony.

Thirdly this resettlement has also thrown light on the lives of families after eviction and the consequences of the forced eviction which have directly impacted on the vulnerable groups.<sup>33</sup>

The choice between the legal and illegal work is an issue which has come up in this study. The legal work in Bawana colony is highly unpaid like going back to their work locations, factory work, where as the illegal work like drug peddling, small crimes, prostitution involved high risk but gives easy access to the money. The loss of livelihood has crippled the families and issues like education, health have gone out of priorities. The issue of legality and illegality of work has further exacerbated the situation. The unplanned slum of Yamuna Pushta which had been constructed with dreams of many families in a safe and secure environment is now transplanted into an unsafe and unsecure environment in a planned resettlement colony.

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<sup>33</sup> All the consequences of life in a resettlement colony have been discussed in detail in the next chapter.

**TABLE NO. 3.1 Resources Available In Bawana Jj Colony**

<b>S.no</b>	<b>Availability of resources</b>	<b>Total (in all blocks)</b>
1.	Sulabh Shochalay	13
2.	Public Distribution Shops	5
3.	Mcd Dispensary	1
4.	Mother Diary	1
5.	Police Chowki	1
6.	Community Halls	3
7.	NGOs	10
8.	Delhi Development Authority Office	1
9.	Power House	1
10.	Kura Ghar	6
11.	Anganwadi	30
12.	Temples	4
13.	Mosques	6
14.	Power house	1

(Source: - Navjoti NGO (Bawana JJ Colony))

MAP:- 5 A Layout Map of Various Resources Available in Bawana JJ Colony



(Source Navjyoti NGO)

## **CHAPTER-IV**

### **“Some Reflections on the Journey so Far” Summary and Discussion**

## **CHAPTER:-IV**

### **“Some Reflections on the journey so far”**

#### **Summary and Discussion**

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This chapter intends to link and weave together the review of existing literature with the findings of field work that was conducted in Bawana JJ colony, Delhi.

**This study was attempted** to explore the life of the displaced women who were evicted from Yamuna Pushta and resettled in Bawana. The following issues were examined in this research:-

- Firstly a review was done to examine the discourse on development and displacement with a focus on slum demolition versus life in resettlement colonies.
- Secondly to build an understanding on how the life of an urban poor changes when they shift from unplanned illegal colony to a planned resettlement colony
- Thirdly a primary study was done in order to understand the voices of the affected women, who were forced to remain invisible.

#### **4.1:- Understanding the linkages between the concepts and the larger issues**

The Literature suggests that development cannot happen by including some sections of society and excluding other sections. The study has a developmental perspective that, development cannot take place by just having large infrastructure or by delivering a ‘world class City’ The city would not be called as developed until and unless we take into the consideration the needs of the slum population residing in informal and resettlement colonies. The first chapter of this dissertation gives an overview about the various concepts relevant from a development and displacement perspective. Based on the brief review a methodological frame work was prepared in order to conduct the primary study.

The second chapter was framed so that an understanding can be developed for conducting the primary study. The framework and review gave us an insight on how urbanization led to an increase in the migration of people from rural areas to the cities. Data and facts were presented to understand the migration pattern briefly. The review on the urban poor helped in understanding their life as

characterized by complete informality and uncertainty. Various factors and issues came out from the review which include the formation of the illegal settlements on the government or private land.

Attempt was made to understand the politics behind driving the cheap labor to the cities without providing facilities to them. Review also found the linkage between the politics of slum demolition and construction of resettlement colonies in Delhi. The chapter started with the history of Delhi and focused on the problems of the urban poor. The master plans and legislation were also included, which revealed the housing shortages for the poor in the cities. The draft of 2021 was studied in detail.

#### **4.2:- Looking back to the journey**

The primary study revealed the various issues/ problems which have been faced by the women after shifting from Yamuna Pushta to Bawana. The study tried to examine the problems of a family, their day to day struggle for livelihood, struggle to get the same respect and 'izzat' that they used to have in Pushta, the struggles to live a fearless life, importantly how each and every individual of a family is trying to resettle their life in a resettlement colony.

#### **4.3:- Understanding and analyzing the life of the displaced women:-**

This section brings out the various issues and themes about the life of a displaced woman. The life in a resettlement colony is not only limited to the unconstructed plots, but while exploring the various issues this study has come up with some other issues as well which have been neglected by the government so far. Following are some of the issues which have emerged from the study:-

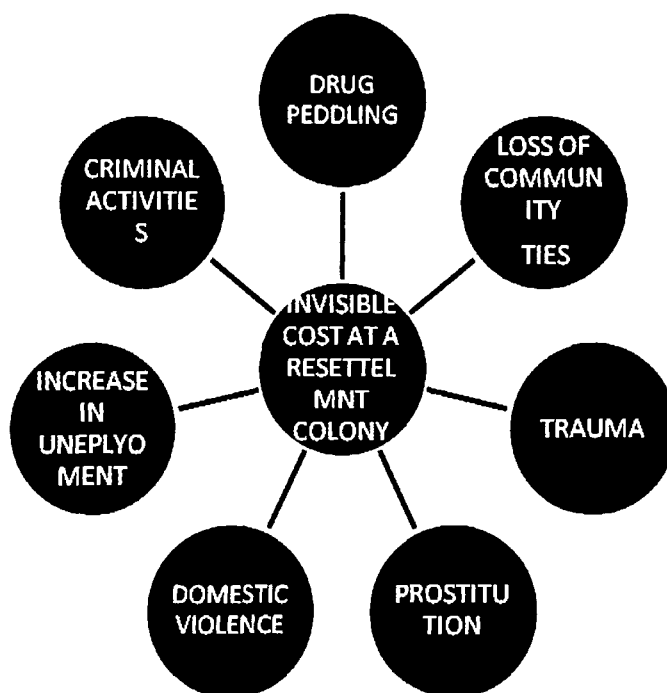
- 1) The whole concept of resettlement in resettlement colonies has led to the depletion and erosion of livelihood opportunities which has increased the unemployment rates.
- 2) In Yamuna Pushta, regular employment was available which in a sense created some job security, But in Bawana people are staying on the outskirts of the city which has snatched away their work from the informal sector.

- 3) After shifting to Bawana, their daily expenses have increased while their wages have depleted.
- 4) The process of resettlement has taken away their hard earned possessions and their savings.
- 5) The construction of the plot requires lot of investments and majority of the families had already lost their savings and as a result majority of them were living in the Kuccha houses because they did not have the money for the construction of the houses.
- 6) One of the main points which were discussed by the respondents is that the honest work such as vegetable vendors, tailor etc do not fetch enough money for their livelihood. This forces them to engage in prostitution and illegal work such as drug peddling etc.
- 7) As far as access to health services is concerned, the residents are keeping in mind the distance plus cost and the easy availability of doctors. The residents approach the local health provider because of the following reasons:-
  - The people trust the local health provider.
  - The proximity is playing an important role.
  - They do not take money during the initial visits.
  - They talk nicely to patients and give them respect.
- 8) Many respondents mentioned about the humiliation attached to living in a Jhuggi (Resettlement colony), with labels like “Jhuggi ka Baccahe” and which they had never felt in Pushta.

#### **4.4:- Consequences of a Resettlement Process**

This section will look into some of the important consequences which have been observed after coming to a resettlement colony. These are depicted in the following figure:-





**FIGURE 4.1 Invisible Cost at a Resettlement Colony**

It needs to be understood that the objective of a resettlement colony is not only to provide a 12.5 sq.m or 18.sq.m plot on the outskirts of the city. There are a number of social factors which need to be considered.

**1) Domestic violence:-**

The violence and harassment at the work places and at factories have been reported by majority of the respondents. The issue of domestic violence is the part of the daily routine experiences by women.<sup>1</sup> The interactions with the respondents and the various NGOs working in Bawana JJ colony has revealed that domestic violence have been increasing.

*“Domestic violence has increased here because now the men in the colony do not have any other job, except to beat their own wives. (Shanta devi,38 years)*

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<sup>1</sup> What is interesting to note that, the field worker who was assisting me during my study and was taking me to the victim’s home was herself was the victim of domestic violence. But she never mentioned to me about this. One of the women from the colony told me that ‘Oh didi, the other day you were with that lady was herself daily gets nice beatings from her husband. Didn’t she tell you about herself? Then the next day I asked her that why she didn’t tell me about this, then she replied, “didi I thought what you will think about me”.

The women have accepted that violence at home by the husband is clearly acceptable to her because she thinks that whatever is happening is happening out of frustration. The issue of domestic violence is not new to the people but it has increased after coming to colonies because majority of the men are left with no livelihood opportunities.

- **Drug Peddling**

It was reported by the NGOs staff that the number of drug addicts have increased after coming to the colonies. The situation is such that children have started taking drugs from the age of 10 year onwards. People attributed this trend also to unemployment and increasing frustrations. It has also been mentioned by the residents that the number of drug addicts have increased here because of the easy availability of the drugs. Women mentioned that there would not be a single home where a member is not a victim of drugs.

NGOs staff also mentioned that the number of drug addicts have increased so much that it is impossible to move out of the homes after four o'clock. People attribute this trend also to unemployment and increasing frustration.

- **Increase in the crime rates**

The cases of thefts, violence and murder are more visible now. One of the respondents stated: - *I will not say that in Pushta we did not have any criminals, but there nothing was visible and moreover there, the crime rates were low in number because people were employed.* It is possible that the intermixing of communities has led to lack of social cohesion which could be one of the reasons for increasing crime rate

- **Prostitution**

The families have become jobless and the families which are headed by women households are left with no other option. Staff member of the NGOs mentioned that the factory does not pay much and in order to run their homes, many women and adolescents girls are compelled to go for prostitution.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I wanted to interact with the girls who have got into this business after coming here, but was able to meet only one girl who took up this option because she has lost parents. I met her at the shop and then the staff told me she is also involved in Prostitution. I told her that I want to meet her alone, but she keep on postpone it and then did not got the chance to meet her.

- **Resettlement as a Traumatic Experience:-**

It is evident that forced eviction and then shifting to a resettlement colony is a traumatic experience. It is not only about the process of resettlement but to demolish somebody's homes and then forcing them to shift to the outskirts without proper facilities always leaves a family with no other options.

The demolition not only affects the earning member of the family but takes away the person's savings, social ties and bonding, education, day to day activities etc. So the overall experience of demolition in the resettlement colonies is so traumatic that people have become helpless and it has affected their self esteem and dignity.

- **Loss of the social and community ties:-**

The loss of social and community ties are factors which are ignored in city planning. But this is one of the issues which have been raised by all the respondents. All the respondents mentioned that life in Pushta was easier and better, because they were living with own community members who not only used to share the same occupation but used to share the bonding. They mentioned that the social cohesion and community feelings always helped in maintaining some degree of harmony even when they were facing hardships. They have related this issue with daily fight at the time storing and keeping of water and at the time of hardships etc.

#### **4.5:- Analyzing the case studies**

The case studies give more insights about the life of displaced women in a planned resettlement colony. The analysis of their lived experiences reveals their coping strategies to readjust in a new environment. Majority of the woman have come to the cities after their marriage. All these women were from adjoining states of Delhi and majority of them thought that they will be able to get better work opportunities and thereby contribute to the family income.

The case studies reveal the impact of resettlement on the dignity of the women who had to suffer the insulting labels that were attached to them after moving here. The process of resettlement has left them with experiences that disturbed and disoriented their roles as wives, mothers and above all as a person. Life for them has become an unending struggle of daily chores to satisfy one's needs.

#### **4.6:- Summarizing the issues:-**

The idea of resettling the people at the resettlement colonies raises a number of questions about the whole process of urban planning and urban development. The beautification drive in the name of world class city is a direct assault on the poor who are involved in beautifying and constructing the city. The same poor are evicted from their own homes and then asked to resettle their life in resettlement colonies on the outskirts without any work options.

The study shows that such an approach to city planning only result in suffering of the majority and may not be “sustainable.”

The following lines reflect and summarizes the spirit of this dissertation:

*You have the power to demolish my home*

*You have the power to displace my family*

*But, as a poor I do not have any power, except to offer my labour.*

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**ANNEXURE – I**  
**Case Studies**

## CASE STUDY- I

<sup>1</sup>**Name: - Krishna Kumari**

**Age: - 21 years**

Krishna Kumari is 22 years old and lives with her mother and two elder brothers. When researcher reached her home at that time she was washing the clothes. She was informed by the Ngo worker (who was accompanying me for field work) about my work with the Yamuna Pushta residents. She was asked to narrate her experience of the slum demolition, and to throw some light on the problems she is facing in resettling to a new house.

### Background

My name is Krishna Kumari and I am 22 years old. I have two elder brothers, one of them rides rickshaw in New Delhi railway station and other one sits at home because he is into wrong activities. I have lost my father just after the demolition. I was born and brought up in Pushta on. My family belongs to Bihar, Gaya village. My family moved to Pushta in search for work. Previously my father came to Pushta with the help of some relatives. He came here since twenty five years back. Initially he stayed with some of his friends and then slowly- slowly he started earning there by riding the rickshaw. After some time he also called my mother to Pushta. Then my mother started working as sweeper (because we belong to lower caste)<sup>2</sup> in nearby colonies. I studied till second class because after that I have to drop out from the school because I used to take care of my siblings. But I have lost my twin siblings because of the Pneumonia and at that time they were of two years of age. In Pushta I was staying in the Neemtala. My both brothers used to worked as laborers in the construction of the buildings .In Pushta we had a pucca home, it was the biggest investment of our family. It was a home

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<sup>1</sup> Name of all the respondents have been changed in order to protect the identity of the respondents

<sup>2</sup> I didn't ask about her caste because I knew that this is a very sensitive issue, on which many families would not feel comfortable to talk about. She herself mentioned the caste by relating it with occupation of sweeper.

which was constructed by the sweats of my brother, father and mother. It took us fifteen years to construct this home. By the time we started living happily, and then the court passes the order that the Yamuna encroachers should be removed. Aree what was the government doing from last forty years? Didn't they realized from last forty years that we were encroacher? Sarkar is blaming us that we are the main polluters to the river Yamuna river; didn't they know that most of the waste comes from the industrial area of the city?

The poor man comes from village to the city in search of the livelihood, by the time he makes some money through his hardships he is thrown to different slum and blamed as an encroachers. My mother cleans the toilets, lanes and earns money with lots of harsh, rude remarks. Didi I can't tell that how these people<sup>3</sup> had behaved with us .You can't imagine the life of a sweeper. My father never wanted that my mother should do this sweeping work but she had no other option to make us alive.

### **During the time of demolition**

The news about the demolition of the Yamuna Pushta was not new to us. It was in the air since long time. But nobody had ever imagined that one day Pushta would be finally demolished. At that time I was only 15 years old. The whole Pushta was demolished in just a month and it was a peak summer time. Daily announcements were being made from the loud speakers 'break your own homes so that you poor people will be able to salvage something and use it in your new home which has been given to you as a gift'. You just think about yourself that that how do you feel when you were asked to break down your home which you have constructed with all your hardships? The home in which you were born and dreamed of so many things. All over the Pushta people were demolishing their own homes and picking up the things whatever they can carry to their new houses. Nobody knew that we all would be thrown to a big jungle. Government has really cheated with us. My family had lost the ration card during the demolition and our name was not there in the list of the allotment of the plots. My brother had given around 18000

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<sup>3</sup> Here people means those families who had employed her mother as a sweeper in Hauz Khaz

rupees to a man who had got the plot in the Bawana because he was not shifting there. So that why he sold his plot to my family. We didn't had any other option to shift to other new place so we choose to come to Bawana and thought that Bawana is an Industrial area which will give us some work opportunities too. We were in Puhsta from last fifteen years and then we had lost the ration card, we were made to run from one department to other department to another till we were exhausted. It is really a shameful thing that those who had been staying in Pushta since forty to fifty years they had not found their names in the allotment list. So now you tell me what the poor man will do? He will then go back to his village because sarkar does not want the sight of the poor man .According to them poor people belongs to the rural area so they don't have any right to live in the big city.

### **Life in Bawana resettlement JJ colony**

When I first entered the Bawana I was shocked, first of all it was a complete barren piece of land and nothing was informed us earlier that we need to construct the house, secondly it almost took us more than two hours to reach to our new place. On a way to Bawana everybody was kept on talking about the resettlement colony, that what it is going to be of? What people will do there? But when we reached there it was like we have lost everything, and we need to make a new beginning. The first six months were really horrible. First of all it was a peak summer time secondly we were living under the tent because my family didn't had the money to construct the house (we had already spend 18000 on this barren piece of land).So it almost took us two years to construct this house.

### **Problems in a resettlement colony**

#### **Personal issues**

Shifting to Bawana was one of the worst decisions we had ever made. I had lost my father exactly after one month. He was suffering from Tb, but my mother says that after coming here his condition got worsens and he died. My both brothers are still unemployed; I didn't find any place where I can work as a maid or a helper. My mother had to leave her sweeping job because it was not feasible for her to

spend twenty rupees for one side and moreover to spend four hours in traveling alone and now she is a Tb patient. Even though it has been six years now but still me and my mother is unemployed. These factory people don't take older women for work and I myself when joined the factory was badly harassed by the cashier of the factory. I tell you one of the incidents didi. It has been a month to this incident. It was last day in the factory and I went up to the cashier who was supposed to give my first salary. When I went up to him, he had asked me to wait till six o'clock in the evening. The beginner gets the first salary from the owner of factory. People of my shift have already left and I was the only one left behind. Then around seven o'clock cashier calls me to his room and asked me about the work. I told him that even though the work of making bangles is fine but the salary which is being provided is not justified. But to my astonishment he started behaving abnormally and all of a sudden few of his colleagues also turned up. Everybody started touching me but somehow I managed to escape from there and then didn't return to the factory. I missed my salary too. You tell me now that who will listen to us. The police are also with the powerful factory people, as we don't have enough money to give bribes to them. So I decided to keep mum.

### **Victim of Discrimination**

My mother delivered me at home (Mera pushta Ghar) we all were born at home by dai<sup>4</sup>. My mother never believed in giving a birth in the hospital. My mother was a sweeper and she had faced lots of harsh and rude remarks by the people. But gradually my Ma developed a respect from the people at the community. But in Pushta(home) we never faced any kind of discrimination. But after coming here, some of our neighbors call me as Sweeper's daughter. It has already been six years in Bawana, but still people don't talk to us. My mother had lost all her community friends, nobody knows that where they had shifted. You won't believe that initially people used to throw the waste, garbage near to our home but when my Ma shouted on them, then the neighbors here used to say that "*aree tum log jammadar hiee toh ho..toh saaf kardo, Pushta ka kaam yeahi par shuru kar*

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<sup>4</sup> She specifically mentioned Dai because she was asked by the researcher to throw light on the birth delivery.



do<sup>5</sup>(Why don't you start your Pushta job here because in any way you are sweepers)

**“Yahan ka mahul bahut kaharab hai”**

My second brother is now into wrong activities didi. He takes money from the elder brother and spends it on the gambling and drugs. He was never into the drug peddling. But after coming here he got mixed with the Dholak people<sup>6</sup> and has started taking drugs. Now he doesn't do anything, he just roams with wrong girls and spends money on them. **‘Aap hiee batoo didi hum khahan sae paise lekar aaye,aur hum apna ghar chalye’.**

My first brother is the only bread earner of our family. He comes here once in fifteen days, because he rides rickshaw in New Delhi railway station. He comes here just to hand over the money and he stays near the railway station with some other boys from the Bawana with the temporary shelter. It's not easy for any poor like us to spend forty rupees on just reaching to the original workplace, so majority of the people prefers to stay there only. When we were in Pushta we used to spend money on the renovation of our homes, every Saturday we used to cook fish, but after coming here, everything has changed and I am sure didi that nothing will improve. if you will come here after some years, the situation of Bawana would remain the same. In Pushta we used to live with our own people. Here you will find the residents of all clusters.

After coming here I have not only lost my father but I have lost my brother also. He was never like this in Pushta. My mother has lost all the respect that she formed in Pushta community. Bawana colony has taken everything- everything from us.

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<sup>5</sup> When she mentioned about this incident she started crying and mentioned that my mother is a Tb patient and I am the only one to look after her. My elder brother comes here after every fifteen days, all the boys keep an eye on our home, and if boys will not do then woman's from Neighbors will make harsh remark on My mother previous occupation.

<sup>6</sup> Dholak community has been branded as unwanted community because they deal with the drug and drink business. And people also say that girls from dholak community are into prostitution business.

## CASE STUDY-II

**Name: -Rajani Devi**

**Age: - 35 years**

### Background

My name is Rajani and I am 35 years old. I am a mother of four children and my husband has left since last six years. After that I have been staying alone and looking after my children. I have four daughters and my youngest daughter is of six years and she is the only one who goes to the school. My elder is of twenty years old and second is nineteen years. The elder one stitches the clothes and second daughter helps her. My third daughter is of fifteen years and she is mentally not sound. This was my second marriage because my first husband had died in an accident and I did not have children from my first marriage. I came to Pushta in 1989 after my marriage. I belong to Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh. I have studied till class third because my father was a tailor and it was not was easy for him to send me to the school. I have three sisters and one bother and all of them live in Uttar Pradesh. My father died because of the liver problem and my mother also died after a few years after my father. I am not in touch with any of my family members<sup>7</sup>.

### Life in the Pushta and at the time of demolition

I used to work as a domestic helper in Daryaganj and used to work in seven houses along with my elder daughter and used to earn around 3000 rupees to 3500 rupees. It was easy for any migrant to find a work in Pushta or nearby Pushta. We had a pucca house with two rooms. Pushta was full of work opportunities. If you would have been to Pushta you could have seen that not even a single woman or a girl would be sitting ideal. The life was smooth there and definitely we used to

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<sup>7</sup> She told that she has lost all 'the contacts with all the family members because they thinks that, because of my mistake my husband has left me .And it is not in my destiny to enjoy the marital bliss .I am so unlucky that my first husband had died in an accident and my second husband had left me after twenty years of the marriage. My second husband was my first husband friends, so I knew him since we came to Pushta, so he proposed me for the marriage and I got agreed to it. But who knew that he would leave after twenty years leaving me all alone in Delhi. Exactly after a month coming to Bawana he ran away with a girl. My husband used to work in the Dhabba and the girl was a maid in that Dhabba. And now they both are staying in Trilokpuri.

feel good, because we have been staying there with our own people. I have lost my daughters due to diarrhea. Pushta had only one problem that, it was a congested place. It was not easy to walk there when two people are crossing the path or lane. And in that way Bawana is spacious.

At the time of demolition, my husband was not in the city, He had gone to the village to sell the land as we were in a need of money to buy the plot in Bawana. And yes I know that majority of the families did not get the plots despite having all the documents. I was lucky enough to find my name in the list. My home got demolished in two minutes and I have taken everything and captured all memories of my Pushta home.<sup>8</sup> When my home was suppose to bulldozed, a few days before I have shifted my entire luggage to someone else home. Therefore I was able to manage to click some of the pictures of my home during demolition. Everybody was making ride remarks that why I am clicking the pictures when my home was getting demolished, but I did not listen to anybody and the clicked pictures. It was all the love and attachment and importantly came there as a bride. I faced lots of problems during the shifting because I was eight month pregnant he entire luggage, the furniture that we managed to purchase in last twenty years had to be shifted to Bawana<sup>9</sup>

### **Life in Bawana resettlement JJ colony**

Bawana has taken everything from me. The only thing that I have got from the Bawana is the plot. I purchased this plot at the cost of 18000 rupees. I was supposed to get the 18 sq.m plot but government gave us only 12.5 sq.m plots. At least we have been the luckiest to get the plot. Those who had the contacts with the MCD, they have got the bigger plot. There were many families who had come after us in Pushta, but still they have got 18.sq m plot. In the initial years we have to struggle very hard to have a normal life. Now after six years the basic facilities have become better but still there is no work. “*Sarkar bolti hai, factories hai,*

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<sup>8</sup> She showed some pictures of the Pushta home, she clicked the pictures when her home was getting demolished.

<sup>9</sup> She also mentioned that because she had lost her first husband and three daughters in Pushta, so she was attached to this home.

*factories main kaam karo,aree kitini factories hai bhai, aur factories main koi izzat ya mahul hai kaam karna ka”.*

Nobody wanted to come here in this jungle, many appeals have been made by us to upgrade the Pushta cluster, but government wanted to make highway. But government should come here and should see the condition of the colony. Providing a plot does not solve their job.

I do not buy the ration from the PDS shop because I have not got the new card even after six years. I have to marry my three daughters and from where will I bring the money and who will look after my third daughter .I don't know for how long will I be able to work in this business, but if will lose this job then I will lose my children. The first thing which is asked by groom family is the dowry. All families want more than 30,000 rupees as a cash. I am a single and it is not easy for me to make the arrangement of such a big amount. If I would have been in the Pushta then I could give the good dowry because I was earning good there, but after coming here my expenses has increased.

### **Change in the profession**

It was not easy for me to go back to the previous work place. I tried that for one year, but I was not able to save anything. So I decided to opt rag picking as a profession. Here the money is good. When I used to go to the daryaganj from Bawana I used to spend around 1500 rupees on travelling. And in Pushta I used to spend only 200 rupees monthly on travelling. I was pregnant when we came down here, then my husband left me and then we have to sell down our small-small assets in order to make our living. From the last four years I have been staying in kuccha house, because I did not have enough money to construct the house. I did not allow my daughters to join the factories because I have heard about the harassment that the girls have to bear. I joined the rag picking business because it gives us good money. But the job is very dangerous. Many a times the sharp items like blades, glasses have been thrown with the garbage by the people, due to which I have cut down my fingers. I collect the garbage from the Bypass(bus stand) and then I sort out the metals like cells, plastics, rods then I sell them to the paper seller and he gives me good money. From this, daily I earn around 200 rupees to 250 rupees. Tailoring business does not fetch us good money. This

community is full with the Muslims women's and they are good in hand work. My daughters earns around 50 rupees to 100 rupees a day, depends upon the work.

### **Access to health care**

All my four daughters have been delivered with the help of dai. I do not like going to the hospital because the doctors in hospitals do not treat us nicely and we do not have enough money to afford the private hospitals. Whenever I had cold, cough, vomiting, or any small illness then I used to approach the Bengalis doctors, but if the case was serious then they used to refer us to the Machali hospital.

### **The of issue dignity and respect of being a dalit women**

After coming to the Bawana I experienced the life of being a called as a dalit. My father never faced any discrimination because he was a tailor and families from all the community used to gave him the clothes for stitching. Initially I faced some problems of being a dalit in Pushta but after staying there for so long, I have started gaining respect. There were other families from our caste and they used who worked as a sweeper in stations, Daryaganj, Hauzkhas. And many times they shared their stories of discrimination with me. I have never told them about my caste to the families where I used to work because I knew that if would tell them they would not give me the work. This is for the time I visited the hospital for the delivery, I have been to the hospital many a times like for tests, injections, but I have delivered my youngest daughter in a hospital. Because the case got complicated and it not easy for the dai to handle it.

The nurses in the Balimiki are not at all poor friendly. This is something which everybody has experiences in the community. We can feel the difference when they behave, if a rich jat women comes and if a poor women from the jhuggi comes. I was going through the lots of pain. The case becomes more complicated because firstly I went to the dai but then she referred to me to the hospital. The doctors got more irritated after listening that I have been referred here by the dai. The nursed asked me about my husband and I told them that my husband had left me. After listening to this the nurses made a rude remark "*Arre isako khud bhi nahi pata hoga ki bachae ka baap kaun hai*".(she herself do not know that who is

*the father of the child*). In a room there were six beds and all were empty but they asked me to share a bed with an old women .I told them I can sleep on the other bed but she told me that you are not suppose to dirty all the beds. We are no lesser, we are also human beings. Why they treat us like dogs?

I was going through lot of pain but nobody listened to me. I was crying because pain was getting unbearable for me, but instead of doing something the nurse slapped me at least five times .when I gave a birth to girl then they said, “*see you have baby girl who will also clean the toilets with you*” I told her that I don't clean the toilets but she told me that *but your caste does not allow you to do any other type of job.*” I do not know how much money I have paid to them on that day I decided that I will never visits a government hospital. The nurse came to know that I am into rag picking business, so they thought that I take drugs also in order to avoid the smell from the garbage and she also commented that from where you purchase the drugs?. I was confused that why all this happening to me, but later I came to know that the lady from our community told them about wrong things about me.

But the issue is that the nurses from the hospital are not supposed to behave like this. What the doctors and nurses think that don't we have any respect, dignity?. If we give them respect then should also do the same. It is not written anywhere that the poor dalit women does have any right to give a birth in a hospital. If I am able to look after my four daughters then what is there problem?

They know that we are powerless people so that is why they have a right to make any comments. If I would have been rich and would have to gone to them in nice clothes then they would have treated me differently. This is not the story of single women, you just go to the all blocks and ask them about the treatment which is being provide at the hospital, all will tell you the same thing. But I never felt discriminated, whenever I visited the Kasturba hospital. We have been there from last twenty years, so we know the doctors very well. I used to work as a domestic helper in one of the kasturba doctors home, so it was easy for me to approach her anytime. But here the case is altogether a different .

And now when ever my daughters get ill I take them to the Bengalis doctors, because I trust them and the medicines that they give are very effective. And if I will take them to the hospital, then the doctors would not see them properly. Why to waste twenty rupees on just travelling to the doctor who will not check you properly? And if the case is serious then I take them to the Ambedkar hospital, Rithala. Another problem that I am facing here is about the wrong comments which have been made regularly by the neighbors about my third daughter. They say I should leave my daughter to the mental hospital. The neighbors in this block our not from our community, therefore they make these types of comments. In Pushta everybody knew about my daughter so all were supportive and sensitive towards my third daughter.

Bawana has taken everything from me. I have lost all my assets, savings, my husband, and respect that I have gained in the Pushta.

### CASE STUDY -III

**Name: Sameena**

**Age: - 45 years**

#### Background:-

I came to Puhsta, as a bride. I belong to Ajamgarh, Uttar Pradesh. I have five daughters and my husband sells *briyani* here. I have married my three daughters in Pushta and all of them have been settled in UP. In Pushta my husband used to run a rickshaw and he used to earn around 200 rupees a day. I used to stitch clothes there.

Even though the life in Puhsta was not of bed of roses but there we were living a very normal life. My husband owned a rickshaw, but we have to sell it off for the construction of the plot in Bawana. Our name did not come in the allotment list. Me and my husband both had struggled hard to get our name in the list. We are poor people and it is not easy to construct a plot on any government land.

But I want to ask the government that What was government doing from last twenty years? Why they have realized after forty to demolish people's home. I know that Pushta was not nobody's land, but government could have given the plots in nearby our work.

#### Life in Pushta and demolition time:-

To get work in Pushta was never a problem. Me and my husband used to earn around five thousand monthly. Sometimes I used to earn more if I get more clothes for stitching. The work used to increase at the time of marriage or any festival season, and then I used to get more clothes. I was living there for more than twenty years, so I have known many people and I have made lots of customers, because if we have living in any community for more than twenty years, then it adds to business also.



My husband was involved in driving the rickshaw since he came to Pushta. I came to Pushta with my husband after my marriage. And whenever he used to get ill then he does not go the work. Because if in a family two people are earning then, it is good.

At the time of demolition as I told you our name did not come in the list, so we have to struggle hard to get our name. Officials mentioned about various problems like spellings mistake in the name of card. I am telling you seriously that we have given lot of money to get our name in the list.

### **Life in Bawana and problems:-**

Initially for three years majority of families were living in the kaccha homes. Because the salary of the poor is not regular. It is not easy for the poor to construct a plot in city. So everybody wanted to come to Bawana, because people thought that at least it is giving the security about the home and it was in the mind that many factories have been constructed, so to find a work would not be a problem. But we have realized everything after cumin here. *'Aaj kaam nahi , who chalta hai, par aaj izaat chali jaye toh who phir nahi milti'* ( if we do not have the work today, then we can get it next day, but if respect and status is taken, then you cannot take it back. This is what happens with me and my family. My family shifted here so that we would be having a secure roof over our head.

**My daughter was raped:-**My daughter was raped because she went to the fields to rest herself. We all were dreaming and making preparation for my elder daughter marriage, but our dreams got shattered. We have spent almost fifty thousand after coming here. Firstly our income has gone down, secondly we have lost our jobs because it is not feasible for any poor to go back to the previous work sites, commuting from the outskirts to the city is a problematic.

It has been a month when this incident took place. Initially she did not me anything, but at night when anybody was asleep then she told me everything. Then I told her that I will take to police and will look for the culprits. But when I tell this incident to my husband, he told me to keep numb on this, because

everybody was new to us and he told me that what the community would think if they will get to know about this incident. We don't that how come body knows about this incident whenever I think about this incident I start on crying. She was only 16 years old when all this happen. I feel ashamed of myself. What ever happened it was her destiny but I wish that I could have done something for my daughter. We came to know that the people who raped my daughter were from Bawana, now my daughter is staying with their grandparents in the village. She did not wanted to stay here, so I send her to the village.

➤ **I will sell off my plot:-**

This colony has nothing. So I will sell of this plot. My husband sells *briyani* here and he earns around 70 rupees to 100 rupees. Each plate costs around 5 rupees. I don't stitch clothes because now my eyes are getting weak .And now many young girls are taking this profession and the are coming with new designs so people used to prefer to get their clothes stitched from young girls.

➤ **Girl's marriage:-**

To demolish somebody home is very easy. After coming here we have lost everything and now whenever I think about to get my daughter married is like a dream. It is dream because we are unable to meet boys' dowry demands. We are looking for a groom for my younger daughter, but now it is becoming difficult because nobody would like to take girl if her sister was raped. I know god will never forgive me because it was my decision to come here. i never knew that this decision would cost us so much. It is becoming difficult for us to move to anywhere. Almost all families knew about this incident. So we are planning to sell off the plot and will go back to our village.

If I will stay here, then it will keeps on reminding me about my daughter incident. I wanted to leave this place, after that day, but if we would have left then where we would have gone? I wish I would have never come here. Iam the real culprit of my daughters' future<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> This woman was so upset with this incident, that she wanted to leave the place as soon as possible, almost for more than two hours I had chat with her but in all that time, she was just mentioning about this incident. Therefore I was not able to ask her about other problems like

## CASE STUDY -IV

**Name: -Rukana**

**Age: - 20 years**

### Background

My name is Ruksana. From last six years ,I have am staying in Bawana colony. I came to Delhi when I was very young, may be one year old. I was staying in the shantivan in Pushta.I have three bothers and one younger sister. My mother is old so she can't do anything. My father works in a factory. My family came to Delhi in search of work, so that we could have a better life here. But everything was shattered on demolition day.

### Life in the Pushta and at the time of demolition

Life in Pushta was smooth, because there the people have been living their for thelast forty to fifty years.. You will not find a single member who would be sitting ideal at home. Pushta was full of work opportunities. People were involved in from small to big types of works. My father and mother are from Darbanga. My father came to Delhi in order to have make living. He used to sell clothes in Darbanga but that would not fetch good money. So he came to Pushta, because I have many relatives who have come from Darbanga, Therefore it was not a problem to shift from Darbanga to Delhi. My father had seen our relatives who have become rich after coming to city, so this has motivated him

#### ➤ **Security of job in Pushta:-**

When he came he started with the selling of clothes. He used to sell the clothes in Chandani chowk. in some shop. So initially he tried to do lot of work. After a year he called us also .I came here when I was only one year old and my mother was pregnant with my second sister. When my mother gave birth to my younger sister

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access to basic amenities and all. But why I have included this case study because she was relating resettlement with the rape incidents and she did not wanted to talk about anything. I think why she was sharing this problem with me openly because almost all the families in this block knows about this incident , so in way this incident was only limited to the four walls of her home, But she was clear that once she will earn the money she will leave this colony.

than, after two years she started working as a maid in nearby colonies. My father had changed number of jobs and still he is doing the same. The thing was that if anybody loses the job, then he could switch over to the other job, but this is something which is not possible in Bawana. Then finally he shifted to Dhaba business.

He used to work in a Dhaba which was run by some biharis, that dhaba used to cook all types of food. My father used to earn around more three thousand and my mother used to earn around two to three thousand. Very rarely we used to cook food at home because my father used to get the leftover food from Dhaba and it used to be of good quality. Most of the time she also used to bring something from the employer's home. People used to give a lot of things to my mother like chair, table, food, extra money. My all three brothers have studied up to eight classes. First two brothers stay in Mumbai with their wife and my third brother does nothing. He just takes drugs and roams aimlessly. He was never like in Pushta.

#### ➤ **Routine in Pushta**

As such we do not have any big problems there. My both brothers got married and shifted to Mumbai; they both drive auto there. And both are having a nice time there. My father used to leave at 9 o'clock in the morning and my mother used to leave at 8. Then me and my sister used to clean our two-room house. There we had a two-room pucca home. Whenever we used to get ill, first we approached the practitioner at the community and if the case was serious then we used to approach the hospital (Machali).

#### **At the time of Demolition:-**

Demolition news was not new news to us. Because my mother had a number of friends in Daryaganj whose home has also been demolished. My mother told me that life in a resettlement colony worsens after shifting, because most of the colonies are on the outskirts. We had seen people who had been shifted to the colonies. But we have never realized that our Pushta can also be demolished.

Pushta is a very old community and majority of the families were staying there from many decades.

At the time of demolition, it was said that resettlement colonies are good and they are better than this our Pushta cluster. When the bulldozer came to bulldoze our home, at that time we all were watching getting it demolished. There would not be a single member in a family who was not crying. People became mad and were running like animals. Because people were so confused as what to do? Those who get their name in the allotment list, at least have some sense of satisfaction that they would be shifted. Majority of the families had not got their names in the list. So they were unsure that where they will go with their children. The whole demolition process was finished in just twenty days. Daily the bulldozer used to come and number of homes gets demolished.

### **Life in Bawana resettlement JJ colony**

Life in Bawana can never be like the one that we had in Pushta, because money is important for survival. Here we have a four walled plots for protection but we do not have the work opportunities.

#### **➤ Loss of job:-**

My father now work in a factory of fans, there my father assembles the parts of the fan. He gets 3000 per month .In pushta both my parents were working. But after coming here my mother cannot go back the Daryaganj. Bawana area is dominated by the Jats, so they do not take us a domestic helper. Me and my sister we both sells the vegetables like chilly and coriander, garlic etc at the evening market but that does not fetch us good money.

The problem with these entire resettlement colonies is that all have been constructed the outskirts, so it takes away the work options from us. Factories are there to work but, no factory gives you more than three thousand per month. The young, fair girls have the advantage over males, because if you are ready to sell yourself, then definitely the employers will give you more money. *'Didi you should see that how these girls and young women gets dressed when they go to*

*factories*. I am not pointing them, out I don't have any right to them also, but, this was the case in Pushta. My father never wanted us to work. But here we do not have the option so now we have to sell these things. The condition of my mother is getting deteriorated day by day. God knows what has happened to her after coming to colony? My father leaves at 6 o'clock in the morning and came back at 10 o'clock, the factories people always talk about the over work, to complete the targets, but they never give the salary on time. We do not know how long this goes. We are just taking the things as they are coming. But now we are not prepared for any other demolition.

➤ **Loss of investments and savings:-**

Government does not realize that what happens to a poor, when his/her home gets demolished. It is not just about the home, but everything gets lost once our home gets demolished. Thus demolition has taken from us our home, savings, assets, investments, more importantly the secure job of my mother and father. There were many families who were not able to salvage the things. There were families also who were not believing about the demolition stories, until their home gets demolished.

➤ **Families those who did not get the plots:-**

Nobody has any idea that what happens to those who did not make it to the allotment list. But it came to the knowledge, many families have shifted to other slums and very few have gone back to their villages.

➤ **Environment is not good here**

I will not say that Pushta environment was good. There was nothing visible because people used to stay together within their own communities. But here the intermixing of communities had led to the increase in crime rates. Everybody wants to make good money as soon as possible. But if you are left with no jobs then people have to take help of wrong things in life. The cases of rape incidents have increased. But it all goes unnoticed because the police are not with the poor. This who are rich they will give the money to the police and then police will work in the nets of the powerful people.

➤ **Social and community ties:-**

What I miss about Pushta is that I really miss community members. Be it small or big problem, each and everything was used to be shared by the community members. This is something which I really and my mother misses the most. I go to navjyoti classes for stitching and cutting classes. I am planning that when this course would get over then I will start with the tailor business. But this colony is dominated by the Muslims and they are good in stitching and cutting the clothes. I don't know what I will do here?

➤ **I have lost my brother**

My brother was never like this, My mother says that some body had did '*Jadoo and toona*' (*black magic*) on my bother. My brother is good looking so many people were jealous of us, because we have got the plots and my both brothers are in Mumbai and people think that we have lots of money, nobody is happy with other people progress. Now my bother takes drugs and he does not do anything. Navjyoti NGO is telling us to get him admit to their drug de- addiction center but we don't have much money to get him admit to their center.

If Bawana colony will be demolished then we will die again, My parents does not have any strength left to see the demolition again.

## CASE STUDY -V

**Name:-Ruksana**

**Age: - 40 years**

### Background

I was staying in Pushta from last 20 years. I came to Pushta was Sultanpur (UP). I came here after my second marriage. My first husband has left me. I have three daughters and all are between and one is married and she is staying in the Seelamlur, Delhi. My husband used to run rickshaw in Pushta and now he sells toys in the buses. I used to work in homes as a maid. My elder daughter also used to work in the homes.

### Life in Pushta and at the time of demolition:-

In Pushta our monthly salary was around five to six thousand and I have ration card also. I have got 12.5 sq . m plot. In Pushta I have a home of two floors and room on the second floor, was given on the rent. Pushta has number of facilities like work opportunities. The talk about demotion was completely a bad bad dream. Because nobody had very thought that it can be demolished.

There is no deny to the fact that number almost majority of the families has lost salaries. It is not only salaries; apart from work people have lost number of things. Everybody was going through trauma and still in trauma because of the demolition. Government has made a joke of our life. You are asking me how m feeling after the demolition.

You just tell me that will you feel when your home would be demolished. Definitely if anybody broke somebody home, than it means that we are demolishing the entire person savings of that person. But the situation become diffnt , if we demolish the home that person, who has not get the regular job. No doubt that Pushta had number of job, because it located at the hub and work



opportunities was easily accessible. At the time of demolition, people were mad; people were fighting with the police. The media was coming and some were shooting the pictures of us. Don't the government realizes that if we are demolishing and bulldozing somebody home, then is it right to make a fun of us by calling the media. If media came, they should have acted maturely. The duty of the media was not to portray as criminals and show it on television. But media should have acted in our favour by raising our voices to the people.

### **Life in Bawana and Problems:-**

*'Yahan kaam nahi hai, paani theek nahi, buses nahi aati, kya hai yahan par? (there is no work here, the quality of water is not good and there no transport facility, what is here?)*

You will come and write down our problems, will it do anything? We are poor and will be rotten like animal in Bawana .The government thinks that we poor are only meant for the work. If we are doing the work for them then we need an accommodation also. If a poor will earn 100 rupees a day, from where he will purchase the plot. I agree that we all were staying on the government land, but we were not new to that place, we have been there from many decades. Was government sleeping when the poor came and constructed his plot.

At one hand government is providing the plot and that is not free of cost. We have paid more than 8000 rupees for the plot and it construction is done by the robin raina( foundation which constructs the plot. The government itself creates the problem and puts the blame on the poor people, because we are voiceless and then itself solves the problems by keep on putting the blame on the poor. It has been given a promise that Bawana would not be demolished, the promise was also t given by the government that Pushta would never be demolished. The congress came and given the promise that when evr it would be demolished, the enough time would be given so that everything can be managed. The sarkar comes and make promises and if they won, then they will never the show the face after the election.

It has been six years; still there is no change you will find, the only thing you will find that, now colony is coming with the shops. All these shops are run by the Jats of Bawana.

➤ **Health facility:-**

The shops are coming but you will not find the MCD dispensary. The dispensary is there but it not in working condition. The doctor comes and gives the same medicine to everybody. If we complain them about the medicine than they will tell we are doctors or you are a doctor. If we go hakim and if it is not possible for the hakim them he himself recommends to the doctor. Then again doctor teases that who had told you to go to hakim. The doctor is not available twenty fours hour, our Bengali and hakim doctors are available all the time. And believe me their medicine are more effective than the others.

If ever there is a case of birthing, then we first approach the dai, and if the case is complicated then we go the hospital. But I feel sad that why we are discriminated like this. Doctor should not behave like this. Whenever we go they would tell us to not come to nearer and all. God knows what type of doctor they are. The nurses of hospital are really bad, they talked to us as if we are beggars. They should understand that nobody wants to come to the hospital and it happens only when the situation worsens.

➤ **No job security:-**

Bawana does not have any job security. By constructing the factories it was only created that Bawana has factories, so people would not face any job problem. But just imagine the population of Bawana and imagine the population of Pushta.

The Pushta was a home to more than forty thousand families, where as the government had given the plots less than 20 percent of families. And if twenty percent of families have not got the jobs in factories, then how can government make a claim that Bawana is full with the job opportunities. We are poor people, so it is important for us to sell our labour .But if poor would be thrown to the

jungle then to whom and where we will provide the labour. Pushta was better because to find and look for the work was easy for us. We are not educated and we are not skilled, so therefore what every type of work we used to get we were happy in that.

➤ **Access to facilities:-**

There is no denying the fact that as far as sanitation and construction of plots are concerned the Bawana colony is better. The Bawana looks cleaner because colony is very much bigger in size .Pushta was very congested and it was difficult for two persons to walk together because of the congestion of the lanes. But people were happy because they had a work and money to buy the food. Here I have seen the anagwadais, which was not there in Pushta. The government has not given the ration cards to many families. So therefore many families have to buy the ration from outside, which cost double the cost from PDS shops.

It came to the knowledge that some people after getting the oil and ration from these shops, sells at little higher price. By this way some people are making money. The ration from the PDS shops is not of good quality. Most of the time it is adulterated with the material. But the poor does not have any other option, in order to survive we need to buy it because we need food so that we can work. If we will not eat then from where we will work.

It has also been observed that those who give ration in the PDS shops have seen harassing the people .They use bad language whenever we complain about the quality of the food.

➤ **Unsafe and unsecure environment:-**

As far as environment of Bawana is concerned then in that sense the Pushta was better. Here the intermixing of the communities has led to this environment. Boys have started taking drugs at young age and which was never the case in Pushta.

The *kanjar* community is spoiling the whole environment of Bawana. The girls from this community will dress up like heroines and will songs on the roads and will get the male attention. The girls from this community have been seen in the

prostitution business. Nobody should interfere in anybody life, their presence and involvement in all these activities is creating problem at large. In Pushta it was not visible because there they have been staying within their own community. So it was nobody business. The boys from this community drinks openly and it has been that the *kanajar* family has been involved in providing all types of drugs and alcohol.

It is not only with the girls but the woman also does not feel safe to go out night. The rape cases have increased. So I will say that we have not got anything and does not think that our condition will improve, that is because government does want to give that right.

## CASE STUDY -VI

**Name:-Sangeeta Rani**

**Age: - 30 years**

### Background

I came to Pushta from Barabanki after my marriage. My mother in-law was our neighbor, so I knew my husband family since childhood. My husband is a carpenter. And everybody knows him because he is good with his carpeting skills. I used to work as a house maid in Hauz Khas. I am a mother of three children. My younger son is in fourth class and my both daughters sell vegetable in the evening market. My father and mother in-law stay with us.

### Life in Pushta and at the time of demolition:-

Life in Pushta was normal and not a day to day challenge, as it is now become. Our name came in the allotment list. With many hardships my family has managed to get this plot.

There is no doubt on that, we were in dilemma as to get the plot or not. But we realized that very a few families were able to make it in the allotment. So we decided that we will get the plot. One thing was in my mind that my both daughter can also work in factories and it would be a better work as compared to work as a maid in homes. My husband did not like it when I used to work in the homes. But it was an easy work and used to give us good money.

Nobody was prepared for the demolition. If anybody had the idea about demolition than, definitely nobody had invested in their previous homes. Why would anybody would invest if their home would get demolished. The demolition became a nightmare for those families who were not able to made in the allotment list. The families who did not made it they were staying on the roads with the temporary tents.

### **Life in Bawana colony and problems:-**

#### **➤ Loss of job:-**

My father in-law used to run Rickshaw and my mother in law also used to work as a helper. To work in homes, not only gives the money but it can give lot of things like, clothes, food, furniture etc. I used to work for five homes and my mother in-law used to work for three homes.

We had the money, so that why we purchased the plot and constructed it. But after coming here I have lost the job, my father in-law cant commute daily to run the rickshaw, my mother in-law has lost the job.

But now we do not have anything to do. Here the people are not good. The whole resettlement process has led to the intermixing of communities and this is the point which would be made by everybody. Nobody is happy with the resettlement thing.

I am not saying that, resettlement should not happen but the government should take into consideration the livelihood factor .I know that change is the necessity for life but what we will do if our job would be taken. We are not educated people, so we have to sell our energy and labour for survival.

It is not only about the loss of jobs, but apart from that we have lost the constructed house. If would have sell the plot, then it could have coasted us more than lakh. We have put tiles in the kitchen, it was a home where I given birth to all my children and came their as a bride. I feel bad whenever I see my family. My husband had tried his hand the factory, but he was not happy with work. This is not my story only but it is a story of number of women. I feel bad that now I cannot contribute to my family. People are ready to work but if spend our money on just commuting then what we will save. You will find here number of families who are still commuting to their places, because people have no other option. You will find number of male members who are staying at their work places because it

saving the money. If a poor will earn only hundred rupees a day, than how come anybody can imagine that he will spend half his daily wage on just commuting. The sad thing is that situation has not changed even after six years.

➤ **Health care**

For day to day illness we used to approach the local health provider and if the case was serious then we used to approach the Kasturba hospital. For all my three deliveries I took the help of Dai's only. Because I was never comfortable to give to my children at the hospital.

After coming to Bawana, still we go to the Bengali doctors. There are number of hakim and Bengalis doctors who had shifted from Pushta to Bawana. The doctors in the Balmiki hospital are not patient friendly. The doctors would not check us properly and most of the time they laugh on us. The nurses make comments on us. Many women had reported about the bad behavior about the doctors and nurses.

➤ **Education**

Education will not give us any job. We need to sell our labour to get the food. My bother daughter has studied up to fifth class. Education is not important, they know how to calculate and to write the name, and I think this is sufficient.

➤ **Bawana environment**

The crime rates have increased, because people do not have anything to do. The young takes drugs openly and roams aimlessly. The environment is so bad that I cannot ask my son to go out .the boys here are so much into drugs that they can hurt anybody. These boys smell the nail polish remover and then they starts singing song. Somebody mentioned that boys have been involved in other activities and I cannot name them.

Due to all this, it creates the problem for girls. The girls cannot move alone, it is not just about the colony. The girl faces harassment in buses also. The driver makes bad comments when ever a beautiful or young takes buses. This driver thinks that women from the colony cannot say anything.

➤ **Future plans:-**

You are asking a poor about her future plans. We do not make any plans. I am just praying that my family condition should get improve. And praying that by next year I would be able to save enough money so that I can make dowry demands for my daughter marriage.



## CASE STUDY-VII

**Name: -Usha**

**Age: - 35 years**

### **Background and life in Puhsta:-**

It has been fifteen years, when I came to Pushta. I came with my husband and I am a mother of six children. My husband used to work in a dhaba and then he started driving rickshaw. He met with an accident so he started with the cobbler business. Because of the money problem, my children didn't go to school. Previously we were staying on rent and then we had enough savings then we purchased a one room in Pushta. We purchased it because an assurance that it will never be demolished. But who know that a time changes everything.

### **Life in Bawana:-**

The cobbler business does not fetch us good money, because it is very difficult to get the customers. Firstly I started with the bindi business, then stitching but nothing gave good money then I get into the rag picking business.

My two daughters are also involved in this business. The money is good, the only problem is that we have to gift hafta to the police. Me and my children we all leave the home with th sacks in the morning and return by late evening. With this business we earn around more than 200 a day. This work is full of hazards because sometimes the garbage contains sharp items like razor, bottles, pins, blades, and most of the times our hands gets hurt. This work is really hazardous but this what a real life is?

We have to face lot of humiliation because we are into this business. But we have to work in order to survive, I think no work is better than the honest work. And I think this work is much better than the prostitution business. At least we are doing

some work and importantly we are selling our own labour then only we are getting the money and at least we are not selling our body in order to get the money

My other two sons goes to factories but factory does not give the money. They are involved in making the pins. They get only 2000 rupees per month. Both of them leaves at eight o clock in the morning and comes by 10 o clock in the morning. I think if the same amount of work they do in the rag picking, then they will get more money as compared to this factory work. But they do not want to this business.

➤ **Problems:-**

**Rag picking as a job:-**

I never wanted that my daughters should get into this business .But Bawana does not gave us any other option. So we have to get into this business, just because the money is good. You tell me who would like to touch the shit and used sanitary pads. Daily I have touched these entire things. Sometimes I feel guilty that why I am poor. Who would like to touch all those things for a few money? Why did the government thrown us here? Government could have thrown us near the station, where we could have got the work easily.

**Discrimination in the hospital:-**

Whenever I get ill I go the Bengali doctors. But if the case is serious then I have to go to the hospital. The doctor asks number of question like what I do. In what type of business I am? And by the time, I tell them that I am into rag picking then they give a very bad stare. The they ask me, that who are involved in this business apart from you. These doctors need to understand that I did not left with any job so that is why I have to opt for this profession.

And this is something which I am not facing. The doctors and nurses they are teacher friendly. It has come to the knowledge that these doctors they call the women from colonies as '*jhuggi ki aurtae*'.

The doctor will give the same medicine to everybody because they think that the residents of colonies are not human and by giving any medicine we will be alright. now I think why did I came here from my village. The city is completely anti poor and will not be for poor. The city needs us for cleaning the things and for picking the rags but when it comes to our right for livelihood then they brand us outsider and encroachers on the public land.

## CASE STUDY-VIII

**Name: -Gulfasa**

**Age: - 33 years**

### Background

I came to Delhi from Hazaribagh( Jharkhand) in search of better livelihood. I came to city with my sister. Initially I worked in number of places, but then finally I got started working as a helper in Daryaganj. My sister used to run a tea stall in Pushta and we both were able to save enough for our survival. Our monthly salary was around four thousand. We used to save that much that each month I used to send thousand rupees to my family. My mother is heart patient and my father is a tailor. They were old when we shifted to pushta. From last fifteen years we have been staying there.

### Life in pushta and at the time of demolition:-

My sister did love marriage, but she died after three years of marriage. And after her death also left, because he did not wanted to take care of the children. My sister died leaving behind two daughters. So from last 11 years am taking care of her children. I was never interested in marriage so never of thought of it and I have got my sister children to look after.

At the time of demolition I was staying in my sister home. When demolition came then I was confused as what I will do? But then I thought that from last fifteen I have been satying in delhi so what I will do after I will go there. My sister gave birth to twins and both are have studied upto fourth class. Iwanted them to study more but ,both did not showd any intetst.

People were running here and there, and my sister name did not come in the list. So I purchased the plot in Bawana in double amount. I took loan from so many people, and I took loan from the homes where I used to work. The madam in the houses, where I was working as a maid told me to not to return the amount. All these madam were really very generous on me.

### **Life in Bawana and problem**

If you are single women then it creates hindrance for each and everything. People thought that I am alone and I am a woman, so many a times people tried to cheat me and harass me. Life is not easy for a single woman. People thought that I am a widowed or have been left by the husband, being a Muslim, people thought that I have been left by my shauhar.

#### **➤ Missed my community neighbors:-**

When I was in Pushta people know about my reality, because I was living there from last fifteen years, here the people have come of communities so that is why people think that I am lying to them. After to coming to Bawana I have lost my neighbors on whom I trusted like anything. At the time of demolition everybody was busy in salvaging the things. So it does not give us a time to interact with and at least bid final bye to all those families who had shifted to different and other places. Now I run a small tea stall and my sister daughters go to Prayas in GRC and have engaged in beautician and stitching classes. Where I go people ask me about my husband name and ask my sister daughter their father name, I have been fed up of telling the truth.

#### **➤ Access to PDS means harassment**

The man who gives the ration, has approached me many times. He told me many times that :-

*'Tumko main aur bhi ration dea sakta haoon, bas tum ek haan kardo'* ( I can give you more ration ,but I am waiting for the yes). I always avoid him, so that is why

he teases me. I can't approach the police station because police is with the powerful people. Why the police will listen to me.

The environment of Bawana colony is not good, and this is something which you must have seen it yourself also. I am really scared of my sister daughter. I do not leave them alone. I can't send them back to my parents, they both have grown old. So now I am thinking that after this course may be they will start with beauty parlors. They both are bold, but the incidents of rape are increasing day by day. Everybody is leaving in between the four walls but all are leading a fearful life.

➤ **Drug incidents and crime rates:-**

Bawana colony is number one in crime rates. You will find that small children are taking drugs and singling songs. There is no doubt on that the crime was never a part of Pushta, but there everything was under control. After coming to this colony the frustration level of people have increased .The *kanjar* is the only community which makes alcohol at home.

If you will to their block they will invite you inside and then will serve alcohol and will talk about girls' rates and then will tell you the names of the drugs. The police take drugs from them. Police knows everything but will not do anything because they are getting the money from them.

If I walk late at night, then people would think that I am doing a prostitution business so I close my tea shop by six o clocks. People know that I stay alone, so many a times the male members would come and ask me if give tea at night also.

I really miss my sister presence want to go back to my place.

## CASE STUDY-IX

**Name: -Hameeda**

**Age: - 40 years**

### Background

My name is Hameeda and I came from Faisabad (Uttar Pradesh). I have four daughters and two of them are married. My husband used to run a small dhaba and it was one of the best dhaba in Pushta.

### Life in Pushta:-

I was staying in Pushta from last twenty years and initially me and my husband we came to Delhi to see my relative marriage, and after that we decided that we will work in Delhi. Then my husband took loan from the relatives and started with the Dhaba.

Everything was going normal until one day our dhaba, the source of income and our home was demolished. It is not only about the demolition. I had made some arrangements for my daughter marriage. But everything was under the planning process and until one day we were evicted from Pushta. My husband had saved up to 20, 000 rupees for daughter marriage. But this entire amount was spent on buying the plot and constructing the house.

### Change in Job and depletion of salary:-

Change in job has changed our entire life style. We have to cut down our expenses and importantly it not only cut down but we did not had the money. The women in our family are not allowed to work. We will die of hunger but we will not be allowed to go and work outside. This is our culture. Because of the Pardha we are not allowed to work any there. Now there is no job security and we have to cut down our other expenses like paan or tobacco and importantly because of money constraints. All these power people have right to displace and we have to get displaced, We are voiceless because we have been made like this.

**ANNEXURE – II**  
**Checklist of Themes**



## **Annexure:-II**

### **Checklist of themes to be explored for Focused Group Discussion and unstructured interview schedule**

#### **Background:-**

- Family background and address
- Reason for coming to Delhi
- When did they moved to Yamuna Pushta and Why?
- Occupation in Yamuna Pushta
- Day to today routine in Yamuna Pushta, monthly salary, investments.
- Some Memories of Yamuna Pushta.

#### **Demolition**

- Were they aware of Demolition?
- Do they know that why their homes have been demolished?
- Narrate your Experience during the Demolition.
- What happened to those who have not got the plots?
- Situation in Bawana at the time shifting.

#### **Shelter**

- Owned or rented
- Did their name come in the allotment list?
- Construction of the plots

#### **Problems while shifting**

- How livelihood has affected after coming to Bawana .
- Employment in the factories, wages etc
- Change in occupation
- Current occupation

### **Current scenario and access to various of basic amenities**

- The problems faced while coming to Bawana, Narrate
- Throw light on the livelihood, sanitation, health facilities, education facilities, PDS, social ties, in Bawana

### **Health**

- Health care on the basis of accessibility, affordability, availability
- Choice of provider, usual preference for day to day illness
- Factors that motivate women to access different categories of health care provider.
- How resettlement has affected, specifically from women perspective.
- Throw light on family planning, birthing process, day to day illness.

### **Education**

Why education is important?

Is this led to better job opportunities?

- Perception about the resettlement colonies.
- Future Plans

**ANNEXURE – III**  
**Newspaper Clippings**

THE TIMES OF INDIA, NEW DELHI

TIMES NATION

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 2010

# Nearly 49,000 slums in India

## 24% Of Shanties Along Drains, 12% Beside Rly Tracks: NSSO

Mahendra Kumar Singh | TNN

New Delhi: Even as the Indian economy remains one of the bright spots in the world showing an upward growth trajectory, around 49,000 slums continue to blight the urban landscape forcing lakhs of people to live in pathetic conditions.

To make things worse, of these 49,000 slums, 24% was located along nallahs and drains and around 12% along railway tracks, according to a report released by National Sample Survey Office (NSSO).

Not surprisingly, around 57% of slums came up on public land, owned mostly by local bodies and state government.

Though sanitary conditions in the slums in terms of toilet



SLUMMING IT OUT

facility during 2008-09 showed an improvement since 2002, a lot still needed to be done.

Toilets with septic tanks (or similar facility) were available in 68% notified and 47% non-notified slums (up from 66% and 35% respectively in 2002).

At a time when the UPA gov-

ernment has made the ambitious promise of slum-free India, around 10% notified and 20% non-notified slums (though down from 17% and 51% in 2002) did not have any toilet facility at all.

The NSSO report also said that around 10% notified and 23% non-notified slums did not have any drainage facility as against 15% for notified and 44% for non-notified slums in 2002.

About 48% of slums were usually affected by waterlogging during monsoon — 32% saw waterlogging inside the slum as well as on the approach road, 7% saw water in the slum but not on the approach road and 9% saw only the approach road waterlogged.

Over the last five years, facilities had improved in about 50% of notified slums in terms of roads (both within-slum road and approach road) and water supply. However, the report said about 78% of notified slums and 57% of non-notified slums had a pucca road inside the slum and around 73% notified and 58% non-notified slums had a motorable approach road.

The NSSO report titled 'Some Characteristics of Urban Slums, 2008-09', found that in 64% of notified slums, a majority of dwellings were pucca, the corresponding percentage for non-notified ones being 50%. Only 1% notified and 7% non-notified slums did not have electricity connection.

# Half of city lives in slums and illegal colonies: MCD

## Tells SC There's No Garbage Collection In These Areas

Dhananjay Mahapatra | TNN

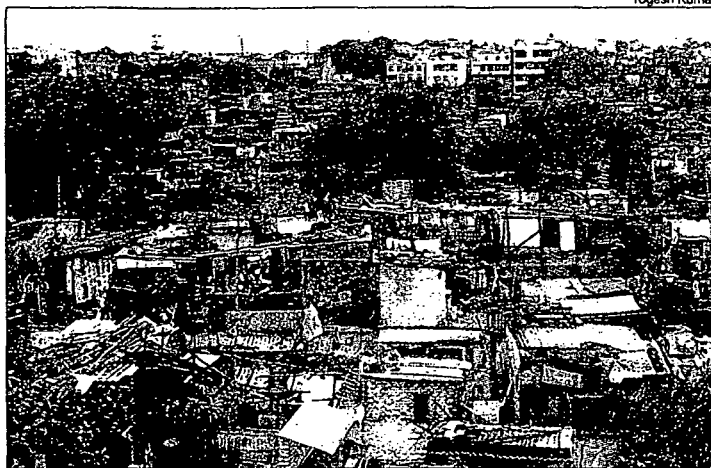
**New Delhi:** In what comes as a dampener to the civic body's sustained campaign to present a beautiful face of Delhi during the Commonwealth Games, the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) on Tuesday revealed a filthy side of the national capital before the Supreme Court on Tuesday.

Nearly half of 15 million Delhiites live in slums, JJ clusters and unauthorized colonies which have little or no garbage collection system, it said.

"About 49% of the total population of Delhi lives in slum areas, unauthorized colonies and about 860 JJ clusters. There are also 20,000 jhuggies and according to a rough estimate about five persons stay in each jhuggi besides a sizable population living in unplanned areas having no proper system of collection, transportation and disposal of municipal solid wastes," said the affidavit filed through advocate Sanjiv Sen.

What is more startling is that despite formulation of the Master Plan 2021, the government has not been able to bring most of the residential areas under its purview. The MCD said: "As a rough estimate only about 5% of the population lives in planned areas."

This means nearly 73.5 lakh people of the 1.5 crore population live in slums and unauthorized colonies and that only 7.5 lakh Delhiites enjoy civic amenities to the fullest being residents of planned development areas. This affidavit was filed by the civic body to highlight the ur-



Yogesh Kumar

**DELHI'S SHAME:** There are 20,000 jhuggies and according to a rough estimate about five persons stay in each jhuggi

gent need for an alternative sanitary landfill (SLF) site as the one next to the Ghazipur slaughterhouse was more than full and unable to take any more load.

It said that MPD-2021 has estimated that Delhi would require an SLF site of the size of 1,500 acres. "However, the size of the present three sites being used by MCD at Ghazipur, Bhalswa and Okhla together is less than 150 acres. Thus, MCD is operating from less than 10% of the estimated land required," the civic body said.

It blamed the piling up of filth and its non-collection on the uninterested approach of the Sheila Dikshit government and the Delhi Development Authority. "The DDA and Delhi government have not yet been able to provide more suitable land

in spite of repeated representations from MCD. The MCD is keen to stop operation from all the present three sites, including Ghazipur as soon as DDA and Delhi government allots it more land for SLF sites," it said.

Seeking the apex court's nod for using the abandoned Bhatti mines area as a SLF site, MCD said it was finding it extremely difficult to dispose 7,500 tonnes of municipal solid waste generated in Delhi.

The three SLF sites were almost saturated and it was becoming increasingly difficult to operate these sites due to height and slope constraints. "MCD, however, is compelled to operate these sites at risk of loss of property and life due to non-availability of land for a new site," it said.

dhananjay.mahapatra@timesgroup.com

HINDU  
8<sup>th</sup> JUNE 2020

# Strict action against encroachers

And against erring officials, says Chief Minister after Delhi Cabinet meeting

Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI:** The Delhi Cabinet on Monday decided to take strict action against ongoing unauthorised constructions in new colonies coming up on agricultural land and as extension of 1,639 unauthorised colonies which are being considered for regularisation.

At a meeting chaired by Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit, it was also announced that appropriate action would be taken against officials who are found negligent in overcoming such construction activities.

The Cabinet, government sources said, has taken a serious view of the unauthorised constructions which are

bound to damage the planned growth of the city apart from creating hindrance in providing basic amenities.

It was also made clear at the Cabinet meeting that the officials will not be spared for dereliction in their duties.

"It is time to disseminate a clear message that not even a single new unauthorised colo-

ny will be allowed, in any way, to come up in the Capital city," said the Delhi Government in a statement.

Earlier, the Lieutenant-Governor had constituted a committee comprising Deputy Commissioner (Revenue), Deputy Commissioner of Police, Deputy Commissioner (MCD) and a senior officer

from DDA Land Protection Branch to minutely monitor the growth of unauthorised constructions in any part of the city and to ensure immediate appropriate action.

At the Cabinet meeting, a decision was also taken to monitor this situation on a regular basis.

2 Feb' 2010, Haryana

# 'Need to pass slums through proper channels'

Delhi Government usurping municipal powers, alleges MPD-2021 panel's chief

Staff Reporter

**NEW DELHI:** Municipal Corporation of Delhi Master Plan-2021 Implementation Committee chairman Ved Prakash Gupta has drawn the attention of Lieutenant-Governor Tejendra Khanna to the issue of regularisation of unauthorised colonies and providing provisional certificates to them.

Mr. Gupta said that as per MPD-2021 Chapter 17, Section 3(11), the layout plan, site plan and building plan were sought to be approved by the local

bodies and the authority in their area of jurisdiction but instead they were approved by the Delhi Government.

"Of the 1,600 unauthorised colonies, 1,400 were provided provisional certificates by the Delhi Government before the last State Assembly elections. However, as per the list of unauthorised colonies fit for reg-

ularisation released last month by the Delhi Government, only 600 colonies have been approved by them leaving the status of the rest in a lurch. Furthermore, the provisional ownership has been transferred to these colonies by the Delhi Government without approval of their layout plans by the MCD to extract political

benefit," he added.

Mr. Gupta alleged that it was in the jurisdiction of the MCD and the Delhi Development Authority to approve these colonies but the Delhi Government had tried to take "undue advantage of their power" by surpassing the MPD provisions. "The MCD made the peripheral survey of these colonies and asked the RWAs to submit their layout plans. But they are of the opinion that since they have already been provided the provisional certificate why should they go

through the process of submission of plans," he added.

Mr. Gupta said: "Unless the layout plans in these colonies are passed either by the MCD or the DDA, we would not be able to provide civic services such as roads, drains, parks, community halls and barathghars in these colonies. We have asked the L-G to intervene in the matter and ensure that regularisation of unauthorised colonies and providing of provisional certificates is done through proper channels."

• 'MCD, DDA authorised to approve these colonies'

• 'Delhi Government has taken undue advantage'